

ARCTIC TRAVELS;

OR, AN ACCOUNT OF

THE SEVERAL LAND EXPEDITIONS

TO

DETERMINE THE GEOGRAPHY

OF THE

Northern Part of the American Continent:

TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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ARCTIC TRAVELS.



CHAPTER I.

BEFORE proceeding to detail the events of Captain Franklin's expeditions to explore the northern coast of America, it is necessary to state the reasons which induced geographers in general to believe, not only that there was a sea communicating between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, but that it was not very far north of the latitude of the Strait of the Fury and Hecla, which Captain Parry had unsuccessfully attempted to penetrate, his way being blocked up by ice. He ascertained that strait to lie between the north-eastern promontory of the continent of North America, and Cockburn Island, in latitude 70° north, and he satisfactorily established the fact, that beyond the strait, to the west, there lies a large collection of water, which, from its extent, and the reports of the Esquimaux, there was every reason for believing was the sea which washes the northern shore of the North American continent, and extends to Behring's Straits.

The strength of these reasons will be better

understood, when it is recollected that the merchants who carry on a trade with the North American Indians for furs, under the title of the Hudson's Bay Company, and who have long had a factory called Prince of Wales's Fort, on the eastern shore of Hudson's Bay, were induced, in the year 1769, to send out one of their agents, Mr. Samuel Hearne, to explore the country east and north of the factory ; and that this traveller penetrated to the banks of a great river, which runs northward, and empties itself into the sea, in the latitude, as he reported, of 71° north, and longitude 120° west of Greenwich ; and that subsequently, in the years 1789 and 1793, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, also one of the merchants trafficking with the American Indians, as a partner in the North-west Company, established at Montreal, in Canada, set out with the design of extending their transactions ; and after a journey equally perilous, and more lengthened than Mr. Hearne's, reached the mouth of a very large river, and saw the sea in latitude 69° north, and longitude 131° west.

The circumstances which led Mr. Hearne to undertake his expedition were as follows :—

The Indians, who range over the vast tracts of country which lie north and west of Churchill River, having repeatedly brought samples of copper to the factory of the Hudson's Bay Company, the agents of that establishment conjectured that it was found not far from the settlement ; and, as the natives said that the specimens were collected on the banks of a great river, Mr. Hearne was directed to explore the district, as

far as was possible, searching diligently for the copper mine, should he reach the river, and following the stream till he should arrive at its mouth. It was conjectured that it flowed into Hudson's Bay : and that thus an easy mode would be discovered of transporting to their factory the metal, which they hoped would be found in abundance. The instructions which Mr. Hearne received from the Company were remarkable for their simplicity and good sense. He was to carry with him a sample of light trading goods, to be disposed of by way of presents and not of traffic ; and he was recommended to smoke the calumet of peace with the leaders of the Indians, in order to establish a friendship with them, dissuading them, as much as possible, from going to war with each other, and enjoining them rather to cultivate peace and good will.

The following were the arrangements made by Mr. Hearne to meet the contingencies that were likely to arise during his journey. He drew, on a large skin of parchment, a map which contained twelve degrees of latitude, north, and thirty of longitude, west, of Churchill Factory, leaving the inland parts of it blank, in order that he might prick off his daily courses and distance. He had also a quadrant and a compass. As for his own personal stock, but little, he says, was required, as the difficulty of travelling in those countries will never admit of carrying even the common articles of clothing ; so that the traveller is obliged to depend on the country through which he is passing for raiment as well as for provisions. Ammunition, useful iron work, some tobacco, a

few knives, and other indispensable things, make a sufficient load for any one who has besides to bear the weight of the gun on which he principally relies for food, and is entering on a journey likely to last twenty months or two years. He took, therefore, only the shirt and clothes he had on, a spare coat and a pair of drawers, and as much cloth as would make three pair of Indian stockings, together with a blanket in which he might wrap himself at night.

On the 6th of November, 1769, he set out from the fort, accompanied by two of his countrymen, William Isbester, sailor, and Thomas Merriman, landsman, two southern Indians, a northern Indian chief, called Captain Chioiw-chinahaw, his lieutenant, Nabyah, and eight northern Indians, with their wives and children. The weather was mild ; so that, for the first fortnight, they found the labour of hauling the sledges very severe. The road they followed was between west by north and north-west, and was in general so rough and stony, that the sledges were daily breaking, whilst the land was so barren of trees, that they could not find the means of repairing them. At night, also, they thought themselves well off if they could scrape together as many shrubs as would make a fire ; but it was not in their power to make any other defence against the weather, than by digging a hole in the snow down to the moss, and wrapping themselves in their blankets, lying down in it, with the sledges set up edgeways to windward.

Mr. Hearne and his countrymen bore not only without complaint, but cheerfully, the hard-

ships they encountered.—Not so the northern Indians, who became disheartened, and deserted, carrying with them several bags of ammunition, and other useful articles, and were quickly followed by Choiwchinahaw and Nabyah ; so that Hearne, his two companions, and the two southern Indians, were compelled, after suffering greatly from hunger, to return to the fort, where they arrived on the 8th of December, 1769.

Nothing daunted by his failure, he again set out in quest of the river, on the 23d of February in the following year, 1770 ; having engaged as guide a chief, named Conne-e-queese, who said he had been very near the river where the copper was procured. It is not necessary, however, to detail the incidents of this journey, since, though he was eight months and twenty-two days absent from the fort, he was unable to reach the desired point.

The cause of this second failure was similar to that which frustrated his first attempt—the misconduct of the northern Indians who accompanied him. So long as food continued to be plentiful, and could be procured without much exertion, they behaved tolerably well ; but as soon as it became scarce, and the road more difficult, they dropped off, one by one, carrying away several bags of gunpowder, and other articles.

So thoughtless of the future was the party which accompanied Mr. Hearne, that he never could induce them to lay up a store for a time of scarcity. A fortnight after they had set out, they reached the borders of a lake, where their nets procured for them a daily supply of fish ;

and, by the advice of Conne-e-queese, it was agreed to remain there till the geese should begin to fly northwards, which is seldom before the middle of May. On the 1st of April, the fishing-nets were found empty, and continued so ; the Indian, therefore, took his gun and went off to look for game ; but the others, indolent and thoughtless, passed their time in smoking and sleeping. On the 10th, Conne-e-queese returned with the blood and some fragments of two deer, which he had killed. This roused the sleeping Indians, who, for three preceding days, had taken no refreshment except a pipe of tobacco, and a draught of water. In an instant they were on their feet, and were soon busily employed in cooking a large kettle of broth. The following day, two more deer were killed, and subsequently five, and three beavers ; yet nothing could make them provident. Such a quantity of meat would, with prudence, have sufficed for some time ; but the Indians thought only of the present. While the supply lasted, they spent night and day in feasting and gluttony ; but never during the whole time could they be induced to attend to the fishing-nets ; so that many fish, which had been taken in them, were entirely spoiled ; and in a fortnight they were as much distressed as ever.

When the snow melted off the ground, the snow-shoes and sledges were discarded ; the former, as no longer serviceable ; the latter, on account of the difficulty and labour of drawing them over the rugged ground. The baggage, therefore, was divided between the party, who were obliged to carry it on their backs.

This soon disheartened the Indians ; but Mr. Hearne was a man of too much resolution to be cast down. Although more unaccustomed to bear such hardships, his load weighed sixty pounds. He was often obliged to eat his meat raw, from the impossibility of finding fuel to make a fire ; at other times he was obliged to leave quantities of food behind : he was now drenched with rain—again, like a sailor when the storm is over, forgetting the past hardships. Still he would have gone on with good spirits, if the Indians, after having stolen his ammunition and rifled his knapsack, had not left him. Thus left once more with only his two southern Indians, and the winter cold again becoming severe, he was indebted to a chief named Matonnabee, (whom he casually met with as he was returning) for a supply of food and snowshoes, and for guiding him safely to the fort, where he arrived on the 25th of November, 1770.

Mr. Hearne ascribed the failure of this second attempt to his having been recommended by the Governor not to take the wives of his Indian guides with him. This opinion was founded upon the fact, that in North America the Indian does little more than carry his rifle and hunt down the game ; all other occupations he considers beneath him ; or, as a chief said to Mr. Hearne, “ When men are to hunt or travel to any considerable distance, they must not be heavily laden. In case they meet with success, who is to cook the food ; who to carry their provisions ; who to pitch their tents, make or mend their clothing, or haul their nets ? In fact,” he added, “ there is no such thing as travelling any considerable

distance, or for any length of time, without the assistance of our wives." This is but too true a description of the situation of women in that part of the world.

Mr. Hearne, however, was not discouraged, but in a fortnight after his return, that is to say, on the 7th of December, 1770, he again took leave of the Governor. Past experience had made him wiser—he declined taking any southern Indians with him ; but engaged Matonnabee to be his guide ; and as he was a chief of considerable reputation, and had already shown such a contrast to the rest of his countrymen by his disinterested kindness, there was every reason to believe that he would behave far differently, and faithfully fulfil the duty which he undertook.

It is not necessary to follow the track of Mr. Hearne by a narrative of each day's proceedings. They were nearly the same as those of the two former journeys, except in one particular—Matonnabee was true to his engagement, and conducted Mr. Hearne to the Coppermine River, which they reached on the 14th of July, 1771.

The average rate of travelling was from eight to ten miles per day ; but there were many days when the Indians would not move, which was the case generally when they lighted on a good supply of food : on such occasions an Indian will eat at a sitting as much as would serve six moderate men ; but their indulgence of appetite brings with it its own punishment, for they usually become so ill from repletion, as to be unable to move for several days.

Without minutely detailing their course, it

may be mentioned that, on the 6th of February, 1771, they crossed the main branch of the Cathawhachaga River, lying north-west of the fort. It was at that part three-quarters of a mile broad ; and, walking a short distance farther, they came to the side of Cossed Whoie, or Partridge Lake, which they crossed on the following day, over the ice, and found it fourteen miles wide.

They did not take the shortest route to the Coppermine River, for they were obliged to keep to the wooded parts of the country, for the sake of food, which they found there in such great plenty, that they often killed the animals for the marrow and tongues, and left the carcasses behind to rot.

On the 20th of May the party, augmented by several Indian families whom they had met within their course, arrived at the Clowey Lake, where they began to build canoes for crossing the river which lay between them and the Coppermine River. These vessels, though very slight and simple in their construction, are, nevertheless, the best that can be contrived for the purpose for which they are intended, as it is frequently necessary to carry them 100 or 150 miles at a time, without having occasion to put them into the water ; and they are so neatly made by the Indians, that they could not be excelled by our most expert mechanics, assisted with every tool they could wish for. The only tools used by an Indian consist of a hatchet, a knife, a file, and an awl. In shape, the canoe resembles a weaver's shuttle, being flat-bottomed, with straight upright sides, and sharp at each end.

Mr. Hearne found much to condemn in the habits of these Indians, in addition to their indolence and gluttony ; but the most barbarous feature of their character was the treatment of their women.

Matonnabee had seven wives, or rather servants, to carry his tent and furniture, cook his victuals, dress the skins of the animals destroyed in the chase, and make them up into clothing. Hearne says that he has seen a woman carrying a burden weighing ten stone, in summer, and hauling a much greater weight in winter, whilst Matonnabee either sat in his tent smoking his pipe, or walked slowly on before them with nothing but his gun in his hand.

The custom of those uninstructed people was to wrestle for the woman to whom they were attached, the strongest always carrying off the prize; hence a weak man was seldom permitted to keep a wife that a stronger man thought worth his notice, more particularly if the latter had more baggage than his other wives were able to carry. This wrestling is, in fact, nothing but pulling each other about by the hair of the head, to prevent which, one of the combatants, sometimes both, will come out with their hair close shorn, and their ears greased.

But a much worse quality of these savages remains still unmentioned. Whilst they were at Clowey, they entered into an inhuman combination to surprise and massacre the Esquimaux, who were understood to frequent the Coppermine River in considerable numbers.

Mr. Hearne did all in his power to dissuade

them from so barbarous a scheme, as soon as he became acquainted with the intentions of his companions, and saw their warlike preparations, but without effect—nay, they even accused him of cowardice, a reproach which, had it been merited, would have endangered his own personal safety.

On the 14th of July, having reached the river, they sent three spies to report what Esquimaux were inhabiting the banks between them and the sea; and having learned that there were five tents, the Indians began to get their arms in order, painted their shields with the figure of the sun or moon, or some bird or beast of prey, painted their faces, some all black, some red; and, to prevent their hair from blowing into their eyes, tied it before and behind, or else cut it short all round; pulled off their stockings, and tucked up their sleeves close to the shoulders, and thus set upon their victims, whom they found asleep, and put them all to death, sparing neither age nor sex.

But let us leave this painful subject. On his arrival at the river, Hearne found it very different from the description given of it by the Indians at the factory; for, instead of being so large as to be navigable for shipping, it was scarcely deep enough to float a canoe, being every where full of shallows, and there were no less than three falls in sight; nor was it better adapted for shipping nearer the mouth, being all the way full of shallows and falls, and emptying itself into the sea over a ridge or bar. At a short distance from the mouth the sea was full of islands,

and great numbers of seals were sporting on the ice, which was, however, melted away for about three-quarters of a mile from the main shore.

Mr. Hearne stated that the weather was not fair enough to determine the exact latitude by observation ; but, from the extraordinary care he took in observing the courses and distances which he walked, he computed the latitude to have been $71^{\circ} 54'$ north; the longitude $120^{\circ} 30'$ west. The mode, however, was a rough one, and, as might be expected, gave an incorrect position : of this, however, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

The Copper Indians conducted Mr. Hearne to what they called the mine, which was about twenty-nine miles to the south-south-east ; but great was his disappointment on finding that, so far from its answering to the report made by the Indians, that ship-loads could be easily obtained, the hills being, as they said, entirely composed of that metal, there was only a heap of stones and gravel, and so little appearance of copper, that after a search of some hours but one piece of any size could be found. In the poor Esquimaux's tents the Indians found several instruments of copper, such as hatchets, knives, &c., which they carried away.

On the 18th of July the party set out on their return, and by great exertion reached, on the 31st, the place where the Indians found their wives and children, whom they had left behind. Hearne suffered greatly from fatigue : his legs and ankles swelled so much that he had no power to direct his feet when walking ; so that

he frequently knocked them forcibly against the stones, and at last was in such a condition that he left the prints of his feet in blood almost at every step he took, the raw parts being greatly irritated by the sand and gravel, which he could by no means exclude.

It is possible that if Mr. Hearne's strength had not been equal to the exertion of keeping up with the Indians, Matonnabee would not have left him behind to perish; but it is a fact, that, in the journey which they made after having rejoined the women, one of the latter, who was afflicted with consumption, and unable to travel, was left, without any sign of regret, to perish on the road. This, Mr. Hearne said, was their common practice: they left, however, with the patient some food, water, and fuel, and mentioned the road they intended to take. The woman, whom Hearne mentions, overtook the party three several times, after having been left; but at length the poor creature dropped behind, and no one attempted to go back in search of her.

As the Indians in Hearne's company had determined to winter about Athabasca Lake, he was obliged to go with them, though it greatly retarded his return to the fort. On the 11th of January, 1772, as the party were hunting, they saw the track of a strange snow-shoe, and, following it, came to a little hut, where they discovered a young woman sitting alone. She proved to be a Western Dog-rib Indian, who had been taken prisoner by the Athabasca Indians in the summer of 1770, but who in the following summer, 1771, had escaped from them,

with the design of returning to her own country. The distance, however, was so great, and so many rivers were to be crossed, that she was forced to give it up ; she had, therefore, built the hut to protect her from the weather, and there had resided seven months without seeing a human face. She had supported herself by snaring partridges, rabbits, and squirrels. Indeed, when discovered, she had a small stock of provisions in her hut, and was in excellent health. She sewed her clothing with the sinews of the rabbits' legs and feet, twisting them together with great dexterity and success. Of the skins she made a suit of neat and warm clothing for the winter, and even showed great taste in ornamenting her work with curious sewing. Her leisure hours, after hunting, she had employed in twisting the inner rind or bark of willows into small lines, like net-twine, with which she intended to make a fishing-net as soon as the spring advanced.

With six inches of iron hoop, made into a knife, and the shank of an arrow-head of iron, which served her as an awl, she had contrived to make herself complete snow-shoes, and several other useful articles.

Her story was a melancholy one. The tribe to which she belonged, and which lived far to the westward, had been surprised in the night by the Athabasca Indians, who killed every one in the tent except herself and three other young women. Amongst the slaughtered were her father, mother, and husband. Her young child she concealed in a bundle of clothing, and took with her

undiscovered. But when she arrived at the place where the Athabascans had left their wives, and they began to examine the bundle, one of the women took it from her and killed it on the spot.

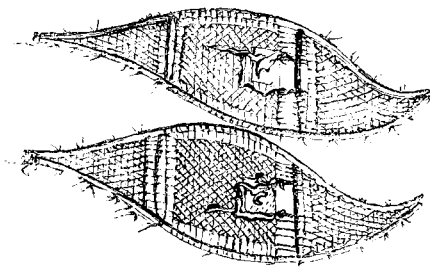
This was more than a mother's affection for her infant could bear; and therefore, seizing the first opportunity, she fled from them into the woods, choosing rather to expose herself to misery and want than live with persons who had made her childless, a widow, and an orphan.

It is not necessary to follow more minutely the track of Mr. Hearne and his companions, as he returned homewards to the fort. They crossed the Athabasca Lake, and also the river of the same name, where it is two miles wide; Large Pike Lake, Bedsid Lake, and Hill Island Lake. On the 11th of May they threw away their snow-shoes, as the ground was in most places so bare as not to require any such assistance. On the 18th, finding the ice so far melted in the river as to render walking on it dangerous, they built their canoes, which were now become necessary for crossing the waters which lay in their way, and reached the fort on the 29th of June, 1772, having been absent eighteen months and twenty-three days.

The courage and resolution of Mr. Hearne cannot be too much admired; but except the fact of having ascertained that the Coppermine River flowed northwards into the sea, he does not appear to have added much to geographical knowledge.

We must not, however, undervalue the importance of that one discovery; for, conjoined

with the knowledge that the Mackenzie also poured its waters into a northern sea, it led the way to the expeditions of Captains Parry and Franklin. Hearne had not the instruments necessary for laying down his course with precision; but he showed the practicability of living amongst the Indians, and of taking in their company a long and perilous journey into the Arctic regions, where, for a part of the year, the sun never rises above the horizon; where the cold is so intense during winter that the inferior animals leave it to seek the shelter of a more southern climate; and where the whole face of the country presents one unvarying appearance of snow.



SNOW SHOES.

CHAPTER II.

THE next journey in the Arctic regions was undertaken by Mr. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Mackenzie, who was connected with the North-west Fur Trading Company, which carried on a lucrative traffic with the Indians living to the north-west of Lake Superior, in North America. Mr. Mackenzie, being of an inquisitive mind, and endowed with an enterprising spirit, together with a constitution and frame of body equal to the most arduous undertakings, determined to explore the country northwards, which furnished the furs to the hunters, and, if possible, to open new channels of trade to the commercial establishment with which he was connected.

The chief establishment of the Company was at Montreal, in Canada; and it is an interesting fact, that, in the year 1789, this traffic carried those who were engaged in it to the astonishing distance of four thousand miles westward of Montreal, that is, to Fort Chipewyan, on the banks of the Lake of the Hills, in latitude 58° north, longitude 110° west. Subsequently, however, as we shall find, this Company extended its establishment much farther to the north.

The agents of the Company leave Montreal at the beginning of May, in order to meet those who have spent the winter in the different

establishments north of Lake Superior. Embarking in slight canoes of bark, they are obliged to unload them in order to tow them up above two hundred rapids, while the cargoes are conveyed on men's shoulders by land; these same canoes, with their lading, are transported over no less than one hundred and thirty carrying places, called Portages, varying from twenty five to thirteen miles in length.

There is a direct channel of communication between Lake Winnipeg, in longitude 97° west, and the southern shores of Hudson's Bay, which, therefore, would be a much shorter way of sending the furs than the great distance they are carried; but that passage belongs to the Hudson's Bay Fur Company, who could scarcely be expected to assist their rivals in the trade, in sending furs to the market on cheaper terms, and thus underselling them.

A great part of the furs which are obtained by the North-west Company are intended for the Chinese market. Mr. Mackenzie, therefore, thought that if he could reach the Pacific Ocean, a shorter route would be discovered for sending them. He therefore set out from Fort Chipewyan, on the Lake of the Hills, on the 3d of June, 1789, and passed down the Peace or Slave River, to the Great Slave Lake, which he crossed to its main outlet, towards the north-west, in latitude 61° north. This stream carried him forward for seven-and-twenty days, with a rapid and safe current, till he was warned of his approach to the sea, by the action of the tide in the channel and on the shore. The violence of the swell, and the

lateness of the season, prevented him from going any farther; but it was not until then that he gave up the hope of finding some bend in the river leading westward to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. It is unnecessary to state the particulars of Mr. Mackenzie's expedition, because Captain Franklin's two narratives will present a much more interesting detail of occurrences over the very same course.

Mackenzie's companions were the crew of his canoe, (which was made of birch bark,) consisting of a German and four Canadians, two of whom were attended by their wives. He was also accompanied by an Indian, called English Chief, and his two wives, in a small canoe, with two young Indians, his followers, in another small canoe. The Indian was one of the followers of Matonabee, who had conducted Mr. Hearne to the Coppermine River, and had afterwards become a principal leader of his tribe.

It would appear as if Mr. Mackenzie's instruments for making the needful observations were not very good. He mentions, however, on the 1st of July, having sat up all night to observe the sun, which never set. This shows that he was north of the Arctic Circle, which is in latitude 67° north. "I called," he says, "one of the men to view a sight which he had never before seen. When he saw the sun so high, he thought it was a signal to embark, and began to call the rest of his companions. They returned to rest, however, when they found that the sun had not descended nearer the horizon, and that it was but a short time past midnight.

When Mr. Mackenzie arrived at the utmost point of his journey northwards, he took an observation which gave him 69° north latitude. We shall find, however, that in the longitude he was mistaken. He calculated it at 135° west.

Mr. Mackenzie felt convinced that the body of water which he reached was the sea, because the White Man's Lake, as his Indian guide called it, appeared covered with ice for about two leagues' distance, and no land a-head. They saw whales; from which circumstance he called an island on which he landed, Whale Island. There was also a regular flow and ebb of the tide. The Indians, however, were anxious to return, their boat being ill fitted to venture into the sea beyond the ice, and the water between the ice and the shore being too shallow to float even the canoes. They therefore set out on their return, and on the 12th of September reached Chipewyan Fort in safety, concluding an expedition which had occupied them one hundred and two days.

These, then, were the grounds on which Captain Franklin's expedition was undertaken. It was known from Captain Parry's discoveries, that west of the Strait of the Fury and Hecla there lay a large body of water, into which that strait opened. It was also known that a sea received the waters of the Coppermine River, and those also of Mackenzie River; and it was therefore concluded, that in the latitude of these two mouths, namely, those of the Coppermine and the Mackenzie, lies the sea which communicates between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, or, as it

might be said, between the Strait of the Fury and Hecla, east, and Behring's Straits, west.

The main object of the first expedition, which was conducted by Captain Franklin, was to determine the latitudes and longitudes on the northern coast of America, and the trending of that coast, from the mouth of the Coppermine River to the eastern extremity of that continent. Conspicuous marks were to be erected at places where ships might enter, or to which a boat could be sent; and information as to the nature of the coast was to be deposited for the use of Captain Parry, should he happily make his way into that sea. In the journal of his route Captain Franklin was to register the temperature of the air, at least three times in every twenty-four hours, together with the state of the weather and the wind, and any other meteorological phenomena.

No opportunity was to be neglected of observing and noting down the dip and variation of the magnetic needle, and the intensity of the magnetic force; and Captain Franklin was directed to take particular notice whether any, or what, kind or degree of influence the Aurora Borealis might appear to exert on the magnetic needle; and to notice whether that phenomenon was attended with any noise; and to make any other observations tending to the further development of its cause, and the laws by which it is governed.

Mr. George Back and Mr. Robert Hood, two Admiralty midshipmen, also George Hepburn, an intelligent English seaman, were to be joined with him in the enterprise; and Dr. John Richardson

was appointed surgeon to the expedition, to which office was added that of naturalist.

The Governor and the committee of the Hudson's Bay Company afforded Captain Franklin every assistance and information previously to his setting out; and orders were sent to their agents in North America to promote, by every means, the objects of the expedition, by furnishing him with such stores as he might require, and giving him such advice and practical information as their local knowledge and experience qualified them to offer. These agents were also instructed to provide Captain Franklin with the necessary escort of Indians to act as guides, interpreters, game-killers, &c.; and also with such articles of clothing, ammunition, presents, &c. as should be deemed expedient for the Captain to take.

Captain Franklin, in the introduction to his interesting narrative of his journey, says, "I most cheerfully avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to these gentlemen for their personal kindness to myself and the other officers, as well as for the benefits rendered by them to the expedition; and the same sentiment is due towards the gentlemen of the North-west Company, both in England and America, more particularly to Mr. Simon M'Gillivray, of London, from whom I received much useful information, and cordial letters of recommendation to the partners and agents of the Company resident on our line of route.*

* At this period there was a violent rivalry and opposition between the Hudson's Bay and the North-west Company; and Captain Franklin, on his arrival at York

“A short time before I left London, I had the pleasure and advantage of an interview with the late Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who was one of the two persons who had visited the coast we were about to explore. He afforded me, in the most open and kind manner, much valuable information and advice.”

The provisions, instruments, and other articles, furnished by the Admiralty, were embarked on board the Hudson's Bay Company's ship, Prince of Wales, appointed by the committee to convey the expedition to York Factory, their principal establishment in Hudson's Bay.

Captain Franklin records in the introduction to his work how much reason he had to be satisfied with, and how great his obligations were to, all the gentlemen who were associated with him in the expedition,—“whose kindness,” he says, “good conduct, and cordial co-operation, have made an impression which can never be effaced from my mind.” And in the concluding part of the introduction, he adds:—

“And here I may be permitted to pay the tribute which is due to the fidelity, exertion, and uniform good conduct, in the most trying situations, of John Hepburn, an English seaman, and our only attendant, to whom in the latter part of

Factory, where he fell in with some of the partners of the latter Company, who were under detention there, and from whom he received much valuable information, prudently issued a memorandum to the officers of the expedition, strictly prohibiting any interference whatever in the quarrels between the two Companies;—a measure, of which the principals of both parties expressed their approbation.

our journey we owe, under Divine Providence, the preservation of the lives of some of the party."

The party embarked at Gravesend on the 23d of May, 1819. Touching at Stromness, one of the Orkney islands, Captain Franklin there endeavoured to engage some seamen adapted to the service on which he was proceeding, and a handsome remuneration was offered ; but so impressed were the people with the apprehension that great danger attended the expedition, or that they would be taken farther than the engagement required, that only four men presented themselves on the day named. These, however, were engaged, though it was evident that they, too, entertained a very exaggerated notion of the perils which lay before them. Indeed, the caution they used before they would sign the agreement, the minuteness with which they scanned all the intentions of the parties engaged in the expedition, the narrowness with which they looked into the plan of the route, and, still more, into the prospect of return, afforded much amusement to those who, with minds full of ardour, had unhesitatingly embarked in the enterprise.

After a detention of a fortnight at Stromness, the Prince of Wales sailed from that port on the 16th of June, 1819, and commenced her voyage to Hudson's Bay. No icebergs were fallen in with until the 4th of August, by which time they were in latitude $59^{\circ} 58'$ north ; longitude $59^{\circ} 53'$ west. A dense fog set in on the 7th, as they lay off Resolution Island, which is situated at the entrance of Hudson's Straits ; and they nar-

rowly escaped the double danger of being crushed by the icebergs, and of driving against the shore ; for, in consequence of an injury sustained in the rudder, they were unable to make much effort to save the ship.

On the evening of the 19th of August, the vessel passed Digges' Islands, the termination of Hudson's Straits, and on the 25th a favouring wind enabled them to shape their course across Hudson's Bay.

On the 30th, Captain Franklin arrived at York Factory, the principal depôt of the Hudson's Bay Company, where he was to receive further advice and instructions, and from whence his journey was, in fact, to begin. The factory is situated on the west bank of Hayes River, about five miles from its mouth, on a marshy peninsula which separates the Hayes and the Nelson Rivers, in longitude 92° 26' west; latitude 57° 0' 3" north. The surrounding country is flat and swampy, covered with willows, poplars, larch, spruce, and birch trees ; but the demand for fuel has consumed all the timber fit for that purpose in the immediate vicinity of the fort, and the residents have now to send for it to a considerable distance.

The principal buildings of York Factory are placed in the form of a square, having an octagonal court in the centre ; they are two stories in height, and have flat roofs, covered with lead. The officers dwell in one portion of this square, and in the other parts the articles of merchandize are kept ; workshops, storehouses for the furs, and the servants' houses are ranged on the outside of the square ; and the whole

is surrounded by a stockade, (that is, strong beams of wood ranged closely together, deeply set in the ground, and pointed at the top,) twenty feet high. A platform is laid from the house to the pier on the bank of the river, for the convenience of transporting the furs and stores, and this is the only promenade the residents have on this marshy spot during the summer season. The few Indians who now frequent this establishment belong to the *Swampy Crees*. There were several of them encamped on the outside of the stockade. Their huts were rudely constructed by tying twenty or thirty poles together at the top, and spreading them out at the base, so as to form a cone; these poles were covered with skins of the moose deer, dressed. The fire is placed in the centre, a hole being left in the top for the escape of the smoke. The people who lived in these humble dwellings had a squalid, sickly appearance, which was, however, sufficiently accounted for by their having been lately suffering from the twofold sickness of hooping-cough and measles.

Captain Franklin having communicated to the Governor of York Factory the objects of the expedition, received from him the most frank assurance, not only that his instructions from the committee directed that every possible assistance should be given to forward the progress of the expedition, but that he should feel peculiar pleasure in performing that part of his duty. The opinions of the Governor, of three masters of districts, who, from long residence in the country, were perfectly acquainted with the dif-

ferent modes of travelling, and the obstructions which might be anticipated, as well as those of the three members of the North-west Company already mentioned as having been under detention at York Factory, were all so decidedly in favour of the route by Cumberland-house, and through the chain of posts to the Great Slave Lake, that Captain Franklin determined on pursuing it, and requested that the Governor would furnish him with the means of conveyance for the party as soon as possible. This request was cordially acceded to. The Governor selected one of the largest of the Company's boats to be refitted for the use of the expedition ; but he was only able to supply one steersman, and the rest of the crew had to be made up by the boatmen brought from Stromness, and the two attendants of the officers. The Governor, however, undertook to forward in the following spring the only one amongst the Esquimaux (who had left the neighbourhood about a month previously to Captain Franklin's arrival) that understood English, to act as interpreter, if he could be induced to go.

On the 9th of September, the repairs of the boat having been completed, arrangements were made for the departure of the expedition from York Factory, as soon as the tide should serve. The party, consisting of Captain Franklin, Dr. Richardson, Mr. Hood, and Mr. (now Captain) Back, two English seamen, four Stromness boatmen, and the steersman furnished by the Governor—in all eleven persons—embarked at noon, under a salute of eight guns, and three cheers from the Governor and all the

inmates of the fort, assembled to witness their departure.

The wind and tide failing at the distance of six miles above the factory, and the current being too rapid for using oars to advantage, the crew had to commence tracking, or dragging the boat by a line, to which they were harnessed. This operation is extremely laborious in these rivers. The men were obliged to walk along the steep declivity of a high bank, and their progress was often impeded by fallen trees, which, having slipped from the verge of a thick wood above, hung over the face of the bank, in various directions.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, however, they advanced at the rate of two miles an hour, one half of the crew relieving the other at intervals of an hour and a half. The banks of the river and its islands, composed of alluvial soil, are well covered with pines, larches, poplars, and willows. The breadth of the stream, some distance above the factory, is about half a mile, and its depth during this day's voyage varied from three to nine feet.

After performing a distance of forty-eight miles and a half, which it took four days to perform, the party reached the head of the Hayes River—which is formed by the junction of the Shamattawa and Steel Rivers. Their course now lay up the Steel River, which is about 300 yards wide at its mouth, about ten miles above which they succeeded in getting before the close of the day (the 12th) compelled them to disembark. On the second day of their progress up the Hill River, (the junction of which

with the Fox River forms the head of the Steel River,) Captain Franklin's boat, being overladen, could not keep up with three other boats belonging to the Company, which had joined him ; and he thus lost the advantage of observing the route followed by the guide, who was in the foremost boat. Frequently they took a wrong channel, deceived by the various branches of the river ; and twice the tow-line broke, and the boat was only prevented from going broadside down the stream, and breaking to pieces against the stones, by the officers and men leaping into the water, and holding her head to the current, until the line should be carried again to the shore. It may well be supposed how fatiguing and how tedious must have been their progress throughout the day, and in their night quarters they were far from comfortable. At sun-set they always landed, kindled a fire, around which they ate their supper, and then laid themselves down to sleep on the bare ground, each man covered with a buffalo skin instead of a blanket.

The banks of Hill River are still higher than those of the Steel or Hayes Rivers, and beautifully wooded with dark evergreen spruce, the willow, and the purple-leaved dogwood trees.

On the 17th, they encountered a ridge of rocks, which extended nearly across the stream, leaving no passages open, except narrow, rocky channels, through which the party was obliged to drag the boat, as over dry ground. On the same day they reached one of the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company, called Rock-house. Here, by the advice of the most experienced of the traders,

guides, and boatmen, Captain Franklin determined to lighten his own boat of a part of her cargo. This being accomplished, and many things left behind in the charge of the establishment, the boats again proceeded on their course ; but the difficulty of getting them over the rapids was still great, and their progress in the whole course of a day was often only a mile and a half.

It is not necessary to recount the toils of each day of this laborious journey, during the whole of their course to Cumberland-house, where they arrived on the 22d of October ; the travelling distance by water being about 690 miles. It is right, however, to mention, that nothing could exceed the indefatigable zeal and patience of the Orkney boatmen, during the hardships they underwent, frequently jumping into the water to lift the boats over the rocks, or to launch them over precipitous rocky banks, which lay across their course, and even carrying them across the little islands which intercepted their progress. They were frequently compelled to remain the whole day in wet clothes, at a season when the temperature was far below the freezing point. On one occasion the force of the current carried the boat broadside down the stream ; fortunately, however, it grounded against a rock high enough to prevent the current from upsetting it ; and the crews of the Company's boats having come to their assistance, those who were in the boat that was adrift succeeded in throwing a rope to their comrades, with which they dragged the almost sinking vessel, stern foremost, up the stream, and rescued Captain Franklin and his party from their perilous



situation. On another occasion, Captain Franklin himself narrowly escaped being drowned ; while superintending the work of some of the men, on the bank of the river, his foot slipped from the summit of a rock, on which he had been standing, and he fell into the river betwixt two falls. He was carried a considerable distance down the stream, until at length he caught fast hold of a willow which hung over the water's edge, and was able to hold fast until two gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company came in a boat to his assistance, and he was brought safely to shore.

At Swampy Lake they found a depôt, or station, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. The only residents were one gentleman and his attendant, who were as badly off for the comforts of life as their visitors were. They, however, divided with them their store of pemmican, which is buffalo meat dried, pounded, and mixed with melted fat ; and what Captain Franklin now received was quite in a mouldy state ; yet was it the best these two solitary individuals had for themselves.

On the 28th of September, they met with a few poor Indians, encamped in front of a fort belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, at one of their posts called Oxford-house, on Holy Lake. They were living in a state of great wretchedness, and were suffering from the measles and hooping-cough. For these, as well as for all other kinds of disorders, they know but one remedy—the use of what they call the sweating-house. It is a kind of hut, made in the form and about the size of a baker's oven, constructed of boughs

of trees, covered closely with skins of the moose deer, and having but one opening, the entrance of which is closed up after the sick person has entered—some hot stones are laid in the centre of the floor, with a few leaves thrown over them. In a short time, the poor creature within is in a strong perspiration, which is no sooner at its height than he rushes out, and, hastening to the nearest river or stream of water, plunges in head-long. In some cases the sick persons recover after so strange a remedy ; but the consequences are oftentimes fatal, and in that case, the survivors only shake their heads, saying, " His hour was come, his hour was come ! "

On the 8th of October, they sailed along the northern shore of Lake Winnipeg, as the Indians term it in their own language, which means Muddy Water. The Aurora Borealis shone out every night with great brilliancy, its coruscations darting, at times, over the whole sky, and assuming various prismatic tints, of which the violet and yellow were predominant.

Lake Winnipeg is 217 miles long, from north to south, and 100 miles broad, from east to west, and is between 50° 30' and 54° 32' north latitude, and 95° 50' and 99° 30' west longitude.

From Lake Winnipeg they entered the Saskatchewan River, and at length, as before stated, arrived on the 22d of October at Cumberland-house, where they were soon as comfortably accommodated as circumstances would admit of.

On the day after their arrival at Cumberland-house the frost set in, and Captain Franklin became convinced of the impracticability of

advancing farther by water. He therefore accepted Governor Williams's kind invitation to remain with him at that post. He also immediately visited Mr. Conolly, the resident partner of the North-west Company, and presented to him Mr. M'Gillivray's circular letter. Mr. Conolly expressed his desire to forward the progress of the expedition by every means in his power, and Captain Franklin subsequently had ample proof of that gentleman's sincerity and kindness.

The houses of the two rival Companies—the Hudson's Bay Company, and the North-west Company—at this post, are situated close to each other, at the upper extremity of a narrow island, which separates Pine Island Lake from the Saskatchewan River, and are about two miles and a quarter distant from the latter, in a northern direction. They are log-houses, built without much attention to comfort, surrounded by lofty stockades, and flanked by wooden bastions. The difficulty of conveying glass into the interior of the continent has precluded the use of that material in the construction of the windows, and its place is poorly supplied by parchment, imperfectly made by the native women from the skin of the rein-deer.

The unexpected addition of Captain Franklin's party to the winter residents at this post of the Hudson's Bay Company rendered an increase of apartments necessary; and the Captain's men were immediately employed to complete and arrange an unfinished building as speedily as possible.

The land around Cumberland-house is low,

but the soil, from having a considerable intermixture of limestone, is good, and capable of producing abundance of corn, and vegetables of every description. Many kinds of pot-herbs had been brought to perfection at the time of Captain Franklin's visit, and the potatoes bade fair to equal those of England. The spontaneous productions of nature would afford ample nourishment for all the European animals. Horses fed extremely well, even during the winter, and so would oxen, if provided with hay, which might easily be done. Dr. Richardson says in his journal, "The wild buffalo scrapes away the snow with its feet to get at the herbage beneath, and the horse, which was introduced into America by the Spanish invaders of Mexico, and may be said to have become naturalized, does the same ; but it is worthy of remark, that the ox, more lately brought from Europe, has not yet acquired an art so necessary for procuring its food."

The neighbourhood of the houses has been much cleared of wood in consequence of the great demand for fuel ; there is therefore little to admire in the surrounding scenery, especially in its winter garb ; few animated objects occur to enliven the scene ; an occasional fox, marten, rabbit, or wolf, and a few birds, contribute the only variety. The birds which remained were ravens, magpies, partridges, crossbills, and woodpeckers. In this universal stillness, the residents at a post feel little disposed to go abroad, excepting when called forth by their occupations ; and as those of Captain Franklin and his party were of a kind best performed in a warm room,

the members of it imperceptibly acquired a sedentary habit. When, however, they went out, they never suffered the slightest inconvenience from the change of temperature, though the thermometer, in the open air, stood occasionally thirty degrees below zero.

Cumberland-house stands in latitude $53^{\circ} 56' 40''$ north, and longitude $102^{\circ} 16' 41''$ west. The whole of the travelling between York Factory and Cumberland-house, is about 690 miles.

The tribe of Indians who reside in the vicinity, and frequent the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company, Cumberland-house, and of the North-west Company close by, is that of the Crees, or Knisteneaux. They were formerly a powerful and numerous nation, which ranged over a very extensive country, and were most successful in their predatory excursions against their neighbours, particularly the northern Indians, and some tribes on the Saskatchewan and Beaver Rivers ; but they have long ceased to be held in any fear, and are now, perhaps, the most harmless and inoffensive of the whole Indian race. This change is entirely to be attributed to their intercourse with Europeans ; and Captain Franklin adds in his narrative, from which this account is extracted, " The vast reduction in their numbers is occasioned, I fear, in a considerable degree, by the injudicious introduction amongst them of ardent spirits. They are so passionately fond of this poison that they will make any sacrifice to obtain it. They are esteemed good hunters, and are generally assiduous in this occupation. Having laid the bow and arrow altogether aside,

and the use of snares, except for rabbits and partridges, they depend entirely on the Europeans for the means of gaining their subsistence, as they require guns, and a constant supply of powder and shot ; so that these Indians are probably more completely under the power of the trader, than any of the other tribes."

The habitual intoxication of the Cumberland-house Crees has induced, says Dr. Richardson, such a disregard of personal appearance that they are squalid and dirty in the extreme. The dress of the males consists of a blanket thrown over the shoulders, a leathern shirt or jacket, and a piece of cloth tied round the middle. The women have, in addition, a long petticoat ; and both sexes wear a kind of wide hose, which, reaching from the ancle to the middle of the thigh, are suspended by strings from the girdle. These hose, or, as they are termed, *Indian stockings*, are commonly ornamented with beads or ribbons, and on account of their convenience have been universally adopted by the white residents as an essential part of their winter clothing. Their shoes, or rather short boots, for they tie round the ancle, are made of soft dressed moose skins, and during the winter they wrap several pieces of blanket round their feet.

They are fond of European articles of dress, and the hunters are generally furnished annually with a *capot* or great coat, and the women with shawls, printed calicoes, and other things very unsuitable to their mode of life, but which they wear in imitation of the wives of the traders ; all these articles, however showy they may be at first, are soon reduced to a very filthy condi-

tion by the Indian custom of greasing the face and hair with soft fat or marrow, instead of washing them with water. In the winter season the Indians suffer greatly from want of food, oftentimes fasting for three days successively, and sometimes actually expiring from hunger. When the deer have all fled to the southward, and the fish are bound up in the frozen rivers, they have no certain provision of food for nearly one-half of the year. When the season of plenty sets in again, they eat their fill ; but they have little foresight, and, in consequence, lay up no store for the time of scarcity.

The Cumberland-house district extends about 150 miles from east to west along the banks of the Saskatchewan, and about as far from north to south ; and comprehends, on a rough calculation, upwards of 20,000 square miles, and was, at the date of Captain Franklin's expedition, frequented by about 120 Indian hunters, and their families.

Captain Franklin in his narrative, speaking of the unconquerable grief of the Indians on account of the death of their children and relatives, says that it is much to be regretted that these poor people, during their long intercourse with Europeans, have not been taught how pernicious is the sorrow which produces total inactivity, and that they have not been furnished with any of the consolations which the Christian religion never fails to afford. " It is probable, however," he adds, " that an improvement will soon take place, as Governor Williams proposes to make the children attend a Sunday School, and has already begun to have divine service performed at his post."

CHAPTER III.

ON the 8th of November, the lake having become entirely frozen over, and the ice being sufficiently firm to admit of sledges crossing it, the dogs which were kept at Cumberland-house were harnessed at a very early hour, and the winter operations were commenced by sending for a supply of fish from Swampy River, where men had been stationed to collect it, just before the frost set in. Both men and dogs appeared to enjoy the change, they started in full glee, and drove rapidly along. They were accompanied by an Indian who had arrived on the preceding evening to beg for some provisions for his family, whom he described as being in a state of starvation. A supply was given to him. By the 22d of November, the Saskatchewan, (as well as every other river) was completely covered with ice, except a small stream near the fort, through which the current ran very powerfully. In the course of the week, Captain Franklin and his men removed into the house which they had been preparing for their reception from the time of their arrival. Some Indians arrived from time to time in search of provisions, having been totally incapacitated from hunting, by sickness.

Supplies of the flesh of the moose-deer were brought from the hunters' tent, near the Bas-

quian Hill, which is forty or fifty miles from Cumberland-house ; whose residents had to send nearly the same distance for their fish. On this service horse-sledges were used. Nets were daily set in Pine Island Lake, and occasionally some sturgeon, trout, &c. were caught, but not more than sufficient for the supply of the officers' table.

Early in the month of December a decided thaw took place, and the weather continued to be mild until the 20th of December ; after which day it became cold. Christmas-day was particularly stormy ; but the gale did not prevent the full enjoyment of the festivities which are annually celebrated at Cumberland-house on that anniversary. All the men who had been despatched to different parts in search of provisions or furs returned to the fort on the occasion, and were regaled with a substantial dinner, and a dance in the evening.

The new year, 1820, was ushered in by repeated discharges of musketry ; a ceremony which has been observed by the representatives of both the trading companies for many years. Captain Franklin and his officers dined with Mr. Conolly, and were regaled with a beaver, which they found extremely delicate food.

The conversations which Captain Franklin had with the gentlemen in charge of the posts of the Hudson's Bay and North-west Companies, convinced him of the necessity of proceeding during the winter into the Athabasca department, the residents of which are best acquainted with the nature and resources of the country lying to the

north of Great Slave Lake ; and from whence only guides, hunters, and interpreters could be procured. He had previously written to the partners of the North-west Company in that quarter, requesting their assistance in forwarding the expedition, and stating what he should require of them ; but, on reviewing the matter, and reflecting upon the accidents which might delay these letters on the road, he determined on proceeding to the Athabasca as soon as he possibly could, and communicated his intentions to Governor Williams and Mr. Conolly, with a request that he might be furnished, by the middle of January, with the means of conveyance for three persons ; as he (Captain Franklin) intended that Mr. Back and Hepburn should accompany him, whilst Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood should remain till the spring at Cumberland-house. Captain Franklin also made arrangements with the Governor and Mr. Conolly, for the preparation of two canoes with crews and appointments, for the conveyance of those gentlemen with their stores to Chipewyan, as soon as the navigation should open.

Only one of the men who were engaged by Captain Franklin at Stromness, was disposed to extend his engagement and proceed beyond the Athabasca Lake ; and as there was much uncertainty as to whether the other three could get from the Athabasca to York Factory in time to obtain a passage in the next Hudson's Bay ship, Captain Franklin resolved not to take them forward unless Dr. Richardson should fail in procuring other men in the following spring. They

were therefore despatched to York Factory to bring up the stores to Cumberland-house ; after which they might return to the coast in time to secure their passage in the first ship.

At eight in the morning of the 18th of January, 1820, Captain Franklin and his party set out from Cumberland-house for Carlton-house. The following extract from Mr. Hood's Journal gives an accurate description of the equipment of a traveller in this region during the winter.

A snow-shoe is made of two light bars of wood, fastened together at their extremities, and projected into curves by transverse bars. The side bars have been so shaped by a frame, and dried before a fire, that the front part of the shoe turns up, like a prow of a boat, and the part behind terminates in an acute angle ; the spaces between the bars are filled up with a fine netting of leathern thongs, except that part behind the main bar which is occupied by the feet ; the netting is there close and strong, and the foot is attached to the main bar by straps passing round the heel, but only fixing the toes, so that the heel rises after each step, and the tail of the shoe is dragged on the snow. Between the main bar and another in front of it, a small space is left, permitting the toes to descend a little in the act of raising the heel to make the step forward, which prevents their extremities from chafing. The length of a snow-shoe is from four to six feet, and the breadth one foot and a half, or one foot and three quarters, according to the size of the wearer. The motion of walking in them is perfectly natural, for one shoe is level with the snow, when

the edge of the other is passing over it. It is not easy to use them among bushes, without frequent falls, nor to rise afterwards without help. Each shoe weighs about two pounds when unclogged with snow. All the superiority of European art has been unable to improve the native contrivance of this useful machine.

Sledges are made of two or three flat boards, curving upwards in front, and fastened together by transverse pieces of wood above. They are so thin that, if heavily laden, they bend with the inequalities of the surface over which they pass. The ordinary dog-sledges are eight or ten feet long, and very narrow, but the lading is secured to a lacing round the edges. The cariole used by the traders, is merely a covering of leather for the lower part of the body, affixed to the common sledge, which is painted and ornamented according to the taste of the proprietor. Besides snow-shoes, each individual carries his blanket, hatchet, steel, flint, and tinder, and generally fire-arms.

The general dress of a winter traveller is a *capot*, having a hood to put up under the fur cap in windy weather, or in the woods, to keep the snow from his neck ; leathern trowsers and Indian stockings, which are closed at the ankles, round the upper part of his *mocassins* or Indian shoes, to prevent the snow from getting into them. Over these he wears a blanket or leathern coat, secured by a belt round his waist, to which his fire-bag, knife and hatchet are suspended.

Captain Franklin and his companions were provided with two carioles and two sledges ; and their drivers and dogs were furnished in equal

proportions by the two companies. Fifteen days' provision so completely filled the sledges, that it was with difficulty room was found for a small sextant, one suit of clothes, and three changes of linen, together with the bedding of the travellers. The weight usually placed upon a sledge, drawn by three dogs, cannot, at the commencement of a journey, be estimated at less than 300lbs., which, however, suffers a daily diminution from the consumption of provisions. The sledge itself weighs about thirty pounds. When the snow is hard frozen, or the track well trodden, the rate of travelling is about two miles and a half an hour, including rests, or about fifteen miles a day. If the snow is loose, the speed is necessarily much less, and the fatigue greater.

All being ready, Captain Franklin and Mr. Back, attended by the seaman Hepburn, took leave of their hospitable friend, Governor Williams. Doctor Richardson, Mr. Hood, and Mr. Conolly, accompanied them along the Saskatchewan, until the snow became too deep for them to walk without snow-shoes. Captain Franklin's party was accompanied by Mr. Mackenzie, of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was going to Isle-à-la-Crosse, which lay in their route; and, he having four sledges under his charge, the whole formed quite a procession, keeping in an Indian file, in the track of the guide, who preceded the foremost dogs.

At night they encamped, as they termed it, though their best accommodation was procured by "flooring a hut;" that is, strewing some chosen spot on the river bank, which they had previ-

ously cleared of snow, with pine branches, over which the party spread their blankets and cloaks. On this bed they lay down in the open air, and slept soundly, although the wolves were often heard howling at a short distance from them. In the centre they kindled a wood fire, which not only gave them warmth, but served to keep off the beasts of prey, whilst the party rested their weary frames, and acquired strength for the fatigues of the following day.

The suffering occasioned by travelling in snow-shoes is very great to those who are not accustomed to wear them ; and, perhaps, the distress of the inexperienced traveller is increased by the little sympathy he receives from the more experienced companions of his journey, who pursue their way as fast as they can, regardless of the pain of the sufferer.

On the 25th of January, they passed the remains of two red deer, lying at the foot of some perpendicular cliffs, from the top of which they had probably been forced by the wolves. Dr. Richardson had, on a subsequent occasion, a clear proof of these wolfish tactics. He had gone to the summit of a hill on one occasion, long after dusk, and had remained for some minutes contemplating the objects around, which there was just light enough to discern, when he was roused by an indistinct noise behind him, and, on looking round, perceived that nine white wolves had ranged themselves in the form of a crescent, and were advancing, apparently with the design of driving him over the brow of the hill into the river. On his rising up, however, they halted ; and when he

advanced, they made way for his passage down to the tents. This singular circumstance happened in the month of July, 1821, when Captain Franklin and his party were descending the Coppermine River. The wolves are inferior in speed to the deer, and could not therefore catch them in chase; so that when they see a herd browsing on the side of a hill, they assemble in great numbers to the attack, regularly form themselves into a crescent, and creep slowly towards the herd, so as not to alarm them much at first; but when they perceive they have fairly hemmed in their prey, and cut off their retreat across the plain, they move more quickly, and with loud yells urge them to flight by the only open way, which is towards the precipice; as if they knew that when once the herd is at full speed, it is easily driven over the cliff, the rearmost urging on those that are before. The wolves then descend at their leisure, and feast on the mangled carcasses.

The weather was severe, and their supply of provisions becoming scanty, the distresses of the party were very great. A cold north-west wind blew in their faces, and they were compelled to walk as quickly as they could with their heavy shoes, and to keep constantly rubbing the exposed parts of the skin to prevent their being frost-bitten: the tea froze in their tin pots, before they could drink it; and their blankets, when they arose in the morning, oftentimes felt stiff and heavy, from the weight of snow which had fallen on them during the night. At length on the 31st of January, they reached their destination, the establishment at Carlton-house, and

dined heartily upon steaks of buffalo-meat, the last of the men's provisions having been exhausted the preceding day, and the dogs having had, for some days, no other food than a little burnt leather.

The circular letter with which Captain Franklin had been furnished, previous to his leaving England, by the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, was a ready introduction for him at the several trading stations; if, indeed, any were necessary to a traveller, whose peculiar circumstances gave him a claim on the hospitality of all who could in any way further his plans or lighten his toils. The gentleman in charge of the post at Carlton-house received him with every mark of kindness, and was prepared, by previous communication with some of the agents of the Company, to contribute every assistance in his power, to forward the advance of the expedition to the Athabasca.

Carlton-house is in latitude $52^{\circ} 50' 47''$ N. longitude $106^{\circ} 12' 42''$ W. It is pleasantly situated about a quarter of a mile from the river side, on the flat ground under the shelter of the high banks that bound the plains. The land is fertile; and produces, with little trouble, ample returns of wheat, barley, oats, and potatoes. The prospect from the fort must be pretty in summer, owing to the luxuriant verdure of the fertile soil around it; but in the uniform and cheerless garb of winter, it has little to gratify the eye.

The tribe of Indians who inhabit the plains in the vicinity of Carlton-house are usually known by the name of the Stone Indians; and parties

of them paid almost daily visits to the house during the stay of Captain Franklin. By them is furnished almost all the provision consumed by the establishment: this they bring for sale in the form of dried meat, and fat, which is then made into pemmican, and not only forms the principal article of food, for those residing at the station-house, but, being more portable than any other kind of provision, furnishes the principal store of those who go out on the expeditions in quest of furs. The only articles of European commerce they demand, in return for the meat they furnish, are tobacco, knives, ammunition and spirits, and occasionally some beads, but more frequently buttons, which they string to their hair as ornaments.

The appearance of this tribe is more pleasing than that of the Cree Indians; their figures are usually good, above the middle size, and their limbs are well proportioned. Their colour is a light copper; and they have a profusion of very black hair, which hangs over the ears, and shades the face. Their dress consists of a vest and trowsers of leather, fitted to the body, over which is worn a cloak of buffalo-skin; they rub their leather dresses with a kind of white clay, like our whitening, which makes them look clean and white, contrasted with the black fur of the cloak; their quiver hangs behind them, and in the hand is carried the bow, with an arrow always ready for attack or defence: they also carry some tobacco, with a calumet or pipe, and a bag containing materials for making a fire, neatly ornamented with porcupines' quills. Thus

equipped, the Stone Indian bears himself with an air of perfect independence. Amongst them, however, as among the American Indians generally, the greatest proportion of labour in their domestic affairs falls on the women. Captain Franklin occasionally saw them employed in dressing skins, conveying wood, water, and provisions; when they have to fetch these, however, from a distance, they make use of their dogs to assist in carrying their burdens, which they do by having two long poles fastened on either side of the neck by a collar; the other ends of the poles trail on the ground, and are kept at a proper distance by a hoop, which is lashed between them, immediately behind the dog's tail, and the hoop is covered with net-work, upon which the burden is placed.

Captain Franklin and his party having recovered from the fatigue of their late expedition, and from the swellings and pains of the feet occasioned by the snow-shoes, preparations were made for resuming their journey; and, the weather being now much improved, they left Carlton-house on the morning of the 9th of February, for the Isle-à-la-Crosse and Fort Chipewyan, which last was to be the next halting place on their journey. The carioles and sledges were sent off after breakfast; but Captain Franklin and Mr. Back remained till the afternoon, the agent at Carlton-house having kindly offered them his horses to convey them to the first encampment. At 3 P.M. they parted from their friendly host, and in passing through the gate were honoured with a salute of musketry. On overtaking their party, they found

them just engaged in "flooring a hut," under shelter of a few poplars. The dogs had been so much fatigued in wading through the very deep snow with their burdens, having had to drag upwards of 90 pounds' weight each, that they could get no further that day. Much snow fell the same night, which increased the difficulties of their route.

On the 12th, the remains of an Indian hut were found in a deep glen, and close to it was placed a pile of wood, which was supposed to cover a store of provisions: on examining it, however, they found, to their surprise, the body of a female, clothed in leather, which appeared to have been recently placed there. Her former garments, the materials for making a fire, a fishing-line, a hatchet, and a bark dish, were laid beside the corpse. The wood was carefully replaced. A small owl, perched on a tree near the spot, called forth many singular remarks from Captain Franklin's companions, as to its being a good or a bad omen.

It is needless to detail more minutely their route. They passed along the banks of Beaver River, crossed swamps and marshes, and pursued their way across many lakes. On the evening of the 23d of February, they traversed the Isle-à-la-Crosse Lake; and, on the 26th of March, had the pleasure of arriving in health and safety at Fort Chipewyan, where they were kindly and hospitably received by the resident agents of the North-west Company, having accomplished a winter's journey of 857 miles from Cumberland-house, which, added to the preceding journey from

York Factory, made the whole distance travelled over 1,547 miles.

At Chipewyan Captain Franklin and his party remained until the middle of July,—awaiting, with great anxiety, the arrival of Mr. Hood and Dr. Richardson, which did not take place until the 13th of that month. Late as the season was, however, they had made a very expeditious journey from Cumberland-house, bringing with them two canoes, and all the stores they could procure from the different stations as they passed.

Before Captain Franklin set out, he selected the party which was to accompany the expedition; and fortunately there was no difficulty in doing so, as Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood had taken the very judicious precaution of bringing up ten men from Cumberland-house, who were engaged to proceed forward, if their services were required. They were Canadians, accustomed to the country; and having shown much activity and zeal on their recent passage, they were retained in the place of others, who began to be dissatisfied, and wished for their discharge. When the number was thus completed which Captain Franklin had been recommended by the traders to take, as a protection against the Esquimaux, he had sixteen Canadian voyagers, and his trusty and only English attendant, John Hepburn, besides whom he was to receive two interpreters at the Great Slave Lake; they were also accompanied by a Chipewyan woman.

By several observations made during Captain Franklin's residence at Fort Chipewyan, the

latitude of that place was found to be $58^{\circ} 42' 38''$ N., and its longitude $111^{\circ} 18' 20''$ W.

Early on the morning of the 19th of July, 1820, all preparations being made, they embarked in three canoes, their course being now almost uninterrupted by water, the Slave River reaching from the Athabasca Lake to the Slave Lake, into which it discharges itself by two considerable branches. So small was the stock of provisions which they had been able to procure at Fort Chipewyan, that it did not amount to more than one day's consumption, exclusive of a small supply of flour, preserved meats, arrow-root, and portable soup. The Canadians, however, were in high spirits, and left the fort chanting one of their liveliest boat-songs.

The only interruption they experienced in their course down the Slave River, was from the several long portages, where, as the name implies, they were obliged to unload the boats, and carry every article to the other side of the rapid. With fish from the river, and occasional supplies of rein-deer flesh from parties of Indians, who visited them from time to time, as well as the flesh of a buffalo which was shot when plunging into the river, their stock of provisions held out better than they had at first apprehended.

Having descended Slave River, and traversed Slave Lake, they made a short stay at Fort Providence, one of the Company's stations on the northern shore of the lake; and, being joined by Mr. Wentzel, one of the agents residing there, whom they engaged to accompany them, they resumed their course: their party now consisted

of twenty-eight persons, including the wives of three of the boatmen, who were brought for the purpose of making shoes and clothes for the men, at the winter establishment; there were also three children belonging to two of the women.

On the 3d of August they entered upon the Yellow Knife River, upon the banks of which they found a number of Indian hunters encamped, with their families, and their chief. This party was quickly in motion, after the arrival of the strangers, and they were soon surrounded by a fleet of seventeen Indian canoes, several of which were managed by the women, who proved very noisy companions; for they quarrelled frequently, and the clamour was not at all diminished whenever the husbands attempted to settle the difference by a few blows of the paddle.

Previously to his departure from Fort Providence—viz., on the 30th of July, Captain Franklin held his first conference with the Indians, who were to assist him in the expedition; and, accordingly, the officers dressed themselves in their uniforms, as they were told the Indians thought much of appearances.

Several Indian canoes were seen advancing in regular line; and, on landing, the chief, whose name was Akaitcho, or Big Foot, marched up with a very grave air, till he reached the place where the officers were. After smoking his pipe, which he did with much solemnity, and drinking a small portion of spirits and water, of which he also handed a glass to each of his followers, he began his harangue: he said he

was rejoiced to see such great chiefs on his lands ; his tribe were poor, but they loved white men ; he had heard that a great medicine chief was among them, who could restore the dead to life, at which he had greatly rejoiced, hoping again to see his departed relatives ; Mr. Wentzel, however, had informed him of his mistake, and he felt as if his friends had a second time been torn from him. He finished by saying, that he wished now to know the exact object of the expedition.

Captain Franklin answered, that he and his companions were come from the greatest chief in the world (meaning the King of England), who was the sovereign of the trading Companies in the country ; that he was the friend of peace, and that hearing his Indian children in the north were in want of merchandise, in consequence of the distance by land, he had sent some people to find out a nearer way by sea, by which great ships could more readily bring a large supply to their country : that he required the assistance of the Indians as guides ; and that he and his people should be rewarded with cloth, ammunition, tobacco, and some useful iron materials, on his return, besides having their debts to the North-west Company discharged.

Akaitcho then gave all the information he possessed respecting the country ; and having promised all the aid he could give, Captain Franklin, besides many other presents, put a medal round his neck, with which he was highly pleased ; though he thought it becoming his dignity to look very grave. To the many inquiries which were

made by Akaitcho, the plain and simple truth always dictated the answers of Captain Franklin, not only because he detested falsehood, as every good man does, but because these northern nations, if they ever detect an untruth in the dealings of the traders, make it the unceasing subject of their reproach, and their confidence is irrecoverably lost.

A dance in the evening concluded this amicable introduction, and the Indians favoured the travellers by exhibiting the Dog-Rib Indian dance. To perform this, they range themselves in a circle, and with their legs widely separated, jump all together sideways, with their bodies bent, their hands placed on their hips, and uttering forcibly the interjection "*tsa*" at each jump.

Fort Providence, where this conference took place, is situated in lat. $62^{\circ} 17' 19''$ north, and long. $114^{\circ} 9' 28''$ west. The post is exclusively occupied by the North-west Company, who have two to the northward of it, on the Mackenzie River.

The following is the list of the officers and men who composed the expedition, on its departure from Fort Providence.

John Franklin, Lieutenant of the Royal Navy,
Commander.

John Richardson, M.D., Surgeon, R.N.

George Back, } Midshipmen of the Royal

Robert Hood, } Navy.

Frederick Wentzel, Clerk to the North-West
Company.

John Hepburn, English Seaman.

Canadian Voyagers.

Joseph Peltier,	Vincenza Fontano,
Matthew Pelonquin, dit	Registe Vaillant,
Crédit,	Jean Baptiste Parent,
Solomon Belanger,	Jean Baptiste Belanger,
Joseph Bennoit,	Jean Baptiste Belleau,
Joseph Gagné,	Emanuel Cournoyée,
Pierre Dumas,	Ignace Perrault,
Joseph Forcier,	Michel Teroahaute, an
François Samandre,	Iroquois,
Gabriel Beauparlant,	

Interpreters.

Pierre St. Germain,	} Chipweyan Bois Brulés.
Jean Baptiste Adam,	

A small canoe was provided to carry the three women.

Having ascended a very strong rapid, they arrived at a range of three steep cascades, where they had to make a portage of one thousand three hundred yards over a rocky hill, which received the name of Bowstring Portage, from its shape.

The Indians had greatly the advantage over the rest of the party in this operation; the men carried their small canoes; the women and their children carried the clothes and provisions, and at the end of the portage they were ready to embark; whilst it was necessary for the men belonging to the other boats to return four times before they could transport all their cargo.

The whole of their course down this river was marked only by a tedious succession of cascades and portages. It not unfrequently happened that in one day they had to land and unload the canoes, and to transport them and the baggage

over five or six of these portages. Provisions became scanty, the river afforded but little fish, and the Indian hunters were despatched in quest of rein-deer ; but with strict injunctions to bring, without delay, whatever they could procure. The Canadians, however, murmured so much at the hardships they had to bear, (which, indeed, were great,) and at the scarcity of provisions, that Captain Franklin was obliged to order, that, if any of them dared to stop, he should be instantly punished. In consequence of this, they behaved tolerably for a time, and every supply of deer brought in by the hunters revived their spirits.

In this way they accomplished their journey from Fort Chipewyan to a spot where Akaitcho strenuously advised that the party should pass the winter, the distance they had travelled being 553 miles. It was Sunday, the 20th of August, when they arrived; and their first act was to offer their united thanksgivings to the Almighty for his goodness in having brought them thus far on their journey—a duty which they never neglected, when stationary, on the Sabbath day.

Captain Franklin, however, was desirous of proceeding without delay to the Coppermine River; and his disappointment may be easily conceived when Akaitcho refused to accompany him any further till the following spring. His reasons for this were, that the leaves were falling, the geese were passing to the southward, and every thing indicated that the winter was setting in.

Captain Franklin reminded him that these statements were very different from the account he had given, both at Fort Providence and on

the route thither ; but he said in reply, that when he made the agreement he thought the expedition would be able to keep up with his party, and if so they might easily have reached their destination before the winter ; but he had been unacquainted with their slow mode of travelling, and never intended to expose himself and his followers to the rigours of a winter's journey. In consequence of this, Captain Franklin was obliged to give up his intended journey for the winter, and to content himself with sending Mr. Back and Mr. Hood, with a party of Canadians, in a light canoe, to ascertain the distance and size of the Coppermine River. The spot where they were was well calculated for a winter encampment, being sheltered,—the trees were numerous, and some of the pines were between thirty and forty feet high, and two feet in diameter at the root. It was determined to build a house for their residence on the summit of the bank, which commanded a beautiful prospect of the surrounding country. The view in front was bounded at the distance of three miles by round-backed hills ; to the eastward and westward lay the Winter and Round-backed Lakes, connected together by a river to which they gave the name of Winter River, whose banks were clothed with pines, and adorned with a profusion of mosses, lichens, and shrubs. The position of the place was, lat. $64^{\circ} 15'$ north, and $113^{\circ} 2'$ west long. ; and Captain Franklin gave it the name of Fort Enterprise.

A party of the Canadians having been appointed to cut down wood sufficient for erecting the house, and for such other purposes as their

proposed encampment might require, and the month of September having set in cold and bleak, they began to hasten their arrangements for the winter. Akaitcho and his Indians bade them all farewell, as soon as the canoes started for the Coppermine River, except two of the hunters, who remained to kill deer for the party, and one old man, named Keskarrah, and his family, who did not wish to leave them.

On the 9th of September, ten days after the departure of Mr. Back and Mr. Hood, Captain Franklin and Dr. Richardson determined on taking a pedestrian excursion to the Coppermine River, leaving Mr. Wentzel in charge of the men and to superintend the buildings. They took with them Keskarrah, who acted as guide, and John Hepburn, and Samandre, who carried their blankets, cooking vessels, hatchets, and a small supply of dried meat ; and after a very fatiguing journey, had the happiness of safely reaching the Coppermine River in lat. $65^{\circ} 9' 6''$ north, and west. long. $112^{\circ} 57' 25''$. The main channel was deep, its banks high and rocky, and the valleys on its borders interspersed with clusters of spruce firs. They returned to Fort Enterprise on the 14th of September, and found there Mr. Back and Mr. Hood, who had returned from their excursion on the day succeeding that on which Captain Franklin and Dr. Richardson had set out. Indeed, their journey, as well as that of Mr. Back and Mr. Hood, satisfied them that, early in spring, they would find no difficulty in resuming their enterprise.

The house was completed on the 6th of

October ; logs of wood supplied the place of brick and mortar, and skins of parchment, made from deer-skin, answered the purpose of glass for the windows. The whole building was fifty feet in length, and twenty-four in width, and was divided into a hall, three bed-rooms, and a kitchen ; the floor was laid with planks rudely squared with a hatchet ; and the walls and roof were plastered with clay, which, from the coldness of the weather, required to be tempered before the fire with hot water, but it froze as it was daubed on, and afterwards cracked and freely admitted every cold blast of wind. A cheerful fire, however, made them enter upon their dwelling with renewed spirits, though they had to seat themselves on the floor, and also to use it for a table by day, and for a bed by night, until the skill of their carpenters had produced some articles of furniture to supply its place. Nothing could exceed the alacrity and diligence with which the men pursued their work, nor the good-humour of those who were obliged to put up with such uncomfortable accommodation. Every day, however, brought some improvement to their circumstances, as the labour of their workmen added a chair, a table, or a bedstead, to the comforts of the establishment. The principal tool which an Indian or a Canadian makes use of in his carpenter's work is a small crooked knife, generally made of an old file, bent and tempered by heat, and which serves him for plane, for chisel, and for auger : with it the snow-shoes and canoe timbers are fashioned, the deals of their sledges are reduced to their requisite thinness

and polish, and their wooden bowls and spoons are hollowed out. The only other tool they have is the hatchet.

On the 7th of October a warmer sun than they had of late experienced melted the light snow and hoar-frost which lay on the moss and herbage of the adjoining plains, and rendered them so tender as to attract great herds of reindeer to pasture there. Captain Franklin estimated the numbers seen by him on one occasion, browsing together, at not less than two thousand ; they were formed into herds of different sizes, from ten to a hundred, according as accident or their fears induced them to unite or separate. Their visit, however, was of short duration, for a sharp frost set in, and they soon began to move to more southern and better-sheltered pastures ; but not until the party at Fort Enterprise had secured in their principal store-house the carcasses of one hundred of these animals, and had, moreover, eighty stowed up at various distances from the house. These eighty deer were slaughtered, and, for want of a sufficiently commodious storehouse, it was necessary to adopt a plan used by the Canadian voyagers : this is what they call putting their meat *en cache*—viz. laying it on the ground, and completely covering it over with heaps of wood or stones, to secure it against being carried off by wolves.

Towards the end of this month the men had completed the building of an additional dwelling-house for themselves, and took up their abode in it : it was placed at right angles with the officers' house, but smaller, and facing the storehouse—

the three buildings forming three sides of a quadrangle.

Previously to this, viz. on the 18th of October, Mr. Back volunteered to set out on an expedition to Fort Providence, in quest of some stores, which were to have been forwarded to them before now from Cumberland-house, and of which they stood much in need. Their ammunition was nearly exhausted, as was also their stock of tobacco, which was an indispensable requisite, not only for the comfort of the Canadians, who use it largely, and had stipulated for it in their engagement, but also as a means of preserving the friendship of the Indians. Blankets, cloth, and iron-work, were scarcely less wanted to equip the men for the journey next season. Mr. Wentzel accompanied Mr. Back, as did also two of the men, and two Indians and their wives. In less than ten days after their departure, Akaitcho and his party unexpectedly returned to Fort Enterprise, and quietly took up their residence there, as if they were sure of a welcome; although such an addition to the number of persons to be daily provided for made no small havoc in their stores of provisions. Captain Franklin had no ammunition to distribute among them, to enable them to go and hunt for themselves; and they showed but little inclination to contribute to their own subsistence by fishing or snaring the deer, as they are accustomed to do for a considerable part of the year without having recourse to fire arms.

By the 5th of November the weather had become so cold that the fish froze as they were

taken out of the nets, and in a short time became a solid mass of ice, which required a blow or two of the hatchet to split open; and by the middle of the month the ice on the lake was two feet in thickness. The apprehensions which had been felt for the safety of the party who had left them were happily relieved by the return on the 23d of November of one of the men, bearing the welcome news that they had arrived safely at their destination, after a fatiguing and tedious journey, for some of the last days of which they had been almost totally destitute of provisions. The man's appearance bore ample testimony to the hardships he related: his frame was emaciated, his hair matted with snow, and he was so incrustated with ice, from head to foot, as scarcely to be recognised.

During the whole of the month of December the intense cold of the weather almost surpassed description. The trees, frozen to the very centre, became as hard as pillars of stone; the officers' chronometers could only be kept going at night whilst under their pillows. At that period the daily visits of the sun were very short; at half-past eleven he peeped over the small ridge of hills opposite to the house, and at half-past two he sank in the horizon, so that he afforded but little warmth or light.

During this season, Captain Franklin and his brother officers occupied themselves for a considerable portion of the day in writing up their journals. Some newspapers and magazines, which they had received from England with their letters, were read again and again, and

commented upon at their meals; and they often exercised themselves with conjecturing the changes which might take place in the world before they could hear from it again. The probability of their receiving letters, and the period of their arrival, were calculated to a nicety.

Occasionally they paid the woodmen a visit, or took a walk for a mile or two on the frozen river. In the evenings they joined the men in the hall, and took a part in their games, which generally continued to a late hour. In short, they never found the time to hang heavily on their hands; and the peculiar occupations of each of the officers afforded them more employment than might at first be supposed. Captain Franklin recalculated the observations made on their route; Mr. Hood protracted the charts, and made beautiful drawings of birds, plants, and fishes. Dr. Richardson contrived to obtain, from under the snow, specimens of most of the lichens in the neighbourhood, and to make himself acquainted with the mineralogy of the surrounding country; and each of the party sedulously and separately recorded their observations on the *Aurora Borealis*.

The Sabbath was always a day of rest. The woodmen were required to provide sufficient wood for fuel for Sunday on the Saturday, and the party were dressed on Sundays in their best attire. Divine Service was regularly performed, and the Canadians attended, and behaved with great decorum, although they were all Roman Catholics, and but little acquainted with the language in which the prayers were read. Captain Franklin much regretted that he had not a French Prayer-

book, but the Lord's Prayer and Creed were always read to them in their own language.

The diet of the party consisted almost entirely of rein-deer meat, varied twice a week with fish, and occasionally with a little flour, but they had no vegetables of any description. On Sunday mornings they each drank a cup of chocolate, but their greatest luxury was tea (without sugar), of which they regularly partook twice a-day. With rein-deer fat, and strips of cotton shirts, they formed candles; and John Hepburn acquired considerable skill in the manufacture of soap from the wood-ashes, fat, and salt. The making of soap was considered as rather a mysterious operation by the Canadians; and, in their hands, was always supposed to fail if a woman approached the kettle in which the ley was boiling.

In this manner, varied by a few incidents, the winter was passed.

On the 1st of January, 1821, the men collected, and greeted the officers with the customary salutation on the commencement of the New Year; and the day was kept as a holiday, though the only addition to the diet which could be prudently made was a little flour and fat, which were considered great luxuries under existing circumstances. A little rum was promised to be given to the men when it should arrive.

The early part of January was mild, and the Indians declared that to be one of the warmest winters they had ever experienced.

On the 15th, seven of the men arrived from Fort Providence with two kegs of rum, a barrel of gunpowder, sixty pounds of ball, two rolls

of tobacco, and some clothing. They had been twenty-one days on their march from Slave Lake, and the labour they had undergone was sufficiently evinced by their sledge-collars having worn out the shoulders of their coats. Their arrival was joyfully hailed ; and the spirit-cask was instantly pierced, and the portion of rum which had been promised on New Year's Day was issued to each individual. The Canadians, however, had broached the cask on their journey, and drunk part of the rum ; and it was very distressing to Captain Franklin to make the discovery of this breach of trust, because the men who committed it knew from constant experience that their officers were living under equal if not greater privations than themselves.

On the 27th, Mr. Wentzel, and the Chipewyan, St. Germain, who had accompanied Mr. Back to Fort Providence, arrived with two Esquimaux interpreters. The English names which had been given them were Augustus and Junius. The former spoke English. Mr. Wentzel brought news of Mr. Back. He had proceeded on the 24th of December, with the Canadian, Beauparlant, to Fort Chipewyan, to procure stores, having previously discharged the other Canadian, Belleau, at his own request. The man was too weak to perform the duty of bowman, which he had undertaken. Four dogs were brought up by this party, and proved a great relief to the woodcutters during the remainder of the season.

The ammunition, and a small present of rum, were sent to Akaitcho, who, however, on the 5th of February, sent for a farther supply of the

former. He had been rendered mistrustful of the English by false reports spread to their disadvantage, and by the imprudent conduct of an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, who had been entrusted with the transport of some stores, the non-arrival of which had been the cause of serious inconvenience. The same officer had now refused to pay some notes for trifling quantities of goods and ammunition, which had been given to the hunters who accompanied Captain Franklin's men to Slave Lake. Some powder and shot, and a keg of diluted spirits, were sent by Captain Franklin to Akaitcho, with the strongest assurances of regard on the part of the captain.

On the 12th of February, another party of six men was sent to Fort Providence, to bring up the remaining stores; and a message was sent to Akaitcho, to beg him to send two of his hunters to join the party on the road.

On comparing the language of the two Esquimaux interpreters with a copy of St. John's Gospel, printed for the use of the Moravian Missionary settlements on the Labrador coast, it appeared that the Esquimaux who resort to Churchill speak a language essentially the same with theirs who frequent the Labrador coast. The tribe to which Augustus belonged generally reside a little to the northward of Churchill. In spring, before the ice quits the shores, they kill seal; but, during winter, they frequent the borders of the large lakes near the coast, where they obtain fish, rein-deer, and musk-oxen. They consider their ancestors to have come from the

moon. Augustus had no idea of a Deity beyond some confused notions which he had obtained at Churchill.

The winter habitations of this tribe are built of snow, and upon the same plan as those described in the narratives of Captain Parry's voyages to the Arctic regions. Augustus constructed a very comfortable snow hut for himself and his companion, on a spot next the river, the day after their arrival at Fort Enterprise.

In the course of the month of February, several deer were killed near the house, and some supplies of deer-flesh were received from Akaitcho. Parties were also employed in carrying in the meat that was placed *en cache* in the early part of the winter. More than half of these *caches*, however, had been destroyed by the wolves and wolverines; a circumstance which, in conjunction with the empty state of the store-houses at the fort, led Captain Franklin to fear that they would be much straitened for provisions before the arrival of any considerable number of rein-deer in the neighbourhood.

The temperature in February was nearly as low as it had been in December.

On the 5th of March, the people returned from Slave Lake with the remainder of the stores, consisting of a scanty supply of flour, sugar, and tobacco. It was ascertained soon afterwards that Akaitcho had recovered his good humour, and did not harbour the slightest intention of quitting Captain Franklin's party.

On the 17th of March, Mr. Back arrived from Fort Chipewyan, having performed, since he left

Fort Enterprise, a journey of more than one thousand miles on foot.

The difficulties and privations endured by his party on their journey to the great Slave Lake were very severe. It will be recollected that Mr. Back, accompanied by Mr. Wentzel, two Canadians, and two Indians with their wives, left Fort Enterprise on the 18th of October, 1820. The walking—in their snow-shoes—was very bad throughout that day, for the unusual warmth of the weather had dissolved the snow, which not only kept them constantly wet, but deprived them of a firm footing. On the 20th their course was impeded by dense fogs. They killed a few deer occasionally, and were sometimes obliged to make the circuit of lakes, as they were not sufficiently frozen to bear their weight. By the 26th of October their provisions were almost entirely expended, and the weather was cloudy with snow.

On the 27th they crossed two lakes. During the day one of the women made a hole through the ice, and caught a fine pike, which she gave to Captain Back and Mr. Wentzel. The Indians would not partake of it, saying, "We are accustomed to starvation, but you are not."

They continued their tedious march, over and round lakes, through deep snow and thick woods, often with nothing to eat from one day to another. They had to force their way through swamps covered with snow, frequently getting much bruised from falling over loose stones concealed under the snow. They often had to walk over pointed and loose rocks, which, sliding under the feet, made the path dangerous, throw-

ing them down on sharp-edged stones lying beneath the snow. Sometimes a man would break through the ice by his own weight, and was with difficulty extricated. Had it not been for the precaution and generosity of the Indians, Mr. Back and his companion must have perished with hunger.

On the 1st of November, after crossing a river on a raft which they made, they halted at night within eight miles of Fort Providence. The Great Slave Lake was not frozen. They arrived at the Fort at noon on the following day. Mr. Back found several packets of letters there for the officers, which he was desirous to send to them immediately, but the Indians and their wives were too much fatigued to return until they had rested. They were regaled with some refreshments, and their sorrows were soon forgotten. "It was a satisfaction to me," says Mr. Back, "to behold these poor creatures enjoying themselves, for they had behaved in the most exemplary and active manner towards the party, and with a generosity and sympathy seldom found even in the more civilized parts of the world; and the attention which they manifested towards their wives, evinced a benevolence of disposition and goodness of nature, which could not fail to secure the approbation of the most indifferent observer."

Mr. Back received so unsatisfactory an account of the stores, that he determined to go to Moose-deer Island, or, if needful, to the Athabasca Lake, to obtain a sufficient supply of ammunition and other necessities to enable the expedition to leave Fort Enterprise, and to proceed for

the attainment of its ultimate object. He despatched the letters and a hundred musket balls (which he borrowed of the agents at Fort Providence) to Fort Enterprise, by a messenger accompanied by an Indian and his wife, and he wrote to Captain Franklin to acquaint him with the exact state of things.

On the 7th of December, Mr. Back having received information that the great Slave Lake was sufficiently frozen to be crossed, quitted Fort Providence, accompanied by Mr. Wentzel, Beaulparlant, and two other Canadians, provided with dogs and sledges. At 6 P.M. on the 9th they arrived at some fishing-huts near Stoney Island, and remained there that night. On the 10th, in the afternoon, they reached the North-west Fort, on Moose-deer Island, and the same evening Mr. Back visited Hudson's Bay Fort. He found the unfavorable reports he had received, as to the state of their stores, to be but too well founded. They consisted only of three kegs of spirits, adulterated by the voyagers who had brought them, a keg of flour, and 35lbs. of sugar, instead of 60lbs. The two most essential articles, viz., the ammunition and tobacco, had been left behind. The agents of the Hudson's Bay and North-west Companies supplied him with whatever quantities of these important stores could be spared. The whole was sent immediately to Fort Enterprise.

As a sufficiency of stores could not be provided at Moose-deer Island, Mr. Back determined to proceed to the Athabasca Lake to ascertain what could be procured there; and in spite of every discouraging warning as to the impediments to

such an undertaking, and the impracticability of transporting goods over so great a distance in the winter season, he started on the 23d of December with Beauparlant and a Bois Brulé Indian, each having a sledge drawn by dogs, laden with pemmican. They crossed an arm of the lake and entered the Buffalo river, which is connected with the Salt river, and is about fifty yards wide at its junction with the lake. On the 24th and 25th, they continued along the river: the snow was so deep that the dogs were obliged to stop every ten minutes; and the cold was excessive. They halted in a wood, and were presently joined by a Canadian on his return to the fort, who treated them with some fresh meat in exchange for pemmican. As they proceeded on their fatiguing journey, Mr. Back was much galled by the strings of his snow-shoes, and once got a very severe fall, his snow-shoes having become entangled with the sledge. For some days afterwards, his left knee was so painful that he found it difficult to keep up with the dogs. The poor animals themselves suffered very much as they went farther onwards; their feet being perfectly raw. The 30th and 31st of December were very severe days; the course of the travellers was impeded by vast masses of ice piled one on another; and their faces were frozen. They arrived at Fort Chipewyan on the 2d of January, after a journey of ten days and four hours,—the shortest time in which the distance had been performed at that season of the year. The residents, as well as those at the Hudson's Bay Fort, were surprised to see Mr. Back and his party:—

for it had been reported that they had fallen by the spears of the Esquimaux.

Mr. Back remained five weeks at Fort Chipewyan. The weather during that period was generally mild, with occasional heavy storms. He started on his return on the 9th of February, having with him four sledges, laden with goods for the expedition, and a fifth belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. The party returned exactly by the same route by which they had gone, without suffering any other inconvenience than that arising from the chafing of the snow-shoes, and from bad weather. They reached Moose-deer Island on the 20th of February, with their stores all in good order. Towards the end of the month, two men arrived with letters from Captain Franklin, containing some fresh demands, which Mr. Back was fortunate enough to get attended to without any trouble ; and he was gratified by the cheerful and pleasant manner in which the agents, both of the Hudson's Bay and North-west Companies, afforded the means of forwarding the stores.

On the 5th of March, Mr. Back left Moose-deer Island, and arrived at Fort Providence on the 7th ; leaving it again on the 10th, with two of the men, who had each a couple of dogs, and a sledge laden with provision. On the 17th, at an early hour, the party arrived at Fort Enterprise. This journey is worthy to be particularly noted among the many instances of extraordinary exertion and determined perseverance which Captain Franklin's expedition afforded.

Mr. Back says, at the close of the narrative of his journey,—“ I had the pleasure of meeting my friends all in good health, after an absence of nearly five months, during which time I had travelled 1,104 miles on snow-shoes, and had no other covering at night, in the woods, than a blanket and deer-skin, with the thermometer frequently at -40° , and once at -57° ; and sometimes passing two or three days without tasting food.”

As spring advanced, the weather improved—the commencement of April was fine, and they began to look forward to the near approach of their journey northwards. Their meals, by this time, had become scanty, and they were even frequently restricted to one in the day. Occasionally a deer was killed, perhaps at a distance of many miles. One of their guides fetched them one from a distance of forty-five miles, on a dog-sledge; and old Keskarrah was indefatigable in his exertions to procure fish, or any other kind of provision that offered itself. His wife and daughter remained constantly at the winter quarters: the latter was named Green Stockings, and was considered a beauty in her own nation. It is an amusing instance of simplicity, that her mother for a long time refused to let Mr. Hood take her likeness, being afraid, she said, lest the Great Chief in England, finding her so handsome, should send for her to make her his wife.

The month of May brought round again that pleasant sensation of warm weather, to which the party had been so long strangers; the deer were

seen advancing from the southward ; flocks of gulls, ducks, and geese, made their appearance ; and even, now and then, a little robin paid them a visit.

Towards the end of May, the sun sank so short a time below the horizon, that there was more light at midnight than they had enjoyed, on some days, at noon in the winter time.

Akaitcho, who had absented himself for a short time, sent two of his hunters to inform Captain Franklin that he meant to return to him immediately, and to request he might be received in state. As it was very essential to keep this chief in good humour, he was promised that all due respect should be paid him ; and his ambassadors were presented with some tobacco, vermilion to paint their faces, a comb, and a looking-glass. When the chief himself afterwards arrived, all the old men of his party had their faces painted on the right cheek, and all the young upon the left.

The snow was now fast melting away, the mosses were beginning to vegetate, and the sap had thawed in the pine trees. Akaitcho, however, again showed an indisposition to accompany the expedition ; but it soon appeared that he only wished to increase his demand of recompense, and to gratify his avarice by extorting as much as possible from the officers in the way of gifts. The first detachment of the party was to set out on the 4th June, headed by Dr. Richardson, who was in great request before his departure, making up little packages of medicine for the leader, and for all the minor chiefs, to

whom he had been physician-general during the whole winter ; and it is a remarkable fact, that, at a season when they generally lost many of their people, not one had died of the whole party who had frequented Fort Enterprise.

When all was packed up at the fort, and Akaitcho saw there was no chance of getting any more presents, he said, good-humouredly, " Well, now I see you have no more to give, and therefore I shall try to procure you provisions, and not trouble you any more ;" he promised, likewise, when he should return, to deposit a large quantity at Fort Enterprise, to be ready when Captain Franklin should reach it on his way back.

On the day fixed, at three in the morning, the party under the charge of Dr. Richardson started. It consisted of fifteen voyagers,* three of whom conducted dog-sledges, Baldhead and Basil, two Indian hunters, with their wives, Akaiyazzeh, a sick Indian and his wife, together with Angelique and Ravalant ; so that the party included twenty-three, besides children.

On the 12th of June, Winter River was nearly cleared of ice, and on the 13th the men returned, having left Dr. Richardson encamped on the border of Point Lake.

On the 14th, Captain Franklin, Mr. Back, Mr. Hood, and Mr. Wentzel, having despatched the remainder of the stores in canoes, each dragged by four men assisted by two dogs, started from Fort Enterprise, the instruments,

* Canadians ; from the French, "voyageur," traveller.

a few necessaries, and a small stock of dried meat, amounting only to eighty pounds, being distributed equally among Hepburn, three Canadians, and the two Esquimaux interpreters ;—"most sincerely rejoicing," writes Captain Franklin, "that the long wished for day had arrived when we were to proceed towards the final object of the expedition."

In one of the rooms were left, by Captain Franklin's orders, a box containing a journal of the occurrences up to that date, the charts, and some drawings. This box was to be conveyed to Fort Chipewyan by Mr. Wentzel, on his return from the sea, and from thence to be sent to England. The room was blocked up, and, by the advice of Mr. Wentzel, a drawing representing a man holding a dagger in a threatening attitude, was affixed to the door, to deter any Indians from breaking it open.

After a very fatiguing journey of seven days, traversing a succession of lakes, and suffering much from cold, wet, and hunger, the party arrived, on the 21st of June, at Dr. Richardson's tent, which was situated on the western side of an arm of Point Lake, and near to that part of it through which the Coppermine River runs. The ice on the lake was still six or seven feet thick ; there was no appearance of its decay excepting near the edges ; and as it was evident that by remaining until it should be removed, every prospect of success in the undertaking might be lost, Captain Franklin determined on having the stores dragged along the ice until they should come to a part of the river, where they could

embark, and directions were immediately given for each man to prepare a train for the conveyance of his portion of the stores.

The whole party started at an early hour on the 25th June. The three canoes were mounted on sledges, and nine men were appointed to conduct them, having the assistance of two dogs to each sledge ; the stores and provisions being equally distributed amongst the rest of the party. They proceeded, according to the direction of their guide, towards a deep bay on the north side of the lake, where he supposed they should find the river. On their arrival there, on the 1st of July, after a toilsome progress of six days, they found only a stream which fell into the bay from the north-east, and the Coppermine River was looked for in vain. This circumstance confused the guide, who confessed that he was now doubtful as to the proper route. The party therefore halted, and Captain Franklin despatched the guide, with two men, to look out for the river from the top of some high hills. At 4 P.M. the men returned, with the agreeable information that they had seen the river. The canoes and stores were immediately placed on the ice, and dragged thither ; the party then embarked, but soon had to cut through a barrier of drift ice which blocked up the way. They afterwards ascended two rapids, and encamped near to the discharge of a small stream flowing from an adjoining lake. The Coppermine River is, at that point, about two hundred yards wide, and ten feet deep, and flows very rapidly over a rocky bottom. The

scenery of its banks is picturesque, the hills shelve to the water's side, and are well covered with wood, and the surface of the rocks is richly ornamented with lichens.

Here and there the progress of the travellers was stopped by drift ice, over which they had often to drag the canoes and cargoes, an operation of much hazard, as the snow concealed the numerous holes made by the water in the ice. They occasionally, however, encamped upon the shores, where they found the weather sultry, and several plants were in flower. A herd of musk oxen making its appearance, eight cows were killed by the Indians on shore, which proved a very acceptable supply, as also did some pemmican, which they received from a party of Indians they met with, headed by a Copper chief, called "The Hook:" he was brother to Akaitcho; and, finding they were in want of provisions, he ordered his people to give up all the meat they had, saying, "We can live on fish until our families can procure more." In return for this act of generosity they received such presents as Captain Franklin could dispense amongst them, and Hook was decorated with a medal. This chief also promised to deposit provisions in various places during the summer, both on the banks of the Coppermine River, and as far down as the Copper Mountain, for the use of the party, in case they should be able to put in practice their present project, of returning by the same route which they were now pursuing; he likewise engaged to remain until November on the east side of Bear Lake, at the spot nearest to Copper-

mine River, whence there is a communication by a chain of lakes and portages.

Captain Franklin promised to pay them liberally, whether he returned that way or not, by orders on the agents at Fort Providence. Observations were here taken to ascertain their position, and the result was latitude $66^{\circ} 45' 11''$ north; longitude $115^{\circ} 42' 23''$ west.

On the 7th of July they embarked again in their canoes; but it is not necessary to detail their course down the river, since it was unmarked by any incident worth relating. On the 7th they arrived at the portage leading to the Bear Lake, at the most westerly part of the Coppermine River, and at a point where it resumes a northerly course, and forces a passage through a lofty ridge of mountains to which it had run parallel for the last thirty miles. Beyond that spot the river became a succession of rapids; but, as the water was deep, they passed through them without being obliged to disembark or unload any part of the cargoes. One of these rapids was peculiarly dangerous; the river appeared here to have cut its narrow crooked channel through a hill between 500 and 600 feet high. The body of water pent up within this narrow chasm dashed furiously round the projecting rocky columns which confined it at each side, and discharged itself at the northern extremity in a sheet of foam. The canoes, however, passed this, which was called Rocky Defile Rapid, without accident, mercifully preserved through dangers which appalled the Indians, who still accompanied them. On disembarking to dry

the meat which the hunters had provided, Captain Franklin availed himself of this delay to visit the Copper Mountains in search of copper ore, agreeably to his instructions. A party of twenty-one persons, consisting of Captain Franklin, the officers, some of the voyagers, and all the Indians, set off on that excursion ; after nine hours' walk, however, they returned with very few pieces of native copper, quite satisfied that it was not in sufficient abundance to make the collecting of it an object of commercial speculation, and also that the impracticability of navigating the river upwards from the sea, and the want of wood, must always prevent any mercantile company from forming an establishment in the neighbourhood.

Their journey having continued till the 12th of July, the river became contracted to the breadth of 150 yards; and here the rapids were most agitated: large masses of ice, also, twelve or fourteen feet thick, were still adhering to many parts of the bank, showing the slow departure of winter from this inhospitable land; the earth around, however, was rich with vegetation. The party was now arrived at the point where the Esquimaux were found by Hearne, and more caution was used in proceeding; Captain Franklin not being certain whether the massacre, at which Hearne was present, might not have made them hostile to strangers in general. To open a communication, Augustus and Junius were sent forward, furnished with beads, looking-glasses, and other articles, as presents for their countrymen; and the Indians, as well as the Canadians, were

directed to keep in the rear, lest the appearance of so many persons should alarm the Esquimaux, and destroy any hope of friendly intercourse with them. After two days Junius returned with information that he and Augustus had met a party of the natives encamped, but had not yet been able to free them from the fears they felt at the approach of strangers. It was a satisfaction to learn, that, though the language differed in some respects, the two parties had understood each other perfectly well.

All their efforts to establish a friendly intercourse with the Esquimaux unfortunately proved unavailing. At one time Augustus, who showed great intelligence, had nearly succeeded in calming their apprehensions, when the sudden and incautious appearance of the Canadians put the whole party to flight; and though subsequently they came unawares upon another party, and actually overtook one of them whose apprehensions they succeeded in removing by kindness and by several presents, they never after were able to open a conference with them.

They saw the place where the poor Esquimaux were surprised and slaughtered by the Chipewyans, as described by Hearne. It was strewn with human bones, and several of the skulls bore marks of violence. Captain Franklin, therefore, preserved the name of Bloody Fall, which Hearne had given to it. It is situated in latitude $67^{\circ} 42' 35''$ north, and longitude $115^{\circ} 49' 33''$ west—a position widely differing from the one assigned to it by that traveller.

The rapid is a sort of shelving cascade, about

300 yards in length, having a descent of fifteen feet.

On the evening of the 14th of July Dr. Richardson, having ascended a lofty hill, obtained the first view of the sea. It appeared to be covered with ice. A large promontory, which was named Cape Hearne, bore north-east. It was near midnight, and the sun set whilst he remained; but before he had reached the tents, on his return, its rising rays again gilded the tops of the hills.

On the 18th of July the Indians left them, after promising to lodge a store of provisions at Fort Enterprise for the return of the party, and also to leave as much meat as they could *en cache*, in certain situations on the Coppermine River. After their departure Captain Franklin proceeded with his party towards the sea, which was about nine miles below the Bloody Fall. At ten, A.M. they pitched their tents on the western bank, at its junction with the sea. The river was here about a mile wide, but very shallow, being barred nearly across by sand-banks. Several lofty islands were visible to seaward, and indeed filled the horizon in many points of the compass; the only open space, seen from an eminence near the encampment, being from N. by E. to N. E. by N. Towards the east the land was like a chain of islands, the ice surrounding them apparently in a compact body, leaving a channel between its edge and the main, of about three miles. The water in this channel was of a clear green colour, and decidedly salt; so that Mr. Hearne could only have tasted

it at the mouth of the river, when he pronounced it to be merely brackish. Some other particulars, such as the height to which the tide rises at the mouth of the river, erroneously stated by Hearne, were likewise corrected by Captain Franklin's more accurate observations.

Here Mr. Wentzel left the party, taking with him four of the Canadians, whom Captain Franklin discharged, for the purpose of lessening the expenditure of provisions as much as possible. This reduced the number to twenty, including officers.

The Canadians, though complaining of the cold, were amused at the first sight of the sea, and particularly with the seals swimming about near the entrance of the river; but they soon gave way to despondency. They were terrified at the idea of a voyage through an icy sea in bark canoes; they discussed the probable length of the voyage, the roughness of the sea, the uncertainty of provisions, the exposure to cold where no fuel could be expected, and the prospect of having to traverse the barren grounds in order to get to some establishment. The two interpreters, St. Germain and Adam, urgently applied to be discharged, but only one of the Canadians made a similar request. Captain Franklin, however, was unable to yield to their wish, as they were the only two on whose skill in hunting he could rely. The manner in which Hepburn viewed the element to which he had been long accustomed, and the joy he showed at the sight of the ocean, served more than any thing else to reconcile the interpreters to their situation, and to make the Canadians almost ashamed of their fears.

Previously to Mr. Wentzel's departure, Captain Franklin made him acquainted with the probable course of his future proceedings. He sent by him his despatches, to be forwarded to England along with the box containing the journals, &c., for the British government. He then supplied the party with ammunition; after which they set out, leaving Captain Franklin to pursue his hazardous, but dauntless course, eastward along the coast of the North American continent.

Thus was finished another portion of this vast journey. Our travellers had gone over 334 miles since they left Fort Enterprise, in 117 of which they had been obliged to drag their baggage over snow and ice. The situation of the encampment was, latitude $67^{\circ} 47' 50''$ north; longitude $115^{\circ} 36' 49''$ west. The sun set that night, the 18th of July, 1821, at thirty minutes after eleven. The most conspicuous cape seen was named by Captain Franklin Cape Hearne, as a just tribute to the memory of the persevering traveller of that name; another was called Cape Mackenzie, in honour of Sir Alexander Mackenzie. The river which falls into the Polar Sea to the westward of the Coppermine River was called Richardson, as a testimony of Captain Franklin's sincere regard for his friend and companion, Dr. Richardson; and the islands which were in view of the encampment, were named Cowper's Isles, in honour of one of the Doctor's friends.

CHAPTER IV.

It was not until the 21st of July, 1821, that a gale which had been blowing from the north-east had become sufficiently moderate to permit Captain Franklin and his party to embark, and commence their voyage on the Arctic Sea. They had provisions only for fifteen days' consumption. They embarked at noon, and paddled all day along the coast to the eastward, on the inside of a crowded range of islands, and saw very little ice. In the afternoon, St. Germain killed, on an island, a fat deer, which was a great acquisition—it was the first they had seen for some months in good condition. They encamped on the main-shore, after a run of thirty-seven miles. They found the coast well covered with vegetation, of moderate height, and easy of approach. The islands are rocky and barren, presenting high cliffs of a columnar structure. Captain Franklin named the westernmost group of those they passed Berens' Isles, in honour of the then governor of the Hudson's Bay Company; and the easternmost, Sir Graham Moore's Islands. At the spot where they landed some muscle-shells and a single piece of sea-weed lay on the beach; this was the only spot on the coast where shells were seen. It was a source of great comfort to find the beach strewn with abundance of small drift-wood.

The party were in high glee that evening at

the progress they had made. The fishing-nets were set, but produced nothing.

They embarked at four on the following morning, the 22d of July, and having the benefit of a light breeze, continued their voyage along the coast under sail, until eleven, when they halted to breakfast, and to obtain the latitude. As they proceeded afterwards the shore became very rocky and sterile; and, at last, projecting considerably to the northward, it formed a high and steep promontory. Some ice had drifted down upon this cape, which, it was feared, might check their progress; but, as the evening was fine, they ventured upon pushing the canoes through the small channels formed among it. After pursuing this kind of navigation with some danger and more anxiety they landed, and encamped upon a smooth rocky point, from whence they perceived, with much satisfaction, that the ice consisted only of detached pieces, which would be removed by the first breeze. At nine on the following morning they again embarked, but were obliged to take shelter in an inlet, which was named Port Epworth, as the wind had proved adverse, and too strong to admit of their proceeding. At eight P.M., the wind having abated, they re-embarked, and soon afterwards discovered on an island a rein-deer, which the interpreters killed. Their progress was much impeded, however, by the ice, and they were obliged to put ashore at four A.M. On the 24th several stone fox-traps, and other traces of the Esquimaux, were seen near the encampment. The ice having removed a short distance from the

shore by eleven A.M. they embarked, and with some difficulty effected a passage ; then making a traverse across Gray's Bay, (which was so named after Mr. Gray, Principal of the Belfast Academy, an island which lies across its mouth having received the name of the excellent English sailor, Hepburn,) they paddled up under the eastern shore against a strong wind. At seven P.M. a thunder-storm came on, and they encamped at the mouth of a river about eighty yards wide. It was called Wentzel River, after their late companion. The distance they had made was thirty-one miles. It rained and thundered throughout the night. The nets they had set only furnished three salmon trout. At eight A.M. on the 25th of July they embarked, but were obliged to land on account of a thick fog. At noon, a favourable breeze tempted them to proceed, although the fog continued. Just as they were endeavouring to double a bold cape, the fog partially cleared away : and they perceived that much heavy ice was pressing down upon them. The shore was so steep and rugged that no landing of the cargoes could be effected, and the party were preserved only by some men jumping on the rocks, and thrusting the ice off with poles. Both the canoes were repeatedly in imminent danger of being crushed by the ice, which was tossed about by the waves which the gale had excited. A passage was, however, effected, and keeping close to the shore, they landed at the entrance of a harbour which was named Detention Harbour, at nine P.M., having advanced twenty-eight miles. An old Esquimaux

encampment was traced on this spot; and an ice-chisel, a copper knife, and a small iron knife, were found under the turf. Captain Franklin named this cape after Mr. Barrow, the Secretary to the Admiralty, to whose exertions we are indebted for many of the most important discoveries in Arctic geography.

In this harbour they were detained from the evening of the 25th of July until noon on the 29th. The latitude of the entrance to Detention Harbour is $67^{\circ} 53' 45''$ N. ; longitude, $110^{\circ} 41' 20''$ W. They met with great impediments from the ice, and the canoes were much endangered. They pursued their voyage, however, with courage and perseverance. They had passed the mouth of a river, which, being barred by low sandy islands, they had not perceived. Their stock of provisions was now reduced to eight days' consumption, and it became a matter of the first importance to obtain a supply.

Their last remaining bags of pemmican had become mouldy from damp, and their meat had been so badly cured, in consequence of being dried by fire, instead of the sun, as to be scarcely eatable. A steady perseverance, however, in the discharge of duty, and an humble trust in that gracious Providence who had so often preserved them when in the most imminent danger, supported them under the several trials they endured, and enabled them still to pursue their course with courage and zeal. Captain Franklin came to the resolution of seeking for the Esquimaux, who, he had been informed, frequented the shores at this season, being determined, if possible,

to obtain some supplies, and thinking that, if he found them disposed to be friendly, he might establish a winter encampment in this place. Some of the men were accordingly despatched on this errand; but they returned without success; they had, however, procured two small deer, and a brown bear. The Canadians, supposing from the leanness of the bear that it had been sickly, declined eating any of its flesh; but the officers boiled its paws, and found them excellent eating.

At 10 A.M., on the 1st of August, they again embarked, and continued paddling for several days, making very good progress, and procuring plenty of deer. Since they left Cape Barrow, which is to the north of Detention Harbour, they had been pursuing a south-east course, which made them fear they were leaving the main land, and entering into a large inlet. This they soon discovered to be the case, for it was terminated by a river, which they named Back's River. Landing here, a quantity of dried willows enabled them to light a good fire to dress their food; and the Canadians, who before refused to eat of the bear's flesh, were now glad to partake of that of one which had been shot that morning. Some fish was caught, and a few deer procured, with which they again embarked; and, taking an easterly course, they arrived at the eastern entrance of the inlet which had cost them nine days in exploring, and which they named Bathurst's Inlet.

With this prospect of an open sea before them, they resumed their voyage along the coast, and

persevered until a severe storm arose, which raised the waves to such a height as terrified the Canadians, who were only used to fresh-water navigation. When the wind had somewhat abated, they continued along the coast until they entered a large gulf, which Captain Franklin named after Sir George Warrender, and they afterwards passed Parry's Bay, and Melville's Sound. At this latter place Captain Franklin found, to his great regret, that the canoes had suffered considerably from the rough sea, and the drifted ice. But he was most grieved to find that his crew, who had hitherto borne their hardships with tolerable cheerfulness, now felt such fears for their safety, that they could not help expressing them before him.

These two circumstances, added to many others of less consideration, made him think seriously of returning ; and, after consulting those about him, he came to the resolution of retracing his steps in four days, provided that during that time he did not meet with the Esquimaux. This news cheered the Canadians, who had begun to murmur very much ; they once more set forward with alacrity ; and after passing various bays and islands, until they had proceeded, in all, 550 miles from the mouth of the Coppermine River, they had the pleasure of seeing the sea free from ice to the north-east. Here they again encamped, but searched in vain for the Esquimaux. Captain Franklin and a party of the officers walked for twelve miles along the shore, until they came to a point, which they named Point Turnagain, the land still continuing its northern direction—

latitude 68° 18' north, 109° 25' west longitude. This was on the 18th of August.

Captain Franklin's original intention, whenever the season should compel him to relinquish the survey, had been to return by the way of the Coppermine River, and from thence to reach the Slave Lake : but, in consequence of the scarcity of their provisions, it was now necessary to fix upon a shorter route. He resolved, therefore, to make at once for Arctic Sound, where game had been more plentiful than at any other place, and, after paddling up Hood's River, as far as possible, to make smaller canoes out of their larger ones, which could be carried over the barren grounds to Fort Enterprise. The shortness of the summer was enough to chill any one's hopes of doing much ; it had not begun till the middle of June ; and now when the middle of August was come, the birds and the deer were seen returning to the southward, the nights were frosty, and every sign of winter again appeared. Determined, therefore, to return, and now feeling great want of provisions, for they were actually suffering from hunger, the party resolved on making a stretch of fifteen miles across Melville's Sound, in a very strong wind and heavy sea. It was, indeed, a bold attempt ; but the little canoes reached the shore in safety ; and after an encampment was made, the whole party went to hunt. A few more days' sailing enabled them to reach Hood's River, and thus their voyage in the Arctic Sea was completed, to the great joy of the Canadians, who spent the evening talking over their adventures, and boasting of

their own exploits. The consideration that the most painful, and certainly not the least hazardous part of the journey, was yet to come, did not depress their spirits at all.

On the 26th of August, previous to their departure, the travellers planted the English flag on the loftiest hill in the neighbourhood, and left, in a tin box, a letter containing an outline of their proceedings, the latitude and longitude of the principal places, and the course they intended to pursue to Slave Lake, with a present of beads and trinkets for the Esquimaux, should they come there. They then proceeded up the river, which will be ever memorable from their misfortunes. The shoals and rapids became so numerous on the 27th, that the officers were obliged to walk along the banks, while the crews dragged on the canoes. After this laborious day's work, they encamped at the foot of two magnificent cascades, where the water, which was confined between two great perpendicular rocks, rushes down a precipice of such depth, and falls into a chasm so narrow, that they could only just see the top of the spray which it throws up. This cascade, which effectually stopped their progress, and above which the river was found too rapid and full of shallows for their canoes to make any way, they named Wilberforce Falls.

And now the task of converting the canoes into smaller ones was put into execution, and was completed in a few days. On the 31st of August, both the canoes being finished, preparations were made to depart on the following day. Each man was provided with leather shoes, flannel

socks, and other warm clothing. They were also furnished with one of the officers' tents. The weather was tolerably mild, and all were anxious to begin their journey. The officers carried as much of the baggage as they could, and the rest was divided between the men, two of whom carried the canoes. They proceeded cheerfully, notwithstanding each had so great a burden to carry ; and, as they met with a small supply of deer and oxen, they experienced no present want of food.

A fall of snow, succeeded by heavy rain, now interrupted them, and they lay for some nights drenched with wet, having no fuel to make fires, and but little food to strengthen their bodies under such hardships. At this period commenced their great sufferings. A frost set in with such severity, that their tents were frozen ; but the pangs of hunger were greater than those they suffered from the cold. On the 3d of September, the last piece of pemmican was issued.

Finding it quite useless to delay the prosecution of their journey in the hope of any improvement in their condition, on the 7th of September the order to proceed was given ; though, being weak from hunger, and their clothes stiffened with frost, they were in a very unfit condition to travel. Just as they were about to commence their march, Captain Franklin was seized with a fainting fit, and was with difficulty persuaded to take a little portable soup, so unwilling was he to diminish the scanty store of provisions which remained. It revived him, however, and they went on, the ground covered with deep snow, and the wind so strong, as repeatedly

to throw down the men who carried the canoes. By this circumstance the largest of the canoes, and the only one they had which appeared capable of carrying the party over the river, was so broken as to be quite unserviceable. The accident, however, could not be remedied ; and to make the best of their misfortune, they cut up the broken planks, made a good fire of them, and cooked the remainder of their portable soup and arrow-root. This was a scanty meal after three days' fasting, but it served to allay the pains of hunger, and enabled the party to proceed at a quicker pace than before.

The depth of the snow caused them to march in Indian file, that is, in each other's steps, the Canadians taking it in turn to lead the way, and, as it were, assisting and encouraging themselves to proceed, by fixing upon some distant object as a mark to be reached. In this manner they travelled on for several days, their meals consisting only of some partridge, cooked with the lichen, called by the Canadians *tripe de roche*, which they gathered from the rocks. Yet these scanty meals were received with thankfulness. One instance of the state of starvation to which they were at this time reduced, is worthy of record. A herd of musk oxen being seen grazing in a valley, the best hunters were sent out in pursuit of them, but were two hours getting within gunshot of their prey, during which time the rest of the party awaited their return with extreme anxiety. At length they returned with one of the largest cows which they had killed, which was actually, in a *few minutes*, skinned and cut

up, and the contents of the stomach, and even the raw intestines, devoured with avidity. The travellers had before been complaining of a thick fog ; but it was this very fog which enabled the hunters to get near enough to shoot the animal.

They were now again reduced to live upon the moss called *tripe de roche* ; but even that proved unwholesome ; and they had no longer the means of catching fish, as the Canadians, who, though on all occasions the most eager for food, and the most voracious when it was procured, were at the same time the most improvident, and had imprudently thrown away the fishing nets : yet were there some instances of good feeling exhibited by them, which it is but fair to mention, while we speak of their faults. Perrault came one day and gave each of the officers a little piece of meat, which he had saved from his own allowance. It was received with great thankfulness, and this attention filled the eyes of Captain Franklin and his brother officers with tears.

They now attempted to cross a river, issuing from a lake ; but here the loss of the large canoe was near producing a fatal misfortune, for Captain Franklin having embarked in the small canoe with Belanger and St. Germain, the boat was driven to the brink of a rapid, and Belanger, having applied his paddle to prevent its being forced down the stream, lost his balance, and the little canoe upset. They kept hold of it, however, until they touched a rock, on which they managed to keep their footing until they had emptied the water out of the boat, when Belanger held it steady while St. Germain and

Captain Franklin got into it: Belanger himself they were forced to leave upon the rock, for the canoe dashed down the rapid, filled with water, and was again emptied; but at last they got safe to shore. Meanwhile, Belanger, standing up to his middle in a freezing rapid, called aloud for help. St. Germain tried to get him into the canoe, but in vain, for it was once more hurried down the rapid. They then threw him a line; but it did not reach him, and he was nearly exhausted, when the canoe was, happily, brought near enough for them to throw him a cord, by which they dragged him, perfectly senseless, through the rapid. He was instantly stripped, rolled in a blanket, and by Doctor Richardson's orders, two of the men lay down beside him, until he began to get warm. We may well suppose what anxiety Captain Franklin suffered while he stood alone on the opposite bank of the river, watching the several unsuccessful efforts which were made by St. Germain for Belanger's relief. Yet his own fate would have been the most miserable of all, had the boat been lost, as he must then have been left to wander alone, without the means to light a fire, or relieve himself from his wet clothes, without either gun, hatchet, or ammunition to procure himself provisions of any kind. The canoe, however, was saved; so that his companions were enabled to join him. By this accident Captain Franklin unfortunately lost his portfolio, containing his journal, from Fort Enterprise, and the astrono-

mical and meteorological observations made during the descent of the Coppermine River, but with the exception of the meteorological observations, which had not been copied, the loss was supplied by the journals which had been kept by Dr. Richardson, Mr. Back, and Mr. Hood, which those gentlemen placed at Captain Franklin's disposal.

But amongst all the sufferings of the party, that from hunger was by far the most acute—*tripe de roche*, and singed hide, were considered an acceptable meal, although some of them experienced excessive sickness after eating it. They ate their wretched meal usually in the dark, for the small fire they could procure only sufficed to cook the food, when they had any, and to thaw their frozen shoes; and they struggled to keep up a cheerful conversation amongst themselves, until the blankets warmed their bodies sufficiently to allow them to go to sleep. They went to rest in their wet clothes, lest they should be so frozen in the morning as to prevent them from being able to wear them. As a further instance of their sufferings from hunger, it is related that, on one occasion, Captain Franklin and Dr. Richardson, having been walking to some distance, on their return found a party of the Canadians seated round a willow fire, and enjoying themselves over a meal, such as is almost too disgusting to think of—pieces of skin, and bones of deer, which had been killed by wolves the year before, and some old shoes which they had cut to pieces. They looked, however, in all their miseries, with humble confidence to the Great

Author of all Good, for a continuance of the support which had always been granted them at their greatest need.

But now another trial awaited Captain Franklin and his friends; for Peltier and Vaillant at this moment announced to him, that the canoe had received so many falls that they considered it no longer of any service, and had *left it behind!* —the canoe, which, humanly speaking, he knew to be one of the principal means of reaching the end of their journey, for without it they could not cross any river that might obstruct their way. He entreated the men to fetch it, but they refused: the officers were not strong enough; and eventually, for their folly and insubordination, the Canadians had to suffer more than they could have then anticipated. The loss being thus without remedy, the party resumed their march; but the heavy fall of snow had so covered the footsteps of Mr. Back and the hunters, who were gone before, that it was extremely difficult to trace them; and, between their apprehensions and their wants, the Canadians became quite furious. The hunting party, however, returned with a small supply of deer, but not before Captain Franklin and his fellow-sufferers had been reduced to the dire necessity of eating their old shoes, and a few scraps of leather, to appease their craving stomachs; and, with the strength which this welcome meal afforded them, they all marched on, until they at length found themselves arrived at a part of the Coppermine River. The loss of their canoe was now severely felt, for they could find there neither ford, nor raft, nor wood to make one.

The shores of Point Lake were searched in vain for pines to make a raft. They next tried to make a raft of willows, but the wood was too green, and it had so little buoyancy that only one man could be supported upon it at a time. Still, they thought it might suffice to transport the whole party across the river if a line could be conveyed to the opposite shore; and Dr. Richardson, with his usual promptitude, offered to swim across the stream with the line, and to haul the raft over. He plunged in, with the line about his waist, but had not swam far when his arms became so benumbed with cold that he could not move them: still he persevered, and turning on his back, had nearly reached the opposite bank, when his legs also became stiffened with the cold, and he began to sink; his terrified companions then pulled the line with all their strength, and dragged him back almost lifeless. The same means that had been used with Belanger were, happily, equally successful in restoring Dr. Richardson to animation; and, towards evening, he was able to converse a little, and gradually got better. He attributed the effect of the cold water on his frame to his being so emaciated; and it is a further instance of this gentleman's manly perseverance in his exertions for the sake of his companions, that, although he had trodden upon a dagger, as he was getting into the water, and cut his foot to the bone, it did not deter him from endeavouring to perform what he had undertaken.

The raft having totally failed, St. Germain proposed to make a kind of canoe out of some pieces of canvass, in which they had hitherto wrapped

up their clothes. The officers daily grew weaker, the Canadians refused to gather the *tripe de roche*, and the cook (Samandre) refused to make any exertion whatever: the faithful Hepburn alone remained active, and collected the supply of *tripe de roche* for the daily mess of the officers. The canoe being at last finished, the whole party were transported on the 4th of October, 1821, one by one, across the river, and Mr. Back, with Belanger, St. Germain, and Beauparlant, went in search of the Indians. The remainder of the unhappy sufferers, after eating what was left of their old shoes and scraps of leather, set off over a range of bleak hills that lay before them, except Crédit and Vaillant, who, being too weak to keep up with their companions, sent word to Captain Franklin that they must remain behind. Dr. Richardson turned back, and found them lying in different places, unable to make the smallest exertion; and when some of the other men, who were stronger, were entreated to carry them, they declared they were not equal to the task, and, on the contrary, they urged Captain Franklin to allow them to lay down the portion of baggage which they carried, and make the best of their way to Fort Enterprise.

The officers consulted together as to what was to be done in this emergency. Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood generously proposed to remain behind, at the first place that offered a supply of fire-wood and *tripe de roche* for ten days' consumption, with the weak and worn-down of the party, till assistance should be sent to them from the Fort, from which they were now only twenty-

four miles distant. To this arrangement Captain Franklin reluctantly consented, as he had every reason to expect that they would find a store of provisions at the Fort, and a band of Indians in the neighbourhood, according to the arrangement made with Mr. Wentzel. With Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood, John Hepburn, the worthy English seaman, whose conduct on all occasions was above all praise, volunteered to stay.

Their tent, therefore, being securely pitched, the offer was made, for any of the men, who felt themselves too weak to proceed, to remain behind ; but none of them accepted it. After uniting, therefore, in thanksgiving and prayer to Almighty God, the two parties separated, Peltier and Benoit repeating their promise to return with provisions, if any should be found at the house, or to guide the Indians to them, if any were met on the way.

The party who accompanied Captain Franklin consisted of eight persons. The snow was very deep ; and before they had proceeded many miles, Belanger and Michel being quite exhausted, they were forced to encamp. After passing the night in a wretched and half perishing condition, Captain Franklin consented to let these two return, sending a note by them to Dr. Richardson, to tell him of a group of pines which they had passed, and which would afford a good shelter for the tent. Michel took a good deal of ammunition with him, saying he would go in search of Vaillant and Crédit. The next day Fontano fainted, and Perrault was seized with dizziness : a few morsels of burnt leather were

given to them, which enabled them to proceed ; subsequently, however, they both were sent back to the encampment.

Captain Franklin had now only four Canadians with him, Adam, Peltier, Benoit, and Samandre. Augustus had gone on, being impatient at the delay occasioned by so many being sent back. With these he arrived at the Fort on the evening of the 11th, having tasted nothing for five days but a single meal of *tripe de roche*.

On reaching the Fort, to their utter dismay there were no provisions, no Mr. Back, no Mr. Wentzel ; nor any letter, save a few lines in the handwriting of Mr. Back, stating that he had reached the place on the 9th, but, finding no supplies, he had gone on in search of the Indians.

On their arrival the party set to work to collect skins and *tripe de roche* for supper : they also pulled up some wood from the floor, which made them an excellent fire. Augustus joined them while they were seated round the fire, singeing the deer-skin for supper ; and in two days afterwards Solomon Belanger arrived with a note from Mr. Back, to say he could not find the Indians, and to receive orders how to go on. The poor fellow, having had a fall down a rapid, was covered with a crust of ice, and quite speechless ; and Captain Franklin observed with pleasure, from the kind attention shown him by the Canadians, that affliction had softened their hearts, making them for a time forget their own sufferings in their care for another.

When Belanger recovered, he returned to Mr. Back, viz. on the 18th of October. Adam, who

was unable to move on account of ill health, was left at Fort Enterprise with Peltier and Samandre, who volunteered to remain with him; and Captain Franklin determined to set out with Benoit and Augustus, intending to send Adam and his companions relief by the first party of Indians he should meet with. His plan was to take the route towards Fort Providence; and he wrote to Mr. Back by Belanger, to desire him to join him at Reindeer Lake, and detailing the occurrences since they parted, so that Dr. Richardson and his companions might receive relief in case of any accident happening to Captain Franklin.

Captain Franklin accordingly set forth on the morning of the 20th of October. His clothes were so much torn as to be quite inadequate to screen him from the wind, and Peltier and Samandre kindly exchanged parts of their dress with him, desiring him to send them skins in return by the Indians. They patched up three pair of snow-shoes, and singed a considerable quantity of skin for food for the journey. Previous to his departure, Captain Franklin packed up the journals of the officers, the charts, and some other documents, together with a letter addressed to the Secretary of State, describing the progress of the expedition up to that period, and gave it in charge to Peltier and Samandre, with directions that it should be brought away by the Indians who might come to them. He also instructed them to forward succour immediately on its arrival to their companions in the rear, which they solemnly promised to do; and he left a letter for his friends, Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood, to be sent at the same time.

At first starting, they were so feeble as scarcely to be able to move forward ; and the descent of the bank of the river through the deep snow was a severe labour. When they came upon the ice, where the snow was less deep, they got on better ; but, after walking six hours, they had only gained four miles, and were then compelled by fatigue to encamp on the borders of Round Rock Lake. Augustus tried for fish there, but without success ; so that their fare was only skin and tea. Composing themselves to rest, they lay close to each other, for warmth. They found the night bitterly cold, and the wind pierced through their famished frames.

The next morning was mild and pleasant for travelling ; and the party set out after their scanty and unsavoury breakfast. They had not, however, gone many yards, before Captain Franklin had the misfortune to break his snowshoes, by falling between two rocks. This accident prevented him from keeping pace with Benoit and Augustus, and in the attempt to do so he became quite exhausted. Being convinced that their being delayed on his account might prove of fatal consequence to the rest, Captain Franklin resolved on returning to the house, and letting Benoit and Augustus proceed without him in search of the Indians. He halted them, therefore, while he wrote a note to Mr. Back, stating the reason of his return, and requesting he would send meat from Reindeer Lake by those men, if Saint Germain should kill any animals there. If they should miss Mr. Back, Benoit was directed to proceed to Fort Providence, and

Captain Franklin furnished him with a letter to the gentleman in charge of it, requesting that immediate supplies might be sent to them.

On Captain Franklin's return to Fort Enterprise, he found Samandre very dispirited, and too weak, as he said, to render any assistance to Peltier, upon whom the whole labour of getting wood, and collecting the means of subsistence, would have devolved : Captain Franklin therefore considered his return to be particularly fortunate in these circumstances, as he hoped to stimulate Samandre to exertion, and at any rate he could contribute some help to Peltier. The Captain undertook the office of cooking, and insisted they should eat twice a-day, whenever food could be procured ; but as he was too weak to pound the bones, Peltier agreed to do that in addition to his more fatiguing task of getting wood. Violent snow-storms, with the depression of spirits of Adam and Samandre, increased the misery of their situation. This brave officer, however, in his narrative, says, " Our situation was indeed distressing, but, in comparison with that of our friends in the rear, we considered it happy. Their condition gave us unceasing solicitude, and was the principal subject of our conversation."

Their strength, however, declined daily ; but they buoyed themselves up with the hope of the speedy arrival of the Indians. They were obliged to pull down the partitions of the houses adjoining their dwelling for fire-wood ; but Peltier, who was employed in that way, became so weak that he could hardly lift the hatchet ; he persevered, however, and the Captain and Samandre assisted in carrying

the wood, but their united strength could only collect sufficient to replenish the fire four times in the course of the day. The insides of their mouths had become sore from eating the bone-soup, the use of which they were therefore obliged to relinquish ; and they now boiled the deer-skin, which mode of dressing they found more palatable than burning, or rather scorching it, as they had hitherto done. A herd of deer was seen one day sporting on the river, about half a mile from the house, but none of the party were strong enough to go after them, neither could any one of them have fired a gun without resting it.

This was on the 29th of October. The following extract from Captain Franklin's narrative will show what occurred at the close of that memorable day :—

“ Whilst we were seated round the fire this evening, discoursing about the anticipated relief, the conversation was suddenly interrupted by Peltier exclaiming with joy, ‘Ah ! le monde !’ (Ah ! here they are !)—imagining that he heard the Indians in the other room ; immediately afterwards, to his bitter disappointment, Dr. Richardson and Hepburn entered, each carrying his bundle. Peltier, however, soon recovered himself enough to express his joy at their safe arrival, and his regret that their companions were not with them. When I saw them alone my own mind was instantly filled with apprehensions respecting my friend Hood, and our other companions, which were immediately confirmed by the Doctor's melancholy communication, that Mr. Hood and Michel were dead. Perrault and

Fontano had neither reached the tent, nor been heard of by them. This intelligence produced a melancholy despondency in the minds of my party, and on that account the particulars were deferred until another opportunity. We were all shocked at beholding the emaciated countenances of the Doctor and Hepburn, as they strongly evidenced their extremely debilitated state. The alteration in our appearance was equally distressing to them, for since the swellings had subsided we were little more than skin and bone. The Doctor particularly remarked the sepulchral tone of our voices, which he requested us to make more cheerful, if possible, unconscious that his own partook of the same key.

“Hepburn having shot a partridge, which was brought to the house, the Doctor tore out the feathers, and having held it to the fire a few minutes, divided into seven portions. Each piece was ravenously devoured by my companions, as it was the first morsel of flesh any of us had tasted for thirty-one days, unless, indeed, the small gristly particles which we found occasionally adhering to the pounded bones, may be termed flesh. Our spirits were revived by this small supply, and the Doctor endeavoured to raise them still higher by the prospect of Hepburn's being able to kill a deer next day, as they had seen, and even fired at several near the house. He endeavoured, too, to rouse us to some attention to the comfort of our apartment, and particularly to roll up, in the day, our blankets, which (expressly for the convenience of Adam and Samandre) we had been in the habit of leaving

by the fire, where we lay on them. The Doctor having brought his Prayer-book and Testament, some prayers, and psalms, and portions of Scripture, appropriate to our situation, were read, and we retired to bed.

“Next morning the Doctor and Hepburn went out early in search of deer, but though they saw several herds, and fired some shots, they were not so fortunate as to kill any, being too weak to hold their guns steadily. My occupation was to search for skins under the snow, it being now our object immediately to get all that we could; but I had not strength to drag in more than two of those which were within twenty yards of the house, until the Doctor came and assisted me. We made up our stock to twenty-six, but several of them were putrid, and scarcely eatable, even by men suffering the extremity of famine.

“After our usual supper of singed skin and bone soup, Dr. Richardson acquainted me with the afflicting circumstances attending the death of Mr. Hood and Michel, and detailed the occurrences subsequent to my departure from them, which I shall give from his journal, in his own words; but I must here be permitted to express the heart-felt sorrow with which I was overwhelmed at the loss of so many companions, especially that of my friend Mr. Hood, to whose zealous and able co-operation I had been indebted for so much valuable assistance during the expedition, whilst the excellent qualities of his heart engaged my warmest regard. His scientific observations, together with his maps and drawings, evince a variety of talent which, had his

life been spared, must have rendered him a distinguished ornament to his profession, and which will cause his death to be felt as a loss to the service."

The following is the substance of Dr. Richardson's narrative, extracted from his journal :—

After Captain Franklin had bidden them farewell, they remained seated by the fire-side as long as the willows which the men had cut for them before they departed, lasted. They had no *tripe de roche* that day, but drank an infusion of the country tea-plant—the same as that spoken of by Captain Franklin when he describes their meal to have consisted of tea. This was grateful from its warmth, but it afforded no sustenance. They then lay down to rest, and remained lying down all the next day, for the stormy weather prevented them from lighting a fire with the green and frozen willows, which were their only fuel. Previous to leaving England, the party had been supplied, through the kindness of a lady, with a small collection of religious books, of which they still retained two or three of the most portable, and they proved of incalculable benefit to them. They read portions of them to each other as they lay in bed, in addition to the morning and evening service, and found that they inspired them with so strong a sense of the omnipresence of a beneficent God, that their situation, even in those wilds, appeared no longer destitute; and they conversed not only with calmness, but with cheerfulness, detailing with unrestrained confidence the past events of their lives, and dwelling with hope on their future prosperity.

"Had my poor friend," says Dr. Richardson, "been spared to revisit his native land, I should look back to this period with unalloyed delight."

Michel arrived on the 29th with Captain Franklin's note, informing them that there was a clump of pine-trees about a mile beyond their encampment, and recommending them to remove their tent thither. Michel said that he had missed his way on the route from the pine-trees, and that Belanger, being impatient, had left the fire, by the side of which the two had passed the night, about two hours earlier, and as he had not arrived, he supposed he had gone astray. It will be seen in the sequel that Dr. Richardson and his friend had but too much reason to doubt the truth of this story.

Michel produced a hare and a partridge which he had killed in the morning; they were very acceptable, and Michel was looked upon as the instrument, in the hands of the Almighty, for preserving their lives. He complained of cold, and Mr. Hood offered to share his buffalo robe with him at night; Dr. Richardson gave him one of two shirts which he wore, whilst the sailor, Hepburn, in the warmth of his heart, exclaimed,— "How I shall love this man, if I find that he does not tell lies like the others!" Early on the following morning Dr. Richardson, Hepburn, and Michel, carried the ammunition and most of the other heavy articles to the pines. Michel guided them quite straight, which did not agree with his story of having gone astray on his way to the encampment. He said that on his route thither he had left on the hill above the pines a gun

and forty-eight balls, which Perrault had given him, when, with the rest of Captain Franklin's party, he took leave of him. From Captain Franklin's narrative, however, it appears that Perrault carried his gun and ammunition with him when they parted from Michel and Belanger. Dr. Richardson and Hepburn returned much exhausted to the tent in the evening, but Michel preferred sleeping where he was, requesting that the hatchet might be left with him, which was done, upon his promise to go to them early in the morning to assist in carrying the tent and bedding.

After waiting till late in the morning for Michel, who did not come, Dr. Richardson and Hepburn loaded themselves with the bedding, and, accompanied by Mr. Hood, set out for the pines. Mr. Hood was labouring under such extreme debility they were obliged to move very slowly, and to make frequent halts. On arriving at the pines they were much alarmed to find that Michel was absent. As they had seen nothing of Belanger, they gave him up as lost. Hepburn went back for the tent, and returned with it after dusk, completely worn out with fatigue. Michel arrived at the same time. He said he had been chasing some deer which passed near his sleeping place, but did not come up with them; but that he had found a wolf which had been killed by a stroke from a deer's horn, and had brought a part of it. Dr. Richardson says, "We implicitly believed this story then, but afterwards became convinced, from circumstances the details of which may be spared, that it must have been a portion

of the body of Belanger or Perrault. Circumstances were very strong against him as having murdered those two poor men; and the subsequent conduct of Michel showed that he was capable of committing such horrible deeds. The next day Michel went out early, refusing Dr. Richardson's offer to accompany him, and remaining out the whole day. He would not sleep in the tent at night, but chose to lie at the fire-side. On the 13th he set out, as he said, to hunt, but returned unexpectedly in a very short time. His contradictory answers to the questions put to him excited some suspicions. On the 15th Michel was in a very bad humour: expressed his regret at having stayed behind Captain Franklin's party, and refused to assist in cutting wood; but about noon, after much solicitation, he set out to hunt. He returned in the evening, having met with no success. Next day he refused either to hunt or cut wood, spoke in a very surly manner, and threatened to leave them. Mr. Hood and Dr. Richardson thought it better to promise that if he would hunt diligently for four days, they would give Hepburn a letter for Captain Franklin, with a compass, and let them proceed together to the fort. By the 18th, Mr. Hood, from feeding, like the rest of the party, almost entirely on the *tripe de roche*, became so much affected by pains in the bowels, and so weak, as to be scarcely able to sit up. The cold was so great, that though they lay close to each other at night, the heat of their bodies was no longer sufficient to thaw the frozen rime formed by their breath on the blankets that covered

them. Dr. Richardson adds, that with the decay of their bodily strength their minds decayed, and they were no longer able to bear the contemplation of the horrors which surrounded them. Yet they were calm and resigned to their fate; not a murmur escaped them; and they were punctual and fervent in their addresses to the Supreme Being.

On the 19th Michel refused to hunt, or even to assist in carrying a log of wood to the fire, which was too heavy for Doctor Richardson's and Hepburn's strength. Mr. Hood endeavoured to point out to him the necessity and duty of exertion, and the cruelty of his quitting them without leaving something for their support:—but this seemed only to excite his anger; and amongst other expressions, he made use of the following remarkable one: “It is no use hunting, there are no animals; you had better kill and eat me.” At length, however, he went out, but returned very soon, and said he had seen three deer, but that he could not follow them, as he had wetted his foot in a small stream of water, thinly covered with ice, and therefore was obliged to come to the fire.

On Sunday, October 20th, Michel was again urged to go out to hunt, so as to leave Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood some provision, the next day being appointed for his quitting us; but he showed great unwillingness to go out, and lingered about the fire, under the pretence of cleaning his gun. After reading the morning service, Dr. Richardson went, about noon, to gather some *tripe de roche*, leaving Mr. Hood sitting before the tent

at the fire-side, arguing with Michel. Hepburn was employed cutting down a tree at a short distance from the tent, being desirous of collecting a quantity of fire-wood before he left Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood. A short time after the Doctor went out he heard the report of a gun, and about ten minutes afterwards Hepburn called to him, in a voice of great alarm, to come directly. When he arrived he found poor Mr. Hood lying lifeless at the fire-side, a ball having apparently entered the back part of his head, and passed out at the forehead, and the muzzle of the gun had been applied so close as to set fire to the night-cap behind. The gun, which was of the longest kind supplied to the Indians, could not have been placed in a position to inflict such a wound except by a second person.

Upon inquiring of Michel how it happened, he replied, that Mr. Hood had sent him into the tent for the short gun, and that during his absence the long gun had gone off, he did not know whether by accident or not. He held the short gun in his hand while he was speaking with Dr. Richardson. Hepburn afterwards informed the Doctor that previously to the report of the gun Mr. Hood and Michel were speaking to each other in an elevated angry tone; that Mr. Hood, being seated at the fire-side, was hidden from him by intervening willows, but that on hearing the report he looked up, and saw Michel rising up from before the tent-door, just behind where Mr. Hood was seated, and then going back into the tent. Thinking that the gun had been discharged for the purpose of cleaning it, he did not go to the fire at first; and

when Michel called to him that Mr. Hood was dead, a considerable time had elapsed. Although Dr. Richardson dared not openly evince any suspicion that he thought Michel guilty of the deed, yet Michel repeatedly protested that he was incapable of committing such an act, kept constantly on his guard, and carefully avoided leaving Hepburn and the Doctor together. He was evidently afraid of giving them an opportunity of conversing in private, and was constantly asking if they suspected him of the murder. He understood English very imperfectly, but sufficiently to render it unsafe for the Doctor and Hepburn to speak on the subject in his presence. The body was removed into a clump of willows behind the tent, and Dr. Richardson, Hepburn, and Michel returning to the fire, the funeral service was read by the Doctor, in addition to the evening prayers. Dr. Richardson pays a just tribute in his narrative to the memory of this young officer, who was gifted with distinguished and varied talents and powers of application, and who had displayed such patience and fortitude under the severest bodily sufferings. A book of devotion was lying open beside the body, as if it had fallen from his hand, and it is probable that he was reading it at the instant of his death. The three—Dr. Richardson, Hepburn, and Michel—passed the night together in the tent without rest, every one being on his guard. Next day, having determined on going to the Fort, they began to patch and prepare their clothes for the journey.

They singed the hair off a part of the buffalo-robe which had belonged to poor Mr. Hood, and

boiled and ate it. Michel tried to persuade Dr. Richardson to go to the woods on the Coppermine River and hunt for deer, instead of going to the Fort. In the afternoon a flock of partridges coming near the tent, he killed several, which he shared with his companions. On the morning of the 23d of October they set out, carrying with them the remains of the singed robe. Hepburn and Michel had each a gun, and Dr. Richardson carried a small pistol, which Hepburn had loaded for him. In the course of the march Michel alarmed them much by his gestures and conduct, was constantly muttering to himself, expressed an unwillingness to go to the Fort, and tried to persuade Dr. Richardson to go to the southward, to the woods, where he said he could maintain himself all the winter by killing deer. In consequence of this behaviour, and of the expression of his countenance, Dr. Richardson requested him to leave them, and go to the south himself. This proposal increased his ill-nature; he threw out some obscure hints of freeing himself from all restraint on the morrow; and Dr. Richardson overheard him muttering threats against Hepburn, whom he openly accused of having told falsehoods against him. He also, for the first time, assumed such a tone of superiority in addressing Dr. Richardson, as evinced that he considered him and Hepburn to be completely in his power, and he gave vent to several expressions of hatred towards the white people, or, as he termed us, in the idiom of the voyagers, the French, some of whom, he said, had killed and eaten his uncle, and two of his relations. "In short," Dr. Richard-

son says, "taking every circumstance of his conduct into consideration, I came to the conclusion that he would attempt to destroy us on the first opportunity that offered, and that he had hitherto abstained from doing so from his ignorance of the way to the Fort, but that he would never suffer us to go thither in company with him. In the course of the day he had several times remarked that we were pursuing the same course that Captain Franklin was doing when he left him, and that by keeping towards the setting sun he could find the way himself.

"Hepburn and I were not in a condition to resist even an open attack, nor could we by any device escape from him. Our united strength was far inferior to his; and, besides his gun, he was armed with two pistols, an Indian bayonet, and a knife. In the afternoon, coming to a rock on which there was some *tripe de roche*, he halted, and said he would gather it while we went on, and that he would soon overtake us. Hepburn and I were now left together, for the first time since Mr. Hood's death, and he acquainted me with several material circumstances which he had observed of Michel's behaviour, and which confirmed me in the opinion that there was no safety for us except in his death, and he offered to be the instrument of it. I determined, however, as I was thoroughly convinced of the necessity of such a dreadful act, to take the whole responsibility upon myself; and, immediately upon Michel's coming up, I put an end to his life by shooting him through the head with a pistol. Had my own life alone been threatened, I would

not have purchased it by such a measure; but I considered myself as entrusted also with the protection of that of Hepburn, a man who, by his humane attentions and devotedness, had so endeared himself to me, that I felt more anxiety for his safety than for my own. Michel had gathered no *tripe de roche*, and it was evident to us that he had halted for the purpose of putting his gun in order, with the intention of attacking us, perhaps, whilst we were in the act of encamping. I have dwelt in the preceding part of my narrative upon many circumstances of Michel's conduct, not for the purpose of aggravating his crime, but to put the reader in possession of the reasons that influenced me in depriving a fellow-creature of life. Up to the period of his return to the tent his conduct had been good, and respectful to the officers; and in a communication between Captain Franklin, Mr. Hood, and myself, at Obstruction Rapid, it had been proposed to give him a reward upon our arrival at a post. His principles, however, unsupported by a belief in the Divine truths of Christianity, were unable to withstand the pressure of severe distress. His countrymen, the Iroquois, are generally Christians, but he was totally uninstructed, and ignorant of the duties inculcated by Christianity, and from his long residence in the Indian country seemed to have imitated, or retained, the rules of conduct which the southern Indians prescribe to themselves."

The remainder of Dr. Richardson's narrative recounts the toils and privations they endured in the six days of their journey to the Fort after the above frightful event. Their only suste-

nance was lichen, which was moistened and toasted over the fire, and some pieces of singed buffalo hide, forming a part of poor Mr. Hood's cloak. They saw several herds of rein-deer, but Hepburn, who used to be considered a good shot, was now unable to hold the gun straight, and although he got near them, all his efforts proved fruitless. They frequently sunk under the load of their blankets, and their march was very painful from the depth of the snow, especially on the margin of the small lakes which lay in their route. One day a part of their painful route lay over some large stones, amongst which Dr. Richardson fell down upwards of twenty times, and became at length so exhausted, that if Hepburn had not exerted himself far beyond his strength, and speedily made the encampment, and kindled a fire, he must have perished on the spot. At dusk, on the 29th of October, they came in sight of the Fort, and Dr. Richardson declares it to be impossible to describe their sensations when, on attaining the eminence which overlooks it, they beheld the smoke issuing from one of the chimneys. That day, in passing through a clump of pines, they saw a flock of partridges, and Hepburn succeeded in killing one, after firing several shots; this partridge, as already mentioned, they brought with them to Fort Enterprise, and divided it with the famished inmates.

Dr. Richardson concludes his painfully interesting narrative in the following words :—

“ Upon entering the now desolate building, we had the satisfaction of embracing Captain Franklin, but no words can convey an idea of

the filth and wretchedness that met our eyes on looking around. Our own misery had stolen upon us by degrees, and we were accustomed to the contemplation of each other's emaciated figures ; but the ghastly countenances, dilated eyeballs, and sepulchral voices of Captain Franklin and those with him, were more than we could, at first, bear."

On the 31st of October, Hepburn went in quest of deer, and the Doctor endeavoured to kill some partridges, but both were unsuccessful. They began to cut the wood for fuel, and brought it to the house, but Captain Franklin being too weak to aid in these laborious tasks, was employed in searching for bones, and cooking, and attending to their more weakly companions. The Doctor, next day, obtained a little *tripe de roche*. On that day, the 1st of November, Peltier and Samandre died ; and it is a singular fact that poor Peltier had fixed on the 1st of November as the time when he should cease to expect any relief from the Indians, and had repeatedly said, that if they did not arrive by that day, he should not survive.

Their companions removed the bodies to a distant part of the house, but were not strong enough to carry them out, or to bury them. Their own dissolution, as they thought, was near at hand. Their stock of bones was spent, and the fatigue of taking the hair off the skin, to make it into soup, was too much for any of them. The hardness of the floor had caused great soreness to their skeleton bodies, but, even in the midst of their hardships, they could enjoy three or four hours' sleep at night ; and, strange to say,

their dreams were always about the pleasure of feasting. They grew pettish one with another, and without reason ; though the peevishness was no sooner expressed than it was apologized for, to be repeated in the course of a few minutes ; each, also, thought the other weaker in intellect than himself, and more in need of advice and assistance ; and this was so obvious even to themselves, that on one occasion Hepburn exclaimed, " Dear me ! if we are spared to return to England, I wonder if we shall ever recover our understandings ! "

On the 7th of November, Adam, at last, appeared dying. Captain Franklin was employed in cheering him, and Dr. Richardson and Hepburn were cutting wood, when a musket-shot was heard, and they immediately espied three Indians close to the house. Dr. Richardson went in to communicate the joyful intelligence that relief had arrived, and the two officers knelt down, and returned thanks to the Almighty for this deliverance ; but poor Adam was in so low a state, that he could scarcely comprehend the information.

These Indians were sent by Mr. Back, who, with a generous devotedness, never rested, going from one station to another, till he met with the relief his friends so much required. They brought some dried deer's meat, some fat, and a few tongues ; and all ate voraciously, except Adam, who was too weak to feed himself, and therefore did not suffer, as his companions did, dreadfully from indigestion. The Indians gave him small pieces at a time, and would not let him eat too much. These kind creatures never rested till

they had made the travellers more comfortable : they buried the dead bodies, cleared the room of the dirt, kept up cheerful fires, and persuaded them to wash and shave themselves. A fresh arrival of food completed the recovery of the sufferers, and before long they were enabled to set out for the Indian encampment ; their deliverers feeding them like children, giving up their own snow-shoes to them, keeping by their sides, lifting them up when they fell, and, in short, taking every care of them. Here they saw their old friend Akaitcho, who showed the tenderest pity for their sufferings.

A very few days brought letters from Mr. Back, as well as from England, which informed them of their friends, and that Captain Franklin, Mr. Back, and poor Mr. Hood, had been promoted : they also mentioned Captain Parry's safe return, after he had reached to within 500 miles of Point Turnagain. In a few days after this, they arrived at Fort Providence, where they were once more in a comfortable dwelling. They there again renewed their grateful praises for their deliverance.

This closes the narrative of Captain Franklin's proceedings ; for, as soon as the travellers were sufficiently recruited, they set out for York Factory, which they reached on the 14th of July, 1822, and were received with every mark of attention and kindness, by all the officers of the united companies ; and thus terminated their long, fatiguing, and disastrous travels in North America, in the course of which they had journeyed, by water and by land (including the navigation of the Polar Seas) 5,550 miles.

CHAPTER V.

CAPTAIN FRANKLIN'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO THE SHORES OF
THE POLAR SEA, IN THE YEARS 1825, 1826, and 1827.

THE British Government having, towards the close of the year 1823, determined upon another attempt to effect a northern passage by sea, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and Captain Parry, the highly distinguished commander of the two preceding expeditions, having again been entrusted with its execution—the details of which expedition will be found in the second volume of “Arctic Voyages,”—it appeared to Captain Franklin, who had returned to England from his first journey to the shores of the Polar Sea, that as the object was one for which Great Britain had contended for upwards of three centuries, it might be desirable to pursue it by more ways than one ; and he, therefore, laid before Government a plan for an expedition overland to the mouth of the Mackenzie River, and thence, by sea, to the north-western extremity of America, with the combined object, also, of surveying the coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers.

Captain Franklin was well aware of the sympathy excited in the minds of the British public by the sufferings of those engaged in the former overland expedition to the mouth of the Copper-

mine River, as detailed in the preceding pages of this work ; and of the humane repugnance of the British Government to expose others to a like fate ; but he succeeded in showing, that in the course he proposed similar dangers were not to be apprehended, while the objects to be attained were important at once to the naval character, scientific reputation, and commercial interest of Great Britain ; and he received directions from the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, to make the necessary preparations for the equipment of the expedition, to the command of which he was appointed.

Captain Franklin's much valued friend, Dr. Richardson, offered his services as naturalist and surgeon, and also volunteered to undertake the survey of the coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers, while the Captain should be occupied in endeavouring to reach Icy Cape. Lieutenant Back, Captain Franklin's friend and former companion, was also appointed to accompany him, an appointment which he accepted with his wonted zeal. Mr. E. N. Kendall, Admiralty-mate, was chosen to accompany Dr. Richardson in his voyage to the eastward, and to the duty of assistant surveyor to the expedition at large while it continued united ; and Mr. Thomas Drummond of Forfar was appointed assistant naturalist.

Captain Franklin also obtained the sanction of the Government to employ Mr. Peter Warren Dease, chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, with whose qualifications he had many opportunities of becoming acquainted on his first journey. His duty would be to superintend the

management of the fisheries, as during a residence in the northern parts of America the party must necessarily depend for subsistence on the daily supply of fish. His services would also be valuable in directing the employments of the Canadian voyagers and Indians, whose success in hunting would be of the utmost importance.

The arrangements which Captain Franklin made were chiefly the following: he obtained, through the kindness of the Governor and Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, directions to their officers engaged in the fur trade, to provide the necessary depôts of provisions which Captain Franklin pointed out, and to give every other aid in their power; stores also were forwarded from England, by way of New York, in March, 1824, for the purpose of relieving the expedition, as much as possible, from the incumbrance of heavy baggage, and thus enabling it more quickly to reach its intended winter quarters at Great Bear Lake, as well as to provide for its more comfortable reception at that place. The Great Bear Lake was selected for the winter residence of the party, on account of its being the place nearest to the mouth of the Mackenzie known to the traders, where a sufficient supply of fish could be procured for the support of so many persons.

From this lake flows the Great Bear River, which runs into the Mackenzie; so that there was a direct water communication from that post to the sea.

There were also sent out from England, in June, 1824, three light boats, built under Cap-

tain Franklin's directions, which were to be left at York Factory by the annual Hudson's Bay ship, together with a further supply of stores, two carpenters, and a party of men, with a view to their reaching Cumberland-house the same season, in order that, in the spring of 1825, they might be sent towards the Bear Lake, and be as far advanced as possible on their way thither, before they should be overtaken by the officers of the expedition, who intended to take the shortest route through the United States : besides which, two large canoes, with the necessary equipments and stores, were directed to be sent from Montreal, and deposited at Penetanguishine, the naval depôt of Lake Huron, to await their arrival there ; Captain Franklin having been informed that, in ordinary seasons, they might, by commencing their voyage at that place, arrive in the north-west country ten days earlier than by proceeding by the usual way up the Utawas River from Montreal.

The canoes which navigate the rivers of North America are well adapted for the purpose, both on account of their lightness, which enables them to be carried when necessary, and of the ease with which they can be repaired ; but, as they are much too slight to bear the concussion of waves in a rough sea, and still less fitted for coming in contact with ice, Captain Franklin had three boats made for the purpose at Woolwich, by order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. They were built of mahogany, with timbers of ash, both ends exactly alike, and fitted to be steered either with a sweep oar or a rudder. The largest, twenty-six feet long, and five feet

four inches broad, was adapted for six rowers, a steersman, and an officer : it could be borne on the shoulders of six men, and could carry three tons' weight, in addition to the crew. The two others were each twenty-four feet long, four feet ten inches broad, and were capable of receiving a crew of five men, a steersman, and an officer, with an additional weight of two and a half tons.

In addition to these, a little boat was built at Woolwich, and called the Walnut Shell, from its shape, being like one valve of a walnut-shell. It was nine feet in length, the breadth four feet four inches ; was framed of well-seasoned ash, fastened with thongs, and covered with Mackintosh's prepared waterproof canvass. It weighed only eighty-five pounds ; when taken in pieces it could be made up in five or six parcels, and was capable of being put together in less than twenty minutes. This little vessel was intended to provide against a similar detention to that which proved so fatal to Captain Franklin's party on the former journey ; and it was also thought that it would be useful in procuring water-fowl on the small lakes, to which the larger boats could not be conveyed.

The stores provided for the expedition consisted of bedding and clothing, including two suits of waterproof dresses for each person ; guns, ammunition, a quantity of wheaten flour, arrow-root, macaroni, portable soup, chocolate, essence of coffee, sugar, and tea, calculated to last two years. All these were made up into packages of eighty-five pounds, and covered with three layers of waterproof canvass, to protect

them from wet. Coverings of the same material were also made for the cargo of each boat.

There were, besides, an ample stock of tobacco, a small quantity of wine and spirits, marquees and tents for the men and officers, some books, writing-paper and drawing-paper, nets, twine, fishing-lines and hooks ; together with many articles to be used at winter-quarters, for the service of the post and for the supply of the Indian hunters, such as cloth, blankets, shirts, coloured belts, chiefs' dresses, combs, looking-glasses, beads, tapes, gartering, knives, guns, daggers, hatchets, awls, gun-worms, flints, fire-steels, files, whip and hand saws, ice-chisels, and trenching-irons—the latter to break open the beaver lodges.

The astronomical and magnetic instruments were selected with a due regard to their portability as well as to their efficacy. Among them was a pocket compass for each officer.

We may pass rapidly over the proceedings of Captain Franklin and his officers, till they joined the boats, which had been sent out from England the preceding year, and forwarded from York Factory to Cumberland-house, and from thence had been sent on towards the Bear Lake. It will suffice to mention that, on the 16th of February, 1825, Captain Franklin embarked, with his officers already mentioned and four marines, at Liverpool, and reached New York on the 15th of March, from whence they went up the Hudson River, in a steam-boat, to Albany : they were afterwards conveyed to Leweston, at which place they entered Canada, crossing the River Niagara, and visiting the Falls, so

justly celebrated as the first in the world for grandeur. Their course then led them across Lake Ontario to York, the capital of Upper Canada ; then across Lake Simcoe to Kempenfeldt Bay, down the River Nattawassaga, and through a part of Lake Huron to Penetanguishene, where they found the two canoes sent out from Montreal, but were obliged to wait for the arrival of the Canadian voyagers, who were to come from that city, for the purpose of conveying them to the place of rendezvous, on the Great Bear Lake. They left Penetanguishene on the 23d of April, in the two large canoes ; the party, by the accession of the voyagers, amounting to thirty-three, and, after a few days' detention by ice, reached Sault de St. Marie on the 1st of May. Thence they coasted the northern shore of Lake Superior to Fort William, formerly the great depôt of the North-west Company, where they arrived on the 10th of May, 1825.

There they exchanged their two large canoes for four small north canoes, in one of which, more lightly laden, Captain Franklin and Dr. Richardson embarked, with a view of proceeding as rapidly as possible, to arrange supplies of provisions at the different posts ; while Lieutenant Back was left to bring up the three remaining and more deeply laden canoes.

Proceeding now by the route marked in maps of these parts, through Rainy Lake, the Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg, and the Saskatchewan River, they reached Cumberland-house on the 15th of June, where they learned that the

three boats sent out from England by the Hudson's Bay ship, and forwarded from York Factory, had left it on the 2d of the same month.

After stopping one night at Cumberland-house, Captain Franklin and his companions resumed their voyage; and, passing through Pine Island Lake and Beaver Lake, Deep River, Clear and Buffalo Lakes, overtook the boats in Methye River, latitude $56^{\circ} 10'$ north, longitude $108^{\circ} 55'$ west at sunrise on the 29th of June, 1825: and here the account, properly speaking, commences.

The three boats of the expedition had advanced from Hudson's Bay into the interior 1,200 miles, before they were joined by Captain Franklin; whilst he and his companions, from taking a more circuitous land route by New York and Canada, had travelled no less than 2,800 miles to reach the same point.

The instructions which Captain Franklin received from the British Government, after stating that the object of the expedition was to explore the northern coast of America, between the mouth of Mackenzie River, and the Strait Behring, were, briefly, that he was to make the best of his way to the western side of the Great Bear Lake, where he was to pass the winter of 1825, and to endeavour to open a friendly communication with the Esquimaux; and, early in the spring of 1826, to proceed down the Mackenzie River, in order to take advantage of the first opening of the ice on the Polar Sea, so as to enable him to prosecute his voyage along the

coast to Icy Cape, round which he was to proceed to Kotzebue's Inlet, near Behring's Straits, whither his Majesty's ship Blossom, Captain Beechy, would be directed to proceed in the summer of 1826. But if, on his arrival at Icy Cape, he should be of opinion that he could, with safety, return the same season to the established winter quarters, he was at liberty to do so, instead of proceeding to join the Blossom.

On his arrival at the mouth of Mackenzie's River, he was to despatch Dr. Richardson, with Mr. Kendall and five or six men, in one of the boats, to examine the intermediate coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers. He received many cautions not to risk the lives of the party by an excess of ardour for discovery ; and, should the ice impede the westerly progress of his party, or any accident to the boats delay him in reaching Icy Cape, he was not to consider himself authorised to expose himself and his people to the chance of being obliged to winter on the coast, but to commence his return to the Bear Lake about the 15th or 20th of August ; unless he could be perfectly satisfied of the safety of wintering with the Esquimaux, and of reaching Behring's Straits the following season, when the Blossom was again to proceed to Kotzebue's Inlet, to await his arrival.

In the event of Captain Franklin's reaching Kotzebue's Inlet the first season, Captain Beechy was instructed to convey Captain Franklin and his party to the Sandwich Islands, or Canton, whence he would be able to obtain a passage to England in one of the East India Company's

ships, or in a private trader ; leaving such instructions with Dr. Richardson for his guidance, as he might deem fit and proper for his return to England. In the event of Captain Franklin's death, the command of the expedition was to devolve on Lieutenant Back.

In no part of the journey was the presence of the officers more requisite to animate and encourage the crews of the boats, than at its commencement. The river was obstructed by three impassable rapids, where it was necessary to unload the boats and carry them past the danger ; besides which, through its whole course of forty miles, its bed was so shallow as scarcely to admit of flat-bottomed bateaux, much less of the English-built boats, which drew, when laden, from eighteen to twenty inches. But in spite of all their apprehensions the men received Captain Franklin and Dr. Richardson with cheerful and delighted countenances, especially Augustus, the Esquimaux, who had acted as interpreter on the former expedition ; and he was accompanied by another Esquimaux, named Ooligbuck.

At ten A.M., on the 29th of June, 1825, they began to ascend the stream, but soon found that it was necessary for the whole party to walk in the water, and drag the boats through the mud ; but their difficulties here were light, when compared with those that awaited them at the Methye Portage, which is ten miles and three-quarters long. It was there necessary to make an equal division of the cargoes, and to devise means for the conveyance of the boats. The packages amounted to one hundred and sixteen, weighing

from seventy to ninety pounds each, exclusive of the three boats, and the men's personal luggage ; and there were nineteen men of the boats' crews, two Canadians, and two boys, to carry these burdens. One of the smaller boats was carried on the shoulders of eight men ; another of the same size was dragged by other eight men ; and the largest was conveyed on a truck made for the purpose on the spot. Their mode of travelling was as follows : rising at three A.M., the men carried a part of their burden to the first stage, and continued to go backwards and forwards till the whole was deposited ; they then slept for a few hours, and, in the cool of the evening, the boats were brought up. By these means, everything was ready at the western end of the portage on the 11th of July.

They embarked on the Athabasca Lake on the 15th of July, reached Fort Chipewyan the same day, and on the 23d they were followed by the three canoes, which had been left in charge of Lieutenant Back. It would be tedious to describe the difficulties they encountered during the detention of eighteen days, by bad weather, on the road ; sometimes hurried away with, and sometimes struggling against, the streams of rivers ; and dragging their boats and luggage over the portages which separate the waters, or which are crossed to avoid the rapids. At Chipewyan they were enabled to procure, out of the Company's stores, warm clothing, blankets, and other necessities.

On the 20th of July the expedition reached Fort Resolution, the only establishment then at

Slave Lake ; and here the Captain found two of his old Copper Indian friends waiting to see them ; Keskarrah, and Humpy, the brother of Akaitcho. Several times they seized the hands of the Captain and his officers, and, pressing them against their hearts, exclaimed, "How much we regret that we cannot tell you what we feel for you here !"

Akaitcho himself had left the Fort about two months before, on a hunting excursion, hoping to return with plenty of provisions for the party, by the middle of August, which was as early as he thought they would arrive. Keskarrah gave them the melancholy intelligence, that most of the hunters who had been with Captain Franklin at Fort Enterprise had been treacherously murdered, with many others of the tribe, by the Dog-ribs ; with which nation the Copper Indians had been at war, till the preceding spring, when peace was made, through the good offices of two of the Company's traders ; and it was gratifying to learn that Akaitcho and his tribe had been principally induced to make this reconciliation by a desire that no impediment might be placed in the way of the expedition. "We have too much esteem," said Akaitcho, "for our father, and for the service in which he is about to be again engaged, to impede its success by our wars, and therefore they shall cease." And, on being asked whether he and some of his young men would go to hunt for the party at their winter quarters, he replied, "Our hearts will be with them; but we will not go to those parts where the bones of our murdered brethren lie, for fear

our bad passions should be aroused by the sight of their graves, and that we should be tempted to renew the war by the recollection of the manner of their death. Let the Dog-ribs, who live in the neighbourhood of Bear Lake, furnish them with meat, though they are our enemies."

Fortunately, Captain Franklin was now able to reward the friendship of these faithful men, by giving to each of the chiefs of the tribe a liberal present. On delivering the articles to Keskarrah and Humpy, he desired them to inform Akaitcho and the whole tribe of the necessity of their strictly adhering to the terms of peace; adding, that he himself would not fail to urge the same obligations upon the Dog-ribs.

On the 31st of July, the party left Fort Resolution and quitted the track of the former journey to Fort Enterprise, along which they had been travelling from Lake Winnipeg. They first steered for the Buffalo River, and then along the south shore of Slave Lake.

On the 4th of August, at eight P.M. they reached Fort Simpson, 338 miles from Fort Resolution. With the chief factor resident there Captain Franklin arranged for such supplies as the party might require during its residence at Bear Lake. They quitted the Fort on the 5th. On the 6th, the channel being contracted and the current rapid, they travelled 120 miles. On the 7th they reached Fort Norman, 236 miles from Fort Simpson, and 574 from Fort Resolution. Being now only four days' journey from Bear Lake, and there remaining yet five or six weeks of open sea, Captain Franklin resolved on following up

a plan of a voyage to the sea, which he had cherished ever since he left England, without, however, imparting it to his comrades, until their departure from Fort Chipewyan, because he was apprehensive that some unforeseen accident might delay their arrival at Fort Norman until too late in the year to admit of his plan being carried into execution.

It was arranged, first, that Captain Franklin should go down to the sea, accompanied by Mr. Kendall, and collect whatever information could be obtained, either from actual observation, or from the Loucheux Indians or the Esquimaux, respecting the general state of the ice in the summer and autumn, the direction of the coast east and west of the Mackenzie; and whether they might calculate on any supply of provisions. Secondly, Dr. Richardson, on his own suggestion, was to proceed in a boat, along the northern shore of Bear Lake, to the part where it approached nearest to the Coppermine River, and there fix upon a spot to which he might bring the party the following year, on its return from the mouth of that river. And, thirdly, that these undertakings might not interfere with the important operations necessary for the comfortable residence and subsistence of the expedition during the following winter, Lieutenant Back was to superintend them during Captain Franklin's absence, assisted by Mr. Dease, whose suggestions relative to the proper distribution of the Indian hunters he was to follow. Accordingly Dr. Richardson, on his quitting Fort Norman two days previously to Capt. Franklin's

arrival, had left the largest of the boats, the *Lion*, for the Captain's use, with a well-selected crew of six Englishmen, and Augustus the Esquimaux. Lieutenant Back was directed to take the canoes forward to Bear Lake, laden with such supplies as would be required for the winter, and was further instructed to furnish Dr. Richardson with one of the boats, and a good crew.

As Fort Norman was so situated as to be on the route to the sea which would be followed on the ensuing season, the provisions and other stores intended for the voyage along the coast, were deposited there under the care of Mr. Brisbois, the clerk in charge. Fort Norman is situated in latitude $64^{\circ} 40' 30''$ north, and longitude $124^{\circ} 53' 22''$ west.

The above arrangements having been satisfactorily settled, and a few articles packed up as presents to the Indians and Esquimaux, Captain Franklin and Mr. Kendall embarked on the 8th of August, 1825, at noon, taking, in addition to their crews, a voyager, who was reported to be able to guide them through the proper channels to Fort Good Hope; of which, however, Captain Franklin says in his narrative, from which this account is abridged, they found him altogether ignorant. They were accompanied by Lieutenant Back, with the three canoes, each manned by five men.

The crews of the canoes, imagining they could easily pass the English boat, were much surprised, on putting it to the proof, to find that boat take and maintain the lead, both under sail and with oars.

A few miles above the Bear Lake River, and

near its mouth, the banks of the Mackenzie contain much wood-coal, which was on fire when the boats and canoes passed, as it was observed to be by Mackenzie: its smell was very disagreeable. On a subsequent trial of this coal at the winter quarter of the party, it was found to emit but little heat, and was unfit for the blacksmith's use.

The entrance of the Bear Lake River is distinguished by a very remarkable mountain, whose summit displays a variety of insulated peaks, crowded in a most irregular manner. There are also two streams of sulphureous water which flow from its base into the Mackenzie. At this place Captain Franklin parted from his friend, Lieutenant Back, who entered the beautiful stream which flows from Bear Lake, of whose pure waters Captain Franklin's party had also the benefit, till they were overpowered by the muddy current of the Mackenzie. The day was fine, the wind fair, the current swift, and every circumstance concurred to put the party in high glee. They passed island after island, and at length a most picturesque view of the rocky mountain range opened before them. They only put ashore to sup, and after two hours' delay, resumed their voyage under easy sail. When the sun rose, the oars were used, and, as the current set at the rate of two miles and a half per hour, the boat travelled rapidly down the stream. On the 9th, they saw a party of Indians encamped on the beach of a small stream, and invited them to come off to visit them. The Indians, after some hesitation, launched their canoes, and brought

in them a good supply of fresh deer's meat ; in exchange for which they received some ammunition and tobacco. These were Hare Indians, and they speak a dialect of the Chipewyan language. Their canoes were large and beautifully shaped, the fore part being covered with bark, to fit them for the navigation of the broad Mackenzie River, where the waves are often high. At six P.M. they came to an open space, bounded by lofty walls of sandstone. Here are found the second rapids of the Mackenzie, which, though they at first sight seem to be dangerous, are not so in reality. The river again becomes contracted, and rushes with great force for a space of seven miles, through a kind of defile appropriately named by the traders "The Ramparts." This is a place of resort for the Hare Indians to fish, and the expedition was visited by several men and women of that tribe, who brought fish, berries, and meat. They were all neatly clothed in new leathern dresses, ornamented with beads and porcupine quills. The paintings of animals on the sides of the boats belonging to the English party were very attractive to them ; they scanned every figure over and over, bursting into laughter whenever they recognised any of the animals. Captain Franklin and his party encamped near a small river below the Ramparts, 123 miles from Fort Norman. At daylight, on the 10th of August, they again embarked, and descended the river pleasantly and swiftly, under sail, having the benefit of a strong current in their favour. Late at night they arrived at Fort Good Hope, the lowest of the

Hudson's Bay Company's establishments. It is distant from Fort Norman 312 miles, and is in latitude $67^{\circ} 28' 21''$ north, and longitude $130^{\circ} 51' 38''$ west. Their arrival, at least two months earlier than that of the Company's boats from York Factory, caused great astonishment to the few inmates of that dreary dwelling, and particularly to its master, Mr. Charles Dease ; who, however, received them with great hospitality, putting every one in motion to prepare a meal for them, of which they stood much in need, as it was then verging on midnight, and they had had no refreshment since eight o'clock in the morning, when they breakfasted.

They again embarked on the 11th, and were accompanied by Mr. Dease as far as Trading River. This river, being the limit of the traders' travels towards the sea, the voyager who had come with them from Fort Norman declined going any farther, and by permission of Mr. Dease, he was exchanged for a young man named Baptiste, the interpreter of the fort, under the promise of being left with the chief of the Loucheux Indians, to whom he was to introduce the party.

On the 12th they saw a collection of Indian lodges, on the river's banks, and had friendly intercourse with their inmates. They were a well-looking people. Soon after they came abreast of a remarkable round-backed hill, on which they were informed Mr. Livingstone and his party had encamped in 1795, the night before they were massacred. Eight miles beyond, they arrived at a very spacious opening, in which were numerous well-wooded islands, and various

channels. They steered into the eastern channel, as being that through which the current seemed to run swiftest; and as soon as they came to a high bank, they landed for the purpose of taking a survey of the surrounding scene; and they discovered that they were certainly in that expansion of the river delineated by Mackenzie in his chart, and, therefore, in a fair way to the sea, whatever channel they might take.

As soon as their two Indian companions saw that Captain Franklin's intention was to enter the eastern channel, they dropped behind and turned their canoes round, without further ceremony, being afraid of meeting with parties of Esquimaux. The beach on which they encamped for the night was much intersected with the recent tracks of the moose and rein-deer.

Captain Franklin being desirous of having an interview with the Esquimaux, embarked at three in the morning on the 13th. The masts of the boat were struck, lest if it should be discovered at a distance the Esquimaux might run off. A fine breeze sprang up, after noon, and the sails were set, no recent traces of the Esquimaux having been seen. Several openings branched off to the eastward, but they continued to follow the largest channel, in which the current was very strong. They sailed by many huts and indications of places of resort for fishing. As they were passing one of the huts, at a quick rate, their attention was arrested by a shrill sound, which was supposed to be a human voice; but on landing to ascertain the fact, no person, nor any footsteps could be discovered. As they proceeded, the river became

more devious in its course, the huts of the Esquimaux were more frequent, but none of them appeared to have been recently inhabited. At nine in the evening they stopped to sup, extinguished the fire as soon as they had finished, and then retired to sleep in the boat, keeping two men on guard.

They again set off on the morning of the 14th of August, and at the end of seven miles came to the last of the fir trees, in latitude $68^{\circ} 40'$ north, the only wood beyond that point being stunted willows, which became still more dwarfish as they approached the mouth of the river. At length the main stream took a turn to the south-south-west, which they followed. Eight miles farther on, the river again inclined to the north of west. A body of water nearly equal to that they were descending poured in between the Colville and Halkett Islands, and the channel, after the union of those streams, increased to a breadth of two miles, preserving a north north-west course. They stood twelve miles in that direction, and two to the westward, when they were gratified by the delightful prospect of the shores suddenly diverging, and a wide space of open water appearing to the northward, which they doubted not would prove to be the Polar Sea. Just at that time a seal made its appearance and sported about the boat, as if in confirmation of that opinion. At sunset the haze, which had hidden all distant objects since five P.M., passed off, and a very magnificent view was gained of a portion of the Rocky Mountains, which Captain Franklin called after Dr. Richardson. The water was entirely fresh, and

there was no perceptible rise of tide. After their Sunday evening's supper, the party assembled in the tent to read prayers and return thanks to the Almighty for having thus far crowned their labours with success.

The 15th was a very stormy day, and after a good deal of rough boating early in the morning, they landed at the base of one of the conical hummocks rising above the low easterly shore, which they had taken for islands on the preceding evening. As there was no possibility of getting forward until the gale should abate, Baptiste and Augustus were sent out to hunt, there being numerous tracks of moose and rein-deer in the neighbourhood of the tent. A tide-pole was put up immediately on their landing, and the water was perceived to rise about three inches in the course of the forenoon, and to fall the same space in the evening. A female moose-deer and her calf and a rein-deer were shot by the hunters, and the meat was brought to the borders of a river which Mr. Kendall had discovered, and the boat was sent round to its entrance, about a mile from the encampment, returning with this seasonable supply at sunset.

On the 16th they delayed embarking until eleven A.M., as up to that hour the fog was so thick as to confine their view to a few yards. Their course lay along the shore of Ellice Island, until they found its coast trending southward of east. There they landed, and were rejoiced at the sea-like appearance to the northward. This point is in latitude $69^{\circ} 14'$ north, longitude $135^{\circ} 57'$ west, and forms the north-eastern entrance to the main

channel of the Mackenzie River, which from Slave Lake to this point is one thousand and forty-five miles in length, according to Captain Franklin's survey. An island was now discovered to the north-east (looking blue from its distance), towards which the boat was immediately directed. The water, which for the last eight miles had been very shallow, became gradually deeper, and of a more green colour, though still fresh. In the middle of the traverse they were caught by a strong contrary wind, against which the crews cheerfully contended for five hours, though drenched by the spray, and even by the waves, which came into the boat. Unwilling to return without attaining the object of their search, as a last resource, and when the strength of the rowers was nearly exhausted, the sails were set double-reefed, and their excellent boat mounted over the waves in the most buoyant manner. An opportune alteration of the wind enabled them, in the course of another hour, to fetch into smoother water, under the shelter of the island. They then pulled across a line of strong ripple, which marked the termination of the fresh water, that on the seaward side being brackish; and in the further progress of three miles to the island they had the indescribable pleasure of finding the water decidedly salt.

"The sun was setting," Captain Franklin says, "as the boat touched the beach; and we hastened to the most elevated part of the island, about 250 feet high, to look around, and never was a prospect more gratifying than that which lay open to us. The Rocky Mountains were seen from south-west to west $\frac{1}{2}$ north; and, from the

latter point round by the north, the sea appeared in all its majesty, entirely free from ice, and without any visible obstruction to its navigation. Many seals and black and white whales were sporting on its waves, and the whole scene was calculated to excite in our minds the most flattering expectations as to our own success, and that of our friends in the *Hecla* and *Fury*."

To this island Captain Franklin gave the name of his friend, Mr. Garry, the Deputy Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose active kindness and indefatigable attention to the comfort of the Captain and his companions had gained their highest esteem. Its latitude is $69^{\circ} 29'$ north, longitude, $135^{\circ} 41'$ west. Some foxes were seen upon it; and deer, gulls, dotterels, geese, cranes, and swans were observed around its shores, and in the neighbourhood.

During the Captain's absence the men had pitched the tent on the beach, "and," says Captain Franklin,* "I caused the silk Union-flag to be hoisted, which my deeply-lamented wife had made and presented to me, as a parting gift, under the express injunction that it was not to be unfurled before the expedition had reached the sea. I will not attempt to describe my emotions as it expanded to the breeze,—however natural,

* It should be mentioned, in explanation of the above affecting passage from Captain Franklin's narrative, that he left England while his wife was lying at the point of death. She was a woman of a rare spirit, and with heroic fortitude urged his departure at the very day appointed, entreating him, as he valued her peace and his own glory, not to delay his departure on her account. She died the day following.

and, for the moment, irresistible, I felt that it was my duty to suppress them, and that I had no right, by an indulgence of my own sorrows, to cloud the animated countenances of my companions. Joining, therefore, with the best grace that I could command, in the general excitement, I endeavoured to return with corresponding cheerfulness their warm congratulations on having thus planted the British flag on this remote island of the Polar Sea.

“Some spirits which had been saved for the occasion were issued to the men, and with three fervent cheers they drank to the health of our beloved monarch, and to the continued success of our enterprise.”

Captain Franklin deposited a letter for Captain Parry, (containing an account of the progress of the expedition, with such information as he might require in case he should wish to communicate with the Company's post at Fort Good Hope, or with Captain Franklin's party,) with other letters for the officers of the ships, under a pole, to which was attached a blue and red flag, as he cherished the hope that his enterprising friend might be able to penetrate to this point; and the party then made the best of their way back, and joined their companions at winter quarters on the 5th of September. About the same time, Dr. Richardson returned from his voyage to the northern part of Great Bear Lake, having fixed upon the first rapid in Dease River as the best point to which the eastern detachment of the expedition could direct its steps, on its return from the Coppermine River in the following season.

The members of the expedition were now, for the first time, assembled, and they heartily congratulated each other on this circumstance, and on the prospect of being snugly settled in their winter quarters before the severity of the weather had set in; and the site of an old and long-abandoned fort, belonging to the North-west Company, was selected for the residence of the party, near that part of the lake where the fish had usually been most abundant. On Captain Franklin's arrival, he found all the buildings in a habitable state. They were disposed so as to form three sides of a square, the officers' house being in the centre, those for the men on the right, with a house for the interpreter's family and a store on the left; a blacksmith's shop and meal store were added, and the whole was enclosed by the stockading of the original fort, which was found highly serviceable in screening them from the snow-drift, and the wintry blasts. These buildings were placed on a dry sand-bank, about eighty yards from the lake, and twenty-five above it: at the distance of half a mile in the rear the ground rose to the height of 150 feet, and continued in an even ridge, on which, though the timber had been felled, they found plenty of small trees for fuel. This ridge bounded the view to the north and to the west: though confined to less than two miles, the prospect was pretty, from its embracing a small lake and the mouth of a narrow stream, that flowed in at its head. The southern view commanded the south-west arm of Bear Lake, which was in that part four miles wide, and not deeper than from three to five fathoms. They

had also, in front, the Clark Hill, a mountain about thirty-six miles distant, which was always visible in clear weather. There was also at some distance a quantity of black and white spruce fir and larch trees, some of which measured five feet in girth, and were from fifty to fifty-five feet high. To this place they gave the name of Fort Franklin. Its situation was $65^{\circ} 11' 56''$ north latitude, and $123^{\circ} 12' 44''$ west longitude.

The number of persons belonging to the establishment amounted to fifty, viz. five officers, including Mr. Dease; nineteen British seamen, marines, and voyagers, nine Canadians, two Esquimaux, Beaulieu, and four Chipewyan hunters, three women, six children, and one Indian lad; besides a few infirm Indians, who required temporary support.

It was on the fishery they principally depended for subsistence, as they wished to save the provisions they had brought with them; and accordingly, besides fishing parties placed at some miles distant (by which arrangement the residents at the principal establishment were reduced to thirty), from fifteen to twenty nets were kept in use opposite the house; and towards the end of summer, and in autumn, they yielded daily from 300 to 800 fish, of the kind called the herring salmon of Bear Lake, trout, tittameg, and carp. The hunting of the Indians contributed little to their stock. The shortest day at Fort Franklin was only two hours long; and after the regular daily duty was over, many hours remained, in which, if they had not been occupied, the time would have passed very listlessly.

As the days shortened, it became necessary to find employment during the long evenings for those resident at the house, and a school was established on three nights of the week, from seven o'clock to nine, for their instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic ; and it was attended by most of the British. The learners were divided in equal portions amongst the officers, whose labour was amply repaid by the advancement their pupils made. Some of those who began with the alphabet, learned to read and write with tolerable correctness. Sunday was a day of rest, and, with the exception of two or three of the Canadians, the whole party uniformly attended divine service, morning and evening.

On the other evenings, for which no particular occupation was appointed, the men amused themselves in the hall, at various games, in which they were joined by their officers ; and by thus participating in their amusements, Captain Franklin tells us, "the hearts and feelings of the whole party were united in one common desire to make the time pass as agreeably as possible to each other, until the return of spring should enable them to resume the great object of the expedition."

The officers, in addition to the duties which they had in common, had each a particular department allotted to him. Lieutenant Back had the superintendence of the men, and also made the drawings which embellish the published account of the journey ; Dr. Richardson, besides the duties of medical officer, devoted his attention to natural history, as well as to a series of observa-

tions on the force of the sun's radiation. Mr. Kendall constructed all the charts, from calculations made by himself and the others, and examined a second time by Captain Franklin. To Mr. Dease was given in charge whatever related to the procuring and issuing of provisions, and the entire management of the Canadian voyagers and Indians.

The month of October commenced with frost and snow, and, in consequence, the party were furnished by Captain Franklin with fur caps, leather mittens, trowsers, and the rest of their warm clothing. They had for some time a plentiful supply of fish daily, till the drift ice obliged them to take up their nets in Bear Lake, and the supply at length so completely failed that they got but three or four small herring salmon per man.

In October they stored fifteen rein-deer; in November ten more; but the days then became too short even for the Indians to hunt; nor was it till February that this kind of food could be again obtained; they were, therefore, obliged to draw upon the stores of provisions which had been set apart for the voyage along the sea-coast. The Indians, chiefly owing to their own indolence, were at this time severe sufferers.

Captain Franklin mentions some very distressing instances of their inhumanity during a scarcity of food in destroying their female infants. The same dreadful practice formerly prevailed among the Chipewyan tribes; but it is now understood to be of rare occurrence, an improvement in their moral character which may be

fairly attributed to the influence of the traders resident among them.

On another occasion a party of Chipewyan hunters brought to the Fort a Dog-rib girl, about twelve years old, whom they found perishing in the woods, having been deserted by her tribe, who left her without any food. When they discovered her, she was in the last stage of weakness, sitting by the expiring embers of a fire; and but for the timely appearance of her preservers, death must have soon ended her sufferings. They fed and clothed her, and, with great humanity, waited until she gained strength to accompany them. When the Indians who had deserted her came to the Fort, Captain Franklin took the first opportunity of their being assembled in the hall to send for the hunters who had preserved her, and their wives, and to reward them by a substantial present of clothing and ammunition. He gave them also some neat steel instruments, consisting of gimblets and other useful articles, which they were desired to preserve as a testimony of his approbation of their humanity. He concluded by sharply reproving the Dog-ribs for their unfeeling conduct.

In the month of December, a party of Hare Indians arrived at the Fort with some sledges of dried rein-deer meat, and furs. While they were unpacking their lading, the wife of a Dog-rib brought in her only child, a female, for medical advice: though it was evident that the hand of death was upon the infant, Dr. Richardson used various means for its recovery, but without effect. So gentle was its last sigh, that the mother was

not at first aware of its death, but continued to press the infant to her bosom. As soon, however, as she perceived that life had fled, she cast herself on the ground in an agony, heightened by the consciousness that she had delayed to seek relief till too late. Captain Franklin says, it was most interesting to observe the sympathizing concern expressed by the Indians who were present; they discontinued their occupations, remained silent, and showed in their countenances what they felt. At the dawn of day, the poor creature, though almost exhausted by her ceaseless lamentation, carried the body across the lake for interment.

The 22d of December was the shortest day at the Fort. The sun rose about half-past ten o'clock, and set about half-past one. They celebrated Christmas-day with innocent and cheerful festivity. The festival falling on a Sunday, the men were regaled with the best fare the stores could supply; and on the following evening a dance was given, at which were present sixty persons, including the Indians, who sat as spectators of the merry scene. Seldom, perhaps, in such a confined space as the hall of the officers' building, or in the same number of persons, was there greater variety of character, or greater confusion of tongues. The party consisted of Englishmen, Highlanders, (who mostly conversed with each other in Gaelic,) Canadians, Esquimaux, Chipewyan, Dog-ribs, Hare Indians, Cree women and children, who mingled together in perfect harmony.

On the 10th of April, Doctor Richardson and

Mr. Kendall set out on snow-shoes, accompanied by an Indian guide, and a man driving a dog-sledge with provisions, to complete the survey of the Bear Lake, which he had commenced in the preceding autumn; and this survey they finished by the 1st of May; finding the length of the lake from east to west to be 175 miles; and its breadth, from north to south, 150 miles. It is fed on the east by Dease River, which rises in the Coppermine Mountain, and the Bear Lake River, on the western side, conveys its waters into the Mackenzie River. Its depth, in some places, is very great; forty-five fathoms of line having been let down near one of the shores without finding bottom.

In the beginning of May, the men being all called in from the fishery, the whole party was once more assembled in the house, anxiously looking forward to the arrival of spring. On the 6th, the appearance of swans was hailed as a sure sign of its approach. A goose was seen on the 7th, two ducks on the 8th, and on the 9th several gulls were observed in the open water, near the Bear Lake River. The snow at this time was rapidly diminishing from the surface of the lake, and there were many spots of ground visible. Preparations were therefore commenced for the summer voyage. The carpenters were now set about the repairs of the three boats, and to build a fourth boat, which received the name of the *Reliance*. They had plenty of white spruce fir timber, which answered the purpose sufficiently well; and their many shifts to make her sea-worthy will show how

easily difficulties are overcome, when invention is set to work. The timbers of the *Reliance* were fastened in the same way as those of the other boats, but with iron instead of copper ; and to procure sufficient nails they were obliged to cut up all the spare axes, trenches, and ice-chisels. Being without tar, they substituted strips of waterproof canvass, soaked in Indian rubber varnish, to lay between the seams of the planks ; and for paint they made use of resin, procured from the pine tree, boiled and mixed with grease.

The 1st of June having arrived, Captain Franklin's attention was directed to the necessary arrangements for the expedition. It was settled that Beaulieu, the interpreter, and four Canadians, should quit Fort Franklin on the 6th of August, and proceed direct to Dease River with a bateau, and wait the arrival of Dr. Richardson's party until the 20th of September. Mr. Dease was to keep the Fort well stored with provisions until the spring of 1828. Dr. Richardson was likewise instructed to see, before leaving the fort in 1827, on his return to England, that Mr. Dease fully understood Captain Franklin's motives for giving these orders, viz. that he was not to infer from Captain Franklin and his party possibly not returning in the following autumn, that he had reached the Blossom ; as unforeseen circumstances might compel them to winter on the coast.

On the 15th of June, the men were furnished with the sky-blue waterproof uniforms and feathers, as well as with the warm clothing which

had been provided for the voyage. Fourteen men, including Augustus, were appointed to accompany Captain Franklin and Lieutenant Back, in the *Lion* and *Reliance*, the two larger boats ; and ten, including Ooligbuck, to go with Dr. Richardson and Mr. Kendall, in the smaller, the *Dolphin* and *Union*.

On the following Sunday, the officers and men assembled at Divine Service, dressed in their new uniforms ; and, in addition to the service of the day, the Divine protection was implored on the enterprise they were about to commence.

A strong western breeze occurred on the 21st, which removed the ice from the front of the house, and opened a passage to the Bear Lake River. The men were sent with the boats and stores to the river in the evening ; and at half-past ten, on the 22d of June, the party quitted the house, leaving the fisherman, named Côté, in charge, until Mr. Dease should return from Fort Norman, whither he was now proceeding on the Company's business. "This worthy old man," says Captain Franklin, "sharing the enthusiasm which animated the whole party, would not allow us to depart without giving his hearty, though solitary, cheer, which we returned in a full chorus."

CHAPTER VI.

THOUGH the whole party left Fort Franklin on the 22d of June, yet they met with so many obstructions from the drifting ice, that they did not reach Fort Norman till the 25th. The longitude of this place was found by observation to be $124^{\circ} 44' 47''$ west, and latitude $64^{\circ} 40' 38''$ north.

Early on the morning of the 28th, the boats again set out; and on the 1st of July, they reached Fort Good Hope, and found there a large party of Loucheux Indians, who had been for some time waiting, with their wives and families, to see them. They quitted the Fort on the 2d. On the 3d they entered the part of the river where it widens, and from whence the different channels branch off. Here they encamped to make the necessary arrangements for the separation of the two parties. Warm clothing, provisions, &c. were supplied to each.

Dr. Richardson's orders were, to take under his charge Mr. Kendall and ten men, and proceed in the Dolphin and Union, to survey the coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers. On reaching the latter river, he was to travel by land to the north-east arm of Great Bear Lake, where Beaulieu was under orders to meet him with a boat for the conveyance of his party to Fort Franklin, as already stated.

By six in the morning of the 4th, the boats were all laden, and ready for departure. The difference between the present equipment and that on their former disastrous voyage was very striking. Instead of a frail bark-canoe, they were now about to commence the sea voyage in excellent boats, stored with three months' provision.

The Western party was distributed as follows :

LION.

John Franklin, Captain, R.N.
William Duncan, Cockswain.
Thomas Matthews, Carpenter.
Gustavus Aird, Bowman.
George Wilson, Marine.
Archibald Stewart, Soldier.
Neil M'Donald, Voyager.
Augustus, Esquimaux.

RELIANCE.

George Back, Lieutenant, R.N.
Robert Spinks, Cockswain.
Robert Hallom, Corporal of Marines.
Charles Mackenzie, Bowman.
Alexander Currie, Middle Man.
Robert Spencer, Do.
Alexis Vivier, Canadian.
François Felix, Do.

On the 7th of July, they reached the mouth of the Mackenzie, the latitude being $68^{\circ} 53'$ north. Captain Franklin, while walking to the beach, discovered, on an island which formed the east side of the bay into which the Mackenzie opened, a crowd of tents, with many Esquimaux

strolling amongst them. He quickly made a selection of articles as presents and for trading, as it was his intention to land amongst them, with Augustus ; and he directed Lieutenant Back to keep the boats afloat, and the crews ready to support him, should the natives prove hostile ; but he gave positive orders that none should make use of their fire-arms till he himself should set the example, or till they were ordered to do so by Lieutenant Back.

The boats now entered the bay, which was about six miles wide, and steered towards the tents, with their ensigns flying. As they drew towards the island, the water became shallow, and they touched ground when about a mile from the beach. Unable, therefore, to approach nearer, they shouted and made signs to the Esquimaux to come off, and then pulled a short way back to await their arrival in deep water. The canoes were launched in such quick succession, that the whole space, between the island and the boats, was presently covered with them.

An Esquimaux canoe holds only one person, and is named a *kaiyack* ; but they have, as was explained in a former volume, a kind of open boat for women and children, called *oomiaks*, capable of holding six or eight. Some of the party endeavoured to count the canoes as they approached, and had proceeded as far as seventy-three and five *oomiaks*, when the sea became so crowded by fresh arrivals, that they could advance no further in the reckoning. Three canoes, which headed the fleet, and were paddled by elderly men, halted within speaking distance, and

did not advance till Augustus had explained to them the object of the expedition, and stated the advantages they would derive from trade, provided a navigable channel was found for large ships. This seemed to delight them much, for they repeated it to their countrymen, who testified their joy by tossing their arms aloft and raising a deafening shout of applause. Captain Franklin computed that the number collected was not less than 250 or 300, who all anxiously pressed forward, offering for sale their bows, arrows, and spears. As, in the bustle and clamour of trade, it was impossible to obtain information respecting the coast, Captain Franklin determined to leave them, as they were becoming more and more importunate and troublesome. The Captain, therefore, directed the boats' heads to be put to seaward. In the meantime, however, the boats grounded, from the ebbing of the tide ; so that it appeared they had no alternative but to await the rising of the water, the whole bay being, as they informed Augustus, alike flat.

Hitherto they had manifested the kindest disposition, and even assisted to drag the boats into deep water ; but an accident put an end to this friendly behaviour. A kaiyack being overset by one of the Lion's oars, its owner was plunged into the water, with his head in the mud, and apparently in danger of being drowned. He was instantly extricated from his unpleasant situation, and taken into the boat until the water could be thrown out of his kaiyack ; and Augustus, good-naturedly, gave him his own great coat, to wrap

round him. At first, he was extremely angry, but he soon became reconciled to his situation, and began to ask for every thing he saw. He expressed much displeasure at being refused, and told his companions what he had seen ; so that they soon came close and endeavoured to get into both the boats, though without success. It was afterwards discovered that the man whose kaiyack had been upset had stolen a pistol from Lieutenant Back, and the sight of such a valuable article made them all eager to get something, by theft, if not by barter. The thief, seeing the attention of the boat's crew directed to the pistol, leaped out of the boat, and joined his countrymen, carrying with him the great coat which Augustus had lent him. The tide had now ebbed so far that the water was knee-deep at the boats, and soon the younger men came wading in crowds round the boats, and tried to steal everything within their reach. At length, seizing the *Reliance* by the bow, they dragged her towards the south shore of the river.

Lieutenant Back desired the chief who remained with him to tell them to desist, but he replied by pointing to the beach, and repeating the word *teyma*, *teyma*, with a good-natured smile. He said something, however, to those who were seated in the canoes alongside, on which they threw their long knives and arrows into the boat, taking care, in so doing, that the handles and feathered ends were turned towards the crew, as an indication of pacific intentions.

As soon as Captain Franklin perceived the *Reliance* moving under the efforts of the natives,

he directed the *Lion's* crew to endeavour to follow her, but their boat remained fast until the Esquimaux lent their aid, and dragged her after the *Reliance*.

Two of the most powerful men jumped on board at the same time, seized him by the wrists, and forced him to sit between them ; and, as he shook them loose two or three times, a third Esquimaux took his station in front, to catch his arm, whenever he attempted to lift his gun or the broad dagger which hung by his side. The whole way to the shore, they kept repeating the word *teyma*, beating gently on his left breast with their hands, and pressing his against their breasts. The *Reliance* and *Lion* were now dragged on shore, and a numerous party, drawing their knives, and stripping themselves to the waist, began to pillage the *Reliance*, handing the articles to the women, who, ranging themselves in a row behind, quickly conveyed them out of sight.

Lieutenant Back and his crew strenuously, but, good-humouredly, resisted, and rescued many things from their grasp ; but they were overpowered by numbers, and had even some difficulty in preserving their arms. One fellow had the audacity to snatch Vivier's knife from his breast, and to cut the buttons from his coat, whilst three stout Esquimaux surrounded Lieutenant Back, with uplifted daggers, and were incessant in their demands for whatever attracted their attention, especially for the anchor buttons which he wore on his waistcoat. In this juncture, a young chief, coming to his aid, drove the

assailants away. They carried off, however, a writing-desk and cloak, which the chief rescued, and then, seating himself on Lieutenant Back's knee, he endeavoured to persuade his countrymen to desist, by vociferating, "teyma, teyma."

The *Lion* had to cope with smaller numbers, and her crew, by beating the natives off with the butt-ends of their muskets, had been able to prevent any article of importance from being carried away. Captain Franklin had gone, with Augustus, to assist in repressing the tumult in the *Reliance*; but he was soon summoned back, and, on his return, found the sides of the *Lion* lined with Esquimaux, as thick as they could stand, brandishing their knives in a furious manner, and attempting to seize whatever was moveable. Several articles were carried away, for it was impossible for the *Lion's* small crew to keep off such a formidable and determined body, and the principal object was now to prevent the loss of the arms, oars, or masts, or anything on which the continuance of the voyage and the safety of the party depended. Many attempts were made to purloin the box containing the astronomical instruments; and Duncan, after thrice rescuing it from their hands, made it fast to his leg with a cord, determined that they should drag him also away, if they took it. In the whole of this unequal contest, the self-possession of the boats' crews was not more conspicuous than the coolness with which the Esquimaux received the heavy blows dealt to them with the butts of the muskets. Augustus, the bold and active little interpreter, rushed frequently among the crowd on

shore, and harangued them on their treacherous conduct until he was hoarse.

Irritated, at length, by being so often foiled in their attempts, several of the Esquimaux jumped on board, and forcibly endeavoured to take the daggers and shot-belts that were about the crew's persons ; Captain Franklin himself being engaged with three, who were endeavouring to disarm him. Lieutenant Back, perceiving this, sent the young chief who had protected him to his Captain's assistance, who, on his arrival, drove his countrymen out of the boat. But, in the mean time, the crew were nearly overpowered in the forepart of the boat ; and Captain Franklin hastened to their aid. Just at that moment, George Wilson had raised his musket, to discharge its contents into the body of an Esquimaux, who had struck at him with a knife, and cut through his coat and waistcoat ; when Captain Franklin stopped him, not knowing, indeed, until afterwards, the provocation he had received, nor that some other seamen had been similarly treated. Captain Franklin's gun was next the object of the struggle, which was now assuming a more serious aspect, when, on a sudden, the whole body of the assailants fled, seized with a panic, and hid themselves behind the drift timber and canoes on the beach.

By the great exertions of the crew, the Reliance suddenly floated ; and Lieutenant Back, wisely judging that this was the proper moment for more active interference, directed his men to level their muskets, the sight of which at once put them to flight. The Lion happily floated

soon after, so that both boats were able to retire from the beach.

The only things of importance which the Esquimaux carried off were, the mess canteens and kettles, a tent, a bale containing blankets and shoes, one of the men's bags, and the jib-sails : the other articles which they took could be well spared, and they would, in fact, have been distributed amongst them, had they remained quiet.

They had not proceeded above a quarter of a mile from the scene of action, which Captain Franklin named Pillage Point, when the boats took the ground again, at the distance of 156 yards from the shore. Shortly after the boats had been secured, seven or eight of the natives walked along the beach. Augustus now volunteered to go on shore and remonstrate with his countrymen on their bad conduct ; and Captain Franklin consented, at length, on seeing the young chief, who had acted so friendly a part, amongst them. By the time that Augustus reached the shore, the number of Esquimaux amounted to forty. His report of what occurred was in the highest degree interesting. " Your conduct," said he, " has been very bad, and unlike that of all other Esquimaux. Some of you even stole from me, your countryman ; but this I do not mind ; I only regret that you should have treated in this violent manner the white people, who came solely to do you kindness. My tribe were in the same unhappy state in which you now are, before the white people came to Churchill ; but, at present, they are supplied with every thing they need, and you see that I am well clothed ;

I get all that I want, and am very comfortable. You cannot expect, after the transactions of this day, that these people will ever bring goods to your country again, unless you show your contrition, by restoring the stolen goods. The white people love the Esquimaux, and wish to show them the same kindness that they bestow upon the Indians. Do not deceive yourselves, and suppose that they are afraid of you. I tell you they are not, and that it is entirely owing to their humanity that many of you were not killed to-day ; for they have all guns, with which they can destroy you, either when near or at a distance. I, also, have a gun, and can assure you that, if a white man had fallen, I would have been the first to have revenged his death."

The Esquimaux expressed great sorrow for their conduct, and begged Augustus to assure his friends that they would never do the like again. Captain Franklin told Augustus to put their sincerity to the test by desiring them to bring back the tent, the large kettle, and some shoes. After this act of restitution, they invited Augustus to join in a dance, and the brave little fellow actually remained upwards of an hour singing and dancing with all his might, in the midst of a company who were all armed with knives or bows and arrows.

But, notwithstanding their fair professions, Captain Franklin suspected them, and his suspicions were soon confirmed ; for, while the men were engaged, on the following morning, (when the boats were unladen, and dragged up on the beach, on the western shore, about six miles

from the spot where the turbulent scene just described took place,) in repairing the damage received from the Esquimaux, Lieutenant Back espied through the haze the whole body paddling towards them. With all haste, the party launched their boats through the surf, and loaded them with the utmost speed, and had scarcely got them into deep water before some of the kaiyacks had arrived within speaking distance, and offered to restore the remainder of the articles which had been stolen, receiving in return any presents that might be given ; and they continued to advance, until Captain Franklin, finding that they did not retire upon his ordering them to do so, fired a ball ahead of the leading canoe, which had the desired effect, the whole party veering round, and rejoining their companions. Captain Franklin's prudence, in not permitting them to approach, was soon after fully justified by information which he received, that, after their first repulse, the Esquimaux regretted that they had suffered the party to escape, and had laid a very artful plan for their total destruction.

On the 8th of July, the party proceeded along the coast, in a west-north-west direction, until eleven in the evening, when they halted on a low island, covered with drift-wood ; and on the following morning, at three o'clock, they kept on their course, at the distance of two miles from the land. Here the prospect before them became most discouraging, for the sea appeared as firmly frozen as in winter.

Captain Franklin took the precaution of setting a watch, whenever he took up ground for

an encampment ; and, indeed, that night proved how necessary his vigilance was ; for hardly had they fallen asleep, when they were roused by the men on guard calling out that a party of Esquimaux were close to the tents, and, on going out, Captain Franklin found the whole of his party under arms. Three Esquimaux had come on them unawares, and in terror at seeing so many strangers, were on the point of discharging their arrows, when Augustus's voice stopped them, and, by explaining the purpose of our countrymen being there, soon calmed their fears. It was found that they belonged to a party whose tents were pitched at the distance of two miles ; and, as they showed great delight at the presents they received, and appeared amicable, Augustus was allowed to accompany them to their friends, to invite them to come over : but precautions were taken to prevent their advancing beyond a prescribed distance.

Augustus, after five hours' absence, returned, accompanied by twenty men and two elderly women, who halted at the boundary ; and, being directed to approach singly, they each received presents of beads, fish-hooks, and trinkets. At the desire of Augustus, Captain Franklin allowed him to put on his gayest dress and his medals before the conference began. The Esquimaux expressed the greatest surprise and delight at his altered appearance, and his numerous ornaments so engaged their minds, that their attention could not be drawn, for half an hour, to answer the questions put to them respecting the coast. When they, at length, did attend, their account

was sufficiently disheartening, as they said ice often adheres to the land for an entire summer ; and they added, that any channels which might be on the coast were unsafe for boats, as the ice was continually tossing about. But, as they told Augustus that they seldom travelled to the westward beyond a few days' journey, Captain Franklin was not much discouraged by their report.

On the following morning, another company of Esquimaux came to visit the party, with their women and children, whose number altogether amounted to forty-eight persons. They seated themselves in a semicircle, the men being in front, the women behind. Presents were made to those who had not before received any. Beads, pins, needles, and ornamental articles, were most in request by the women, to whom the goods brought for barter, consisting of seal-skin boots, pieces of dressed seal-skin, and some deer-skin, cut and twisted to be used as cords, principally belonged : but the men were eager to get anything that was made of iron. They were supplied with hatchets, files, ice chisels, fire-steels, Indian awls, and fish-hooks. It was amusing to see the purpose to which they applied some of the articles given to them. Some of the men danced about with a large cod fish-hook dangling from the nose ; others stuck an awl through the same part ; and the women immediately decorated their dresses with the ear-rings, thimbles, or whatever trinkets they received. As they were already well supplied with knives, none were given.

These people were stout and robust, and taller than Augustus, or than those seen on the eastern coast by Captain Parry. Their cheek-bones were less projecting than the representations given of the Esquimaux on the eastern coast ; but they had the same small eye and broad nose, which ever distinguish that people. They wore the hair on the upper lip and chin, the latter, as well as that on the head, being suffered to grow long, though in some cases a circular spot on the crown of the head was cut bare, like the tonsure of the Roman Catholic Clergy. Every man had pieces of bone or shells thrust through the septum of the nose ; and holes were pierced on each side of the under lip, in which were placed circular pieces of ivory, with a large blue bead in the centre, resembling those worn by the inhabitants of the north-west of America. Their dress consisted of a jacket of rein-deer skin, with a skirt behind and before and a small hood, breeches of the same, and seal-skin boots. Their weapons for the chase were bows and arrows, very neatly made, the latter being headed with bone or iron ; and, for fishing, they used spears tipped with bone. The dress of the women differed from that of the men only in their wearing wide trowsers, and in their hoods, which do not fit close to the head, but are made large for the purpose of receiving their children. These hoods are ornamented with strips of different coloured skins, and round the top is fastened a band of wolf's hair made to stand erect. Their own black hair is very tastefully turned up from behind to the top of the head, and tied by strings of white and

blue beads, or cords of white deer-skin. It is divided in front, so as to form on each side a thick tail, to which are appended strings of beads that reach to the waist. The women were above four feet and a half in height, and generally fat. Lieutenant Back took a likeness of one who was very pretty, and she showed her joy by smiling and jumping about : the men also sat for their portraits, and were not less pleased, though more sedate than the females.

On the 11th, a north-east gale came on in the evening, and rolled such a heavy surf on the beach, that twice, during the night, the party were roused to drag the boats and cargoes higher up. This, however, was not attended with difficulty, for they had the sun constantly above the horizon, a circumstance which caused a great many amusing mistakes among the men with respect to the hour.

On the 13th, they passed a wide, but not a deep bay, whose points were named Sabine and King Points. Here, however, again, a compact body of ice was observed, joined to the land ahead, and at the same time a dense fog came on, which prevented their seeing more than a few yards before them. Indeed they were in great danger, the wind having suddenly shifted, and raised a heavy swell, which brought down masses of ice of a size that, tossed about as they were by the waves, would have injured a ship. For five hours they continued pulling in and out between the floating masses of ice, before they could get near the shore. Providentially, however, they effected a landing a little to the west of Point

Sabine, and the rain having ceased, and the fog, for a short time, cleared away, they perceived from the top of the bank that the whole space between them and the distant point, as well as the channel by which they had advanced to the westward, were now completely blocked up; so that they had good reason to rejoice at having reached the shore in safety. Their fatigue and sufferings were now greatly augmented. Sometimes, when the ice broke a little from the land, if they pushed into the opening, they found all advance closed against them, and were obliged to retrace their course: at others, they discovered that the narrow channel, which was at times not wide enough for the oars to ply, led into the interior of a reef, and they were obliged to haul their boats over it and launch them on the other side: not unfrequently, when forced by the swell, which dashed the ice towards land in huge masses, to draw the boats upon the beach, they had to drag them over the intervening ice, in order to launch them again on the open water. But the greatest difficulties the expedition had to encounter were occasioned by the dense fog, which prevailed for some portion of almost every day, after they had left the mouth of the Mackenzie, and often prevented them from seeing one end of the boat from the other. On one occasion, they were detained by a fog, in the same spot, nine days, without being able to do any thing to forward the object of the expedition.

The following is a statement of the observations they made on the coast. They found that the entire range, called the Rocky Mountains, was divided

into four distinct chains, which, as they proceeded westward, were called successively, Richardson's, Buckland, British, and Romanzoff's Chains. When they had passed the first of these ranges, they observed, between it and the second, a large river, at least two miles broad, which emptied itself into the sea, after coming, as they were informed by the Esquimaux, from a distant part of the interior. The bay into which this river flows was called Phillip's Bay. On the 17th of July they discovered Herschel Island, lying a few miles from the main land, in latitude $69^{\circ} 33'$ north, longitude $139^{\circ} 3'$ west. Opposite this island was another river, which Captain Franklin named Mountain Indian River; and this part of the coast is further remarkable as being the only place Captain Franklin had seen since quitting the Mackenzie River, in which a ship could find shelter. The party met with several bodies of Esquimaux, from whom they occasionally procured supplies of deer's flesh. Their course was much impeded by ice. On the 27th of July, 1826, they passed the mouth of a wide river, which they called the Clarence River, after his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, then Lord High Admiral of England. On the most elevated point of the adjacent land, they deposited, under a pile of drift timber, a tin box, containing a royal silver medal, with an account of the proceedings of the expedition. This was nearly in latitude $69^{\circ} 38'$ north, and longitude $140^{\circ} 46'$ west.

On the 30th of July, they witnessed the sun setting at half-past eleven o'clock, an unwel-

come sight, Captain Franklin says, for it forced upon the mind the conviction that the favourable season for their operations was fast passing away, while as yet they had made but little progress.

On the 31st they reached Point Demarcation, which was so named from its being situated in longitude 141° west, the boundary between the British and Russian dominions on the northern coast of America. On the 3d of August, in latitude $69^{\circ} 43'$ north, and longitude $141^{\circ} 30'$ west, they crossed a bay, which Captain Franklin called Beaufort Bay. In latitude $70^{\circ} 5'$ north, and longitude $143^{\circ} 55'$ west, they passed another, on the 4th, which was called Camden Bay. In latitude $70^{\circ} 7'$ north, and longitude $145^{\circ} 27'$ west, they arrived opposite to a large river, to which they gave the name of Canning River. This was on the 5th of August. On the 7th, in latitude $70^{\circ} 16'$ north, longitude $147^{\circ} 38'$ west, they reached Foggy Island, which Captain Franklin so designated, because the expedition was detained there by continual fogs for nine days, extremely distressed by the painful conviction, that every day of their being shut up there was taking away from the hope of accomplishing the object they had in view.

At length, on the 16th, the weather becoming clearer, they embarked and passed the point, which, from their having often vainly attempted to reach it from Foggy Island, had been named Point Anxiety. They passed Point Chandos eight miles to the westward, and crossed the mouth of an inlet, which was called Yarborough Inlet ; but

they were compelled by the return of the fog, and the drifting ice, again to seek for a landing place. After being frustrated in various attempts, they suddenly got into smooth water, and found, on a temporary dispersion of the fog, that they were surrounded with banks, nearly on a level with the water, and protected to seaward by a large body of ice lying aground. They landed, and encamped on one of these gravelly banks, about 500 yards in circumference, destitute of water, and with no more drift wood than a few willow branches, sufficient to make one fire.

But it now became the duty of Captain Franklin to consider what was his prospect of ultimately reaching Icy Cape, as the 16th of August had arrived,—only a day earlier than the commencement of winter, on his former expedition, when he was two degrees more to the south,—and yet in the space of forty days, he had reached only the half-way point between Mackenzie River and Icy Cape, while every thing indicated the immediate approach of winter: the young ice began to form at night; the highest temperature rarely exceeded 37°; the southern flight of birds had commenced; the deer were hastening from the coasts, and no Esquimaux had recently made their appearance. He was aware that he had higher duties to perform than the gratification of his own feelings as to the great object of his ambition, which he could hardly bring himself even to think of relinquishing. The lives of his party were placed in his hands, and this paramount consideration forced him to the conclusion that he had reached the point beyond

which perseverance would be rashness, and all his efforts fruitless.

Captain Franklin, at this point of his narrative, says : " Compelled as I was to come to the determination of returning, it is a great satisfaction to me to know, as I now do, that the reasons which induced me to take this step were well founded."

He then proceeds to give an extract from the official account by Captain Beechey, the commander of the Blossom, of his proceedings in advancing eastward from Icy Cape, to the following effect :—viz. that when the Blossom arrived off Icy Cape on the 18th of August, Captain Beechey despatched Mr. Elson, the master, in the barge, to meet the expedition, if it should be advancing ; who proceeded as far as latitude $71^{\circ} 23' 39''$ north, longitude $154^{\circ} 21'$ west, where he found his course obstructed by a compact body of ice : this point lies 120 miles beyond Icy Cape, so that there were only 160 miles between the two parties, when Captain Franklin's resolution to return was carried into effect.

It was on the same day, the 18th of August, that Franklin's party began to retrace their way, through fogs, drift ice, and shoals ; and on one occasion, while passing between Point Kay and Point King, they met with such a violent tempest that, being in imminent danger of foundering, they were forced to make for the shore : they took the ground in a favourable spot, where the boats, though instantly filled with the surf, were unloaded and dragged up, without having sustained any material damage.

On the 30th, they re-entered the Mackenzie River ; on the 7th of September they arrived at Fort Good Hope ; on the 16th, at the entrance of Bear Lake River ; and on the 21st they safely reached Fort Franklin, where they had the pleasure of finding Dr. Richardson and his party, who had arrived on the 1st, after a most successful voyage. The distance travelled by Captain Franklin in the three months of his absence from Fort Franklin was 2,048 statute miles, of which 610 were through parts not previously discovered.

The proceedings of the Eastern expedition were so prosperous throughout, and met with so few obstructions, either from the ice or the weather, that they were not so full of incident as the narrative of Captain Franklin's course. That expedition was highly important, however, in a geographical point of view.

The detachment was composed of twelve individuals, distributed in two boats,—the Dolphin and the Union—as follows :—

In the Dolphin.

Dr. Richardson.
Thomas Gillet, Cockswain.
John M'Lellan, Bowman.
Shadrach Tysoe, Mariner.
Thomas Fuller, Carpenter.
Ooligbuck, Esquimaux.

In the Union.

Mr. Kendall.
John M'Leay, Cockswain.

George Munroe, Bowman.
William Money, Mariner.
John M'Duffey.
George Harkness.

On leaving Point Separation, on the 4th of July, 1826, they proceeded along the Middle Channel, and passed Williams's Island on the 5th. The length of the first day's voyage was forty-two miles, that of the second, forty-four. On the 6th they passed Sacred Island, so called by Dr. Richardson, from its being a burial-place of the Esquimaux; also Richards's Island, where the party landed and encamped for the night, in latitude $69^{\circ} 4'$ north, longitude $134^{\circ} 10'$ west.

On the morning of the 7th, embarking at four o'clock, in cold hazy weather, they soon came to a point of Richards's Island on which there were four or five Esquimaux tents, with several skin canoes and boats lying on the beach; and they had for some time to resist an attack, little inferior in violence to that which Captain Franklin's party had experienced; but the prudence of Dr. Richardson, assisted by Ooligbuck, the interpreter, frustrated the design of their assailants, and they at length commenced bartering, in an amicable manner, fish, adzes, spears, and arrows, for beads, fire-steels, flints, files, knives, hatchets, and kettles. In this traffic they showed considerable intelligence, not displaying all they had for sale at once, lest the appearance of abundance should lower their price, and not attempting to outbid each other. Like all other tribes of Esquimaux, however, and every other savage nation, they

missed no opportunity of stealing whatever they could lay their hands on, and frequently acted in concert. Thus, one fellow would lay hold of the boat with both his hands, and, while the men endeavoured to disengage them, his companion on the other side was employed in carrying off something with all the coolness of a practised thief. They were, in almost every instance, detected, and always restored, with perfect good humour, every thing as soon as it was demanded, often laughing heartily at their own want of address. The spot where this transaction took place was named Point Encounter, and is in latitude $69^{\circ} 16'$ north, and longitude $136^{\circ} 20'$ west.

On the 8th they anchored the boats by poles stuck in the mud ; but a terrible tempest prevented them from enjoying any repose till the following morning. On the 10th they reached the mouth of the Coppermine River. On the 13th they passed Point Warren, Hutchinson Bay, Phillip's Island, and Atkinson's Island ; the latter situated in latitude $69^{\circ} 55'$ north, longitude $130^{\circ} 43'$ west. On the 14th they crossed M'Kinley Bay and Browell Cove. On the 15th they passed Russell Inlet, Cape Brown, and Cape Dalhousie, so named by Dr. Richardson in honour of Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-in-Chief of the Canadas. On the 16th the boats were afloat and loaded by seven A.M., when they pulled round Cape Dalhousie, and found the land trending to the south east : this was as they wished ; since reaching the sea the coast had gradually inclined to the northward, which, with the increasing quantity of ice seen on the two or three

last days, had led them to fear that a cape might exist, extending so far to the northward as to prevent them from reaching the Coppermine River within the period to which their voyage was limited. On the 17th they continued their course until they came to the extremity of a cape formed by an island separated from the main by a narrow channel. This cape was named Cape Maitland, after Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. They encamped for the night near it, and again embarked early on the 18th, crossing Harrowby Bay at its mouth. On nearing the shore they distinguished twelve Esquimaux tents on an eminence, and a woman who was walking on the beach gave the alarm. The men then rushed out, brandishing their knives, and, using the most threatening expressions, forbade them to land, and desired them to return by the way they came. Dr. Richardson, however, using the well-known words, *Noover largo* (I wish to barter,) they became quiet, and boldly went alongside to exchange their spears, arrows, bows, &c. for pieces of old iron hoops, files, and beads. The females of this tribe were better looking than the men, and one young woman of the party would have been deemed pretty, even in our country. The presents they received seemed to make them perfectly happy: to excite the liberality, however, of the party, mothers drew their children out of their wide boots, where they are accustomed to carry them naked, and, holding them up, begged beads for them.

From the 18th to the 21st they coasted along

Fitton Point, Trail Point, and passed the mouth of Wilmot Horton's River, in latitude $69^{\circ} 50'$ north, longitude $125^{\circ} 55'$ west.

On the 22d they continued their course along the eastern side of the bay, which they had been coasting for three days, and which was marked by the two headlands, Cape Bathurst on the west, and Cape Parry on the east. To this bay Dr. Richardson gave the name of his commander, Captain Franklin; and, to a cluster of islands north of Cape Parry, the name of Booth Islands.

On the 24th they sailed down the eastern side of the promontory which is terminated by Cape Parry, passed Clapperton Island, in latitude $69^{\circ} 41\frac{1}{2}'$, which they found to be nearly in the same meridian of longitude as Fort Franklin, from which it was distant 313 miles. The distance between the nearer part of the Great Bear Lake, however, and the Arctic Sea at that point, does not much exceed 190 miles. On the 25th they reached the extremity of a cape, which was called Cape Lyon, the bay between it and Cape Parry being denominated Darnley Bay, in compliment to the Earl of Darnley. Upon the summit of the highest hill a pile of stones was erected, and under it was deposited a letter for Captain Parry, containing a short account of the proceedings of Dr. Richardson's party.

On the 26th the sun's lower limb just touched the horizon at midnight for the first time since their arrival on the coast. On the 27th, in the evening, they started from Cape Lyon, and running nearly east, passed, on the 28th, Point Keats, Point Deas Thompson, Palgrave River, Roscoe

River : on the 29th, they passed Point de Witt Clinton; and, on the 30th, came up with a compact body of ice, which barred their further progress, and obliged them to make for the beach : in nearing it, the Union narrowly escaped being crushed by two large floes of ice. On the 31st they passed Buchanan River, Tinney Point, in latitude $69^{\circ} 17'$ north, and longitude $119^{\circ} 27'$ west; and Clifton Point ; on the 1st of August, Croker River, Clerk's Island, Inman River, and Wise Point, which last is situated in latitude $69^{\circ} 03'$ north, longitude 118° west.

On the 2d of August they continued their course, giving the name of Harding River to a wide but shallow stream, which flowed between two sand hills into the sea. Five miles beyond this, on the extremity of a rocky cape, the Esquimaux had constructed some store-houses of drift timber, which were filled with dried deer's meat and seal blubber; along with which, cooking-kettles and lamps made of the stone called pot-stone, copper-headed spears, and various other articles, were carefully laid up. Dr. Richardson's party felt much pleasure in figuring to themselves the surprise and joy with which the Esquimaux would behold, on their return, some iron utensils which they deposited in their store-houses for their use.

On part of the 2d and 3d a way for the boats, for some miles, was made only by the constant use of the hatchet and ice-chisel. By reckoning, they were on the 3d nearly in the longitude of Coppermine River, but about seventy miles north of it.

On the 4th they passed a strait between the

mainland and Woolaston Island, which they named, after their little boats, the Dolphin and Union Straits. It varied in width from twelve to twenty miles. On the 5th they encamped on Chantry Island, in latitude $68^{\circ} 45'$ north, longitude $114^{\circ} 23'$ west: also, Sutton's and Liston's Islands. On the 6th the Dolphin was caught between a floe and a piece of ice that lay aground, and fairly raised out of the water by the pressure, which broke one of her timbers and several of her planks.

On the 7th they entered George the Fourth's Coronation Gulf, at a cape to which they gave the name of Krusenstern, lying in latitude $68^{\circ} 23'$ north, and longitude $113^{\circ} 45'$ west, and which is the most eastern part of the mainland they coasted. From a cliff two hundred feet high, two miles to the southward of Cape Krusenstern they had a distinct view of the high land about Inman's harbour, on the western side of Cape Barrow, which was the most easterly land seen on this voyage, and lies in longitude $111^{\circ} 20'$ west, the space between the two capes being crowded with islands.

On the 8th the party landed on a bold cape, which Dr. Richardson called, after his companion and friend, Cape Kendall, and from the summit of which they could discern the gap in the hills at Bloody Fall, through which the Coppermine River flows. At noon, the situation of Cape Kendall was ascertained to be $67^{\circ} 58'$ north, longitude $115^{\circ} 18'$ west; and now they announced to the men that a short traverse would bring them to the mouth of the Copper-

mine River. They immediately steered for that wished-for destination, with the sails set to a fine breeze; and, on rounding Cape Kendall, opened a magnificent inlet, or bay, rendered very picturesque by the manner in which its lofty cliffs came successively in sight as they crossed its mouth. This bay was distinguished by the name of their friend, Lieutenant Back. The completion of the sea voyage so early in the season, was a subject of mutual congratulation to all the party; and to see the men, fresh and vigorous, and ready to commence the laborious march across the barren grounds, to the Great Bear Lake, was highly gratifying to Dr. Richardson and Mr. Kendall. Though deprived of the use of chronometers, by the accident of the two intended for this detachment of the expedition having been broken by the intense winter cold, and the only source for correcting the bad reckoning being lunar observations, made as frequently as opportunities offered, yet, on approaching the Coppermine River, Mr. Kendall's reckoning differed from the position of that place as laid down by Captain Franklin, only twenty seconds of time, or about two miles and a half distance, which is a very trifling variation, when the length of the voyage and all the circumstances are taken into account. The distance between Point Separation and the mouth of the Coppermine River by the route pursued by Dr. Richardson's party is 902 statute miles.

The natives, who were met by Dr. Richardson during his voyage, were more numerous and apparently more wealthy than those west of the Mackenzie, and Dr. Richardson remarked, that

their winter huts were of a superior kind. On one occasion they saw an Esquimaux village, in which there was a very curious building, evidently intended for an assembly-house for the tribe. It was in the interior a square of twenty-seven feet, having the log-roof resting upon four upright posts. The floor was formed of split logs, and surrounded by a raised border for seats. The outside, covered with earth, was in the form of a dome, and round its base there were ranged the skulls of twenty-one whales. The general attention to comfort in the construction of the village, and the erection of a building of such magnitude evinced no small progress towards civilization. The drift timber of which these villages are constructed, and which abounds on these coasts, is sometimes found of a very large size. Dr. Richardson mentions one straight log of spruce fir, thirty feet long, seven feet in circumference at the small end, and twelve a short distance above the root. He also makes a remark which deserves to be mentioned, that should the course of events ever introduce a steam-vessel into those seas, in coasting from Cape Bathurst to Mackenzie River fire-wood sufficient for her daily consumption may be gathered without any difficulty.

On the 9th of August Dr. Richardson and his party left the encampment, in the boats, for the Bloody Fall. Here they were obliged to leave the Dolphin and Union, together with every thing that was not necessary for the journey. Twenty pounds of pemmican were allotted to each man, and the packages of other articles,

with the blankets, spare shoes, guns, and ammunition, made a load for each of about seventy-two pounds.

The boats were drawn upon shore, out of the reach of any flood, and the articles which had been brought to give to the Esquimaux were put in boxes and placed in the tents, that they might be readily found by the first party that should pass that way. They consisted of fish-hooks, lines, hatchets, knives, files, fire-steels, kettles, combs, awls, needles, thread, blue and red cloth, gartering, and beads, sufficient to serve a considerable number of the Esquimaux for several years. The tents were securely pitched, and the union-jack hoisted, partly to attract the notice of the natives, and partly to show them the mode of using the tents, a hint which might prove very useful in their summer journeys.

On Thursday, the 10th of August, at six o'clock in the morning, they began their march. On setting out, Mr. Kendall walked at the head of the line, at a steady pace, halting for five minutes every half hour to rest the party, and to prevent straggling. The distance travelled each day, was from twelve to seventeen miles, and they generally halted for the night at about five o'clock.

On the 18th, they reached a bay of the Bear Lake, about a mile from Dease's River ; but, to their great mortification, Beaulieu did not arrive till the 24th, though he was to have left Fort Franklin on the 6th. He was accompanied by four Canadians, four Chipewyans, and ten Dog-ribs, their wives and children, amounting in all

to thirty. The party embarked on the 28th, in the boat which brought Beaulieu, and reached the fort on the 1st of September, 1826, after an absence of seventy-one days, in which time they had travelled by land and water one thousand seven hundred and nine geographical, or one thousand nine hundred and eighty statute miles.

On the 21st of September, as already mentioned, they were joined by the Western expedition; and thus was the whole party again assembled, after the perils and hardships they had undergone. They were greatly disappointed at finding, that notwithstanding the zeal and exertions of Mr. Dease, there were no provisions stored for their winter consumption, owing to the apathy and indolence of the Dog-ribs; but supplies were soon received from Fort Norman, whence they were furnished not only with food, but with clothing, of which the eastern party were in great need, having left everything on quitting the sea coast, except one suit of clothes each. A large packet of letters was received from England, soon after they reached the Fort; they conveyed the gratifying intelligence that Lieutenant Back had been promoted to the rank of commander in the Royal Navy: a large packet of newspapers was also thankfully received from the Earl of Dalhousie, Governor in Chief of Canada.

The united party remained at the Fort during the four following months, with the exception of Dr. Richardson, who, accompanied by Augustus, left it in the month of December, to complete his examination of these unfrequented regions. The cold became so intense, that in the beginning of

January Mr. Kendall froze some mercury in the mould of a pistol bullet and fired it against a door at the distance of six paces, a small portion of the mercury penetrated to the depth of one eighth of an inch : the temperature was then 52.2°.

On the 20th of February, 1827, Captain Franklin quitted the Fort, accompanied by five men of his crew, and two Indians, the latter dragging sixty pounds of pemmican on their sledges, leaving directions that Captain Back and the remainder of the party should proceed to York Fort as soon as the ice broke, and thence by the Hudson's Bay ship to England, except the Canadians, who were to return to Montreal. He spent some time at Fort Simpson, Fort Resolution, &c., and on the 18th of June he reached Cumberland-house, where he rejoined his friend Dr. Richardson. At Norway-house, where they arrived on the 24th, they took leave of Augustus, who was to wait for Captain Back's arrival. The tears which this affectionate and faithful creature shed at parting showed the warmth of his attachment. They now took the route by Montreal and Lake Champlain, to New York, where they embarked on the 1st of September, and arrived at Liverpool on the 26th, after an absence of two years seven months and a half. Captain Back, Lieutenant Kendall, and the rest of the party, arrived at Portsmouth on the 10th of the following month, to enjoy that reputation which their exemplary conduct and exertions had so deservedly earned for them.

There is no circumstance connected with this expedition more satisfactory than its having been

accompanied by no loss of human life, except that of one man (Archibald Stewart) who died from consumption, and Gustavus Aird, who was drowned in Slave River; and it is a consolatory reflection, that the number of lives lost in the prosecution of all our Arctic discoveries does not exceed the average number of deaths in the same population, under the most favourable circumstances.

On the other hand, we should not forget the advantages which science has gained by these expeditions. The northern coast of America was actually surveyed, under Captain Franklin, from the meridian of 109° to $149\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ west; and again, from Icy Cape, eastward, to 156° west: so that not more than fifty leagues of unsurveyed coast were left, from point Turnagain to Icy Cape; to say nothing of the materials collected, and the valuable observations made, in other departments of science. Dr. Richardson and his assistant, Mr. Drummond, were indefatigable and highly successful in collecting the botanical productions of those unpromising regions; and the meteorological and astronomical facts recorded by Captain Franklin are also valuable.

The concluding words of Captain Franklin's narrative are worthy of being remembered. He says, "Arctic discovery has been fostered principally by Great Britain; and it is a subject of just pride that it has been prosecuted by her from motives as disinterested as they are enlightened; not from any prospect of immediate benefit to herself, but from a steady view to the acquirement of useful knowledge, and to the extension of the bounds of

science. Each succeeding attempt has added a step towards the completion of northern geography, and the contributions to natural history and science have excited a general interest throughout the civilized world. And it is sincerely to be hoped that Great Britain will not relax her efforts until the question of a north-west passage has been satisfactorily set at rest, or at least until those portions of the northern shores of America which are yet unknown be laid down in our maps ; and which, with the exception of a small space on the Asiatic Continent eastward of Shelatskoi Noss, are the only intervals wanting to complete the outline of Europe, Asia, and America."

The object of the expedition commanded by Sir John Franklin, which left England in May, 1845 ; and the projected expeditions to be sent in search of that gallant officer and his companions, are recorded in the volume entitled "Voyages in the Arctic Seas, from 1821 to 1837," &c. &c., published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in 1848.

CHAPTER VII.

It will be recollected, that in the account of the Voyages in the Arctic Seas,* it was stated that in 1833 Captain Back volunteered as a sort of forlorn hope, to go in seach of Captain Sir John Ross, his nephew, Commander James (now Captain Sir James) Ross, and their companions, who left England in June, 1829, in the Victory, in search of a north-west passage from the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The unfortunate result of that expedition is fully related in the volume referred to in the subjoined note. The Victory was wrecked, and Sir John Ross and his companions were compelled to inhabit the dreary solitudes of the frozen regions during four years.

An expedition, to be commanded by Captain (now Sir George) Back, was accordingly fitted out ; but soon after it started Captain Ross and his crew were providentially rescued by a whaler, which had been tempted, by the fineness of the season, to advance much further north than was usual. Intelligence to this effect was conveyed to Captain Back, with instructions to follow up the second and subordinate object of the expedition,

* See "Voyages in the Arctic Seas, from 1821 to 1837," &c., published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1848, page 219.

viz. the survey of part of the coast, as far as Cape Turnagain.

The following is a brief account of this land expedition, chiefly selected from Captain Back's journal, and from the summary by Sir John Barrow, Bart., F.R.S., in his work, "Voyages of Discovery and Research within the Arctic Regions," &c. published in 1846.

The party consisted of five persons, viz :— Captain Back its commander, Mr. Richard King (Dr. King), surgeon and naturalist, and three men, one of whom was a carpenter, and another a shipwright. They left Liverpool on the 17th of February, 1833, for New York, whence they proceeded to Albany and Montreal. They then made the best of their way towards the Great Slave Lake. Governor Simpson had made every preparation in respect of men, boats, and sledges, at Norway-house, to facilitate the journey thence to Slave Lake. There were twenty men collected there to join the party, as steersmen, carpenters, artillerymen, &c. Captain Back and his little party had endured great privations and fatigues, and had suffered severely from cold, on the journey to Norway-house; but the preliminary difficulties having been overcome, his heart swelled with joy (to use his own expressive words) as the canoe pushed off from the bank, and he saw himself for the first time in a condition to verify the kind anticipations of his friends.

Captain Back's canoe was dexterously threaded through the boiling rapids and sunken rocks by a Canadian, named De Charloit; the cool dexterity with which it was managed being truly admirable.

The travellers suffered from myriads of sand-flies and mosquitoes, which made their faces stream with blood. "Certainly," says Captain Back, "they were pests, and sharply did they convey to us the moral lesson of man's helplessness; since, with all our boasted strength and skill, we were unable to repel these feeble atoms of the creation."

Having reached the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment on the shore of the Great Slave Lake, Captain Back set out for the discovery of the source of the river which was to convey him to the sea; and after crossing numerous lakes, rapids, rivers, and frightful cataracts, they mounted a ridge of hills, and from it saw a lake, out of which they had been told one of the branches of the sought-for river issued.

The river which Captain Back had now to descend was called by the natives Thlew-ée-choh, or the Great Fish River; and was afterwards named by the Geographical Society, Back's River, as Captain Back was the first European who had descended it. The main stream was speedily approached, and it being now the end of August, Captain Back's party returned to Fort Reliance, at the north-eastern extremity of Slave Lake, to take up their winter quarters. A convenient house was soon completed. Here they endured great privations; indeed, they were almost famished. The Indians found their way to the house, with their families, in search of food and fuel. "Famine with her gaunt and bony arm pursued them at every turn, withered their energies, and strewed them lifeless on the cold bosom of the snow." Such are Captain Back's affecting words.

Nine had died and others were on the brink of dissolution, when the old chief Akaitcho came to their relief.

The old affectionate interpreter, Augustus, who was the faithful companion of Captain Franklin, Captain Back, and the rest of the party, during the expedition narrated in the preceding chapters of this work, having heard that Captain Back was again in the country, set out from Hudson's Bay, in company with a Canadian and an Iroquois Indian to join him ; but they lost their way and became separated. Poor Augustus died of starvation. His remains were found on a barren spot not far from the Rivère à Jean. Captain Back pays a just tribute to the memory of Augustus, in his narrative.

Their rations were deplorably reduced ; and this pittance they charitably shared with the poor Indians and their children. There was no complaint among Captain Back's party, who had none of those means so skilfully employed by Captain Parry on board ship, to keep up the spirits of the men ; but an evening school was formed, which was considered as an amusement, and tended to keep up their spirits.

On the 25th of April, 1834, whilst Captain Back was making active preparations for the journey to the sea-coast, the welcome intelligence reached him of the safety of Captain Ross and his party. They offered up thanks to the Almighty for this wonderful preservation of their friends. They had just sat down to breakfast, but such was the excitement occasioned by the good news that their appetites forsook them : in the evening a

treat was given to the men ; and on this joyful occasion economy was forgotten, and the social sympathies were excited by a generous bowl of punch.

Captain Back and Mr. King left Fort Reliance on the 7th of June. On the 28th the boat was carried over the last portage which divides the northern from the southern streams, into the latter of which the boat was launched, that being the River Thlew-ée-choh, the Great Fish, or Back's River, which it was their object to descend to the Polar Sea.

The weather was cold, thick, and foggy.

From that time till their approach to the sea their progress was continually obstructed by a succession of falls, rapids, and cataracts. Sometimes Captain Back says those obstacles made him hold his breath, while expecting to see the boat dashed to pieces against some protruding rocks, amidst the foam and fury of the current below.

Having reached the last and most formidable rapid, they fell in with a party of Esquimaux. Captain Back landed amongst them, calling out *teyma*, or peace ; the Esquimaux responded by the same cry, throwing their spears on the ground, and placing their hands on their breasts. Captain Back then shook them all heartily by the hand. They were about thirty-five in number. Captain Back gave them a few presents, and paid a visit to the tents where the women and children were assembled. These good-natured people were of great service to the party, by helping them to carry the boat below

the fall, "so that," says Captain Back, "I was indebted to them for getting to the sea at all."

On the 29th of July the party got sight of a headland at a great distance to the north, apparently at the eastern side of the river ; which they conjectured to be one side of the opening into the sea ; and so it proved to be. Captain Back gave the name of Victoria to this promontory, after the Princess Victoria, now our most gracious Queen.

"This then," Captain Back thus expresses himself in his journal, "may be considered as the mouth of the Thlew-ée-choh ; which, after a violent and tortuous course of 530 geographical miles, running through an iron-ribbed country without a single tree on the whole line of its banks, expanding into large lakes with clear horizons, most embarrassing to the navigator, and broken into falls, cascades, and rapids, to the number of no less than eighty-three in the whole, pours its waters into the Polar Sea, in latitude 67° 11' north, and longitude 94° 30' west, that is to say, about thirty-seven miles more south than the mouth of the Coppermine River, and nineteen miles more south than that of Back's River at the lower extremity of Bathurst's inlet."

Sir John Barrow, from whom what follows is quoted, says, that for ten days the weather continued chilly, wet and foggy ; and the estuary was so blocked up with ice, as to prevent any northern progress being made. The shores of this desolate region produced nothing but reindeer moss, and a species of fern, both so soaked

with wet that they would not burn ; and, therefore, the party had no means of cooking anything. For a whole week they had but one hot meal.

In this cheerless and desolate condition, surrounded on every side by prospects of ice, snow, and complete desolation, with heavy showers of rain falling, followed by thick snow, Captain Back says, " It cannot be matter of astonishment, and much less of blame, that even the best men, benumbed in their limbs, and dispirited by the dreary and unpromising prospect before them, broke out, for a moment, into low murmurings, that theirs was a hard and painful duty."

Under these painful and distressing circumstances Captain Back could not proceed to complete the survey of the coast to Cape Turnagain. All that he could do was to send a small party to the westward, to trace the coast in that direction for about fifteen miles, which was accomplished with great labour:—the ground was swampy, and there was no vegetation of any kind. They found some drift-wood, which Captain Back considered to establish the fact of the continuity of the coast from the mouth of the Mackenzie River, and of the current which had brought it along.

The extreme point seen to the northward, on the western side of the estuary, was named Cape Richardson, by Captain Back, in honour of his friend Dr. Richardson. It is in latitude $68^{\circ} 46'$ north, and longitude $96^{\circ} 20'$ west.

Captain Back now assembled the men, and informed them, that the time fixed by the British Government for his return had arrived ; and that it now only remained to unfurl the

British flag, and salute it with three cheers in honour of his most gracious Majesty : this was done, and the name of William the Fourth's Land given to this part of America.

On the 15th of August, the ice in the estuary had sufficiently parted to allow the boat to proceed up the river ; but, of course, the difficulties they had encountered in descending it were greatly increased in stemming its current on their return. One day they ascended between sixteen and twenty rapids.

The Indians occasionally brought them provisions, and the old chief Akaitcho, with his followers, brought some contributions.

On the 24th of June, 1835, Captain Back reached Norway-house, and having arranged accounts with the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, he set out for Montreal, where, and in his passage through the United States of America, he received the kindest attentions.

He arrived at Liverpool on the 8th of September, 1835, after an absence of nearly two years and seven months. Dr. King, with eight of the men, reached England in the Hudson's Bay ship in October. Captain Back, on his arrival in London, had an audience of his late Majesty William the Fourth, who expressed his approbation of his conduct in every respect during his arduous expedition.

In the year 1839, a narrative was published of the Discoveries on the North Coast of America, effected by Messrs. Dease and Simpson, two officers of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Those gentlemen surveyed the remainder of the western part of the coast, left unexplored by Captain Franklin, from Return Reef to Cape Barrow ; and also from Point Turnagain to the eastward, as far as the Gulf of Akkolee. The latter portion only of this survey is contained in the notice in Sir John Barrow's book, from which the following abridged account is taken.

In July, 1839, they entered the large bay called Coronation Gulf, for the second time, with their two boats, passed Cape Turnagain, and from a point on the Continent of America, to the eastward of Cape Turnagain, they observed to the northward a large tract of land, to which they gave the name of Victoria, either joining with, or separated from, Wollaston Land. On their return they traced the coast of Victoria for about eleven leagues of longitude. From Cape Alexander, the southern coast of the Polar Sea trended southerly to a large bay crowded with islands, which they called Labyrinth Bay, opposite to which was an island to which they gave the name of Melville Island. Lower down the coast, in latitude 58° , was a bay which was called Sir Guy Campbell's Bay, into which Ellis River poured its waters—a stream described as much larger than Coppermine River ; the bordering country consisting of green flats, little lakes, and knolls. This coast still descended to the southward, the lowest being Ogden Bay, in latitude $67^{\circ} 36'$ north, longitude $101^{\circ} 15'$ west. On the 10th of August they found the American coast trending to the north-eastward, and proceeded all day among islands, so that some of the party began to

apprehend they had lost the continent altogether. In the evening, however, the rapid rush of the tide, and the position of Back's River, left no longer any room to doubt the neighbourhood of an open sea.

Their object had been to proceed northerly as far as Cape Felix, and they continued in a direction along the coast which would have led them to it ; but on finding a separation by the strait leading to the eastward they entered it, by doubling its southern point, which they called Geddes Point ; and proceeding along that coast, Mr. Simpson landed on a point of it, which they found to be Captain Back's Point Ogle.

They entered the estuary, passed Point Pechell, and ascended southerly to Montreal Island, on which they landed near the spot where Captain Back had encamped ; and under the guidance of McKay, one of Captain Back's men, they discovered, among the rocks, a deposit of bags of pemmican, chocolate, canisters of gunpowder, and percussion-caps. The pemmican was "literally alive," and the chocolate decayed. Some minor articles were taken possession of by Messrs. Dease and Simpson, as "memorials of our having breakfasted," Mr. Simpson says, "on the identical spot where the tent of our gallant, though less successful precursor stood that very day five years before."

After doubling the eastern part of the promontory of Boothia, they passed a point of the continent, which they named Cape Britannia, and another called Cape Selkirk ; and having proceeded towards some islands in the Gulf of

Akkolee, so far as to satisfy themselves that they were to the eastward of any part of Boothia, they began to consider that the time of the year made their return expedient.

They took the same route back, excepting that in passing Simpson's new strait, they now coasted it on the northern side, and designated the western entrance-cape on that side by the name of Herschel, and erected a cairn there, with the date, 26th of August, 1839. The strait was there ten miles in width, and much more at the entrance to Back's estuary; at one place, about the middle, it was only three miles, and its depth from thirteen to sixteen fathoms.

On their return along the coast of America, they crossed over to near Point Back, on the land of Victoria, and traced that shore as far as Point Parry, a distance of 156 geographical miles; but this land extended both to the east and the west beyond those two points; and they supposed that a wide channel might divide the latter from Wollaston Land. Their next point was the Coppermine River, which they reached on the 16th of September, 1839, after, by far, the longest voyage up to that time performed in boats on the Polar Seas, the distance they had performed being 1,408 geographical miles.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION.

THE following copy of a report by Dr. John Rae, who commanded an expedition of thirteen persons despatched by the Hudson's Bay Company, in July, 1836, for the purpose of surveying the unexplored portion of the Arctic coast at the north-eastern angle of the American continent, which returned to York Factory, Hudson's Bay, on the 21st of September, 1847, will complete the account of Arctic Travels to the present period.

"To the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Committee of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company.

"Hon. Sirs,—I have the honour to inform you that the expedition under my charge, which left Churchill on the 5th of July, 1846, for the purpose of tracing the coast of America between Dease and Simpson's furthest, and the Strait of the Fury and Hecla, returned in safety to this place on the 6th instant, after having, by travelling over the ice and snow in the spring, surveyed the coast from the Lord Mayor's Bay of Sir John Ross to within eight or ten miles of the Fury and Hecla Strait; thus proving that eminent navigator was correct in stating Boothia Felix to be a portion of the American continent.

"After leaving Churchill, the crews of the

boats were divided into watches, so that we continued under sail day and night whenever the weather was sufficiently moderate.

"On the 15th, when about ten miles to the north of Cape Fullerton, we first met with ice, which was so heavy and closely packed that it was at last found necessary to seek shelter in a deep and narrow inlet that opportunely presented itself. We were detained here two days, during which I found that our harbour formed the estuary of a considerable stream, on the beach near the mouth of which a great number of seals were lying. The latitude, $64^{\circ} 6' 45''$ north was observed; variation of the compass, $22^{\circ} 10'$ west.

"We reached the most southerly opening of Wager River on the 22d, and were detained all day by immense quantities of heavy ice driving in with the flood and out again with the ebb tide, which ran at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour, forcing up the ice and grinding it against the rocks, causing a noise resembling thunder.

"On the 23d we made the traverse from the south to the north side of the entrance of Wager River with some difficulty, and holding on our course towards Repulse Bay, about seven P.M., on the 24th, we rounded Cape Hope, and sailed up during the night to within eight miles of the head of the bay, where we cast anchor for a few hours, under shelter of a small island near its south shore.

"At three P.M., on the 25th, we entered Gibson's Cove, on the banks of which I was rejoiced to observe three Esquimaux tents, and four of

the natives standing on the shore. They appeared much alarmed at our approach ; but their fears were soon dispelled on my landing with the interpreter, and explaining our friendly intentions towards them. None of the party had ever visited Churchill, but one or two of the women had seen Captain Parry's ships both at Igloodikò and Winter Island, and they still wore beads round their wrists which they had obtained from on board those vessels. They had neither heard nor seen anything of Sir John Franklin.

"From a chart drawn by one of the party I inferred that the Arctic Sea (named Akkoolee) to the west of Melville Peninsula, was not more than forty miles distant, in a north-north-west direction, and that about thirty-five miles of the distance was occupied by deep lakes ; so that we would have only five miles of land to drag our boat over ; a mode of proceeding which I had decided upon, even had the distance been much greater, in preference to going round by the Fury and Hecla Strait.

"Having unloaded the boats, and placed one of them, with the greater part of the cargo, in security, the other was hauled three miles up a rapid and narrow river, which flowed from one of the lakes we were to pass through. This work occupied us the whole of the 26th, as the current was very strong, and the channel so full of large boulder stones that the men were frequently up to the waist in ice-cold water whilst lifting or launching the boat over these impediments.

"Our landing-place was found to be in latitude 66° 32' 1" north. The rate of the chrono-

meter had become so irregular that it could not be depended upon for finding the longitude. During the winter it stopped altogether.

"On the 27th, leaving one man in charge of our stores, &c., which were placed *en cache* on the rocks and covered with oilcloths, the rest of the party, assisted by three Esquimaux, carried what baggage and provisions were necessary to the boat. The distance from this part of the river to where it issues from the lake being only a mile and a half, and the current being less rapid, we soon reached the lake, which was six miles long, and varied from half a mile to 200 yards in breadth, its depth being, in some places, upwards of thirty fathoms.

"After traversing several lakes, and crossing over six portages, on the 1st of August we entered a shallow stream flowing to the northward. Following this, we arrived at the sea at five P.M., in latitude $67^{\circ} 13'$ north; longitude, by account, $87^{\circ} 30'$ west. The tide being out the men had some rest, which they much required after their hard labour.

"I expected to have got the boat floated during the night, but was disappointed, as the water did not rise by two feet so high as it had done the previous day, a circumstance which I could account for only by a change of wind from north-west to south.

"Early on the morning of the 2d we carried the baggage a mile further down the stream, and afterwards, with much trouble, dragged our boat over some shoals.

"We were now afloat in a salt water lake of a

few miles in width, and we steered towards the only apparent opening, bearing north. On passing a point to our left, two Esquimaux tents came into view. As we had not yet breakfasted, I went on shore whilst the men were cooking to ascertain if there were any inhabitants. After calling once or twice outside the door of one of the tents, an old woman popped out her head, and an aged man soon after appeared. From them I learned that the sea before us was continually full of ice, and could with difficulty be traversed in their kaiyacks or small canoes.

"Appearances led me to suppose that this information was correct, but it was necessary to judge for myself, and, at least, make an attempt to get forward, although not a pool of open water could be seen to seaward.

"After landing three of our men, who had assisted us across, and who were to return to Repulse Bay, and giving some presents to our new friends, we pushed off, and stood to the north-west among heavy and closely packed ice, through which we made very little progress. Ranges of low granite hills lined the coast, at some places a few hundred yards distant from it, at other places projecting into the sea.

"After tracing the shore for eleven miles, we passed a steep rocky point which was named Point Hargrave. When a few miles past Point Hargrave, being completely stopped by ice, we put on shore and found a large wooden sledge, half of which we cut up for fuel, intending to pay the owner, whom I was pretty sure of finding on my return.

"At eleven A.M. on the 3d we rounded a high bluff cape, which was called after the lady of Sir John Henry Pelly, Bart., Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

"It is situated in latitude $67^{\circ} 28'$ north ; longitude, by account, $87^{\circ} 40'$ west.

"With much exertion we advanced three miles beyond the cape, when we were inclosed by the ice, so that we could neither advance nor retreat. The shore still kept its north-west trending, and presented a succession of low muddy points and alternate bays. Into each of the latter a deep ravine opened, which during the melting of the snow in spring, must form the beds of considerable streams, although at present they were nearly dry. The tides here were very irregular in their height, one tide flowing eight or ten feet, and the next not above half as much. The depth of water within one hundred yards of the shore was from three to five fathoms on a bottom of mud and sand.

"There was a fresh breeze off shore on the 5th, which had but little effect upon the ice. I therefore determined on returning, and if possible crossing over to Melville Peninsula, for the purpose of tracing its shares to the Fury and Hecla Strait. By chopping off some pieces of ice, and pushing aside others, after much exertion we succeeded in getting our boat among ice somewhat less closely packed. During our detention, the weather had been so foggy that no observations of any value could be obtained ; our clothes were all the time either quite wet or damp, our fuel was nearly expended, and we had

much difficulty in finding water that was drinkable.

"I had travelled five miles along the coast, but the walking was so fatiguing that I gave up all hopes of performing the service on foot at this season.

"Working our way among the ice until a mile or two past Point Hargrave, there now appeared to be sufficient open water to allow us to cross over to Melville Peninsula, the nearest point of which bore north-east (true) distant ten miles.

"We completed the traverse in five hours amidst torrents of rain, accompanied by thunder and lightning, the wind having shifted from south-west to east.

"Having secured the boat to the rocks, the men, although drenched to the skin, went immediately to sleep in their wet clothes, eighteen hours' hard work at the oars and ice poles having thoroughly tired them all.

"There was a thick fog with rain all the night of the 6th, but about six o'clock on the morning of the 7th, a fresh breeze from south-east dispersed the mist. As soon as the weather cleared up we started, but our progress was very slow; in four hours we gained as many miles, and were again stopped by our constant enemy. Some deer were seen feeding among the rocks, and I landed for the purpose of endeavouring to get some venison, but the animals were too shy to be approached. An hour's sunshine dried our clothes and bedding, and thus made us feel rather more comfortable than we had been for some days past. The breeze having driven the ice a short distance off

shore we ran a league to the northward. The wind having increased to a gale it became dangerous to proceed among the ice; we therefore pushed for the shore, which was only a quarter of a mile distant, but we had much trouble in reaching it although pulling six oars, and ran much risk of being crushed by overhanging masses of ice, under which we were obliged to pass.

"Early on the 8th it became calm, and so slight had been the effect of the late gale that the ice had nearly surrounded us before we got our anchor up. The boat could not be placed in safety here; I therefore decided on running back to our starting point, and there awaiting some favourable change. A light breeze aided our retreat, but the ice followed close in our rear, and before we had been half an hour under shelter every spot of open water was filled up.

"I learned from our Esquimaux acquaintances that the deer had already commenced migrating southward.

"This being the case, I prepared to walk across to Repulse Bay to learn how the men left there were getting forward with the arrangements for wintering. Leaving three men in charge of the boat, I started on the 9th, in company with the other three, and reached our destination on the following day at two P.M. A few deer had been shot, and some salmon caught, but neither were yet abundant.

"The Esquimaux had gone to the lakes and stationed themselves at the several deer passes, where they watch for and intercept the animals

with their swift canoes, and spear them in the water.

“ After mature consideration I determined on giving up all hopes of prosecuting the survey at present.

“ My reasons for arriving at this conclusion I shall here briefly mention, as such a step may seem somewhat premature. I saw from the state of the ice and the prevalence of northerly winds, that there was no likelihood of our completing the whole of the proposed survey this season; and, although part of the coast, either towards the Strait of the Fury and Hecla, or towards Dease and Simpson’s furthest, might be traced, yet to accomplish even this might detain us so long that there would be no time to make the necessary preparations for wintering, and we should thus be under the necessity of returning to Churchill without accomplishing the object of the expedition, or if we remained at Repulse Bay run the risk of starving; for I could obtain no promise of supplies from the natives, and all the provisions that we carried with us amounted to not more than four months’ expenditure, which was all that our boats could carry. We should thus have to depend almost altogether on our own exertions for the means of existence both in regard to food and fuel.

“ On the 11th, retaining one man with myself, to guard our stores and attend the nets, the remaining six were sent to assist in bringing over the boat. They returned on the 15th, having been only two days crossing. Two Esquimaux had accompanied them to assist, and also to act

as guides; three of the portages were thus avoided, and the party had likewise the advantage of a fine fair breeze in the lakes. The Esquimaux had wrought well and were liberally rewarded. One of them, a merry little fellow, named Ivit Chuk (*Anglice* Seahorse) was engaged to accompany me on my intended spring journeys over the snow and ice.

"All hands were now busily occupied in making preparations for a long and cold winter. To build a house was our first object, and there being no wood, stones were collected at a favourable spot, in a hollow on the north side of the river, a quarter of a mile from the sea. Our hunters, Nibitabo and Ouligbuck, were continually on the look out for game, and whenever I had leisure I shouldered my rifle, and had frequently some fine sport among the deer, shooting seven one day within two miles of our encampment.

"On the 2d of September our house was finished. Its internal dimensions were twenty feet long by fourteen broad; height in front seven and a half feet, sloping to five and a half at the back. The roof was formed of oilcloths and morse skin coverings, the masts and oars of our boat serving as rafters. The door was made of parchment deer skins stretched over a frame of wood. It was named Fort Hope, and it was situated in latitude $66^{\circ} 32' 16''$ north, longitude (by a number of sets of lunar distances) $86^{\circ} 55' 51''$ west. The variation of the compass on the 30th of August, 1846, was $62^{\circ} 50' 30''$ west; dip of the needle $88^{\circ} 14'$; and the mean time of 100 vertical vibrations in the line of declination $226''$.

“ During the open water, salmon were caught in the bay, but a marine insect, somewhat resembling a shrimp in miniature, cut up our nets so much that it was impossible to keep them in repair. Steeping the nets in a strong decoction of tobacco had no effect.

“ On the 16th of October the thermometer first fell to zero, and the greater part of the rein-deer had passed. We had at this date shot 130 of these animals, and during the remainder of the month and in November, thirty-two more were killed, so that with 200 partridges and a few salmon our provision store (built of snow) was pretty well stocked.

“ Sufficient fuel had been collected to last, if economically used, for cooking until spring, and I had shot a couple of seals, which produced oil enough for our lamps.

“ By nets set in the lakes under the ice some salmon were caught, but the numbers caught were latterly so few that on the 4th of January the nets were taken up.

“ Our house, long before that time, had become sufficiently cold, the temperature in my room (a small space separated from the rest of the dwelling by a partition of oilcloth) was frequently from 10° to 12° below zero. The men's quarters, on account of the number crowded together, were rather less cold, nor did we receive any heat from our fire when cooking, as the chimney (not being built on the most approved principles) obstinately refused to allow any smoke to pass through it without the door being open. Fortunately the majority of the party had been accustomed to

cold weather, and being all in excellent health, our trifling discomforts furnished the subject of many a joke.

"The winter was extremely stormy, indeed so much so that frequently we could not move fifty yards from the house for several days together. On those occasions we only took one meal per day. The prevailing winds were from the north-westward, and the lowest temperature we experienced, 47° below zero, occurred on the 8th of January.

"Towards the end of February preparations for our spring journeys were commenced. Two sleds, resembling those used by the Esquimaux, were made by nailing together some of the battens which formed the ceiling of our boats.

"In the beginning of March the rein-deer began to migrate northward, but were very shy. One was shot by Nibitabo on the 11th.

"I had intended setting out on my journey over the land and ice on the 1st of April, but an accident that happened to Ouligbuck detained me until the 5th, on which day I left Fort Hope, in company with three men, the Esquimaux, Ibit-chuck, and Ouligbuck's son, as interpreter.

"Our bedding and provisions were placed on two sledges, each drawn by four dogs; for two days our route was the same as that by boat through the lakes last autumn. On the 7th, when two miles from the sea, we struck across land to the westward, and built our snow house on a small lake four miles from Point Hargrave. This being the last fresh water lake we were likely to see for some days, our sled

runners were re-iced, and an Esquimaux, who had assisted us thus far with his sled and dogs returned to his home.

"A strong breeze of head wind, with thick snow drift, impeded our progress on the 8th, but we nevertheless advanced seven miles beyond Cape Lady Pelly before encamping. The 9th proved fine, and the ice was less rough than that passed over the previous day; but our dogs began to fail, and one of them having become quite useless was shot.

"About midday on the 10th we arrived opposite a rounded point which was named Cape Weynton. Our course now lay across a bay about six miles deep and ten wide, which received the name of Colville, in honour of the Deputy-governor of the Company. Not being able to reach the land on its north side, we built our house upon the ice. The north point of the bay, which we reached the following forenoon, was called Beaufort, after the learned and scientific hydrographer to the Admiralty.

"The land, which had hitherto been rocky, and ran in a north-north-west direction, now turned to the north, and became gradually more level, exhibiting every indication of a limestone country. Our next encampment was in Keith Bay, situated in latitude $68^{\circ} 17' 00''$ north; longitude $88^{\circ} 22' 00''$ west.

"The coast here took a sharp turn to the eastward, and our Esquimaux companion informed me, that by crossing overland, in a north-west direction, to a large bay which he had formerly visited, we should shorten our distance

considerably. I decided on adopting the plan proposed, and left the coast on the morning of the 12th.

“ On the 15th, which was very stormy, with a temperature of 20° below zero, we arrived at the steep mud banks of the bay spoken of by our guide, and called by him *Ak-ku-li-gu-wiak*. Its surface was marked with a number of high rocky islands, towards the highest of which (six or seven miles distant) we directed our course, and were, before sunset, comfortably housed under a snow roof. We had the extreme good fortune to find some fuel by digging under the snow, and could thus afford to have our pemmican warmed and a kettle of tea made. A gale of north wind made this the coldest day we had been exposed to during the journey, and not one of the party (not even the Esquimaux) escaped without being severely marked on the face.

“ As the dogs were now nearly useless I determined on leaving them here with some of the party, including the Esquimaux, for the purpose of recruiting their strength, and if possible, to kill seals, which were numerous; whilst I, with two of the men, proceeded to trace the remainder of the unexplored coast. The 16th was so stormy that we could not attempt to cross the bay, but a search was made among the islands for Esquimaux, the recent foot-tracks of two of whom had been noticed the previous day. No natives were found, although there were numerous signs of their having been in the neighbourhood a few days ago.

“ Early in the morning of the 17th I set out

in company with two of the men, for the purpose of following the coast to some point surveyed by Sir John Ross, as I now felt confident that that veteran discoverer was correct in his opinion as to Boothia Felix being part of the American continent. We directed our course to the furthest visible land which bore north-west (true).

"The weather was beautiful but cold, and the ice being smooth, a brisk walk of seventeen miles brought us to the point towards which we had been proceeding, in time to obtain a meridian observation of the sun. Cape Berens is situated in latitude $69^{\circ} 4' 12''$ north, and longitude $90^{\circ} 35'$ west. It is formed entirely of granite, partially covered with moss. Thirteen miles beyond this we arrived at two narrow points in the small bay, between which we built our snow hut, which being made too small, we passed a rather uncomfortable night. Bed and bedding for the party consisted of one blanket and a hairy deer-skin, the latter being placed on the snow to prevent our clothes getting wet.

"The shore still trended to the north-west, and we had not travelled more than four leagues on the 18th, when the coast took a sharp turn to the eastward. We had been tracing the west side of a deep inlet which was named Halkett, after one of the members of your Hon. Board.

"As we were now near the latitude and longitude of Lord Mayor's Bay of Sir John Ross, I struck across land nearly in a north direction, and, at noon, when passing over a considerable lake, the latitude $69^{\circ} 26' 1''$ north, was observed. Advancing three miles beyond this we reached

another lake, and, as there was yet no appearance of the sea, I ordered my companions to build a snow hut and search for fuel whilst I went to look for the coast.

“A walk of twenty minutes brought me to an inlet not more than a quarter of a mile wide. This I traced to the westward for three miles, when my course was again obstructed by land. Ascending some high rocks, from which a good view could be obtained, I thought I could distinguish rough ice in the desired direction. With renewed hopes I set out at a rapid pace, plunging among deep snow, scrambling over rocks and through rough ice, until I gained some rising ground close to the beach. From the spot where I now stood, as far as the eye could see to the north-west, lay a large extent of ice-covered sea, studded with innumerable islands. Lord Mayor's Bay was before me, and the islands were those named by Sir John Ross, the Sons of the Clergy of the Church of Scotland.

“The isthmus which connects the land to the northward with Boothia Felix, is only one mile broad, and to judge by the number of stone marks set upon it, appears to be a favourite resort of the natives. Its latitude is $69^{\circ} 31'$ north ; longitude, by account, $91^{\circ} 29' 30''$ west. With a grateful heart to Him who had thus brought our journey so far to a successful termination, I began to retrace my steps towards my companions, and, at a late hour, reached the snow hut—an excellent roomy one—in which I enjoyed a pleasant night's rest after the fatigues of the day.

“On the following morning, after taking possession of our discoveries with the usual formalities, we traced the inlet eastward. When we had gone four miles, the land to our left turned up to the north, leaving an opening in that direction two miles wide, bounded on the east by one or more islands. The strait separating these from the mainland was in some places very narrow, and ran about south. Finding on the morning of the 20th that we were at the head of a deep inlet, I was obliged to take the straightest route across land, towards our snow hut of the 17th, as our provisions were all but consumed. There were many steep hills to be climbed and deep ravines to be crossed, before we reached Halkett Inlet. This we at last effected a little before midday; the snow being very soft made the distance, only ten miles, appear like twenty. We reached our old hut at two P.M. One of the men suffered so much from fatigue and inflammation of the eyes that I went on alone during the following day, leaving Corrigan, a fine able young Orkneyman, to come on at a slower pace with his lame companion.

“When five miles from the island where the rest of the party had been left, I was met by four Esquimaux whom I had not seen before. After shaking hands with them, they wished me to visit their houses, which were close at hand; but as my men were not in sight, and as I was quite unarmed, I declined the invitation, but with some trouble prevailed on them to follow me to our encampment. This was a fortunate meeting for us, as we obtained a quantity of

seals' blubber for fuel and dogs' food, and some of the flesh and blood of the same animal for our own use. A couple of fine large dogs were also bought.

"As we were all more or less affected with snow-blindness, and the dogs were still weak, we remained on the island, which I found to be situated in latitude $68^{\circ} 53' 44''$ north ; longitude, by account, $89^{\circ} 56'$ west. It is formed almost entirely of granite, and is upwards of 730 feet above the level of the sea. From the highest point of it I obtained a fine view of the bay, and was thus saved the trouble of tracing its shores. It extends sixteen or eighteen miles to the southward, and contains a number of rocky islands, the highest of them being that on which we encamped.

"The bay was named Pelly Bay, after the Governor of the Company ; and the group of islands, Harrison Islands.

"Having now as much seals' flesh and blood as would maintain us for six days on half allowance, I determined on tracing the shores of the land over which we had travelled on our outward journey.

"We set out on the morning of the 24th, and directed our course to the eastward of the north ; the coast preserved this trending for twenty-five miles, and then ran eight miles due east, forming a cape which was named Cape Chapman. We now turned south-east, and continued this course forty miles, and finally south thirty-five, which brought us to Keith Bay on the 30th, when, on account of a strong gale of wind and thick drifts,

we had much trouble in finding a small *cache* of provisions left here in passing.

"The whole of the land which we had traced during the last seven days was low and flat, and very regular in its outline, there being few or no bays and points. It was named Simpson's Peninsula.

"During the remainder of our journey we followed, as nearly as possible, the same route as that by which we had passed in the opposite direction, and arrived at Repulse Bay on the 5th of May, all safe and well, but as black as negroes, from the combined effects of frost bites and oil smoke.

"At our winter quarters everything had gone on prosperously.

"Having still to trace the west shore of Melville Peninsula, I started for this purpose on the evening of the 13th of May, intending to travel by night with a chosen party of four men.

"Our course to the sea was nearly due north through a chain of lakes, and on the 16th we built our snow hut on Cape Thomas Simpson, in latitude $67^{\circ} 19' 14''$ north; longitude 87° west, a rocky point which I had visited last autumn in the boat. From this place I sent back a fatigue party of three men, and a sledge of dogs that had assisted us thus far. As the dogs were of little use during the last journey, I took none with me now.

"We left our snow hut on the evening of the 16th, each of the men being laden with about seventy pounds weight, whilst I carried my instruments, books, &c., weighing altogether forty

pounds. Two blankets and as many hairy deer-skins constituted the bedding of the party. Our progress was very slow, as the ice was rough and the snow both soft and deep.

"We advanced only twelve miles the first night. On the 17th we crossed a bay eighteen miles wide, and encamped at its north point, opposite to which, and within two miles of the shore, there is a large island, which was honoured with the name of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A small island to the south of this was called Sabine Island.

"The general trending of the coast was now north north-east. Near the shore the banks were high and steep, and, where visible through the snow, appeared to be formed of sand, shingle, mud, and granite boulder stones, whilst a range of rocky hills, of various but not great altitudes, were to be seen a few miles inland.

"On the 20th we were detained twenty-four hours by stormy weather at Cape Lady Simpson, a long point in latitude $68^{\circ} 10'$ north; longitude $85^{\circ} 53'$ west. We rounded Selkirk Bay (called after the noble Earl of that name) on the 21st, and after passing a number of small points and bays, we encamped on what at first appeared to be a part of the main land, but which was afterwards found to be an island. Our snow house on the 25th was built in latitude $68^{\circ} 48'$ north; longitude $85^{\circ} 4'$ west, near a small stream, frozen (like all others we had passed) to the bottom.

"We had not yet obtained a drop of water of nature's thawing, and, fuel being rather a scarce article, we sometimes took small kettles of snow

under the blanket with us, to thaw it by the heat of our bodies.

"Leaving two men to endeavour to fish and shoot, I went forward with the others and crossed Garry Bay, passing inside a number of islets.

"Our course on the following night lay to the westward of north, the coast being high and rocky, and indented with numerous inlets.

"After accomplishing twenty miles in a straight line, we encamped; as the weather looked fine we did not build our usual comfortable lodgings, which I had afterwards cause to regret, as a heavy fall of snow soon came on. We were now in latitude $69^{\circ} 19' 39''$ north, and longitude $85^{\circ} 4'$ west.

"The latter is evidently erroneous, as I had neither chronometer nor watch that I could place dependence upon, and the compasses were much affected by local attraction.

"Our provisions being nearly exhausted, I could proceed only half a day's journey further northward, being obliged to return the same night to our present quarters. Leaving one of the men I set out with the other.

"The snow fell fast, and the walking was extremely fatiguing. After advancing ten miles the land turned sharp to the eastward, but as the weather was thick I could not see how far it trended in this direction.

"When we had waited here nearly an hour the sky cleared up, and I discovered that we were on the south shore of a considerable bay, and could trace the coast to the northwards for about twelve miles beyond it.

“ To the most distant visible point (latitude $69^{\circ} 42'$ north, longitude $85^{\circ} 8'$ west), I gave the name of Cape Ellice ; the land where we stood was called Cape Crozier, and the intervening bay received the name of Parry Bay. Finding it hopeless to attempt reaching the strait of the Fury and Hecla, from which Cape Ellice could only be a few miles distant, we retraced our steps, and after an absence of eleven hours joined our companion, who had built a snow house, and was on our arrival very busy attempting to coax a little wet moss into sufficient flame to boil some chocolate, but to no purpose ; we were consequently obliged to finish the process with alcohol, a small quantity of which still remained.

“ Early on the morning of the 30th we arrived at our snow hut of the 25th. The men we had left here were well, but very thin, as they had neither caught nor shot anything eatable except two marmots. Had we been absent twelve hours more they were to have cooked a piece of parchment skin for supper.

“ Our journey hitherto had been the most fatiguing I have ever experienced ; the severe exercise, with a limited allowance of food, had reduced the whole party very much. However, we marched merrily on, tightening our belts—mine came in six inches—the men vowing that when they got on full allowance they would make up for lost time.

“ Nothing of importance occurred during our journey homeward.

“ Our several ‘ caches ’ of provisions were found safe, and some partridges that were shot

aided our short commons. At 8.20 on the morning of the 9th of June we arrived at Fort Hope, all well, having been absent twenty-seven days.

“During the whole of this trip our snow houses were built by Corrigan, whose services were of the utmost value to the party, and who had accompanied me when tracing the opposite shores of the large bay, the survey of which I had now completed, and to which I gave the name of Committee Bay.

“During the remainder of our stay at Repulse Bay, the whole party were occupied in procuring food, collecting fuel, and preparing our boats for sea.

“In the latter part of July many natives visited us, with all of whom we were on the most friendly terms. Our spare nets, knives, files, &c., were distributed among them in portions, according to the several merits of the recipients.

“The ice in the bay broke up on the 11th of August. On the following day, after bidding farewell to our good-humoured friends (who were loud in their wishes that we would soon return to them) we left our dreary winter quarters.

“Head winds and stormy weather retarded our progress much, so that we did not reach Churchill until the 31st of August, when I found that we had still eight bags of pemmican and four cwt. of flour remaining; our expenditure having been twelve bags of the former and twenty-one cwt. of the latter.

"We were detained in Churchill River by a gale of wind until the 3d of September, when the weather became more moderate and we were able to continue our voyage towards York Factory, at which place we arrived late on the evening of the 6th.

"I cannot close this rough and meagre sketch of our proceedings, which I have prepared amidst many interruptions, without bearing testimony to the excellent and praiseworthy conduct of the men under my charge.

"They were always willing and obedient, and, although not all equally able to do their duty, they all did their utmost to accomplish the objects of the expedition.

"With the utmost respect, I remain, Hon. Sirs,
your most obedient servant,

"JOHN RAE.

"YORK FACTORY, HUDSON'S BAY,

"*Sept. 21, 1847.*"

APPENDIX.

THE several expeditions referred to in the concluding chapter of this volume, as being about to proceed in search of Sir John Franklin, and his companions, have not been successful.

The expedition which was despatched to Behring's Straits at the end of the year 1847, was fruitless; and by the following despatches from Captain Sir James Ross, and Sir John Richardson, it will be seen that notwithstanding the most courageous and persevering efforts on the part of those two officers, and of the officers and men under their command, no traces whatever of those whom they were so anxiously seeking could be discovered.

The search, however, is not to be abandoned; Mr. Rae, the indefatigable officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, who accompanied Sir John Richardson on his late expedition, volunteered to take the command of a new one; the plan of which is described in Sir John Richardson's despatch. Accounts may reasonably be expected to arrive in this country from Mr. Rae in April or May, 1850.

The *Enterprise* and the *Investigator*, the two ships employed in Sir James Ross's late expedition, are now lying at Woolwich, and orders have been sent by the Lords of the Admiralty to have the defects which have arisen in the condition of these vessels in the course of the arduous service on which they have been employed, made good with the least possible delay, as they will be again required to proceed for the relief of Captain Sir John Franklin, and the officers and crews of the *Erebus* and *Terror*.

It is said that the destination of the *Enterprise* and *Investigator* will, in the first instance, be the Sandwich Islands. The *Athenæum* of the 1st of December, 1849, a paper which has always devoted the greatest and the most skilful attention to the subject of Arctic discoveries, and whose information has been remarkable for its correctness, has the following observations upon the subject:—

“We stated last week our belief that the Arctic officers would be summoned to the Admiralty, to offer their joint advice as to the course which it seems most proper to pursue under the present condition of things with reference to the fate of Sir John Franklin. We fancy, from what has now reached us in the shape of intelligence, that this has been done. If our readers will refer to the opinions of Sir John Richardson, embodied in his Report to the Admiralty which appears to-day in our columns, they will see that he presents strong grounds of hope that the missing Expedition may be shut up under circumstances which are compatible with its re-appearance. According to him, the lands in the neighbourhood of which the

lost Expedition should most probably be looked for, abound in animals which might supply the failing stores on board the ships ; and he thinks that should Sir John Franklin's provisions become so far reduced as to be inadequate, with this aid, to a winter's consumption, it is not likely that he would remain longer in his ships ; but rather it is probable that, in one body or in several, the officers and crews—with boats cut down so as to be light enough to drag over the ice, or built expressly for that purpose—would endeavour to make their way eastward to Lancaster Sound, or westward to the mainland, according to the longitude in which the ships were arrested. Great stress is laid on the fact that no trace of a wreck, or of any misfortune to the Expedition, is found on any part of the path along which they must have passed. For ourselves we think the argument tells both ways. We rejoice to know, however, that the search after the missing adventurers is to be renewed. The *Enterprise* and *Investigator* are to be immediately re-equipped, and despatched at once to the Sandwich Islands—there to await further orders. From this it will be seen that the route by Behring's Straits is to be explored, and the westward coasts of Banks's and Parry's Islands will, we presume, be carefully examined."

Various reports with regard to communications said to have taken place between the Esquimaux and the expeditions both of Sir John Franklin and Sir James Ross were brought to England by whalers, shortly before the return of the latter. One of these reports was brought home by the

Truelove. Sir James Ross's party did not see a single Esquimaux.

A more circumstantial account was brought by Captain Kerr, of the Chieftain whaler. It was to the effect that this whaler was boarded by one Esquimaux, who declared that the four Arctic ships (Sir John Franklin's, and Sir James Ross's) were lying to the east and west of the entrance to Prince Regent's Inlet. It was stated that the Esquimaux visitor had drawn a sketch in the cabin of the Chieftain, and that he drew a line, which was supposed to indicate that there was a track of communication between the ships of the two expeditions. Captain Kerr has been examined by the Admiralty Board ; and looking at the fact of the disproof of one-half of the report by the return of Sir James Ross's expedition without having discovered Sir John Franklin or his ships, or having seen a single Esquimaux, that report would appear to be unfounded.

Lady Franklin has been indefatigable in her exertions to stimulate researches by the whalers for her gallant husband and his companions ; offering large rewards to those who might discover, succour, or bring home any authentic traces of them. Government have also offered high rewards for the same purposes. It is also probable that the Russian Government, and that of the United States of America, may each send an exploring expedition ; in short, it is to the highest degree satisfactory that every effort is making, and will continue to be made, to obtain tidings of Sir John Franklin and his companions ; and to afford them every assistance and succour if

they should be still in existence ; which the most competent judges consider to be highly probable.

The following communication is a full report of the proceedings of Her Majesty's ships *Enterprise* and *Investigator*, under the command of Captain Sir James Ross, between the date of his last despatch to the Secretary of the Admiralty, from Upernavik, in July, 1848, and the arrival of the expedition off Scarborough on the 3d of November, 1849 :—

“ In accordance with the intentions expressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty in my letter of the 13th of July, 1848, Her Majesty's ships *Enterprise* and *Investigator* sailed on that day from the Danish settlement of Upernavik.

“ By running through an intricate archipelago of islands, which lies off the mainland, and seems to keep off the pressure of the main pack, we succeeded in passing the position in which the whale-ships had been so long detained, and made every day some advance to the northward, until the 20th, when we made fast to a berg aground off Cape Shackleton.

“ Here we were joined by the *Lord Gambier* (of Hull), Mr. R. Hill, master, who informed me that having run to the southward with all the rest of the whaling-ships, and having carefully examined the pack edge for any opening that might lead them to the westward, he had come to the conclusion that there was not the smallest chance, from the close, compact, and heavy nature of the ice, for any ship crossing to the west coast of Baffin's Bay this season. He had, therefore, returned to the north, and expected that all the

other ships would soon follow him, and endeavour to round the north end of the pack; he spoke very confidently of being able to accomplish this by the first week of August, and promised at any rate to remain in company with us until the 3d of August. We cast off from the berg early the next morning, towing the ships through loose streams of ice towards some lanes of water, which had opened out during the calm which prevailed all night.

"Our progress was, however, very slow during this and the next few days, and our situation often difficult and embarrassing.

"On the morning of the 26th, when off the Three Islands of Baffin, in lat. 74 deg. north, we were surprised, on the fog clearing off, to see the Lord Gambier about eight miles distant, standing under all sail to the southward, thus disappointing us of the only remaining means of forwarding information of our proceedings to their Lordships; and this was the more annoying as we had only the evening before passed within a quarter of a mile of her, when, upon any signal of their intention of going to the southward, we would have placed on board of her all our letters and despatches. Her enterprising commander deserves the highest praise for persevering alone so far beyond all his fellows, and, had it depended on him, I believe he would not have left us until we had got through the great difficulty of Melville Bay.

"We pursued our course to the northward under varying circumstances of perplexity, anxiety, and success; for, although I could not but feel assured

that we should eventually get through the Melville Bay barrier, yet calms and light winds so greatly impeded any movement in the pack, that day after day passed away until the season had so far advanced as to preclude every hope of accomplishing much, if anything, before the setting in of winter.

"No exertions, however, were spared to take advantage of every opportunity of pushing the ships forward, until on the 20th of August, during a heavy breeze from the north-east, the ships, under all the sail they could carry, bored through a pack of ice of but moderate thickness, but having amongst it heavy masses mingled with the lighter ice that covered the larger surface through which it was necessary to drive the ships at all hazards. The shocks they sustained during this severe trial were great, but fortunately without serious damage to them.

"We gained the clear water at 4 P. M. on the 20th of August, in lat. $75\frac{1}{2}$ deg. north, and long. 68 deg. west, and steered direct for Pond's Bay, where I felt assured of meeting with the whale-ships, if any should have crossed to the west land, and might learn from them if the Erebus and Terror, or their party in boats, had passed along that shore; and also with a view to communicate with the Esquimaux who annually visit the coast, and from whom we might have derived information of our absent friends.

"On the 23d we made the land about ten miles to the southward of Pond's Bay, and could trace the line of the main pack close in against the land, at a distance of three or four miles to the south-

ward, so closely pressed home as to leave no room for ships or boats to pass between it and the shore. We next stood into Pond's Bay and hove to, within half a mile of those points upon which the Esquimaux are known to place their summer residences, firing guns every half-hour, and with our glasses closely examining every part of the shore without being able to discern any human being.

"From Pond's Bay we commenced a rigid examination of the coast to the northward, keeping the ships close in along the land, so that neither people nor boats could have passed without our seeing them. Opposed by a strong current, although going before the wind between two and three knots through the water, we found by the result of all our observations, as well as by unerring marks on the land, that we were sometimes carried astern against the wind.

"On the 26th we arrived off Possession Bay, and a party was sent on shore to search for any traces of Sir John Franklin's expedition having touched at this general point of rendezvous. Nothing was found but the paper left there recording the visit of Sir Edward Parry in 1819. The paper was very much damaged, but by careful washing and fitting together nearly every word was clearly deciphered. (It is preserved.)

"From this point we continued the examination of the coast with equal care, for we fully expected every hour to see those of whom we were in search, and the most vigilant look-out was kept aloft and from the deck.

"On the 1st of September we arrived off Cape

York, and a party was sent on shore to seek for our friends, and to fix a conspicuous mark at this remarkable point, on which was placed a paper for the guidance of any party that might fall in with it. This service was performed by Lieutenant McClinton, with much skill, under very difficult circumstances.

“Every day we were in the practice of throwing overboard a cask from each ship, containing papers with information of all our proceedings; guns were fired during foggy weather, and blue lights and rockets during the hours of darkness, the ships being kept under such easy sail that any boat seeing the signals might have reached them.

“The general tenor of the information thus distributed along the coast was to acquaint Sir John Franklin, or any of his party, that as the whale-ships had not been able to cross to the west land of Baffin’s Bay, they could have no hope of assistance from them; and recommending them to make for Port Leopold, where I intended to form a *dépôt* of provisions, and perhaps leave the Investigator to winter there; they would, at any rate, with the provisions, find a notice of the position in which the nearer ship was passing the winter.

“It therefore became necessary to push for Port Leopold to fulfil these promises, for had any of his party met with one of these notices they would assuredly have gone to that point.

“We accordingly stood over from Cape York, towards North-East Cape, until we came in with the edge of a pack, too dense for us to penetrate, lying between us and Leopold Island, about four-

teen miles broad ; but as we could perceive that it was still in motion, we hoped that a few days might produce a favourable change, and in the meantime we stood over to the north shore of Barrow's Strait, to seek a harbour further to the westward, and to examine the numerous inlets of that shore. Maxwell Bay and several smaller indentations were thoroughly explored, and although we got near the entrance of Wellington Channel, the firm barrier of ice which stretched across it, and which had not broken away this season, convinced us all was impracticable in that direction.

" We now stood to the south-west to seek for a harbour near Cape Rennell, but found a heavy body of ice extending from the west of Cornwallis Island in a compact mass to Leopold Island. Coasting along this pack during stormy and foggy weather, we had difficulty in keeping the ships free during the nights ; for I believe so great a quantity of ice was never before seen in Barrow's Strait at this period of the season.

" With the thermometer at 15 deg. every night, young ice formed rapidly and became so thick as to frustrate all our exertions to pass through some of the looser streams. Nevertheless, after some days of anxious and arduous work, we succeeded in getting through the pack which still lingered about Leopold Island and North-East Cape, and entered the harbour of Port Leopold on the 11th of September. Had we not got into port on that day it would have been impossible to have done so any day afterwards, the main pack, during the night, having closed the land, and completely sealed the mouth of the harbour.

"We had now, at any rate, accomplished one material point, and were rejoiced to find the anchorage, of which we had before been in much doubt, well adapted to our purpose ; and, as it was desirable to secure a good position for one ship, I resolved that it should be the winter quarters for the Investigator.

"I had much satisfaction the next morning to find how perfectly our steam-launch fulfilled our expectations in an experimental cruise about the harbour, before proceeding in her to the westward in search of a harbour for the Enterprise, as it was now beyond probability, from the early setting in of winter and from the unbroken state of the ice, to reach Melville Island this season. The pack at the harbour's mouth, however, still prevented our immediate departure, and all our energies were devoted to landing a good supply of provisions upon Whaler Point. In this service the steam-launch proved of infinite value, conveying a large cargo herself, and towing two deeply-laden cutters at the rate of four or five knots, through the sheet of ice which now covered the harbour, and through which no boat unaided by steam could have penetrated beyond her own length.

"The place selected for the dépôt was upon the low south-east point, which forms the chief protection to the harbour, two miles distant from our anchorage. This work was not only tedious, but sometimes hazardous, from the floes of thin ice folding over each other, and thus forming an obstacle at times difficult to overcome. Indeed, our operations were still incomplete when they were interrupted by the ice in the harbour becom-

ing so thick as to require all our attention to the ships themselves. A prevalence of strong easterly winds had caused the pack to press so heavily against the outer margin of the harbour ice, that the ships were carried away with their anchors so far up towards the head of the bay that they grounded at low water. All hands from both ships were set to work to cut a canal and warp them off the shore. This had scarcely been accomplished when another severe pressure drove them again into shallow water, and, had we not fortunately hauled off in time, it is probable that the ships must have lain aground all the winter. The work of sawing was recommenced, and, after two or three days, we succeeded in getting our ships into a position of comparative safety, although with only a foot or two of water to spare at low spring tides; but the winter had now set in with so much severity, it was impossible to keep the people any longer employed at such work without serious injury to their health, and their suffering from severe frostbites.

"On the evening of the 12th of October the ships were hove into their winter position, within 200 yards of each other.

"I was indeed most anxious to have taken the *Enterprise* to some distance to the westward, but any attempt to leave the ships, under the circumstances of their situation, would have been highly injurious, and probably have led to some calamity; but the pack which sealed the harbour's mouth the night after we entered it never admitted a chance of even a boat making her way out; and across the isthmus, as far as we could discern from the

hills, the same extensive mass of heavy, hummocky ice, which we had coasted along in search of an opening in the early part of September, was still pressed closely home against the north shore of North Somerset, and remained fixed there throughout the winter ; so that if the *Enterprise* had been able to get out of the harbour, she could not have proceeded far, and would most likely have been compelled either to pass the winter in the pack, or to have returned to England, and thus have defeated all prospective measures for the assistance of our long absent friends.

“ And, although I could not but feel extreme disappointment at the small advance we had been able to make during our first season, yet we had much to be thankful for in having been permitted to gain secure winter quarters at Port Leopold, a position that of all others was the most desirable, if any one spot had to be selected for that purpose ; being at the junction of the four great channels of Barrow’s Strait, Lancaster Sound, Prince Regent Inlet, and Wellington Channel, it was hardly possible for any party, after abandoning their ships, to pass along the shores of any of those inlets without finding indications of the proximity of our expedition.

“ The winter was passed as are all winters in this climate, but long experience and liberal means gave us many comforts that no other expedition had enjoyed ; yet it is remarkable that the health of the crew suffered more during this winter than on any former occasion. Our want of success might have tended in some measure to depress their spirits, and, unfortunately, the cold of winter

was prolonged unusually far into the spring before we could give them more active employment.

"During the winter a great many white foxes were taken alive in traps set for the purpose ; and, as it is well known how large a tract of country these creatures traverse in search of food, I caused copper collars, upon which a notice of the position of the ships and the dépôts of provisions was engraved, to be clinched round their necks, and then set them at liberty again, with the hope that some of these messengers might be the means of conveying the intelligence to the Erebus and Terror, as the crews of those vessels would assuredly be eager for their capture.

"After several short preliminary journeys, in April and the early part of next month, to carry out small dépôts of provisions to the west of Cape Clarence and to the south of Cape Seppings, I left the ships on the 15th of May with a party consisting of Lieutenant M'Clintock and twelve men, and forty days' provisions, which, together with tents, clothes, blankets, and other necessaries, were lashed upon two sledges. We were accompanied for the first five days of our journey by Captain Bird, in command of a large fatigue party, which increased our numbers to forty-two. He would willingly have extended his valuable assistance still further, had I not felt that his presence at the ships would be more beneficial to the service in sending forth such other parties, and completing such further measures, as I proposed should be adopted during my absence.

"A detailed account of this journey may be found in my journal ; it may be sufficient here to

mention, that the examination of all the inlets and smaller indentations of the coast, in which any ships might have found shelter, occupied a large portion of our time, and cost us much labour ; but it was necessary that every portion of the coast we passed along should be thoroughly explored.

“The north shore of North Somerset trends slightly to the northward of the west, until after passing the extreme North Cape of America, a few miles beyond Cape Rennell, from this point it trends slightly to the southward of west, until after rounding Cape Bunny, when it suddenly assumes a nearly south direction.

“From the high land in the neighbourhood of Cape Bunny we obtained a very extensive view, and observed that the whole space between it and Cape Walker to the west, and Wellington Channel to the north, was occupied by very heavy, hummocky ice, whilst to the southward it appeared more favourable for travelling ; I therefore determined not to divide the party, as I had originally intended, until we should find a more practicable point for their exertions.

“We therefore proceeded to the southward, tracing all the indentations of the coast, when our progress became much delayed by several of the party becoming useless from lameness and debility, so that it proved most fortunate that I had not divided the force, which could only, under such circumstances, have terminated in the complete failure of both ; for, although the load of provisions was every day becoming less, the necessity of carrying two of the sufferers on the sledges, and

the loss of the services of three others, who had scarcely strength to walk behind, greatly increased the labour of the few who were now able to work.

"The examination of the coast was pursued until the 5th of June, when, having consumed more than half our provisions, and the strength of the party being much reduced, I was reluctantly compelled to abandon further operations, as it was, moreover, necessary to give the men a day of rest. But, that the time might not be wholly lost, I proceeded with Sergeant Hurditch, and William Thompson, a seaman of great endurance, to the extreme south point in sight of our encampment, distant about eight or nine miles. From this point we had so fine a view as fully to reward us for our additional labour, more especially when we reflected from the nature of the ice over which we, unencumbered, had travelled with comparative ease, it could hardly have been accomplished by the party in one day, whilst it would have required another to get back to their present encampment.

"The extreme point of our operations is in latitude 72 deg. 38 north, and longitude 95 deg. 40 west. It is the west point of a small high peninsula, and the state of the atmosphere being at the time peculiarly favourable for distinctness of vision, land of any great elevation might have been seen at the distance of 100 miles.

"The extreme high cape of the coast, however, was not more than fifty miles distant, still bearing nearly south, the land thus trending for Cape Nicolai, the northernmost point which I had reached during my journey from the Victory in 1832, and

which I hoped to have attained on this occasion, as well as to have revisited the Magnetic Pole, in its immediate vicinity, and, had not so many of our party broken down, it might have been accomplished.

"We observed several small bays and inlets between us and the southernmost cape, of whose continuity we could not be assured at so great a distance, yet they are marked on the chart which accompanies this account of our proceedings, by which it will be perceived that a very narrow isthmus separates Prince Regent Inlet from the western sea at Cresswell and Brentford Bays.

"On our return to the encampment I found they had all been well occupied during our absence. Lieutenant M'Clintock had taken some magnetic observations, which will be of great value, from our being so near to the Magnetic Pole. Two of the party had cut through the ice, which they found to be eight feet thick, and fixed a pole, by which the state of the tides was ascertained; and all the rest that could work had erected a large cairn of stones on a high knoll just above the tents, in which a copper cylinder was placed, containing an account of our proceedings, and all necessary information for the guidance of any of Sir John Franklin's party that might be journeying along this coast.

"Although our resources did not admit of any further perseverance on our part, we could not but feel some satisfaction in the assurance, that if those of whom we were in search had at any time been upon the north or west coast of North Somerset, we must have met with some traces of them.

The season for travelling in these regions had also passed away, the thaw having commenced ; and, had they abandoned their ships at Melville Island, they must have arrived on either of these shores long before this time, where they would have found us in the best possible position to render them assistance and conduct them to our vessels.

“ We set forward on our homeward journey on the evening of the 6th of June ; and, after encountering a variety of difficulties to which I need not now further allude, we reached the ship on the 23d, the party so completely worn out by fatigue that every man was, from some cause or other, in the doctor's hands for two or three weeks, and I am sorry to say that two of them are not yet recovered.

“ I had walked in advance of the party to select the best road by which to cross the isthmus, and as soon as I got sight of the ships I was met by Captain Bird and Lieutenant M'Clure, from whom I was greatly grieved to hear of the decease of Mr. Henry Matthias, the assistant-surgeon of the *Enterprise*, of consumption, which had been deeply rooted in his constitution before leaving England. He was a promising young man, of great amiability of disposition, universally beloved and regretted. Several others of the crews of both ships were in a declining state, and the general report of health was by no means cheering.

“ During my absence Captain Bird had despatched parties in several directions,—one, under the command of Lieutenant Barnard, to the north shore of Barrow's Strait ; a second, commanded by Lieutenant Brown, to the east shore of Prince

“ We kept the ships near that which appeared to be the most probable spot, watching for any opening that might present itself, when a strong wind, suddenly arising on the 1st of September, brought the loose pack, through which we had been struggling, down upon us, and it closely beset the ships. At times, during two or three days, they sustained severe pressure, and ridges of hummocks were thrown up all around us; but after that time, the temperature falling to near zero, it formed the whole body of the ice into one solid mass. We were so circumstanced that for some days we could not unship the rudder; and when, by the laborious operation of sawing and removing the hummocks from under the stern, we were able to do so, we found it twisted and damaged, and the ship was so much strained as to increase the leakage from three inches in a fortnight to fourteen inches daily, which, though of but trifling importance at present, served to convince us that she was not, as we had hitherto believed, invulnerable.

“ The ice was stationary for a few days; the pressure had so folded the lighter pieces over each other, and they were so interlaced, as to form one entire sheet, extending from shore to shore of Barrow's Strait, and as far to the east and west as the eye could discern from the mast-head; whilst the extreme severity of the temperature had cemented the whole so firmly together that it appeared highly improbable that it could break up again this season. In the space which had been cleared away for unshipping the rudder the newly-formed ice was fifteen inches thick, and in

some places along the ship's side the thirteen-foot saws were too short to work.

"We had now fully made up our minds that the ships were fixed for the winter; and, dismal as the prospect appeared, it was far preferable to being carried along the west coast of Baffin's Bay, where the grounded bergs are in such numbers upon the shallow banks off that shore as to render it next to impossible for ships involved in a pack to escape destruction.

"It was, therefore, with a mixture of hope and anxiety that, on the wind shifting to the westward, we perceived the whole body of the ice begin to drive to the eastward, at the rate of eight or ten miles daily. Every effort on our part was totally unavailing, for no human power could have moved either of the ships a single inch; they were thus completely taken out of our hands, and, in the centre of a field of ice more than fifty miles in circumference, were carried along the southern shore of Lancaster Sound.

"After passing its entrance the ice drifted in a more southerly direction, along the west shore of Baffin's Bay, until we were abreast of Pond's Bay, to the southward of which we observed a great number of icebergs stretching across our path, and presenting the fearful prospect of our worst anticipations. But, when least expected by us, our release was almost miraculously brought about. The great field of ice was rent into innumerable fragments, as if by some unseen power.

"Hope revived, and our people worked with energy; all sail was made, and warps ran out from each quarter, to spring the ships past the

heavy floe pieces. The Investigator reached an open space of water on the evening of the 24th, but it was not until noon of the 25th of September that the *Enterprise* could clear the pack. It is impossible to convey any idea of the sensation we experienced when we found ourselves once more at liberty, whilst many a grateful heart poured forth its praises and thanksgivings to Almighty God for this unlooked-for deliverance.

"The advance of winter had now closed all the harbours against us; and, as it was impossible to penetrate to the westward through the pack from which we had just been liberated, I made the signal to the Investigator of my intention to return to England.

"Standing to the south-east we came in with the middle ice of Baffin's Bay, within a few miles of the land, and were obliged, in order to make our retreat the more sure, to run along its western edge to the north-east, until we reached the latitude $74\frac{3}{4}$ deg. north, where we rounded its north end, on the 4th of October, in sight of the coast of Greenland.

"Favoured by unusually fine weather as we proceeded to the southward, we passed without any accident through the great cluster of bergs which is always found in latitude 69 deg. north, and on the 12th we recrossed the Arctic Circle, after which time we saw no more ice.

"Strong westerly winds carried us past the meridian of Cape Farewell on the 18th, and at 1 A.M. of the 28th we struck soundings off Mould Head. At daylight we found ourselves in the Fairway between North Ronaldshay and Fair Island, but

a southerly wind so impeded our further progress that it was late on Saturday night before we could anchor off Scarborough.

"I arrived at the Admiralty early on Monday, the 5th of November.

"I cannot conclude this report without expressing my deep obligations to Captain Bird for his cordial co-operation and zealous support throughout this most arduous service, and my admiration of the conduct of the officers and crews of both ships, whose meritorious exertions fully entitle them to the most favourable consideration of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"JAMES C. ROSS, *Capt. R.N.*"

SIR JOHN RICHARDSON'S EXPEDITION.

THE following is the Narrative which has been addressed by Sir John Richardson to the Secretary of the Admiralty :—

"On the 25th of March, 1848, Mr. Rae and I left Liverpool in the North American steam mail-steamer *Hibernia*, landed a fortnight afterwards at New York, and proceeded by way of the Hudson and Lake Champlain to Montreal, where we found waiting for us sixteen Canadian *voyageurs*, forming the crews of two canoes provided by Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories. Our route lay through Lakes Ontario, Erie, St. Claire, and Huron, to Sault St. Marie, where we were detained some days waiting for the breaking up of the ice on Lake Superior.

When the Lake opened we resumed our voyage to Fort William, and from thence to Rainy Lake, the Lake of the Woods, and Lake Winipeg, where we were again stopped for some days by ice; but having at length succeeded in breaking our way through, we entered the Saskatchewan River on the 9th of June, and on the 15th reached Cumberland House. Here we learned that Mr. Bell had set out a fortnight previously, but had been detained by ice in Beaver Lake for four days. We followed him with diligence through Beaver Lake, Churchill River, Isle à la Crosse, Buffalo and Bethy Lakes, to Methy Portage, where we overtook him on the 20th of June, 1848. With the assistance of the *voyageurs* from Montreal, the boats and stores were transported, on the men's shoulders, across the Portage in eight days; this laborious proceeding having been rendered necessary by the death of the whole of the horses usually employed there. The two canoes with their crews were sent back to Canada.

“ On the 15th of July, having reached the last portage on Slave River, three boats were arranged for the sea voyage, with full loads of pemican and able crews, consisting in the aggregate of eighteen men. Mr. Rae and I embarked in them to proceed with all speed to the mouth of the Mackenzie, leaving Mr. Bell with the remainder of the party and two boats containing the stores for winter use, with directions to make the best of his way to Great Bear Lake, to establish a fishery at its west end, near the site of Fort Franklin, for the convenience of the sea party, in the event of its having to return up the Mackenzie; and lastly,

having traversed the lake to its northern extremity, to erect dwelling-houses and store-houses near the influx of Dease River, and to carry on fisheries at such suitable places as he should discover in the neighbourhood. He was also instructed to despatch James Hope, (a Cree Indian, belonging to his party, who had been formerly employed in the Expedition under Messrs. Dease and Simpson, and knew the country well) together with a native hunter of the district, to the banks of the Coppermine, in the beginning of September, there to hunt till the 20th of the month, and look out diligently for the arrival of the boats.

“On my way to the sea, I landed three bags of pemican at Fort Good Hope, the lowest of the Company's posts on the Mackenzie, for the use of any party from Sir James Ross's ships or from the Plover which might reach that establishment; and I likewise deposited one case of the same article, with several memoranda and letters, at Point Separation, which forms the apex of the delta of the Mackenzie, marking the locality in the manner agreed upon. We reached the sea on the 4th of August, and had an interview with 300 Esquimaux, who were collected to meet us, having been apprised of our coming by signal fires lighted by their hunting parties on the hills skirting the river. The distance from Point Encounter, where we met this party, to the mouth of the Coppermine River, including the larger inflections of the coast line, is upwards of 800 miles; and as we had almost constantly head winds, we rowed along near the shore, landing at least twice a-day to

cook, occasionally to hunt, for the most part at night to sleep on shore, and often to look out from the high capes. Our communications with parties of Esquimaux, assembled on the headlands to hunt whales, or scattered in parties of two or three along the coast in pursuit of reindeer and water-fowl, were frequent. They came off to us with confidence, and through the medium of our excellent Esquimaux, Albert, who spoke good English, we were able to converse with them rapidly. They invariably told us that no ships had passed, and were rejoiced to learn by our inquiries that there was a prospect of their seeing more white men on their shores. Up to Cape Bathurst, or for about one-third of the distance, between the Mackenzie and Coppermine, the Esquimaux informed us that for six weeks of summer, or as they expressed it, for the greater part of two moons, during which they were chiefly occupied in the pursuit of whales, they never saw any ice. We found an Esquimaux family encamped on the extremity of Cape Bathurst; but as near to that place as we could effect a landing without observation, we erected a signal post and buried a case of pemican; and we made a similar deposit, marked by a pile of painted stones, on the extremity of Cape Parry. After rounding the latter Cape we observed, for the first time on the voyage, floes of drift ice, which became more numerous as we approached Dolphin and Union Strait; and in this part of the coast we saw no Esquimaux, though we found a few recent traces of their hunting parties.

On the 22d of August we had a strong gale

of westerly wind, before which we ran under sail for some hours, but it speedily augmented to a violent storm, and we were compelled to provide for the safety of the boats by running among the ice, loosely packed on Point Cockburn. During the night much ice drifted past, and in the morning we found ourselves hemmed in by dense packs, extending as far as the eye could reach. Up to this time the weather had been of the usual summer temperature of that region, but it now became very cold, and we had continual frosts, with frequent snow storms, during the remainder of our stay on the coast. By keeping close to the beach in places where the shallowness of the water kept off the larger pieces of ice, by cutting passages for the boats where the packs abutted against the rocks, by dragging the boats over the smoother floes, and by making portages along the shore, according to circumstances, with the aid of occasional spaces of open water, we succeeded, with much labour, in making our way to a bay between Capes Hearne and Kendall by the end of the month. I had previously thought it advisable to abridge the labours of the crews, by leaving one boat, with its cargo of pemican, on the north side of Cape Krusenstern, and by the time that we came near Cape Kendall the two remaining boats were scarcely sea-worthy, having been much cut by the young ice which now bound the floes together. The ground was covered with snow, no open water was visible from the highest capes, and the winter appeared to have set in with vigour. I found myself, therefore, reluctantly compelled to abandon the boats, and to prosecute the journey to our

winter residence on Great Bear Lake, by land. The pemican and ammunition were carefully concealed for future use, the boats were hauled upon the beach, and the party directed to prepare for the march ; the baggage consisting of thirteen days' provisions, cooking utensils, hatchets, astronomical instruments, a few books, the ammunition, two nets, with several setting lines. Halkett's portable boat, a package of dried plants, my bedding, and a few articles of clothing were distributed by lot. Each man carried, in addition to his assigned load, his own blanket, mocassins, and such articles of clothing as he chose. All were furnished with snow-shoes. Mr. Rae carried the greatest part of his own bedding and spare clothing.

"We set out on the 3d of September, and on the following day came to an encampment of Esquimaux. They cheerfully ferried us across the mouth of a wide river, which I named the Rae. We afterwards crossed the Richardson in Lieutenant Halkett's boat, and following the line of the Coppermine and of its tributary, the Kendall, we gained a branch of Dease's River ; and on the thirteenth day reached our destined quarters at Fort Confidence. Our march through half-frozen swamps, or over hills covered with snow, was necessarily toilsome ; but by keeping as much as possible in the river valleys, we had to pass only one night without firing for the purpose of cookery. In a thick fog, during which we were able to proceed in the proper direction by compass, James Hope and his Indian companion, who had been despatched by Mr. Bell to meet us, lost their way, and so missed us ; but on coming to

our trail on the Kendall they perceived that we had passed, and returned to Fort Confidence two days after our arrival there.

"In the voyage between the Mackenzie and Coppermine, I carefully executed their Lordships' instructions with respect to the examination of the coast line, and became fully convinced that no ships had passed within view of the mainland. It is, indeed, nearly impossible they could have done so unobserved by some of the numerous parties of Esquimaux on the look-out for whales. We were, moreover, informed by the Esquimaux of Black's Inlet, that the ice had been pressing on their shore nearly the whole summer, and its closely packed condition when we left it on the 4th of September made it highly improbable that it would open for ship navigation later in the season. I regretted extremely that the state of the ice prevented me from crossing to Wollaston Land, and thus completing in one season the whole scheme of their Lordships' instructions. The opening between Wollaston and Victoria Lands has always appeared to me to possess great interest, for through it the flood tide evidently sets into Coronation Gulf, diverging to the westward by the Dolphin and Union Strait, and to the eastward round Cape Alexander. By the fifth clause of Sir John Franklin's Instructions, he is directed to steer south-eastward from Cape Walker, which would lead him nearly in the direction of the strait in question.

"If Sir John found Barrow's Strait as open as when Sir Edward Parry passed in on four previous occasions, I am convinced that (complying exactly

as he could with his instructions, and without looking into Wellington Sound, or other openings either to the south or north of Barrow's Strait), he pushed directly west to Cape Walker, and from thence south-westward. If so, the ships were probably shut up in some of the passages between Victoria, Bankes's, and Wollaston's Lands. This opinion, which I advocated in my former communications, is rather strengthened by the laborious journeys of Sir James Ross having disclosed no traces of the missing ships. Being apprehensive that the boats I left on the coast would be broken up by the Esquimaux, and being, moreover, of opinion that the examination of the opening in question might be safely and efficiently performed in the only remaining boat I had fit for transport from Bear Lake to the Coppermine, I determined to entrust this important service to Mr. Rae, who volunteered, and whose ability and zeal in the cause I cannot too highly commend. He selected an excellent crew, all of them experienced *voyageurs*, and capable of finding their way back to Bear Lake without guides, should any unforeseen accident deprive them of their leader.

"In the month of March (1849) a sufficient supply of pemican and other necessary stores, with the equipments of the boat, were transported over the snow on dog sledges, to a navigable part of the Kendall River, and left there under the charge of two men. As soon as the Dease broke up in June, Mr. Rae would follow with the boat, the rest of the crew, and a party of Indian hunters, and would descend the Coppermine River about the middle of July, at which time the sea gene-

rally begins to break up. He would then, as soon as possible, cross from Cape Krusenstern to Wollaston Land, and endeavour to penetrate to the northward, erecting signal columns and making deposits on conspicuous headlands, and especially on the north shore of Bankes's Land, should he be fortunate enough to attain that coast. He was further instructed not to hazard the safety of his party by remaining too long on the north side of the Dolphin and Union Strait, and to be guided in his movements by the season, the state of the ice, and such intelligence as he might obtain from the Esquimaux. He was moreover directed to report his proceedings to their Lordships immediately on his return; and should his despatches experience no delay on the route, they may be expected in England in April or May next. He was also requested to engage one or more families of Indian hunters to pass the summer of 1850 on the banks of the Coppermine River, to be ready to assist any party that may direct their course that way.

“With respect to the recommendation of additional measures in furtherance of the humane views of their Lordships, it is necessary to take into account the time for which the discovery ships were provisioned. Deer migrate over the ice in the spring from the main shore to Victoria and Wollaston Lands in large herds, and return in the autumn. The lands are also the breeding places of vast flocks of snow geese; so that with ordinary skill in hunting, a large supply of food might be procured on their shores in the months of June, July, and August. Seals are also numerous

in those seas and are easily shot, their curiosity rendering them a ready prey to a boat party. In these ways, and by fishing, the stock of provisions might be greatly augmented.

“And we have the recent example of Mr. Rae, who passed a severe winter on the very barren shores of Repulse Bay, with no other fuel than the withered turfs of a herbaceous andromeda, and maintained a numerous party on the spoils of the chase alone for a whole year. Such instances forbid us to lose hope. Should Sir John Franklin’s provisions become so far reduced as to be inadequate to a winter’s consumption, it is not likely that he would remain longer by his ships, but rather that in one body, or in several, the officers and crews, with boats cut down so as to be light enough to drag over the ice, or built expressly for that purpose, would endeavour to make their way eastward to Lancaster Sound, or southwards to the mainland, according to the longitude in which the ships were arrested. I would then beg leave to suggest that the Hudson’s Bay Company be authorized and requested to promise liberal rewards to Indians and Esquimaux who may relieve white men entering their lands. Some parties of Esquimaux frequenting the coast to the westward of the Mackenzie are in the habit of passing the winter in the vicinity of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s post on the Rat River (a tributary of the Peel), and might be interested in the cause by judicious promises.

“The Russian Fur Company have a post on the Yucon or Colville, which falls into the Arctic Sea about midway between the Mackenzie and

Behring's Straits, and through their officers similar offers might be made to the western Esquimaux. We know from the narrative of Sir John Franklin's discovery of that coast, and also from the subsequent voyage of Messrs. Dease and Simpson, that the Esquimaux who frequent the estuary of the Mackenzie meet those from Point Barrow, at an intermediate point, for the purposes of barter ; and in this way intelligence of any interesting occurrence is conveyed along the coast. The Russian post on the Colville receives its supplies from a post in Norton Sound, where it would be easy for any vessel bound to Behring's Straits to land a communication.

" Mr. Rae having been appointed to the charge of the Mackenzie River fur district, will give a proper direction to the efforts of Indian hunters in that quarter. As it is thought by some, whose opinion I highly value, that the discovery ships may have penetrated to the westward in so high a latitude as not to come within sight of the mainland, I may further suggest the desirableness of the examination of the western coasts of Banks's and Parry's Islands ; but as this would require a ship expedition by way of Behring's Straits, I must leave the discussion of the practicability of such a scheme to the able executive officers who have navigated the northern seas. I have only to add, that after the return of Mr. Rae and myself from the coast in September, 1848, we devoted our leisure during the winter to observations on the magnetic intensity and force with the uniplar magnetometer, and Dr. Lloyd's inclinometer, and kept hourly registers for fourteen hours each day

of the declinometer, barometer, thermometer, and wind vane. In the beginning of May, 1849, Mr. Bell and I, taking all the Europeans of the party then remaining at the fort, and such of the Canadians as were not to be employed with Mr. Rae on his summer expedition, crossed Great Bear Lake on the ice, and when the navigation opened in June, ascended the Mackenzie, and retraced my outward route."

Dr. King's proposed expedition, mentioned in the last chapter of this volume, did not take place; the necessity for it being superseded by the decision of the Lords of the Admiralty to send out the overland expedition, under the command of Sir John Richardson.

THE END.

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