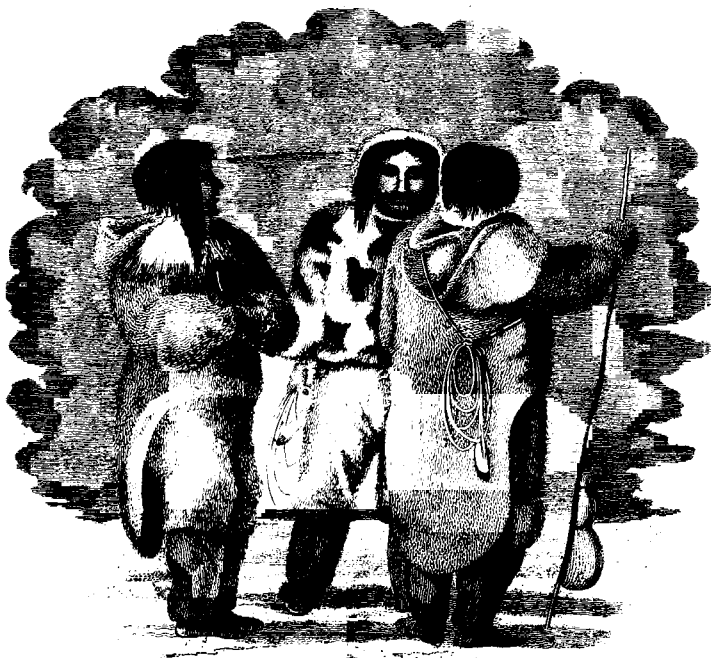




ADMIRAL LORD NELSON.  
*Commander of the late Polar Expeditions.*

*The*  
 **Voyages and Travels**  
*of Captains*  
*Pring, Peep, Franklin and G. Belzoni.*  
 Forming an interesting History of the  
 **MANNERS, CUSTOMS & CHARACTERS**  
*of*  
 **Various Nations.**  
*Visited by Enterprising Travellers.*



*Esquimaux.*

A. Adlard sc. Peter Westc. f. Engr.

**LONDON.**

Published by William Wright,  
 1631.



THE  
**VOYAGES AND TRAVELS**  
OF  
CAPTAINS PARRY, FRANKLIN, ROSS,  
AND  
MR. BELZONI,  
FORMING  
*AN INTERESTING HISTORY*  
OF THE  
MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CHARACTERS  
OF  
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VISITED BY  
ENTERPRISING TRAVELLERS.

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*LONDON;*  
PUBLISHED BY G. VIRTUE, IVY LANE,  
PATERNOSTER ROW.

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1829.





## ADVERTISEMENT.



*IN this age, when the first rudiments of knowledge are obtained by the lowest orders of society, it must be attended with advantage to become acquainted with the state of mankind in other parts of the world. It will be productive of contentment and resignation under all the ills of life, to find that the lowest state of comfort in this country is preferable to all the enjoyments within the reach of natives of other climes. The adventures of our bold and daring fellow countrymen in the pursuit of discovery will be a source of no small gratification. Under these impressions the following pages are submitted to the reader by the publishers, as forming an appropriate Supplement to JAQUES and WRIGHT's edition of the Voyages and Discoveries of Captain Cook.*

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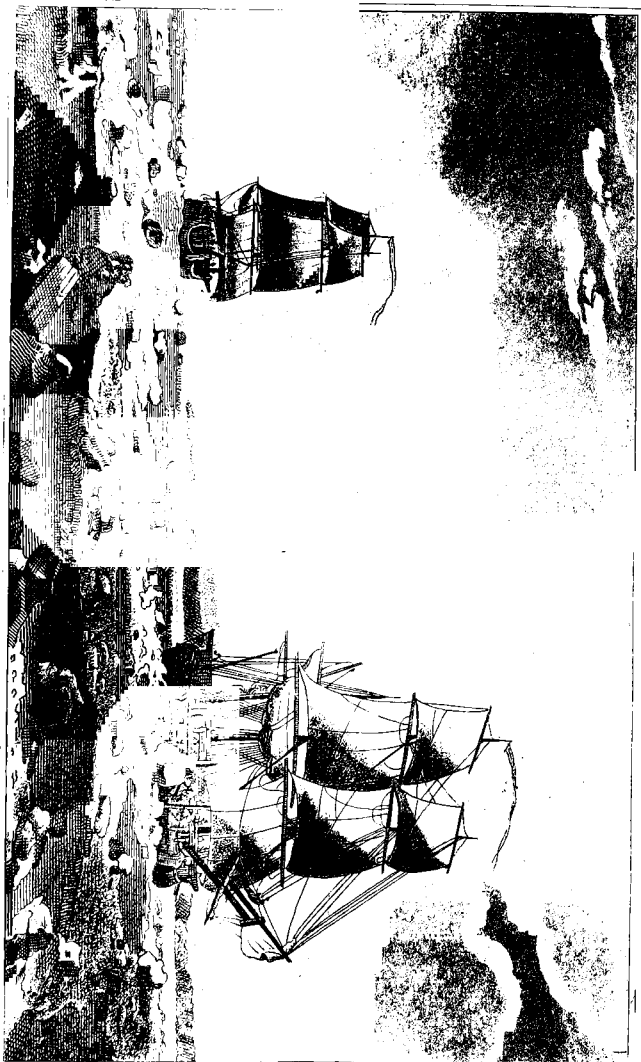


CAPTAIN FRANKLIN.

L. O'NEILL D. S.

Published by Jacques & Wright, 15, Pall Mall, London.

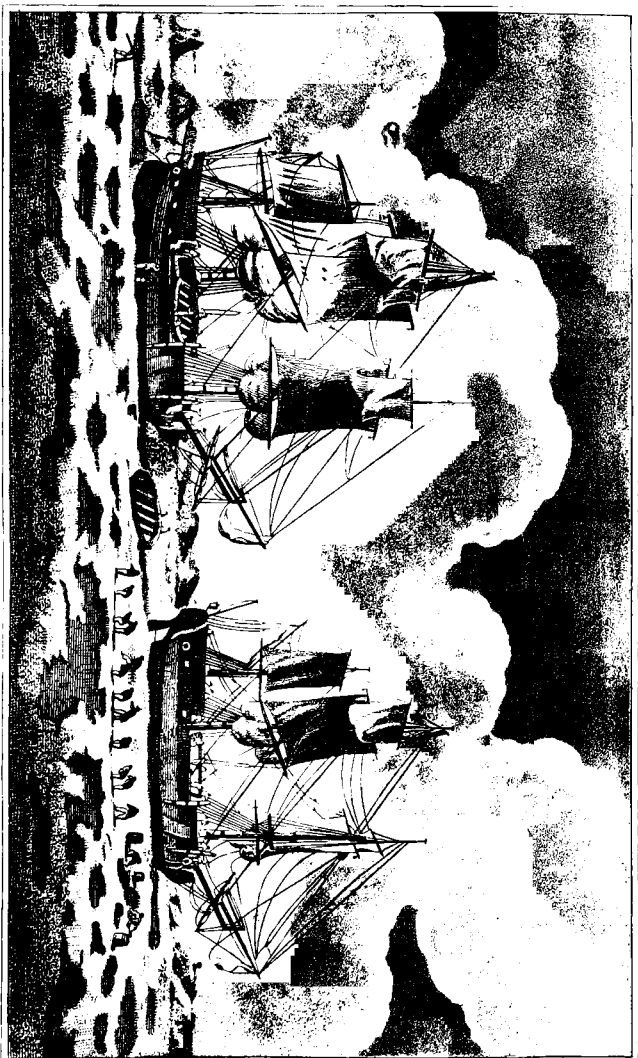




THE VESSELS OF THE POLAR EXPEDITION FORCING THEIR WAY THROUGH THE ICE.

*London, Published by Rogers & Weyland, 15, Abchurch Lane.*





*A View of the Vessels of the Northern Expedition as frozen in.*

*Published by Jacques & Wright, B. Paternoster Row.*



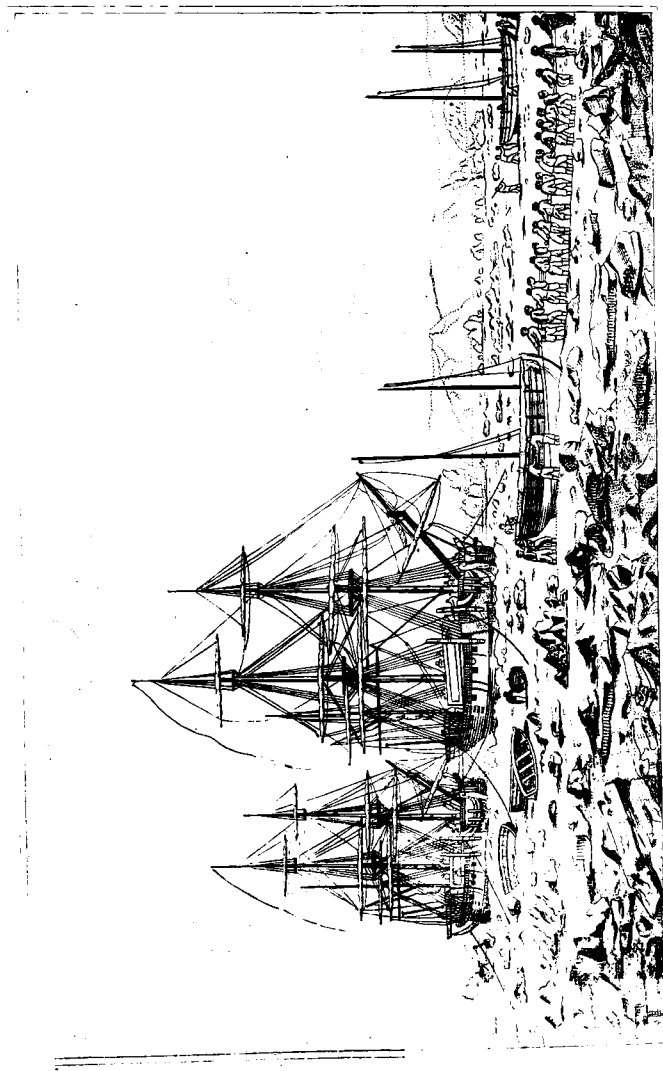




*Scenery in Seaberg.*

*Published by J. J. Wright & Co. Boston, Mass.*





*A View of the Sails of the Northern Expedition.*

1841. 1842. 1843. 1844. 1845.









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U. G. IN D. G. 1871.

PUBLISHED BY JAGGAS & WILSON, D. PATRICKSON FOR ROW.





# VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

OF

**CAPTAIN PARRY,**

*AND OTHERS.*

---

**T**HE very great interest which the Voyages of Capt. PERRY have excited in the public mind, cannot but render a narrative of the occurrences valuable to all classes of readers. The journals already published embrace a voluminous account, interesting to nautical and scientific men, but of little importance to the general reader.

The narrative presented in the succeeding pages embraces only those incidents which will lead the reader to appreciate more than ever the blessings he enjoys, under the protection of just laws, mildly and equitably administered. It is said that history is philosophy teaching by example: when the reader is introduced to a knowledge, that there are many of his fellow men who have a very limited supply even of the necessaries of life, with the almost entire privation of those social and other comforts which are placed within the grasp of almost every individual of the British empire, how will he be led to be satisfied in the station of life assigned him; and instead of murmuring that he has not *all* he desires, he will feel sentiments of gratitude that his comforts are so numerous as they are. To draw such conclusions is the proper duty of the reader; and then only education becomes useful to society, when the information

it obtains influences and regulates the will and affections, and produces order and propriety of conduct.

The idea of a passage to the East Indies by the North Pole was suggested as early as the year 1527, by Robert Thorne, merchant, of Bristol, as appears from two papers preserved by Hackluit ; the one addressed to king Henry VIII ; the other to Dr. Ley, the king's ambassador to Charles V. In that addressed to the king he says, " I know it to be my bounden duty to manifest this secret to your grace, which hitherto, I suppose, has been hid." This secret appears to be the honour and advantage which would be derived from the discovery of a passage by the North Pole. He represents in the strongest terms the glory which the kings of Spain and Portugal had obtained by their discoveries East and West, and exhorts the king to emulate their fame by undertaking discoveries towards the North. He states in a very masterly style the reputation that must attend the attempt, and the great benefits likely to accrue to the subjects of this country, from their advantageous situation, should it be crowned with success, which, he observes, seems to make the exploring this, the only hitherto undiscovered part, the king's peculiar duty.

To remove any objection to the undertaking which might be drawn from the supposed danger, he insists upon " the great advantages of constant day-light in seas, that men say, without great danger, difficulty, and peril, yea, rather, it is impossible to pass ; for they being past this little way which they named so dangerous (which may be two or three leagues before they come to the Pole, and as much more after they pass the Pole), it is clear from thenceforth the seas and lands are as temperate as in these parts."

In the paper addressed to Dr. Ley he enters more minutely into the advantages and practicability of the undertaking. Amongst many other arguments to prove the value of the discovery, he urges, that by sailing northward and passing the Pole, the navigation from England to the

Spice Islands would be shorter, by more than two thousand leagues, than either from Spain by the straits of Magellan, or Portugal by the Cape of Good Hope ; and to shew the likelihood of success in the enterprize he says, it is as probable that the cosmographers should be mistaken in the opinion they entertain of the polar regions being impassable from extreme cold, as, it has been found, they were, in supposing the countries under the line to be uninhabitable from excessive heat. With all the spirit of a man convinced of the glory to be gained, and the probability of success in the undertaking, he adds,—“ God knoweth, that though by it I should have no great interest, yet I have had, and still have, no little mind of this business ; so that if I had faculty to my will, it should be the first thing that I would understand, even to attempt, if our seas northward be navigable to the Pole or no.” Notwithstanding the many good arguments, with which he supported his proposition, and the offer of his own services, it does not appear that he prevailed so far as to procure an attempt to be made.

No voyage appears, indeed, to have been undertaken to explore the polar seas, till the year 1607, when “ Henry Hudson was set forth, at the charge of certain worshipful merchants of London, to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China.” He sailed from Gravesend on the first of May, in a ship called the Hopewell, having with him ten men and a boy. Great pains have been taken to find his original journal, as well as those of some others of the adventurers who followed him ; but without success : the only account is an imperfect abridgement in Purchas, by which it is not possible to lay down his track ; from which, however, are drawn the following particulars :—He fell in with the land to the westward in latitude 73°, on the twenty-first of June, which he named Hold-with-Hope. The twenty-seventh, he fell in with Spitsbergen, and met with much ice ; he got to 80° 23', which was the northernmost latitude he observed in. Giving an account of the

conclusion of his discoveries, he says, "On the sixteenth of August I saw land, by reason of the clearness of the weather, stretching far into  $82^{\circ}$ , and, by the bowing and shewing of the sky, much farther; which when I first saw, I hoped to have had a free sea between the land and the ice, and meant to have compassed this land by the north; but now finding it was impossible, by means of the abundance of ice compassing us about by the north, and joining to the land; and seeing God did bless us with a wind, we returned, bearing up the helm." He afterwards adds: "And this I can assure at this present, that between  $78\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and  $82^{\circ}$ , by this way there is no passage."—In consequence of this opinion, he was the next year employed on the north-east discovery.

In March 1609, old style, "A voyage was set forth by the right worshipful Sir Thomas Smith, and the rest of the Muscovy Company, to Cherry Island, and for a further discovery to be made toward the North Pole, for the likelihood of a trade or passage that way, in the ship called the *Amity*, of burthen seventy tons, in which Jonas Poole was master, having fourteen men and one boy."—He weighed from Blackwall, March the first, old style; and after great severity of weather, and much difficulty from the ice, he made the south part of Spitsbergen on the 16th of May. He sailed along and sounded the coast, giving names to several places, and making many very accurate observations. On the 26th, being near Fair Foreland, he sent his mate on shore;—and in speaking of this at his return, says, "Moreover, I was certified that all the ponds and lakes were unfrozen, they being fresh water; which putteth me in hope of a mild summer here, after so sharp a beginning as I have had; and my opinion is such, and I assure myself it is so, that a passage may be as soon attained this way by the Pole, as any unknown way whatsoever, by reason the sun doth give a great heat in this climate, and the ice (I mean

that freezeth here) is nothing so huge as I have seen in seventy-three degrees."

These hopes, however, he was soon obliged to relinquish for that year, having twice attempted in vain to get beyond  $79^{\circ} 50'$ . On the 21st of June, he stood to the southward, to get a loading of fish, and arrived in London the last of August. He was employed the following year (1611) in a small bark called the *Elizabeth*, of 50 tuns. The instructions for this voyage, which may be found at length in Purchas, are excellently drawn up: they direct him, after having attended the fishery for some time, to attempt discoveries to the North Pole as long as the season will permit; with a discretionary clause, to act in unforeseen cases as shall appear to him most for the advancement of the discovery, and interest of his employers. This however proved an unfortunate voyage: for having staid in Cross Road till the 16th of June, on account of the bad weather, and great quantity of ice, he sailed from thence on that day, and steered WbN fourteen leagues, where he found a bank of ice: he returned to Cross Road; from whence when he sailed he found the ice to lie close to the land about the latitude of  $80^{\circ}$ , and that it was impossible to pass that way; and the strong tides making it dangerous to deal with the ice, he determined to stand along it to the southward, to try if he could find the sea more open that way, and so get to the westward, and proceed on his voyage. He found the ice to lie nearest SW and SWbS and ran along it about an hundred and twenty leagues. He had no ground near the ice at 160, 180, or 200 fathoms: perceiving the ice still to trend to the southward, he determined to return to Spitsbergen for the fishery, where he lost his ship.

In the year 1614, another voyage was undertaken, in which Baffin and Fotherby were employed. With much difficulty, and after repeated attempts in vain with the ship, they got with their boats to the firm ice, which joined to

Red-Beach ; they walked over the ice, to that place, in hopes of finding whale-fins, &c. in which they were disappointed. Fotherby adds, in his account : " Thus, as we could not find what we desired to see, so did we behold that which we wished had not been there to be seen ; which was great abundance of ice, that lay close to the shore, and also off at sea as far as we could discern. On the eleventh of August they sailed from Fair-Haven, to try if the ice would let them pass to the northward, or north-eastward ; they steered from Cape Barren, or Vogel Sang, NEbE eight leagues, where they met with the ice, which lay EbS and WbN. The fifteenth of August they saw ice frozen in the sea of above the thickness of an half-crown.

Fotherby was again fitted out the next year in a pinnace of twenty tons, called the *Richard*, with ten men. In this voyage he was prevented by the ice from getting farther than in his last. He refers to a chart, in which he had traced the ship's course on every traverse, to shew how far the state of that sea was discovered between 80 and 71° of latitude, and for 26° of longitude from Hackluit's headland. He concludes the account of his voyage in the following manner : " Now if any demand my opinion concerning hope of a passage to be found in those seas, I answer, that it is true, that I both hoped and much desired to have passed further than I did, but was hindered with ice ; wherein although I have not attained my desire, yet forasmuch as it appears not yet to the contrary, but that there is a spacious sea betwixt Groinland and king James his new land [Spitsbergen] although much pestered with ice ; I will not seem to dissuade this worshipful company from the yearly adventuring of 150 or 200 pounds at the most, till some further discovery be made of the said seas and land adjacent." It appears that the Russia company, either satisfied with his endeavours and despairing of further success, or tired of the expence, never employed any more ships on this discovery.

As these voyages were fitted out by private adventurers, for the double purpose of discovery and present advantage ; it may be supposed that the attention of the navigators was in a measure diverted from pursuing the more remote and less profitable object of the two, with all the attention that could have been wished. In justice, however, to the memory of these men, it may be observed, that they appear to have encountered dangers, which at that period must have been particularly alarming from their novelty, with the greatest fortitude and perseverance ; as well as to have shewn a degree of diligence and skill, not only in the ordinary and practical, but more scientific parts of their profession, which might have done honour to modern seamen, with all their advantages of later improvements.

This great point of geography, perhaps the most important in its consequences to a commercial nation and maritime power, but the only one which had never yet been the object of royal attention, was suffered to remain without further investigation, from the year 1615 till 1773, when the Earl of Sandwich, in consequence of an application which had been made to him by the Royal Society, laid before his Majesty King George the Third, a proposal for an expedition to try how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole : which his Majesty was pleased to direct should be immediately undertaken, with every encouragement that could countenance such an enterprize, and every assistance that could contribute to its success.

Capt. Constantine John Phipps, afterwards Earl of Mulgrave, had the honour of being entrusted with the conduct of this undertaking. The nature of the voyage requiring particular care in the choice and equipment of the ships, the *Racehorse* and *Carcass* bombs were fixed upon as the strongest, and therefore properest for the purpose. The probability that such an expedition could not be carried on without meeting with much ice, made some additional strengthening necessary : they were therefore immediately



taken into dock, and fitted in the most complete manner for the service. The complement for the *Racehorse* was fixed at ninety men, and the ordinary establishment departed from, by appointing an additional number of officers, and entering effective men instead of the usual number of boys.

In giving an account of this voyage, Capt. Phipps says—  
“ I was allowed to recommend the officers ; and was very happy to find, during the course of the voyage, by the great assistance I received on many occasions from their abilities and experience, that I had not been mistaken in the characters of those upon whom so much depended in the performance of this service. Two masters of Greenlandmen were employed as pilots for each ship. The *Racehorse* was also furnished with the new chain-pumps made by Mr. Cole according to Capt. Bentinck's improvements, which were found to answer perfectly well. We also made use of Dr. Irving's apparatus for distilling fresh water from the sea, with the greatest success. Some small but useful alterations, were made in the species of provisions usually supplied in the navy ; an additional quantity of spirits was allowed for each ship, to be issued at the discretion of the commanders, when extraordinary fatigue or severity of the weather might make it expedient. A quantity of wine was also allotted for the use of the sick. Additional clothing, adapted to that rigour of climate, which from the relation of former navigators we were taught to expect, was ordered to be put on board, to be given to the seamen when we arrived in the high latitudes. It was foreseen that one or ooth of the ships might be sacrificed in the prosecution of this undertaking ; the boats for each ship were therefore calculated in number and size, to be fit, on any emergency, to transport the whole crew. In short, every thing which could tend to promote the success of the undertaking, or contribute to the security, health, and convenience of the ship's companies, was granted.

On the 19th of April, 1773, Capt. Phipps received his commission for the *Racehorse*, with an order to get her fitted with the greatest dispatch for a voyage of discovery towards the North Pole, and to proceed to the Nore for further orders.

On the 27th, he anchored at the Nore, and was joined by Capt. Lutwidge, in the *Carcass*, on the 30th: her equipment was to have been in all respects the same as that of the *Racehorse*, but when fitted, Capt. Lutwidge finding her too deep in the water to proceed to sea with safety, obtained leave of the Admiralty to put six guns on shore, to reduce the complement of men, and return a quantity of provisions proportionable to that reduction. On the 4th of June they sailed, and on the 20th began to make use of Dr. Irving's apparatus for distilling fresh water from the sea: repeated trials gave us the most satisfactory proof of its utility: the water produced from it was perfectly free from salt, and wholesome, being used for boiling the ship's provisions; which convenience would alone be a desirable object in all voyages, independent of the benefit of so useful a resource in case of distress for water. The quantity produced every day varied from accidental circumstances, but was generally from thirty-four to forty gallons, without any great addition of fuel. Twice indeed the quantity produced was only twenty-three gallons on each distillation; this amounts to more than a quart for each man, which, though not a plentiful allowance, is much more than what is necessary for subsistence. In cases of real necessity there was no reason to doubt that a much greater quantity might be produced without an inconvenient expence of fuel.

After many ineffectual attempts up to the first of August to proceed, being in latitude  $80^{\circ} 31'$ , and longitude  $18^{\circ} 48'$ , the captain in his journal says, "The ice pressed in fast; there was not now the smallest opening; the two ships were within less than two lengths of each other, separated

by ice, and neither having room to turn. The ice which had been all flat the day before, and almost level with the water's edge, was now in many places forced higher than the main yard, by the pieces squeezing together, and there seemed to be no probability of getting the ships out again, without a strong east, or north-east wind. There was not the smallest appearance of open water, except a little towards the west point of the north-east land. The seven islands and north-east land, with the frozen sea, formed almost a bason, leaving but about four points opening for the ice to drift out, in case of a change of wind. On the 3rd, the weather was very fine, clear, and calm; we perceived that the ships had been driven far to the eastward; the ice was much closer than before, and the passage by which we had come in closed up, no open water being in sight, either in that or any other quarter. The pilots having expressed a wish to get if possible farther out, the ship's companies were set to work at five in the morning, to cut a passage through the ice, and warp through the small openings to the westward. We found the ice very deep, having sawed sometimes through pieces twelve feet thick. This labour was continued the whole day, but without any success; our utmost efforts not having moved the ships above three hundred yards to the westward through the ice, at the same time that they had been driven (together with the ice itself, to which they were fast) far to the NE and eastward, by the current; which had also forced the loose ice from the westward, between the island, where it became packed, and as firm as the main body.

On the 5th, the probability of getting the ships out appearing every hour less, and the season being already far advanced, some speedy resolution became necessary as to the steps to be taken for the preservation of the people. As the situation of the ships prevented us from seeing the state of the ice to the westward, by which our future proceedings must in a great measure be determined, I sent Mr. Walden,

one of the midshipmen, with two pilots, to an island about twelve miles off: on his return they stated that the ice, though close all about us, was open to the westward round the point by which we came in. They also told me, that when upon the island they had the wind very fresh to the eastward, though where the ships lay it had been almost calm all day. This circumstance considerably lessened the hopes we had hitherto entertained of the immediate effect of an easterly wind in clearing the bay. We had but one alternative; either patiently to wait the event of the weather upon the ships, in hopes of getting them out, or to betake ourselves to the boats. The ships had driven into shoal water, having but fourteen fathoms. Should they, or the ice to which they were fast, take the ground, they must be inevitably lost, and probably overset. The hopes of getting the ships out was not hastily to be relinquished, nor obstinately adhered to, till all other means of retreat were cut off. Having no harbour to lodge them in, it would be impossible to winter them here, with any probability of their being again serviceable; our provisions would be very short for such an undertaking, were it otherwise feasible; and supposing, what appeared impossible, that we could get to the nearest rocks, and make some conveniences for wintering, being now in an unfrequented part, where ships never even attempt to come, we should have the same difficulties to encounter the next year, without the same resources; the remains of the ships company, in all probability, not in health; no provisions, and the sea not so open, this year having certainly been uncommonly clear. Indeed it could not have been expected that more than a very small part should survive the hardships of such a winter with every advantage; much less in our present situation. On the other hand, the undertaking to move so large a body for so considerable a distance by boats, was not without very serious difficulties. Should we remain much longer here, the bad weather must be expected to set in. The stay of

#### PARRY'S VOYAGE TO

the Dutchmen to the Northward is very doubtful : if the northern harbours kept clear, they stay till the beginning of September ; but when the loose ice sets in, they quit them immediately. I thought it proper to send for the officers of both ships, and informed them of my intention of preparing the boats for going away. I immediately hoisted out the boats, and took every precaution in my power to make them secure and comfortable ; the fitting would necessarily take up some days. The water shoaling, and the ships driving fast towards the rocks to the NE, I ordered canvass bread-bags to be made, in case it should be necessary very suddenly to betake ourselves to the boats : I also sent a man with a lead and line to the northward, and another from the Carcass to the eastward, to sound wherever they found cracks in the ice, that we might have notice before either the ships, or the ice to which they were fast, took the ground ; as in that case, they must instantly have been crushed or overset.

“ On the 7th, in the morning I set out with the launch over the ice ; she hauled much easier than I could have expected ; we got her about two miles. I then returned with the people for their dinner. Finding the ice rather more open near the ships, I was encouraged to attempt moving them. The wind being easterly, though but little of it, we set the sails, and got the ships about a mile to the westward. They moved indeed, but very slowly, and were not now by a great deal so far to the westward as where they were beset. However, I kept all the sail upon them, to force through whenever the ice slackened the least. The people behaved very well in hauling the boat ; they seemed reconciled to the idea of quitting the ships, and to have the fullest confidence in their officers. The boats could not with the greatest diligence be got to the water side before the fourteenth ; if the situation of the ships did not alter by that time, I should not be justified in staying longer by them. In the mean time, I resolved to carry on both attempts to-

gether, moving the boats constantly but without omitting an opportunity of getting the ships through.

On the 8th, at half past four, I sent two pilots with three men to see the state of the ice to the westward, that I might judge of the probability of getting the ships out. At nine they returned, and reported the ice to be very heavy and close, consisting chiefly of large fields. Between nine, and ten this morning, I set out with the people, and got the launch above three miles. The weather being foggy and the people having worked hard, I thought it best to return on board between six and seven. The ships had in the mean time moved something through the ice, and the ice itself had drifted still more to the westward. At night there was little wind, and a thick fog, so that I could not judge precisely of the advantages we had gained; but I still feared that, however flattering, it was not such as to justify my giving up the idea of moving the boats, the season advancing so fast, the preservation of the ships being so uncertain. and the situation of the people so critical.

On the 9th, we moved the ship a little through some very small openings. In the afternoon, upon its clearing up, we were agreeably surprised to find the ships had driven much more than we could have expected to the westward. We worked hard all day, and got them something more to the westward through the ice; but nothing in comparison to what the ice itself had drifted. We got past the launches; I sent a number of men for them, and got them on board. Between three and four in the morning the wind was westerly, and it snowed fast. The people having been much fatigued, we were obliged to desist from working for a few hours. The progress which the ships had made through the ice was, however, a very favourable event; the drift of the ice was an advantage that might be as suddenly lost, as it had been unexpectedly gained, by a change in the current; we had experienced the inefficacy of an easterly wind when far in the bay, and under the high land; but having

now got through so much of the ice, we began again to conceive hopes that a brisk gale from that quarter would soon effectually clear us.

On the 10th, the wind springing up to the NNE in the morning, we set all the sail we could upon the ship, and forced her through a great deal of very heavy ice; she struck often very hard, and with one stroke broke the shank of the best bower anchor. About noon we had got her through all the ice, and out to sea. I stood to the NW to make the ice, and found the main body just where we left it. At three in the morning, with a good breeze easterly, we were standing to the westward, between the land and the ice, both in sight; the weather hazy.

On the 11th, came to an anchor in the harbour of Smeerenberg, to refresh the people after their fatigues. We found here four of the Dutch ships, which we had left in the Norways when we sailed from Vogel Sang, and upon which I had depended for carrying the people home in case we had been obliged to quit the ships. In this sound there is good anchorage in thirteen fathoms, sandy bottom, not far from the shore; it is well sheltered from all winds. The island close to which we lay is called Amsterdam Island, the westernmost point of which is Hacluyt's Head Land; here the Dutch used formerly to boil their whale-oil, and the remains of some conveniences erected by them for that purpose are still visible. Once they attempted to make an establishment, and left some people to winter here, who all perished. The Dutch ships still resort to this place for the latter season of the whale fishery. The black mountains, white snow, and beautiful colour of the ice, make a romantic and uncommon picture. Large pieces frequently break off from the icebergs, and fall with great noise into the water: we observed one piece which had floated out into the bay, and grounded in twenty-four fathoms; it was

fifty feet high above the surface of the water, and of the same beautiful colour as the iceberg.

“ We saw no springs or rivers, the water, which we found in great plenty, being all produced by the melting of the snow, from the mountains. During the whole time we were in these latitudes, there was no thunder or lightning. I must also add, that I never found what is mentioned by Marten, (who is generally accurate in his observations, and faithful in his accounts) of the sun at midnight resembling in appearance the moon ; I saw no difference in clear weather between the sun at midnight and any other time, but what arose from a different degree of altitude ; the brightness of the light appearing there, as well as elsewhere, to depend upon the obliquity of his rays. The sky was in general loaded with hard white clouds ; so that I do not remember to have ever seen the sun and the horizon both free from them even in the clearest weather. We could always perceive when we were approaching the ice, long before we saw it, by a bright appearance near the horizon, which the pilots called the blink of the ice. Hudson remarked, that the sea where he met with ice was blue ; but the green sea was free from it. During the time that we were fast amongst the Seven Islands, we had frequent opportunities of observing the irresistible force of the large bodies of floating ice. We have often seen a piece of several acres square lifted up between two much larger pieces, and as it were becoming one with them ; and afterwards this piece so formed acting in the same manner upon a second and third ; which would probably have continued to be the effect, till the whole bay had been so filled with ice that the different pieces could have had no motion, had not the stream taken an unexpected turn, and set the ice out of the bay.

“ On the 22nd, the season was so very far advanced, and fogs as well as gales of wind so much to be expected, that nothing more could now be done, had any thing been left



untried. The summer appears to have been uncommonly favourable for our purpose, and afforded us the fullest opportunity of ascertaining repeatedly the situation of that wall of ice, extending for more than twenty degrees between the latitudes of eighty and eighty-one, without the smallest appearance of any opening.

“ I should here conclude the account of the voyage, had not some observations and experiments occurred on the passage home.

“ In steering to the southward we soon found the weather grow more mild, or rather to our feelings warm. August 24th, we saw Jupiter ; the sight of a star was now become almost as extraordinary a phenomenon, as the sun at midnight, when we first got within the Arctic circle. The weather was very fine for some part of the voyage ; on the 4th of September, the water being perfectly smooth with a dead calm, I repeated with success the attempt I had made to get soundings in the main ocean at great depths, and struck ground in six hundred and eighty-three fathoms, with circumstances that convince me I was not mistaken in the depth ; the bottom was a fine soft blue clay. From the 7th, of September, when we were off Shetland, till the 24th, when we made Orfordness, we had very hard gales of wind with little intermission, which were constantly indicated several hours before they came on by the fall of the barometer, and rise of the manometer : this proved to me the utility of those instruments at sea. In one of these gales the hardest, I think, I ever was in, and with the greatest sea, we lost three of our boats, and were obliged to heave two of our guns overboard, and bear away for some time, though near a lee shore, to clear the ship of water. In one of these gales on the 12th of September, Dr. Irving tried the temperature of the sea in that state of agitation, and found it considerably warmer than that of the atmosphere. This observation is the more interesting, as it agrees with a passage in Plutarch's *Natural Questions* not (I believe)

before taken notice of, or confirmed by experiment, in which he remarks, "that the sea becomes warmer by being agitated in waves."

The frequent and very heavy gales at the latter end of the year, confirmed me in the opinion, that the time of our sailing from England was the properest that could have been chosen. These gales are as common in the Spring as in the Autumn; there is every reason to suppose therefore, that at an early season we should have met with the same bad weather in going out as we did on our return. The unavoidable necessity of carrying a quantity of additional stores and provisions, rendered the ships so deep in the water, that in heavy gales the boats, with many of the stores, must probably have been thrown overboard; as we experienced on our way home, though the ships were then much lightened by the consumption of provisions, and expenditure of stores. Such accidents in the outset must have defeated the voyage. At the time we sailed, added to the fine weather, we had the further advantage of nearly reaching the latitude of eighty without seeing ice, which the Greenlandmen generally fall in with in the latitude of seventy-three or seventy-four. There was also most probability, if ever navigation should be practicable to the Pole, of finding the sea open to the northward after the solstice; the sun having then exerted the full influence of his rays, though there was enough of the summer still remaining for the purpose of exploring the seas to the northward and westward of Spitsbergen. With these observations Capt. Phipps concludes his narrative.

To seek for a passage by the North Pole was among the objects committed to the exertions of that great navigator Captain Cook, but their efforts led them to assert the utter impossibility of effecting it. Passing over other attempts, we shall proceed to a narration of the circumstances which attended the efforts of Lieut. Parry in the First Voyage which was committed to his superintendence.

The spirit and capacity manifested by him when he accompanied Capt. Ross, led the government to select him in another attempt at discovery of a passage into the Pacific. accordingly he was appointed to command a bomb vessel called the *Hecla*, of three hundred and seventy-five tons burthen, and put into commission on the 21st of January 1819. A gun brig, named the *Griper*, was also appointed to this service and the command given to Lieut. Liddon, with orders to obey Lieut. Parry's directions. Both ships underwent a thorough repair, and every mode was adopted to strengthen their timbers and enable them to encounter the rough and tempestuous seas they were to explore. The officers and crew were to receive double pay; and as most of the seamen who had sailed with Capt. Ross entered themselves for the present voyage, more expert and qualified seamen were not to be found. Every thing which former experience could suggest, and which money and effort could produce, was adopted for the comfort of the crew and to render the voyage successful. Upwards of one hundred chaldrons of coals were taken in as ballast. Abundance of warm clothing was also provided to be used when necessary, and a quantity of such articles as it was supposed would be acceptable to any of the natives of the different places they might visit.

That the most satisfactory assurances might be procured of proper attention being paid to every arrangement, the first Lord of the Admiralty and others high in office visited the vessels previous to their sailing

All the preparations were completed early in the month of April and the vessels now only waited for a wind to take them down the river. The following is a statement of the completement of each, with the rank they held.

Names of the officers, &c. who sailed on board the two ships.

*On board the Hecla.*

Lieut. William Edward Parry, .... Commander  
 Capt. Edward Sabine, R.A. .... Astronomer.  
 Frederick William Beechey, .... Lieutenant.  
 John Edwards, ..... Surgeon.  
 Alexander Fisher, ..... Assistant Surgeon.  
 William Harvey Hooper ..... Purser.  
 Messrs. Nias, Dealey, Palmer, {  
     Ross, and Bushnan, ..... } Midshipmen.  
 James Halse, ..... Clerk.  
 James Scallon, ..... Gunner.  
 Jacob Swansea, ..... Boatswain.  
 William Wallis, ... Carpenter.  
 Other officers and seamen, 43.

*On board the Griper.*

Lieut. Liddon, ..... Commander.  
 H. P. Hoppner, ..... Lieutenant.  
 Charles James Beverly, ..... Surgeon.  
 Messrs. Reid, Skene, and Griffiths, Midshipmen.  
 Cyrus Wakeham, ..... Clerk.  
 With 29 inferior officers and seamen.

The following instructions for his general conduct were issued to Capt. Parry by the Lords of the Admiralty.

*By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c.*

WHEREAS we have thought fit to appoint you to the command of an Expedition, for the purpose of endeavouring to discover a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean ; you are hereby required and directed to put to sea in the Hecla, and, in company with the Griper, which, with her commander Lieutenant Liddon, has been placed under your orders, make the best of your way to the entrance of Davis' Strait.

On your arrival in this Strait, your further proceedings must be regulated chiefly by the position and extent of the ice ; but, on finding it sufficiently open to permit your approach to the western shores of the Strait, and your advance to the northward as far as the opening into Sir James Lancaster's Sound, you are to proceed in the first instance to that part of the coast, and use your best endeavours to explore the bottom of that Sound ; or, in the event of its proving a strait opening to the westward, you are to use all possible means, consistently with the safety of the two ships, to pass through it, and ascertain its direction and communications ; and if it should be found to connect itself with the northern sea, you are to make the best of your way to Behring's Strait.

If, however, you should ascertain that there is no passage through Sir James Lancaster's Sound, but that it is enclosed by continuous land, or so completely blocked up with ice as to afford no hope of a passage through it, you are in that case to proceed to the northward, and in like manner examine Alderman Jones's Sound. Failing to find a passage through this Sound, you are to make the best of your way to Sir Thomas Smith's Sound, which is described by Baffin as the largest in the whole bay ; and carefully explore, as far as practicable, every part of it, as well as of any strait you may discover, leading from it into any other sea. On failing to make a passage through this Sound, you are to return to the southward down Baffin's Bay, and endeavour to make your way through Cumberland Strait or any opening in that neighbourhood which may lead you to the seas adjoining the eastern or northern coast of America ; you are then, by whatever course you may have reached these seas, to pursue your voyage along that coast to the northward or westward to Behring's Strait.

We have hitherto supposed that, on your first arrival in Davis' Strait, the navigation to the northward shall be found practicable. If, however, you should find the contrary to

be the case, and that the sea towards the western side of the Strait is so loaded with ice, as to render it difficult and dangerous for the ships to proceed so far to the northward as Lancaster Sound, at so early a period of the season ; it may be advisable, in that case, to endeavour in the first instance, to examine Cumberland Strait, or any other opening that may be likely to bring you to the eastern coast of America, in preference to the loss of time and danger to the ships, which might be occasioned in persevering too anxiously in the attempt to get to Lancaster Sound ; and should you, on your first reaching Davis' Strait, find it to be impracticable to make your way up the western side of the Strait to that Sound, or even to Cumberland Strait, you will understand, that you are at liberty to proceed towards those places, going round by a more easterly track, if the state of the ice, and all other circumstances, should induce you to think it most advisable to do so. Thus, although the track, which we wish you to pursue, if practicable, is pointed out ; you will, nevertheless, perceive, that the course to be finally adopted by you for getting to the northward, is, in fact, left to your own discretion, on a careful examination into the state of the ice on your arrival in Davis' Strait ; always bearing in mind, that it is an important object of the Expedition, that Lancaster Sound be thoroughly examined by you, and afterwards those of Jones and Smith, if you should have failed in previously finding a passage to the westward.

Should you be so successful as to find a passage to the westward, it will be advisable to make the best of your way, without stopping to examine any part of the northern coast of America, to Behring's Strait ; and if you should fortunately accomplish your passage through that Strait, you are then to proceed to Kamtschatka (if you think you can do so without risk of being shut up by the ice on that coast), for the purpose of delivering to the Russian Governor, duplicates of all the Journals and other documents which the

passage may have supplied, with a request that they may be forwarded over-land to St. Petersburg, to be conveyed from thence to London. From Kamtschatka you will proceed to the Sandwich Islands, or Canton, or such other place as you may think proper, to refit the ships and refresh the crews; and, if during your stay at such place, a safe opportunity should occur of sending papers to England, you should send duplicates by such conveyance. And, after having refitted and refreshed, you are to lose no time in returning to England, by such route as you may deem most convenient.

If, at any period of your voyage, but particularly after you shall have doubled the north-eastern extremity of America, the season shall be so far advanced as to make it unsafe to navigate the ships, on account of the long nights having set in, and the sea not being free from ice; and the health of your crews, the state of the ships, and all concurrent circumstances, should combine to induce you to form the resolution of wintering in those regions, you are to use your best endeavours to discover a sheltered and safe harbour, where the ships may be placed in security for the winter; taking such measures for the health and comfort of the people committed to your charge, as the materials with which you are supplied for housing-in the ships, or hutting the men on shore, may enable you to do. And, if you shall find it expedient to resort to this measure, and you should meet with any inhabitants, either Esquimaux or Indians, near the place where you winter, you are to endeavour, by every means in your power, to cultivate a friendship with them, by making them presents of such articles as you may be supplied with, and which may be useful or agreeable to them. You will, however, take care not to suffer yourself to be surprised by them, but use every precaution, and be constantly on your guard against any hostility.

You will endeavour to prevail on them, by such reward, and to be paid in such manner, as you may think best to an-

answer the purpose, to carry to any of the settlements of the Hudson's Bay Company, or of the North-West Company, an account of your situation and proceedings ; with an urgent request that it may be forwarded to England with the utmost possible despatch.

In an undertaking of this description, much must, of course, be always left to the discretion of the commanding officer ; and, as the objects of this Expedition have been fully explained to you, and you have already had some experience on service of this nature, we are convinced we cannot do better than leave it to your judgment, when on the spot, in the event of your not making a passage this season, either to winter on the coast, with the view of following up next season, any hopes or expectations which your observations this year may lead you to entertain, or to return to England, to report to us the result of such observations ; always recollecting our anxiety for the health, comfort, and safety of yourself, your officers, and men ; and further considering how far the advantage of starting next season from an advanced position, may not be counterbalanced by what may be suffered during the winter, and by the want of such refreshment and refitting, as would be afforded by your return to England.

We deem it right to caution you against suffering the two vessels placed under your orders to separate, except in the event of accident or unavoidable necessity, and we desire you to keep up the most unreserved communications with the commander of the Griper ; placing in him every proper confidence, and acquainting him with the general tenor of your orders, and with your views and intentions, from time to time, in the execution of them ; that the service may have the full benefit of your united efforts in the prosecution of such a service ; and that, in the event of unavoidable separation, or of any accident to yourself, Lieut. Liddon may have the advantage of knowing up to the latest practicable period, all your ideas and intentions, re-



lative to a satisfactory completion of this interesting undertaking.

We also recommend, that as frequent an exchange take place, as conveniently may be, of the observations made in the two ships ; that any scientific discovery made by the one be, as quickly as possible, communicated for the advantage and guidance of the other, in making their future observations ; and to increase the chance of the observations of both being preserved.

We have caused a great variety of valuable instruments to be put on board the ships under your orders ; of which you will be furnished with a list, and for the return of which you will be held responsible ; and we have also, at the recommendation of the President and Council of the Royal Society, ordered to be received on board the *Hecla*, Captain Sabine, of the Royal Artillery, who is represented to us as a gentleman well skilled in Astronomy, Natural History, and various branches of knowledge, to assist you in making such observations as may tend to the improvement of Geography and Navigation, and the advancement of science in general. Among other subjects of scientific inquiry, you will particularly direct your attention to the variation and inclination of the magnetic needle, and the intensity of the magnetic force ; you will endeavour to ascertain how far the needle may be affected by the atmospheric electricity, and what effect may be produced on the electrometer and magnetic needle on the appearance of the Aurora Borealis. You will keep a correct register of the temperature of the air, and of the sea, at the surface and at different depths. You will cause the dip of the horizon to be frequently observed by the dip sector, invented by Dr. Wollaston ; and ascertain what effect may be produced by measuring that dip across fields of ice, as compared with its measurement across the surface of the open sea. You will also cause frequent observations to be made for ascertaining the refraction, and what effect may be pro-

duced by observing an object, either celestial or terrestrial, over a field of ice, as compared with objects observed over a surface of water; together with such other meteorological remarks as you may have opportunities of making. You are to attend particularly to the height, direction, and strength of the tides, and to the set and velocity of the currents; the depth and soundings of the sea, and the nature of the bottom; for which purpose you are supplied with an instrument better calculated to bring up substances than the lead usually employed for this purpose.

And you are to understand that although the finding a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific is the main object of this expedition, yet, that the ascertaining the correct position of the different points of the land on the western shores of Baffin's Bay, and the different observations you may be enabled to make with regard to the magnetic influence in that neighbourhood supposed to be so near the situation of one of the great magnetic poles of the earth, as well as such other observations as you may have opportunities of making in Natural History, Geography, &c. in parts of the globe &c. little known, must prove most valuable and interesting to the science of our country; and we, therefore, desire you to give your unremitting attention, and to call that of all the officers under your command, to these points; as being objects likely to prove of almost equal importance to the principal one before mentioned, of ascertaining whether there exist any passage to the northward, from the one ocean to the other.

For the purpose, not only of ascertaining the set of the currents in the Arctic Seas, but also of affording more frequent chances of hearing of your progress, we desire that you do, frequently after you have passed the latitude of 65 degrees north, and once every day, when you shall be in an ascertained current, throw overboard a bottle, closely sealed, and containing a paper stating the date and position at which it is launched; and you will give similar or-

diers to the Commander of the Griper, to be executed in case of separation ; and, for this purpose, we have caused, each ship to be supplied with papers, on which is printed in several languages, a request, that whoever may find it should take measure for transmitting it to this office.

And although you are not to be drawn aside from the main object of the service on which you are employed, as long as you may be enabled to make any progress ; yet, whenever you may be impeded by the ice, or find it necessary to approach the coasts of the continent or islands, you are to cause views of bays, harbours, headlands, &c. to be carefully taken, to illustrate and explain the track of the vessels, or such charts as you may be able to make ; in which duty you will be assisted by Lieutenants Beechey and Hoppner, whose skill in drawing is represented to be so considerable, as to supersede the necessity of appointing professional draughtsmen.

You are to make use of every means in your power to collect and preserve such specimens of the animal, mineral and vegetable kingdoms, as you can conveniently stow on board the ships ; and of the larger animals you are to cause accurate drawings to be made, to accompany and elucidate the descriptions of them : in this, as well as in every other part of your scientific duty, we trust that you will receive material assistance from Captain Sabine.

“ In the event of any irreparable accident happening to either of the two ships, you are to cause the officers and crew of the disabled ship to be removed into the other ; and with her singly to proceed in prosecution of the voyage, or return to England, according as circumstances shall appear to require ; understanding that the officers and crews of both ships are hereby authorized and required to continue to perform their duties, according to their respective ranks and stations, on board either ship to which they may be so removed, in the event of an occurrence of this nature. Should, unfortunately, your own ship be the one disabled,

you are, in that case, to take the command of the Griper ; and in the event of any fatal accident happening to yourself, Lieut. Liddon is hereby authorised to take the command of the Hecla, placing the officer of the expedition who may then be next in seniority to him in command of the Griper ; also, in the event of your own inability by sickness or otherwise, at any period of this service, to continue to carry these Instructions into execution, you are to transfer them to the officer the next in command to you employed on the Expedition, who is hereby required to execute them in the best manner he can, for the attainment of the several objects in view.

“ His Majesty’s Government having appointed Lieutenant Franklin to the command of an expedition to explore the northern coast of North America, from the mouth of the Copper-mine River of Hearne, it would be desirable, in the event of your touching on that coast, to leave some testimonial of your having been there, with the date, and such circumstances as you may find convenient, for the lieutenant’s information ; and you will do the same wherever you may stop on that coast, by erecting a pole, having a flag, or some other mark, by which it may be distinguished at a distance, (and you should endeavour to place such mark on the situation in which it may be most extensively visible,) and burying a bottle at the foot of it, or otherwise, containing an abstract of your proceedings and future intentions ; corresponding instructions having been given to Lieutenant Franklin to leave a similar notice at any convenient part of the coast which he may discover between the mouth of the said river and the eastern part of North America.

“ You are, while executing the service pointed out in these Instructions ; to take every opportunity that may offer of acquainting our Secretary, for our information, with your progress : and on your arrival in England, you are immediately to repair to this office, in order to lay be

fore us a full account of your proceedings in the whole course of your voyage; taking care, before you leave the ship, to demand from the officers, petty officers, and all other persons on board, the logs and journals they may have kept; together with any drawings or charts they may have made; which are all to be sealed up; and you will issue similar directions to Lieutenant Liddon and his officers, &c.; the said logs, journals, or other documents, to be thereafter disposed of as we may think proper to determine.

Given under our hands the 1st day of May, 1819.

(Signed)

MELVILLE,

G. MOORE,

G. COCKBURN.

*By Command of their Lordships,*

(Signed) J. W. CROKER.

*To Lieutenant William Edward Parry,  
Commanding His Majesty's Ship the  
HECLA.*

The wind continuing contrary during the remainder of the month of April, the two ships were towed down to Northfleet by steam boats, on the 4th of May, and on the 10th they took their departure from the Nore. As they crossed the Atlantic, a bottle was thrown overboard daily, according to the instructions which Capt. Parry received from the Lords of the Admiralty, containing a printed paper stating the date and situation of the ships. A request in six different languages was added requesting any person who found it to send it to the secretary of the Admiralty at London, and to state the time and place at which the bottle was found.

The Hecla was found to be a much superior sailor to the Griper; and she often had to take the latter vessel in tow or to lay by for her coming up.

On the 4th of June, being King George the Third's birthday, an additional allowance of *strong* was served to each

mess, that they might drink their sovereign's health. On the 18th they first saw the ice, and not long after noticed several icebergs, or large piles or mountains of ice. On the 24th a succession of icebergs were observed extending several miles, and the intermediate spaces were covered with ice beyond where the eye could reach.

On the 25th the ships were completely surrounded with ice and immovable; and continued in this state till the 30th, when after great efforts they succeeded in extricating the ships, but with some serious damage to the vessels. On the 3d of July, they again fell in with a succession of icebergs and the sea running high and dashing against them, had a very terrific appearance. The ice was so thick that the *Griper* had not power to force her way, but followed in the track of the *Hecla*; and oftentimes the boats were occupied in towing the ships into the open sea.

Herd of sea horses were seen, which were so tame that the boats came often within a few yards of them before the crew fired. They also saw several bears, some of which they killed; these animals however sometimes attacked the boats and put the crews into an alarm.

On the 18th of July, the ships had a most arduous duty in passing through the ice, and one of the boats, in which was Mr. Palmer one of the midshipmen, was upset. The crew escaped by getting on the ice.

On the 21st having proceeded as far as the 73rd degree of latitude, and perceiving no possibility of a passage from the closeness of the ice, they altered their course, and the ships were worked through the ice by hawsers, and from the crow's nest, (an enclosure of wood at the mast head) no opening could be discovered. At length on the 25th, a small opening appeared, and the ships were warped through the ice. Every effort was now used to get the ships through the ice, to Sir James Lancaster's Sound.

On the 29th they got into the latitude of  $73^{\circ} 51'$  and longitude  $67^{\circ} 47'$ , and the wind blowing strong, the ice dis-

persed, and the ships sailed upwards of sixty miles, and soon entered Sir James Lancaster's Sound. They now found great numbers of large whales swimming around them, and were exhilarated at the knowledge that by perseverance stimulated by a confidence of success, they had reached their present destination a month earlier than Capt. Ross had done.

On the 31st the ships stood in for Possession Bay, and noticed a flag staff which had been erected the preceding year by Capt. Ross's people. Mr. Fisher the assistant surgeon, on going a few miles up the country, perceived the marks of human feet, and noticed marks that the Esquimaux had at some former period visited this spot.

They now proceeded to sail up Sir James Lancaster's Sound, and made considerable way. In attempting to take in some ice which was to supply the want of water, one of the boats was upset by the fall of a large piece of ice, as the men were occupied in breaking it off. Being anxious to proceed, and the Griper being a heavy sailor, Capt. Parry determined to proceed without her; and giving Lieutenant Liddon directions how to proceed and appointing  $85^{\circ}$  west, and the middle of the sound as a place of rendezvous, the Hecla bent her way with a press of sail to determine the possibility of a passage this way into the Arctic sea. The efforts now making arrested the attention of all on board; officers and seamen crowded the rigging, and every eye was fixed in anxious expectation. The place called the crow's nest, which as before observed, was an enclosed place, at the mast head, from whence the appointed person might keep a good look out, continually were making reports of the situations which presented themselves to their notice. The sea was free from ice, and many on board were now calculating upon seeing Icy Cape.

The ships continued to make daily progress up Lancaster Sound sometimes boring their way through long tracks of ice, and in foggy weather. They passed various islands.

to which Capt. Parry gave names, and advanced westward as fast as the unfavourable winds would permit to the lat. of  $74^{\circ}$ , longitude  $100^{\circ}$ . The sea before them appeared as one field of ice, excepting a small channel of sufficient breadth to admit the passage of the ships.

On the 28th of August they reached an island to which Capt. Parry gave the name of Byam Martin's Island, in latitude  $75^{\circ} 8'$ , longitude  $103^{\circ} 44'$ . Capt. Sabine, Mr. Ross, Mr. Edwards, and Mr. Fisher went on shore ; after which a thick fog coming on, guns were continually fired as signals from the ships. On returning the gentlemen stated that they had seen the remains of several Esquimaux huts and found the island more fertile than any land they had noticed in the polar regions. Tracks of the musk ox and rein deer were also visible in many places which shewed that these animals had lately been in these parts.

The ships continued to advance with great confidence to the 29th, when they found land to the northward arresting their progress ; to the southward the ice appeared as an obstruction ; the compass had long ceased to fulfil their office,—a thick fog enveloped them in darkness, so that the ships could see each other only at intervals and then only at a short distance. After some hours, the weather so far cleared as to enable them to discover a track through the ice, which lay ahead, and some appearance of an open sea at a distance. The ships were often in the foggy weather in the habit of taking each other as the point to sail by. The *Hecla* keeping the *Griper* directly astern and the *Griper* keeping the *Hecla* right ahead ; thus steering one ship by the other.

On the 1st of September a breeze springing up and the ice clearing away the ships shaped their course to the westward. On the following day they had sight of a star, being the only one they had seen for near two months, by which it must be manifest what fogs they had met with. The ships received now some heavy blows from the ice, although they



were from loose and broken pieces through which the ships were now making their passage. Finding they could not get to the westward, they stood in for land, and a large party from both ships went on shore with a view to kill deer. They had however but little success, although it appeared evidently that several musk oxen and deer had been on the spot, and the place was in a high state of vegetation; quantities of hair and wool being observed in different parts. They found several heads of the musk ox, and saw two deer, but they kept at too great a distance from the party to afford them the opportunity of killing them. The latitude was  $74^{\circ} 58'$ , and their longitude  $107^{\circ} 3'$ . At this place a bottle was buried containing the names of the ships and other particulars.

The approaches of winter now began to be manifest, the main ice approaching towards the shore, and contracting the space through which the ships could make their way. They were now making little progress, and were impressed with the great probability that they should have to pass a long winter somewhere near their present station; still however they took advantage of all opportunities of proceeding, and at a few minutes after nine o'clock in the evening of the fourth of September crossed the meridian of  $110^{\circ}$  W from Greenwich, and in the latitude of  $74^{\circ} 44'$ , by which they became entitled to a reward voted by the parliament of five thousand pounds. This sum had been offered by the government under the authority of an act of parliament to encourage the efforts for a discovery of a NW passage, and to commemorate the circumstance an headland on Melville Island which they had just passed was called Bounty Cape.

On the following day, being Sunday the 5th, Capt. Parry assembled the men on deck and gave them an official notification that they were entitled to the before mentioned reward, and then took occasion to urge them to use every effort to proceed further before the winter advanced, as then he said, he doubted not of effecting, the ensuing summer, the passage they

were particularly sent to explore, or determine its impossibility. He sent a message of like purport to Lieut. Liddon, and ordered an additional allowance of meat and beer on the occasion.

The ships at this time lay in a bay to which Capt. Parry gave the name of Hecla and Griper Bay, and the wind increasing, the vessels were brought to anchor in seven fathoms water, having not till now dropped anchor since the ships left the coast of Norfolk in England.

On the 6th the boats were sent to bring on board some moss peat which was substituted for coals, and the wind moderating, the ships made sail round a cape a short distance, but on exploring the sea around, it appeared manifest that no passage to the westward could be effected. On the 7th a herd of animals, were supposed to be musk oxen, seen feeding, and two white hares were killed by some of the officers.

On the 8th the ships were towed in shore, and on the 9th the ice was so close as to preclude all chance of the ships being able to move. Two large bodies of ice called icebergs, which were aground near the shore, formed bays, in which the Hecla and Griper were secured from accidents from the large pieces of floating ice and other dangers. Three days after Mr. Dealy shot a musk ox, but the smell was unpleasant, and none seemed to relish the flesh as food. The Hecla was moved farther in shore, which was a fortunate circumstance, as the iceberg was driven from its situation.

On the 10th Mr. Fife and a part of the crew of the Griper were sent in pursuit of rein-deer, whose footsteps they had noticed. Night came on without any appearance of their return, and considerable anxiety was felt for their safety. Early in the following morning therefore, a party was sent in search of them; but a heavy fall of snow coming on, all traces of the former party were lost, and these latter persons missed their road back, and it was not till after dark, and rockets were fired from the ship, that they were able to get back, in a state of great distress and suffering, after a fruitless search for their companions. Another night of distressing anxiety was passed

and parties were again sent on the look-out. In the mean time a large mast with a flag was erected on an adjoining hill, and smaller poles with directions attached to them were tuck up, stating that provisions would be found under the flag staff. But it was not till the 13th, after they had been absent four days, that any of the party were discovered.

Mr. Fife's party consisted of himself and six men; and after they had wandered for three days they observed the flag staff at a great distance. Here a difference of opinion arose, whether what they saw was a pole erected before they had set out, at a considerable distance from the ships, or was intended for their guidance; and their opinions on this circumstance so differed, that four of the party proceeded towards the signal post, and Mr. Fife, and two of the seamen, believing it to be the staff which had been erected previous to their journey, took a quite different route. The four men after a journey of much fatigue reached the flag staff, and partaking of the provisions and some rum placed there, they attempted to proceed, and perceiving footsteps, fell in with a party under Mr. Nias, who were in search for them. The distress of the officers and men was increased, in the apprehension that Mr. Fife and the two sailors would perish. A new party were just on the point of setting out, when advice was brought that they were found.

Every attention was now paid to the situation of such of the lost party as appeared to be in danger. Some of them were severely frost bitten, and all of them in a state of great exhaustion; but every attention being paid to their situation, they all recovered in a few days. This circumstance gave name to a point of land which was in consequence called Cape Providence.

On the 16th the weather being clear, the ships made sail to the westward, passing Cape Providence. A large piece of ice, which drifted from the shore, ran so close to the *Hecla* as to strike her violently, and lifted up her rudder. The ships continued to sail near the land on the following day.

From this time to the 21st, the ships sailed with difficulty through the small openings which occasionally were discovered, and sometimes pressed through the new ice which was gathering round very fast. The Griper was forced on shore by a powerful body of ice. In this dilemma it appeared necessary to lighten her in order to get her afloat. Fortunately the wind drove the ice from the shore, and the tide rising, the vessel was got afloat. The near approach of winter, and the many hindrances which daily presented themselves, now manifested the necessity of seeking the most eligible situation for the ships to be stationed till the ensuing summer. With this view, on the 22nd the ships weighed anchors, and steered towards Hecla and Griper Bay, at which place they had seen the most proper situation to place the ships during the winter. The ice now accumulated so fast, that they began to fear the ships would be frozen in during the night, and that they might not reach the harbour. Capt. Parry manned a boat, and accompanied by another boat from the Griper, and the wind favouring them by opening a passage, they landed on the west side of the harbour, and made a signal for the ships to make towards it. A body of fixed ice of several inches thick had formed in the harbour, and it appeared that to bring the ships into a place of security, it would be necessary to cut a channel through it, for the length of two miles. They made holes through the ice at different places, and found the depth of this intended channel to be several fathoms. On the 24th the ships were brought into a proper situation for commencing the opening, and Capt. Parry ordered a party to sound and mark the most proper way for the channel to be cut. The opening of this passage was a work of immense labour and fatigue, and on the second morning of the attempt, the opening through which the ships had passed was found so much frozen, that they were obliged to force the pieces of ice which were now cut to form the channel, under the great body of ice; to effect which, several of the crew stood on one end of the pieces, while others with rope raised the opposite end. In accomplishing this, the men stood up to their

knees in water. On the third day the canal was completely cut, and the ships were warped into their proper stations, and the captain named the place Winter Harbour.

Having thus placed the ships, they had now time to reflect on the various difficulties which they might expect to encounter in the course of the ensuing months. Secluded from all intercourse with others, dark and dreary days and nights to be passed, and no means of recreation or comfort to be procured, excepting what the ships' stores afforded; much depended upon the management and forethought of the officers in command: to this end regulations for the maintenance of good order and for promoting the health of the crews were issued. The decks were roofed over with a wadding tilt, and every mode was adopted to shelter the crew from the snow and wind. They were also cleared, so as to afford room for the crews to walk when the severity of the weather might prevent them from taking exercise on shore.

A house was built for the reception of the clocks and mathematical instruments which had been brought out. This was erected with some labour, as the ground was so frozen as to be opened with difficulty. It was however at length so built and lined with moss, as to sustain a warm temperature at the severest part of the winter.

Attention was paid to adopt all useful regulations to promote the health of the crews, who at this time, with a few exceptions, were in as good health and spirits as when they quitted their native country. Stoves were erected, and stove pipes so placed, as to impart heat and convey the warm air between the decks. Beer was brewed of the essence of malt and hops, until the weather became so severe that the liquor would not ferment. Donkin's preserved meat, sour kroust, pickles, and vinegar was issued. Lime juice and sugar, mixed with water, was supplied to the men. Attention was paid to their clothing, and the men were daily mustered and examined by the proper officers. The bedding also, was regularly examined. The medical officers examined every

man at stated times, to observe if any appearances of an unhealthy character were manifested.

To prevent a state of inactivity, Capt. Parry proposed to the officers to establish a course of theatrical amusements ; which being readily acceded to, Lieutenant Beechey was appointed to superintend the performances, and on the 5th of November, the ships' crews were amused by a theatrical exhibition. A Newspaper was also established and published weekly under the conduct of one of the officers, to which they gave the Name of the North Georgia Gazette and Winter Chronicle. These various contrivances were adopted and pursued that the minds of the people might be occupied and diverted during the many dark and dreary months they had to remain frozen up in Winter Harbour.

Before the close of the month of October, the sea was completely frozen over, and presented to the eye one solid and compact field of unmoveable ice. They saw several rein deer, and a white bear pursued one of the crew to the ships, where some of the people fired at, and wounded him, but nevertheless he made his escape. On the 10th of October, a party went in pursuit of some rein deer ; and staying out until the night set in, considerable apprehension was excited on their behalf, and others were sent in search of them, and rockets fired to direct them the way. One man was found in that state of insensibility which excessive cold induces ; his hands were frost bitten, and probably he would have perished, but for the assistance of those sent in pursuit of them. His fingers were become stiff, and it was afterwards necessary to take off three of them. Some of the gentlemen who went on this party were so affected as to appear in a state of idiotcy ; but on being taken into the cabin and properly attended to, they soon recovered their useful faculties. In consequence of this circumstance, direction posts were erected on different high parts, pointing to the ships.

About the middle of October the snow, during a hard gale of wind, drifted with such force that it was found ne-

cessary to keep under the coverings erected, and to extend a line from ship to ship, and from the ships to the shed erected on the land, as the sight was interrupted by the accumulation of the snow. The deer about this time accumulated in considerable numbers, probably it being the time of their departure from these regions. Parties who went out afterwards with their guns to kill game, returned without discovering animals of any kind. The party had now about five hours of day-light, the remainder of the twenty four were marked by its absence. A peculiar sensation attended the touching of any metallic substance, tending to produce a kind of pain as when a person had passed his hand on heated iron.

In the beginning of November the sun took his departure for the winter months ; and to excite a spirit of activity, and present a means of exciting attention among the Crew, the force of Miss in her Teens was performed by different officers of the ships. The preparations necessary on the occasion occupied a few days of their time, and tended to their health and diversion ; these kind of amusements were afterwards repeated. Half the month of December had now passed away, and it was become exceedingly difficult to use some of the instruments ; for if on looking through the glasses any breath escaped from the mouth of the party, it became converted into a coat of ice on the glass. The vivid light of the Aurora Borealis was now constantly visiting them, and afforded most interesting subjects for their observation. The vinegar became frozen, the lemon juice, which had been carefully packed in bottles, froze, and the bottles burst. They had a few gallons of concentrated vinegar, which resisted the operation of the frost, at least it only assumed the consistency of lard.

One half the winter passed away and they approached the new year, without having experienced the tedium which such a lengthened period of darkness might have been ex-

pected to produce, and they felt surprised at the quickness with which the time had appeared to pass by.

To keep up the spirits of the crew by occupying their time, they were divided into four watches, and a daily course of duty required to be fulfilled; an inspection took place as to the state of their health, cleanliness, warmth of cloathing, and their general comfort; the sides of the ship were rubbed with dry cloths, to take off any humidity that might appear, and the decks and other parts were rubbed with hot sand. If any appearance of ice between decks, it was scraped off and carefully removed, and a pipe conveying hot air was placed in a direction to remove such dampness. Capt. Parry remarks that this inconvenience might to a great degree have been avoided, by a sufficient quantity of fuel to keep up two good fires on the lower deck, throughout the twenty-four hours; but the stock of coals would not permit this, considering the probability of their spending a second winter within the Arctic circle, and therefore was only allowed on a few occasions during the most severe part of the winter. When the weather permitted, they were sent on shore to walk or take exercise, and on other occasions they were required to run for a time round the deck, singing some tune or some one playing an organ. In the evening they were left to amuse themselves as they might feel inclined, and the officers spent their evening in musical pursuits, or in some game of amusement.

The Sundays appear to have been generally spent in much of a christian spirit. A regular course of duties were gone through, and the peculiar circumstances under which their religious services were performed impressed no small degree of seriousness and reverence on the occasion. On Christmas Day also divine service was performed and an additional allowance of grog and provisions issued to the men.

Symptoms of scurvy having made their appearance on Mr. Scallon, the gunner of the Hecla, Capt. Parry tried to raise sallads of mustard and cress in his cabin, in mould



placed along the side of the stove pipe, and he was so far successful as to generally procure a small crop on the sixth or seventh day. The use of these were so far successful on Mr. Scallon, that in a few days he found himself in a considerable state of convalescence.

On the fifteenth of January they saw a remarkable interesting display of the Aurora Borealis, forming a complete arch, and varying its lights in the most wonderful manner. During the whole time of their staying here, though these northern lights continually appeared, nothing bearing comparison with this was observed on any other occasion.

On the 3d of February the sun was seen for the first time this year, having not been visible since the 11th of November.

The weather was about this time more severely cold than at any other part of the season, and frequently frost bitten cases were brought under the surgeon's notice. Most of the cases were in the feet, which being at so great a distance from the center of circulation, were more likely to be affected. Whenever any cases did occur, it was with great slowness that a recovery proceeded, and in general it was with the loss of the toe-nail, or of the skin.

It was matter of very great interest to notice, at how great a distance sounds were heard. Conversation in the common tone of voice might be distinctly heard at the distance of a mile.

The increasing length of the day, and the presence of the sun, induced Capt. Parry to attempt opening the windows below deck. The *Hecla* had double windows in her stern, with an interval of about two feet between each window. It appeared that the vapour which had arisen from the stoves had become frozen between the two windows, so that more than a dozen baskets full of ice were removed in order to admit the light. The consequence of this however was, that the cabin became exceedingly cold, and it was impossible to sit there without being warmly wrapped up

An accident of a most serious nature took place on the 24th of February. The house erected on shore for the reception of the clocks and instruments, by some accident took fire. The crew at the time were on deck taking their usual exercise, so that a most ready attention was paid, and fortunately it was soon got under ; but the effort was accompanied with distressing circumstances of frost-bite to several of the crew. Almost every nose and cheek, manifested by their deadly whiteness, (while they were engaged in putting out the flames) the state in which they were, and the medical gentlemen, with assistants, were employed rubbing the parts with snow, so that no less than sixteen men were added to the sick list, in consequence of this accident, and with the loss of some of their fingers.

On the 19th of March, they concluded their theatrical performances with the Citizen, and the Mayor of Garratt. The theatre was now dismantled, and the enclosures removed to afford light to the officers cabins.

Their solicitude to proceed on the purposes of their voyage was now considerable. They had advanced to the middle of April ; the sun was seventeen hours out of the twenty-four above the horizon, yet still the cold was extremely severe, and a cloudy sky, and a white surface, both on land and sea, chilled every prospect. The health of the ships companies however daily improved as the season advanced, and all appeared in a convalescent state

The temperature of the air, by the end of April, became so much more mild, that the thermometer stood at the freezing point, and some of the crew seemed disposed to forego the use of some of their clothing, but were prevented by their superior officers. Their clothing, which had hitherto been washed and dried below deck by means of the stoves, was now exposed for this purpose to the open air. Under the apprehension that it might be needful, the provisions were reduced to two-thirds the usual allowance, which was submitted to by both officers and men without a murmur

In the middle of May, the crew proceeded to cut the ice from the sides of the ship. This was a cold and tedious performance, and occupied their attention for nine days. Towards the end of this month, they had a smart shower of rain, yet except in this instance, but little appearance of a thaw was manifest, and they were now approaching very near to the time of the sun's longest continuance among them. The Commander had resolved upon an excursion to Table Hill, and to make a circuit of the country. Every one offered to be of the party; but Capt. Parry thought proper to confine his number to eleven persons beside himself. A small cart was built to carry provisions, a cooking apparatus, and other necessary articles; and every one took a knapsack on his back, and necessary clothing. An additional party went with them the first day's journey; and in good spirits, they fixed their first encampment, and retired to their repose, each man having a warm blanket sewed up in the form of a bag. To avoid the injury which their eyes might sustain by the reflection of the sun from the snow, it was resolved to lay up for their repose in the middle of the day and to travel by night, if night it might be called when the sun was above the horizon the whole twenty-four hours. They continued their journey over Melville Island till they came within view of what appeared to them the frozen sea. To determine this, Capt. Parry, accompanied by three others of the party, set out to make a closer examination. On their getting nearer, they were satisfied by the cracks in the ice of the same nature as those which occurred at Winter Harbour, that these cracks were occasioned by the rise and fall of the tide. To determine this point however more satisfactorily, they went a few hundred yards on the ice, and attempted to make an opening with a pickaxe; but after digging about two feet into the ice without obtaining an opening, they resolved to return to the party, and procure more assistance. They returned therefore to their companions, and the next morning proceeded with the whole party, and renewed their attempt to

dig through the ice. After several hours labour the people at length came to water, having dug into the ice to the depth of nearly fifteen feet. The water rose to nearly within a foot and a half of the surface, and on tasting it it was manifestly the sea water. They met with a few ducks in this neighbourhood, and killed one. At this place they erected a monument of stones, twelve feet broad at the base, and placed under it a tin case containing an account of the party.

Having proceeded to the northern extremity of Melville Island, they continued their journey in a different direction. About seven in the morning they halted, and were preparing for repose, when it was discovered that a knapsack belonging to Mr. Reid had fallen off the cart in their journey. He set out to look for it, but did not return till eleven o'clock, when he appeared so severely affected by snow-blindness, as to be scarcely able to see his way, so great was the glare of the snow, when the sun shone most powerful upon it.

On the 11th of June, they met with so rough a road, formed of large blocks of sandstone of all sizes, as occasioned the axle-tree of the cart in which they had carried their baggage to break. As it was now become useless, they pitched their tents, made a fire of the wood, and having shot a few ptarmigans, made a sumptuous meal compared with their usual fare. Hitherto they had lived mostly on preserved meats, which in general they found hard frozen, when taken out of their canisters.

It became necessary, in consequence of the breaking of the cart, that the baggage should be carried on the people's shoulders. It was accordingly distributed in regular proportions, the weight of the officers knapsacks being a few pounds lighter than those of the men.

Having proceeded in a southerly direction, for several miles, over ice, they began to suspect that they were crossing a gulph of the sea; and Capt. Parry, desirous of satisfying himself, was proceeding to dig through the ice,

when one of the seamen, going to a pool of water on the floe, that he might drink, stated that the water was salt, and thus satisfied his wishes without farther trouble. After this he ascended an eminence and obtained a distinct view of the entrance into it, and named it Liddon's Gulph, after the name of the commanding officer of the Griper.

As the party were now drawing near Winter Harbour, they resolved to enjoy a day's sporting. They accordingly went out in parties early in the morning, and soon saw a musk ox feeding in an excellent pasture, and where from its appearance, many more of its kind, as well as deer, had been lately feeding. On firing at him, the distance was so great that the shot either missed him, or did not penetrate. He set off however at a rapid rate over the hills, and they saw him no more. They found a small herd of deer, some brent-geese, and ptarmigans, but did not profit much from their excursion. They discovered the remains of some Esquimaux huts: The moss was spread over the floors, and appeared to be the growth of three or four years. As they drew near the ships, they were met by almost every officer and seaman of the ships, who most heartily welcomed their return, and expressed their peculiar joy to perceive, as they said, that every one of the party appeared to look in better health than when they set out on their departure just a fortnight preceding.

During the absence of the party in the preceding excursion, Lieutenant Liddon and the officer left in command of the Hecla, had been diligently occupied in making preparations for the departure of the ships, as soon as the weather should permit. A great quantity of ballast had been taken into each ship, to supply the deficiencies which had been occasioned by the consumption of coals, during the time they had been frozen into their present situation. A survey had been made of the various stores and provisions, and excepting the lemon-juice and vinegar noticed before, all was found to be satisfactory. Indeed almost the

whole appeared to be in as excellent a state of preservation, as when taken on board at the time of their sailing from England.

The snow continued to melt very fast, and a great change was manifest in the ice; it being covered with reservoirs or basons of water, as the thaw proceeded.

Flocks of ducks and geese, as well as deer and other birds, and animals, now continually made their appearance; and Capt. Parry being desirous to procure as large a supply as possible for both ships, from which these creatures kept at a considerable distance, directed a party from each ship to go out to the distance of several miles, and to remain there for a few days in order that they might have the better opportunity of success. Accordingly they set out, headed by Lieutenants Beechy and Hoppner, taking tents, blankets, fuel, and the regular allowance of provisions to each man. By this means they obtained a seasonable supply of provisions, and the change of diet was highly gratifying to every man on board after having lived on such provisions as the ship afforded for so many months.

The face of the country also presented a general state of vegetation. Sorrel was gathered in considerable quantities, some of the men being regularly sent out to pick it. The leaves were served out to the messes both of officers and men, and eaten as sallads or boiled as greens, or made into puddings. So abundantly were the ships thus supplied, that their beneficial effects were quickly manifested in the healthy appearance of the crews.

On the 27th of June a seaman named William Scott, and who had been on the sick list for about two months, died. The first symptoms were fever and an inflammation of the lungs. Strong symptoms of scurvy were afterwards manifest, and a treatment consistent with the various appearances which presented themselves was pursued by the medical officer. A state of stupor afterwards followed, which was succeeded by delirium. After a time this ex-

citement subsided ; but a relapse shortly followed which carried him off. At the request of the surgeon, Captain Parry suffered the body to be opened ; but it appeared afterwards that the great obstacle to his recovery, and which could not but counteract all systematic efforts, was an unfortunate propensity to liquor, which he gratified by illicit bartering with others of the crew. This event, in a voyage undertaken and pursued under circumstances so different from all former voyages, in what had been considered an uninhabitable climate during the winter months, exposed to such a variety of circumstances tending to cause disease and death, can be considered only as remarkable, that it should stand alone, and be the only instance of the fatal power of disease among the crew. On the following Sunday, after divine service had been performed, the body of the deceased was deposited in a grave made for its reception a short distance from the beach. The ensigns and pendants were lowered half mast during the procession to the grave, which consisted of the whole crew, both officers and men. The whole was solemn and impressive, and conducted with great decorum. A tomb stone was placed at the head of the grave, with an inscription stating the circumstance.

In the beginning of July an herd of deer being observed, a party were dispatched in pursuit of them ; but the openness of the country, giving the people no opportunity of approaching them unperceived, the whole of them escaped. The thaw was now become very rapid. Currents of water were pouring down the hills from the melting of the snow. Pools of water were every where forming on the ice from the thaw. Much rain also fell, which increased the number and depths of the holes in the ice, which now approached to that state of rottenness as to make it dangerous to walk across the pools. Boats were able to pass by means of these pools from ship to ship and also from the ships to the land. All the preparations necessary for their departure

were now completed. The thermometer now generally stood at from 55 to 60° and the most pleasant sensations were excited in all at the comfortable alteration of the temperature of the weather. The enjoyments of a pleasant walk, a plentiful supply of good living from the hunting parties, and the abundance of sorrel supplied now for every meal, presented such a scene of enjoyment as was most cheering so far as regarded all their temporal comfort; but the month of July was so far advanced, that they began to be apprehensive there would be no time for active operations as to the main object of their enterprize, as winter would be soon again setting in, for the great body of ice had not yet broken up so as to make sea room for the ships.

About the 20th, during a strong breeze, the ice round the ships separated so as to leave them completely free; no appearance however presented itself of any disruption or opening of the ice out at sea, so as to afford a prospect of their escaping from their present situation. Some few hummocks of ice were pressed up round the beach, and the moving of these bodies as the wind or tide varied, put the ships sometimes into considerable peril. A large portion of the ice was detached on the 30th from the main body so as to leave a greater extent of clear water round the ships and the whole body of ice in the harbour appeared to be moving, but the mouth of the harbour remained as yet one body of ice. During the nights the cold now was manifest and the pools of water which were on the ice became on these occasions slightly frozen over. The following day the wind blowing fresh, and every appearance, by the driving of the ice, indicating that they would find an opening, Capt. Parry directed every thing that remained on shore to be embarked and prepared for sailing. On the first of August the ships weighed, and the ice moving, they sailed out of Winter Harbour, after having been frozen in upwards of ten months, having passed part of the September of the



year 1819 and quitting it in the month of August in the year 1820.

As the season of the year was so far advanced, they could not but feel anxious to make the best use of the little summer which remained for the purpose of pursuing further discoveries. The heavy masses of ice which every where presented themselves and the small appearances of open sea were very discouraging ; but Capt. Parry resolved to use every effort in pushing to the westward. It required every exertion and the most quick judgment and decision to avoid being crushed by the large floes and hummocks of ice which were passing or repassing as the wind or tide changed. The Griper on different days was lifted two feet out of the water.

Capt. Parry took repeated observations on the high land, as he sailed to the westward round Melville Island, but could discover no clear way for the ships to move. The Hecla was often obliged to unship her rudder and to use prompt efforts to avoid the masses of ice, and was notwithstanding nipped or severely pressed in more than one instance. The Griper was twisted so as to make her crack a great deal. So truly alarming were the circumstances, that Lieutenant Liddon landed all the journals and documents of importance, and made every arrangement for saving the stores and provisions, as he now began to be apprehensive of shipwreck. Capt. Parry at this time also felt almost equally apprehensive for the fate of the Hecla, as she was so closely surrounded by loose ice, that a slight pressure of so weighty a body towards the shore would have produced most distressing consequences. In the night, the ice gave the Hecla a heel of eighteen inches towards the shore, but it did not appear to do her any material injury. They were at length relieved from farther apprehensions at this time by the ice gradually receding from the shore, in consequence of a fresh breeze springing up.

On the 16th, it being a fine day, Capt. Parry with some

of the officers landed, and made an excursion to the westward, along the high part of the land next the sea, with a view to ascertain the possibility of finding a passage that way. They found a channel of open water between the land and the ice, extending as far as a headland, to which they gave the name of Cape Dundas; but beyond this, to the westward, all appeared one solid body of ice. Captain Parry, therefore, determined to attempt no longer sailing in this direction, but to make trial of a more southern latitude, in which he flattered himself his efforts would be attended with success. Cape Dundas, which was the most westernmost point of the Polar Sea, which they made, is in latitude  $74^{\circ} 2'$ , and in longitude  $113^{\circ} 57'$ . The length of Melville Island, which for so many months had been the scene of their residence, was about one hundred and thirty-five miles, and its breadth from forty to fifty miles.

On the return of the party to the ships, they made sail to the eastward. A vigilant watch was directed to be made for any opening which might present itself. After sailing a few miles, the *Hecla* was secured for the night in a kind of harbour formed by large masses of ice, which, while it afforded the best security to be obtained, was not a little terrific in its appearance, as on the opposite side masses of ice were accumulated which leaned so much towards the ship, as to give the idea that they might fall upon it. The *Griper* was made fast near the beach, in a more open situation, and her rudder unshipped, in case she should be assailed by the ice. In efforts to proceed, amidst all the difficulties which these frozen seas presented, the succeeding days were spent. The large floes of ice which were sailing about, often drew more water than the ships, and they received some severe shocks from them. The new ice which formed every night, the situation in which the ships were placed, the shortness of the remaining part of the season, and the extent of their resources in provisions and necessary articles, required now the most serious con-

sideration, in reference to the accomplishment of the purposes of the voyage, and the health and safety of the people. In a fortnight they would arrive at that period when it was considered no efforts to navigate the Polar Sea was practicable.—The distance to Icy Cape was eight or nine hundred miles, and all their efforts this season had not taken them the distance of one hundred miles in the desired direction. Indeed, they had experienced such a series of difficulties and delays, and the ships had been in such repeated states of danger, that Captain Parry considered himself, under all circumstances, no longer justified in his attempt to proceed in discovery

The ships were still in good condition—the health of the whole crew was as good, or nearly so, as when they quitted England ;—but the loss of the lemon juice, which was considered as so powerful an antiscorbutic ; the inconvenience of crowding so many persons within the narrow limits which the ships afforded, which prevented the keeping the ships in a dry and healthy state ; these, with other reasons, induced Captain Parry to submit a specific question to the officers, calling upon them to take into consideration all the circumstances, and after well reflecting on the whole, to give him their opinion, as to the propriety of pursuing further the specific object of their voyage.

After due consideration, the officers gave in their opinion to Captain Parry, in which they unanimously agreed with him as to the futility of any further attempts at exploring the sea to the westward ; and agreeing in opinion also with him that it would be better to run to the eastward, and endeavour to find an opening which might lead towards the American continent ; and that after a reasonable time failing to find such passage, it would be more expedient to return to England, than to risk the passing another winter in these seas, from whence it did not appear that they would derive any peculiar advantage, as to starting early at the commencement of the ensuing season

On the 27th of August they passed the east end of Melville Island. The navigable channel now increased as they sailed to the eastward, so that it became not less than ten miles wide. A constant look-out was had from the crow's-nest for an opening to the southward, but without any success. During a thick fog they kept the ships as close to the ice as possible, that they might not miss any opening to the southward. In the evening of this day they were near to the same spot as they had been on the same day of the preceding year; and to add to the peculiarity of the circumstance, were reduced to the same necessity of steering the ships by each other, the Griper keeping the Hecla ahead, and the Hecla keeping the Griper directly astern, having no better means of knowing in what direction the ships were sailing.

The ships having traced the ice, with a view to discover an opening to the southward, from the longitude of  $114^{\circ}$  to that of  $90^{\circ}$ , without effect, Captain Parry felt it to be his duty to return to England. In consequence of this resolution, by which there was no necessity to make such a reserve of provisions or fuel, as would have been the case, had they proceeded in an attempt at further discovery, they were put upon full allowance of food, and such an issue of coals as might contribute to their comfort. For near eleven months they had been on an allowance of two-thirds of bread and other provisions, and only a partial supply of coals; and this during a severity of weather that particularly needed every comfort, both of nourishment and warmth; an order to the effect above alluded to, could not therefore but be received with the most heart-cheering satisfaction.

On the 30th of August, having a westerly breeze, the ships advanced through the strait, with a view to run out of Lancaster Sound, it being the determination of Captain Parry, in his return, to make a general survey of the western coast of Baffin's Bay, conceiving that it might be

an important advantage to Whalers on this station. It might also be possible to find some outlet into the Polar Sea in a lower latitude than that of Sir James Lancaster's Sound, a circumstance which would be of infinite importance in any further attempts at the discovery of the north-west passage.

On the 3d of September, being in latitude  $71^{\circ} 24'$ , they passed some of the highest icebergs they had ever seen, one of them being nearly two hundred feet above the sea. Landing on the beach at a place named Pond's Bay, they found several ponds of water, and Mr. Hoppner saw two large flocks of geese. They met also with the tracks of deer, bears, wolves, and foxes. Upon the beach they found part of the bone of a whale, which had been cut at one end; they also found a quantity of chips lying about it, by which it was manifest that these parts had been visited recently by some of the Esquimaux; indeed, Captain Parry surmised that some of these people were resident in the vicinity, but his time did not admit of his seeking to find them. The latitude was  $71^{\circ} 15'$ .

On the 4th of September they were most agreeably surprised with seeing, from the mast head, a ship, and soon afterwards two others. They soon perceived that they were whalers; but they lost sight of them during the ensuing night.—They came in sight of these and other whalers again on the 5th, and learned from Mr. Williamson, the master of the ship *Lee*, of Hull, of the death of King George the Third, and also of the Duke of Kent.—Mr. Williamson also told them he had met with some Esquimaux in the inlet called the river Clyde, when he was in these seas in the year 1818; and Captain Parry being desirous to have some communication with them, and also to examine the inlet more minutely, made up a packet of dispatches and letters, and sent on board the *Lee*, and then made sail for the inlet, and made for that part where they were directed to look for the Esquimaux huts. Night came

on, however, before they could discover them, and the weather the next day being very thick with snow, did not permit their standing in for the land. Here they found themselves near an immense iceberg, which they recognised to be the same, from its shape and dimensions, as they had met with in September 1818, and measured upwards of two miles in length. It was aground in the very same spot as when then noticed.

In the evening, being near one of the islands situated in this inlet, they saw some canoes paddling towards the ships. They came along side with the greatest confidence, and made signs to have their canoes taken on board, and then came up the ships side without manifesting any apprehension.—The party consisted of four persons, an old man of about sixty, and three young men. They manifested their astonishment and delight by much noise, and a variety of gestures. If a present was made to either of them, or any thing they saw excited particular attention, their satisfaction was expressed by a bawling noise, until they became almost hoarse, and at the same time jumping and dancing till their strength was nearly exhausted.

They were afterwards taken below deck, although at first some of the younger ones seemed reluctant to descend; but the old man leading the way, the others then followed, with the utmost readiness. Lieutenant Beechey being desirous of taking a likeness of the old man, he was requested to seat himself in a position for that purpose; and notwithstanding a variety of circumstances tending to arrest his attention, and to excite emotion, he remained in his position for an hour. They bartered their clothes, spears, and whalebone, with our people, for knives, and other articles, and appeared to act with honesty in these exchanges, exercising a seeming reflection, as to whether the articles were equivalent in value to those sought to be purchased from them. There appeared to be a becoming diffidence in

the younger persons, these modestly keeping behind, and by that means at first missing some presents, which those who stood more forward received. As the evening closed, they were desirous of returning on shore. One of the party having bartered his canoe with Captain Parry, he was sent on shore in one of the boats, because their canoes were calculated to hold only one person in each. Mr. Palmer, who went with the boat to the shore, stated that, if disposed, their canoes could outrun the boat. These Esquimaux appeared very ready in imitating sounds, and took great delight in using any words which they noticed as expressed by our people.

Mr. Bell, a part owner of the ship *Friendship*, of Hull, went on board the *Hecla* this evening, offering any assistance he could render them. From this interview they obtained a statement of a number of interesting events which had taken place in Europe in the course of the seventeen months which they had been absent from their native country.

On the 7th a breeze springing up, they made sail further up the inlet. The weather was cloudy, but there being an eclipse of the sun, Captain Parry and Captain Sabine landed on an island near, in order to make observations. By the time however that they were prepared with their glasses the eclipse was at an end. However soon after they landed two of the Esquimaux, the old man and one of his young companions, paddled over to them from the main land. They had with them some seal-skins, dresses and whale-bone ; but in trading they were cautious to produce only one article at a time, leaving the remainder in their canoes till they had disposed of the one they brought. Thus they continued to proceed in a fair and honest system of barter until the whole stock of articles they had brought with them was expended. While Captains Parry and Sabine were engaged on shore, a boat landed from the *Griper* with Lieutenant Hoppner and a party. Desirous of taking a

likeness of the young man, Lieutenant Hoppner with some difficulty and by means of presents, prevailed on him to be seated for that purpose. The inclination so predominant in the youth to jump and dance about was not easily restrained, though in the whole of his conduct the utmost good nature was manifest. Indeed after he was liberated from the necessity of this confined position, he shewed his good will by taking the seamens knives and sharpening them on any smooth stone he met with, returning to each individual his own knife.

On shewing them a looking glass, the younger one jumped about in raptures for a considerable time. But the attention of the old man having been previously attracted to the opening of one of the tin canisters with preserved meat for dinner, by driving an axe with a mallet in order to split it open, after one look at the glass, his attention became re-fixed to the operation of opening the canister ; and when this had been effected, solicited to be put in possession of the mallet which had effected so useful an end in his estimation.

Great caution was requisite in getting into their canoes to keep them from turning over. The young man launched the canoe of his aged companion, and kept it steady while the old man took his seat, and then with much caution got into his own and they both paddled from the shore, accompanying the boats, which had quitted the island and were making for a point of land where some Exquimaux families had fixed their tents. No sooner did the party come within sight of the tents, than all were in motion. Men, women and children all ran out to meet them with expressions of joy, at seeing them. Some of the women had their infants tied to their backs, much after the same manner in which gypsies carry their infants in England.

A trade in barter soon commenced between the different parties, and knives, axes, brass kettles, needles, and other useful articles, were exchanged with them. Presents were



also made to them, and the females were very importunate in endeavouring to obtain what they wanted.—*Pilletay, pilletay*, was noised around, which signified, *Give me, give me*, until the ship's party had disposed of all they had to give. There did not appear, however, the slightest disposition to dishonesty, but a strict regard was paid to fulfil a bargain when made. Captain Parry being desirous of purchasing a sledge, applied to one of them, to whom he supposed it belonged; and although that person might have obtained the value of it, and then have left the Captain under this deception, he distinctly gave him, by signs, to understand that the sledge belonged to another person, to whom he pointed, and with whom the Captain soon completed the purchase. It was observed, that whenever they purchased any article, or received any thing as a present, they licked it twice with their tongue.

In another instance a gentleman belonging to the Griper being desirous of purchasing one of their dogs, the bargain was made for an axe, which was delivered into the hands of one of the women; she had then to go and catch the dog, which she readily and faithfully did, bringing one of the finest that they had. Captain Parry endeavoured to bargain with this woman for a second canoe, but no price that was offered could induce her to part with it.

These Esquimaux were of low stature, like the Esquimaux in general. Their faces were round and plump, with a smooth skin, small eyes, teeth white, sallow complexion, broad nose, hair strait and black, and their hands and feet remarkably small. All the women, except the younger, were tattooed upon the face. The countenances of the younger females were upon the whole pleasing, and the youngest, who seemed to be the only one unmarried, manifested much natural bashfulness and timidity. There were several children, who at first appeared alarmed, but they were soon brought into a state of familiarity by a few presents and a little attention.

The dress of these people was made of seal-skin, consisting of a jacket with a kind of hood, with breeches, and boots. There was but little difference between the dress of the men and the women, and upon the whole they were well and comfortably clothed for such a climate.

The tents which form their summer habitations, are supported by a long pole of whalebone, fourteen feet high, rising a few feet above the skins which form the roof and sides. The length of the tents is about seventeen feet, and the breadth from seven to nine feet. The beds were formed of small shrubby plants. The door was formed of two pieces of bone, fastened together at the top; and the skins were placed so as to overlap each other. The outer covering was fastened to the ground by curved pieces of bone, commonly of the whale.

The canoe purchased by Captain Parry, was one of the best to be seen among these people; its length was nearly seventeen feet, and its breadth rather more than two feet. Two feet of the fore end are out of the water when it is floating. In many respects it was formed like the canoe of the Greenlanders. The timbers, or ribs, were five or six inches apart, and were of whalebone or driftwood, and covered with the skins of seals, or of the sea-horse; and great care was taken to keep them dry, and to prevent their rotting, whenever they were not used.

They use spears or darts in killing seals, and other sea animals. These consist of two parts, a staff, and the spear itself. They are exceedingly expert in throwing the spear, and will strike an object at a considerable distance. While the ship's people were on the island before alluded to, and which Captain Parry named Observation Island, a small bird flying past, one of the Esquimaux indicated, by signs, that he could kill it, although it did not appear that they had any bows or arrows about their tents, except a small one, made of whalebone, about six inches long, and which

seemed rather as a toy to please their children, than capable of being employed to any useful purpose.

Captain Parry saw but one sledge, which appeared to be composed of the right and left jawbones of a young whale, being about ten feet long, and about nineteen inches apart, connected by parallel pieces made of the ribs of the whale, and secured by whalebones so as to form the bottom of the sledge. The lower part was shod with bone to meet the friction which must rise on its motion. The whole was very rudely made.

These people had a great number of dogs, which appeared very wild and shy, and the natives had some difficulty in catching them, and of keeping them under controul when caught. They appeared most ravenous creatures, devouring their food with the greatest greediness, swallowing the feathers and every part of any bird which might be thrown to them. One of these dogs, which was purchased by Captain Parry, although regularly fed when brought on board, eat with the greatest avidity a large piece of canvass, a cotton handkerchief, and part of a check shirt. Indeed it was understood that they will so gorge their food as often to occasion their death.

Their mode of cooking their food appeared to be most filthy. A large mess of sea-horse flesh, not cleaned from the blood, was put into a stone vessel and suspended over a lamp. The meat in itself did not look so forbidding; but the filthy manner in which it was cooked rendered it most disgusting.

Their knives were made of the tusks of the walrus, cut or ground sufficiently for the purpose, having the original curve, so as to resemble the swords which children have as toys in England. From the few tools which were among them, to accomplish this must have been a work of great labour and patience.

A drawing of the musk-ox was shewn to them in order to ascertain if they had any knowledge of this animal. The smallness of the figure not corresponding with the original

size, they did not appear readily to understand it, but when the real head and horns were shewn to them, they manifested their knowledge of the creature, calling it *oomingmack*.

Mr. Fisher, in sounding part of Observation Island, met with the winter huts of these people, which consisted of excavations in a bank about two miles distant from their tents. Great store of provisions in sea-horses and seals were also found concealed under stones along the shore, so that it should seem that there was no lack of the means of subsistence among them.

The whole of these Esquimaux looked healthy, and were free from disease. It is pleasing also to record that in no instance did any of them manifest a disposition to dishonesty. In this feature of their character, they would put to shame thousands of the more enlightened and (as such would call themselves) the more civilized inhabitants of our own country.

On taking leave of this party, they watched the boat for a few hundred yards and then quietly returned to their tents.

On the 9th of September, the ships came in view of a spacious bay, the width of the entrance of which was not less than fifteen leagues. They found, on examining it, a considerable number of islands, and perceived land nearly round the whole of the Bay. Captain Parry however having resolved to seek for a passage in a lower latitude, did not examine it with that close attention to enable him to determine the fact, and he suggests the probability of some outlet being found from this bay into the Polar Sea. Under this determination he crossed to the southern shore, and took advantage of a breeze which sprung up to proceed. They found the ships however so much beset with ice, that the *Hecla* was soon stopped altogether. On the 12th of September they were in latitude  $68^{\circ} 15'$ , and longitude  $65^{\circ} 48'$ . In the night the *Aurora Borealis* were remarkably striking and picturesque; the various streaks of light pass-

ing with the greatest rapidity from one part of the heavens to the other.

The ships continued using every effort to discover a passage in a more southern latitude until the 26th, being often so beset with ice as to make their sailing exceedingly dangerous. At length Captain Parry came to the conclusion that the season was too far advanced to expect any useful results from any further efforts, and determined to make the best of their way for England. The boats were therefore hoisted in, and preparations made for their return home.

In taking a review of the efforts which had been made in this voyage to discover a NW passage, accompanied with observations on the efforts of others, Captain Parry suggests the propriety of trying a lower latitude, along the shore of Hudson's Strait, which he says has as yet been but little explored.

That commerce has derived great advantage from these efforts he asserts; for that the whalers, since the year 1818, have proceeded to occupy stations on the coast of Baffin's Bay, where fish have been found in much greater abundance than on the coast of Greenland.

Speaking of the conduct of the persons engaged in the whale fishery, Captain Parry says, " Nothing can exceed the bold and enterprising spirit displayed by our fishermen in the capture of the whale. At whatever time of night or day, a whale is announced by the look-out man in the crow's nest, the men instantly jump into the boats, frequently with their clothes in their hands, and with an alacrity scarcely equalled even in the most highly disciplined fleet, push on in pursuit of the whale, regardless of cold, and wet, and hunger, for hours, and sometimes for days together. Nor is it solely on occasions where their immediate interest is concerned, that this activity is displayed by them. It happened, on the voyage of 1818, that in endeavouring to pass between the land and a body of ice, which was rapidly closing the shore, the *Alexander*, then under my command,

touched the ground just at the critical moment when it was necessary to push through the narrow and uncertain passage. It being nearly calm, the boats were sent a-head to tow, but the little way which they could give the ship, was not sufficient to have rescued us in time from approaching danger, and nothing less than the wreck of the ship was every moment to be expected. Several sail of whalers were following astern; but seeing the dangerous situation in which the *Alexander* was placed, and the impossibility of getting through themselves, they instantly put about into the clear water which we had just left, and before we had time to ask for assistance, no less than fourteen boats, many of them with the masters of the ships themselves attending in them, placed themselves promptly a-head of the *Alexander*, and by dint of the greatest exertion towed her off into clear water, at the rate of three or four miles an hour, not one minute too soon to prevent the catastrophe we had anticipated."

Captain Parry continues his observations on the eligibility of Baffin's Bay as a point where the whale fishery may be pursued with great success, and suggests the proper time in his view for commencing the fishery season. On passing Cape Farewell, they met with a heavy gale of wind on the first and second of October. On the latter day a heavy sea struck the *Hecla* on the larboard quarter, which rendered it necessary to press her forward under more canvass. By this circumstance she lost sight of the *Griper*, and did not meet with her again till they arrived in England. They had in their passage across the Atlantic, the most vivid appearances of the *Aurora Borealis* exhibiting a brightness equal to that of the moon.

On the 16th, the sea running high and the ship pitching violently, the bowsprit was carried away, and the foremast and maintopmast very quickly followed. The main mast at one time appeared in great danger; but by the activity of the officers and men it was saved. They got up jurr-

masts with all possible dispatch, and proceeded on their way. Captain Parry had appointed Lieutenant Liddon in case of separation, to meet at Lerwick in the Shetland Islands, and to remain a week for his arrival, but on the 28th, the wind being fresh from the northward, he resolved to proceed to Leith. On the 30th, Captain Parry landed at Peterhead, and accompanied by Captain Sabine set out for London, where they arrived on the morning of the third of November 1820.

Such were the excellent methods pursued in this voyage, with reference to the health and comfort of the whole crew, that the Captain had the happiness of seeing every officer and man of both ships, consisting of ninety-four persons with the exception of one only, return to their native country as well in health as on quitting England eighteen months preceding.

In concluding the history of this voyage, it cannot but be remarked, that the perseverance and steadiness of purpose manifested by Captain Parry, are deserving the highest praise, and that all that human effort could accomplish was effected by him. His second Voyage presents a variety of new incidents, which will be highly gratifying to every reader.

THE  
SECOND VOYAGE  
OF  
CAPTAIN PARRY.

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THE information which was obtained by the first voyage, under the direction of Captain Parry, to discover a NW passage through the Arctic Sea into the Pacific, afforded such reasons to scientific and informed men that there certainly was a way open in some direction, favourable to its ultimate success, as induced the government, in the succeeding year, to fit out a new expedition for the very same purpose. The Hecla having been found so well fitted for the purpose, was again put into commission; and the Fury, a vessel of the same description and size of the Hecla, was also appointed to this service. Captain Parry was appointed to the command of the Expedition, and received his commission for his Majesty's ship Fury, of three hundred and seventy-seven tons burthen, on the thirtieth of December 1820. The Hecla was re-commissioned by Captain George Francis Lyon, on the fourth of January following.

The officers who had accompanied Captain Parry in his former expedition, who were desirous of entering on this service, had the preference given to them, and such of the crews as went on the former voyage, were preferred, so far as they were considered fit for the service. The Reverend George Fisher was appointed astronomer, at the recom-



mendation of the President and Council of the Royal Society, and who also was to act as chaplain to the expedition.

The ships were strengthened by every means which could be devised, to enable them to sustain the rough seas they were expected to encounter. The ships being of equal size, the foremasts and main masts, as well as other timbers of each ship, were exactly the same in size, so as to readily fit either vessel in case repairs should be required or any accident take place. It had on former occasions been the usual custom to fit out one of the vessels of lesser burthen, that she might be able to go into shoaler water in circumstances of necessity; but Captain Parry remarks that all such purposes are much better answered by boats, which can be equipped and dispatched on such emergencies in a few minutes, so that he gives a decided preference to the mode adopted on the present occasion. The voyage now about to be described gave evidence of the great utility of this regulation in the article of anchors; indeed it increased their resources in this respect by the possibility of every article being rendered useful.

A thick lining of cork was applied round the ships sides and on the under part of the upper decks, fore and aft. Shutters of cork were also made for every window or other place, so as to surround these parts of the ships which were occupied by the people and to retain the warmth excited by the fires. A method was also adopted to convey a current of warm air into the several apartments by means of flues.

A vessel or reservoir was also contrived, so that the smoke which arose from the galley-fire, and which was principally used for cooking, should so pass round the vessel as to melt the snow which might be thrown into it from the upper deck, and thus supply a quantity of water for the use of the ship. It was found fully to answer all the needful consumption.

Hammocks were also placed for the men, and cots for

the officers, so as to afford a free circulation of warm air. Every thing relative to victualling the ships, which the experience of the former voyage suggested might be improved, was also adopted. Preserved meat in tin cases to the amount of two pounds a week, and a quart of vegetable or concentrated-meat soup per man for a period of three years. The spirits were at thirty-five per cent. above proof. A quantity of kiln-dried flour of the best quality, was laid in, to be baked into bread. A great part of the fore hold was formed into bins or bread-rooms. The vinegar was concentrated to one-seventh of the usual bulk. The lemon-juice was stowed in kegs charred within, and not quite filled, and of strength to resist expansion in case of freezing, and a small quantity of rum filled into each keg. A large quantity of other vegetables were also provided, so as to form an abundant supply for three years consumption.

To assist them to carry such an abundant supply of stores, the Nautilus transport was directed by the Commissioners of the Navy Board, to take part of their lading as far as the margin of the ice ; some extra stores were also put into the transport, among which were twenty live bullocks.

The following official instructions were issued by the Lords of the Admiralty to Captain Parry.

*By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c.*

LORD Viscount Melville having communicated to the King the proceedings of the late Expedition into the Arctic Seas, and His Majesty having been graciously pleased to express his commands that a further Expedition should be fitted out, for the purpose of renewing the attempt to discover a passage by sea between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and of ascertaining the geography of the North-

ern boundaries of the American Continent, we have thought proper to appoint you to the command of the Expedition; and you are hereby required and directed to put to sea in His Majesty's ship *Fury* under your command, together with His Majesty's ship *Hecla*, whose commander has been placed under your orders, and taking also with you the *Nautilus* Transport, which we have directed the Navy Board to place at your disposal, (for the purpose of carrying a proportion of your provisions and stores across the Atlantic and Davis' Strait.) you are to proceed as quickly as may be consistent with every precaution to avoid any risk of your parting company from either the one ship or the other, towards, or into, Hudson's Strait, until you shall meet with the ice, when you are to take the first favourable opportunity of clearing the *Nautilus* Transport of the provisions and stores she is charged with for the *Fury* and *Hecla*; and having so done, you are to send the said transport back to England, so as to prevent her incurring any risk of receiving injury amongst the ice, reporting by that opportunity your proceedings to our Secretary for our information.

After having so cleared and dispatched the Transport, you are, with the two ships of His Majesty under your orders, to penetrate to the westward through Hudson's Strait, until you reach, either in Repulse Bay or on other part of the shores of Hudson's Bay, or to the north of Wager River, some part of the coast which you may feel convinced to be a portion of the *Continent* of America. You are then to keep along the line of this coast to the northward, always examining every bend or inlet which may appear to you likely to afford a practicable passage to the westward, in which direction it is the principal object of your voyage to endeavour to find your way from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean.

**In the event of your having consumed the open weather**

in the examination of the northern boundaries of Hudson's or Cumberland Straits, and of your having, at the close of the season, returned into Davis' Strait or Baffins Bay, or if you should have made no considerable progress to the westward or northward in any inlet you may have found, it will be for you to consider, under all the circumstances of the case, whether it may not be expedient that you should return to England to replenish, refit, and refresh, rather than winter on a part of the coast which you might reach again next season as early as would be necessary for prosecuting your further inquiries. The judgment which you have shewn in the conduct of the late Expedition, and the experience which you have acquired, induce us to trust this point to your own discretion, on a view of all the different circumstances which may exist at the time when your determination is to be formed.

Should you be so successful as to find a practicable passage from the one sea to the other, you are to make the best of your way in accomplishing that object, without stopping to examine the north coast of America, or for any other object not of imperious importance; but when the ships are checked in their progress by ice, or other unavoidable circumstances, you will take every opportunity of examining the coasts you may be near, and making all useful observations relating thereto.

Should you happily reach the Pacific, you are to proceed to Kamschatka, (if you think you can do so without risk of being shut up by the ice on that coast,) for the purpose of delivering to the Russian governor duplicates of the journals and other documents which the passage may have supplied, with a request that they may be forwarded over land to St. Petersburg, to be conveyed from thence to London.

From Kamschatka you will proceed to the Sandwich Islands, or Canton, or such other place as you may think proper, to refit the ships and refresh the crews; and if during your stay at such place a safe opportunity should

occur of sending papers to England, you should send duplicates by such conveyance. And after having refitted and refreshed, you are to lose no time in returning to England by such route as you may deem most convenient.

It may happen that your progress along the north coast of the American Continent may be so slow as to render it desirable that, if you should not be able to accomplish your passage into the Pacific earlier than the Autumn of 1824, you should be assured of finding a depôt of provisions at that period in the most advanced situation to which they can safely be conveyed. In the event then of our not receiving from you such intelligence as may render the measure unnecessary, we shall, about the close of the year 1823, direct the Commander-in-chief on the South American station to dispatch a vessel with a supply of provisions and stores, so as to be at Behring's Strait about August or September, 1824. The commander of this vessel will be directed to make the best of his way round Cape Prince of Wales, where he may expect, as we are informed, to find an inlet in latitude  $68^{\circ} 30'$ , in which Captain Kotzebue is stated to have found anchorage a few years since. He will be directed to lie in that anchorage, or in the nearest good anchorage he may find to that latitude; and he will be ordered to erect, in the most prominent and visible situation, a flagstaff for your direction. As it is possible that you may touch at the Sandwich Islands, this Officer will be directed to call at Owhyhee, in order that if you should have passed to the southward, he may not be put to the inconvenience of going on to Cape Prince of Wales.

Whenever the season shall be so far advanced as to make it unsafe to navigate the ships, on account of the long nights having set in, and the sea being impassable, on account of ice, you are, if you should not return to England, to use your best endeavours to discover a sheltered and safe harbour, where the ships may be placed in security for the

winter, taking such measures for the health and comfort of the people under your command, as the materials with which you are supplied for housing in the ships, or hutting the men on shore, may enable you to do. And when you find it expedient to resort to this measure, if you should meet with any inhabitants, whether Esquimaux or Indians, near the place where you winter, you are to endeavour, by every means in your power, to cultivate a friendship with them, by making them presents of such articles as you may be supplied with, and which may be useful or agreeable to them. You will, however, take care not to suffer yourself to be surprised by them, but use every precaution, and be constantly on your guard against any hostility.

You will endeavour to prevail on them by such reward, and to be paid in such manner as you may think best to answer the purpose, to carry to any of the Settlements of the Hudson's Bay or North-West Companies, an account of your situation and proceedings, with an urgent request that it may be forwarded to England with the utmost possible dispatch.

We deem it right to caution you against suffering the two vessels placed under your orders to separate, except in the event of accident or unavoidable necessity; and we desire you to keep up the most unreserved communications with the Commander of the *Hecla*, placing in him every proper confidence, and acquainting him with the general tenor of your orders, and with your views and intentions, from time to time, in the execution of them; that the service may have the full benefit of your united efforts in the prosecution of such a service, and that, in the event of unavoidable separation, or of any accident to yourself, Captain Lyon may have the advantage of knowing, up to the latest practicable period, all your ideas and intentions relative to a satisfactory completion of the undertaking.

We also recommend that as frequent an exchange take place as conveniently may be, of the observations made in

the two ships; that any scientific discovery made by the one, be as quickly as possible communicated for the advantage and guidance of the other, in making their future observations, and to increase the chance of the observations of both being preserved.

We have caused a great variety of valuable instruments to be put on board the ships under your orders, of which you will be furnished with a list, and for the return of which you will be held responsible; and we have also, at the recommendation of the President and Council of the Royal Society, ordered to be received on board the *Fury* the Rev. Mr. Fisher, who is represented to us as a gentleman well skilled in Astronomy, Mathematics, and various branches of knowledge, to assist you in making such observations as may tend to the improvement of Geography and Navigation, and the advancement of science in general.

Amongst other subjects of scientific inquiry, you will particularly direct your attention to the variation and inclination of the magnetic needle, and the intensity of the magnetic force; you will endeavour to ascertain how far the needle may be affected by the atmospherical electricity, and what effect may be produced on the electrometric and magnetic needles on the appearance of the *Aurora Borealis*. You will keep a correct register of the temperature of the air, and of the sea at the surface, and at different depths. You will cause frequent observations to be made for ascertaining the refraction, and what effect may be produced by observing an object, either celestial or terrestrial, over a field of ice, as compared with objects observed over a surface of water; together with such other meteorological remarks as you may have opportunities of making. You are also to attend particularly to the height, direction, and strength, of the tides, and to the set and velocity of the currents; the depth and soundings of the sea, and the nature of the bottom, for which purpose you are supplied with

an instrument better calculated to bring up substances than the lead usually employed for this purpose.

And you are to understand, that although the finding a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific is the main object of this expedition, and that the ascertaining the Northern boundary of the American Continent is the next, yet that the different observations you may be enabled to make, with regard to the magnetic influence, as well as such other observations as you may have opportunities of making in Natural History, Geography, &c. in parts of the globe so little known, must prove most valuable and interesting to science; and we therefore desire you to give your unremitting attention, and to call that of all the officers under your command, to these points, as being objects of the highest importance. And you are to direct Mr. Fisher to be particularly careful to keep an accurate register of all the observations that shall be made, precisely in the same forms, and according to the same arrangements, that were followed by Captain Sabine on the late voyage;—into whose charge are also to be given the several chronometers with which you have been supplied.

And although, as already specified, you are not to be drawn aside from the main object of the service, on which you are employed, as long as you may be enabled to make any progress, yet, whenever you may be impeded by the ice, or find it necessary to approach the coasts of the continent or islands, you are to cause views of bays, harbours, headlands, &c. to be carefully taken, the better to illustrate the charts you may make, and the places you may discover, on which duty you will be more particularly assisted by Captain Lyon and Mr. Bushnan Assistant Surveyor

You are to make use of all the means in your power to collect and preserve such specimens of the Animal, Mineral, and Vegetable Kingdoms, as you can conveniently stow on board the ships; salting in casks the skins of the



larger animals, as well as causing accurate drawings to be made to accompany and elucidate the descriptions of them; in this, as well as in every other part of your scientific duty, we trust that you will receive material assistance from Mr. Fisher, and the other Officers under your command.

In the event of any irreparable accident happening to either of the two ships, you are to cause the Officers and Crew of the disabled ship to be removed into the other, and with her singly to proceed in prosecution of the voyage, or return to England, according as circumstances shall appear to require; understanding that the Officers and Crews of both ships are hereby authorized and required to continue to perform their duties according to their respective ranks and stations, on board either ship to which they may be so removed, in the event of an occurrence of this nature. Should unfortunately your own ship be the one disabled, you are in that case to take the command of the *Hecla*; and in the event of any fatal accident happening to yourself, Captain Lyon is hereby authorised to take the command of the Expedition, either on board the *Fury* or *Hecla*, as he may prefer, placing the officer who may then be next in seniority to him, in command of the second ship; also in the event of your inability, by sickness or otherwise, to continue to carry these Instructions into execution, you are to transfer them to Captain Lyon, or to the surviving officer then next in command to you, employed on the expedition, who is hereby required to execute them in the best manner he can for the attainment of the several objects in view.

His Majesty's Government having appointed Captain Franklin to the command of an Expedition to explore the northern coast of North America, from the mouth of the Coppermine River of Hearne, eastward, it would be desirable, if you should reach that coast, that you should mark your progress by erecting a flagstaff in a few of the most

convenient and distinguishable points which you may successively visit, and you are to bury at the foot of each staff a bottle, containing such information as may be useful to Captain Franklin, and such further particulars respecting your own proceedings as you may think proper to add ; corresponding instructions having been given to Captain Franklin to leave a similar notice at any convenient part of the coast which he may discover between the mouth of the said river and the eastern part of North America. And in the event of your getting to the westward of Hearne's river, you should occasionally do the same with a view to multiply the chances of our hearing of your progress. In the event of your finding Captain Franklin and his party on any part of the coast of America, (which being possible, you should look out for and attend to any signals that may be displayed on the shores,) you are, if he should wish it, to receive him and his party into His Majesty's ships under your command, bearing them as supernumeraries for victuals until you return, or you have other means of forwarding them to England.

You are, whilst executing the service pointed out in these instructions, to take every opportunity that may offer of acquainting our Secretary, for our information, with your progress : and on your arrival in England, you are immediately to repair to this office, in order to lay before us a full account of your proceedings in the whole course of your voyage ; taking care, before you leave the ship, to demand from the Officers, Petty Officers, and all other persons on board, the logs and journals they may have kept, together with any drawings or charts they may have made, which are all to be sealed up ; and you will issue similar orders to Captain Lyon and his officers, &c. ; the said logs, journals, or other documents to be thereafter disposed of as we may think proper.

P. V. 4.

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Given under our hands this 27th of April, 1821.

(Signed)

G. COCKBURN,  
H. HOTHAM,  
G. CLERK.

*By Command of their Lordships,*

(Signed) J. W. CROKER.

*To William Edward Parry, Esq., Com-  
mander of His Majesty's Vessel the  
FURY, at Deptford.*

Names of the officers, &c. who sailed on board the two  
ships.

*On board the Fury.*

William Edward Parry, .... Commander.

George Fisher, ..... Chaplain and Astronomer.

Joseph Nias, Andrew Reid, Lieutenants.

John Edwards, ..... Surgeon.

William Harvey Hooper, .... Purser.

James Skeoch, ..... Assistant Surgeon.

Messrs. Henderson, Crozier, }  
Ross, and Bushnan, } Midshipmen.

James Halse, ..... Clerk.

James Scallon, ..... Gunner.

William Smith, ..... Boatswain.

George Fiddis, ..... Carpenter.

John Allison, ..... Greenland Master.

George Crawford, ..... Greenland Mate.

With 43 inferior officers and seamen.

*On board the Hecla.*

George Francis Lyon, ..... Commander.

Henry Parkyns Hoppner, }  
Charles Palmer, ..... } Lieutenants.

Alexander Fisher, ..... Surgeon.

John Jermain, ..... Purser.

Allan M'Laren, ..... Assistant Surgeon.

Messrs. Sherer, Richards, }	
Griffiths, and Bird, .... }	Midshipmen.
W. Mogg, .....	Clerk.
Joseph Macklin, .....	Gunner.
Joseph Lilley, .....	Boatswain.
Charles Parfer, .....	Carpenter.
George Fife, .....	Greenland Master.
Alexander Elder, .....	Greenland Mate.
With 12 other officers and seamen.	

The two ships, with the Nautilus transport laden with provisions, left the Nore on the 8th of May, and on the 14th of June encountered the first ice-berg in the entrance of Davis's Strait; and having here cleared the Nautilus of her provisions, and dispatched her homewards, they made sail to the westward, and proceeded up Hudson's Strait with as much speed as contrary winds, tides, currents, and floes of ice always in motion, would permit; the last of which usually, perhaps invariably, hamper all ships that attempt to pass through them previous to the month of August; so much more difficult is the navigation of this strait, than that of Davis or Baffin's Bay, which are open and navigable, with little or no risk, as early as the month of May.

On the first of July they passed a whaler apparently homeward bound and deeply laden. On the 14th they saw three ships belonging to the Hudson's Bay factories, carrying settlers for the Red River. The wind blowing a gale, the ice suddenly closed, and nearly carried the Hecla's bowsprit away. The Fury also received a severe pressure, making her timbers crack, but being so strongly built and fortified for this service, the injury she sustained was not material. Captain Parry on the succeeding day sent to request a visit from the master of one of the ships in sight. Accordingly Mr. Davidson, the master of the Prince of Wales, went on board the Fury. He said that they had on board one hundred and sixty settlers for the Red River.

PARRY'S SECOND VOYAGE

They consisted of males and females of different ages. Before parting they sent letters on board for England, to their different friends, and also dispatches to the Government, with particulars of their passage hitherto.

They continued to proceed slowly to the westward until the 21st, when in latitude  $61^{\circ} 50'$  they fell in with several islands; and the wind changing, they anchored to an iceberg. They had not been long in this situation, before they observed a number of canoes putting off from the shore and making towards the ships. On approaching the ships, they hauled their canoes up on the ice, and without delay or timidity manifested a desire to trade. The commodities they brought with them consisted of the skins of seals, bears, foxes, deer, &c. whalebone, spears, and blubber. It was soon manifest that they had been accustomed to trade in this way, and that they were for procuring the best articles in their estimation for the commodities they had to dispose of. Knives, nails and pieces of iron were offered them in return, and the manœuvres of the keenest trader were manifested by them in driving their bargains; and when they had, in their own judgment, obtained a valuable return, they manifested their satisfaction by jumping about and other uncouth modes. As had been observed of the Esquimaux in the River Clyde on the former voyage, they always licked with their tongues whatever articles they obtained, and then they appeared to consider the contract as binding. This party of Esquimaux consisted of seventeen persons; and they were quickly followed by another party consisting of several women and four men with skins, oil and blubber. These latter were so extremely tenacious of obtaining a high price from the people of the *Fury*, that only a part was purchased by them, and the Esquimaux thinking to drive a better bargain, quitted this ship and rowed to the *Hecla*, where however they ultimately sold their oil at a lower price than had been offered them by the other ship. Several other boats afterwards came from the shore, each boat containing

from fourteen to about twice that number of persons, a great part being females ; so that not less than an hundred or more of the natives paid them a visit in the course of the day.

These people were extremely disposed to pilfer, and to possess whatever they could lay their hands on. Their assurance and want of shame when detected in such attempts was not less than the bold and daring manner in which they made their efforts.

Their manner of feeding was most disgusting and filthy. They licked the oil which remained attached to the skins the ships crew had just emptied, and eat the raw blubber, the appearance and smell of which were extremely disgusting. This disgust however excited the mirth of the Esquimaux ; and they would follow the people, with a piece of blubber or raw meat dripping with oil and filth, inviting them to eat. Two of the women expressed a strong desire to sell their children, which it was supposed they would have parted with for articles of small value. On the 22nd, the wind becoming favourable, the ships made sail up the strait to the westward, and they began to make considerable progress.

They continued sailing till the 31st, passing several islands. They saw also a number of seals and a sea-horse, also some fish were noticed as jumping out of the water, which were supposed to be salmon. The latitude was  $64^{\circ} 1'$ , and longitude  $75^{\circ} 48'$ . They saw a number of islands sprinkled along the coast ; and at a distance to the south-west, had a sight of Salisbury Island. In the afternoon they perceived an *oomiak* or large boat of the Esquimaux, making sail towards them, together with several canoes. The ships lay to for them to come near. The boat contained sixteen persons, almost the whole of them women and children, and having traded with them for a short time, the ships proceeded on their way. The next day they passed Nottingham Island, and were visited by other Esquimaux in canoes and one *oomiak*. They exchanged a few articles with them for some skin dresses, some tusks of the walrus, and some oil.

These people brought also a variety of toys, as spears, bows and arrows, a canoe with paddles, all of a diminutive size. Many of their jackets, particularly those of the women, were lined with the skins of birds, having their feathers inward.

The ships made considerable way during the night, but in the following morning they found themselves so beset with ice as to prevent their progress, and the ships received many violent blows from the moving masses. Their latitude was now  $64^{\circ} 59'$  and their longitude  $79^{\circ} 40'$ ; and being arrived at that point from whence the new discoveries were to commence, it became a matter of most serious question in what rout to direct the further progress of the ships; and after much consideration Captain Parry resolved to direct his attention to the examination of the continental coast from Cape Hope northwards. Having thus far determined, another consideration presented itself; whether to make the circuitous rout round the south-end of Southampton Island, or attempt a direct passage through the Frozen Strait. The one route would require them to sail the distance of one hundred and seventy leagues before they reached the point where their operations were to commence, while the passage through the Frozen Strait would not exceed fifty leagues; a matter of no small moment in sailing through these icy seas. He came to the determination of attempting the passage of the Frozen Strait; not, he says, without considerable anxiety lest the non-existence of the Strait, or the insuperable obstacle of its frozen state, should add to the loss of time which now could so ill be spared.

Having come to this determination, the ships had to wait till some change in the state of the ice became favourable to their progress, until the middle of the day. On the 4th of August the prospect was most unpromising; when almost on a sudden, the sea became navigable by the ice separating in a most extraordinary manner, evidencing the peculiarities attached to the navigation of these seas, shewing the

possibility of making progress at one period, which at another may become impenetrable. The ice now disappeared in the most rapid manner, and making sail to the westward, the ship soon made Southampton Island. After a run of about forty miles the ships were again obstructed by the ice, being in latitude  $65^{\circ} 22'$  and in longitude  $81^{\circ} 24'$ . Some of the floes or bodies of ice by which they were now beset, measured half a mile each way.

They continued to force their way as opportunities offered of penetrating through the ice, and by experience discovered that their progress to the westward was best effected when the wind directly opposed them; for a westerly wind always conveyed away large bodies of ice from that quarter, and left a large space of open water, through which, if they attended to the moment of the gale ceasing, they were able to make considerable progress.

On the 13th the ships approached the entrance of the Strait, but the ice was too close to admit of their making much way, although they used every endeavour to warp the ships through. A strong breeze to the westward two days after drove them a few miles back, but this was compensated by its clearing away the ice, and enabling the *Fury* to get forward: the *Hecla* however was so beset, and driven to the eastward as to lose sight of the *Fury*. Captain Parry, accompanied by Mr. Ross, left the ship to make observations, and landed on Southampton Island. Carrying the boat above highwater mark, and making a tent of the sail of the boat, they passed the night on shore. They perceived traces of its having at some former period been occupied by Esquimaux.

On the 22nd they found they had entirely passed through the Frozen Strait, and were unexpectedly in Repulse Bay. Boats from the *Fury* and the *Hecla* were dispatched to land. They found the remains of at least sixty habitations of the Esquimaux, but saw no inhabitants. A variety of artificial structures of these people and piles of stones, which it was



supposed were set up as land marks to guide them when the ground was covered with snow, were also noticed. Lieutenant Palmer was dispatched with a boat to examine different parts of the bay, agreeable to the directions of the Lords of the Admiralty; and it clearly appeared from the report he made, that there was no passage out of the bay to the westward, but that it was surrounded by a continuity of land.

It now remained for the expedition to proceed along the coast to the northward, and examine any inlet which might present a prospect of a passage to the westward. After clearing Repulse Bay, they sailed along the northern shore of the Frozen Strait. Having approached on the twenty-third to the mouth of an opening, which presented a favourable prospect of a passage, but which a body of ice filling up the channel rendered it impossible for the ships or boats to enter, Captain Lyon, accompanied by Mr. Bushnan and two seamen from each ship, was dispatched to land and examine it more particularly. They took a tent, blankets and four days provisions. Captain Parry cast anchor to wait his return; but the loose and heavy ice at the mouth of the inlet came with great force, and gave the *Fury* some violent shocks, causing the anchor to drag, and ultimately broke off both the flukes, and polished the iron stock quite bright by rubbing against the rocks.

On the 25th Captain Lyon returned with his party, and stated that the inlet appeared to be bounded by land at about seven miles distance. In the course of his journey he passed the remains of many Esquimaux habitations, but which did not appear to have been recently occupied. At another place they met with a variety of store rooms of these people, (as they supposed them to be.) They also passed a kind of paved walk, being an assemblage of flat stones, set up edgeways, each about three yards apart, extending to the length of about five hundred yards. The weather during almost the whole of the time which Captain

Lyon was absent, was rainy, or snowed, or was foggy, so as to prevent his obtaining a satisfactory view of the country, but his conclusion was the probability of the existence of a passage to the NE.

Captain Lyon remained on board the *Fury* during the night, and arranged with Captain Parry the plan of their future operations. They concluded that there certainly was a communication between the Frozen Strait and a sea to the northward and eastward of it, and it was determined to use every effort to discover it. From the narrowness of the channel, the strength of the tides, and weight of the ice, there presented so many hazardous circumstances to their notice as induced them to resolve on finding some place of shelter for the ships, during the time necessary for examining the passage. To seek for a secure situation therefore, Captain Lyon, accompanied by Mr. Bushnan, again proceeded.

At this time the *Fury* was placed in a most perilous situation. The night being very foggy, and the tide driving the ship too close to Passage Island, Captain Parry ordered her to be got under sail that he might act as circumstances should require. A large space of open water was observed at not more than a quarter of a mile distant; but notwithstanding every effort, the tide was driving the ship between the island and a small rock lying to the eastward. Every exertion to resist this appearing useless, and the tide driving at the rate of a mile and a half an hour, their efforts were directed to keep her in mid-channel. Had they grounded, with the heavy masses of ice driving around them, every probability was that the ship would be wrecked; but fortunately the ship drove through without sustaining any injury. At day-light on the twenty-sixth, after a most anxious night, they found themselves about the middle of the Frozen Strait. The *Hecla*, having narrowly escaped a similar situation, rejoined her consort in the morning. At eleven Captain Lyon proceeded to search for a place of safety

for the ships, and returned at nine in the evening, stating that he had found a small bay, which was clear of ice, and which did not appear to be influenced by the tide, but requesting Captain Parry to give it his own personal examination.

Accordingly the next day Captain Parry and Mr. Bushnan proceeded to examine the situation. On arriving at it, it appeared to be almost entirely filled with ice. Ascending a hill which was near, they observed another bay, and finding good anchorage, returned to the ships, placing a flag on a mass of grounded ice near a shoal point at the entrance.

The *Fury* getting under way, made all sail for the inlet. On passing the shoal on which the flag was fixed, the water suddenly shoaled to two or three quarter fathoms; but carrying a press of sail the ship heeled, and by that means did not touch the ground, and they anchored in safety. It appeared that a quantity of grounded ice had changed its position, and thus placed them in great peril; and to prevent danger to the *Hecla*, a boat was placed off the reef.

Captains Parry and Lyon now set out in their boats to examine two different channels, with a view to ascertain through which to take the ships. Captain Parry proceeded to the northern shore, steering for the highest hills. They pitched their tents, and covered with their blankets, lay until four o'clock in the morning, when accompanied by Mr. Ross, they ascended a hill to look out for a passage for the ships; they found their view however circumscribed by another hill a few miles distant, and which rose considerably higher. They returned therefore to their tents to breakfast. Captain Parry now feeling himself unwell left the examination to Mr. Ross, who, with his party proceeded accordingly. On his return, Mr. Ross stated that on ascending the hill, he found himself overlooking an extensive range of sea. That there appeared to be several islands, which were incumbered with ice, and that the sea appeared to extend to the northward, the direction in which Captain Lyon was pro-

ceeding to examine. He met with numerous piles of stones, and other evidences of the place having been visited by the Esquimaux. The party fell in also with a herd of rein-deer, one of which they shot, but under the supposition that he was dead, the man who had shot him going to fetch a knife from one of his companions in order to skin him, the animal in the interim so far recovered as to make his escape. After resting at night, the party on the following morning took to their boats and steered for another island, and having erected a flag on a particular point as a direction for the ships, they returned on board.

Captain Lyon and his party had, during this, proceeded up the northern channel. They saw the bottom all across. To the northward they had the view of a noble bay, in which were a few islands; to the eastward was a large opening to the sea. The land on the eastern side of the strait was evidently an island, and was named Georgina Island.

The ships had now to pass through a narrow strait or channel to which the name of Hurd's Channel was given; and for safety three boats were previously sent to take soundings. All things being ready on the thirtieth, and the proper time for sailing arrived, not a breath of wind was stirring, so that they were obliged to remain at anchor till the next ebb tide. Shortly after three in the afternoon, a light wind springing up, the *Fury* weighed, and was by the help of the boats, got into the set of the tide. The ice was driving at the rate of five miles an hour when a sudden gust of wind came on and had nearly driven the ship on shore; and the *Fury* was twice turned completely round. The *Hecla* in rounding a point was beset by the ice, in which situation she remained for two hours, but by the assistance of the boats was at length towed out into clear water.

On the first of September the appearance of the ice was very unfavourable to their proceeding to the northward. To the north-east, and to the south-south-west, there appeared nothing but sea, and that entirely covered with ice.

About noon, the *Fury* in endeavouring to sail through some new ice, was so beset as to require the assistance of the *Hecla*. Captain Lyon sent his boats with lines to be fastened to the *Fury*, and by the impulse thus imparted, together with the aid of the wind, the ship got through: the lines however broke in the effort.

The annals of navigation perhaps do not furnish an instance of difficulties to be grappled with, and dangers so frequent and long continued, as occurred from the first entrance of the Frozen Strait till finally getting out of it. Nor was this all; slow as their progress had hitherto been, they had the mortification on the 2nd of September to find that they had drifted back to the same spot where they had been a full month before. This most disheartening circumstance, at this time when the navigable season was so far advanced, did not however abate their exertions.

The month of September was employed in examining several inlets to which they gave the names of Lyon's Inlet, Hoppner's Inlet, Gore Bay, and Ross's Bay. A number of coves and creeks were also minutely examined to their respective terminations, so that an extent of newly discovered coast to the amount of more than two hundred leagues was explored. In almost every place on which they landed traces of the Esquimaux having been on the spot were evident.

In proceeding with the boats to examine the coast, Captain Parry on one occasion, observed three persons on a hill looking at them; and as the boats sailed on, these persons ran towards them, and called to them. The boats accordingly put in, and the people landed and went to them. Contrary to what had been experienced on former occasions, on approaching them they remained silent, and manifested no disposition to hold an intercourse. These people in their figure and appearance were also different from their former acquaintance, not being so round visaged. There were two men, and one boy of about ten years of age. Each had in

his hand a seal-skin case, containing a few arrows and a bow. An exchange was made with them for one of these cases, for which a knife was given. At first they appeared a little terrified, but a familiarity was soon established. The party expressing a desire to visit their habitations, the Esquimaux most readily led the way. The distance was about two miles, over very rough ground; but these people tripped along with a nimbleness which the English could not follow. As they drew near their dwellings, two women with children on their backs came out to meet them. Their tent or dwelling place was situated on a rising ground, commanding a view of the sea. Shortly after their arrival two children joined them. Only three persons occupied this tent, the habitations of the others being farther distant. These people were more cleanly than most of the Esquimaux they had formerly met with, both in their persons and in their habitations.

As soon as a familiarity was established they began to ask for iron, and they were invited to accompany the party to the boats, with an assurance that they should have some. Although previously they had manifested a propriety of behaviour; yet no sooner were they arrived to the boats, and each party in some measure engaged with the other in making them acquainted with the use of the oars, &c. but the women busily employed themselves in pilfering whatever they could secrete, and conveying the articles into their boots, which in the women are always remarkably large, and have openings at the sides capable of obtaining considerable bulk. They managed this with such dexterity that till Mr. Sherer wanted a cup which was required at supper, no suspicion arose of what was taking place. Upon this being missed, a general search was made, and the boots of the females emptied of their ill-got wealth, and the whole party were dismissed with proper marks of disapprobation of their conduct.

On the 1st of October, just as they completed the exa-

mination of the several inlets of the continent, unequivocal symptoms of winter setting in were but too apparent. The thermometer had for several days past permanently fallen below the freezing point, and sometimes as low as  $20^{\circ}$  at night; which change, together with the altered appearance of the land, and the rapid formation of young ice near the shores, gave pretty evident notice of the approach of winter. The commencement of this dreary season in these regions, may, indeed, be fairly dated from the time when the earth no longer receives and radiates heat enough to melt the snow which falls upon it. When the land is once covered with this substance, so little calculated to favour the absorption of heat, the frigorific process seems to be carried on with increased vigour, defining very clearly the change from summer to winter, with little or no intermediate interval to which the name of autumn can be distinctly assigned.

On the 8th the thermometer stood at zero, and the sea was covered with young ice. The nature and effect of this very teasing substance are thus described by Captain Parry. The formation of young ice upon the surface of the water is the circumstance which most decidedly begins to put a stop to the navigation of these seas, and warns the seaman that his season of active operations is nearly at an end. It is indeed scarcely possible to conceive the degree of hindrance occasioned by this impediment, trifling as it always appears before it is encountered. When the sheet has acquired a thickness of about half an inch, and is of considerable extent, a ship is liable to be stopped by it, unless favoured by a strong and free wind; and even when still retaining her way through the water, at the rate of a mile an hour, her course is not always under the controul of the helmsman, though assisted by the nicest attention to the action of the sails, but depends upon some accidental increase or decrease in the thickness of the sheet of ice, with which one bow or the other comes in contact. Nor is it

possible in this situation for the boats to render their usual assistance, by running out lines, or otherwise; for having once entered the young ice, they can only be propelled slowly through it by digging the oars and boat-hooks into it, at the same time breaking it across the bows, and by rolling the boat from side to side. After continuing this laborious work for some time, with little good effect, and considerable damage to the planks and oars, a boat is often obliged to return the same way that she came, backing out in the canal thus formed to no purpose. A ship in this helpless state, her sails in vain expanded to a favourable breeze, her ordinary resources failing, and suddenly arrested in her course upon the element through which she has been accustomed to move without restraint, has often reminded me of Gulliver tied down by the feeble bands of Lilliputians; nor are the struggles she makes to effect a release, and the apparent insignificance of the means by which her efforts are opposed, the least just or the least vexatious part of the resemblance.

All these circumstances pointed out the expediency of immediately placing the ships in the best security that could be found for them during the winter. A small island lying off the point where the continent begins to trend to the northward, was found to afford, at its southern side, good anchorage; and having here suffered the ships to be frozen up, they gave to it the name of Winter Island.

Every precaution was now taken for the preservation of the boats, sails, and other stores, during the season; and arrangements were made for the comfort and amusement of the men. Captain Parry observes, that it would be difficult to imagine a situation in which cheerfulness is more to be desired, or less likely to be maintained, than among a set of persons (and those persons seamen too) secluded for an indefinite period from the rest of the world; having little or no employment but that which is in a manner created to prevent idleness, and subject to a degree of



tedious monotony, all according with their usual habits. Nothing can be more just; and it is therefore of the utmost importance that constant employment, and a habit of cheerfulness should be kept up by men so situated; it being well known that there exists an intimate connexion between depression of mind, and that dreadful disorder the scurvy; that hope and joy not only prevent, but materially aid in the cure of it, while gloom and despair never fail to aggravate its fatal malignity.

As a source, therefore, of amusement to the people, Captain Parry renewed those theatrical entertainments from which they had derived so much benefit at Melville Island, on a former voyage, and on a larger and more commodious scale, while the theatre was improved in its decorations, and, what was of more importance, in its warmth. Sylvester's stove, in a few hours after lighting it, dissipated every drop of moisture which was found so annoying on the former expedition: the stream of air on the lower deck was generally  $120^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit; that in the cabin near the apparatus,  $100^{\circ}$ , and at the end of the flue, in Captain Parry's cabin, forty-six feet from the air vessel, from  $65^{\circ}$  to  $72^{\circ}$ . when the mean temperature of the atmosphere was about zero: this diffused warmth generally over the whole ship, and kept her perfectly dry. On some evenings they had music; and on others (to furnish rational and useful occupation,) a school was established in both ships for the instruction of those who might choose to avail themselves of this advantage; and Captain Parry, who visited them frequently, observes, that he seldom experienced feelings of higher gratification than in this rare and interesting sight: and it is truly gratifying to learn that, on the return of the ships to England, 'every man on board could read his Bible.' In these pursuits, blended with a proper degree of exercise, the shortest day is said to have passed over their heads without any of that interest which, on a former voyage, constituted a sort of era in their winter's calendar.

'Our winter,' observes Captain Parry, 'was no longer an experiment: our comforts were greatly increased; and the prospect of an early release from the ice as favourable as could be desired.' In short,' he adds, 'what with reading, writing, making and calculating observations, observing the various natural phenomena, and taking the exercise necessary to preserve our health, nobody, I believe, ever felt any symptoms of ennui during our continuance in winter quarters.'

But, perhaps, the greatest of all their amusements, and that which excited the highest degree of interest, was the unexpected appearance, on the 1st of February, of a number of strange people coming towards the ships over the ice. A party who went out to meet them soon discovered them to be Esquimaux, who, on coming up, presented a few blades of whalebone, either as a peace-offering, or for barter, most probably the latter. Some of the women wore handsome clothes of deer-skin, which attracted the attention of the party: on observing this, they began, says Captain Parry, to our utter astonishment and consternation, to strip, though the thermometer stood at 23° below zero. All apprehension on this score, however, was soon relieved by finding that they were comfortably clothed in a double suit of deer-skin.

Having purchased whatever they had to sell and made them several presents, they were given to understand that it was the wish of the English to visit their huts; which they very readily agreed to, and both parties set out together. In their way thither the Esquimaux were much amused by a Newfoundland dog which had been taught to fetch and carry.

It cannot but be considered as a remarkable circumstance that these people, to the amount of more than sixty persons, men, women and children, should have erected their huts and established themselves on a spot within view of the ships, without having been observed by any of the people

on board, and to appearance as complete as though they had been long erected. They were formed entirely of snow and ice, in the form of a dome, the entrance being low and on the side, through a passage containing two door ways which were arched. From the first apartment, other arched door ways led into recesses or other apartments which were severally occupied, and the women were seen surrounded with the various utensils of their households, their children and their dogs near them. These apartments were about seven feet high in the centre, and each had a piece of ice, forming a window, placed in the roof. Various articles were given to or bartered with them for other commodities, and no occasion was on this visit given to suspect their fairness of dealing.

After spending some time with them, the people set out on their return accompanied by some of the Esquimaux, who did not manifest that surprise which might have been expected on being introduced to such novelties as presented themselves to their notice. They were greatly delighted on going on board the *Hecla*, at hearing the fidler play and the men dancing, and joined in the amusement with much apparent glee and satisfaction. They then returned to their huts.

The next day a large party paid a visit to their huts, and were cheerfully welcomed. They dined in the huts and presented their new acquaintance with some of their meat and biscuit, which they gladly received. A little wine was afterwards given to them, but it did not meet their taste. On one of their visits to the ships they were requested to build a snow hut, which they proceeded to do, and in about three hours formed one of these habitations, placing a piece of ice at the top to admit the light; and in forming it both men and women were employed.

The officers having naturally selected different individuals to obtain information from and to make enquiries, found it produced a settled intimacy: one intelligent youth, who

attached himself to Captain Lyon, told him that he had seen persons like themselves some months previous. Supposing that this intercourse afforded an opportunity of conveying intelligence to England, Captain Parry desired he might be furnished with a letter and requested him to convey it to them should he meet with such people again.

It appears that these people were often in want of necessary food, being very improvident; devouring with greediness large quantities of food when they had killed a seal or other animal, although it was in a most filthy and disgusting state, not being cleaned either from blood or dirt; but at other times when unsuccessful they were in a state of starvation, and it does seem that some of them would have perished had not they been supplied from the ship with bread-dust. This supply was afforded them on several occasions, and some of them were found gnawing a piece of hard seal-skin with the hair on it. The want of food is also generally accompanied with the want of light and warmth, as on such occasions they are also without oil to burn, so that it is altogether a state of the greatest wretchedness. In these circumstances also they could obtain no water, but swallowed the snow to quench their thirst.

The Esquimaux appear to exhibit a strange mixture of intellect and dulness, of cunning and simplicity, of ingenuity and stupidity: few of them could count beyond five, and not one of them beyond ten; nor could any of them speak a dozen words of English, after a constant intercourse of seventeen or eighteen months; yet many of them could imitate the manners and actions of the strangers, and were, on the whole, excellent mimics. One woman in particular, of the name of Iligliuk, very soon attracted the attention of the voyagers, by the various traits of that superiority of understanding for which, it was found, she was remarkably distinguished, and held in esteem even by her own countrymen. She had a great fondness for singing, possessed a soft voice, and an excellent ear; but there was

scarcely any stopping her when she had once begun : she would listen, however, for hours together to the tunes played on the organ. She seemed to be aware of her own superiority, and betrayed, on several occasions, a conscious pride of it.

But the superior intelligence of this extraordinary woman was perhaps most conspicuous in the readiness with which she was made to comprehend the manner of laying down, on paper, the geographical outline of that part of the coast of America she was acquainted with, and the neighbouring islands, so as to construct a chart. At first it was found difficult to make her comprehend what was meant ; but when Captain Parry had discovered that the Esquimaux were already acquainted with the four cardinal points of the compass, for which they have appropriate names, he drew them on a sheet of paper, together with that portion of the coast just discovered, which was opposite to Winter Island, where they then were, and of course well known to her

Having done this, he desired her to complete the rest ; accordingly with a countenance expressive of intelligence, she drew a chart of the coast, along her own country nearly north of Winter Island. Without taking her hand off the paper, she deputed the coast to the westward and to the south-west, within a short distance of Repulse Bay. The country situated on the shores to the westward she named Akkoolee, and said that it was inhabited by numbers of Esquimaux. Between Akkoolee and Repulse Bay she described a large lake in which were found abundance of fish and on its banks many herds of deer. To the westward of these places she stated the existence of a vast and wide sea.

A party once accompanied the Esquimaux on an excursion to catch seals. Seven of them, engaged in the same object, formed themselves into a kind of line, each covering or walking immediately behind the one before so as not to be

seen in the direction they were moving. In this manner they approached a seal which was lying on the ice, preparing their lines and spears for the attack; but after they had been more than an hour in making their approaches, the seal suddenly took to the water and disappointed them of their prey. After this they turned their steps towards home, not a little alarmed at finding themselves a mile and a half from the shore, on a sheet of ice which might be drifted off to the sea, an accident which had occurred to former Esquimaux, and probably sometimes every soul had been lost, so that none survived to relate the misfortune.

In moving towards the shore they passed a small rising of the ice, which quickly drew the attention of one of the Esquimaux, who immediately stopped. It was stated that this was the work of a seal, who probably would work through and come upon the ice. While watching at this spot the man often placed his ear near the ice as if to listen whether the seal was at work. On this occasion however there was no success.

When out on these parties, if an Esquimaux has reason to suspect a seal is working beneath, he generally remains to watch until he has killed it. To protect himself from the cold wind he will raise a wall of snow, and will then sit for hours together, listening to the working of the seal through the ice. When the seal has worked its way to the surface, he drives his spear into the creature with all his force, having a line attached to the spear. He then clears away the ice and repeats the stroke if necessary until it is killed.

On the 20th several wolves, which had for some days made their appearance, attacked a dog belonging to the Esquimaux. Mr. Elder, the Greenland mate, witnessing the circumstance, hastened to the spot with his gun, but though the dog made considerable resistance, the wolves had torn him in pieces before Mr. Elder could reach the spot, leaving only one of his hind legs.

On one occasion when a visit was paid to their huts, an

Esquimaux had just brought in a seal. Two women with large knives in their hands, and besmeared with blood, were cutting up the animal, dividing it into two parts. The blood was then carefully put into the cooking pot, into which also all loose bits were thrown, except that occasionally they eat it themselves, or gave a taste to the children and persons who surrounded them; the youngest being glad to receive into its open mouth a lump of the raw flesh. When the flesh is cut up, the blubber is lastly taken away. During the process it is a custom to stick pieces of the intestines or skin on the foreheads of the boys, which they suppose will make them fortunate seal-hunters.

On the 26th of February the Theatre closed with the comedy of the Citizen, and High Life below Stairs. At the conclusion of the performance the ships' companies testified their thanks by three hearty cheers.

The month of March was now entered on, and the sun was more than ten hours above the horizon every day, but the earth presented one uniform white surface of snow. The arrival of the Esquimaux had indeed changed the scene of their amusements, and the time had passed away without their feeling any extraordinary solicitude as to its progress; but those to whom the care of the expedition was entrusted, began to look forward with earnestness for the opportunity of proceeding in the discoveries. However anxious their feelings, they had no alternative but patience; but the information they had obtained from Iligliuk suggested the advantage which would arise from an investigation of the coast by land, so far as was practicable while the ships remained frozen up in Winter Island. Captain Lyon offered to take the command of the party; and one of the Esquimaux, Ayoket, Captain Lyon's friend, was invited to accompany them. It was proposed to make an excursion to Amitioke, Iligliuk's country. Ayoket, however, after much uncertainty and wavering, declined to be of the party, notwithstanding a brightly polished brass kettle, of a larger size, and of much more

value than any present hitherto made them, was to be the recompense of his journey. An Esquimaux is of a character not to be much moved by the acquisition of property, and prefers a life of indolence to any riches which may be obtained by exertion. That part of the coast described by Iligliuk, which the English had examined, was found very correct; and other charts, which others of the Esquimaux were desired to draw, without any concert with each other, were found to agree with Iligliuk's in a surprising degree. Indeed, they received information from these people on various useful matters, which were afterwards found to be correct, when the ships came to the places described.

On the 15th Captain Lyon left the ships, a breeze of wind blowing from the northward, accompanied with snow drift. The first night after his departure was one of the most severe and inclement that any of the people had been exposed to, and excited considerable apprehension for their safety among those remaining in the ships. The wind and drift continued during the whole of the 16th, and considerably increased the solicitude for their safety, but to send a party in quest of them while the state of the weather was such, appeared impossible, as no traces could be had of the way they had taken, and under such circumstances it would add to the number of persons placed in perilous situations. A party was however held in readiness to proceed whenever the weather might moderate, when to the great joy of all on board, they arrived at the ships.

The sufferings which this party had endured during their short absence were severe in the extreme. Having ascended a hill to the northward, a strong wind blew the snow directly in their faces, and many of the party received severe frost bites. They proceeded towards a bay which had been observed, and afterwards descending suddenly arrived at the head of the bay. The extreme severity of the weather determined Captain Lyon to pitch their tents. Every one of the party smoaked tobacco to promote warmth, but



the severity of the cold was such that John Lee, one of the party, was seized with a shivering fit and severe pains in his loins. A hole was dug in the earth to admit of receiving them in a sitting posture. A fire was made with difficulty, and a mess of warm soup was prepared for every man. After taking this refreshment, they crept into their blanket bags and endeavoured, by keeping close to each other, to obtain a little warmth and sleep. In the morning they made a fire and prepared a cup of warm tea, after which they resolved to set out on their return to the ships, from which they supposed they were about six miles distant. The wind being at their backs, they proceeded rather briskly, but the cold was so intense that some of the party began to exhibit symptoms of drowsiness and insensibility which is so common and so fatal in intensely cold climates. The faces of several were severely frost bitten, and they had lost the sense of feeling in their fingers and toes. Serjeant Spackman, though repeatedly warned that his nose was frozen, was in such a state of senselessness as to take no notice of the advice, and one side of his face became frozen quite hard, the eye-lids stiff, and part of the upper lip was drawn up. Four of the party appeared to be in such a situation as to be incapable of surviving. In this state they unexpectedly came to a beaten track which fortunately soon led them to the ships. All had severe frost bites in different parts of the body, which occasioned the loss of the flesh and skin, but proper care being now taken of them, they all ultimately did well.

Early in the morning of the 2nd of April, the Esquimaux were observed moving from the huts, and several sledges drawn by dogs, heavily laden, went off to the westward. It appeared, on enquiry, that half of the people had gone over the ice in quest of food. On visiting the snow huts which they had just quitted they found that the places composing their beds and fire-places were turned up and searched that no articles might be lost. The walls were stained

with lamp-black, blood, and other kinds of filth, and were in part demolished and laid open, to give them the more ready opportunity of removing their goods.

The remainder of the party were out on the ice in pursuit of walrusses; and although the ice was floating and in detached masses, they seemed to be under no apprehensions as to the danger they were in. The wind at this time indeed set in for the land, and this perhaps might render them confident.

On the 13th of April, another party of the Esquimaux began to remove their effects, and Iligliuk and her husband, and a few others, came on board to make a farewell visit, and said that on the succeeding day they all should remove from Winter Island. A few presents were made to them on their departure.

At the close of the month of May it became a matter of general observation, and of course of general regret, how few symptoms of thawing had yet appeared; and it was impossible not to recollect that Melville Island had, on the same day, two years before, advanced full as far in throwing off its winter's covering; that before this time, at the latter station, they had experienced several hours of hard rain; and that, in consequence, the ice around Melville Island had assumed a green appearance, while at Winter Island it remained perfectly white. Another comparison was made between the two winter-quarters. The first flower was brought on board as a matter of curiosity on the 9th of June, which was one day later than it had made its appearance at Melville Island. Again, in the middle of June, a few gallons of water were collected from some little pools while, at the same date, at Melville Island, the ravines were beginning to be dangerous to pass, and were actually impassable during the third week in June; yet Winter Island is situated in lat.  $66\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , or  $8\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  south of Melville Island, which lies in lat.  $74\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . The lowest temperature at Melville Island was  $55^{\circ}$ , at Winter Island,  $40^{\circ}$ .

Having nearly completed the ninth month at Winter Island, on the 2d of July, the ships, partly by the exertions of the men in sawing the ice, and partly by the wind drifting from the land, finally effected their escape; doubled the south-east point of this part of America, and stood to the northward up Fox's Channel; keeping the coast of the continent, as directed by their instructions, close on board, and sailing in a channel of water from three or four hundred yards to two miles in width. The shore, in most places, was lined with old ice, while, to sea-ward, large floes and masses were observed in violent motion, being acted upon by the wind, currents and tides. By these agents, in so confined a channel, one of the ships was swept against the other; and after some grinding and squeezing, they escaped with the loss of one of the Hecla's boats, which was torn to pieces by the Fury's anchor. On the turn of the tide, however, when both it and the current set to the southward, the whole of the navigable channel, through which the ships were slowly working their way, was almost immediately filled by a vast body of drift ice.

The flood-tide coming down loaded with a more than ordinary quantity of ice, pressed the ship very much, and rendered it necessary to run out the stream cable, in addition to the hawsers which were fast to the land ice. This was scarcely accomplished when a very heavy and extensive floe took the ship on her broadside, and being backed by another large body of ice, gradually lifted her stern as if by the action of a wedge. The weight every moment increasing, obliged the Hecla to veer on the hawsers, whose friction was so great as nearly to cut through the bitt-heads, and ultimately set them on fire, so that it became requisite for people to attend with buckets of water. The pressure was at length too powerful for resistance, and the stream cable, with two six inch hawsers and one of five went at the same moment. Three others soon followed. The sea was too full of ice to allow the ship to drive, and the only way by which

she could yield to the enormous weight which oppressed her was by leaning over the land ice, while her stern at the same time was entirely lifted more than five feet out of the water. The lower deck beams now complained very much, and the whole frame of the ship underwent a trial which would have proved fatal to any less strengthened vessel. At this moment the rudder was unhung with a sudden jerk, which broke up the rudder case and struck the driver boom with great force. The pressure which had been so dangerous at length proved their friend, for by its increasing weight the floe on which they were borne burst upwards, unable to resist its force. The ship righted, and, a small slack opening in the water, drove several miles to the southward before she could be again secured to get the rudder hung; circumstances much to be regretted at the moment, as the people had been employed with but little intermission for three days and nights, attending to the safety of the ship in this dangerous tideway.

The Fury had almost as narrow an escape as the Hecla; a little before noon a heavy floe some miles in length, being probably a part of that lately detached from the shore, came driving down fast, giving serious reason to apprehend more fatal catastrophe than any yet encountered. In a few minutes it came in contact, at the rate of a mile and a half an hour, with a point of the land-ice left the preceding night by its own separation, breaking it up with a tremendous crash, and forcing numberless immense masses, many tons in weight, to the height of fifty or sixty feet, from whence they again rolled down on the inner or land side, and were quickly succeeded by a fresh supply. While they were obliged to be quiet spectators of this grand but terrific sight, being within five or six hundred yards of the point, the danger was two-fold; first, lest the floe should now swing in, secondly, lest its pressure should detach the land ice to which the ship was secured, and thus set them adrift and

at the mercy of the tides. Happily however neither of these occurred, the floe remaining stationary for the rest of the tide and setting off with the ebb which made soon after.

In addition to the danger which threatened to crush and overwhelm the ships among these tremendous masses of ice, thus thrown into violent motion, was the chance of being beset in the midst of the floes, and in that helpless state swept away with the flood-tide and current to the southward, and drifted back again to Southampton Island, as had happened to them before, and thus again would the labour of weeks be inevitably lost. By the 12th of July, however, after long and unremitting perseverance, and by taking advantage of every opening and breeze of wind to move the ships to the northward, they had reached the latitude of  $67^{\circ} 18'$ , opposite to a considerable opening in the land, out of which a strong current was observed to set into the sea.

On the following day they had an unobstructed run of fifty miles, an event of no very trifling importance, as Captain Parry says, in this tedious and most uncertain navigation. About this place their Esquimaux friends had prepared them for meeting with vast numbers of the walrus, or sea-horse; and accordingly they fell in with such a multitude of these animals, as, in Captain Parry's opinion, were probably not to be seen in any other part of the world. They were lying in large herds on the loose pieces of drift ice, huddled upon one another, from twelve to thirty in a group. They were not in the least frightened by the people getting upon the same piece of ice with themselves; but when approached close, they began to show an evident disposition to give battle. From the prodigious numbers of these creatures, and other circumstances, the navigators were now certain that the names of the two islands, Amitioke and Ooglit, as laid down in the chart of Iligliuk and the other Esquimaux, were in their proper positions.

On the shore, they observed several tents, and soon after

they saw some canoes coming towards them. Captains Parry and Lyon left the ships and went to meet the Esquimaux in their boats. At first they manifested some timidity, but this was soon overcome. It appeared however that they had no previous knowledge of the ships being in these seas, so that it was clear none of the people from Winter Island had yet arrived here. On reaching the shore several more of the natives met them and conducted them to their tents, when they soon found themselves in the midst of a number of men, women, and children, all of them provided with some article for barter.

These tents formed the summer habitations of the Esquimaux, and were of an oblong shape, being formed of the skins of the seal and the walrus, having in the centre a pole by which they are supported. Sometimes they join two tents together to form an habitation, when the families are large. These people were amused by a variety of anecdotes, which were related to them of the occurrences which took place at Winter Island, and to which they listened with the most solicitous attention.

After having spent a considerable time with them, the English took to their boats in order to return. The weather had become very severe, the wind increasing to a gale. After considerable effort to reach the ship, Captain Lyon was under the necessity of returning to shore, having unfortunately broken one of his oars. Captain Parry found it also impossible, after great exertions, to reach his ship and was obliged to return to his former landing place. The Esquimaux gladly received them, and they were accommodated in different parties with lodgings, at the tents of these people. Having all their clothes wet, they were provided with change of apparel by their hosts, and in these, with a seal-skin for a blanket, they contrived to pass a tolerably comfortable night, and returned to the ships the following morning.

The ships now proceeded to sail to the spot beyond

them, where they expected to find that much and long-sought passage that was to conduct them into the Polar Sea. This passage they speedily recognized in its proper place; and congratulated themselves on being at the very threshold of the door that was to open a way to the final success of their enterprize: the mortification which succeeded, may be imagined, when it was perceived that an unbroken sheet of ice extended completely across the mouth of the strait, from the northern to the southern land; and this too at so advanced a period as the middle of July. The disappointment became the more serious on finding, from the nature of the ice which formed the impediment, that it bore evident marks of being a floe which had long been attached to the land on every side; and it was besides so level and continuous as to convince them that it had suffered no disruption in the course of that season.

To enter into the details of their unwearied endeavours to push to the westward through this frozen passage; the scarcely perceptible progress made by the partial and occasional fragments of ice that separated from the main body; the anxiety with which every such breaking off was watched; and the final repulse of the ships before they reached the middle of the strait, where it was hermetically sealed by the ice and three islands, among which it was closely jammed by a perpetual current from the westward, would be a repetition of simultaneous movements, from the time of their first arrival before it, until frozen again into their winter quarters. They struggled to make way for sixty-days; during which the whole distance they advanced to the westward in the strait was about forty miles; of this period, however, twenty-five days were spent close to the edge of the ice, in the narrows, watching with intense anxiety for every piece that separated from the main floe, and took its departure to the eastward.

From the moment of their arrival before the mouth of the strait, their exertions were incessant, not only to force the

ships to the westward, but to ascertain with precision the geographical position and features of this northern extremity of America, and of the numerous islands and rocky inlets in this neighbourhood, by which the passage seemed to be guarded. Captain Lyon had accompanied an Esquimaux to a salmon fishery up a large inlet a little to the southward of the strait, but from the thick and inclement weather, he was unable to point out its exact direction, and returned without reaching its extreme westerly termination. It was therefore deemed possible that it might be a second strait, communicating with the Polar Sea. To ascertain whether this was the fact or not, was now of great importance. Stopped, as they had now been at the very threshold of the north-west passage for nearly four weeks, without advancing twice as many miles to the westward, suspense at such crisis was scarcely the less painful because it was inevitable. As Captain Parry felt it his duty to pass no opening that held out the least chance of a passage, without determining that point, he sent out repeated parties to explore it, but without success; till at length he himself effected it, but not without difficulty, having traced it into the American continent until he found only a few feet depth in water, and rounded its extreme end. This opening was named Hooper's Inlet.

When the 17th of September had arrived, it was observed with pain that the ice of the preceding year's formation was not yet detached from the shores, while a fresh formation had already commenced. Appearances were indeed opposed not only to making any further progress, but to continuing a moment longer in the strait, which Captain Parry named the strait of Fury and Hecla, lest they should be frozen in, as in that case it would probably be eleven months before the ships would be extricated from the ice.

After the laborious efforts to obtain the desired passage, the disappointment which they now met with, can be probably appreciated only by those who possess spirits



ardent in the pursuit of an object on which their desires are fixed. Captain Parry thought proper to take the opinion of the senior officers as to his future operations; and with that view addressed a letter to Captain Lyon and Lieutenants Hoppner and Nias, who coincided in opinion with him that it was proper not to risk being frozen up in the Strait. He then caused a public notification to be made on board each ship, stating his purpose to examine the coast of Cockburn Island to the northward and eastward for a proper place to winter in; and if not successful there, to seek a place at Igloodik, hoping that by an early release of the ships in the ensuing summer, they should have an opportunity of selecting the most eligible place for their future attempts at discovery.

During the night the new ice so accumulated as to present a strong resistance to the movements of the ships. Various means were resorted to, but oftentimes without effect. The only successful mode appears to have been in what is called in the sea-phrase *sallying*, that is, the men in a body run from side to side, by which means the ship rolls and is relieved from the ice. At length, after much effort, the ships got clear of the Strait. From an attentive observation of the tides, it appears that the flood comes from the westward, and in addition to this, that there is a permanent current in the same direction. This current it was supposed arose from the melting of the snow on the shores of the Polar Sea, and that this Strait was the only outlet for it to the southward.

A few days more decided what was to be done; the young ice had assumed that consistency which baffles all attempts to operate upon it. Too thick to allow a ship to be forced through it; too tough for regular sawing, and yet dangerous for men to walk upon. To get a boat her own length through it would occupy a dozen men a quarter of an hour; and, after all, without being able to make a channel for the ship. Under such circumstances, it was obvious that no

time was to be lost in looking out for the best winter-quarters that the neighbouring islands would afford; but it was not till after many dark and stormy days were spent at sea among the floating ice, and the loss of several anchors, that they succeeded in bringing the ships into their destined birthis, at the island of Igloodik, on the 30th of October, after employing the men for several days in the arduous task of cutting a canal through the ice.

The whole length of the canal was four thousand three hundred and forty-three feet; the thickness of the ice in the level and regular parts being from twelve to fourteen inches, but in many places, where a separation had occurred, amounting to several feet. The cheerful alacrity with which the men continued this laborious work during thirteen days, the thermometer being frequently at zero, and once as low as  $9^{\circ}$  in that interval, cannot but be admired. It was satisfactory, moreover, to find that in the performance of this, not a single addition had been made to the sick list of either ship, except by the accident of one man's falling into the canal, and who returned to his duty a day or two afterwards.

Captain Parry's reflections on this occasion are both just and natural; and the expedient to which he at once determined to resort speaks much as to his enterprising character. Flattering as their prospect appeared at the commencement of the past summer, their efforts had certainly not been attended with a proportionate degree of success; and little satisfaction remained to them at the close of the season, but the consciousness of having left no means within their reach untried, that could promote the desired object. It required indeed but a single glance at the chart to perceive that whatever the last summer's navigation had added to the geographical knowledge of the eastern coast of America, and its adjacent islands, they had effected nothing in reference to the discovery of a North-West passage. The discovery of the Frozen Strait, had made known a channel of

communication between the waters, but its frozen state formed an impenetrable barrier to any intercourse by human efforts.

They were soon greeted by a number of Esquimaux, who shouted and jumped with all their might. A crowd of them met the party who landed and manifested every demonstration of joy. When told that the English purposed to spend the winter among them, they manifested the greatest satisfaction. They made daily visits to the ships, bringing their wives and children in great numbers on sledges. They appeared gladly to assist in any duties which the people of the ships were employed in; as pulling the ropes, sawing the ice, heaving the windlass, and other labour; always accompanying their efforts with the tone of voice which the crew used on such occasions, in the imitation of which they seemed to particularly pride themselves.

Some of the Esquimaux with whom the ships' companies had spent the preceding winter at Winter Island also had now arrived at Iglookik, and copying the manners of the English, shook their friends heartily by the hand, as expressing their pleasure at meeting them again. One of them, who had obtained the name of John Bull, accosted almost every individual of the ship's company, with a how do ye do; and desirous of manifesting his knowledge and familiarity with the uses of the machinery to his companions, he instructed them in the various uses to which they were applied.

Being now fairly fixed in their second winter-quarters, they set about making such arrangements as experience had taught them would add considerably to their comforts. Instructed by the Esquimaux, Captain Parry caused a wall of snow twelve feet high to be thrown up round the *Fury*, at the distance of twenty yards from her, forming a large square like that of a farm-yard, by which the snow-drift was kept out, and a good sheltered walk afforded against every wind and by it was also prevented, in some measure, the abstrac-

tion of heat from the ship, which was found to be very considerable in high winds. The distance between the two ships was too great to allow of the continuance of theatrical entertainments, which, in fact, had, with other occupations, in a great degree lost their interest with their novelty; the want of these, however, was amply compensated by the almost daily visits of the Esquimaux, which afforded both to officers and men a fund of constant variety and never-failing amusement, that no resources of their own could possibly have furnished. The men, however were too well aware of the advantages which they had derived from the schools, not to be desirous of their re-establishment; this was accordingly done, and they continued to be attended regularly for the six succeeding months.

The Esquimaux who had fixed their winter-quarters on the island of Igloodik were more numerous than those on Winter Island. The snow-houses were constructed on the same principle; some, however, were lined with skins, over which was a covering of snow; and some had passages to them from ten to fifteen feet in length, and from four to five feet high, neatly constructed of large flat slabs of ice, cemented together by snow and water; others were entirely built of this material, of a circular or octangular form.

The first week in November a number of Esquimaux arrived from the island of Amitioke, among whom were some of their old acquaintance. Among others of their old friends was a youth of the name of Tooloak, who was on the eve of marriage with a very pretty young girl, of about the age of sixteen; the youth himself being a year or two older. The ceremony of marriage appeared to consist in the intended husband's taking away the girl by force, her parents however quietly permitting it. It was understood that the parents' authority and will in this respect was very great. The new married couple then occupy a separate dwelling and form a new household establishment. Tooloak with his bride,

afterwards paid a visit to the ships, and received a number of presents.

One of these people, who had two wives, between whom some dispute or altercation took place, with his knife cut one of them several times across the forehead, and the other across the arm. To this severe chastisement they both appeared to submit without a murmur at his conduct; and the man did not altogether approve of the sympathy which the English manifested on the occasion; but seemed to act as under the conviction that his conduct was most reasonable and proper.

Captain Parry and Captain Lyon purchased each of them a sledge and dogs, which they often made use of during the winter. The dogs soon became familiarized to their new masters, and remained on board the ships. The Esquimaux could not bear the idea of the dogs being killed, and would not part with them until assured that they should be kept alive.

On the 8th of December two of the dogs belonging to the ships set off in pursuit of a wolf, but one of them (a terrier,) was killed and eaten by the wolf. It was a matter of doubt whether these dogs had not mistaken the wolf for the Esquimaux dogs.

The Christmas of this year was kept as a festival. An additional allowance of provisions was issued, among which was a piece of beef which had been killed on board the *Nautilus* in the month of June 1821.

In the months of December and January the Esquimaux had spread themselves widely around the space occupied by the ships, in order as was supposed to have greater opportunities of fishing. They departed from their habitations in so quiet and peaceable a manner, that their removal had sometimes taken place for several days previous to the people on board the ships having any intimation of their having left the neighbourhood.

At this time great numbers of the Esquimaux were labour-

ing under severe sickness. Several deaths took place in consequence of their want of medical assistance, although as soon as the knowledge of these circumstances came to the ears of Captain Parry, every possible assistance was afforded them. They were taken on board the ships, and part of the cabin screened off for their accommodation. Warm broth, and other food was given to them, and every effort used for their recovery and comfort.

One family was taken on board the *Hecla*. Captain Lyon says, the mother, named Poo-too-alook, was about 35 years of age, the child about three years, yet not weaned, and a female; there was also another daughter Shega, about twelve or thirteen years of age, who as well as her father was a most attentive nurse. My hopes were but small as far as concerned the mother, but the child was so patient that I hoped from its docility soon to accustom it to soups and nourishing food, as its only complaint was actual starvation. I screened off a portion of my cabin, and arranged some bedding for them, in the same manner as the Esquimaux do their own. Warm broth, dry bedding, and a comfortable cabin did wonders before evening, and our medical men gave me great hopes. As an introduction to a system of cleanliness, and preparatory to washing the sick, who were in a most filthy state, I scrubbed Shega and her father from head to foot and dressed them in new clothes. During the night I persuaded both mother and child, who were very restless and constantly moaning, to take a few spoonfuls of soup. On the morning of the 24th the woman appeared considerably improved, and she both spoke and ate a little. As she was covered with so thick a coating of dirt that it could be taken off in scales, I obtained her assent to wash her face and hands a little before noon. The man and his daughter now came to my table to look at some things I had laid out to amuse them; and after a few minutes Shega lifted the curtain to look at her mother, when she again let it fall and trembling told us she was dead.

The husband sighed heavily, the daughter burst into tears, and the poor little infant made the moment more distressing by calling in a plaintive tone on its mother, by whose side it was lying. I determined on burying the woman on shore, and the husband was much pleased at my promising that the body should be drawn on a sledge by men instead of dogs. Takkeelikkeeta, her husband, had told me that when he left the huts with his wife, a dog was devouring the body of another Esquimaux, as he passed it.

Takkeelikkeeta now prepared to dress the dead body, and in the first place stopped his nose with deer's hair and put on his gloves, seeming unwilling that his naked hand should come in contact with the corpse. I observed in this occupation his care that every article of dress should be as carefully placed as when his wife was living, and having drawn the boots on the wrong legs, he pulled them off again and put them properly; this ceremony finished, the deceased was sewed up in a hammock, and at the husband's urgent request her face was left uncovered. An officer who was present at the time agreed with me in fancying that the man, from his words and actions, intimated a wish that the living child might be enclosed with its mother. We may have been mistaken, but there is an equal probability that we were right in our conjecture; for according to Crantz and Egede the Greenlanders were in the habit of burying their motherless infants from a persuasion that they must otherwise starve to death, and also from being unable to bear the cries of the little ones while lingering for several days without sustenance; for no woman will give them any share of their milk, which they consider as the exclusive property of their own offspring. My dogs being carefully tied up at the man's request, a party of our people accompanied by me drew the body to the shore, where we made a grave about a foot deep, being unable to get lower on account of the frozen earth. The body was placed on its back at the husband's request, and he then stepped into the grave and cut all the stitches

of the hammock, although without throwing it open, seeming to imply that the dead should be left unconfined. I laid a woman's knife by the side of the body and we filled up the grave, over which we also piled a quantity of heavy stones which no animal could remove. When all was done and we returned to the ship, the man lingered a few minutes behind us and repeated two or three sentences, as if addressing himself to his departed wife: he then silently followed. We found Shega quite composed and attending her little sister, between whose eye-brows she had made a spot with soot, which I learned was because being unweaned it must certainly die. During the night my little charge called on its mother without intermission, yet the father slept as soundly until morning as if nothing had happened.

All who saw my patient on the morning of the 25th gave me great hopes; she could swallow easily and was even strong enough to turn or sit upright without assistance, and in the forenoon slept very soundly. At noon the sister of the deceased, Ootooguak, with her husband and son, came to visit me. She had first gone to the Fury and was laughing on deck, and at her own request was taken below, not caring to hurry herself to come to the house of mourning. Even when she came to the Hecla, she was in high spirits, laughing and capering on deck as if nothing had happened, but on being shewn to my cabin, where Shega having heard of her arrival was sitting crying in readiness, she began with her niece to howl most wofully. I however put a stop to this ceremony, for such it certainly was, under the plea of its disturbing the child. The arrival of a pot of smoking walrus-flesh soon brought smiles on all faces but that of Takkeelikkeeta, who refused food and sat sighing deeply the others ate, chatted, and laughed, as if nothing but eating was worth thinking of. Dinner being over, I received thanks for burying the woman in such a way that neither wolves, dogs, nor foxes could dig her up and eat her, for all were full of the story of Keimooseuk, and even begged



## PARRY'S SECOND VOYAGE.

some of our officers to go to Igloolik and shoot the offending dogs. A young woman named Ablik, sister to Ooyarra, was induced after much entreaty and a very large present of beads, to offer her breast to the sick child, but the poor little creature pushed it angrily away. Another woman was asked to do the same, but although her child was half weaned she flatly refused.

The aunt of my little one seeming anxious to remain, and Shega being now alone, I invited her to stop the night. In the evening the child took meat and jelly and sat up to help itself, but it soon after resumed its melancholy cry for its mother. At night my party had retired to sleep, yet I heard loud sighing occasionally, and on lifting the curtain I saw Takkeelikkeeta standing and looking mournfully at his child. I endeavoured to compose him and he promised to go to bed, but hearing him sighing in a few minutes, I went and found the poor infant was dead, and that its father had been some time aware of it. He now told me it had seen its mother the last time it called on her, and that she had beckoned it to Khil-la, (Heaven) on which it instantly died. He said it was "good" that the child was gone, that no children out-lived their mothers, and that the black spot which Shega had frequently renewed was quite sufficient to ensure the death of the infant.

My party made a hearty breakfast on the 26th, and I observed they did not scruple to lay the vessel containing the meat on the dead child, which I had wrapped in a blanket: and this unnatural table excited neither disgust nor any other feeling amongst them more than a block of wood could have done. We now tied up all the dogs as Takkeelikkeeta desired, and took the child about a quarter of a mile eastern of the ships to bury it in the snow; for the father assured me that her mother would cry in her grave if any weight of stones or earth pressed on her infant. She herself, he feared, had already felt pain from the monument of stones which we had laid upon her. The snow in which we dug

the child's grave was not above a foot deep, yet we were not allowed to cut into the ice or even use any slabs of it in constructing the little tomb. The body, wrapped in a blanket, and having the face uncovered, being placed, the father put the slings by which its deceased mother had carried it, on the right side, and in compliance with the Esquimaux custom of burying toys and presents with their dead, I threw in some beads. A few loose slabs of snow were now placed so as to cover without touching the body, and with this very slight sepulchre the father was contented, although a fox could have dug through it in half a minute. We however added more snow, and cemented all by pouring about twenty buckets of water, which were brought from the ship, on every part of the mound, I remarked that before our task was completed the man turned and walked quietly to the ships.

During the two last days, I obtained some information with respect to mourning ceremonies, or at all events such as related to the loss of a mother of a family; three days were to be passed by the survivors without their walking out on the ice, performing any kind of work, or even having any thing made for them. Washing is out of the question with Esquimaux at most times, but now it was not allowed to perform the necessary ablutions of their hands and faces, however greasy or dirty they might be made by their food, the girl's hair was not to be put in pigtails, and every thing was neglected; Takkeelikkeeta was not to go sealing until the summer. With the exception of an occasional sigh from the man, there were no signs of grief; our mourners ate, drank, and were merry, and no one would have supposed they ever had wife, mother, or sister. When the three days, and it is singular that such should be the time, were expired, the man was to visit the grave; and having talked with his wife, all duties were to be considered as over. The 28th was our third day, but a heavy northerly gale and the thick drift prevented our

visiting the grave. The 29th, although not fine, was more moderate, and I accompanied him at an early hour. Arriving at the grave, he anxiously walked up to it and carefully sought for foot-tracks on the snow, but finding none, repeated to himself, "No wolves, no dogs, no foxes, thank ye, thank ye." He now began a conversation which he directed entirely to the grave, as if addressing his wife. He called her twice by name, and twice told her how the wind was blowing, looking at the same time in the direction from whence the drift was coming. He next broke forth into a low monotonous chant, and keeping his eyes fixed on the grave, walked slowly round it in the direction of the sun four or five times, and at each circuit he stopped a few moments at the head. His song was, however, uninterrupted. At the expiration of about eight minutes, he stopped, and turning suddenly round to me, exclaimed *Tugwa*, (that's enough) and began walking back to the ship. In the song he chanted I could frequently distinguish the word *Koyenna*, (thank you) and it was occasionally coupled with the *Kabloonas*. Two other expressions, both the names of the spirits or familiars of the Annatko, Toolemak, were used a few times; but the whole of the other words were perfectly unintelligible to me.

I now sent Shega and her father home, well clothed and in good case. The week they had passed on board was sufficient time to have gained them the esteem of every one, for they were the most quiet inoffensive beings I ever met with, and to their credit they never once begged. The man was remarkable for his extraordinary fondness for treacle, sugar, salt, acids, and spruce beer, which the others of the tribe could not even smell without disgust; and he walked about to the different messes in hopes of being treated with these delicacies. Shega was a timid well-behaved girl, and generally remained eating in my cabin, for I am confident of speaking far within bounds when I say she got through eight pounds of solids per diem. As far as gratitude could

be shown by Esquimaux, which is saying 'koyenna' on receiving a present, my friends were sensible of the attention I had shown them.

The English were informed that the corpse of Piccooyak, who had died in the hospital, had been taken up by the dogs. The snow-covering being the second time put over the body, a second disinterment was as easily effected a day or two after, and another meal made by the hungry dogs. In relating this story, at which every feeling of common humanity revolts, the Esquimaux pretended to be very much enraged with the dogs, and let some of the gentlemen know that they wished the Kabloonas would shoot them. As it was not the owners of the dogs who expressed this wish, and as a knife was quite as effectual in killing a dog as a gun would be, if applied with equal good will, they did not think proper to inflict such a punishment, which, if due at all, would more properly have fallen on those who made the complaint. It is most certain indeed, that none but the immediate relatives of the deceased cared a jot about the matter; nor did the other individuals among them hesitate to laugh as they heard or told the story. On some of our people going out to the village, they found this Piccooyak's child had died, owing probably to the misery and consequent inattention of its mother Kaga, who now lived as before with the infirm and aged parents of her late husband.

From the morning of the 24th till midnight on the 26th the mercury in the barometer was never below 30.32 inches, and at noon on the latter day had reached 30.52 inches, which was the highest they had observed it in the course of this voyage. This unusual indication of the barometer was followed by hard gales on the 27th and 28th, first from the S. W. and afterwards from the N. W. the mercury falling from 30.51 inches at eight P. M. on the 26th, to 30.25 about five A. M. on the 27th, or about 0.26 of an inch in nine hours, before the breeze came on. At midnight on the 17th it reached 29.30, and on the following night 29.05

which was its minimum indication during the gale. These high winds were accompanied by a rise in the thermometer very unusual at this season of the year, the temperature continuing above zero for several hours, and very near this point of the scale for the whole two days.

The mean temperature of January proved indeed as remarkable for being a high one, as that of the preceding month had been in a contrary way, being only  $17^{\circ}.07$ , or more than ten degrees warmer than December. The first fortnight in February bid fair to present a similar anomaly; the mild weather now experienced giving great hopes of a winter rather favourable than otherwise, notwithstanding the severity with which it had set in.

About this time they were much shocked to hear, by an arrival from the distant huts, of the death of a young man named Noogloo, the flower of the whole tribe. His complaint, so far as they could learn, had been of some continuance; Toolemak, a native who considered him as his adopted son, had been out to visit him two or three times, and was much afflicted by his loss. There was something peculiarly shocking in the havoc which death appeared now to be making among the younger and more vigorous individuals of this tribe.

On passing some of the huts of the Esquimaux, Captain Parry entered the one belonging to the parents of Kaga, the widow of the Esquimaux so much esteemed by the English. They were apparently in a most wretched state, with scarcely any clothes, and Kaga lay moaning, covered with some dirty skins. On inquiring how she was, she said she was not ill, but wretched, some of the natives having robbed her of almost every thing she had, and which it was understood was too commonly the practice towards the widow on the death of the husband. All the presents which had been made to her and her husband from the ships were gone, there appeared nothing to eat, and the snow melting, there was a continual drip.

Captain Lyon having been made acquainted with the situation of Kaga, sent to fetch her and lodged her in his cabin, and every endeavour was used for her recovery. Perceiving the wretched state in which widows are left, it suggested itself to him to endeavour to promote a matrimonial union between Kaga and Takkeelikkeeta; the latter however appeared so greatly to lament the loss of his late wife that no such intimation could be made unto him; and further experience showed Kaga to be void of those feelings which could induce a disposition to render her any service.

In the mean time the place for the reception of the sick, into which the Esquimaux also were admitted, began so to swarm with lice as to render it necessary that the sick belonging to the ships' companies should be removed, or the Esquimaux no longer admitted into it. Captain Parry therefore resolved to build a place expressly for the reception of the Esquimaux. Having suggested this to the officers, arrangements were made without delay to erect a separate dwelling for the natives, and an house was quickly erected for their accommodation. Mr. Edwards and Mr. Skeoch arranged every thing necessary to be attended in the management of this infirmary, and Mr. Hooper provided a stock of sea-horse meat for their support.

It appeared by a girdle worn by the mother of the young man Toolooak, that they killed a great number of deer. This girdle was adorned with twenty-nine ears of that animal, all which had been killed by him in the course of last summer.

Although these people had not been discovered in many acts of thieving, yet it occasionally occurred, and it was manifest that their desire of possessing many of the articles which the ships' stores presented to their view, oftentimes became irresistible. An old woman whom they had known at Winter Island, having been suspected by Mr. Skeoch of stealing a silver thimble out of his cabin, a few days previous, now brought the thimble back, telling him that finding it

too small for her finger, she had honestly brought it back and requested some present in return.

Party feeling and petty animosities appeared to influence the Esquimaux as powerfully as these sensations are manifested among Europeans. The different families were as envious and ill disposed towards each other as though they were hostile nations, and envy of each others prosperity was not disguised among them. Mr. Hooper having been to the huts to purchase food for the sick Esquimaux in the hospital was asked by one of the patients of whom he had obtained it, and having named the person, the sick man declared he would on that account partake of none of it. No reply was made to this declaration, and after a few days the angry patient received the food offered to him without making further inquiry.

They had among them a number of peculiar customs. A sick person was cautious not to see another sick person unless it were a Kabloona or European. Any vessel or cup, out of which a sick person drank, must be used by no other person, so that in taking care of the sick Esquimaux by the English, each individual had separate utensils. So particular was one of them, that he would not take the water which came from the great boiler, but a lamp was obliged to be kept burning for his use. The powers of prejudice and the force of imagination cannot but be noticed in these circumstances, that a people so filthy in their habits should have such strong objections to matters of no manner of importance, as to be able to resist the strong and powerful claims of their voracious appetites, which on all other occasions appeared to have the supreme ascendancy.

Under such repeated calls for the exercise of their humane endeavours to alleviate the sufferings of these people, it may readily be supposed that the medical gentlemen and officers had their time greatly occupied in their attendance on them. Indeed their patient and persevering attention and endeavours to alleviate the sufferings of these people deserves the

highest commendation. The seemingly want of gratitude and thankfulness, the dirty and filthy state of their persons, added to other circumstances of a repulsive character, required an effort of some force on the part of those attending them, to enable them to persevere until their patients were in a convalescent state.

About the middle of February meat began to be very abundant in the village. Several sea-horses were killed, as well as a number of bears. A youth who had accidentally met with a severe wound in his leg, and was taken into the hospital to be cured, manifested the strength of his appetite by eating four, five, and even six pounds of solid meat as his daily allowance. It may well be supposed that a people taking such quantities of food, however abundantly supplied on some occasions, would often be in a state of want, in a country where their resources were drawn from the sea, or from catching the wild animals which occasionally visited them.

By way of proving what quantity of food these people would take, on one occasion a lad was treated with as full a supply as he was disposed to eat during the day, the quantity being measured out to him. The following are the particulars.

	<i>lbs. oz.</i>	
Sea-horse flesh frozen	.	4 4
Ditto boiled . . .	.	4 4
Bread and bread-dust	.	1 12
		<hr/>
		10 4

The proportion of liquids was

Rich gravy-soup	.	1½ pint
Raw spirits . . .	.	3 wine glasses
Water . . .	.	17 pints
Strong grog . . .	.	1 tumbler

In the secluded situation of the Esquimaux, in a climate where the earth admits of no cultivation, or at least scarcely any, uneducated and without the means of obtaining know-



ledge, all the happiness of these people appears to centre in the indulgence of their gluttonous appetites ; and to such a degree, that they gratify this disposition although the prospect in future days may be the want of any food whatever.

In the course of the long stay which the ships made among the Esquimaux, some idea was endeavoured to be conveyed to them of the population, climate, productions, and civil government of the nations of Europe and of Great Britain in particular. But it was with great difficulty their minds were brought to conceive the various ranks and stations which different persons filled in civilized society : all importance in their idea was to be measured by the riches which each possessed. The ships they supposed to be the respective property of Captain Parry and Captain Lyon, and were consequently distinguished by the appellation of Lyon-oomiak and Parry-oomiak. Upon the same principle they supposed the boats to belong to other individuals of the ships ; and were full of astonishment when informed that the ships and boats, and all they contained, belonged to one person, who had also a great number of other oomiaks, both larger and more valuable than these ; that it was by his order they now paid this visit to them.

One of these Esquimaux, named Ewerat, who possessed a much superior understanding to most of his countrymen, was shown a chart, and the distance and situation of Great Britain, and many other countries, pointed out to him, as well as the space occupied by his own countrymen. He was soon led to estimate their comparative size and distance, and his astonishment was expressed by an emphatical *hei-ya*, which is their word of astonishment and admiration. After having pointed out these circumstances, he and his wife were asked if they would be willing to leave their country and friends and go with the English to their country. To this they most readily assented, and expressed the highest gratification at the prospect of seeing those wonderful things and places which had been presented to their attention

As those who had been sick recovered any measure of health, they manifested the greatest impatience to be again ranging abroad in the open air; so that by too great exertions they sometimes brought on a relapse, and it was only by agreeing to their wishes under certain conditions and restrictions, that they were in most instances manageable in these circumstances.

About the middle of March, two families of the Esquimaux left Igloolik and moved to the southward, where the said the walruses were more abundant, and before the end of the month many more families took their final departure. These removals could not arise from a want of the opportunity of procuring food, but is the consequence of habit, and the disposition of all uncivilized people to roam about and change their habitations.

The state of the weather was now such that the ships' crews engaged in a variety of games on shore. Cricket, quoits, and other sports occupied some hours every day, and both officers and men found the cheering effects of being more abroad.

On the 21st the wife of another of the Esquimaux died. She had been brought to the hospital a few days preceding in a very weak state, and died without a struggle. As she was on the point of expiring, she took the hand of Mr. Skeoch and pressed it to her lips as expressive of the gratitude she felt for the attention he had paid to her during her sickness. Her husband also manifested much thankfulness for his attention to her. A very short time before she died, the husband fetched two of his sons who were then on board the ships, to see their mother, and on her expiring they all burst out into crying and lamentations for a few minutes, and then left the spot apparently as cheerful as ever. Her husband now dressed her in her clothes, and she was sewed up in a hammock, leaving her face uncovered. On the day following she was buried, the body being placed on a sledge and drawn by two men to the place of interment. When it

was put into the grave, some staves were placed across to prevent any weight resting upon it, and he then threw on large slabs of snow. Having thus finished his duty, he permitted the English to throw on it a quantity of stones and earth.

The difference in the weather between day and night began to evidence itself in a small degree as early as the middle of March, but the return of the light of the sun, and the change from almost constant darkness to almost constant day was that which the English beheld as the most cheering circumstance. Only a few weeks after the first re-appearance of the sun, there was twilight during the whole of the night.

In the first week in April, Captain Lyon paid a visit to a village of the Esquimaux situated at a considerable distance some miles to the westward of Tern Island. It consisted of a few huts comprehending about thirty persons. The captain travelled on his sledge, drawn by dogs. These people had been very successful in catching young walrusses and seals, and two young men among them were in a state of debility, which, from the inquiries he made, Captain Lyon imputed to excessive eating.

Other parties of the Esquimaux were settled in opposite directions. Their huts were built upon the ice near the land and the open water to give them the opportunity of catching walrusses. In his return on his sledge to the ships, Captain Lyon was obliged to trust himself entirely to the dogs, a heavy snow having fallen, and it drifting with the wind, they were not able to distinguish any objects at a distance.

The month of April being the season when the seals generally produce their young, the natives were continually upon the watch to kill them. They caught the young ones in abundance, after first killing the mother, by hooking them up with a staff. They usually produce two young, forming a kind of cavern under the ice. The skins were

brought to the ships for the purpose of barter, and those of the young seal possessed the feel and texture of raw silk.

On the 15th of this month died Mr. Alexander Elder, Greenland mate of the *Hecla*, of the dropsy. He had been twice before on the expeditions for the discovery of a North-west passage, and had been promoted to his present situation in consequence of his faithful and attentive services on former occasions. His death was much regretted both by officers and seamen. He was buried near the observatory with all proper decorum, and a heap of stones, with a head-stone, was placed over his body.

About this time large flocks of ducks visited this island, but the open water where they were to be met with was too far distant to enable the people to shoot any of them.

It had long been in the contemplation of Captain Parry what would be the proper mode of proceeding as soon as the weather should liberate the ships from their winter station. The stores on board the two ships he considered as inadequate to the support of the crews, were they to remain another winter frozen up in this northern climate, and the effort for further discovery would probably be ineffectual excepting the attempt was persevered in so far as to render such circumstances more than probable. He therefore considered that it would be practicable for only one ship to make the attempt, and that the *Fury* should take as much provisions and stores as might be necessary out of the *Hecla*, and Captain Lyon should return with her to England. By this means also he would have the opportunity of stating to the Lords of the Admiralty all their past efforts, and thereby they might make any alterations in their purpose of sending the vessel which was to meet them in Beerings Straits. On all these matters he consulted with Captain Lyon, who coincided in opinion with him.

Having thus determined, Captain Parry made known his intentions to the ships' companies after divine service on the 20th of April; and at the same time an invitation was

given to the seamen of the *Hecla* to enter on board the *Fury* as he intended to increase the number of men on board his ship beyond the complement originally appointed. A removal of provisions and stores also immediately commenced, and an exchange was made with the *Hecla* of the more serviceable anchors, boats, and cables. In about a fortnight the removal of stores to the *Hecla* was completed, by means of the Esquimaux dogs, who performed the whole service of the removal, none of the crew being called on to convey the stores from one ship to the other; and it excited the astonishment of the ships' companies to observe with what ease and expedition the dogs performed this service. Some idea may be formed of the value of the services of these animals when it is stated, that nine of them drew a body of stores weighing sixteen hundred and eleven pounds from the *Hecla* to the *Fury*, being a distance of nearly half a mile, in about nine minutes. In this manner the dogs laboured for about eight hours each day until the removal was completed.

By the end of April the thawing of the snow of which the Esquimaux huts were composed, rendered the abodes of these people the most uncomfortable that can be conceived, the floor being constantly wet. They were necessitated also to place skins over the openings which the melting of the snow occasioned in their roofs. Several of the families also now began to remove; some to another part of the island and others to some small island at a distance. The ships now began to enjoy the comfort of opening the hatches every day to admit the fresh air, a luxury they had not enjoyed for the last six months.

The rapidity of the change of the temperature of the atmosphere could not but be noticed by every individual, and the earth exhibited also the most evident tokens of the rapid approach of the summer. Instead of one unvaried white appearance, there were to be seen large dark patches of land with multitudes of caterpillars.

To expedite the thawing of the ice round the ships, and

to open a passage to the sea, the sledges drawn by the dog were employed to carry sand from the shore. A distance great part of a mile was thus covered, and of the width of more than twenty feet, that by this means the ice might be more quickly dissolved.

At this period Captain Lyon went out on a shooting excursion to a point of land called Arlagnuk, accompanied by some of the Esquimaux. He met with considerable success, killing a great number of king-ducks, which the natives collected in their canoes. Finding their success so great, shooting parties were established in the neighbourhood accompanied by the small boats from the ships, as they found the Esquimaux were in the practice of keeping back many of the birds which were shot on these occasions. In a few days this party brought to the ships a supply of one hundred and twenty ducks as well as other game, and the whole was dispersed among the ships' companies.

Captain Lyon at this time undertook a journey to the shores of the Polar Sea, with a view to obtain information respecting those parts which the ships had been prevented from approaching in consequence of the closeness of the ice. It was intended by this means to form a judgment as to the future movements of the *Fury*. Two persons were to accompany Captain Lyon, and provisions for a month were to be conveyed on a sledge. On the 7th of May the captain quitted the ships, accompanied by Captain Parry, who proposed travelling to a place named Quilliam Creek, where they landed the next day. Here they pitched their tents, and fixed their abode for the remainder of the day, some of the party being affected by snow blindness, and others by an inflammation of the face occasioned by the heat of the sun.

On the 9th Captain Lyon went forward on his journey, and Captain Parry having been informed by one of the Esquimaux that if they proceeded to the head of this Creek and broke through the ice, which was about five feet thick, they

might catch abundance of salmon, proceeded to make the attempt. After several hours labour they obtained an opening to the water, which instantly rose to nearly the surface of the ice; and the lines were thrown into the place, in full expectation of much success, but after several hours unsuccessful waiting, no appearance of success presenting itself, they set off on their return to the ships. In their journey the party became so blinded by the snow, that it was with difficulty they could direct the sledge. On the 13th they reached Arlagnuk, where they found the shooting parties with a large supply of ducks.

Towards the end of this month they were visited by a few Esquimaux whom they had never before seen. From them they learnt that they had seen several Kabloona (Europeans) ships employed in killing whales; and from the description of the rout it was supposed they came from some part of the western coast of Baffin's Bay. They stated that two ships like the *Fury* had been driven on shore by the ice, and the people escaped in their boats, a fact which has since been confirmed by the account of the *Dexterity* of Leith and the *Aurora* of Hull having been wrecked in the month of August 1821, about the latitude of 72 degrees. It cannot but be remarked that the Esquimaux nation appear widely dispersed, and no doubt are sometimes carried out to sea by the breaking off of the field ice, which may account in some measure for this circumstance. The following is a fact of very recent date.

*Account of the remarkable preservation of two Esquimaux belonging to the Christian Congregation at Hopedale, one of the settlements of the Moravians on the Labrador coast, who were carried out to sea on a field of Ice, and for nine days driven about at the mercy of the waves.*

Peter, Titus, and Conrad, three Esquimaux, went to an island in the open sea called Kikkertarsook, their usual spring place for catching seals. While on a large field of

ice watching for their prey, and drawing near the edge, they found cracks in the ice in several places. Suddenly the part on which they stood was dislodged by the wind and broke away from the land. Conrad turned his sledge into a kind of raft by tying skins and seals' bladders to it, and contrived to paddle to the firm ice, using a seal javelin as a rudder. It was agreed that he should procure a kayak or boat and come to their assistance; to procure which he hastened with all possible speed, but when he returned to the spot a south-west wind had carried them so far into the open sea that they could hardly be discerned, and to follow them was impossible.

Conrad now proceeded to the families of the two unfortunate men to make known unto them the afflicting circumstance; and the distress which it gave them may perhaps be better imagined than described, when to their inexpressible joy and satisfaction, on the ninth day after they had been driven out, they arrived in a sledge. The account they gave was, that the size and strength of the field of ice was such as to afford them the means of building a snow-house upon it, about six feet in height, in which they took shelter during the night and when it rained. They had caught eight seals on the day of their departure, which afforded them nourishment, and they drank the blood. During five days there was so thick a fog that they could not see which way they were driven, but at length they saw land through the fog, and coming among the drift ice they examined it to enable them to judge of the possibility of escaping over it. At this time the field ice on which they were sustained a violent shock, and a large portion of it broke off. Upon this they left it, passing over the drift ice, and notwithstanding the hazardous situation both of them got safely to land.

On the 24th of June Captain Parry with Mr. Crozier and two seamen, accompanied by Toolemak, one of the Esquimaux, and his wife, set out on a journey to the fishing place.



The whole party travelled on sledges drawn by dogs, and went the distance of forty miles the first day. It was admirable to notice the laborious efforts of the dogs, who went the whole distance without food, it being the custom of these people to feed them only once a day, and that in the evening.

On the following day as the party were passing near to some piles of stones, which manifestly had been collected together for some purpose, Toolemak's wife suddenly fell on her knees and began to cry loudly and bitterly, in which she was also joined by her husband, and they both shed abundance of tears. This continued for a few minutes, after which they resumed their usual spirits. On being asked the cause of this ceremony, Toolemak said that this place had been their residence in the summer, and the spot on which his wife knelt had been where a son had formerly slept, but who was since dead. This incident may serve to shew the power of habit on the feelings, as their sorrow was to all appearance sincere, and having thus given it expression, they resumed their former character.

The party proceeded to the head of the inlet, and then walking two miles over land came to a river which they were told was to be their fishing place. Having pitched their tents, they set forwards on the ice, and making holes through it, which was several feet in thickness, let down the lines. The fish-hooks of these people were composed of an iron hook fixed into a piece of ivory. This hook is covered with a piece of blubber, which is tied on with a sinew. The rod is made of a small piece of wood, or bones, with which the line is kept constantly moving. All things being prepared, Toolemak's wife went to the holes and pronounced a few words, to which her husband added an expression or two which had reference to his European companions. Their success however was very trifling, as they caught only one fish after two days waiting. In consequence of this ill success, they made a kind of fish-gig, and fixing it to the end of a pole, and using bait to attract the fish, they soon

caught several salmon ; and while some were thus engaged, others of the party killed a deer.

The party continued to pursue the sports of hunting and fishing until the second day of July, when they returned ; but purposing to send Mr. Crozier with another party to procure a further supply of fish and deer, they left the tents and other articles buried under stones. During their stay at this place a considerable change had taken place in the state of the ice, large pools of water having been formed where there was no appearance of a thaw as they passed a few days before. They reached the ships on the second of July, and found Captain Lyon and his party were returned after an unsuccessful effort to penetrate over land to the westward. He made the following report of his journey.

“ On the 9th separating from Captain Parry, we proceeded in a S.S.E. direction over what appeared a level plain, while on the right our view was bounded by rugged mountains of granite. As we advanced the weather gradually thickened, and a heavy S.W. wind accompanied by small snow and drift, hid the land from us, so that we could strike into no direct course for the sledge. At noon therefore, having travelled three hours, we tented on the snow to wait for better weather ; thermometer 40°. Towards evening the snow ceased, and at six in the afternoon, we again moved forward over a plain so flat that I fancied it was a lake, until by accidentally breaking through the deep crust of snow which covered it, we saw moss and grass. At thirty minutes after eight the weather thickened, but before it did so we were enabled to observe that the low land ran for several miles in a southerly direction. The granite mountains at this part assumed a more rounded form, and were entirely covered with snow. Having travelled in the course of this day above eight hours, S.S.E., we tented for the night on the snow. A heavy gale with thick snow and drift continued to render us very uncomfortable at the temperature of 25°.

" This severe weather continued until five in the afternoon on the 10th, when the snow ceased, but the sky was so cloudy, and the view so limited, that we remained completely in the dark as to our road. Determining however to attempt to make some westing, we ascended some high and rounded hills in nearly a west direction. The recently fallen snow was so deep that the dogs were buried to their bellies, and even our snow-shoes were but of little assistance to us. A flock of seven ducks passed us flying to the south-west. After two hours' extreme exertion we reached the summit of the smooth hills, and thence was a chain of mountains lying immediately across our path at about three miles distant.

" Heavy snow and calm weather obliged us to tent on the hill, which, on clearing away the snow for a sleeping place, we found to be covered with shingle limestone on a bed of yellow marl. Thermometer, at ten in the evening, 20°. Heavy snow all night; and on the 11th it still continued to fall thickly until thirty minutes after three in the afternoon, when clearing a little, I determined on attempting to pass through a small opening in the mountains about W.S.W. of us. The snow which had now fallen with but little intermission for two days and nights was so deep, that we proceeded very slowly and with great labour, and the mountains were as completely covered as in the middle of winter. After two hours' toil in ascending a steep hill we arrived on what we conceived was good table land, when we suddenly found ourselves on the brink of a precipice, and a chain of mountains extending from north to S. E. On stopping the sledge it sunk so deep in a wreath of snow that all our efforts to move it were in vain; the dogs were quite overcome, and we were quite at a stand. We therefore unloaded it and threw away about one hundred weight of such things as could be spared, after which about half an hour's labour extricated it. When reloaded it overset, and I was almost tempted to abandon it, for I saw

how impossible it was for even an unloaded man to climb the snow-covered and steep mountains west of us. I however resolved at last on returning to the low land, and by tracking along the foot of the hills, look out for the first opening to the westward. Seven hours' travelling over the plain brought us to the foot of a mountain which I had observed to bear about S.E., and here we tented.

"A heavy snow-gale confined us to the tent during the 12th and 13th, and a part of the 14th; a few minutes' sun at noon on the 13th, (the first time we had seen it since leaving Captain Parry,) gave me an opportunity of obtaining the meridian altitude; and on the 14th by sights for the chronometer, I obtained the longitude. Lat.  $69^{\circ} 15' 6''$  Long.  $1^{\circ} 11' 30''$  W. of Hecla.

"At five in the afternoon on the 14th, we proceeded in a south-easterly direction along the foot of the rocky hills. On the snow, which was very soft, we saw a bear's track, and on a patch of shingle found several sea-shells. Five hours travelling brought us to the end of the chain of hills, and from this point we saw the ship with a glass about N.E., twenty miles. I had for sometime suspected that we had taken the wrong route, as no Esquimaux could have passed with a sledge over the mountains at whose feet we had been travelling; I had however better hopes at this place by seeing the hills become lower and trend to the south-westward, which answered in a great measure with the Esquimaux's description of the land they passed over. At the foot of this point lay a narrow lake of about three miles in length, and near it was a small but deep craggy ravine. On the shingle ridges we saw several Esquimaux circles, and a golden plover passed us on the wing. Travelling hence about three miles southerly, we tented on the snow, the wind being at N.W., and the night extremely cold.

"The morning of the 15th was thick and cold, and the N.W. wind was unabated. Soon after noon we proceeded in a westerly direction, but without having a fixed object to

guide us. In this manner we travelled for two hours, when the weather clearing we saw the hills turning to the southward, to which direction we altered our course; and having gone forward for two hours more, tented on the snow for a short time as two of the dogs were so fatigued as to be scarcely able to walk. In fact the whole of them were much distressed, for they were not accustomed to land travelling, and the depth of the snow always caused the sledge to hang as a dead weight. At nine in the evening, having rested, we proceeded and travelled until one in the morning on the 16th, when we tented on some flat rocks on which we procured abundance of water, which luxury we had hitherto enjoyed but sparingly. We here saw some small plants of saxifrage in blossom.

"The morning of the 16th was mild and fine, but towards noon wind and sleet came strong from the westward: as our snow-shoes required repair and our feet were much blistered, I took advantage of our being on a good dry rock to refresh ourselves and dogs. We saw a fox, two plovers, and several buntings. Deer tracks were numerous and recent, but the howling and fighting of our wild and restless dogs quite drove the animals away from us.

"In the evening we advanced, and following the direction of the mountains on our right, made a south-easterly course over a large lake of about ten miles in length by one to four in breadth, on the shores of which in some places the ice was pushed up in high transparent hummocks: we saw some wolf tracks, and a few plovers, knots, and sandlings. One deer passed at a distance. At this place there was not an eminence in any direction which was without some piles of stones placed by the Esquimaux hunters. Turning the hills to the S.S.W. we passed over low but exceedingly rocky ground, amongst which the snow was continually knee deep, and the poor dogs were so exhausted that we were obliged to stop on a little rock in a lake at the foot of the mountains. The whole day had been so cloudy and thick

that we had no idea of what kind of country lay beyond us. The snow was literally covered by deer-tracks, and we saw three of these animals, but the dogs frightened them from us.

"A fresh easterly wind was blowing on the 17th, which was very cold. In order to obtain a view amongst the mountains, I walked out, accompanied by one of the men, for nine hours, and we got about eight miles south of the tent to the top of the highest place we could find. From hence we saw about fifteen miles over other mountains extending from north to south-east, while on the left the appearance of low land was unaltered. On our return, we killed a doe, of which I gave the better half as a refreshment to the dogs. At half past two in the afternoon on the 18th we started south-east about eight miles over a lake to a low point, at which we were obliged to tent for the night, in consequence of a heavy snow-storm which prevented our seeing half a mile in any direction. While tenting, a large buck walked slowly past us, and was killed; of this animal we gave two thirds to the dogs.

"The night was bleak and tempestuous, and we found on the morning of the 19th that the snow had fallen some inches in depth, and the whole country round us was covered. Towards noon it ceased snowing, but the piercing cold gale was unabated, and drift flew in clouds. Soon after two in the afternoon we quitted the point for another, which still bore about south-east, at which we arrived, after passing over a very flat plain or lake for about seven miles. The snow was here firmer than we had found it of late, and the mountains formed a bight of about four miles in depth on our right. From this point a distant part of the range bore south, and promised to turn to the westward, as we could see nothing beyond it; we in consequence proceeded briskly for it, and had travelled six miles, or half way, when we saw it take a sweep to very distant hills, south-east. All my hopes of making westing now ceased, and I

was aware that nothing could be done in this direction, which certainly was not the route crossed by the natives in their passage to the Western Sea. I therefore struck from off the plain to the foot of the high land about three miles on our right, where we tented, and I determined on waiting till the gale should moderate, when I could retrace my steps to Quilliam Creek, and from thence proceed, if the season would permit, in some other direction.

"The north-east gale continued during the fore part of the day, yet I should have set out but for the severe pain it caused our faces, and its influence on our snow-shoes, which it sometimes turned quite aside and almost tripped us up. Four large white birds, with black-tipped wings, passed at some distance. In the afternoon we started, and travelling eight hours over the snow, which was somewhat hardened by the gale, reached the little rocky isle on which we had passed the 17th.

"The wind was unabated on the 21st: at three in the afternoon we started, but were soon detained by one of the dogs slipping his harness and giving chase to a couple of deer, which he pursued with great spirit to the hills, where he soon disappeared, regardless of all our cries to stop him. At the expiration of a couple of hours, and when we had advanced two or three miles, giving him up for lost, we saw him tracking our footsteps, and he soon came up much fatigued. We travelled nine hours on this day, yet very slowly, for I had sprained my foot amongst the rocks some days before, and it had now become very troublesome. Soon after midnight we arrived and tented at the place where we slept on the 16th; deer were abundant, and a buck was shot near the tent. We this day saw four brent-geese and several flocks of ducks.

"As my leg was swollen and painful, I determined on resting for the day, which was warm but gloomy, the thaw proceeding very rapidly. With the exception of saxifrage, I

observed no plant in bloom, but the grasses and mosses were luxuriant, and promised abundant provision to the vast quantities of deer which we continually saw. In fact, such was their number, that had we been employed as a shooting, instead of a travelling party, we might have procured enough to supply both ships constantly, were they not too distant for the conveyance of the venison.

“ The 23rd was fine and very warm, which softened the snow so much that the snow-shoes sunk several inches at every step. Starting at five in the evening, we travelled for nine hours over a still deeply-covered plain, in order to reach the point whence we had seen the ships ; we here found the valley quite flooded, and the ravine beginning to run. While we were tenting, we saw a fox prowling on a hill-side, and heard him for some hours after, in different places, imitating the cry of a brent-goose. The night was cold, and we felt it very sensibly after the most sultry day I ever remember to have seen in this country ; our faces and hands smarted most severely and were much swollen by the scorching of the sun. The 24th was also a very hot day, and I found the country so universally flooded that I gave up all idea of proceeding for Quilliam Creek, and determined during the night to make for the ships. When the evening cooled we proceeded over the plain, and wading, rather than walking, through deep snow and water for eight hours, arrived at four in the morning on the 25th at the sea-side, about eight miles to the south-west of the ships. Here we gladly tented and rested ; Dunn killed a brown and ash coloured crane who pitched near us.

“ Starting at four in the morning, on the 26th, we waded for eight hours to the ships, and when amongst the hummocks, about a mile from the Hecla, were so completely buried in the wet snow, that we were obliged to make a signal for assistance, as we were too much fatigued to clear the sledge. A party was sent, and with their help we arrived on board at noon.



“ We had now obtained sufficient proof that no passage was practicable in a southerly direction to the sea, and had also learned by experience the extreme difficulty of carrying a sledge over land, even to so fine a team of dogs as mine. That some other way might be found to obtain a view of the Western Sea, I was yet in hopes ; but it was not possible to pass over land at this time, from the state in which the thawing had left the snow. A more advanced period of the season might perhaps be more favourable ; but even a walking party, laden with tent and provisions, would make but little progress over the mountains.”

In the beginning of July the ice appeared to be rapidly dissolving. The space which had been covered with sand, and which had obtained from the crew the name of *the canal*, was covered with water to the depth of eighteen inches, and there was every reason to expect a speedy breaking up of the ice in that direction, and a liberation of the ships. There was however a distance of several miles beyond this canal which was still entirely frozen, but which it was hoped and expected would be so dispersed by the end of the month as to afford a passage for the ships into the open water.

The success of the shooting parties at this time was very considerable, upwards of two hundred ducks having been killed in the course of one week.

A considerable party of Esquimaux, whom they had never before seen, paid the ships a visit at this time. They came from Cockburn Island and from places to the westward of Igloolik. The distance they stated to be from six to eight days journey. These people confirmed the statement of former Esquimaux as to the two ships which had been wrecked, and one man was afterwards met with who had some of the boards belonging to the wrecked vessels.

As this circumstance excited a strong feeling among the ships crews, Lieutenant Hoppner offered to accompany a party of the natives who were about taking a journey northward, with a view to obtain more satisfactory information

as to the wrecked ships, and also to obtain a more correct knowledge of the shores of Cockburn Island. As the attempt was likely to produce some interesting information, Captain Parry acceded to his offer, and appointed three of the ship's crew to accompany him, and four of the best dogs were to convey the baggage.

On the fourth of July Lieutenant Hoppner, having heard that a party of the Esquimaux intended to set out on the following morning, went with his people who were appointed to accompany him, to their village, that they might be in readiness to go with them; and accordingly the next day he proceeded in company with almost the whole of the natives, as not more than two or three visited the ships after this time. The following is his narrative of the journey.

"We left the ship at fifteen minutes past eleven in the evening on the 4th, and arrived at the Esquimaux tents about five in the morning. The Esquimaux were all asleep, but being disturbed by the noise of our arrival, they flocked round us to know the cause of so early a visit. Our intention of accompanying them seemed to afford great amusement, and many jokes were passed apparently at our expense. Having rested about two hours, we were disturbed by the whispers and stifled laugh of the women and children; and on going out found the tents all struck, the men already gone, and every appearance of the party, with whom we intended to travel, having fairly given us the slip. This unexpected departure somewhat embarrassed us; but we immediately prepared to follow them, and were relieved from our anxiety by finding they were still at the edge of the ice. Perceiving we were really in earnest, and that our dogs, of which they had only a few wretched animals, were likely to be of use to them, Erichiuk suffered us to place the loads upon his sledge. We left Keiyuk-tarruke at thirty minutes past nine, in company with four other sledges; and after clearing the grounded hummocks, travelled at a good pace in a north-easterly direction. When we got about five miles

from Igloodik, the water became knee deep on the ice, which rendered walking extremely fatiguing. The men and several of the women dispersed themselves in all directions in pursuit of seals; whilst the sledges were left entirely to the management of the females, who remained by them. Our assistance soon became necessary, and before the end of the day we quite gained their favour. It was at first the intention of the men to go to Tern Island to collect eggs, but about seven in the evening the weather assuming a threatening appearance, they determined to encamp on the ice. The number of stoppages, and the winding course which we made to pick up the seals left by the hunters, rendered the day's journey extremely fatiguing and unpleasant, particularly as we suffered a good deal from cold. After travelling about twenty miles, we at length halted at thirty minutes past seven in the evening. As we had nothing but our blanket-bags to place between us and the ice, Erichiuk kindly furnished us with staves procured from the ships, with which we floored the tent, and passed the night much more comfortably than we had anticipated. The encampment was formed on a small dry ridge of ice, almost the only spot free from water that we had seen during the afternoon. In consequence of their success, the Esquimaux passed the evening feasting on raw flesh; only one or two taking the trouble to light their lamps.

"The weather being fine on the 6th, we broke up the encampment at thirty minutes past seven in the morning, and travelled about fifteen miles in a N.N.E. direction. The hunters of both sexes again dispersed themselves, many seals were killed merely for their skins, and the carcasses left on the ice, after being deprived of the entrails, of which the Esquimaux seemed particularly fond. At seven in the afternoon we landed on the north shore, and pitched our tent on a rocky point in the midst of the Esquimaux encampment. The women brought us some roots of the *potentilla pulchella*, which they had pulled whilst collecting dwarf-

willow for their fires, and which had a pleasant flavour, resembling liquorice, but not so sweet. They seemed fond of it, and had brought in a considerable quantity, which they ate without cleansing from the soil. Nearly all the women had large kettles full of seal's flesh boiling outside of the tents; when it was ready the master of the tent announced it by three loud shouts, to collect the rest of the men to partake of it. They had scarcely finished one before another was ready, to which they were again summoned; and in this manner they kept up the feast until a late hour.

"On the 7th the weather was gloomy with light rain occasionally. The Esquimaux remained at home all day, most of them being laid up with snow blindness. No intelligence could be gained relative to their future movements; the women, who are always the most communicative, seemed to know nothing; and the men were either heedless of our inquiries, or very unsatisfactory in their answer. The land gradually rose behind our tents to hills of considerable height, well clothed with herbage, and seeming likely to afford game; but after a long walk we saw only a few deer-tracks, two grouse, and some ducks, all so wild that it was impossible to get near them. From the top of a hill about three miles N. E. by E, from the tents, we saw a wide expanse of ice, bounded by high land to the northward, apparently about the same distance as Neerlo-nakto was from us. Its eastern point, which seemed low, bore E. N. E., and was nearly in a line with the north point of the easternmost of the Calthorpe Islands. Our view to the westward was bounded beyond N. W. by the land we stood on, which however did not appear to approach that seen to the northward. A strait, about three miles in breadth, and of the same length, separated the land we were on from the Calthorpe Islands. This channel was clear of ice, appeared deep, and had a strong tide or current setting through it to the southward. I endeavoured to learn from the Esquimaux whether the land joined to the westward and formed a bay; but was unsuc-

from us lest we should propose to accompany them. It was not until they were nearly out of sight that they told the man, who remained to look after our tent, where they were going, the idea of having deceived us seeming to afford them much amusement.

"The early part of the 11th was hazy; towards noon it cleared away and became fine. We had felt rather cold during the night, which was the first we had found at all uncomfortable. Our men went away to the westward in pursuit of deer; before they left the tent they informed me, that the women had mentioned their intention of continuing their journey next day towards a station where they procure fish. I made inquiries, but could hear nothing; and as it appeared from their previous conduct that they were unwilling to acquaint me with their designs, I directed the men to gather all the information they could. It was now become evident that they did not intend going direct to Toonooneeroochiuk; but as I conceived a longer stay with them might furnish something interesting, I determined on it; more especially as the distance to Igloodik was greater than we could conveniently travel without diminishing our loads. The Esquimaux returned in the evening with a few seals, some ducks, and a great many eggs. They had emptied the latter out of their shells into walrus bladders, containing each between two and three gallons. They gave us two ducks and half a dozen eggs, an act of generosity of which they seemed to think highly, but with which we were by no means satisfied, after being disappointed of a trip to the island, where we might have collected some for ourselves.

"We remained stationary on the 12th, the Esquimaux stating that their dogs were too lame to travel. They buried most of their tin pots and iron hoops, which looked as if they intended returning soon. One of the women excited our attention by the ingenuity she displayed in mending a tin kettle which she had procured from the ships, and which had become unsoldered. She paid little attention to our in-

structions, and at length completed the task, in her own way, by suspending the kettle over the flame of the lamp, and dropping pieces of solder obtained from the rim of a meat canister, which when melted she spread with a spike-nail over the joint. In the evening we were diverted by Koo-eetsecarioc, who went through the whole ceremony of raising Tornga. My men put up a screen, behind which he went after some persuasion, and performed the whole of his part with great skill, particularly the diving scene, where he managed his voice so well that it really appeared to come some distance from under ground. It would seem from this that the art is not difficult, and that, from the ridicule with which they seemed to treat it, they were not imposed on. The old people alone seemed to pay respect to the Angetkoks, while the young ones invariably treated their mysteries with contempt.

“ At half-past ten in the morning on the 13th, we quitted this station, which by the mean of five meridian altitudes is in lat.  $69^{\circ} 42' 29''$ , and by the mean of seven sets of observations for the chronometer, in long.  $00^{\circ} 46' 22''$  E. of the ships' winter station. The ice was so full of cracks and holes that it was with difficulty the sledge could proceed, and it was only enabled to stand the heavy shocks it received by the looseness of its construction. Two large seals being seen on the ice, the sledges stopped while two of the Esquimaux went in pursuit of them. It was full two hours before they got close to one of them, which they effected by crawling feet foremost towards the animal; one man lying concealed behind the other who, by scraping on the ice with his spear, and moving his feet in imitation of a seal's-flipper, deceived the animal until they got within six or seven yards of it. They then remained stationary some time as if to accustom the seal to them; when at length the nearest man, springing on his feet, darted his spear, which however striking a bone did not take effect. Notwithstanding the quickness of the movement, the animal was half down the hole before the spear

quitted the men's hand. At four o'clock, having advanced about fourteen miles along shore to the westward, the party stopped at a rocky point, where they signified their intention of remaining some days. A few miles to the westward a low point ran out with several small islands off it. Beyond this point was an extensive opening, which the Esquimaux represented to be a bay which they go up on their route to Toonoonee-roochiuk. Dunn joined us about an hour after our arrival, with the intelligence of having killed a deer five or six miles to the westward. By promising the Nerooka a part of the deer, before mentioned by Captain Lyon as considered a great delicacy by these people, a sledge was easily procured, upon which my two men went, accompanied by one of the Esquimaux, to bring it in. Our provision being nearly expended, I desired the men to endeavour to bargain with their companion for his sledge to carry us to Neerlonakto; whilst I also endeavoured to hire one in the event of their failure. In the evening Erichiuk and some others had a long conversation about the ships going to Toonoonec-roochiuk, an event they seemed very anxious to bring about. He persisted in saying it was practicable for them to go by a western route; and as he still continued positive after I had explained to him that we found the Strait blocked up by ice last summer, I concluded that he alluded to some other opening which the formation of the land precluded us from seeing at present.

"The man who had promised us his sledge the preceding evening, now refused it, because we did not immediately comply with his demands for the deer's sinews. In consequence of this I determined, if he persisted in his refusal next morning, to construct a light sledge with our boarding-pikes to carry our baggage, which by this time was become tolerably light.

"On the receipt of the sinews and some of the flesh however, he was again willing to lend his sledge the following

day; we therefore prepared to move immediately after breakfast. The latitude of this station by one meridian altitude was  $69^{\circ} 46' 12''$  N., the longitude, by means of two sets of sights for the chronometer, was  $00^{\circ} 34' 42''$  east of the ships. The Esquimaux seemed sorry to depart from us, a feeling rendered reciprocal by the kindness which they had uniformly shewn us. It is but justice to say that I never experienced more attention in my life, and that their whole conduct towards us seemed expressive of a grateful feeling for the advantages which they had derived from their intercourse with the ships. Our party was increased to six by two of the natives joining us just as we were starting. The ice was tolerably smooth and had but little water on it, so that my men, who walked more than two-thirds of the way, did it without fatigue, and at half an hour past six in the evening we landed on Neerlonaktoo. Our companions, who had volunteered to carry us to the ships, were anxious to proceed, but compassion for our poor dogs would not suffer me to hear of it. Although these people were kind and attentive to us, they did not think it necessary to extend this feeling to our dogs, which were become very lame, nor would they even supply us with a piece of skin to make boots for them, without demanding an exorbitant price. Whilst on Neerlonaktoo we saw three deer and great numbers of geese and other water fowl, but they were so shy that all our attempts to get near them were ineffectual.

“ Leaving the island at forty-five minutes past eleven, on the 16th, we arrived on Igloodik at twenty minutes past one. Having loaded our own dogs, the Esquimaux left theirs moored to a stone, where they were to remain without food until their return; and walking across the island we reached the ships at four in the afternoon.”

The ice continued daily, though slowly, to dissolve, and there still was a distance of nearly five miles from the ships to the open sea. The hope of extricating the ships there-



fore depended on the probability of some of those cracks taking place, which they had often witnessed, and which made an immediate clearance of the ice. While waiting in this expectation, on the 21st of July Captain Parry dispatched Lieutenant Hoppner once more to examine a bay or river of Cockburn Island, which had not been explored. He was accompanied by two of the crew, and provided with a sledge and dogs. On his return he made the following report of his journey.

“ At a quarter past four we left the Hecla, and having reached the head of the bay at half-past six, the party who were there in readiness carried the sledge across the isthmus; after which they returned to the ship. The fog was now so thick that it was impossible to proceed towards Neerlonaktoo, we therefore kept along the land-ice of Igloolik, when supposing ourselves nearly abreast of the former island, we went on shore to wait for better weather.

“ Thick foggy weather continued until four in the afternoon on the 22nd, when, it becoming clearer, we recommenced our journey, passing between Neerlonaktoo and three small whitish islands off its south-west end, which at a distance are easily mistaken for hummocks of dirty ice. The ice afterwards began to improve; but we were obliged by several wide cracks extending from Neerlonaktoo to the west land and the islands in Richards's Bay, to go some distance round to find parts sufficiently narrow to cross. At eleven in the evening we pitched our tent on the north-east island in Richards's Bay; the ice was so much broken up all round it that it was with difficulty we landed.

“ On the 23rd it rained hard all night, with thick hazy weather, which did not clear away until noon the following day. We immediately prepared to move; but it was twenty-five minutes past one in the afternoon before we got away, owing to the time taken up in shoeing the dogs, which for two people was a tedious operation. We stood directly over towards the north land, finding the ice so bad for the first six or

seven miles as to make it reasonable to expect that a very few days would render it impassable. Towards the centre of the strait it became very good, and continued so until we got near the north shore, where we found it in much the same state as on the opposite side. Several of the cracks extended from land to land, and were so wide as to cause us much perplexity in crossing them. At a quarter past nine we landed on a low sandy beach, which forms the south-east point of the opening we saw to the north-west, when on our former journey with the Esquimaux.

“ On the 24th the weather during the early part of the day was tolerably fine, but in the afternoon became foggy, with heavy showers of rain. The dogs being a good deal fagged, I determined to give them a day's rest, expecting we should be able to ascertain the extent of the inlet on foot. Having waited without success to get the meridian altitude, I walked up the inlet, and crossing the two first points of land, picked up a piece of fresh skin, which convinced me that our friends the Esquimaux had not much the start of us. A high mount on the south-side, about twelve or fourteen miles distant, becoming a very prominent object, I made towards it, hoping from thence to see the termination of the inlet, which here varied from one to three miles in breadth. At five in the afternoon, finding the hill above-mentioned still too distant for me to reach on foot, I landed on the right-hand shore, from whence the opening appeared to extend at least a day's journey for the sledge, continuing about the same breadth and not appearing to terminate even at the furthest point seen. After resting a short time, I returned towards the tent, determining, if our people had killed any thing which would furnish a supply of food for the dogs, to run up with the sledge next day, and if possible reach its termination. Having walked about five miles back, I discovered an Esquimaux tent on the north side, which being pitched behind a point had escaped my notice on passing up, and which proved to belong to some of our old

friends. As the want of food for the dogs had made me fearful we should be obliged to abandon our object before its accomplishment, I immediately bargained with them for a supply, promising to visit them the next day. They had a few pieces of very fine looking fish drying on the rocks. After stopping with them about ten minutes, I took my leave, and, on reaching the point next above our tent, found that the rest of the Esquimaux had arrived during my absence.

“ At twenty minutes past twelve on the 25th we struck our tent and proceeded up the inlet, stopping a few minutes at the first point, where we purchased some meat for the dogs, and got the promise of a seal on our return. At three in the afternoon we arrived at the tent of Erichiuk, from whom we purchased some more meat and a very fine salmon. The Esquimaux told us we might reach the head of the inlet to-day; we therefore left one of our dogs which was lame in Erichiuk's charge, and resumed our journey, with the intention of lightening the sledge at the first convenient place. At four in the afternoon, having reached two small islets situated nearly in mid-channel, we buried whatever we could spare, to ensure the accomplishment of our object; and having stopped half an hour to refresh ourselves, we set off at a quick pace. The weather was so thick that it was but very rarely we got a glimpse of the shores on each side of us; when we did, they seemed rocky and steep; but a short distance from the beach the land appeared well clothed with vegetation. As we advanced the ice became very thin and rotten, and gave indications of our approach to its termination: at length, about half past nine, we found ourselves within fifty yards of the water, and were obliged to pick our way to the shore over a very rotten surface. On landing we were gratified by the sight of a noble sheet of water, a mile and a half in breadth and perfectly fresh. The tide was out, but there was no current perceptible in the middle, nor did we notice any during the whole time of our stay. The Esquimaux had informed us of a

large fall, but as we neither saw nor heard any thing of it, it must be a good way higher up, our point of view extending full fifteen miles, when it terminated in two bluff points, between which the stream seemed to wind. To these points, to all appearance, it continued about the same breadth, and from the colour of the water it must be deep enough for ships of large burden. The land on each side was high, and where we stood was more closely covered with vegetation than any spot we had ever seen in these regions. The dwarf willow grew to a height and size almost entitling it to be called a shrub, and *Andromeda tetragona* was in the greatest abundance.

“ On the 26th I sent one of my men to the top of a high hill behind our tent, but his view from thence was not more extensive than what we had already procured. After stopping to get the meridional altitude, which gave the lat.  $70^{\circ} 06' 42''$  N., the longitude, by chronometer, being  $0^{\circ} 39' 48''$  W. of the ships, we set out on our return. As the ice was broken up for two miles below us, we endeavoured to get on the solid floe by a narrow neck about one hundred yards broad; but having got half way, it proved so thin and rotten that I considered it better to return, than to run the risk of crossing it. The dogs dragged the sledge along shore until we came to the firm ice, performing their task much better than we expected. We now returned down the river, and, having picked up the things left on the island, arrived at the Esquimaux tents at half-past eight. They received us very kindly, assisting us to unload the sledge and carry the things to the top of the hill. We purchased of them some very fine salmon, which they caught in a small rivulet emptying itself into a bay about a quarter of a mile from the tents.

“ The 27th proving a fine day, the men all went out with their fishing-spears at high-water, but returned in a short time, saying there were no fish, from which it is probable that they only come here occasionally, resorting at

other times to other places of the same description, with which the river abounds. The latitude of this station is  $70^{\circ} 0' 13''$  N. ; longitude, by chronometer,  $0^{\circ} 5' 40''$  W. of the ships. We left our friends about one in the afternoon ; they continued civil to the last, although the temptation to rob us was too great to resist. This, however, they did in a sly sort of way, removing things from where we had placed them, with the idea, perhaps, that we should not miss them until we had taken our departure. On tasting the water at this station, which is not more than seven or eight miles from the mouth of the opening, it proved nearly fresh. We kept close along the north shore, passing over very bad ice, with cracks extending across to the eastern part of the strait. It appeared only to want a strong breeze from the westward to drive it out, as it was quite detached from the land. At nine in the evening we landed on a small rocky island, the easternmost of a group about fifteen miles from the spot where we left the Esquimaux on our former journey. From this point I could see that the land was connected ; as the only part which had been doubtful was in a bay formed by the north-eastern point of the river, and another about five miles westward from our present station, where (the land being rather low) there was an appearance of an opening ; this day's journey, however, proved the continuity of the coast. Our time being limited, I did not think it worth while going any farther to the eastward ; but as the dogs would require a day's rest previously to carrying us over to Igloodik, I determined to remain here until the 29th for that purpose.

“ The weather was so thick, that it was not until past ten on the 29th that we left the north land, and at seven arrived on the west end of Neerlonaktoo, where we stopped for the night, our dogs being too much tired to proceed. We found the ice in coming over far better than I expected. It was however separated from both lands by wide cracks, and did not average more than two feet in thickness as far

as I could judge; it appeared nearly in the same state as last year at this season.

“ Leaving Neerlonaktoo at half-past eleven on the 30th, we reached Igloolik at two in the afternoon. The ice between the two islands was almost impassable for a sledge in some places, but the pools were all frozen over, for the first time, during the night. We found great difficulty in landing on Igloolik, the ice having broken up into detached pieces along its shores. In getting the sledge across from one end to the other, we were frequently near losing it, the dogs having to swim across several of the spaces between the broken pieces of ice. Having crossed the isthmus, we got sight of the ships and arrived on board about four in the afternoon.”

They had now entered upon the month of August, yet the ships were so completely surrounded with ice as to preclude all approaches to the open water, excepting that around the ships to a small distance there was an open space of water. Captain Parry therefore resolved, arduous as was the attempt, to endeavour to saw a passage through the ice to the sea, a distance of nearly five miles, and with this view a tent was pitched for the ships' company to take their meals in. On the third of the month, however, the ice opened to within a mile of the ship, so that the sawing might be proceeded on with a greater prospect of success, and the following day near four hundred yards of ice were cut through. In effecting this the crew endured much fatigue, and the ice often breaking several of the men fell into the water. One of them very narrowly escaped drowning, being at such a distance as that help could not be readily afforded him.

The prospect of being liberated from the ice being probable, the parties which had been appointed to fish and obtain provisions were called in. The boats had a narrow escape one day in attacking a herd of walrusses, the

wounded ones attacking them with their tusks and stove one of the boats in several places.

The circumstance of the season being so far advanced as to afford a very short space for attempting further discoveries, induced Captain Parry to reconsider his purpose of remaining another winter in these climates with the *Fury* only. The state of health of several of the officers and crew appeared also to have undergone a considerable change; and the effect of a third winter might be of too serious consequence to admit of his proceeding, without first taking the opinion of the medical gentlemen as to its probable effects. Impressed with these sentiments, he addressed a requisition to them desiring their opinion under all the circumstances, and received from Mr. Edwards the following reply, with which in substance that of Mr. Skeoch coincided.

“ During the last winter and subsequently, the aspect of the people of the *Fury* in general, together with the increased number and character of their complaints, strongly indicated that the peculiarity of the climate and service was slowly effecting a serious decay of their constitutional powers. The recent appearance also of several cases of incipient scurvy in the most favourable month of the year, and occurring after a more liberal and continued use of fresh animal food than we can calculate upon procuring hereafter, are confirmatory proofs of the progression of the evil.

“ With a tolerable prospect of eventual success, other circumstances remaining unchanged, I should yet expect an increase of general debility, with a corresponding degree of sickness, though at the same time confident of our resources being equal to obviate serious consequences. But considering the matter in the other point of view, namely, as a single ship, it assumes a much more important shape. It is not necessary that I should dwell on the altered circumstances in which the crew would then be placed, as they are such as you

must long ago have foreseen and weighed. I allude to the increase of labour and exposure resulting from the separation of the vessels, the privation of many salutary occupations, mental and corporeal, attending their union, and, I may add, at this late period of the season, the hopelessness of the success of the ensuing navigation being such as to excite feelings sufficiently lively to counteract those depressing causes. It is impossible, in fact, to reflect on the subject and not to apprehend a less favourable result than might be expected under the preceding conditions."

On the 8th, the ice moved around the *Fury*, which making sail, got into open water. The ice around the *Hecla* however, though agitated at first, did not move out of the bay, and she still remained beset. Captain Parry however determined to occupy the time in an examination of the strait which closed their operations the preceding year. On arriving at the place, a most hopeless prospect presented itself, as the ice was attached to the shores on each side, and from the mast-head they had a distinct and extensive view of one solid piece of ice as far as the eye could see to the westward up the strait.

Being fully satisfied of the impracticability of a passage this way, the *Fury* returned towards Igloolik to rejoin the *Hecla*, who on the 9th was driven to sea, on the ice breaking, in the middle of a floe in the most perilous manner. She was thus driven over shoals, in an unmanageable state, but fortunately escaped without any accident.

In addition to the report of the medical officers, Captain Parry requested the opinion of Captain Lyon as to the propriety of pursuing the attempt of further discovery, and received the following reply.

"As I consider the health of your crew as of most importance in every point of view, I shall in the first place state that, independently of the weighty opinions of your medical officers, it has for some time been my opinion that the *Fury's* passing a third winter in this country would be



extremely hazardous. I am induced thus to express myself from the great change I have observed in the constitution of the officers and men of the *Hecla*, and by the appearance of some severe cases of scurvy since the summer has commenced ; I am also aware that the same scorbutic symptoms have been noticed, and do still exist, in the *Fury*.

“ Our long continuance on one particular diet, almost total deprivation of fresh animal and vegetable food for above two years, and the necessary and close confinement for several months of each severe winter, are undoubtedly the causes of the general alteration of constitution which has for some time past been so evident. I therefore conceive that a continued exposure to the same deprivations and confinements, the solitude of a single ship, and the monotony of a third winter to men whose health is precarious, would in all probability be attended with very serious consequences.

“ When at the commencement of the last winter I gave it as my opinion, that the service would be benefited by your remaining out in the *Fury*, as you proposed, and still attempting a further passage to the westward, I did not anticipate so long a confinement in the ice as we have unfortunately experienced, and formed my opinion on the supposition, and in the full expectation that we should be at liberty about the first of July of this year, and that the general good health which then prevailed would still continue. From our being detained until the present time, however, I am of opinion that the season in which it is possible to navigate has now so far passed, that nothing material can be effected either by one or both ships. We know from the experience of last year, that it is not before the end of August or the beginning of September that the ice breaks up in the Strait of the *Fury* and *Hecla*, and that it is not until that period that you will be enabled to re-examine its western entrance. Even when you should have done so, and, as there is every reason to expect, found it still closed, you would have

barely sufficient time to return to Igloodik to pass another winter. Again, should the sea prove open to the south-eastward, and should you deem it expedient to attempt, by rounding the very extensive land in that direction, to find some other passage to the westward, I conceive that the extreme lateness of the season would not admit of your making discoveries of any importance, or at all events of such importance as to warrant your passing a third winter, at the risk of the safety of your officers and crew.

“ Having now stated my reasons for changing my former opinion, I beg to advise that the *Fury* and *Hecla* return to England together, as soon as such arrangements respecting the removal of stores and provisions as you may judge proper to make shall be completed.”

Considering himself not justifiable after this in continuing longer in these seas, at the risk of the health and lives of those committed to his charge, Captain Parry communicated his intentions to the officers and ships companies. Additions were made to the daily allowance of provisions, and the various antiscorbutics, which had been reserved for a season of more expected emergency, were liberally issued. The provisions and extra stores that had been taken from the *Hecla*, with a view to her return to England alone, were now replaced, and some other arrangements were made as circumstances seemed to require.

On the 11th a flag-staff, fifty-six feet in height, was erected on the main land, agreeable to the instructions of the Lords of the Admiralty, at the top of which a ball was placed, formed of iron hoops and canvass, and a cylinder was buried at the foot of the staff, containing a statement of the ships having been here. Captain Lyon in the meantime was occupied in bringing off the boats, tents, and other articles left on shore, which from the drifting of the ice he did not accomplish without some difficulty. Ultimately one boat was left, which being very old was not considered material, especially as the wood would be very serviceable

to their friends the Esquimaux. In addition to this they left their sledges and a quantity of wood, spears, paddles, and other articles, strewed about at a considerable distance, that they might become the property of different individuals.

On the 12th of August they took their final leave of Igloolik, and the following day made the three islands called Ooglit, being a considerable run in an open sea. Here they saw a great number of walruses. On the 14th several Esquimaux who had their abode in this neighbourhood paid them a visit, among whom they noticed several of their old acquaintances.

They continued to drift with the ice rather than to sail for several succeeding days, and on the 31st arrived at their old quarters off Winter Island. In this period they had moved along the coast to the extent of one hundred and sixty miles, of which they had not sailed fifty, the remainder having been effected by drifting while beset with the ice.

As the natives of these inhospitable regions occupy so prominent a place in the narrative, it may not be improper to insert an account of the settlement of the Moravians on the Labrador coast. Having established themselves in Greenland, some of them were desirous of extending their settlement, and accordingly Matthew Stach, the oldest resident, in 1752 solicited the Hudson's Bay Company for permission to visit the Indians belonging to the factories. His application proving fruitless, some of the friends in London, joined by several well-disposed merchants, fitted out a vessel for a trading voyage on the coast of Labrador. Four persons went out in her, together with Christian Erhard, a Dutchman, who having been engaged in the whale fishery in Disko Bay, had picked up some knowledge of the Greenlandic.

They set sail in May 1752, and in July cast anchor in a large bay on the coast of Labrador, to which they gave the name of Nisbet's Haven, in honour of one of the owners of the ship. Here they determined to fix their residence, and

erected their house which they had taken with them ready framed. Erhard meanwhile proceeded with the ship farther to the north, for the purpose of trade. He found that he could make himself tolerably well understood by the Esquimaux; but as they were afraid to come on board on account of the guns, he suffered them to persuade him to land in a bay between the islands in an unarmed boat with five of the crew. None of them returned, and as the ship had not another boat, no search could be made for them. The captain, having waited several days without being able to gather any information respecting their fate, sailed back to Nisbet's Haven, and calling on board the settlers, represented to them, that after the loss of his boat and the best part of his men, he could not accomplish his voyage home without their assistance. Under such circumstances they could not refuse his request; but they left the place with regret, and consoled themselves with the thoughts of returning in the following year. On their arrival in England it was not deemed advisable to renew the attempt, until intelligence should be received of the safety of Erhard and his companions; and as on the return of the ship, several of their dead bodies were discovered, and the deserted house was burnt to the ground, both the trade and the mission were for that time abandoned.

In 1764, Jens Haven, who had laboured for several years as a missionary in Greenland, and had recently returned with Crantz to Germany, proposed to resume this enterprise. With this intention, he came to England, and was introduced by the Brethren in London to Hugh Palliser, Esq. (afterwards Sir Hugh Palliser) the governor of Newfoundland, who freely offered him his support, and gave him the necessary letters of recommendation. The governor himself arriving shortly after at his station, issued a proclamation in his favour, which reflects no less credit on his own judgment than on the disinterested zeal of Jens Haven. "Hitherto," he says, "the Esquimaux have been consi-

dered in no other light than as thieves and murderers ; but as Mr. Haven has formed the laudable plan not only of uniting these people with the English nation, but of instructing them in the Christian religion, I require, by virtue of the power delegated to me, that all men, whomsoever it may concern, lend him all the assistance in their power."

In May of the same year he arrived at St. John's ; but he had to meet with many vexatious delays, before he reached his destination, every ship with which he engaged refusing to land for fear of the Esquimaux. He was at length set on shore in Chateau Bay, on the southern coast of Labrador ; here, however, he found no signs of population, except severed scattered tumuli, with the arrows and implements of the dead deposited near them. Embarking again, he finally landed on the island of Quirpont or Quiveron, off the north-east extremity of Newfoundland, where he had the first interview with the natives.

"The 4th September," he writes in his journal, "was the happy day when I saw an Esquimaux arrive in the harbour. I ran to meet him, and addressed him in Greenlandic. He was astonished to hear his own language from the mouth of an European, and answered me in broken French. I requested him to return and bring four of the chief of his tribe with him, as I wished to speak with them. He accordingly ran back with speed, shouting out, 'Our friend is come.' Meanwhile, I put on my Greenland dress, and met them on the beach. I told them, I had long desired to see them, and was glad to find them well. They replied, 'Thou art indeed our countryman.' The joy at this meeting was great on both sides. After the conversation had continued for some time, they begged me to accompany them to an island about an hour's row from the shore, adding, that there I should find their wives and children, who would receive me as a friend. The steers-man and another of the crew, landed me on the island, but immediately pushed off again to see at a safe distance what would become of me. I was sur-

rounded by the natives, each of them pushing forward his family to attract my notice. I warned them not to steal any thing from our people, and represented to them the danger of it. They told me that the Europeans were also guilty of thieving, to which I replied, that if they would only inform me of the delinquent, he should be punished.

“ The next day, eighteen of them returned my visit, according to promise. I took this opportunity to assure them of the friendly disposition of the British government towards them, and promised that no injury should be done to them, if they conducted themselves peaceably ; I also offered them a written declaration to this effect from Governor Palliser ; but they shrunk back, when I presented it to them, supposing it to be alive, nor could they by any means be persuaded to accept of this writing. They listened to all I said, with the greatest attention.

“ In their bartering concerns with the crew, they constituted me arbiter of their differences ; for, said they, you are our friend. They begged me to come again the next year, with some of my brethren, and were overjoyed when I promised that I would. I told them also, that on my return, I would speak to them of things which were of the greatest importance to their happiness, and instruct them in the knowledge of God. One of them asked if God lived in the sun. Another enquired, whether it would make him more prosperous in his affairs, if he believed in his Creator. I replied, there was no doubt of it, if he attended to them with proper diligence ; but the happiness of a future life, was infinitely preferable to present prosperity, and this might confidently be expected by those who trusted in God while here, and lived according to his will. When I was about to take leave of these interesting people, the Angekok Segullia took me into his tent, and embracing me, said, ‘ We are at present rather timid, but when you come again, we will converse together without suspicion.’ ”

On the third day the Esquimaux left the harbour altoge-

ther, and after a short stay at Quirpont Haven returned to Newfoundland. Sir H. Palliser and the Board of Trade expressed their entire approbation of his proceedings. He therefore made a second voyage in the ensuing year, accompanied by Christian Laurence Drachart, formerly one of the Danish missionaries in Greenland, and two others. Having arrived at Newfoundland, they went on board his Majesty's ship *Niger*, Captain Sir Thomas Adams, and landed July 17, in Chateau Bay, latitude  $52^{\circ}$ , on the south coast of Labrador. Here the party separated; Haven and Schlötzer engaging with another vessel, to explore the coast northwards; they did not, however, accomplish any thing material in this expedition, nor did they meet with a single Esquimaux the whole time. Drachart and John Hill remained in Chateau Bay, and were fortunate enough to have the company of several hundred Esquimaux, for upwards of a month; during which period they had daily opportunities of intercourse.

As soon as Sir Thomas Adams had received intelligence that they had pitched their tents at a place twenty miles distant, he sailed thither, to invite them, in the name of the Governor, to Pitt's Harbour. On the approach of the ship, the savages in the kayjaks hailed them with shouts of *Tout camerade, oui Hu!* and the crew returned the same salutation. Mr. Drachart did not choose to join in the cry, but told Sir Thomas that he would converse with the natives in their own language. When the tumult had subsided, he took one of them by the hand, and said, in Greenlandic, '*We are friends.*' The savage replied, '*We are also thy friends.*' Several of them were now admitted on board. A man in a white woollen coat said that it had been given him by Johannesingoak, (Jens Haven,) as a keep-sake, and enquired where he was. They invited Drachart to go on shore, and the elders of the tribe, followed by the whole horde, amounting to not less than three hundred persons, conducted him round the encampment from tent to tent, re-

peatedly exclaiming, "Fear nothing; we are friends; we understand thy words. Wherefore art thou come?" "I have words to you," said he. On this, they led him to a green plot, and seated themselves round him on the grass. 'I came' he began, 'from the Karaler in the east, where I had lately a tent, wife, children, and servants. On hearing this, they cried out, 'These northern Karaler, are bad people.' 'I come not from the north,' returned he; 'but over the great sea, from the eastern Karaler, of whom you have perhaps heard nothing, as it is a very long time since they quitted this country. But they have heard of you, and Johannesingoak and I have visited you, to tell you that these Karaler are your friends, and believe on the Creator of all things, who is our Saviour, and that they wish you to know him too.' They were much perplexed by this speech, which they made him repeat over and over, until, at length, an old man took upon him to explain its import. 'He means Silla,' said he, and made several circles round his head with his hand, blowing at the same time with his mouth. 'Yes,' said Drachart, 'he is Silla Pingortitsirsok, the Creator of the world. He has made the heaven, the air, the earth, and man.' 'But where is he?' enquired one; and, 'what is the meaning of the Saviour?' added a second. Drachart using the same gesticulations which he had seen the old man make, replied, 'He is every where in Silla; but he once became a man, and abode many years on earth to make men happy.' One of them now asked, if he was a teacher; and when he replied, that he had taught the Karaler in the east, two old men, with long beards, came forwards, and said that they were Angekoks. He took them by the hand, and placing them before Sir Thomas, informed them that he was the captain, and had been sent by a more powerful captain to enter into a friendship with them.

Thus the conference concluded, and Sir Thomas hastened back to Pitt's Harbour to make his report to the governor.

The peninsula of Labrador extends from latitude  $52^{\circ} 20'$ , to latitude  $62^{\circ}$ . But though its northern extremity, Cape



Chidley, lies under the same degree of latitude with Cape Farewell, the southernmost point of Greenland, the rigour of the climate even exceeds, if possible, that of the latter country. This is no doubt owing to the vast tracts of land covered with snow and ice, or with immense forests, lakes, and morasses which impart a prodigious severity to the north, west, and south winds that blow in Labrador ; while on the other hand, their chilliness is mitigated, before they reach Greenland, by the intervention of Davis's Strait.

It was with the utmost difficulty that they could be induced to visit the harbour where the ships lay. To Mr. Drachart's assurances of friendship, they replied, laughing, "Yes, yes, we know that you will not kill us, for you are a teacher;" and gave him their hands in token of amity, but when, after much persuasion, they had accompanied him to the bay, they absolutely declined going on board the commodore's vessel, and landed on the shore. Whenever they were admonished to abstain from doing any thing, their first question was, "whether they should be killed for it?" They would suffer no one to examine their boats or utensils, or to take any draught of them. When a shallop came to their place of rendezvous, they would not allow the sailors to come on shore with their arms; they even endeavoured to take the captain's gun, considering it as an infraction of the peace agreed upon, to carry weapons. An Indian, in attempting to cut away a tow from a wrecked ship, was perceived by a sentinel, who presented his musket, and an alarm was instantly given. The savages drew their knives, and set themselves in a posture of defence. One of them tore open his jacket, and bared his breast, daring the crew to fire. Order was, however, soon restored, and the brethren led away the Indians to their tents. Another time, a cabin-boy purloined an arrow from a kayak. A woman betrayed the theft. A concourse of natives instantly flocked round him, snatched the dart from his hand, and were on the point of sacrificing him to their rage. They were appeased by the promise that they should have satisfaction. The cap-

tain ordered the youth to be bound and flogged in their presence ; but scarcely had he received two lashes, when an *angekok* interfered, pushed back the sailor who was entrusted with the execution of the sentence, and unbound the culprit. Every one admired this instance of natural and humane feeling, thus unexpectedly developed in savages, whose hearts were supposed to be as barbarous as their appearance was uncouth and forbidding.

The governor wished to prevent them from crossing over to Newfoundland, where, according to their own account, they procured a certain kind of wood not to be found in their country, of which they made their darts. But since they interpreted this prohibition as a breach of peace, it was rescinded, on their promise to commit no depredation on the fishing vessels they might meet with on the way ; to which engagement they scrupulously adhered.

They evinced a friendly disposition and welcomed Haven on his return, and praised him for being true to his promise. But though they showed no signs of a hostile intention, they were inclined to take several troublesome freedoms with their visitors. Thus, in one of their tents, Mr. Drachart had his pockets turned inside out. They took every thing they contained, and his hat into the bargain ; however, on his appealing to the seniors of the horde, they obliged the plunderers to refund their booty, even to a knife which they begged as a keep-sake. The next time the rogues picked his pocket, they thought proper to do it secretly. But no sooner did the old men perceive that he had missed something, than they assembled all the young savages in the house, and ordered the article in question to be restored. The thief immediately stepped forwards, without the least marks of shame or fear : " There," said he, " are your things ; you perhaps need them yourself."

In their frequent journeys backward and forward, between the station of the ships and the *Esquimaux*, the missionaries had to contend with formidable obstacles, having frequently

to spend several nights together sleepless, without a morsel of food, and exposed, under the open air, to the rain and wind. One dreadful night is thus described in their journal.

“ September 12. In the evening a violent storm, with rain, arose. A shallop was driven to the shore, and ran a-ground on the rocks. By the offer of an ample reward, we persuaded the savages to lend us their assistance in bringing it off. Eight of them put on their sea-dress, waded into the water up to the arm-pits, and toiled at it upwards of an hour, without being able to set it afloat. Our ship, meanwhile, wore away from the shore, and left us alone with the natives. John Hill and the ship's surgeon engaged to follow the vessel in a small boat, and make some arrangements with the captain for their safety ; but their boat was dashed against the ship's side by the waves, with so violent a concussion, that it upset. Fortunately they caught hold of a rope which hung over the side of the vessel, to which they clung, until those on board could draw them up. Drachart and Haven now betook themselves to the stranded shallop, but they were destitute of provisions, and the rain fell in torrents. The Esquimaux came and represented to us, that the boat could not possibly float before the tide returned in the morning, and invited us to lodge for the night in their tents. We judged this to be the most eligible plan we could adopt in our present situation. Immediately, the angekok Segullia plunged into the water, and carried us on his back to the beach. He then led us to his tent, gave us dry clothes, and spread a skin on the floor for us to sit on. The tent was crowded with people. They several times asked us ‘ if we were not afraid ; ’ we answered, ‘ We are certainly ignorant of what passes in your minds, but you are our friends, and friends do not use to fear each other.’ To this they rejoined, ‘ We are good Karaler, and are now convinced that you are not Kablunät, but well-disposed Innuït, for you come to us without wea-

pons. They set before us fish, water, and bread, which last had been given them by the sailors, and shortly after, all retired to rest. But Segullia now commenced his incantations, which he began with singing some unintelligible stanzas, together with his wives. He then muttered over some charm, threw himself into every imaginable contortion of body, at times sending forth a dreadful shriek, held his hand over Drachart's face, who lay next to him; and rolled about on the ground, uttering at intervals loud, but only half articulate cries, of which we could merely catch the words, 'Now is my Torngak come.' Perceiving that Drachart was awake, and had raised himself a little on his arm, as often as he extended his hand over his face, he kissed it. He now lay for some time as still as death, after which he again began to whine and moan, and at last to sing. We said we would sing something better, and repeated many Greenlandic verses, of which, however, they could comprehend but very little. It was in vain that we endeavoured to compose ourselves to sleep for the rest of the night; we, therefore, frequently arose and went out of the tent; but Segullia appeared to view our motions with suspicion, and always followed us when we left the tent. In the morning he thus addressed us: 'You may now tell your countrymen that you have lodged with me in safety. You are the first Europeans that ever spent a night under my tent. You have shown me, by your fearless behaviour amongst us, that we have nothing to dread from you.' In return for our accommodations, we distributed glass beads, fishhooks, and needles, amongst his people."

The preparatory visits of Haven and Drachart cleared the way for the ultimate settlement of a mission of the brethren at Nain in 1771, a grant of the land necessary for the purpose having been obtained from the Privy Council, and formally purchased by the missionaries from the Esquimaux, who testified the highest gratification at the proceeding.

Besides the two missionaries above-mentioned, were two married couples, and seven single brethren, the whole company consisting of fourteen persons. Having taken with them the frame of a house, they immediately began to erect it, and, with the assistance of the sailors, completed it in less than two months. A company of brethren in London, united to send a ship annually to Labrador to supply them with the necessaries of life, and to carry on some trade with the natives. The missionaries also found means to be of service to the Esquimaux, and to earn something for their own subsistence, by building them boats, and making tools and other utensils.

Some hundreds of Esquimaux, principally of the Nuenguak tribe, attended the preaching of the Gospel during the summer months, but on the approach of winter they withdrew to various parts of the coast. Though they were, for the most part, very willing to be instructed, no lasting impression appeared to be made on their minds. The missionaries were therefore agreeably surprised by the intelligence, that Anauke, one of these savages, being on his death-bed in the beginning of 1773, had spoken of Jesus as the Redeemer and Saviour of men, had constantly prayed to him, and departed in confident reliance on his salvation. "Be comforted," said he to his wife, who began to howl and shriek like the rest of the heathens, at his approaching end, "I am going to the Saviour." The brethren had been prevented from visiting him during his illness by the inclemency of the weather; but his happy dissolution had a favourable influence on his countrymen, who ever after spoke of him under the appellation of, "The man whom the Saviour took to himself."

As this settlement was found insufficient to serve as a gathering place for the Esquimaux dispersed along a line of coast not less than six hundred miles in extent, especially as it afforded but scanty resources to the natives during the winter season, when they had fewer inducements to rove

from place to place, it was determined to establish two other mission stations, the one to the north and the other to the south of Nain. Accordingly, in 1774, four of the missionaries undertook a voyage to explore the coast to the northward. Though they attained their object, the consequences of this expedition were most unfortunate. On their return, the vessel struck on a rock, where she remained fixed till her timbers were dashed to pieces. After a night of the utmost anxiety, they betook themselves early the next morning to their boat; but this also foundered on the craggy shore. Two of them, the brethren Brasen and Lehmann, lost their lives; the other two, Haven and Lister, together with the sailors, saved themselves by swimming, and reached a barren rock. Here they must inevitably have perished, had they not found means to draw their shattered boat on shore, and repair it so far that they could venture into it on the fourth day after their shipwreck. The wind was in their favour; and they had soon the good fortune to meet an Esquimaux, who towed them into the harbour of Nain.

The next year, Haven and Lister, accompanied by Mr. Beck, ventured to make a second voyage to the south, and penetrated as far as Nisbet's Haven, where the adventurers had first landed, and where the ruins of their house were still seen. Here, after some search, they found a spot near Arvertok, better suited for a mission-settlement, than any yet discovered.

But before the directors of the missions were apprised of this new station, they had commissioned Brother Haven to begin a new settlement at Okkak, about a hundred and fifty miles to the north of Nain. The land was purchased from the Esquimaux, in 1775, and in the following year Haven, with his family, and three other missionaries, established themselves in the place. They immediately began to preach the Gospel to the neighbouring savages, and though their success was not rapid, it was sufficient to animate their

spirits. In 1778 the six first adults of this place were baptized, and many more were added in a short time.

In March 1782, two of the missionaries experienced a most merciful interposition of Providence when their lives were in the utmost danger. Samuel Liebisch, one of the missionaries at Nain, being at that time entrusted with the general direction of the settlements in Labrador, the duties of his office required him to pay a visit to Okkak, in which he was accompanied by William Turner, another of the missionaries. They set out on their journey in a sledge driven by one of their baptized Esquimaux, and were joined by another sledge of Esquimaux, the whole party consisting of five men, one woman, and a child. All were in good spirits; the morning was clear, the stars shining with uncommon lustre, and, as the track over the frozen sea was in the best order, they travelled with ease at the rate of six or seven miles an hour, so that they hoped to reach Okkak in two or three days. After passing the island in the bay of Nain, they kept at a considerable distance from the coast, both to gain the smoothest part of the ice, and to avoid the high and rocky promontory of Kiglapeit. About eight o'clock they met a sledge with Esquimaux turning in towards the land, who gave them some hints that it might be as well to return. As the missionaries, however, saw no cause for alarm, and suspected that the other party merely wished to enjoy the company of their friends a little longer, they proceeded on their way. After some time, their own Esquimaux remarked that there was a ground-swell under the ice. It was then hardly perceptible, except on lying down and applying the ear close to the ice, when a hollow disagreeably grating and roaring noise was heard, as if ascending from the abyss. The sky remained clear, except towards the east, where a bank of light clouds appeared, interspersed with some dark streaks; but as the wind blew strong from the north-west, nothing less was expected than a sudden change of weather.

The sun had now reached its height, and there was as yet little or no alteration in the appearance of the sky. But as the motion of the sea under the ice had grown more perceptible, the travellers became rather alarmed, and began to think it prudent to keep closer to the shore. The ice also, in many places, had large cracks and fissures, some of which formed chasms of one or two feet wide ; but as these are not uncommon even in its best state, and the dogs easily leap over them, the sledge following without danger, they are terrible only to strangers.

But as soon as the sun declined towards the west, the wind increased to a storm, the bank of clouds from the east began to ascend, and the dark streaks to put themselves in motion against the wind. The snow was violently driven about by partial whirlwinds, both on the ice and from off the peaks of the high mountains, and filled the air. At the same time the swell had increased so much that its effects upon the ice were very extraordinary and not less alarming. The sledges, instead of gliding smoothly along upon an even surface, now ran with violence after the dogs, and now seemed with difficulty to mount a rising hill ; for the elasticity of so vast a body of ice, many leagues square, resting on a troubled sea, though it was in some parts three or four yards thick, gave it an undulatory motion, not unlike that of a sheet of paper accommodating itself to the surface of a rippling stream. Noises, too, were now distinctly heard in many directions, like the report of cannon, owing to the bursting of the ice at a distance.

Dismayed at these prognostics, the travellers drove with all haste towards the shore, intending to take up their night-quarters on the north side of the Uivak ; but as they approached it, the prospect before them was truly terrific. The ice, having burst loose from the rocks, was heaved up and down, grinding and breaking into a thousand pieces against the precipice, with a tremendous noise, which, added to the roaring of the wind, and the driving of the snow, so con-



founded them, that they almost lost the power of seeing or hearing any thing distinctly. To make the land at any risk was now the only hope they had left ; but it was with the utmost difficulty the frightened dogs could be forced forwards, the whole body of ice sinking frequently below the surface of the rocks, then rising above it ; and as the only time for landing was the moment of its gaining the level of the shore, the attempt was extremely nice and hazardous. By God's mercy, however, it succeeded ; both sledges gained the land and were drawn up the beach, though with much difficulty.

Scarcely had they reached the shore, when that part of the ice, from which they had just escaped, burst asunder, and the water rushing up from beneath, covered and precipitated it into the deep. In an instant, as if at a signal, the whole mass of ice extending for several miles from the coast, and on both sides as far as the eye could reach, began to crack and sink under the immense waves. The scene was tremendous and awfully grand ; the monstrous fields of ice raising themselves out of the ocean, striking against each other, and plunging into the deep, with a violence not to be described, and a noise like the discharge of innumerable batteries of heavy guns. The darkness of the night, the roaring of the wind and sea, and the dashing of the waves and ice against the rocks, filled the travellers with sensations of awe and horror which almost deprived them of the power of utterance. They stood overwhelmed with astonishment at their miraculous escape, and even the pagan Esquimaux expressed gratitude to God for their deliverance.

The Esquimaux now began to build a snow house, about thirty paces from the beach, and about nine o'clock all of them crept into it, thankful for even such a place of refuge from the chilling and violent blasts of the storm. Before entering it, they once more turned their eyes to the sea, which was now free from ice, and beheld, with horror mingled with gratitude, the enormous waves driving furiously before

the wind, like huge floating castles, and approaching the shore, where, with hideous commotion, they dashed against the rocks, foaming, and filling the air with their spray. The whole company now took supper, and, after singing an evening hymn, they lay down to rest about ten o'clock. The Esquimaux were soon fast asleep, but Liebisch could get no rest, being kept awake by the tumult of the elements, and suffering at the same time from a sore throat, which gave him great pain.

The wakefulness of the missionary proved the deliverance of the whole party from sudden destruction. About two o'clock in the morning, Liebisch was startled by some drops of salt water falling from the roof of the snow house upon his lips. Though rather alarmed on tasting it, he lay quiet till the dropping became more frequent, when, just as he was about to give the alarm, a tremendous surf broke all at once close to the house, discharging a quantity of water into it; a second quickly followed, and carried away the slab of snow placed as a door before the entrance. The brethren immediately cried out to the Esquimaux to rise and quit the place. They jumped up in an instant; one of them cut a passage with his knife through the side of the house, and each seizing some part of the baggage, threw it out on a higher part of the beach. While the missionary Turner assisted the Esquimaux, Liebisch and the woman and child fled to a neighbouring eminence. The latter were wrapt up in a large skin, and the former took shelter behind a rock, for it was impossible to stand against the wind, snow, and sleet. Scarcely had the rest of the company joined them in this retreat, when an enormous wave carried away the whole house.

In this manner were they a second time delivered from the most imminent danger of death; but the remaining hours of the night were passed in great distress and the most painful reflections. Before the day dawned, the Esquimaux cut a hole into a large drift of snow, to screen the woman and

child, and the two missionaries. Liebisch, however, could not bear the closeness of the air, and was obliged to sit at the entrance, where they covered him with skins to defend him against the cold, as the pain in his throat was extreme. As soon as it was light, they built another snow house, about eight feet square, and six or seven feet high; yet their accommodations were still very miserable.

The missionaries had taken but a small stock of provisions with them, merely sufficient for the journey to Okkak, and the Esquimaux had nothing at all. They were, therefore, obliged to divide their small stock into daily portions, especially as there appeared no hope of soon quitting this dreary place, and reaching the habitations of men. Only two ways were left for effecting this; either to attempt the passage across the wild and unfrequented mountain of Kiglapait, or to wait for a new ice-track over the sea, which might not be formed for several weeks. They therefore resolved to serve out no more than a biscuit and a half a day to each. The missionaries every day endeavoured to boil so much water over their lamp as might serve them for coffee. They were all preserved in good health, and Liebisch very unexpectedly recovered on the first day from his sore throat. The Esquimaux, too, kept up their spirits, and even the sorcerer, Kassigiak, declared that it was proper to be thankful that they were still alive.

Towards noon of the second day, the weather cleared, and the sea, as far as the eye could reach, was perfectly free from ice; but the evening was again stormy, so that the party could not stir out of their snow house, which made the Esquimaux very low spirited and melancholy. Kassigiak suggested, that it would be well "to try to make good weather;" but this the missionaries, of course, opposed, and told him that his heathenish practices were of no avail. They were, likewise, so pressed for provisions, that the Esquimaux ate, one day, an old sack, made of fish-skin; the next day they began to devour a filthy worn-out

skin, which had served them for a mattress. At the first of these meals, they kept repeating, in a low humming tone, "You were a sack but a little while ago, and now you are food for us." The savages, however, possess the convenient quality of being able to compose themselves to sleep whenever they please, and, if necessary, they will sleep for days and nights together. The temperature of the air having been rather mild, occasioned a new source of distress; for the warm exhalations of the inhabitants melted the roof of the snow house, and this caused a continual dropping, which, by degrees, soaked every thing with water, and left them not a dry thread about them, nor a dry place to lie on.

On the sixth day of their confinement, the floating ice, which had for some time covered the coast, was again consolidated into a firm field. The Esquimaux belonging to the other sledge, set out the next morning to pursue their journey to Okkak; and the brethren resolved to return again to Nain. Mark, the Esquimaux driver, ran all the way round Kiglapeit, before the sledge, to find a good track; and, after travelling three hours, they reached the bay, and were consequently out of danger. Here they made a meal on the remnant of their provisions; and thus refreshed, continued their journey without stopping till they reached Nain, where they arrived at twelve o'clock at night.

It may be easily conceived, with what gratitude to God the whole family at Nain bade them welcome; during the storm, they had entertained considerable apprehensions for their safety, though its violence was not so much felt there, the coast being protected by the islands. The Esquimaux, who had met the two sledges when setting out, and had warned the travellers, in their own obscure manner, of the ground-swell, now threw out hints which terrified their friends, and especially the wives of the two missionaries. One of these Esquimaux, to whom Liebisch was indebted for some article of dress, came to his wife for payment "Wait a little," answered she; "when my husband returns,

he will settle with you ; for I am unacquainted with the bargain between you." " Samuel and William," replied the Esquimaux, " will return no more to Nain." " How, not return ! what makes you say so ?" After some pause, he replied, in a low tone, " Samuel and William are no more ! all their bones are broken, and in the stomachs of the sharks." He was so certain of their destruction, that he was with difficulty prevailed on to wait their return. He could not believe that it was possible for them to escape the tempest, considering the course they were taking. All their brethren, therefore, joined the more fervently in their thanksgivings for this signal deliverance.

The same missionary, Turner, made two inland expeditions, in the spring and autumn of 1780, in company of an Esquimaux hunting party. On their way to the principal haunts of the rein-deer, they had to cross a lake fifty miles long and about one mile broad, with high mountainous shores. The deer rove in herds round the banks of numerous smaller lakes ; into these they are driven by the Esquimaux, who then pursue them in their kajaks, and easily dispatch them with the spear. But the constitution of the missionary received a severe shock, from the intense cold and violent storms of snow to which he was exposed, added to the change from his ordinary diet to raw rein-deer's flesh, which was his chief subsistence during these journeys ; and the attempt was never repeated.

In the summer of 1782, the brethren began a third missionary settlement to the south, on the spot which they had formerly marked out and purchased from the Esquimaux. This station received the name of Hopedale ; Erhard and his companions having given this name to the place, not far distant, where they first landed, and built a house. The first proclamation of the gospel in this neighbourhood excited a considerable sensation, which seemed to augur favourably for its reception ; but various obstacles soon showed themselves, which threatened for a time to retard, if not

entirely to arrest its progress. The spirit of traffic had become extremely prevalent amongst the southern Esquimaux; the hope of exaggerated advantages which they might derive from a voyage to the European factories, wholly abstracted their thoughts from religious inquiries; and one boat-load followed another throughout the summer. A Frenchman from Canada, named Makko, who had newly settled in the south, and who sustained the double character of a trader and Catholic priest, was particularly successful in enticing the Esquimaux by the most tempting offers. Besides the evil consequences resulting from these expeditions in a spiritual point of view, so large a proportion of their wares were thus conveyed to the south, that the annual vessel which brought out provisions and other necessities for the brethren, and articles of barter for the natives, could make up but a small cargo in return; though the brethren, unwilling as they were to supply this ferocious race with instruments which might facilitate the execution of their revengeful projects, furnished them with the fire-arms, which they would otherwise, and on any terms, have procured from the south.

Another unfavorable circumstance for the new mission, was the neighbourhood of Arvertok, whose heathen inhabitants too frequently allured their believing countrymen to join them in practices of the grossest superstition; making them promise to return to their former pagan habits, which, however, they were to conceal from the observation of the missionaries; and when their enticements proved unavailing, their chief, Kapik, threatened to kill the refractory by his *torngak*.

The same temptations and the same propensity to mingle again with their pagan countrymen, in those forbidden diversions, which, however innocent in themselves, were, from their accompaniments, uniformly found to debase and brutalize their minds, existed in a greater or smaller degree, amongst the inhabitants of the two elder settlements. A

kache, or pleasure-house, which, to the grief of the missionaries, was erected in 1777, by the savages, near Nain, and resorted to by visitors from Okkak, has been described by the brethren. It was built entirely of snow, sixteen feet high and seventy square. The entrance was by a round porch, which communicated with the main body of the house by a long avenue, terminated at the farther end by a heart-shaped aperture, about eighteen inches broad and two feet in height. For greater solidity, the wall near the entrance was congealed into ice by water poured upon it. Near the entry was a pillar of ice supporting the lamp, and additional light was let in through a transparent plate of ice in the side of the building. A string hung from the middle of the roof, by which a small bone was suspended, with four holes driven through it. Round this, all the women were collected, behind whom stood the men and boys, having each a long stick, shod with iron. The string was now set a swinging, and the men, all together, thrust their sticks over the heads of their wives at the bone, till one of them succeeded in striking a hole. A loud acclamation ensued : the man sat down on a snow seat, and the victor, after going two or three times round the house singing, was kissed by all the men and boys ; he then suddenly made his exit through the avenue, and, on his return, the game was renewed.

To discourage these proceedings as much as possible, the missionaries directed their believing Esquimaux to build themselves houses on the ground belonging to the settlements, in which none were permitted to reside who were not seriously resolved to renounce heathenism, and all its superstitions. This regulation was carried into execution in Hope-Jale in 1783 ; and the same winter seventeen persons were admitted as candidates for baptism, of whom six were baptized next year.

Of the three stations, Okkak had commonly the largest, and Nain the smallest number of Esquimaux, resident dur-

ing the winter. The preachings were frequently very numerous attended, both at the former place and at Hope-dale, owing to the conflux of heathen who came from the neighbourhood. Some of these, from time to time, evinced a sincere disposition to receive the faith of Jesus, and were accordingly baptized; so that, though the unhappy trading voyages before mentioned had entirely withdrawn many baptized families from the congregation, the whole number in the three settlements amounted, in 1790, to about eighty persons, including catechumens.

A singular story, which circulated at Nain in 1773, and gained credit with the Esquimaux, may be mentioned as an instance of that deeply-rooted inclination for the marvellous and supernatural which rendered it so difficult, even for the Christian converts, to wean themselves from their attachment to former superstitious notions and observances. It was reported that the men in the north had at length killed Innukpak, with his wife and children. This was a murderer of such monstrous size, that, while he stood in the valley of Nain, he might have rested his hand on the summit of the adjacent mountain. His dress was the white skin of the nennerluk, an amphibious bear, that hunted and devoured the seals, each of whose ears was large enough for the covering of a capacious tent. This beast did not scruple to eat human flesh, when he came on shore, where some affirmed they had seen him, and were vexed when their testimony was doubted. Indeed the brethren in Okkak thought they saw such a sea-monster one evening, in the August of 1786, which rose up to the height of a huge ice-berg, in the mouth of the bay, showed its white colour, and then plunged down again, leaving a whirlpool of foam. The Esquimaux, without hesitation, pronounced it to be the nennerluk; but as the description is so vague, we may justly call in question whether they were not deceived by some tumbling ice-berg.

With regard to their outward subsistence, the natives have  
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more abundant and various resources than the Greenlanders. Besides whales and seals, the bays are stocked with large shoals of cod and other fish, and the rivulets afford such plenty of salmon-trout, that the missionaries at Nain have, in favourable years, taken 5000 in the space of a week. The land furnishes a variety of fowl, hares, and rein-deer, which are sometimes found in great numbers in the interior, and the Esquimaux have killed 300 in a single hunt. Yet these supplies are so precarious, and so badly husbanded by this unthrifty race, that they are not unfrequently reduced to the greatest straits in winter. Towards the end of 1795, for instance, a great scarcity of provisions was experienced in Nain, and five of the Esquimaux were obliged to set out in sledges to fetch the deer which they had killed in the summer, and deposited under stones. In this journey, which occupied a week, they could not have travelled less than 300 miles, with no other sustenance than raw meat and cold water.

In August, 1799, the missionaries at Nain were surprised by a visit from a native of the most northern part of the coast, for which they were indebted to a wonderful accident. He had gone out on the ice in the January of 1797, with three companions, to hunt seals; but they were driven out to sea, with the fragment on which they stood, by a strong wind, till they lost sight of land. They must, if their reckoning was correct, have spent four months on this floating voyage, during which time they subsisted on raw seals, which they caught in great numbers, and was at length carried to shore in a distant part of the south. The simple and confidential manner of this Northlander favourably distinguished him from his southern countrymen.

Amidst the discouraging lukewarmness and deadness which prevailed amongst many members of their flock, and the open deviations of several who had already been baptized, the brethren had the pleasure to perceive that on some hearts the word of atonement had taken its natural

effect, producing a thorough change of conduct and sentiment, and in the hour of parting nature affording the true believer a firm ground of faith and hope. Amongst the foremost of this class was the widow Esther, who departed, at Okkak, in 1792. Being at Nain, on a visit with her parents, she heard of Jesus as her Creator and Redeemer, and, though quite a child, she retained a deep impression of these saving truths. It became her practice, as she afterwards related, to resort to a retired part of the hill, near Killanek, her birth-place, and there pour forth her prayers and complaints before her heavenly Friend. After the death of her father, she became the third wife of a man of a rough and brutal disposition, who was a murderer and sorcerer. The miseries which she had to endure from this marriage did not cease with the death of her husband ; she was hated on his account, and her two children so cruelly beaten that they died in consequence. At length, the baptized Rebecca, who pitied her in this distress, took her with her to Okkak. Here her ardent aspirations for all the blessings of Christ's family were soon satisfied, and she passed the remainder of her mortal life in an increasingly happy communion with her God. "He is my Father," she would often say ; "wherever I am, he is with me ; and I can tell him all my wants." She was the first of the Esquimaux who kept their profession of faith unblemished to the end. She constantly declined all offers of marriage, whether from believers or heathens, that she might continue, in summer as well as winter, with the brethren. Her natural talents were considerable, and she soon learned to read and write. In her illness she expressed her feelings in the words of holy writ : "Whether I live, I live unto the Lord, or whether I die, I die unto the Lord ; whether I live, therefore, or die, I am the Lord's. He laid down his life for my ransom, and he will keep his purchase." She died in her thirtieth year.

About the same time, the missionaries had the pleasure to witness the conversion of Tuglavina, a noted Esquimaux,

who, with his wife Mikkak, had rendered great assistance to them in their settlement at Labrador. By his strength, courage, and penetration, combined with the reputation of a potent wizard, he had acquired an unbounded influence over his weaker countrymen, and his word passed for law. He had committed many murders with his own hands, and was accessory to many more; for if any one had incurred his resentment, he had only to declare that the torngak had decreed his death, and a multitude of hands were instantly raised to seal the doom. But in the progress of years, when his bodily vigour began to decline, his extraordinary ascendancy, which rested entirely upon his personal qualities, declined with it, according to the common fate of savage chieftains. His friends of his own standing were continually dropping off, while those who inherited the wrongs done to their murdered or insulted kinsmen, were strong in youth and number. Tuglavina was reduced to poverty; of his numerous wives, some deserted him in the wane of his fortunes, others were violently taken from him, without his daring to make any resistance; and only one of them all remained. In these depressed circumstances, he could no longer repress those pangs of compunction and remorse by which he was assailed. On the first arrival of the brethren in the country, he had been convinced by their testimony, that he was a guilty and miserable man, exposed to inevitable destruction, if he persisted in his career; but he still found means to soothe the secret voice of conscience. Now, however, he declared his resolution to change his life, that he might seek forgiveness for his crimes, of which he made a free disclosure to the missionaries, and find rest for his soul. On his pressing request, he was permitted to reside with his family at Nain; and, though his pride led him at first into temporary aberrations from the right path, he gave such proofs of sincerity, that he was received into the congregation on Christmas-day, 1793. He had been baptized in Chateau Bay by a presbyterian minister, during a dange-

rous illness. After his admission to the holy communion, he made visible progress in humility and all other christian graces, and showed great anxiety for the conversion of his heathen countrymen, to which he contributed all in his power. Yet he once more suffered high thoughts to seduce him into such gross improprieties that it was necessary to exclude him for a time from the Lord's table, until he came to a due sense of his misconduct. He died in 1798, after a short illness, at the age of sixty years.

One of the objects of the establishment at Hopedale had been to promote an intercourse with the Red Indians who lived in the interior, and sometimes approached in small parties to the coast. A mutual reserve subsisted between them and the Esquimaux, and the latter fled with the greatest trepidation, when they discovered any traces of them in their neighbourhood. In 1790, however, much of this coldness was removed, when several families of these Indians came to Kippokak, an Européan factory about twenty miles distant from Hopedale. In April, 1799, the missionaries conversed with two of them, a father and son, who came to Hopedale to buy tobacco. It appeared that they were attached to the service of some Canadians in the southern settlements, as well as many others of their tribe, and had been baptized by the French priests. They evidently regarded the Esquimaux with alarm, though they endeavoured to conceal their suspicions, excusing themselves from lodging in their tents, on account of their uncleanly habits. At parting they assured the brethren that they would in future receive frequent visits from their countrymen ; but this has not yet been the case.

In 1800, a most melancholy accident occurred at the settlement just mentioned. The missionary Reiman, having gone out alone on the 2nd of December to shoot partridges, returned no more, having probably lost his life by the ice breaking under him. As the weather was remarkably fine, the brethren and Esquimaux persevered in their search for

him nine days, but all to no purpose ; for though his foot-steps were seen in several places on the snow, they were lost again on the ice, nor were his remains ever discovered.

Towards the close of 1804, the indifferent success which had hitherto attended the labours of the missionaries, owing to causes which have already been mentioned, the roving dispositions of the natives, their lurking unbelief manifested in their addiction to superstitious practices, particularly in cases of illness, and the absence of a vital principle of godliness even amongst those who led a moral and decent life, was succeeded by a new and a brighter period. A fire from the Lord was kindled at Hopedale, the very place which before presented the greatest discouragements, and spread from thence to the other two settlements.

When the Esquimaux of this congregation returned from their summer excursions, our missionaries were delighted to find that they had not only been preserved from sinful practices, but had made considerable progress in the knowledge of the truth. They had attained a deeper insight into the natural depravity of their hearts, and the wretched state of persons void of faith in Christ. This constrained them to cry for mercy ; and there was reason to believe that some, at least, had found forgiveness of their sins in his blood, by which their hearts were filled with joy and comfort in believing. Out of the abundance of the heart, their mouths spake of the love and power of Jesus ; and their energetic declarations made a serious impression on the rest of the inhabitants. They began to see the necessity of true conversion ; and earnestly sought for peace with God. Even several of the children were similarly affected. The missionaries received daily visits from their people, who either came to enquire, what they must do to be saved ; or to testify of the grace of God, which they had already experienced.

While this heavenly flame was in full blaze at Hopedale, two Esquimaux, Siksagak and Kapik, arrived there from

Nain. The former of them brought his wife with him, whom he had married from thence two years before, intending to return her to her mother, and take another who promised to second him in every heathenish abomination, and to leave the Christian Esquimaux altogether. On entering his own mother's house, who likewise lived at Hopedale, he found the family engaged in evening prayer. They went on without being disturbed by his arrival ; and he sat down quite astonished at what he saw and heard, not knowing what they were doing. On his informing them of the purport of his visit, the whole company began to entreat him most earnestly not to part from his wife, but rather to turn with his whole heart to Jesus. The missionaries too, added their exhortations to the same effect, but he persisted in his determination. His relations, perceiving that he was immovably fixed, resorted to prayer. The following day they all assembled in his mother's house, and in his presence, joined in fervent supplication for his conversion. His mother, amongst the rest, uttered the following petition : " O my Lord Jesus ! behold, this is my child ; I now give him up to thee ; Oh, accept of him, and suffer him not to be lost for ever !" This scene, so unprecedented and unexpected had an instantaneous effect on the young man ; he was filled with concern for his salvation ; his whole heart seemed changed ; he desisted from his wicked purpose, took back his wife, and became an humble enquirer after the truth, to whom the Lord afterwards showed great mercy. His companion, Kapik, was also powerfully awakened by the instrumentality of his relations.

On their return to Nain, these two men, with energy and boldness, preached Jesus to their countrymen. Some of their friends heard them with astonishment ; others mocked and hated them ; but the impression on the rest of the inhabitants was a pleasing and permanent one. " We saw several of our people," say the missionaries, " yielding by degrees to conviction, and beginning to doubt whether their Chris-

tianity was of the right kind, and whether they had not been deceiving themselves and others. They came and voluntarily confessed their sins, some with many tears, and in a manner of which we had no instances before. The more they reflected on their former life, the more deeply were they convinced of the treachery of their hearts ; they wept on account of the deceit they had so often practised, and confessed to us things of which we could have formed no conception. Though we could not but feel pain on account of their former hypocrisy, our grief was balanced by the joy we felt at the amazing power of our Saviour's grace, by which their hearts were thus broken and softened. Our drooping faith and courage revived, and we saw clearly that with God nothing is impossible."

The news of these events was carried to Okkak by visitors from Nain, and was accompanied with the same happy effects. Many of the heathen who lived in the neighbourhood, were so astonished at these occurrences among their believing countrymen, that they resolved to move to one or other of the settlements. Even the northern Esquimaux who passed through the place on their trading excursions, were struck with admiration on beholding this genuine work of God. They came frequently to converse with the missionaries, listened to the gospel with uncommon attention, and most of them expressed their earnest wish to become acquainted with Jesus as their Saviour. They expressed their regret that they lived at so great a distance, and could not well forsake their native country, but said that if the missionaries would come to them they would gladly receive instruction.

The subsequent years of the mission proved that this awakening was not the momentary blaze of a meteor, scarce seen before it is extinguished, but a divine flame emanating from the Spirit of God, and kept alive by his gracious influences. The labours of the missionaries became from this time comparatively light, for their instructions were no lon-

ger listened to as a task, but received with avidity by willing hearers; the schools were diligently frequented both by old and young; and their regular and devout attendance on public worship, showed that they considered it no less as a pleasure than a duty. The following is one of many similar representations given by the brethren of the conduct of their flock: "We have cause to rejoice," they write in their journal, 1812, "that we know, among our people, many who have found remission of their sins in the blood of Jesus. There are indeed exceptions, but we can truly say, that among the very considerable number of Esquimaux who live with us, we know of few who are not seriously desirous to profit by what they hear, and to experience and enjoy themselves, that which they see their countrymen possess. Our communicants give us pleasure, for it is the wish of their very hearts to live unto the Lord; and their conduct affords proofs of the sincerity of their professions. Thus, for example, Esquimaux sisters, who have no boat of their own, venture across bays some miles in breadth, sitting behind their husbands on their narrow kajaks, in order to be present at the Holy Sacrament, though at the peril of their lives. The baptized and candidates for baptism also declare, whenever they have an opportunity of speaking privately with us, that they seek satisfaction in nothing but in living to Jesus, and that their favourite occupation, in leisure hours, consists in singing hymns and reading the Gospels which have been printed for their benefit. Their Christian deportment has this natural consequence, that their neighbours who have not joined us, are inspired with a desire to become equally happy and contented. Our young people are a constant subject of our most earnest supplication unto the Lord, that He would reveal himself to their hearts; nor are there wanting instances amongst them of the efficacy of divine grace. All these blessings, which we can only briefly touch upon, call for our sincerest gratitude unto the Lord; we devote ourselves most willingly to his



service ; and if we may be permitted to bring but one stone to the building of his earthly Jerusalem, how great will be our joy !”

Many pleasing incidents might be detailed to illustrate and confirm this statement, but it would swell this sketch to a size inconsistent with the brevity to be observed in this narrative. The following is a concise notice of the few prominent events which distinguished the remaining period of their history.

In 1811, the inhabitants of Hopedale were attacked by one of those pestilential disorders which have so often desolated these northern coasts. The missionaries give the following account of it : “ Our Esquimaux were for a long time preserved from any particular illnesses, except that they were subject to a species of eruption and boils, which, however, though painful and unpleasant, were rather beneficial to their general health. But on the 24th of July, as a boat filled with our people was leaving Tikkerarsuk, one of their provision places, to return to Hopedale, several of them, one after another, were seized with a nervous and paralytic disorder, of a most dangerous and deadly nature, insomuch that during the next eight days, thirteen of them departed this life, of whom seven were communicants. Three of them were fishing in perfect health in the morning, and in the evening lay corpses in the boat. Above thirty were taken ill, and some brought to the brink of the grave ; but now, thank God, the greater number have recovered, though a few are still very weak. As late as the 12th September, we buried an old communicant, called Luke. Terror and dismay seized the people, but we confidently believe that those who departed this life are now in the presence of Him whom they had known here as their Saviour, and to whose holy will they expressed full resignation.

“ By this afflicting dispensation we have now a considerable number of widows and orphans depending entirely upon charity, and we cannot withhold from them occasional

assistance. We often commend them in prayer to the Father of the fatherless, who will in mercy regard their wants."

As early as the year 1800, the missionaries learned from the reports of the Northlanders, who visited their settlements, that the main seat of the nation was on the coast and islands of the north, beyond Cape Chudleigh, and anxiously desired an opportunity of carrying the gospel into that quarter. On asking their visitors whether it would be agreeable to them to have a mission established in their country, they assured the brethren that it would give them the greatest pleasure. "The whole land," they said, "would welcome them with one loud shout of rejoicing." Preparations were made by two of the brethren in 1800, for a coasting voyage to explore the country in that direction, but their plan was frustrated by unfavourable winds and weather.

This project, however, though suspended for a time, was not abandoned; and in 1811, the missionaries were authorized to fit out another expedition for the same purpose. The brethren Kohlmeister and Kmock, cheerfully engaged in this difficult and perilous enterprise, for which they both possessed eminent qualifications. Having engaged a Christian Esquimaux from Hopedale, as a steersman, with his two-masted shallop, they embarked at Okkak on the 23rd of June, accompanied by four Esquimaux families, besides that of their guide, amounting in all to nineteen persons. After encountering various dangers from the ice in their passage up the coast, which had never before been navigated by an European, they doubled Cape Chudleigh, and on the 7th of August, came to an anchor at the mouth of the Kangertluksoak, or George River, in the Ungava country, lying 140 miles S.S.W. of the cape, in latitude 58° 57' north. Here they staid some days, pitching their tents on a green slope, overgrown with shrubs, and flanked by a woody valley, which possessed every advantage for a missionary station.

A sail of six days brought them to the mouth of the Koksoak, or South River,  $58^{\circ} 36'$  north latitude. It is six or seven hundred miles from Okkak, and its width about as broad as the Thames at Gravesend. Some way up the river, they arrived at a well watered and fertile plain, half a mile in extent, which they also considered as well adapted for a settlement. Being satisfied from the account of the natives that there were no other eligible places farther to the west, they now returned homewards, and reached Okkak in safety on the 4th of October, after an absence of fourteen weeks, having performed a voyage of from twelve to thirteen hundred miles.

It may be observed that no further steps have yet been taken towards the establishment of a fourth settlement in Ungava, a delay which has arisen partly from the distresses occasioned by the late continental war, and partly from the following untoward accident.

"October 28th, 1816," writes the narrator, "the *Jemina* arrived in the Thames from Labrador, after one of the most dangerous and fatiguing passages ever known. The ship arrived at the drift-ice, on the Labrador coast, on the 16th of July. Captain Fraser found it extending two hundred miles from the land; and after attempting to get in, first at Hopedale, then at Nain, and lastly at Okkak, he was at length completely surrounded by ice, and in the most imminent danger during six days and nights, expecting every moment that the ship would be crushed in pieces, till, after very great exertions, he got towards the outer part of the ice. Nevertheless, he was beset by it for forty-nine days, and did not reach Okkak till August 29th. The very next day the whole coast, as far as the eye could reach, was entirely choked up with ice; and after lying at Okkak nearly three weeks, he was twice forced back by it on his passage to Nain, which place he did not reach till September 22nd. After staying the usual time, Captain Fraser proceeded, October 3d, to Hopedale; but though the weather was fine the late-

ness of the season, and the large quantities of drift-ice, left him little hope of reaching that settlement. He mentioned this opinion to the brethren at Nain. However, brother Kmock and his wife, and the two single brethren, Korner and Christensen, who were going to Hopedale, went on board, and they set sail. But the same evening it began to blow extremely hard, with an immense fall of snow, and very thick weather, so that they could not see the length of the ship, and being within half a mile of a dangerous reef of rocks, they were obliged to carry a press of sail to clear them, which they did but just accomplish; for the gale afterwards increased to such a degree, the wind being right on shore, that they could not carry sail any longer, and were obliged to lay the ship to, the sea often breaking over her; and the captain was at length necessitated to bear away for England, October 5th. He again experienced a gale equal to a hurricane, from the 8th to the 10th of October, which was so violent during the night of the 9th, that the captain momentarily expected the ship's foundering. She was at one time struck by a sea, which twisted her in such a manner that the seams on her larboard opened, and the water gushed into the cabin and the mate's birth as if it came from a pump, and every one thought her side was stove in. However, the Lord was pleased to protect every one from harm; and, considering all things, the ship did not suffer materially, neither was any thing lost."

By this disaster, the only serious one which has befallen the missionary vessel in her annual voyages during a period of fifty years, four zealous missionaries were abruptly transported from the field of their activity, leaving their expecting fellow-labourers in Hopedale in a state of the most painful anxiety regarding their fate. They returned to Labrador in the following summer, though not without encountering the most imminent risks from storms, thick fogs, and ice fields, every one of which, seen through the gloom, appeared fraught with death. They were happy to find that

their brethren in Hopedale, though disturbed by apprehensions for their safety, had suffered no want of provisions, having been supplied from the stores at Nain.

The next year's vessel carried out a translation of the Acts of the Apostles, published for the use of the Esquimaux by the British and Foreign Bible Society, which has before, at different times, presented them with the invaluable gift of the four Gospels in their own language, and generously offered to print a version of the whole New Testament, which is now in progress. Besides this, the Harmony of the Gospel History, a hymn book, and a summary of Christian Doctrine, for the benefit of the children, have been printed, and are in use among the Esquimaux.

On reviewing the progress of these missions, whose history has been here described, God's mercy and goodness has been graciously manifested in thus raising up a seed to serve him in the deserts of the North, and for so graciously preserving his faithful servants through a course of hardships and dangers encountered in these boreal climes, which, though monotonous in the recital, must have a fearful interest in the reality. But the motives which prompt them to brave these perils and privations is worthy of all their devotion, and the end which they propose to themselves is a glorious one. If he, the Lord of the harvest, who has sent them forth, still continue to crown their endeavours with his blessing, pleasing reflections may be indulged, that on the great day of decision, when earth and sea shall render up their dead, the frozen rocks and icy sepulchres of Labrador and Greenland, will yield no inconsiderable proportion of their charge to swell that choral shout which shall proclaim the finished work of the Redeemer, and the fulness of his reward for the travail of his soul.

Seals constitute great part of the food of the Equimaux. They have a strong, tough, hairy skin, like land animals; but the hair is very short, and appears as if rubbed with

oil. The fore legs are short, stand downwards, and act as oars ; the hinder ones, which are situated nearly in a line with the body, on each side of a short tail, serve both for steering and accelerating their motion. They have five toes on their feet, each consisting of four joints, and terminating in a sharp claw, with which the animal clings to ice and rocks. The hinder feet are palmated, having the toes connected by a membrane, which the seal extends when swimming. Their proper element is the water, and their nourishment all kinds of fishes. They are fond of basking or sleeping in the sunshine on the ice or shore, snore very loud, and being very sound sleepers, are at such times easily surprised and killed.

Their gait is lame, but they can nevertheless make such good use of their fore-feet, and take such leaps with the hind ones, that a man cannot easily overtake them. The head is pretty much like that of a dog with cropped ears. In some species it is rounder, in others more pointed. Their cry is somewhat similar to that of a wild boar, and their young ones make a piping noise like the mewing of a cat. The mouth is armed with sharp teeth, and the lips furnished with a strong beard like bristles. They have two nostrils, and raise to the surface every quarter of an hour to take breath ; large fiery eyes, with lids and eye-brows, and two small apertures for ears, without any external projection. Their body tapers towards the head and tail, a formation which facilitates their progress through the water. At first sight they most resemble a mole. Their blubber is from three to four inches thick ; and the flesh, which is tender and greasy, eats pretty much like that of a wild boar. It is not so oily and rancid as the generality of sea-fowl, and would be eaten by most Europeans with a greater relish, were they not disgusted by the name. Some species of these animals are met with almost in every part of the ocean.

There are five species, which, as to the form of their

bodies, are nearly alike ; but differ in size, in the quality of their hair, and in the shape of their heads.

1. Kassigiak, the pied seal, *phocabicolor*, is a long seal with a thick head. Its colour is a ground of black, freckled with white spots. The skins of their young ones, if black on the back, look almost as rich as velvet. They are exported in great numbers, and worn as waistcoats. The older the animal is, the larger are its spots. Some skins resemble those of panthers, and are used as horse cloths. A full grown seal of this species is about two yards and a quarter in length.

2. The harp seal, *phoca groenlandica*, (Attarsoak,) has a more pointed head, a thicker body, more and better blubber than the former, and when full grown, measures four yards in length. It is then generally of a light grey colour, and has a black mark on its back like a double crescent, with the horns directed towards each other. There is also a blackish variety without any mark. All seals change colour yearly, while growing ; but the alteration is most conspicuous in this species. In the first year it is of a cream colour : in the second, grey : in the third, coloured : in the fourth, spotted : and in the fifth, when it is full grown, and gets its distinguished mark, Attarsoak. Their skin is stiff and strong, and is used to cover trunks.

3. The rough seal, *phoca hispida*, (neitsek,) does not differ much from the former, except that its colour is browner, inclining to a pale white. Its hair does not lie smooth, but is rough and bristly like that of swine.

4. The hooded seal, *phoca cristata*, besides its superiority in size, has under its hair a short thick set coat of black wool, which gives the skin a beautiful grey colour. The forehead is furnished with a thick folded skin, which the animal can draw over its eyes like a cap, to protect them from stones or sand, driven about by the surf in a storm.

5. The great seal, *phoca barbata*, is the largest species

of seal, and about four ells long, with blackish hair, and a thick skin, out of which they cut thongs half an inch thick, for their seal fishery.

The walrus, or sea-horse, *rosmarus*, may be classed among the seals, which it resembles in the form of its body. From its head, which is not pointed like a seal's, but broad, blunt, and armed with two long tusks, it might aptly be denominated the sea-elephant.

The whole animal may be about nine yards long, and the same in circumference round the breast. It weighs about 1000 pounds. The skin is about half an inch in thickness, much shrivelled, especially on the neck, where it is very grisly, and twice as thick as on the rest of the body. The fat is white, solid like bacon, about six inches thick; but the train which it affords is neither so good, nor so abundant as that produced by seal's blubber, owing to its tough vesicles. Both fore and hind feet are longer and more clumsy than those of the seal. The toes have joints about six inches in length, but are not armed with sharp claws. Its mouth is so small that a man can with difficulty thrust his fist into it, and the under lip, which is of a triangular shape, hangs down between the two tusks. On both the lips, and on each side of the nose, there is a stripe of spongy skin, about a hand's breadth, stuck full of monstrous bristles, like treble twisted cord, as thick as straws, pellucid, and about six inches in length. These give the animal a grim but majestic aspect. The snout is not prominent: the eyes have no lids, and are not larger than those of an ox. The ears are situated in the neck: their apertures, which are in the back part of the skull, without any external projection, are scarcely perceivable. It has no cutting teeth, but nine broad concave grinders, four in the upper, and five in the under jaw. It cannot therefore catch and chew fishes like the seal, for the two long tusks bending downwards over its mouth would rather impede than assist it in fishing. These tusks are exceedingly compact, of



a finer grain than ivory, and very white, except in the middle, where they are of a brownish colour, like polished maple. The extremities inserted in the skull, are somewhat hollow, rather compressed, and, in most animals, full of notches. It is a rare case that both tusks are found perfectly whole and sound. The right tusk is about an inch longer than the left. Its entire length is about twenty-seven inches, of which seven lie within the skull. The circumference at the bottom is about eight inches. Close to the head the tusks are separated by about four inches, but diverge to the distance of ten, and are somewhat bent at the points. Each tooth weighs about seven pounds

The use the walrus makes of his tusks is, probably, partly to detach the muscles and sea-weed which he lives upon, from the rocks, partly to lay hold of rocks and ice masses in order to drag along his huge unmanageable bulk, and partly to defend himself against the bear and the sword-fish.

The following is a brief account of the process in catching whales. As soon as a whale is either seen or heard, a shallop, with six hands on board, immediately makes up to him, taking care to approach his side near the head. Five or six boats are always in readiness for this purpose. When the fish rises to take breath, and, as is generally the case, remains a short time on the surface, the boat rows up to his side, and the harpooner pierces him somewhere near the fin. They now row back with all possible speed, before the whale can feel the thrust and overset or crush the boat with a blow of his tail. The harpoon is a triangular barbed piece of steel about a foot long, and fastened to a shaft. As soon as the fish perceives the pain, it darts down to the bottom: the rope, which is about half an inch thick, a hundred fathoms long, and made of fresh hemp, then flies off with such rapidity, that if it by any means gets entangled, it must either snap in an instant, or overset the boat. Nine rolls of rope lie in the bottom of each shallop. One man is stationed to attend to

the line lest it should get ravelled ; and another to pour water on the place where it rubs on the boat's side, in order to prevent it from firing by the excessive friction. If the whale is not mortally wounded, he may flounce about in the deep for an hour, and drag after him several thousand fathoms of line ; for as soon as he is struck, the other boats hasten to the spot with a fresh supply. The velocity of his motion equals the flight of an eagle, and the boats make after him with all possible dispatch. Should he retire under the drift-ice they follow him ; but when he dives under a large field, there is only one alternative, either to draw out the harpoon, by main force, or cut the line. If he comes up a second time, they strike him with several more harpoons, and then dispatch him with lances. As soon as he is dead, he rises to the surface, with his belly upwards.

Meanwhile the ship uses all possible speed to join the boats which have the whale in tow.. As soon as he comes up, they cut two deep slits in his blubber, through which they pass a cable, and tie him to the ship's side. The first thing to be done is to row a shallop into his jaws, and cut out carefully, with long crooked knives, the whalebone borders from the gums. They only take five hundred of the largest, which are worth as much as all the blubber. After having taken out the tongue, they cut off the fat from the body with long knives, in large quadrangular pieces, beginning both at the head and tail at once, and haul it upon deck with pullies. It is there cut into smaller pieces, and stowed till the fishery is over. The tail and fins are cut off whole, and reserved for making glue.

Forty or fifty men mutually assisting each other, will strip a whale of its blubber in four hours. As the body of fat progressively diminishes, the ropes are removed towards the middle, and the fish turns round of itself. When the last ring of blubber is cut off, the carcase loses its buoyancy, and is committed to the deep with a joyful huzza from the whole crew. After a few days it bursts, rises to the sur-

face, and affords a plentiful repast to the sea-fowl and white bears. If the cutting up of the whale is deferred on account of the turbulent weather, or to catch more fishes, it swells gradually with a humming noise, and at last bursts with a vehement explosion, ejecting from its entrails a filthy scarlet fluid which has an abominable stench.

When the fishery is over, the ships retire into a harbour or to a large area of ice, in order to gain more room for cutting up the blubber. After having taken it all out of the hold, they strip off the skin, which is thrown into the sea. They cut the blubber into small oblong pieces, lower it down into the hold in leather bags, and fill one vessel after the other. While the latter work is going forward, the deck swims with train above shoe-top; this is laded up or caught in pails at the gutters, and poured into the casks. What leaks out of the barrels is the finest, and is called clear train, and that which is melted out of the bulk of the blubber, brown train. The dregs are comparatively very trifling, and one hundred barrels of blubber will generally yield ninety-six of oil.

Of the whale fishery of the Greenlanders, it is to be observed that the proper whale and narwhal, are only caught in the north; the cachalot and smaller species in the south also. Their method of taking the Greenland whale is as follows: all the natives who engage in the pursuit put on their best clothes; for, according to a saying of their sorcerers, if any one of the company wore a dirty dress, especially one contaminated by a dead body, the whale would fly their approach, and even though killed would sink to the bottom. The women are forced to accompany the expedition, partly in order to row, partly to mend the men's clothes and boats should they get torn or damaged. They assail the whale courageously in their boats and kajaks, darting numerous harpoons into his body. The large seal-skin bladders, tied to these weapons, prevent him from sinking deep in the water. As soon as he is tired out, they dispatch him with short lances.

The men then creep into their fishing dress, which is composed of seal-skin, and has shoes, stockings, gloves and cap, all in one piece. Thus equipped they jump upon the whale, or even stand in the water by his side, buoyed up by their swollen dress. They cut off the blubber with their uncouth knives, and though provided with such poor instruments, are very expert in extracting the whalebone from the jaws. The former operation is a scene of the utmost confusion. Men, women, and children, armed with pointed knives, tumble over each others backs, every one striving to be present at the sport, and to have a share in the spoil. It is a matter of wonder to a spectator how they avoid wounding each other more frequently. However, the scuffle seldom ends without bloodshed. The smaller species of whales, they catch like seals, or drive them into bays, till they run aground.

The rein deer is the northern stag, and is found also in Spitsbergen, Siberia, Norway, Lapland, and the most northern tracts of America. It is impossible for them to exist in warmer countries, where they cannot breathe the pure mountain air, and browse the tender grass and moss of polar regions. It is well known that the Laplanders possess herds of rein-deer, sometimes amounting to several hundred, or even a thousand head, which supply them with flesh, milk and cheese, drag sledges loaded with all their substance, and even serve instead of post-horses. Those of Greenland are wild and fleet, and their smell is so acute that they rarely suffer the hunter to steal upon them unawares, especially if the wind blow the scent towards them. The missionaries caught and brought up a young rein-deer, and it grew, after some time, as tame as a child, but played the Greenlanders so many mischievous tricks, that they were forced to kill it. The largest are about the size of a small heifer, generally brown or grey, with white bellies. They are covered with very thick hair, about an inch in length. Their antlers, which they cast in the spring of every year, differ from those of the stag, in being smooth, and about three inches broad

at top. While the new horns are young and tender, they are protected by a woolly covering, which the animal afterwards rubs off. In spring they also get a new coat of hair. The rein-deer is then very lean, and its skin is thin, and little worth; but in autumn, their hide is thick, hairy, and lined with fat. This alternate increase and diminution of their flesh and hair, enables them to bear both the heat of summer, and the intense cold of winter. They are very cleanly, delicate creatures, and their flesh is tender, and well flavoured. In summer they crop the fine tender grass in the valleys, and in winter pick the white moss growing in the clefts of rocks, from under the snow.

Baal's River was formerly the principal resort of rein-deer, and the Greenlanders used to unite in one general hunting match to kill them. The women and children surrounded a whole district, sticking up logs of wood to look like men, when they were defective in numbers; and then proceeding in a straight line, drove all the timid animals into a narrow space in the centre, where they were easily killed by the hunters. Another way was for the women to chase them in great numbers into a narrow bay, where they were pierced by the men in their kajaks, with harpoons and arrows. Since the introduction of powder and shot into Greenland, they have been thinned very much; yet many of the natives spend their best summer months in hunting them, in order to procure skins for extraordinary occasions.

The farther we advance northward, the fewer rein-deer are met with. Several are killed every year on Disko Island, which circumstance has given occasion to the fable, that a gigantic Greenlander severed this piece of land from Baal's River, and towed it out to sea by a rope tied to his kajak; and farther, that he intended to have united it with the main land, and was prevented by a pregnant woman, who was tempted by curiosity to peep out of her tent. In proof of this absurdity, they show the holes in the rocks, through which he drew the rope.

In June, 1794, two of the Moravian missionaries having gone to a neighbouring island in search of drift-wood, were completely surrounded by the ice, and confined to this dreary spot for upwards of a fortnight. Their fellow-missionaries in New Herrnhut, alarmed by their long absence, and fearing that they might be in want of provisions, repeatedly sent Greenlanders to gain intelligence of their situation; but they found it impossible to penetrate with their kajaks through the ice. The prisoners, meanwhile, had the good fortune to meet with a plentiful supply of fish, which freed them from the apprehension of perishing by hunger, and they at length made their way through the ice, though at the risk of their lives, to the main-land. But here they found themselves at a considerable distance from the settlement, and had to perform a fatiguing journey over high hills, and down abrupt valleys, before they arrived at New Herrnhut, having been absent a whole month.

Dangerous as these excursions were to the missionaries, they were at the same time absolutely necessary, their comfort during the winter depending on the drift-wood they collected, as the quantity of wood found in Greenland, in a growing state, is very insignificant. A scarcity of this article could not therefore but occasion the greatest distress, as was the case in New Herrnhut, in 1793, when the shoals of loose ice prevented them from laying in their usual stock for fuel. During the three coldest months, they were obliged to have recourse to the disagreeable expedient of heating their rooms by train-oil lamps, after the manner of the Greenlanders, reserving the little wood they had left for culinary use.

Though the pursuits of the natives inure them to hardships, and their uncommon dexterity enables them to brave every shape and front every danger, yet they frequently fall victims to the rigours of the clime, and are still more frequently delivered from situations of the utmost peril, they scarcely know how.

Two Greenlanders belonging to Lichtenau, returning from

catching seals, found their passage impeded by a new coat of ice, with which the intense frost had almost instantaneously overspread the surface of the sea, of such a thickness, that their oars were soon rendered useless, and they saw no hope of extricating their kajaks from the fragments which jammed them in on every side. Their desperate situation was noticed from the shore, but it was impossible to come to their assistance. At last a rising gale drove them out of sight, together with the ice-field in which they were embayed, leaving their friends to suffer all the tortures of the most exquisite suspense. Fortunately, however, they reached a piece of old ice, the only one remaining in the bay, where there was barely room for themselves and their kajaks. On to this they scrambled, and reposed themselves as well as they could during the piercing cold of the night. In the morning the new ice had become so firm that it would bear their weight, and they walked home in safety.

The very next year, a large party in a woman's boat met with a similar disaster, in the same place and accompanied with nearly the same circumstances. Being overtaken by a hurricane, and unable to make the land, they took refuge on a mass of floating ice, drawing up their boat after them with great difficulty. Thus situated, they drifted out to sea with the wind, and were already passing the last island, when the fury of the storm abated, on which they ventured to launch their boat and gained the land.

Caleb, a native assistant of Lichtenfels was about the same time obliged to spend two days and a night in the open air when the winter's cold was most intense. At night-time he drew his kajak upon the ice, and slept in it in a sitting posture, while the thermometer stood at zero of Fahrenheit. On his return home he merely complained of thirst, though he had tasted no food during the whole time of his absence. But such privations are of common occurrence among these hard natives.

Another Greenlander had nearly lost his life by an unex-

pected attack from an animal of the whale tribe, to which he had approached too near with his kajak. The fish by a sudden spring seized the fore-part of the skin-boat with his jaws, raised it completely out of the water, and after upsetting his enemy retreated into the deep. Two persons who happened to be at no great distance, hastened to the spot, and helped him to recover his balance, so that he escaped without any other injury than the alarm inspired by so unusual a rencontre.

But what claims our peculiar attention in this brief review of the hardships and casualties to which life is subject in these arctic regions, is the imminent risk incurred by the missionaries themselves in their passage to and from their stations. The voyage of Mr. Grillich to Europe on business of the mission, is one out of several instances which furnish this remark. He left Greenland in October, 1798, with a ship belonging to Julianahaab, but after plying about for five weeks in the lower part of the strait, the vessel was so much damaged by the drift-ice, that she was obliged to return. In Feb. 1799, he again set sail in the same ship, but the quantity of drift-ice was greater than before, and hampered them perpetually from the 18th to the 25th of that month. At length the captain finding the ship so clogged and damaged that he could not hope to save her, resolved to quit her with all the property on board. On the last mentioned day, therefore, the whole ship's company began their march over the ice, dragging a boat after them. They spent two nights in the open air, and had no means of quenching their thirst, but by drinking melted snow. On the third morning they came to open water, in which they launched their boat, and sailing five leagues, again reached the barren coast of Greenland. Scarcely had they landed when a most tremendous storm arose with snow and sleet, so that had they been still at sea, they must all have perished. But they were now in a very disastrous situation, without any food or covering for the night. On the following day, however, it pleased God to



send them a favourable wind, with which they sailed five leagues and reached the colony at Fredericshaab in safety. After a further detention of a month in this place, Mr. Grillich once more reached Lichtenfels, and finally arrived in the October following at Copenhagen with the ship from Godhaab.

Some years afterwards, in 1804, the missionary C. F. Rudolph and his wife experienced a still more remarkable preservation in an attempt to return to Europe, after a service of twenty-six years in Greenland.

They left Lichtenau, June 18th, and went on board the same evening at Julianahaab, the nearest colony. The ship's company consisted of twenty-six persons, including the crew of a vessel stranded in the preceding year near Staatenhuk. They had on board a cargo of 700 barrels of blubber, but no peltry, owing to the number of rats with which the vessel swarmed. After lying a month in this bay, blocked up by the ice, the ship weighed anchor, and wore her way with much difficulty to Dutch Harbour, about two miles below the colony. Here they were again detained for several weeks by the southerly winds, which drove the ice constantly towards the shore.

Intelligence at last arriving from Julianahaab, that the sea was free from ice off Nunarsuk, the captain again weighed anchor, though appearances were far from being favourable. The wind was S.E. and very high; it rained heavily, and there was still much ice in sight. During the whole night they sailed continually between huge fields which made a roaring noise; and the sea being rough, the vessel rolled excessively. To secure her in some degree from the shocks to which she was exposed, large pieces of ice were fastened to her sides with grappling irons. In this manner they forced their way for three days and nights through the icy masses which surrounded them.

“ Early on the 25th of August,” writes Mr. Rudolph in his journal, “ a storm arose from the south-west, which drove

the ice-mountains close to our ship. The scene was awful and horrible; we expected momentarily that we should be crushed to pieces. As she drove with close-reefed sails before the wind through a multitude of smaller flaws, she struck upon a rock, from which, however, she got off without injury. But soon after, she ran her bows with such force against a large ice-field, that several planks started at once, and the water rushed rapidly into her. The captain immediately jumped into the small boat with part of the crew, and having landed them on a large field of ice, returned for another party. The rest were employed in unloosing the large boat, with the intention of saving themselves in it; for the ship was filling fast with water, and perceptibly going down on her starboard side, till, by the time the boat was hoisted out, only the larboard gunwale appeared above water. The captain and all the sailors having left the ship, my wife and I were left alone above our knees in water, holding fast by the shrouds. At last Captain Kiär, of the stranded vessel, came to our assistance, saying, 'I cannot possibly forsake these good people.' By his friendly aid we got into the boat, and had our hammock and bed secured. Several tons of ship-biscuit, and other necessities, with all the papers and letters on board, were also lowered into the boat.

"We now left the wreck, being about twenty-eight miles distant from Lichtenau, and about a league from the neighbouring headland of Nunarsuk. Our boat was heavily laden with men and baggage, and had already taken in much water. The sea broke over us continually, and the steersman fearing that the boat would sink, made for the nearest island. It proved to be a rough pointed and naked rock, deeply excavated in many places by the dashing of the breakers. After ascending to some height, however, we found a small spot covered with low grass. We now endeavoured to land our provisions, but the waves beat frightfully against the rock, and tossed the boat up and down so furiously, that she broke from her moorings, and was hurried out to sea, Eight men

immediately pushed off in the small boat in the hope of recovering her. They succeeded in overtaking her, and four of them instantly leaped on board, but the fury of the storm, which whirled the waves like smoke through the air, baffled all their efforts to regain the landing-place; they were driven to the other side of the island amongst heaps of ice and foaming breakers, and we now beheld with horror, both our boats crushed to pieces; nor did we entertain the least doubt that all the eight sailors had perished, as it appeared impossible that they could get over the ice to shore, while the waves rose so high. All our hopes now vanished, and the whole company gave themselves up to loud cries and lamentations, seeing no other prospect than that of miserably perishing by hunger on this naked rock. In the evening we lay down to rest, close together, without tent or covering. We were wet through, and lay in a pool of water; for as it rained heavily and incessantly during the whole of this and the following day and night, the water flowed down in torrents from the summit of the rock.

“ Aug. 26, we saw three men walking on the shore, opposite to the spot where the boats had been wrecked, and concluded that these were the only survivors of the party. They fixed the only oar they had saved in the ground, as a signal, and tied a handkerchief to it.

“ Aug. 27, the captains, their mates, and the greatest part of the crew, prepared to make an attempt to gain the shore, by walking across the ice. By leaping from piece to piece, and drawing them nearer when they were at too great a distance, with leather thongs and hooks, they, with the utmost difficulty, accomplished their object. We willingly would have ventured along with them; but having fasted for two days, we were conscious that we could not bear the fatigues of such a journey. We were now alone on the rock with the ship's cook, whom weakness likewise prevented from following his comrades. In this dreadful situation, our only hope and trust was in the Lord, our Almighty Saviour. We

were comforted in believing that He watches over his children, and that without His will, not a hair of their head will fall to the ground. Whenever the sun shone, we employed ourselves in drying the few things we had saved from the wreck ; but we were at last so enfeebled by hunger, that we were scarcely able to do even that, having nothing to support life but fresh water, collected in the holes and crannies of the rock. All day long we looked out towards the opposite shores, in the hope of descrying the Greenlanders coming to our rescue ; but no Greenlanders came, and we gave way to the dreadful supposition, that the ship's crew had perished on the road. The thoughts of ending our lives on this barren rock, and lying here unburied, to glut the maw of ravens and sea-fowl, which were constantly hovering around us, and seemed impatient for their prey, troubled us for a short interval ; but the consolations of our Saviour supported us, and we soon felt entirely resigned to his will

“ At length, on the 2nd of September, Sister Rudolph happening to raise herself up from the hard couch on which they sought repose for their emaciated limbs, espied two Greenlanders in their kajaks making towards them, and hailing them. A new life now seemed to animate their limbs ; they climbed to the summit of the rock, and shouted with all their might to make themselves heard. It appeared that these Greenlanders, who, according to promise, had been dispatched by the captain to bring them off, had been roving about the island the whole day, and seeing no person upon it, were just about to return, concluding that they were dead. From them the missionaries received a few herrings and some seals' fat, after being without food for nine days. But as the Greenlanders had no boat with them besides their kajaks, they were obliged to remain on the rock till the evening of the next day, when a woman's boat arrived for them. On the 4th they came to an island where they found the greater part of the ship's crew, and the party who had been wrecked in the two boats, with the exception of one man. These

latter had suffered extreme hardships, as was evident in their appearance; for they were quite emaciated, and had large red spots in their eyes.

"They arrived at the colony of Julianahaab, on the 8th, and after recruiting their strength, proceeded in a few days to Lichtenau, where they were received with the most affectionate welcome, and with heartfelt gratitude to God, who had so wondrously wrought out their deliverance. Having remained here till the following May, they set out in a Greenland boat for Lichtenfels, where they arrived, after a perilous voyage of four hundred miles along the coast, in the end of June."

A party of Christian Greenlanders, having celebrated Christmas at the settlement of Lichtenau, were returning to one of the out-places, where they resided, according to an order of government, intended to promote the interests of trade. They set out in a skin-boat, or umiak, in January, 1813, when the thermometer was twelve degrees under Reaumer's freezing point. Before they had proceeded far the floating ice encountered them, closed upon them, and crushed their boat to pieces. The party escaped upon a large field of ice, and drove about for four-and-twenty hours, when, during the night, a violent storm arose from the north, which carried them out to sea. Here they must have perished, as nothing more was heard of them. They were seventeen in number, old and young.

A Greenlander being beset by the ice, and in danger of being crushed to death, was obliged to jump upon a large flake, and drag his kajak with a seal after him for three miles, frequently breaking in up to the arm-pits. Another time, a woman's boat split in two; but four kajaks instantly rowed up to the spot, and lashing themselves two and two together, conveyed the female party safe to land. As a missionary was going with some Greenlanders in an umiak to the Sound, after they had rowed a considerable way, their boat began to sink, and their danger was observed by those on shore,

who immediately sent to apprise them of their situation. It was only with the utmost exertion, that they effected a timely landing. On unloading the boat, they found a large hole in the bottom, which they sewed up, and put out again to sea. A widower, on the point of a new marriage, went out to catch some fish for his wedding-dinner. On his return, he overset: but as he was not far from land, he crept out of his kajak, laid himself flat upon it, and committing himself to the mercy of the waves, was driven by them to the shore.

Four of the brethren, in a dreadful snow-storm, fell among the driving ice, and could neither get backwards nor forwards. After a long and wearisome toiling, they at length made the land, but the waves were so impetuous and boisterous, that they could not go on shore without being dashed to pieces against the rocks. They only wished that one might escape to tell the fate of the rest. At last, however, the tide dispersed the pieces of ice in such a manner, that they could proceed on their way, and they arrived safe and well at Lichtenfels.

Two Greenlanders, dispatched with letters to Frederics-haab, related on their return, that they were obliged to sit two nights in the kajaks upon the ice, which at first kept continually breaking, till at last they met with a firm piece. During the third night, they arrived at a house. Had they not met with this asylum, they must have perished with thirst, having had no water for two days and nights. The sweat occasioned by their severe labour, had penetrated through their clothes, and was instantly congealed into ice by the extreme cold. Their kajaks were much damaged, and one person had his hand frozen.

As Peter Rudberg, one of the brethren, was crossing a pond, the frozen snow gave way under him, and he fell into the water. Having a belt round his body, his fur coat expanding on the surface, held him up, till he could reach the bottom with his long leaping staff. He then threw himself back wards upon the firm ice, and succeeded in gaining the land.

Jonas, a lively child, about three years old, lost its life under a great floe of ice, driven on shore, behind which some Greenlanders had seated themselves to bask in the sun. They had all left the ice, and the mother was gone to fetch her child a draught of water, when the heat of the sun broke off a large piece, which crushed him to death.

In case of family quarrels amongst the natives, one of the parties, but more commonly the man, runs away into the wilderness, and lives and dies in voluntary seclusion from human society. Abia, an inhabitant of Lichtenfels, suddenly disappeared, in November 1785, and as his empty kajak was found some time after, cast on the shore, the general belief was, that he had perished at sea. Nearly ten years afterwards, a Greenlander affirmed, that in a solitary excursion to catch eider-fowl, he had seen the long-lost Abia, sitting on a hill, and had conversed with him. He told him his name, and enquired after his wife and children, adding, "that he had withdrawn from the society of men, merely on his wife's account. The first winter had passed very heavily, but time rendered his solitude more bearable, and he now felt perfectly at ease. Having provided himself largely with powder and shot, when he went away, and using it sparingly, he had still a store remaining. He thought much of his children, and of the Saviour, and trusted in his mercy. He had always cherished the wish to speak with one human being and only one before his death; that wish was now satisfied, and he would never again suffer himself to be seen by man." After making this solemn declaration, he beckoned the intruder to be gone. He was covered with rein-deer pelts, coarsely tied together, and had on a cap of hare-skins, his boots had the appearance of being netted.

Minute and consistent as this statement appears, the missionaries however express some doubt whether this interview, which rests on the testimony of a single person, may not have been the delusive presentation of a dream. There is

not the same ground for distrust, with regard to another convert, Peter, who eloped from the same settlement, into the desert, and is said to have been seen several times in the summer of 1797, but could be induced by no persuasions to return.

An abortive project of the same kind is related in the diary of New Herrnhut for 1803, and the passage merits notice, as being an agreeable proof of the sincerity and open-hearted disposition of the converts. One of the native brethren from Kangek, called upon the missionaries to confess, as he said, his abominable intentions. He stated that on account of many quarrels which had late occurred in his family, and of which he owned his own inconsiderate language to have been the cause, he had resolved to forsake them, and escape into the wilderness. With this intention, he set off in his kajak, and spent some nights in a lonely place: "But," continued he, "as I was about to proceed to a still greater distance, I thought, oh, how happy are those people whom the Lord himself reproves and chastens when they are going astray? Oh! that I were one of them! As I was rowing along, all at once the sea seemed to assume a most dreadful appearance, and with all my exertions, I could not get forward. My kajak appeared to be fixed to the bottom, though I was in the deepest part of the bay. I was frightened, turned about, and immediately rowed to the shore. Here I passed a sorrowful night, and as soon as it was day, returned with shame and repentance to my family. Now I thank our Saviour most fervently, that he delivered me from the ways of destruction. Never more will I follow the impulse of my own heart; but he shall be my only Lord and master."

The natives lead outwardly a pretty orderly life, and it rarely occurs that any thing unbecoming is perceived in their conversation or intercourse with each other. The women are seldom guilty of incontinence, with the exception of young widows, and those divorced from their husbands. Such fre-



quently push their fortune by selling their illegitimate offspring to the childless, or by adoptions into other families, but seldom marry a second time. Single persons of both sexes have rarely any connection; and a maid would take it as an affront were a young fellow to offer her a pinch of snuff in company.

A man seldom thinks of marrying till he is twenty years of age. About this time of life he generally pitches upon a woman nearly of his own age, and informs his parents or nearest relations upon whom he has fixed his choice. The dowry of the bride, which consists in nothing more than her clothes, knife, lamp, and at most a stone-kettle, is not so much regarded as her cleverness in sewing and managing household affairs. She, on the other hand, looks chiefly to his skill as a hunter. The parents are not long about giving their consent, for they leave their children, and especially their sons, free to follow their own inclinations in every thing. Two old women are immediately dispatched to negotiate matters with the parents of the bride. They at first say nothing of the marriage contract, and speak highly in praise of the bridegroom and his family. The damsel directly falls into the greatest apparent consternation, and runs out of doors tearing her bunch of hair; for single women always affect the utmost bashfulness and aversion to any proposals of marriage, lest they should lose their reputation for modesty, though their destined husbands be previously well assured of their acquiescence. However their reluctance is not always dissembled, but often really produces surprising effects. Some females, when a husband is proposed to them, will fall into a swoon, elope to a desert place or cut off their hair, which among Greenlanders is esteemed a mark of the deepest despondency. In the latter case they are seldom troubled with farther addresses. This horror of matrimony may possibly originate in the frequent example of divorced wives and overbearing concubines.

During their daughter's bashful fit, the parents tacitly

comply with the proposal, without any express approbation. The women then go in search of the refractory maid, and drag her forcibly into her suitor's house, where she sits for several days quite disconsolate, with dishevelled hair, and refuses nourishment. When friendly exhortations are unavailing, she is compelled by force and even blows to receive her husband. Should she elope, she is brought back and treated more harshly than before.

Some parents, however, provide a settlement for their children, or betroth them in childhood, confirming the contract by mutual pledges. The parties then cohabit as soon as they please, without any ceremony. Sometimes a married man will drag another wife home by force, whom he finds alone or at a dance. In the latter case he must provide himself with seconds, lest a scuffle should ensue, which however seldom happens.

First cousins or strangers adopted into one family and educated together, seldom intermarry. On the other hand examples occur, though they are rare, of a man marrying two sisters, or a mother and her daughter. Such conduct draws down general odium upon the parties concerned.

Polygamy is not common among them, as scarce one out of twenty has two wives. Those who marry several are not despised, but merely regarded as clever providers; and since it is esteemed a disgrace to have no children, and especially no son to support their declining age, such childless persons as are competent to maintain several, will seldom restrict themselves to one. They indeed, in such a case, expose themselves to the criticism of their neighbours, whether their motive was genuine zeal for the welfare of their family, or only a lascivious disposition. Those men who marry three or four wives, or women who cohabit with several husbands, are subjected to universal censure. Many women conceive a disgust for polygamy, especially since they have heard that it is prohibited in

christian countries; others encourage their husbands to it, or else purchase the conjurations of an Angekok to obtain issue.

Their connubial intercourse is conducted with tolerable decorum. If any infidelity occurs in the wife, the injured husband does not seek present punishment, but smothers his resentment, till he has an opportunity of revenging himself in a similar way. The disagreement indeed seldom passes over without contumelious expressions on both sides, and frequently costs the wife a black eye, which is rather surprising, as they are not at all quarrelsome or addicted to blows. The marriage contract is not so irrevocable, that the husband may not divorce his wife, especially if she has no children. Little ceremony is used on the occasion. He only gives her a sour look, marches out of doors and absents himself for a few days. She immediately takes the hint, packs up her effects, and withdraws to her relations, demeaning herself in future as discreetly as possible, in order to chagrin him, and bring scandal upon his conduct.

Sometimes a wife absconds, because she cannot put up with the behaviour of her associates in house-keeping. This mostly arises from the husband's mother exercising an undue superiority, and treating his wife as little better than her maid. It rarely happens that a separation takes place when they have children, and especially sons, who are their greatest treasure, and best security against future want. Should a divorce take place, the children always follow their mother, and, even after her decease, never can be prevailed upon to assist their father even in his old age. Instances have occurred in which either husband or wife, and especially the former, have fled into the wilderness, lived many years in the cleft of a rock, upon the uncertain produce of the chase, and shunned the society of men till death. No one will venture alone near the residence of such a recluse, considering their lives in danger within his

reach. Separations most frequently take place between young couples, who had not duly weighed the consequences of marriage. The older they grow, the more lovingly they treat each other.

When a man's only wife dies, he adorns his person, house, and children, as well as his means will allow. Particularly his kajak and darts, which are his principal valuables, must be in the best repair, in order to attract the notice of the females. He however absents himself from all parties of pleasure, and never marries again before the lapse of a year, though he may have young children, and no one to care for them. If he happens to have a concubine, she immediately occupies the place of the deceased, after joining in the lamentation of the surviving relatives, and leading the funeral dance ; her countenance suffused with a flood of crocodile tears, all the while betraying her inward joyfulness of heart. She extols the virtues of the dead, caresses her children more than her own, and laments over their loss ; but meanwhile so artfully suggests improvements in the household management, that a stranger has reason to be surprised at the insinuating address of this otherwise unpolished people.

The women are not very prolific. Their children seldom exceed three or four in number, and are born, on an average, one every two or three years. When told of the fecundity of the Europeans, they compare them contemptuously to their dogs. Twins, monstrous births, and miscarriages are very rare. In general the mother goes on with her usual occupations, till a few hours before her accouchement, and resumes them very soon after the child is born. The parents or midwife give it a name, taken from some animal, utensil, part of the body, or deceased relations. They prefer that of its grand-parents, whose memory they thereby wish to perpetuate. But if the latter died or were killed early in life, they avoid all mention of their names, in order not to renew the pain occasioned by their death. Nay,

if a child has been called after a person, since deceased, they compassionately change the name for another. It also frequently happens that a man gets so many appellations from various ridiculous or shameful occurrences, that he hardly knows which to adopt, being determined on all occasions to choose the most honourable.

Their fondness for their children is great. The mother carries them while walking, and doing all sorts of work, upon her back, and suckles them three or four years, having no other nourishment delicate enough for an infant. Many children die when they are forced to make room for another at the breast, being unable to digest the coarse food substituted for milk. Should a child be deprived of its mother in early infancy, it must inevitably follow her to the grave.

Their children grow up without any chastisement either by words or blows. Indeed severe punishment is not so necessary with their children, who are very quiet, sheepish, and not at all mischievously inclined. Besides, their disposition is such, that in case they cannot be prevailed upon to do any thing by entreaties or arguments, they would rather suffer themselves to be beaten to death than compelled to it. Whether this be their natural temper, or the effect of an unrestrained will, it is difficult to decide.

The interval between their second and fifth year in general forms an exception to the above remarks. They are then very restless, crying, scratching, and striking all that come in their way; but should a mother suffer her patience to be exhausted and strike her child, especially if it be a son, who from his birth is regarded as the future lord of the house, she would ensure her husband's resentment. The nearer their children arrive at years of maturity, the more quiet and tractable they become. Very little of duplicity, self-will, or other gross failings, is observable in their conduct. They follow their parents willingly, because it suits their inclinations, but expect kind treatment in return, and

if required to perform something against their will, answer calmly, "I will not do it." Ingratitude in grown-up children towards their old decrepid parents, is scarcely ever exemplified among them. Indeed their character seems in most respects to form an exact opposite to that of children born in civilized countries, whose inward depravity becomes more and more developed as they advance in years.

As soon as a boy gets the full use of his limbs, his father puts a small bow and arrows into his hands, and makes him practise shooting or throwing stones at a mark on the sea-shore. He also gives him a knife to cut toys for his amusement. When his son is ten years old, he furnishes him with a kajak, that he may exercise himself in company with other boys in rowing, recovering his position when overset, and catching birds or fishes. In his fifteenth year he must attend his father to the seal fishery. Of the first seal which he catches, an entertainment is given to the neighbours and inmates of the family, during which the young adventurer relates how he accomplished his exploit. The guests express their surprise at his dexterity, and praise the flesh as peculiarly excellent; and the females afterwards begin to choose a wife for him. Those who are unable to catch seals are held in the greatest contempt, and must live like the women upon ulks which they catch on the ice, muscles, and dried herrings. Many instances occur of those who are absolutely unable to attain the art. When a young man is twenty years of age he must be able to manufacture his own kajak and fishing tackles, and to equip himself with every thing necessary for a Greenlander. Some years after he marries, but fixes his residence near that of his parents during their life-time, employing his mother as housekeeper.

The girls do nothing till they are fourteen, but sing, dance and romp about, except perhaps caring for a child, or fetching water. They are then employed in sewing,

cooking, and dressing leather. When they acquire sufficient strength they must learn to row in a woman's boat, and help to build houses.

All grown-up women spend a life of slavery. While they remain with their parents they are well off; but from twenty years of age till death, their life is one series of anxieties, wretchedness, and toil. When their father dies, they inherit nothing, and must serve in other families, where they indeed do not lack a sufficiency of food, but are badly off for decent cloathing. For want of this, especially if they are not handsome, or clever at their work, they must remain single. They never can make choice of a husband; and should any one marry them, they live for the first year, especially if without children, in continual dread of a divorce. If this takes place, they must enter into service again, and are often forced to barter their chastity in exchange for the necessaries of life. Even if a wife remains with her husband, she must serve as his mother's maid, and often puts up with a blow in the face, besides perhaps being forced to pay her court to several other mistresses. When he dies she has no other jointure than what she brought with her, and must serve more submissively in another family on account of her children, than a single maid who can go away when she pleases. But if a widow happens to have grown-up sons, her situation is often preferable to that of a married woman, because she has their domestic concerns entirely at her disposal. Very old women generally pass for witches, and sometimes have no objection to this reputation, as it is attended with present profit: but most of them come to a lamentable end, as, upon the least suspicion of having bewitched some one, they are stoned, precipitated into the ocean, or stabbed and cut to pieces; and should they even escape this suspicion, if they become burdensome, they are often either buried alive, or compelled to throw themselves into the sea. The pre-

tended motive of their relatives for such glaring impiety is compassion, but their real one is avarice.

In spite of all their cares, toils, and vexation, the women commonly arrive at a greater age than the men, who, by spending most of their time at sea, in snow and rain, in the severest winter, as well as during the heat of the summer, and by alternate fasting and gluttony, as they generally pine themselves during the day, but gormandize so much the more at night, they are so debilitated that they seldom attain the age of fifty. Besides, as many perish in the waves, the population of Greenland contains a greater proportion of females. The women frequently live eighty years and upwards. At this age, those among them who are not condemned for witchcraft uniformly become instruments of mischief, betaking themselves to lying, slandering, or match-making, to gain a livelihood; and above all, instil their ridiculous superstitions into the minds of young persons, thereby preventing them from a rational inquiry into the truths of Christianity.

The method the Greenlanders make use of in dressing leather for their clothes, boots, and shoes, which is the chief employment of the women, is briefly as follows. For their hairy seal-skin dress, they scrape the skin thin, soak it twenty-four hours in the urine tub to extract the oil, and then stretch it with pegs on the grass to dry. In the subsequent operation of dressing, it is sprinkled with urine, smoothed with pumice stone, and softened by friction between the hands. The sole-leather is steeped several days in the urine-tub. They then scrape off the loosened hair with a knife or pull it out with their teeth, and lay the skin to dry. The leather called *erisek*, of which they manufacture the legs of boots, and the upper leather of shoes, is prepared nearly in the same way as the *kapitek*, but is scraped thinner. Of this they also make the great coats, which the men draw over their usual dress when they go a fishing. It is indeed soon soaked through and through by the salt-water



and rain, but keeps the under-dress dry, and is often worn by European sailors. The smooth black skins (ervgak) worn on shore, besides undergoing the abovementioned preparation, receive an additional rubbing, which renders them more pliable, but at the same time unfit to keep out water or for the manufacture of shoes and boots.

To cover their boats, they choose the strongest and thickest seal-skins. They leave a quantity of blubber on the inside, roll them up, and either sit upon them several weeks, or lay them under some grass in the sun, till the hair becomes quite loose. Then after being softened by lying a few days in the salt-water, they are found ready for covering women's boats and kajaks. In doing this they draw the borders of the skin together with their teeth, and then sew them up, afterwards daubing the seams with old seal's blubber instead of pitch, to prevent their leaking. Great caution must be used not to injure the surface of the leather, because if this is in the least damaged, the salt water soon corrodes it into holes. Pieces of waste leather they scrape thin, and lay them on the snow, or hang them up to bleach, sometimes coloring them with fir-bark, which they strip off branches driven near the shore by the waves. This operation is performed with the teeth. The skins of birds are first detached from the head, and then drawn over the body. After scraping off the fat with a muscle shell, they hand them about by way of a collation to guests of respectability, to chew between meals. They are afterwards soaked in the urine-tub, dried and eaten. The skin on the backs of sea-fowl is manufactured into a thin, light under-dress, and that which covers their bellies into warm winter clothing. Of the skin of the neck, they make fine dresses for extraordinary occasions turning the feathers outside.

The different offices of husband and wife are far more clearly distinguished among them, than among Europeans. Each knows his own business, and never interferes in the others affairs. The man makes his hunting and fishing implements, and the frame work of the boats, and his wife

covers them with leather. He hunts and fishes, but having brought his booty to land, troubles himself no further about it; for it would be a stigma on his character, if he so much as drew a seal out of the water. The women perform the offices of butchers, cooks, tanners, sempstresses, masons, and shoe-makers, furnished only with a crooked knife in the shape of a crescent, several large and small needles, a thimble, and their own teeth, with which they stretch the leather in tanning or currying. With the exception of the woodwork, they build the houses and tents, and though they have to carry stones, almost heavy enough to break their backs, the men look on with the greatest insensibility, not stirring a finger to assist them. As some compensation for these toils, they have the entire management of the produce of the chase, excepting the blubber, which is sold by the husband; and in the absence of the latter they may feast without restraint. When all their provision is consumed, they will fast quite patiently, or eat the remnants of old shoes, and only the necessities of their children seem to afflict them.

When a married pair have no grown-up children, they frequently adopt one or more orphan boys and girls, or a widow, to assist in hunting or housekeeping, and to supply the future wants of the family. Though used as servants, they suffer no compulsion. The boy is regarded as the future master of the house, and the girl is left to her own option either to stay in the family, or to seek another situation. A master never inflicts blows upon his servant, and to strike a maid would be deemed a great reproach.

In the dirtiness and disorder of their housekeeping, the Greenlanders, at first sight, seem to resemble a society of gypsies. It is almost sickening to view their hands and faces smeared with grease, their food cooked and eaten so disgustingly, and their filthy clothes swarming with vermin. Yet an attentive observer will perceive an appearance of order and good management in some branches of their domestic economy, which though it may not counterbalance their

uncleanliness, could scarcely be surpassed by Europeans in their circumstances; and their habitations, with all their filthiness, have often afforded foreigners a welcome refuge from the fury of the tempest. Ten families frequently live in a house not much above ten fathoms long, and two broad, yet their confined dwellings and scanty furniture, are always in good order. As to the hunting and fishing accoutrements, the man is always repairing or improving them.

Such articles of dress as are not in daily use they lay by in leathern sacks, shaped nearly like a chest, and neatly embroidered with various devices. Their water vessels are made partly of wood, ornamented with bone, partly of copper; and are kept so clean that an European would feel no disgust at drinking out of them, were the water not fetched in foetid leathern buckets. Greenlanders are seldom seen easing themselves. They choose a sequestered spot, and are so delicate in this point that they will not eat any vegetables, not even the valuable scurvy grass, because they grow most abundantly in places frequented for this purpose. Their quiet, sociable disposition, is highly praiseworthy. There is less noise and confusion in a Greenland house inhabited by ten couples, with numerous children of different ages, than in a single European one, where only two relations reside with their families. When a Greenlander considers himself injured by his neighbour, he retires without any reprisals into another house. They assist each other willingly, and in some respects live in common, without any one becoming dependant or idle. Whoever returns in the evening after a successful fishing excursion, especially if it be in winter, when seals are scarce and difficult to catch, shares his provision with all the poor widows in the house, besides inviting several neighbours to his table. But no one, be he ever so poor and hungry, will beg for any thing to eat. Indeed the prevailing hospitality both towards friends and strangers, makes it perfectly needless, and is the more necessary and laudable, as they may sometimes scour the

bays, for a circuit of several miles, without meeting with a single seal.

Their deportment in the social intercourse of every-day life is discreet, cautious, friendly, mannerly and modest. They are, however, perfect strangers to false shame, jealous reserve, or affectation, though they have the art of dissembling their wishes and inclinations. Their concern is not to shine among their equals, but to avoid rendering themselves ridiculous, and tarnishing their good name. If true politeness may be allowed to exist without artificial phrases, unmeaning compliments, and strange or ridiculous grimaces, the Greenlanders are a polite people. Salutations and marks of respect are indeed incomprehensible to them. They laugh to see an European standing bare-headed before his superior, or a servant submitting to ill-usage from his master. The children and domestics, however, show due reverence to age, and all behave respectfully to one another.

In company they are loquacious, and fond of ironical remarks. A satirical manner is more effectual in debating with them, than the most solid arguments or remonstrances, delivered in a grave, austere tone. If they are hard pressed in a dispute, they become head-strong and obstinate. They are anxious to please, or rather not to displease each other, and carefully avoid whatever might excite uneasiness. This principle seems to run through all their actions. No one interrupts another in the course of conversation; nor do they willingly contradict each other, much less give way to clamorous brawling. If an affront is offered, the injured party does not attempt to retaliate either by violence or abusive language; their differences therefore seldom proceed to open quarrels, and their language does not furnish one single word expressive of abuse or execration. They laugh at what they think laughable, but most heartily when an European is the subject; yet their mirth is not rude or noisy. They are not ashamed of things which are not in themselves

unnatural and indecent, nor will they bear to be reprimanded for them. They are however so complaisant as to forbear these rudenesses in the presence of Europeans, as soon as they understand that their company will otherwise be disagreeable.

In their visits, they carry with them a small present of eatables or peltry. If they are respectable and agreeable guests, they are welcomed with singing. All hands are employed in drawing on shore and unloading their boats, and every one is eager to have the guests in his own house. They meanwhile are silent, and wait till the invitations are repeated. On their entrance, the upper garments are taken off and laid upon the rack to dry. They are then accommodated with dry clothes and a soft skin for a cushion. The most honourable seat is the bench, which the Europeans generally decline. The men and women sit separate. The men converse very gravely on the subject of the weather and hunting; the women, after howling in concert for their deceased relatives, amuse themselves with stories. The snuff-horn, which is made of the antlers of the deer, elegantly mounted with tin or copper, is liberally handed round the circle; and they snuff up the contents with their nostrils, without any intermediate conveyance.

The entertainment is in the mean time laid out, to which the whole family, and occasionally some neighbours, are invited. The visitors seem to be vastly indifferent about what passes, and require much pressing to begin, lest they should appear poor or greedy. Three or four dishes are the customary compliment, but a large feast consists of more. A merchant, at a banquet to which he was invited, with several respectable Greenlanders, counted the following dishes; dried herrings; dried seal's flesh; the same boiled; half raw or putrid seal's flesh called mikiak; boiled awks; part of a whale's tail in a half putrid state, which was considered as the principal dish; dried salmon; dried rein-deer venison; preserves of crowberries, mixed with the chyle from

the maw of the rein-deer ; and lastly, the same enriched with train-oil.

The table-talk is kept up for several hours without any other topic than the seal-hunt. Their stories are indeed sufficiently lengthy, but they are told with such animation, that the hearers feel no inclination to yawn. If the harpooning of a seal for instance is described, they particularize time and place with the utmost minuteness, point out every movement made by themselves or the seal, imitate with the left hand all the windings and doublings of the animal, and with the right the motions of their kajak, their manner of holding the dart, taking aim, and finally piercing their mark ; and all this with such truth and nature, that it is impossible to withhold admiration. The children, who derive the chief profit from these narrations, listen with deep attention ; but they say nothing, except in reply to a question, and then their answer is short and modest.

If Europeans are in company, their accounts of their own country are received with pleasure. Relations of this kind, however, to be intelligible to them, must be illustrated by comparisons. For example : “ A city or country has so many inhabitants, that such a certain number of whales will scarcely supply them with food for a day. They eat no whales in that country, but bread, which grows out of the ground like grass, and the flesh of animals which have horns ; and they are carried about upon the backs of great and strong beasts, or drawn upon a wooden frame.”

The auditors now call bread, grass ; oxen, rein-deer ; and horses, great dogs. They wonder at every thing, and express a desire to dwell in so fine and fertile a country ; but this inclination vanishes when they are told that thunder is frequent, and no seals are found there. They likewise listen with willingness to discourse about God and religion as long as no application is made to themselves, and their superstitious fables and customs allowed to pass uncensured.

When the feast is concluded, the strangers are hospitably

directed to a sleeping place apart, and supplied with new pelts ; but they sit up out of politeness, till the master of the house has retired to rest.

Their trading negociations are very simply and concisely conducted. They make mutual exchanges with each other for what they need ; and as they have a childish fondness for novelty and variety, this bartering is carried on in some cases to an indefinite extent, and to the no small detriment of their domestic economy. The most useful article is bartered for a worthless trifle which chances to strike their eye, and a valuable bargain is rejected, if the offered commodity does not exactly please them.

They have no disposition to over-reach each other, still less to steal, which is considered as excessively disgraceful ; but if they can contrive to cheat or rob an European, they boast of it, and plume themselves on their superior cunning.

Their commerce is partly amongst themselves, and partly with factors and sailors. Amongst themselves they hold a kind of fair. Every large concourse of Greenlanders, at a dance, or the winter festival of the sun, is frequented by persons who expose their wares to view, and make known what commodities they want in exchange. Any one disposed to purchase, brings the goods in request, and the bargain is complete. The principal trade is in vessels of Weichstein, which is not to be met with in every place. And since the Southlanders have no whales, while the inhabitants of the north coast are in want of wood, numerous companies of Greenlanders make every summer a voyage of from five hundred to one thousand miles out of the south, or even from the east coast, to Disko, in new kajaks and large boats. They barter their lading of wood for the horns of the narwhal, teeth, bones, and the sinews of the whale, which they in part sell again during their return homeward.

They are so habituated to these migrations, which are well suited to the love of change, that if the motive of commerce were wanting, they could not bear to remain in one

place. They take with them their whole family and substance, as several years elapse before their return. When arrested in their course by winter, they repair, if possible, to the neighbourhood of a colony, build a house, and arrange plans for their livelihood. The land and sea are open to them, and as some of these roving families occasionally settle along the coast, they every where find useful friends and acquaintances.

To the factors, the Greenlanders carry fox and seal-skins, but particularly blubber, for the sake of which, the traffio was probably set on foot. In exchange they receive no money; that is of no value whatever amongst them, and it is quite indifferent whether they have a piece of gold or a penny, glass beads or diamonds hanging round their neck. They esteem things of this kind merely because they shine, and instances are known of their giving a guinea or a Spanish dollar, stolen from seamen, for a few ounces of gunpowder or a bit of tobacco. Iron is in far more request, for they find it useful. They receive therefore from the factors according to a fixed price, iron heads for their darts, knives, saws, chisels, and needles; also striped linen and cotton, kersey-stuffs, woollen stockings and caps, handkerchiefs, boards, boxes, wooden and pewter plates, and copper kettles; with looking-glasses, combs, ribbons, and various trinkets for the children. Fowling-pieces and ammunition are eagerly purchased, though they in general are a source of detriment rather than profit, to their domestic affairs. Tobacco, which they use only in snuff, is their small coin. They expect a piece of tobacco for every service: with this drug they pay their shoemakers and tailors; they proffer, for a small quantity of it, a handful of eider-down, a parcel of eggs, birds, a plate of fish, and the like; and for this many a poor, miserable spendthrift barter the clothes from his back, and starves with his children, rather than part with this luxury; this article in fine like spirituous liquors



among other nations, is a fertile source of indigence and misery.

The dancing assemblies and the feast of the sun, are not religious ceremonies, as amongst other heathens, but solely for diversion. The Greenlanders celebrate the sun feast at the winter solstice on the 22d of December, as a rejoicing for the return of the sun and good weather for hunting. They crowd together to it in large parties from the whole country, entertain each other with their best cheer, and when they have eaten to satiety, for intoxication is impossible, the only beverage being water, they rise up to sport and dance.

Their only musical instrument is the drum, which consists of a hoop of wood or whalebone two fingers broad, of a rather oval form, a foot and a half in diameter, covered on one side only with a fine skin, or the integument of a whale's tongue, and furnished with a small handle. The performer holds it in the left hand, and strikes it with a small stick on the under surface, leaping up at each stroke, though he does not change his ground. This is accompanied with many wonderful motions of the head and whole body, and performed in common musical time, so that two strokes fall in every crotchet. He sings of the seal-hunt and their exploits in the chase, chants the deeds of their ancestors, and testifies his joy for the retrogression of the sun. The spectators do not sit in silence, but accompany each verse of his song with a reiterated chorus of *amna ajah*, *ajah-ah-ah!* so that the first bar falls a fourth, and the next is begun a note higher and so on. The musician sings four cantos in every act; the two first commonly consist of the constant theme *amna ajah*; the others are a recitative, where a short strophe without rhyme alternates with the chorus of *amna ajah*. Taken together it forms a complete cantata, as thus:

The welcome sun returns again.

*Amna ajah, ajah, ah-hu!*

And brings us weather fine and fair.

*Amna ajah, ajah, ah-hu!*

The singer well knows how to express the different passions by the soft or animated notes of the drum and the motions of his body, which is naked down to the hips. An act lasts a full quarter of an hour. When one performer is tired and bathed in perspiration, another steps into the circle. This they prolong the whole night through, and after sleeping the next day and again gorging their stomachs, they renew the sports in the evening. These revels are kept up for several nights, till all their provisions are consumed, or till they become too exhausted to articulate any longer. He who can make the drollest contortions of his body passes for the master-singer.

They likewise play at ball by moonlight. In this game, they separate into two parties. The ball is thrown from one to another of the same side, who endeavour to keep it to themselves, while it is the aim of the other party to wrest it from them. They also set up a goal, and exercise their agility at foot-ball.

They have several ways of trying their strength. Two competitors, for instance, strike each other with the fist on the naked back, and he who holds out longest is declared conqueror. The successful champion swaggers about, challenging others to the contest, till he likewise is drubbed to satiety. Again, they sit down and link their legs and arms together, and he that can out-pull the other is victor. Or they vary this contest, by hooking together their fingers, and then pulling. Sometimes they tie a cord to the beam of a house, suspend themselves to it by foot and arm, and throw themselves into many artful postures like rope-dancers.

Young people are fond of turning round a board upon an axle, with an index fixed to it, something like an EO table, and he to whom the finger points, when its rotatory motion has ceased, wins the stake.

The children, and especially the girls, amuse themselves by joining hands, forming a ring, and striking up a skipping dance, accompanying it with their voices. Such

dancing-meetings are also held at other seasons of the year, when their store-houses are full, and little can be done at sea.

The most remarkable circumstance is, that they even decide their quarrels by a match of singing and dancing, which they call the singing-combat. If a Greenlander thinks himself aggrieved by another, he discovers no symptoms of revengeful designs, anger, or vexation, but he composes a satirical poem, which he recites with singing and dancing, in the presence of his domestics, and particularly the female part of his family, till they know it by rote. He then in the face of the whole country challenges his antagonist to a satirical duel. The latter appears at the appointed place, and both parties enter the lists. The complainant begins to sing his satire, dancing to the beat of the drum, and cheered by the echoing *Amna ajah* of his partizans, who join in every line, while he repeats so many ludicrous stories of which his adversary is the subject, that the auditors cannot forbear laughing. When he has finished, the respondent steps forth, and retorts the accusation, amidst the plaudits of his party, by a similar string of lampoons. The accuser renews the assault, and is again rebuffed; and this continues till one of the competitors is weary. He who has the last word wins the trial, and obtains thenceforward a reputable name. An opportunity is here offered of telling very plain and cutting truths, but there must be no mixture of rudeness or passion. The assembled spectators decide the victory, and the parties in future are the best of friends.

This contest is seldom attended with any disorderly conduct, except that a man who is well seconded sometimes carries off a woman whom he wishes to marry. It serves a higher purpose than mere diversion. It is an opportunity for putting immorality to the blush, and cherishing virtuous principles; for reminding debtors of the duty of repayment; for branding falsehood and detraction with infamy; for

punishing fraud and injustice; and, most of all, for overwhelming adultery with its merited contempt, Nothing so effectually restrains a Greenlander from vice, as the dread of public disgrace. And this pleasant way of revenge even prevents many from wreaking their malice in acts of violence or bloodshed. Still it is easy to see that the whole affair depends upon volubility of tongue; and the most celebrated satirists and moral philosophers of the Greenlanders, are generally the most profligate in their lives.

The drum-dances of the Greenlanders are their Olympic games, their areopagus, their rostrum, their theatre, their fair, and their forum. Here they cite each other to appear and decide their differences, without risking their lives in the duel, or wounding each other's honour by the envenomed pen. We cannot blame their method of disgracing malevolence, punishing guilt, and obtaining redress of wrongs, as long as they are savages without religion, and destitute of the very shadow of civil polity. They live as we may suppose the immediate descendants of Noah to have lived, before they learned to envy their fellow-mortals, and to rob each other of honour, property, freedom, and life. A father governs his family to the best of his ability, has no command beyond it, nor will he submit to the authority of any one. Thus also several families living together in the same house, do not in any way interfere with each other. They merely agree to repair the house in common, and to move in and out together, as many lamps are requisite to heat it properly. The men however generally defer to the superior wisdom of some senior father of a family, who is best skilled in the appearances of the weather, and in seal catching. He occupies the north end of the house, and watches over its good order and cleanliness. If any one refuses to follow his counsels, no compulsion or punishment is employed; but the next winter all unanimously decline living under the same roof with such a refractory person,

and his faults are told him in a satire, if he is thought of sufficient consequence to deserve this chastisement.

Children remain with their parents as long as they live, even after marriage, and relations in general are solicitous to keep together, that they may have the benefit of mutual assistance in times of necessity. In their voyages the whole number of kajaks in company put themselves under the guidance of some considerable man, who is best acquainted with the way, but are at liberty to separate from him whenever they please. In short, no one desires to usurp authority over his neighbour, to prescribe laws to him, to call him to account for his actions, or to exact taxes for the public exigencies. They have no superfluous wealth, and no opportunity of growing rich: their natural disposition is averse to any kind of compulsion, and the whole extent of the country is free to all.

They have however some useful traditional customs by which they regulate their conduct instead of laws; but these are very partially observed, since there is no punishment to enforce the execution, with the single exception of the satirical dance.

Every one has liberty to choose his own place of abode; but if he finds a spot already occupied, he does not land till he has announced his intention, and intimation is given that his society will be welcome. The chase and fishery, the only riches of this country, are the common birth-right of all. No one can complain of a trespass, if an entire stranger comes to a rich fishing place, or even a salmon-weir built with much labour, on condition he does not spoil it or drive away the fishes. Should the stranger disturb the prior occupant, he will rather go away and starve than engage in a quarrel. Stranded wood or the wreck of a ship is the property of the finder, but he must haul it on shore, and lay a stone upon it, in token that it is appropriated; if this is done no other Greenlander will meddle with it.

If a seal escapes with a javelin sticking in it, and is af-

terwards killed by another, it belongs to him who threw the first dart. If however it has been struck with the harpoon and bladder, and the line breaks, he loses his right. If two hunters strike the seal at the same time, they divide it. The same rules are observed with regard to fowls. Again, if any one finds a dead seal with the harpoon in it, he keeps the seal, but restores the harpoon to the owner. On the capture of a walrus, or other large sea animal, the harpooner claims the head and tail; of the rest of the carcass any one may cut as much as he can carry off. When a whale is taken, the very spectators have an equal right to it with the harpooners. On these occasions dreadful confusion ensues: several of the men mount at once upon the animal, and eagerly fall to cutting it with their sharp knives; many are frequently wounded in the scuffle, but they bear no grudge on this account.

If several hunters shoot a rein-deer at once, it is adjudged to him whose arrow is lodged the nearest to the heart, but the rest receive a share of the flesh. If one wounds it before another, he gains the booty, though the second cast the mortal dart. Since the use of muskets, no one knowing his own ball, many disputes arise in the chase which are not easily decided. If a man makes a fox-trap and neglects it for some time, another may set it and claim the captured animal.

A person lending his boat or tools, cannot demand reparation if they receive an accidental injury, except they were used without his knowledge. On this account they lend reluctantly. Any one who makes a purchase which does not suit him, may return it, and take back his equivalent. The purchaser can also take a thing on credit if he has not the means of payment at hand. If he dies without discharging the debt, the creditor must not afflict the disconsolate mourners by the remembrance of the deceased, but after some interval he may reclaim the article bartered, provided it is not lost in the scramble which usually succeeds the fu

neral. This lenient system goes so far, that if a person loses or breaks an article taken upon credit, he is not held to his agreement.

These customs, which by their long standing have acquired the force of laws, appear somewhat strange to those who are accustomed to a different code, and are extremely perplexing to the factors. The Greenlanders themselves are sensible of the insufficiency and iniquity of many of these provisions, but are deterred from altering them by the dread of ill report; and their grand argument against all objections is, "This is now the custom."

A correct notion of their national character is not easily attained. It has been drawn by some from the bright, and by others from the dark side, so that various contradictory reports have been spread upon the subject. Upon a superficial examination numerous pleasing qualities are discerned, which might put many nominal christians to the blush, and which might easily impose upon those who have had no time or opportunity to search them to the bottom, and explore the labyrinth of their character through all its secret windings and recesses. Many undoubtedly have gone to the other extreme, and will not allow them even specious virtues, setting them down among the most barbarous and wicked nations upon earth. By blending the accounts of both parties so far as they are substantiated by evidence, a statement in some measure correct may be given of the moral habits of this singular race.

If the term savage is understood to imply a brutal, unsocial, and cruel disposition, the Greenlanders are not entitled to the appellation. They are not untractable, wild, or barbarous; but a mild, quiet, and good-natured people. They live in a state of natural liberty without government, but in societies in some measure realizing the dreams of modern republicans. These societies, which consist of several families in one house, or of several houses on an island, are not kept together by fixed laws, and an executive power to en-

force them, but by a certain order mutually understood and spontaneously agreed to. They have in this way subsisted, probably for several centuries, with more quietness than the far-famed Athens or Sparta. The Greenlander may, comparatively speaking, be called a happy people. Each follows the bent of his inclination, yet seldom injures his neighbour, except from motives of private revenge. Authority to punish the infringement of justice, is therefore not so indispensable among them as in civilized nations, where it is one of the greatest blessings of heaven. Their lives, so hard and penurious in our eyes, are abundantly blessed with contentment. Had they any diet more costly than seals, they would no longer be able to pursue their present simple, uniform course of life, or find reason to pity Europeans for the multiplication of their desires. It is their poverty also which secures the permanency of their freedom. They have no treasures, like the Mexicans, to allure the bands of robbers, and have consequently to fear no wars, no violence, or oppression, sleeping more peacefully in their lowly huts, than the great in their sumptuous palaces.

Several species of vice, so prevalent in civilized countries that no laws or penalties can stem the torrent, are scarcely ever observed among the Greenlanders. They are never heard to curse, swear, scold, or use abusive language, and with the exception of certain nicknames, bearing a significant allusion to some ridiculous or shameful occurrence, there is not one reproachful epithet in their language. No bawling, noisy laughter, contradiction, brawling disputes, or slandering, occurs in their assemblies. Though they are sometimes very jocose, like to relate an unbecoming action with humorous contempt, and are very dexterous in forming double meanings, no immodest jesting, bitter mockery, obscenity or foolery, is heard among them. Lies, deception, and stealing are rare; violent robberies entirely unknown. Indeed to judge only by their external appearance, we should not suspect them of coveting other men's goods.



It is doubtless to be ascribed in part to their abstinence from spirituous liquors, that they are so little addicted to fighting and brawling, and can bridle their resentment with such Stoical firmness. Wanton and lecherous deportment quite unprecedented among them. At the first sight of the indecency committed among the lower class of Europeans, they stood quite amazed, but accounted for it by saying, "The mad waters," that is, spirituous liquors, "have made them insane." Even in their dances and merry-makings, to which young and old resort, nothing is seen or heard that would put modesty to the blush: so that were it not for the drum and the droll figure of the dancers, a stranger ignorant of their language would almost conclude, that they were assembled for religious exercises, rather than for pastime.

This freedom from some particular crimes may partly be attributed to their phlegmatic disposition, partly to the absence of bad examples and incentives to vice. Entire abstinence from all stimulating food and intoxicating liquors, may doubtless also contribute a great deal towards the growth of vices, which yet lie in embryo within them. The community of land, and the penurious simplicity of their house-keeping, also tend to prevent disorder. But poverty, which must restrain the commission of some evil practices, would undoubtedly operate as a stimulus to others, as theft and deceit, so that we must trace their outward shew of uprightness in all their dealings to another source. Due reflection aided by self-interest in the mind of any rational being, it may be said, naturally leads to this first principle of justice: "Do unto another as thou wishest that another should do unto thee;" and ignorant as the Greenlanders are of all laws human or divine, they might in a great measure be deterred from crime by this simple axiom and by the secret reproofs of conscience.

Their reasoning faculties are naturally as strong as those of other men. They sometimes use them to advantage in their concerns, and but too frequently misapply them. Yet

upon a closer examination of the want of foresight and inconsiderateness, mostly manifested in their dealings, we shall be rather inclined to adopt a different solution of the problem. According to the opinions of some on the subject, their apparently virtuous and upright deportment proceeds chiefly from an inward impulse resembling the instinct of animals, which is nothing else than the secret working of the Deity. This hidden spring operates upon shame, fear, self-love, and interest, as its agents. On this subject it may be useful to make a few more remarks.

The germ or disposition to evil lives within them, and their tendency to it is as natural and strong as in the rest of the human race; but fear of retaliation restrains them from many vices, and the dread of losing their character from more. A Greenlander dare not rob, kill, strike, or vent his anger against another either in word or deed, for such conduct might cost himself, or a dear friend, his life. Their deportment towards each other must be friendly and courteous, or they incur general disgrace, and are drummed out of society at the next singing combat. Young people, especially, who transgress in the least against decency or a becoming reserve, immediately forfeit their reputation and prospects in life. Their mutual affection, sociable and obliging disposition in domestic life, and their hospitality to strangers do not originate in benevolence, or sympathy with the helpless, as we shall presently see, but in self-love. From the uncertainty of their maintenance, a reciprocation of benefits is almost necessary to their subsistence. A free man assists his neighbour, that he may receive a similar favour in time of need. They must be beneficent to strangers, in order that their fame for hospitality may be spread abroad, and that they may be entertained in return, when, according to their custom, they travel through the country, and have no time to procure their own provisions. In brief, the general character given by Christ, Matt. chap. v. to all heathen, that they only love those that love them, and do good to those from

whom they expect the same, is fully verified in the Greenlanders.

The Greenlanders are well versed in the false but fashionable morality of "saving appearances." They are very dextrous in stealing the good opinion of others, or at least in avoiding public scandal; and it has often been manifest that many fine gentlemen might not be ashamed of learning from them in this respect. But their character will not bear the smallest scrutiny. Numerous proofs might be cited, that their brotherly love, for instance, as has been remarked, is only a mere sham, played off in hopes of speedy remuneration. When a stranger dies, leaving behind him no grown-up sons, or near relations, no one pays the smallest attention to his forlorn relict, except when they have occasion for her as their servant. Every door is shut against her, and after carrying off most of her goods, her countrymen are hard-hearted enough to see her perish with cold and hunger, without offering the smallest assistance. When people on shore observe a kajak overset at sea, if it be not occupied by a near relation or friend, they can look on with the utmost unconcern, and even enjoy a savage delight in watching the struggles of the expiring sufferer. It would be too much trouble to set off in another kajak and save his life. Should they be incommoded by the cries and lamentations of the women and children, they sneak off. When they sail out in company with another, they will help him in difficulty, because it costs them little exertion. Their treatment of animals, that is, such as are not used for food, also displays an unfeeling heart, as even their children are exceedingly fond of torturing little birds, and watching them writhing with pain. Indeed both humanity and sympathy are so entirely excluded from their character, that they are not even found in the weaker sex.

On the other hand, the bonds of filial and parental love seem stronger in them than amongst most other nations. They scarcely ever suffer their children to go out of their

sight, and a mother has often been known to throw herself into the water, when her child was drowned. This carelessness about the weal and woe of their fellow-creatures, with their ardent affection and tender anxiety for their offspring, goes to strengthen the notion, that the Greenlanders are in a great measure guided by an instinctive impulse rather than by rational reflection.

Their wonderful inconsiderateness may be adduced in support of this opinion. Their maxim seems to be, live while ye live, and care for futurity never enters their thoughts. When they see any thing which takes their fancy, be it ever so useless to them, they immediately purchase it, though at the expence of their most necessary articles, and would rather suffer want, than curb their desires. If they are obliged or helped out of a difficulty by any one, especially if he be an European, they know of no other acknowledgement than *kujonak*, (thank you,) and will seldom return the favour to their benefactor, when he is in need of their assistance. Those among them who have any finery about their dress, strut about with a consequential air, sneering contemptuously at their fellows. This is also the case if they possess peculiar dexterity in any art, particularly in seal-catching.

Though they can smother their resentment for a length of time, if it once breaks out, it rages with senseless and brutal violence. Their will must be set through; and no remonstrances, however eloquent, will prevent them from carrying it into effect. Their obstinacy, accompanied by a sly craftiness, is most conspicuous in the old, and proceeds partly from their want of reflection, and partly from their entire insubordination in childhood. It is a quality which is a source of great trouble to the missionaries, unless they can previously manage to divert them from forming their self-willed resolutions.

But it may easily be imagined, that the Greenlanders are not all alike in disposition, and that consequently the above remarks must not be understood without exception. There

are some really considerate, beneficent characters among them, but they are very rare. Those are far more numerous, who having deadened their sense of shame, and got rid of all dread of retribution, give themselves up to the most detestable and unnatural vices.

Lies and slander are most common among the women; the poor and indolent are also addicted to stealing, especially from strangers, and if they can purloin or even forcibly seize the property of a foreigner, it is a feather in their cap. Europeans, therefore, ought never to place much confidence in them, having frequently experienced their deception. Examples have occurred in which they have enticed a foreigner on shore, murdered him, and carried off his goods. On those foreigners, however, who have fixed their residence in Greenland, they dare not practise their roguish tricks, as they are liable to be apprehended and punished.

Their outward show of modesty is not at all to be depended on. However careful their young and single people may be to avoid all open irregularity in their deportment, they are in secret quite as licentious as those of other nations. Polygamy in the old does not always result from a desire of issue, but very frequently from pure lasciviousness. There are also among them harlots by profession though a single woman will seldom follow this infamous trade. The married will break their vows on both sides with the utmost shamelessness, and though we might suppose that among such an uncultivated race, there could be no refinement in their licentious practices, the contrary is the case, for their women are as skilful in the language of the eyes as Turkish courtezans.

Their unbounded self-interest, injustice, and even cruelty towards their helpless widows and orphans, are evident, from their strange distribution of their property after death. When a husband dies, his eldest son inherits his house, tent, and woman's boat, and besides must maintain the mother and children. If the deceased has no grown-up sons, the nearest relative. If the relation has a tent and boat of his own,

the inheritance and responsibility falls upon a stranger, for no one will keep several of these articles at once. When the sons of the deceased arrive at years of maturity, they get nothing of their father's property. Those who have once got possession of it retain it: but should the foster-father have no legitimate children, the foster-child inherits his goods, and in return provides for his surviving relations. So far there is however some appearance of order, but henceforward all their proceedings are unjust. As soon as the sons have grown up and commenced seal-catchers, all their earnings are entirely at the disposal of the widow; and should she forget her old benefactor, and desert his helpless offspring, there is no one to appeal to for redress. It may then be easily imagined, that the care of widows and orphans is much neglected, owing to the small likelihood of advantage from it, especially if they are entirely destitute. Many boys are forsaken in their youth because it is expensive to provide them with a *kajak*, and the necessary implements; but still more poor unfortunate females perish from nakedness and starvation: but this is not the worst. When a poor widow lies distracted with grief upon the ground with her children, weeping for the loss of her husband, all her goods and chattels are slyly conveyed away by her hypocritical comforters. The miserable wretch, stripped of her all, has no one to appeal to, nor any other resource, but to insinuate herself into the good graces of him who has robbed most: he generally maintains her a short time. When he is tired of her, she must try to gain the favour of another. At last she and her children are left to their fate; and after protracting a miserable existence for a short time by means of fishes, muscles, and sea-weed, they must finally be starved, or frozen to death for want of cloathing and lamp-oil. This probably is one reason why the Greenland nation diminishes from year to year.

The punishment of criminals is still more disorderly and savage. None are put to death but murderers, and such

witches as are thought to have killed some one by their art; but with regard to these, they proceed with such temerity and revenge, that at last no one is sure of his life. The Greenlanders, as was before stated, are naturally of a murderous disposition. Perhaps their constant employment in butchering seals and other creatures, which proceeds from hereditary inclination, may, in a wicked heart, awaken the unnatural desire to spill the blood of their fellow creatures. Few, however, are so fiend-like as to kill from pure blood-thirstiness. Some will do it from envy at another's dexterity or wealth; but most out of revenge

The assassin generally effects his purpose by stealth, on the water. He either drowns his enemy by oversetting him in his kajak, or throws a harpoon into his back, leaving the dead body to be driven about by the waves. Should the deed come to the ears of the murdered person's friends, they smother their resentment, not suffering a word about it to transpire, lest the assassin or his spies should kill them to prevent reprisals. But instances have occurred in which they did not forget to revenge the death of their relation thirty years after, when they found the murderer alone. When highly enraged, they will cut the body to pieces, and devour part of the heart or liver, thinking thereby to disarm his relatives of all courage to attack them. If the punished criminal be a notorious offender, or hated for his bloody deeds, or if he have no relations, the matter rests; but in a general way the punishment costs the executioner himself, his children, cousins, and other relatives, their lives; or if these are inaccessible, some other acquaintance in the neighbourhood. The lust of revenge is sometimes handed down as a birth-right from father to son, without the smallest intimation of it till an opportunity offers; thus the tragedy is prolonged through a series of murders, till quite innocent persons fall sacrifices to unbridled revenge.

The mode of procedure with witches is very short: when the report is spread that an old woman has the power to be

witch, which she brings upon herself by pretending to charms and nostrums, if only a man's wife or child dies, if his arrow does not strike the mark, or if his gun misses fire, an Angekok or soothsayer pronounces sentence upon her, and if she has no relations, she suffers the punishment before described. Old men are sometimes put to death under similar accusations. Sometimes a man has been known to stab his own mother or sister in the presence of all the people in his house and no one has upbraided him in the least for it. If, however, the slain person has any near relations, they generally seek to revenge her death, and a succession of murders ensues. When persons accused in this way have lost all hope of escape, they often throw themselves into the sea in dread of the death which otherwise awaits them.

Upon the religious creed or superstition of these people it is very difficult to give any definite information on account of their extreme ignorance, thoughtlessness, and credulity, and especially from the diversity of opinions which they entertain, as each individual is at liberty to adopt what tenets he pleases.

Before any missionaries arrived in the country, Greenlanders were supposed to be gross idolators, who prayed to the sun, and sacrificed to the devil, that he might be propitious to them in their fishery. Mariners were not led to these conclusions from the discourse of the natives, which they could not understand, but from a variety of circumstances. They saw that the Greenlanders every morning, as soon as they rose up, stood on some eminence, apparently buried in thought, with their eyes directed to the rising sun, in order to conjecture from the colour of the sky or the motion of the clouds, whether fair or stormy weather was to be expected. This is still their regular practice. The sailors, who were ignorant of their motive, imagined that they were paying their devotions to the rising luminary. Others observed, in deserted places, numerous square inclosures surrounded with stones, and on one elevated stone found some cinders, with



a heap of bare bones lying upon them. This was quite sufficient to induce the belief that Greenlanders had sacrificed there; and to whom should they sacrifice but to the devil? These people had seen no summer-residence of the Greenlanders, who pitch their tents in such rectangular inclosures, and use the above mentioned coals for cooking their provisions. They have in fact no apparent worship, either religious or idolatrous, nor any ceremonies which might be construed into the service of the deity. There is, indeed, no word in their language for the Divine Being, from whence the first missionaries were led to imagine, that they had no conception whatever of a divinity. Upon being asked who made the heavens, earth, and every thing around them, they answered, "We cannot tell;" or, "We know him not;" or, "It must have been a very powerful man;" or, "These things have always existed, and must endure for ever." But after obtaining a more intimate acquaintance with their language, the missionaries were led to entertain a contrary opinion, from their various notions concerning the soul and spirits in general, and from their evident anxiety about their probable state after death. From free conversations with the natives in their perfectly wild state, in which, however, care must be taken to make no personal applications, and not to insist upon any duties to which they are disinclined, it is very apparent, that their forefathers believed in a Being who resides above the clouds, to whom they paid religious worship. But this belief has gradually died away in proportion as they become isolated from all communication with civilized nations, till they have lost all clear notions of Deity. That they have still some obscure and concealed idea of a Divine Being is apparent from the circumstance, that though they shun any professional belief in the truths of Revelation yet that they never offer any opposition to them, but rather give a silent assent to the doctrines of a God and his attributes. It is only their natural slowness, stupidity, and thoughtlessness, which

prevent them from digesting their dark notions into a regular system, by due reflection upon the works of Creation, and upon their own anxiety concerning futurity. The following incident indeed makes it probable, that some of them, at least in youth, before they were buried in the cares of providing for their families, have made some inquiry on the subject.

A company of baptized Greenlanders one day expressed their astonishment, that they had spent their lives in a state of such complete ignorance and thoughtlessness. One of the party immediately rose up and spoke as follows; "It is true, we were ignorant heathens, and knew nothing of God and of a Redeemer; for who could have informed us of their existence, before you, (addressing the missionaries,) arrived. Yet I have often thought, a kajak with the darts belonging to it, does not exist of itself, but must be made with the trouble and skill of men's hands; and he who does not understand the use of it easily spoils it. Now the least bird is composed with greater art than the best kajak, and no man can make a bird. Man is still more exquisitely framed than all other animals. Who then has made him? He comes from his parents, and they came again from their parents. But whence came the first man? He may have grown out of the earth. But why do men not grow out of the earth now-a-days? And from whence do the earth, sea, sun, moon, and stars proceed? There must necessarily be some one who has created every thing, who has always existed and can have no end: he must be inconceivably more powerful and skilful than the wisest of men: he must also be very good, because every thing that he has made is so useful and necessary for us. Did I but know him, what love and respect should I feel for him? But who has seen or conversed with him? None of us men. Yet there may be men, too, who know something about him. With such I should willingly converse. As soon therefore as I heard from you of this great Being, I believed you immediately

and willingly, having for a length of time longed after such information." This declaration was confirmed by the statements of the others with more or fewer circumstances. One of the company made this additional remark : " A man is formed differently from all other animals. These serve each other for food, and all of them are for the use of man, and have no understanding. But we have an intelligent soul, are subject to no one in the world, and yet are anxious about futurity. Of whom can we be afraid ? Surely it must be of some mighty Spirit who rules over us. Oh, that we but knew him ! that we had him for our friend."

All this tends to confirm the assertion of the great apostle of the gentiles : " Because that which may be known of God is manifested in them, for God hath showed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world," &c. (Rom. i. 19—21.) The universal report of all travellers informs us, that no people have hitherto been discovered who have not some notion of a Deity, be it ever so dark and erroneous. Even the stupid Greenlanders in their various opinions concerning the soul of man, and other greater and inferior spirits, give sufficient proof of the scriptural declaration. There are indeed some who believe, that their soul is not immortal or different from the living principle in other animals ; but these are either of the most stupid sort, who are ridiculed by their companions, or else wicked cunning men, who profess such opinions for their own private emolument.

Others describe the soul as a being so nearly allied to matter, that it may be taken out and replaced, be divided into a number of parts, lose a portion of its substance, be repaired when damaged, and even go astray out of the body for a considerable time. Some even pretend, that when going on a long journey they can leave their souls at home, and yet remain sound and healthy. These wonderful chimeras have probably originated either in some sickness, during which their thoughts are continually busied about

their birth-place, or else in such maladies as weaken, or even for a time derange their mental faculties.

Some of these materialists believe in two souls, namely the *shadow* and the *breath* of man, and suppose that in the night the shadow forsakes the body, and goes a hunting, dancing, or visiting. In all probability, their dreams which are numerous, lively, and often remarkably curious, have given rise to this notion. It is upon such people that the *Angekoks* principally depend for sustenance, since it is their business to repair damaged souls, bring back those which have gone astray, and even change them when diseased past cure; for the sound and healthy souls of hares, rein-deer, birds, or young children.

The notion that the soul can forsake the body during the interval of sleep, and be exchanged for that of some animal, is chiefly credited by those who believe in the migration of souls, a doctrine which has lately been discovered among the Greenlanders. It is chiefly held by helpless widows in order to obtain kind treatment: for if a widow can persuade any parent that the soul of her deceased child has migrated into his son, or that the spirit of his deceased offspring animates the body of one of her children, the man will always do his best to befriend the supposed soul of his child, or in the other case consider himself nearly related to the widow.

But the most intelligent Greenlanders maintain, that the soul is a being purely spiritual, entirely distinct from the body and from matter in general, that it requires no earthly sustenance, and that while the body corrupts in the grave, it shall even retain its life and consciousness, nourished by some etherial substance of the nature of which they are ignorant. The *Angekoks*, who profess to have paid frequent visits to the land of souls, describe them to be soft, yielding, and even intangible to those who attempt to seize them, having neither flesh, bones, nor sinews.

Hence we may easily imagine their ideas concerning the state of spirits after death. In general they represent it to

be unchangeable, unceasing, and much more happy than this mortal life ; but concerning the situation and privileges of the beatific abode of departed spirits, their opinions vary. Since the Greenlanders obtain their best and principal sustenance from the sea, many have placed it in the depths of the ocean or under the earth, and suppose the deep chasms in the rocks to be its avenues. There dwells Torngarsuk and his mother. There is perpetual summer, and clear sunshine uninterrupted by night. There is the limpid stream, and a superabundance of birds, fishes, seals, and rein-deer, which may be caught without trouble, or are even found boiling alive in a large kettle. But this is only to be the abode of such as have been inured to labour, which in their estimation is the chief of virtues, who have performed such mighty exploits as killing whales and seals, or endured numerous hardships, including those who have been drowned in the sea, or died in child-birth.

It is therefore evident that they have some faint idea of rewards and punishments. Departed spirits do not however make a joyful and immediate entrance into these elysian fields, but must first slide for the space of five days, or, according to others, for a still longer period, down a rough rock, which the Greenlanders, by a strange contradiction, represent to be quite bloody. Whether this invention has its foundation in any notion of purgatory, or is only according to the adage that through many trials we enter heaven, cannot be determined. They always lament the fate of those poor souls, who have to undertake their journey in cold, stormy weather, during which they may easily perish. This is called the second death, from which there is no recovery. The survivors therefore for five days after the decease of their relative, abstain from certain meats, and from all bustling work, exclusive of the capture of seals, that the spirit may not be disturbed or lost upon its dangerous expedition. It appears probable from several circumstances, that their forefathers offered up sacrifices for the souls of departed relatives.

So much is evident, that the stupid Greenlanders as well as the enlightened heathen of ancient times, shudder at the thought of absolute annihilation.

Those among the natives who are more struck with the beauty and majesty of the heavenly bodies, seek for the happy residence of the dead, in the highest heavens, above the rainbow. They describe the passage to it to be so quick and easy, that the souls the same evening in which they leave the body, arrive at the moon, who was formerly a Greenlander, put up at his house, and dance and play at ball with their companions. They afterwards encamp about a large lake stocked with vast quantities of fishes and birds. When this lake overflows it rains upon the earth. Should the dam break down, there would be an universal deluge.

The first party, on the contrary, maintain that only useless idle people, ascend into the sky, suffer great want there, are very lean and feeble, and besides have no rest owing to the rapid circumvolution of the heavens. This is especially the case with wicked members of society, such as witches, who are so tormented by ravens, that they cannot prevent these birds from tearing their hair. The other sect, however, will not allow this to be their lot. By their own account, they repair to a large assembly of their equals, and feast upon seals'-heads, which though continually devoured, can never be consumed.

But those who reason more rationally, and consider the soul to be an immaterial substance, laugh at all those absurdities, and affirm that a paradise so nearly resembling our mortal state, and where the souls are engaged in such earthly pursuits, cannot last long. By their accounts, the souls pass after death into tranquil abodes. Of their sustenance and occupations they do not pretend to know any thing. On the other hand, they describe hell to be a gloomy subterranean mansion filled with everlasting horror and anguish. Such generally lead an orderly life, and abstain from every thing which they conceive to be sinful.

Whoever is acquainted with the corrupt ideas of ancient philosophers, concerning the soul and a future state, will not wonder at the stupidity of the Greenlanders on these subjects, but rather observe a penetration and insight which does not mark their ideas and conduct in general. Their dim conceptions of religious truth we may conjecture to be some small remnant of light possessed by the first men, and preserved through the progress of tradition, which in proportion as their posterity removed to a distance from the seat of civilization, would of course become more and more obscured by the idle fancies of superstition. According to all accounts of the North Americans and Asiatic Tartars, their way of life, manners, and opinions coincide in a great measure with those of the Greenlanders, though the latter in proportion to their greater isolation and farther removal to the north, have lost more of the ideas and customs of their forefathers. The Greenlanders may also have obtained some information on religious subjects from the old Norwegian christians, and afterwards have forgotten or altered it according to their own way of thinking; especially as the remnant of the Norwegians were in all probability incorporated with the Aborigines of the country.

Similar traditions exist among them concerning the creation, the end of the world, and the deluge, which are in part not more erroneous and contradictory than the opinions of the Greeks in the fabulous ages. We shall only mention a few of them. The first man, whom they called Kallak, rose out of the earth, and soon after, a woman was formed out of his thumb, from whom sprang the whole human race. To the latter many also ascribe the origin of the vegetable and animal creation. The woman is said to have brought death into the world, by saying, "Let these die, that those who follow after may have room to live." A Greenland woman brought forth the Kablunæt (foreigners,) and some dogs which devoured their father. One of these foreigners having used contemptuous expressions to a Greenlander,

because he could strike no birds, was killed by the latter with a dart. A war immediately took place, in which the Greenlanders proved victorious, and exterminated all the strangers. This last tradition has an evident allusion to the massacre of the old Norwegians, for whom the natives harbour such a deep rooted hatred, that they ascribe their origin to the transformation of dogs into men. Fishes were produced from chips of wood which a Greenlander threw into the sea. Of the deluge, concerning which almost every heathen nation has some notion, the missionaries found a very plain tradition among the Greenlanders, namely, that the world was turned upside down, and all the inhabitants drowned, with the exception of those who were transformed into spirits of fire. One man remained alive, who afterwards struck the ground with a stick, upon which a woman rose out of it, and they peopled the world anew. They also relate that farther up in the country, where no men have ever resided, remains of fishes, and whalebone are to be found on the top of a mountain, from which they justly draw the conclusion, that the earth has been covered with an inundation.

Of the end of the world, and the resurrection of the dead, they have scarcely any idea. Some of them, however, affirm that souls loiter near the graves of the bodies which they animated, for five days. The latter then rise again, and pursue the same course of life in another world, which they were accustomed to in this. They therefore always lay the hunting implements of a deceased person near his grave. This childish opinion is, however, ridiculed by more observant Greenlanders, who perceive that the deceased and his weapons remain unmoved, and go into corruption together. The following seems to bear more evident marks of a tradition relative to the resurrection, and is the more remarkable, as it involves belief in a superior Being. They say, that after the death of the whole human race, the solid mass of the earth will be shattered into small fragments, which will be cleared by a mighty deluge from the blood of the dead: a



tempest will then unite the purified particles, and give them a more beautiful form, the new world will not be a wilderness of barren rocks, but a plain clothed with everlasting verdure, and covered with a superfluity of animals ; for they believe that all the present animal creation will be revived. As for the men, Pirksoma, i. e. He that is above, shall breathe upon them : but of this personage they can give no farther account.

Besides the soul of man, the Greenlanders speak of other greater and lesser spirits, which bear some affinity to the gods and demi-gods of the ancients. Two are pre-eminent, a good and a bad divinity. The good is called Torngarsuk. He is the oracle of the Angekoks, on whose account they undertake so many journeys to his happy subterranean regions, in order to confer with him about diseases, and their cure, fishing, and the changes of the weather. Their accounts of his person differ very much. According to some he is of small stature. Some affirm that he resembles an immense white bear ; others a giant with one arm ; while others again contend that he is no bigger than a man's finger. He is, however, allowed by all to be immortal, but yet might be killed, were any one to break wind in a house where witchcraft is carrying on.

The other great but mischievous spirit, is a female without name. Whether she is Torngarsuk's wife or his mother, is not agreed. The natives of the north believe, that she is the daughter of the mighty Angekok, who tore Disko island from the continent near Baal's River, and towed it an hundred miles farther north. This northern Proserpine lives under the ocean, in a large house, in which she enthral's all the sea-monsters by the efficacy of her spells. Sea-fowls swim about in the tub of train under her lamp. The portals of her palace are guarded by rampant seals which are exceedingly vicious. Yet their place is often supplied by a large dog, which never sleeps longer than a second at a time, and can consequently rarely be surprised. When

there is a scarcity of seals and fishes, an Angekok must undertake a journey to her abode for a handsome reward. His Torngak or familiar spirit, who has previously given him all proper instructions, conducts him in the first place under the earth or sea. He then passes through the kingdom of souls, who spend a life of jollity and ease. Their progress is soon after intercepted by a frightful vacuity, over which a narrow wheel is suspended, and whirls round with wonderful rapidity. When he has been fortunate in getting over the Torngak leads him by the hand upon a rope stretched across the chasm, and through the sentry of seals, into the place of the fury. As soon as she espies her unwelcome guests, she trembles and foams with rage and hastens to set on fire the wing of a sea-fowl, for the stench of this would enable her to take the suffocated Angekok and his Torngak captives. But these heroes seize her before she can effect the fatal fumigation, pull her down by the hair, and strip her of her filthy amulets, which by their occult powers enslave the inhabitants of the ocean. The enchantment being dissolved, the captive creatures directly ascend to the surface of the sea, and the successful champion has no difficulties whatever on his journey back. They do not however think, that she is so malicious as to aim at making mankind eternally miserable, and therefore do not describe her dwelling as a hell, but a place abounding in the necessities of life; yet no one desires to be near her. On the contrary, they greatly venerate Torngarsuk; and though they do not hold him to be the Author of the Universe, they wish after death to go to him and share in his affluence. Many Greenlanders, when they hear of God and his Almighty power are easily led to identify him with Torngarsuk. The very etymology of the word seems to denote that they at least formerly regarded him as a Divinity. They call the soul of man Tarngek; a spirit in general Torngak; a great spirit in their language is Torngarsoak, which is abbreviated into Torngarsuk. The Indians of America also generally denominate

the Divine Being, the Great Spirit, in contradistinction to the Manitu or lesser spirits, who inhabit all creatures, animate and inanimate. They honour Torngarsuk as much as ancient heathens did Jupiter, Pluto, or their other principal divinities, yet they do not regard him as that Eternal Being, to whom every thing owes its existence. They pay him no religious honours or worship, regarding him as much too beneficent a being to require any propitiations, bribes, or intreaties; though it cannot well be construed into any thing but a sacrifice, when a Greenlander lays a piece of blubber or skin near a large stone, very often part of the flesh of that rein-deer, which is the first fruits of the chase. They cannot assign any other reason for this proceeding, except that their ancestors have done so before them, in order to ensure success in hunting.

No one but an Angekok can obtain a sight of the greater spirits: but with the inferior sort, which inhabit all the elements, most pretend to have some acquaintance.

In the air dwells a certain Innua, (a possessor,) whom they call Innerterirsok; the forewarner, because he informs the Greenlanders, through the medium of an Angekok, from what they are to abstain, if they wish to be fortunate. Their Erloersortok also inhabits the air, and lies in wait for those souls which pass upwards, in order to take out their entrails and devour them. He is described to be as lean, gloomy, and cruel as a Saturn. The Kongeusetokit are marine spirits: they catch and devour the foxes, who frequent the strand in order to catch fish. There are also spirits of the fire called Ingnersoit, who inhabit the rocks on the sea-shore, and appear in the form of the meteor, vulgarly called jack-with-a-lantern. They are said to have been the inhabitants of the world before the deluge. When the earth was turned round and immersed in water, they changed themselves into flames, and took refuge among the rocks. They frequently steal away men from the strand, in order to have companions, and treat them very kindly.

The Tunnersoit and Innuarolit are mountain spirits; the former six ells, and the latter only six inches long, but at the same time exceedingly clever. These latter are said to have taught the Europeans their arts. The Erkilgit are warlike spirits, and cruel enemies of mankind; but inhabit only the east side of the country, and are perhaps meant to signify the remnant of the ancient Normans. Sillagiksartok is the Æolus of Greenland. He dwells upon an ice-field, and regulates the weather. The water has its peculiar spirits; and when the Greenlanders meet with an unknown spring, in case there is no Angekok at hand, the oldest man in the company must first drink of it, in order to rid the water of any malicious spirits. When certain meats prove detrimental to any one, especially to women who are great with child, and have infants at their breasts, the Nerrim Innuet, (masters of diet,) are blamed for enticing them to eat contrary to the rules of abstinence. Both the sun and moon are inhabited by their separate spirits who were formerly men; and the air itself is a spiritual intelligence which men may irritate by criminal conduct, and apply to for counsel; a notion which can surely not excite much surprise amongst those, who, according to the fashion of the day, are accustomed to call upon the heavens for their direction and blessing. If a man of some genius would undertake to reduce the Greenlandic superstitions to a regular system, they might perhaps rival the mythology of the Greeks and Romans, in every thing but its obscenity.

The Greenlanders also relate many stories of ghosts, and imagine that all monstrous births are changed into bugbears, which scare away the birds and seals. The Angekoks alone can see such a spirit or Anjiak and seize it in the air. When engaged in this kind of hunting, they must be blindfolded, and as soon as they have made themselves sure of their game, either tear it to pieces or devour it immediately.

That they also believe in apparitions of the dead, is plain from the following well authenticated relation.

A boy while playing in a field at noon-day, was suddenly seized by his mother, who had been buried in the place, and addressed in words like these: "Fear not; I am thy mother, and love you much; you will come to strange people who will instruct you in the knowledge of him who created heaven and earth, &c." The story was related by the boy himself to a missionary after his baptism, and confirmed by many others.

A Greenlander previous to assuming the office of Angkok, or diviner, must procure one of the spirits of the elements for his Torngak or familiar. Marvellous tales, framed to support the belief of a real intercourse with spirits, are related of the manner in which this illapse takes place. The aspirant must retire for a time into a desert, cut off from the society of every human being, and spend his solitude in profound meditation, or in invoking Torngarsuk to send him a Torngak. This separation from mankind, his fasting and emaciation of body, together with the severe exercises of his mind, throw the imaginative faculty into disorder; and various figures of men, beasts, and monsters, swim before his disturbed brain. He really supposes these to be real spiritual existences, since he thinks of nothing else, and this throws his body into violent convulsions, which he labours to cherish and augment. Some who are destined to the art from infancy, distinguished by a particular dress, and instructed by celebrated masters, find little difficulty in the initiation. Several however give out that they sit down on a large stone, invoke Tarngarsuk, and tell him their desire. On his appearance the aspirant shrieks out and dies, and lies dead for three whole days, at the end of which time he comes to life, and receives Torngak, who, on his desire, instils into him all power and knowledge, and conducts him on his journey to heaven and hell.

This expedition can be made only in the end of the year. The way is shortest in winter when the nights are long and dark, and the rainbow, which is their first heaven, presents

itself in the greatest proximity to the earth. The Angekok begins the ceremony with drumming, and whirls himself round with frightful contortions, till his frame is exhausted, and his spirits worked up to the proper pitch of enthusiasm. He is then led to the entry of the house; one of his pupils ties his head between his legs, and his hands behind his back; all the lamps are extinguished, and the windows closed. No one must witness his interview with the spirit, nor move a finger while it is going on, lest the spirit should be disturbed, or rather, lest the fraud should be detected. After beginning a song, in which all join, he groans, and puffs, and foams with great perturbation, demanding his familiar, who is frequently very slow to come. If the Torngak absolutely refuses to make his appearance, the soul of the wizard sets out to fetch him. After a short absence he returns with a loud laugh of joy, accompanied as a sensible European, who had several times been present, declared, with a rustling resembling the noise of birds flying over the roof, and then swooping down into the house. If, however, the Torngak comes voluntarily, he remains without at the entrance of the avenue; and there the Angekok consults him on any subject, respecting which the Greenlanders wish for information. Two different voices are distinctly heard, the one on the outside of the house, the other within. The answer is always dark and ambiguous. The hearers unravel it amongst themselves, and if they are not unanimous in their explanation, they beg the Torngak to give the Angekok a clearer response. A strange Torngak sometimes comes, whom neither the Angekok nor the auditors can understand; so that the answer requires as much labour to develope it as those of the Delphic oracle, and leaves sufficient room for the sorcerer to exculpate himself, however the prediction turns out.

But if his commission extends further, he soars aloft with his Torngak on a long string, up to the realm of souls, where he holds a short conference with the Angekok Poglik,

the fat or famous sages, and learns the fate of a sick patient, or even brings him back a new soul ; or else he wings his way downwards to the Goddess of Hell, and liberates the animals detained by enchantment. But he soon returns, and having found means to disengage himself from his fetters, begins to howl and drum most hideously. He then relates all that he has seen and heard, though panting for breath, like one quite jaded with his excursions. Afterwards he strikes up a song, and going round the assembled circle, gives each his touch or benediction. The lamps are now lighted, and the Angekok is seen with a pale bewildered look, and in a state of such exhaustion that he can scarcely articulate.

It is not every probationer that succeeds in this art, and one who has drummed ten times in vain for his Torngak must resign his office. But the successful conjurer may, after a certain period, assume the dignity of Angekok Poglik. The candidate must lie in a dark house unbound, and after he has intimated his wishes by singing and drumming, if he is thought worthy by Torngarsuk, though few attain to this high honour, a white bear comes and drags him away by the toe into the sea. There he is devoured by this bear and a walrus, who, however, soon vomit him up again into his own dark chamber, and his spirit re-ascends from the earth, to animate the body. And now the mighty sorcerer is complete.

The coarse imposture of the whole process is palpably manifest, and has, in many instances, been made apparent to the Greenlanders themselves. But though the majority of their Angekoks are doubtlessly mere jugglers, the class includes a few persons of real talent and penetration, and perhaps a greater number of genuine phantasts, whose understanding has been subverted by the influence of some impression strongly working on their fervid imagination.

Those sensible individuals who are best entitled to the name of wise-men, or Angekoks, for the import of the word

is great and wise, have, either from the instructions of their fathers, or from their own observation and long experience, acquired a useful knowledge of nature, which enables them to give a pretty confident opinion, to such as consult them on the state of the weather, and the success of their fishery. They discover equal sagacity in their treatment of the sick, whose spirits they keep up by charms and amulets, while, as long as they have any hopes of recovery, they prescribe a judicious regimen. Their unblameable deportment and superior intelligence, have made them the oracles of their countrymen, and they may be deservedly considered as the physicians, philosophers, and moralists of Greenland.

Persons of this class, when put to the question by Europeans, avow the falsehood of their apparitions, converse with spirits, and all the mummery connected with it; but still they appeal to their ancient traditions for the truth of revelations made to their forefathers, and miraculous cures which they performed by a certain sympathy. With regard to their own practice, they readily admit that their intercourse with the spiritual world, is merely a pretence to deceive the simple, and that their frightful gesticulations are necessary to sustain their credit, and give weight to their prescriptions.

Still there are many, even of those that have renounced these impostures along with heathenism, who aver that they have frequently been thrown into supernatural trances, and that in this state a succession of images appeared before them, which they took for revelations, but that afterwards, the whole scene appeared like a dream. A strong imagination may easily produce a world of fanciful conceits. Many of the Greenlanders are strongly inclined to dream, and things which had never entered into their waking thoughts, are presented to them in sleep, with all the liveliness of reality. And who will say that the prince of darkness may not countenance these lying arts, to confer honour on his useful instruments, and assist them to delude a poor and ignorant



race? So much is certain that Angekoks who have laid aside their profession in the waters of baptism, while they acknowledge that the main part is a tissue of fraud and imposture, are steadfast in asserting, that there is an interference of some supernatural agency; something which they now indeed abhor, but are unable to describe.

The bulk of these diviners are, however, barefaced impostors, who pretend to have the power of bringing on, and driving away diseases, enchanting arrows, exorcising spirits, bestowing blessings, and of performing a whole catalogue of similar feats. The dread excited by these, imagined powers of good and evil, procures them a formidable name, and an ample reward for their services. These sorcerers mutter a charm over a sick man, and blow upon him that he may recover; or they fetch him a healthy soul, and breathe it into him; or they confine themselves to a simple prediction of life or death. For this purpose they tie a bandage round the head, by which they raise it up and let it fall: if it feels light, the patient will recover; if it is heavy, he will die. In the same manner they inquire the fate of a hunter who has stayed unusually long at sea: they bind the head of the nearest relation, and lift it up by a stick; a tub of water is placed beneath, and there they behold the absentee either overturned in his kajak, or rowing on in his erect posture. They will also cite the soul of a man, whom they wish to injure, to appear before them in the dark, and wound it with a spear, upon which their enemy must consume away by a slow disease. The company present will pretend to recognize the man by his voice.

Such malevolent wizards as pride themselves most upon their power of doing mischief, are called Illiseetsok. Many old hags, who have no other chance of supporting themselves, likewise carry on this profession. They are particularly skilful in sucking out of a swelled leg, lumps of hair, and scraps of leather, with which they have previously filled their mouths.

These bunglers have nearly brought the whole craft into disgrace, particularly since the missionaries have exposed so many glaring instances of fraud ; so that a Greenlanders has sometimes been courageous enough to seize the Angekok during his journey to hell, and throw him out of the house. Yet since they have observed many cases in which the predictions of the genuine Angekoks have been verified, and that many patients, whose lives have been charmed, have recovered, as in case of a miscarriage, the blame is easily thrown upon the ambiguity of the oracle, or the mischievous interposition of one of the Illiseetsok ; and as these last, when brought out to suffer death, staunchly refuse to betray their craft by a confession of deceit, dying like martyrs for their occult art, the Angekoks have still so much influence over the greater part of their countrymen, that those who ridicule their juggling tricks, implicitly follow their whimsical prescriptions, thinking that if they are useless, they will at least do no harm.

The prescriptions of the Angekoks relate either to certain amulets, or to a course of diet, which includes the healthy as well as the sick. Women in child-bed have particularly much to observe. They dare not eat in the open air : no one else must drink at their water-tub, or light a match at their lamp, nor must they themselves boil any thing over it for a long time. Their meals must consist of what their own husbands have caught : the fish must be eaten before the meat, and the bones are not to be thrown out of the house. The husband must abstain for several weeks from all pursuits except the necessary fishing. The ostensible reason of these restrictions is to prevent the death of the child, though it is plain that they were originally invented for the convenience and preservation of the feeble mother.

Abstinence from food and labour of certain kinds is likewise enjoined to young maidens, who have the misfortune to be soiled by the ordure of the sun or moon, or more properly speaking of a bird flying over-head. Those who neglect

these precautions are liable to some mischance, perhaps, even the loss of their honour or lives : besides, the Torn-gak of the air might be provoked on their account to raise stormy weather. The men never sell a seal on the day it is caught, and they always keep back the head or some other part, if it be but a few bristles from the beard, lest they should forfeit their luck.

Their amulets or pendants are so various that one conjurer laughs at another's. They consist of an old piece of wood, a stone, a bone, or the beak and claws of a bird, hung round the neck, or a thong of leather tied round the forehead, breast, or arms.

These potent charms are preservatives against spectres, diseases, and death ; they confer prosperity, and they especially save children from losing their souls in thunder storms, or panic terrors. A rag or shoe of an European hung about their children, instils into them some portion of European skill and ability. They are particularly eager to get an European to blow upon them. When they set out on the whale-fishery, they must not only be neatly dressed, but the lamps in their tents must be extinguished, that the shy whale may not be frightened. The boat's prow must be adorned with a fox's head, and the harpoon with an eagle's beak. In the rein-deer chase, they throw away a piece of flesh for the ravens. The heads of their seals must not be fractured nor thrown into the sea, but piled up before the door of the house, lest the souls of the seals should be incensed and scare away the rest, or perhaps that their own vanity may be gratified by these trophies of their valour. The kajak is frequently adorned with a small model of a kajak, containing a miniature image of a man bearing a sword ; sometimes with a dead sparrow or snipe, a piece of wood, a stone, feathers, or hair, to ward off danger. But it is observed, that those who chiefly make use of these charms, are in general the most unfortunate, since they are either unskilful persons, and therefore timid, or so secure

in their superstition, they needlessly run into danger. A virtue is supposed to lie in foxs' teeth which is powerful enough to extract all noxious humours.

The Greenlanders likewise use pendants for mere ornament; and some tie strings round the arms or legs of their children, to ascertain their growth.

Greenland is well known as the most northern tract of land lying between Europe and America; and considering its vast extent, compared with the small part as yet known to Europeans, may be justly numbered among the unexplored regions of the north. Various navigators have coasted it from the most southern point, the promontory of Farewell, in lat.  $59^{\circ}$ , proceeding in a north-easterly direction towards Spitzbergen, as far as  $80^{\circ}$  north latitude, and towards the north or north-west as far as lat.  $78^{\circ}$ . No vessel, however, has hitherto gained its northern extremity, so that it cannot be determined with any degree of certainty, whether it be an island or connected with some other continent. That it is joined towards the east to Spitzbergen, Nova Zembla, or the north of Tartary, was only a vague conjecture which has been exploded by the discoveries of the Dutch and Russians. Another supposition, that it terminates on the north-west in America, admits of being supported by much more probable arguments. In the first places, Davis's Strait, or more properly Baffin's Bay, is known gradually to contract towards the north; and the shore, though generally high where it borders on the open sea, flattens as we advance nearer the pole. Again, the tide, which near Cape Farewell, or even Cockin's Sound lat  $65^{\circ}$ , rises at new and full moon more than 18 feet, seldom exceeds two fathoms in the neighbourhood of Disko, and as we proceed still farther north, entirely disappears.

To these reasons may be added the testimony of the Greenlanders themselves, though not much to be relied upon. According to their accounts, the strait at last becomes so narrow, that the natives of one coast may be heard by their

neighbours on the other ; and that were it not for the rapidity of the current, which sets in a southerly direction through the middle, they would even be able to visit each other.

The name Greenland was first given to the east side by its discoverers, the Norwegians and Icelanders, on account of its uncommonly verdant appearance. This side, generally called ancient or Lost Greenland, is at present unknown ; since, owing to the prodigious quantities of floating ice, none are able to approach it.

The tales of Icelandic writers, who describe in glowing colours the fertility of ancient Greenland, with the beauty of its villages and churches, are generally considered to be completely chimerical. However, it ought to be mentioned, that traces of a superior state of cultivation have been observed also on the west coast : and remnants are still to be seen there of dwelling houses and churches, probably erected by the Norwegians ; so that in this respect it may have been no way inferior to the more famous eastern side.

West Greenland is inhabited by Europeans between the 92d and 71st degrees of north latitude, and has sometimes been erroneously termed by voyagers Davis's Strait, which again has not unfrequently been confounded with the whole arm of the sea separating Greenland from America. Davis's Strait, properly so called, is only that narrow channel, about 40 leagues broad, between the promontory of Walsingham on James's island in North America, and South Bay in Greenland ; and extends from lat. 71° as far as Disko island.

It is called after John Davis, an Englishman, who discovered it while endeavouring to find the north-west passage, and has since that time been visited by various nations, on account of the whale-fishery ; especially by the Dutch and English, who have furnished the best outlines of the coast.

The shore, on this side, is high, rugged, and barren,

rising close to the water's edge, into tremendous precipices and lofty mountains, crowned with inaccessible cliffs, which may be seen from the sea at the distance of a hundred miles. In these respects, it bears some similarity to the coast of Norway, with this difference, that the Norwegian mountains are clothed with wood, and rise with a more gradual ascent.

All the Greenland hills, except where the rocks are smooth and perpendicular, are covered with eternal ice and snow, which accumulate particularly on elevated flats, entirely filling many valleys, and in all probability increasing from year to year. Those rocks on which the snow cannot lie appear at a distance of a dusky-grey colour, and without any signs of vegetation; but upon nearer inspection they are found to be streaked with numerous veins of coloured stone, with here and there a little earth, which affords a scanty nourishment to some hardy species of heath. The valleys, which contain several small brooks and ponds, are overgrown with a sort of low brush-wood.

The whole coast is indented with a series of deep bays or fiordes, which penetrate a great way into the land, and are sprinkled with innumerable islands, of various dimensions, and the most fantastical shapes.

Of so wild a country, only thinly inhabited on the coast, a long geographical description would be needless. It may, however, be proper to give a brief account of the principal places, as they lie in order along the shore, obtained chiefly from a merchant who resided a great number of years in the country.

The majority of the Greenland nation live between Staa-tenhuk and lat.  $62^{\circ}$ ; or, as the natives usually express it, in the south. In this part of Greenland no Europeans have settled, so that it is but very partially known.

Farther north the first place deserving notice is the colony of Frederichshaab, founded in the year 1742 by Jacob Severin, a Danish merchant, upon a projecting point of land

called by the Greenlanders Pamiut or a tail. It is an eligible place for trade, and possesses a good harbour, about a mile distant from the open sea. On an island to which the merchant vessels resort, many Greenlanders have fixed their abode, as they find there abundance of seals and reindeer. Three leagues north of Fredericshaab is a bay abounding in capelins and herrings.

At a distance of about nine leagues from the colony is the well-known ice-blink. It consists of a large and elevated sheet of ice, casting by its reflection a brightness over the sky, similar to the northern lights, which may be seen at a great distance from the sea. The mouth of the adjoining bay or fiorde, is blocked up by ice driven out by the efflux of the tide, and so wonderfully piled up by the waves, that the spaces between the islands are completely vaulted over, and the whole presents the sublime spectacle of a stupendous bridge of ice, of eighteen miles long and four and three quarters broad. Under the arches of the bridge, which are from twenty to sixty yards high, boats may enter the harbour, though threatened with destruction by the masses impending from above. Large pieces of ice also, detached from the mountains, are frequently driven through by the tide. When the Greenlanders wish to fish in this bay, they carry their kajaks over land, and then find an open sheet of water, twelve leagues long and about one in breadth.

The remains of Greenland houses are found along the shores, whence may be concluded that the mouth of the bay has not always been closed. The points of land which run out a great way into the sea, on both sides of the ice-blink, consist of banks of sand so fine and light, that when agitated by the gentlest breeze, it darkens the air like a cloud, and fills the eyes and mouths of all who approach within eight leagues of the shore.

About twenty leagues from the colony there is an opening in the land, called in the maps Bear's Sound, through which many suppose that there is a passage to the east side,

If credit may be given to the accounts of the Greenlanders, the remains of old Norwegian buildings are found on its shores.

Not far from this opening there is a lake of brackish water, which has a communication with the sea, at high water, by means of two narrow channels. In spring, speckled seals flock in great numbers to this lake, and are easily taken by the Greenlanders in an ebb-tide.

In latitude sixty-three degrees, and twenty leagues north of Fredericsshaab, there is a narrow bay called Fish-bay, from its containing a great variety of fish. Near its mouth are two considerable islands, on one of which is a lofty mountain, by comparing which with the circumjacent summits the Greenlanders trace their way to the bays frequented by seals.

Farther up in the bay, ruins are found, and among them pieces of a metal similar to bronze, probably fragments of bells used in the old Norwegian churches. Eight miles farther north lies Innuksuk, a Greenland place of residence; and again twelve miles farther, the Groede Fiorde, also frequented by Greenlanders. At a short distance from thence is a large creek, with an even, sandy shore, which, on account of its extent and flatness, is called the muster-place, but at present uninhabited. Here the trade of the lodge may be said to terminate.

Next in order come the islands of Kellingeit, which lie within the sphere of trade of the colony at Godhaab. Seals are caught here in great abundance, as they may be easily intercepted in the narrow channel between the islands. Five leagues from hence is Merkoitsok, and the Buxe Fiorde, a Dutch harbour, where roving Greenlanders frequently spend the winter. The island Kellingarsoak, twelve miles farther north, was formerly well-peopled, and is only a short distance from the river Kariak, on the banks of which many Greenlanders still reside.

About four miles from Kariak, the large Amaralik Fiorde,



thirteen leagues in length and three in breadth, penetrates into the land in a north-easterly direction. Close by its mouth is the Priester Fiorde, so called because the first missionary, Mr. Egede, had proposed settling a colony there, on account of the abundance of grass and underwood in the place. The rein-deer and seal-hunt in the Amaralik Fiorde is very productive. In the adjacent country there are ruins of old Norwegian villages, with abundance of free-stone, and veins of red granite; but very few Greenlanders reside in the neighbourhood.

A few miles farther is the Hiorte Tak, or Stag's Horn. This is the highest mountain in the neighbourhood, perhaps in the whole country. The highest of its peaks is visible from the sea, at the distance of one hundred miles and upwards, and owing to its steepness is free from snow, except in the hollows. This mountain is a beacon to navigators, and a weather-guide to the Greenlanders; for when a tempest threatens from the south, its summits are enveloped in a light mist.

Proceeding northwards under the Malina and Kyper or partridge mountains, is Godhaab, the third colony, lat.  $64^{\circ} 14'$ , about seventy miles north of Fisher's Lodge. It is situated in Ball's River, a bay which runs into the land in a north-westerly direction, sixty or seventy miles in length, reckoning from the islands in its estuary. These islands lie close together to the number of some hundreds, within a compass of four leagues. The remotest of them are called Kookörnen or Cock islands, by the Greenlanders Kittiksut. Between them and Kangek to the north is the usual passage, the North Gat. Kangek, called by the Danes Hope Island, is surrounded by many smaller islands. Westerland, which borders on Kangek, is separated from the main-land by a narrow water, called Nepiset or Catfish Sound. In autumn, the Greenlanders have their best seal-fishery here. Towards the South, the Kookörnen are separated by the South Gat, another passage, from a multitude or consider-

able islands. On the peninsula opposite the Kookörnen is the harbour with the blubber-house adjoining. About a mile from the sea, the brethren's settlement of New Herrnhut is situated, and the same distance farther north the colony of Godhaab. Besides the principal building, in which the factor and the missionary reside with their people, there is also a store-house, smith's shop, and brewhouse belonging to the establishment. The church stands by a brook not far distant, and the houses of the Greenlanders lie scattered round it.

Farther up is the Wildman's Ness, where Eider ducks are shot in abundance during the winter evenings; and near it lies the island of Saalberg or Saddlehill, so called because its topmost peak, which may be seen ninety miles off, resembles a saddle in appearance. Not far from thence is the Bear island, and close by it the island of Aupillartok. Both these islands are about twenty miles in length, and are very elevated. They divide the channel into two bays, one of which runs up north-east to Pissiksarbik, the best capelin fishery. On the western side of the north bay lies Kanneisut, an extensive and level coast with little rocky hills. It has a good salmon fishery, and a lake of fresh water at least twenty miles long, which does not however contain many fish. This bay again divides into two arms, near one of which, called Ujaraksoak, the finest Weichstein is found, and the remains of Norwegian buildings occur in the greatest abundance. This north bay is separated from that of Pissiksarbik by a narrow neck of land, and both these are again divided from the Amaralik Fiorde by the long peninsula on which Godhaab stands.

Godhaab the oldest colony in the country, was founded in 1721, in Kangek, by Mr. Hans Egede, the first missionary, and Mr. Jentoft, the factor, who were commissioned for this purpose by a company in Bergen. In 1728 the establishment was removed to the mainland by Governor Paars. Its trade is one of the best in the country. Formerly some

thousands of Greenlanders inhabited the banks of this river; but since an attack of the small-pox in 1733, they have decreased so much, that very few natives are seen in the neighbourhood, besides those under the care of the missionaries, and roving families of Southlanders, who are fond of wintering in Kangek.

A factor who resided many years in the country, and took pains to gather the most authentic information from the Greenlanders, made the following estimate of the population on the west coast. Within the compass of his trade, extending eighty miles along the coast, about Ball's river, he computed only nine hundred and fifty-seven regular inhabitants. Yet this part of the country is next in population to Disko Bay and the south coast. In some districts a man may even travel forty miles without meeting a human being. Now computing the inhabited part of the shore to be eight hundred miles in length, and allowing one thousand souls to a tract of eighty miles, in consideration of the superior populousness of the north and south parts of the coast to that from which the estimate is taken, it will give a total of ten thousand inhabitants. The above-mentioned factor, however, deducts three thousand from this amount, because so many tracts of land are absolutely desert. He asserts, that in the year 1730 the Greenland nation amounted to thirty thousand; that in 1746, when he made his first calculation, it could still reckon twenty thousand; and that since that time it has suffered a diminution of two thirds, or at least one half of its numbers.

The first station of Greenlanders from Kangek northwards is Pissugbik, twenty miles distant. Eight miles further is a fishing bay, where the first missionary had thoughts of settling, induced by the fishery and the quantity of grass. Twenty leagues from Godhaab lie the Napparsok islands. Here, and on the opposite continent, grass and drift wood are found in abundance. There is also great plenty of fish, birds, and seals. The ice fields, which float with the

current and a strong south wind round Staatenhuk from the east side, do not pass beyond this point, as here the force of the stream subsides, and loses itself altogether still farther to the north. In 1756, the ship destined for Godhaab was forced to run in here, and wait till a north-east wind had cleared the shore of ice.

At no great distance is Omenak, a Greenland station. The former inhabitants of this place were infamous for murder throughout the country.

Forty leagues from Godhaab, lat.  $65^{\circ} 46'$ , is the fourth colony of Zukkerlop, (sugar-loaf,) situated on the small island of Kangek, in Bruyne Bay. It was founded in 1755 by order of the company of trade, by Anders Olsen, factor. It owes its appellation to three conical peaks, by which the seamen steer their course when entering the port. The harbour is very safe and commodious, lying between two little islands, a mile distant from the open sea. The country is barren and dreary, and has no rein-deers. Whales, however, which are extremely rare in more southern parts, are not unfrequently seen in the bay. They make their appearance in January and February, but they are seldom taken by the Greenlanders, and by the Europeans never, owing to the want of the necessary boats and tackle. The factor struck one once, and not having line enough, fastened to it some empty casks, instead of bladders used by the Greenlanders, but the fish escaped.

Coasting along by two fiordes, or bays, after a run of forty miles, is a large island. It lies low, with deep valleys, and is frequented by salmon. There is found here a white shining clay, which does not crack in the fire. Amongst the rocks is one of particularly large size, with a deep valley in the middle, which is overflowed at high water. Here frequently more than a hundred seals enter with the tide in fair weather, and are caught and killed by the Greenlanders when the water retires.

In lat.  $67^{\circ}$  lies Wyde Fiorde, and opposite to it the island

of Nepiset or Nepisene. Upon this island a lodge was built in the year 1724, for the advantage of trade and whale fishing; but it was forsaken the year after, and all the houses were burnt by the crews of foreign vessels. In the year 1729, a colony was established in the same place with a fort adjoining, which were also abandoned and demolished, a short time after, by order of the king.

Not far from hence, and about twenty-six leagues north of the Zukkerlop, lies the Amarlok Fiorde, where the Greenlanders catch every year a number of whales. Here also they founded the fifth colony, called Holsteinburg, in memory of the Duke of Holstein, member of the privy-council, and president of the honourable missionary society. The spot on which this colony is built, is one of the most eligible, both as an agreeable residence and convenient trading-place.

Eight leagues from Holsteinburg, and in lat.  $67^{\circ} 30'$ , lies the well-known South Bay, the best harbour belonging to the whalers, and a suitable place of rendezvous when the fishing season is over. A colony was founded here in 1756, but since the settling of Holsteinburg, only one man resides on the premises, who buys in the blubber from the few Greenlanders in the neighbourhood.

The whale fishery is often very productive near the two factories; but most of the Greenlanders have withdrawn from their vicinity, although it is rich in all kinds of birds and fishes. In the neighbourhood of the last mentioned place, the sea is frozen throughout the winter, and not clear from ice till May, when the season for catching whales is past.

Next in order come Riffkol and North Bay, beyond which, the sea penetrates into the land in a south-easterly direction, and forms the well-known Disko Bay filled with groups of small islands, of which the most considerable are, the West, Whale, Green, Dog, and Dunk islands, extending partly towards the east into Spiring Bay, and partly to the north,

as far as Disko island. The entire circuit of the bay is about one hundred and twenty leagues. The land round about it is high, flat on the top, and covered with ice: though the shore along the roads is smooth and level. There is a place in the neighbourhood called Schans, which, according to the Dutch charts, contains a vein of good stone-coal, though it has hitherto never been worked. It is remarkable, that Disko island is frequented by rein-deer, which is the case with no other. The channel which separates it from the main land is called Waygat, and is about four leagues in breadth. The fishery in the bay is the most productive of any in the whole country; as in winter, when it is frozen, the Greenlanders kill vast numbers of seals upon the ice, and in spring, frequently catch small and even full-grown whales in it. It is also the yearly resort of many Dutch whalers.

The population of Disko-bay is more numerous than that of any other tract in Greenland, except perhaps the most southern part, where there are no colonies. Trade consequently flourishes most in its vicinity.

The eighth colony, Christianshaab, was settled in 1734, by order of Mr. Jacob Severin, in Vüre Bay, lat.  $69^{\circ} 30'$ , or, according to others,  $68^{\circ} 34'$ .

Three leagues farther to the north lies Ice Fiorde, which the Greenlanders report to have been an open sound, penetrating as far as the east-side; but it is at present entirely blocked up with ice. Numerous ice-mountains of the largest size are yearly driven out of this bay.

From Jacob's Haven, ships sail for fourteen leagues, first to the north, and then westward, before they arrive at the mouth of Disko-bay, passing in their course another colony, Rittenbenk, founded in 1755, by Charles Dalager. In its vicinity, a white close-grained species of whet-stone is found, called oil-stone.

The next and last colony, called Noogsoak, or the Great Ness, was built in the year 1755, at the extremity of the

Waygat, lat. 71°. A ship touches every year at both these places; but their exports have hitherto been but small. Measures have since been taken to remove it some leagues farther north, to Jacob's Creek, where many Greenlanders reside. There is no missionary in either of them. Concerning the face of the country, still farther north, all knowledge is confined. William Baffin, who sailed in the year 1616, with Captain Robert Bylot, in search of a passage through Davis's Straits, and who has given his name to all that part of the sea, between lat. 72° and 78°, affirms, that he traded with the Greenlanders as far north as Horn Sound, in lat. 73°. Even in lat. 74°, he was led to conclude, that the Greenlanders had a summer residence, from the traces of tents visible in many places along the coast. The sea was found to contain abundance of seals and sea-unicorns, and in Thomas Smith's Sound, lat. 78°, whales of the largest size were observed. The Disko Greenlanders say, that the land extends for more than 150 leagues north of their residence, and consequently as far as lat. 70°; but it is very thinly inhabited, though it abounds in eider-fowl, white bears, and seals; no one being desirous of living in a place where the winter nights are so long and cold. There is also a scarcity of wood and iron, which the more southern Greenlanders receive in exchange for the horns of sea-unicorns. The face of the country presents nothing but naked rocks covered with ice, so that the natives are forced to buy even the grass which they use in their shoes. Their houses (instead of the wooden rafters and sods) are roofed with the horns of the sea unicorn, clay, and seal-skins.

The land stretches in a north-westerly direction, towards America, and is bordered with numerous clusters of small islands. Here and there, upright stones with projecting arms are said to be found, which look like our road-guides. Fear has also coloured them white, and given rise to the fable of the gigantic *Kablunak* (European) standing on a mountain, to whom passengers offer up a piece of whalebone.

The southern part of Greenland, which is likewise uninhabited by Europeans, is better known than the extreme north. In the autumn of 1723, Mr. Egede undertook a voyage of discovery thither. In the years 1749 and 52, a traveller in the pay of the Greenland company, went on several trading expeditions: during the last of which he spent two summers and one winter in the south. Very little is known concerning the particulars of his journey, and the account must depend upon the relations of the Greenlanders living in those parts, a number of whom pay a yearly visit to the north.

The Greenland hills are generally so lofty that the snow on their summits seldom thaws, and what melts in the day-time is congealed during the night. They also abound in deep chasms, into which the sun-beams seldom or never enter. Besides, even in the most precipitous mountains there are occasional flats and hollows, in which the rain and snow-water collects, and is frozen into ice. When the snow rolls down in heaps, or after having been dissolved by the sun, descends in rivulets and torrents upon the ice already formed in these hollows, the latter gradually accumulates into a solid lump, upon which the action of the sun can make but a very partial impression; and the decrease occasioned by thaw is amply made up by continual accessions from the snow and rain.

These huge lumps of ice sometimes project a considerable way over the edge of the rocks, and do not melt so much on the surface as underneath, bursting in cracks of various dimensions, out of which the water continually oozes. Being in this way gradually undermined to such a degree as to lose their equilibrium, they break loose from the rocks with a tremendous crash, and falling in enormous fragments over the edge of the precipice, plunge into the depth below, with a noise like thunder, and a commotion of the water sufficient to overset a boat at a good distance from the shore. Many a poor Greenland sailing unconcernedly in his *kaiak*



along the coast, has lost his life by their fall. These masses of ice sometimes remain fixed in the chasms of the rocks, or frozen fast in the bays, for a number of years together, and are continually increased by the snow-water, (which being sometimes mixed with earth and stones,) their prodigious magnitude cannot be wondered at.

Those who have seen the glaciers of Switzerland, or the Tyrol, or even read descriptions of them, will not be at a loss to conceive how such immense pieces of ice may be loosened from the cavities in which they are formed. The chasms in them are occasioned by the ice thawing underneath and freezing again during the winter. A large quantity of air is consequently enclosed, which when expanded by the heats of the summer, bursts the exterior covering, with a terrible explosion, and a concussion aptly denominated an ice-quake, so vehement that casual passengers are forced to sit down in order not to be thrown off their legs. On such occasions, not only earth, wood, and stones, but even the bodies of men and animals which had been embosomed in the ice, are vomited forth, and large masses roll down into the valleys beneath, frequently covering whole meadows.

Some conception may be formed of the size of these masses from the description of the Rheinwald glacier, which at the same time illustrates the nature of the Ice-blink. This glacier is said to be four miles long and two broad, and between several hundred and a thousand fathoms in height. It consists entirely of masses of pure ice, precipitated from the mountains, and ranged side by side in perpendicular columns. Towards the western extremity issues a turbid stream, which soon disappears again under the ice. On the east side, a magnificent cavern opens far into the glacier. The neighbouring villagers say, that four miles from its mouth it is still high enough to admit of a man's standing upright in it. A rivulet of crystal water discharges itself through this channel.

If such stupendous masses are precipitated from the hills of Switzerland, it is little wonder that the arctic seas of Greenland should be crowded with huge mountains of floating ice. The highest summits of the Cordilleras, which lie directly under the Equator, are covered with perpetual ice and snow. It has however been too hastily concluded, that the line of congelation, which in hot climates is thirteen thousand three hundred and eighty feet above the level of the sea, gradually lowers itself towards the poles, till within the polar circle, it coincides with the surface of the earth. Ocular demonstration disproves this. Greenlanders inhabit as far north as  $75^{\circ}$ , and Europeans have settlements in lat.  $71^{\circ}$ . On the highest Greenland mountains, which though not as high as Chimborazo, have yet an elevation of at least six thousand feet, rain is more frequent than snow during the summer months, and even the snow which descends is quickly melted.

The soils of this country afford little scope for description. They are in general extremely scanty and shallow. The country round Godhaab principally consists of clay, sand, or turf. The clay is pale blue, and very sandy and sterile. In other tracts a light grey marl prevails, which is intermixed with mica, and stands the fire. There is also found a very fine and light micaceous sand, greasy to the touch, and a fine white pearl sand filled with black and red crystals of garnet, and uncommonly hard. Most of the sand in the country is grey or brown and full of stones: when manured, it will support vegetation.

Turf is found in all the marshes, mixed with black mould, sand, and gravel, and is not good for firing. The proper turf is an aggregate of vegetable matter, as roots, withered mosses, grass, putrid wood, and also bones; and is found in low lands, on a bed of sand or on the solid rock. A kind of shell fish are sprinkled amongst its layers, not met with any where else in the country, deposited probably by some former inundation of the sea. This turf-ground probably

owes its formation to light earth and grass washed off by the rain from the adjacent mountains. The best sort grows on the highest ridges of the little desert islands and bare cliffs, where a multitude of birds make their roost in the night and deposit their eggs. Their ordure mixed with earth blown thither by the wind furnishes a soil for moss and grass, which augmented by feathers, muscles, and bones, easily discernable in the mass, form a tenacious covering of turf, two or three feet thick. This overspreads the summits of the rocks, and has buried a stone beacon erected by the sailors of former times. It is called kupp-turf. Owing to the tough roots it contains, it is difficult to cut through it, but it burns with a bright flame, and gives out a considerable heat.

Grass is found not only on boggy, sandy, or turf land, where it is commonly very poor and diminutive, but also in clefts of rocks filled with earth, and particularly near human habitations, where it grows very luxuriantly. One species, (*Agrostis arundinacea*,) much resembles the reed, but has a more slender stalk, and the Greenlanders twist very neat baskets of it. Another kind, less common, (*Elymus arenarius*,) grows near buildings, on a bottom of sand and gravel, and between stones, with long broad leaves, and a stalk upwards of a yard long. Its spike resembles that of wheat, and is often six inches in length. The grains are like oats, but owing to the shortness of the summer, they seldom come to maturity. The Greenlanders make use of this grass to line their shoes and boots.

Several trials have been made to grow oats and barley. They send up as high a blade as in other countries, but seldom come into ear, and are in the very warmest situations prevented from ripening by the night frosts.

The gardens cannot be very productive, as no seed can be sown till the middle of June. Even then the soil is frozen at a little depth below the surface, and in September the frost recommences. Every thing must then be taken

out of the earth, and laid up to keep, except chives, which will endure the winter. Salad and cabbage will not bear transplanting, and remain very small. Radishes thrive as well as in Europe. The black radishes are small, and turnips seldom exceed a pigeon's egg in size, but they may be eaten with greens, and have an excellent taste. This is all that can be reared in the gardens, nor will they produce even this, unless they are screened from the north wind and the spray of the sea water.

The most plentiful production of this country is moss, which grows in great plenty, and of many different kinds. One species (the *Sphagnum* or bog-moss,) is like a thick soft fur or fleece; the Greenlanders stop up the chinks of their houses with it, and use it as Europeans do waste paper. Another kind has filaments a span long, which adhere together like some sorts of fungi. This serves them for tinder, and for wick to their lamps.

There are several varieties of low under-wood, where the rein-deer find pasture, and which the natives use for kindling fires. The *Azalea* is a beautiful creeping shrub with a profusion of red flowers. Several berry-bearing shrubs also occur, as the bilberry and cranberry. The crow or crake-berry, (*Empetrum nigrum*,) is a low earth-like plant, with small oblong leaves, and flesh-coloured flowers which produce black juicy berries, not ungrateful to the palate. It grows here in abundance. Another plant, the *Andromeda*, and much resembling this, bears violet bell-shaped flowers without berries. The cloud-berry, (*Rubus Chamæmorus*,) never comes to maturity. The leaf and fruit is much like the mulberry, only the berry is yellow. The stalk is a finger's length, and the flower has four white petals. This plant grows only in northern climates, and its berries are packed up in small vessels for exportation. They are a great delicacy, and an excellent remedy for the scurvy.

The Greenlanders eagerly collect all these fruits, particularly the crake-berries, which keep through the winter

under the snow. They do not however set any value upon the juniper-berry, which grows here far larger than in Europe, though the bush itself trails on the earth. Besides the shrubs already mentioned, several species of Willows find a nourishment, but are obliged by the cold to creep like broom along the ground. Nor do the birches, which are of a dwarf kind with small indented leaves, mount any higher. But in the fiordes, where warmth is stronger and more lasting, these trees and the elders which overhang the brooks, grow to the height of a man, and have a stem three inches thick. Their crookedness, however, which makes it impossible to bind them in faggots for loading, and the nature of the wood itself, being unadapted for combustion, render it, notwithstanding its abundance, of little service for fire-wood, and recourse must be had to turf, drift-wood, or coal imported from other countries.

Very few of the productions of the sea have come under human observation, but why may they not be as numerous as those of the land, and as useful, if our knowledge of them were less limited? It is long since the observation was first made, that the depths of ocean are as diversified as the upper land; that there also nature sports in an interchange of hill and valley and wide extended champaign. Islands and cliffs are but the emerging summits of mountains whose bases dive towards the central recesses of the earth. The higher and steeper the shore of any continent is, the deeper is the sea which washes it. The plummet, which at one time brings up mud and slime, at another different kinds of sand, is a plain indication that the bottom of the sea is also composed of a variety of soils. Is there not then a high probability that those secret depths are the receptacle, not only of grass and sea-weed, such as is sometimes rent by a tempest from its native rock and cast upon the strand, but of large trees, like those in which the lines of fishermen are often entangled, and bring up with them broken branches that have hitherto served only to grace the cabinets of naturalists,

but are doubtless intended to answer some purpose of higher utility? Probably they are the food of innumerable sea-monsters, which seldom or never make their appearance on the surface. The smallest and most tender sea-weeds, which grow near the strand, are filled with a number of animalculæ which have eaten through them, and the larger species, which are ejected from a considerable depth in the sea, are bitten and bored through in various ways.

Having given a general account of the manners and character of the inhabitants of these northern climes, it will be proper to return to the history of the progress of the *Fury* and *Hecla*.

“At daylight on the 1st of September, says Captain Parry, we found ourselves within three or four hundred yards of the rocks on the eastern side of Winter Island, the soundings having gradually decreased to eleven fathoms. Had it remained dark an hour longer the *Fury* would in all probability have gone on shore; but happily the ice was slack enough to allow us to warp clear of danger soon after day-break. The *Hecla* had in the mean time been drifted round Cape Fisher, and several miles to the westward towards Lyon Inlet, in which direction the *Fury* was also carried in the afternoon. The wind now setting in easterly, both ships drove with the ice up the inlet, and on the 4th were abreast of Safety Cove, though fortunately on the western side, clear of the dangers of the Bay of Shoals. A light breeze then springing up from the north-west, we again began to move down the inlet; and on the evening of the 6th, after making a little progress with the sails in the course of the last two days, were once more met by an easterly breeze off Cape Edwards, the ice being still as closely packed as possible. The young ice also began at times to annoy us, by forming to a considerable thickness at night, so as to cement the larger masses strongly together. The weather now became chilly immediately after sunset, and we considered it rather a premature decrease of temperature in this

latitude, when the thermometer was observed to fall to 24° on the morning of the 31st of August. A very unusual deposition of dew took place every evening about this season, immediately after the sun had set, and was in an hour or two converted into hoar frost.

“In the afternoon of the 6th I was much pained at being informed by telegraph from the *Hecla*, that Mr. Fife, Greenland Master of that ship, had just expired, an event which for some days past there had been but too much reason to apprehend; the scurvy having within the last three weeks continued to increase considerably upon him. It is proper for me, however, both in justice to the medical officers under whose skilful and humane care he was placed, and to the means with which we were in this way so liberally supplied, to state that during a part of that time Mr. Fife had taken so great a dislike to the various anti-scorbutics which were administered to him, that he could seldom be induced to use any of them. The disease, in consequence, reduced him to a state of extreme debility, which at length carried him off almost without pain. The *Hecla* being at the time closely beset, and in a situation of great danger among the shoals off Winter Inland, Captain Lyon caused the remains of the deceased to be committed to the sea with all the solemnity which circumstances would permit. I cannot close this melancholy notice without expressing my most sincere regret, to which I may venture to add that of Captain Lyon and the other officers, for the loss of this very deserving individual, whose qualities as a seaman and navigator, had it pleased God to spare his life, would have rendered him an ornament to the naval service, into which he was to have been admitted as a Master on the return of the ships to England. Mr. Crawford, the mate of the *Fury*, was appointed, for the present, to act as Master of the *Hecla* in the room of Mr. Fife.

“In the night of the 6th, the ships which had before nearly closed each other, were again separated to the dis-

tance of several miles, though no motion was perceptible in the masses of ice about them. The Hecla was now carried towards Winter Island, and the Fury up Lyon Inlet, so that on the 10th we had reached the islands off Five-hawser Bay within three-quarters of a mile, where the Hecla was barely visible from the mast head. On the evening of the 11th, however, the wind at length began to freshen from the north-west, when the ice almost immediately commenced driving down the inlet at the rate of a mile an hour, carrying the Fury with it and within half a mile of the rocks, the whole way down to Cape Martineau, but keeping her in deep water. In the mean time the Hecla had been swept into much more dangerous situations, passing along the east and south sides of Winter Island; and after driving nearly up to Five-hawser Bay, being carried near some dangerous shoals about Cape Edwards, where Captain Lyon expected every other tide that she would take the ground. Indeed for the last ten or twelve days the situation of the Hecla had been one of imminent danger, and every exertion to remove her from it had proved unavailing. From this time, however, the ice continued to drive to the southward, and, by some means or other, the ships once more closed each other. It was now observable, as on a former occasion in this neighbourhood, that the ice did not carry the ships in the direction opposite to the wind, but much more towards Southampton Island: so that on the 14th we were once more off Fife Rock, and had, by great exertions in warping, nearly rejoined the Hecla. We now also observed a dark water-sky to the eastward, which assured us that a clear sea could be at no great distance in that direction. On the following day, when the ships had closed each other within a mile, we could see the clear water from the mast-head, and the Hecla could now have been easily extricated. Such however are the sudden changes that take place in this precarious navigation, that not long afterwards the Fury was quite at liberty to sail out of the ice, while the



Hecla was now, in her turn, so immoveably set fast, and even cemented between several very heavy masses, that no power that could be applied was sufficient to move her an inch. In this situation she remained all the 16th, without our being able to afford her any assistance; and the frost being now rather severe at night, we began to consider it not improbable that we might yet be detained for another winter. We were perhaps indeed indebted for our escape to a strong westerly breeze which blew for several hours on the 17th, when, the ice being sufficiently close to allow our men to walk to the assistance of the Hecla, we succeeded, after seven hours' hard labour, in forcing her into clear water, when all sail was made to the eastward, and our course shaped for the Trinity Islands in a perfectly open sea.

"We thus finally made our escape from the ice after having been almost immoveably beset in it for twenty-four days out of the last twenty-six, in the course of which time the ships had been taken over no less than one hundred and forty leagues of ground, generally very close to the shore, and always unable to do any thing towards effecting their escape from danger. When it is considered that, to have taken ground in this situation, with strong and high tides keeping the ice in constant motion, must have almost involved the certain loss of the ships, and without the possibility of one offering assistance to the other, we cannot but consider this as one of the most providential escapes it has ever been our lot to experience."

Captain Lyon, speaking of the Esquimaux says, "the Esquimaux whom he had seen at Winter Island and Igloodik, comprised nearly all the inhabitants of the north-east coast of America, from the Wager River to our second winter quarters, and as they were all related by blood or marriage, I may speak of them as one tribe. They may more properly be termed a small than even a middle-sized race. For though in some few instances, and in particular families, the

men are tall and stout, yet the greater portion of the tribe are beneath the standard of what in Europe would be called small men. The tallest I saw was five feet nine inches and three quarters in height; the shortest only four feet ten inches; and the highest woman was five feet six inches, while the smallest was four feet eight inches only; between these, of course, there were intermediate sizes, all, however, inclining to the lowest scale. Even in the young and strong men the muscles are not clearly defined, but are smoothly covered, as in the limbs of women; and though when dressed they appear stout well-set people, yet, taking them in a body, their figures when uncovered are rather weak than otherwise. There is a remarkable contradiction in the form of the most robust, which is, that however prominent and well shaped the chest may be, the neck is small, weak, and often shrivelled. They all stand well on their feet, walking erect and freely, with the toes rather turned inwards, and the legs slightly bowed. Their bodily strength is not so great as might be expected in people who, from their infancy, are brought up in hardy living and labour. Of this I had sufficient proof, by matching our people with Esquimaux of equal sizes to lift weights, and it invariably happened that burthens, which were raised with facility by our people, could scarcely be lifted by the natives. They are active wrestlers among themselves, but can neither run nor jump. Hardy and patient of fatigue, yet, for persons brought up in so severe a climate, they bear the cold with less indifference than I should have expected. Few amongst them are in the slightest degree inclined to corpulency, although pot-bellies are universal. The females have a tendency, perhaps from their sedentary habits, to grow fat. Their plumpness, however, does not seem wholesome, but more properly may be called bloated, and that only on particular parts of the body.

“The neck and shoulders of the young women are generally in good, though large, proportion; and the arm and

wrist are sometimes handsome. The feet of both sexes are small and neat, well joined at the ankle, and free from blemishes. The women, from the peculiar form of their boots, of which I shall soon have occasion to speak, have a gait like that of a Muscovy duck, and they run unlike any creature I ever saw, with their legs spread out and toes turned in, so as to avoid being tripped up by their boots. For some time I was inclined to fancy that the hands of these people were small and well shaped, but latterly I changed my opinion, and it was evident, from repeated observations, that the original form was spoiled by labour. The fingers were short but not taper, and the palm was disproportionately broad. The hands of the natives whom we met in Hudson's Strait were certainly far better shaped. The skin in both sexes appeared to be quite smooth, being unctuous, and unpleasantly cold to the touch. Contrary to its outward show of fineness, it was, even in the females, very tough. The complexion of the Esquimaux, when clearly ~~seen~~ by a previous washing, is not darker than that of a Portuguese, and such parts of the body as are constantly covered do not fall short in fairness to the generality of the natives of the Mediterranean. A very fine healthy blush tinges the cheek of females and young children, but the men are more inclined to a sallow complexion. The features of the face are diversified in an extraordinary manner, yet, like the Jews, they have, even when their countenances are shaped like Europeans, an expression altogether peculiar. This may be attributed to the remarkable formation of the eye, which is in all alike. The inner corner points downwards, like that of a Chinese, and the carunculus lachrymalis, which in Europeans is exposed, is covered by a membrane which passes over it vertically. The skin over the upper part of the nose, between the eyes, is frequently, particularly in the women, stretched as tight as the covering of a drum. The eyes are small and black, expressive and sparkling when animated, and in most infants and a few

young girls really very beautiful. Even in middle aged, or indeed young persons, the corner of the eye is marked by that dreadful figure, the crow's foot; but in old people the wrinkles are so abundant, as to cover the temples, and to stray down the cheek to a degree we never see in Europe. Another peculiarity, though not so evident in all faces, is the prominence of the cheek bones, which frequently presents so flat a surface, as to give to the women in particular the appearance of having faces as broad as they are long. It is in consequence of this form, that the noses of such as are full faced are literally buried between the projections, and one of our chief belles was so remarkable in this way, that a ruler, when placed from cheek to cheek, would not touch the nose! In some families, where both parents had oval faces, the children all resembled them; and about a sixth part of the people we saw had high Roman noses, and an expression of countenance, excepting always the eyes, which seemed of a different race. The other, and far the largest portion of the tribe, are broad and nearly round visaged. The mouth is generally kept open, with a kind of idiotic expression, so that the teeth of either jaw are generally shown. The lips are rather prominent, and I think, if any difference at all exists, that in the men the lower, and in the women the upper lip is the largest. The mouths are large, yet have a very wholesome healthy appearance. The teeth are strong, and deeply fixed in the gums. They are formed like rounded ivory pegs, and are as flat on the upper end as if filed down. Old people have them worn quite even with the gums, and it is but rarely that any are decayed. The chin is small and peaked, and what we call a double chin is rare, the skin generally collapsing in fat people, instead of forming in a roll. The beards of the men are scanty, but few instances occurring of the chin being entirely covered. The mustaches are more thick. The hair of both sexes is straight, coarse, and of a raven black. In infants it has, for a few years, a shade of brown. On the bodies of adults

there is but little hair, in fact, some are totally destitute of it.

“The costume of the people, continues Capt. Lyon, differs very much from that of the Hudson's Strait savages, though an equal degree of neatness and ingenuity is displayed in the work of each. The clothes of both sexes are principally composed of fine and well prepared rein-deer pelts; the skins of bears, seals, wolves, foxes, and marmottes, are also used. The seal skins are seldom employed for any part of the dress, except boots and shoes, as being more capable of resisting water, and of far greater durability than other leather.

“The general winter dress of the men is an ample outer coat of deer-skin, having no opening in front, and a large hood, which is drawn over the head at pleasure. This hood is invariably bordered with white fur from the thighs of the deer, and thus presents a lively contrast to the dark face which it encircles. The front, or belly part of the coat, is cut off square with the upper part of the thighs; but behind it is formed into a broad skirt, rounded at the lower end, which reaches to within a few inches of the ground. The lower edges and tails of these dresses are in some cases bordered with bands of fur of an opposite colour to the body, and it is a favourite ornament to hang a fringe of little strips of skin beneath the border. These embellishments give a very pleasing appearance to the dress. It is customary, in blowing weather, to tie a piece of skin or cord tight round the waist of the coat; but in other cases the dress hangs loose. Within the covering I have just described is another of precisely the same form; but though destitute of ornaments of leather, it has frequently little strings of beads hanging to it from the shoulders or small of the back. This dress is of thinner skin, and acts as a shirt, the hairy part being placed next the body: it is the in-doors habit. When walking, the tail is tied up by two strings to the back, so that it may not incommode the legs. Besides these two coats, they have also a large cloak, or, in fact, an open deer-skin, with

sleeves: this, from its size, is more frequently used as a blanket; and I but once saw it worn by a man at the ship, although the women throw it over their shoulders to shelter themselves and children while sitting on the sledge.

“The trowsers, which are tightly tied round the loins, have no waistbands, but depend entirely by the drawing-strings; they are generally of deer-skin, and ornamented in the same manner as the coats. One of the most favourite patterns is an arrangement of the skins of deers' legs, so as to form very pretty stripes. As with the jackets, there are two pair of these indispensables, reaching no lower than the knee-cap, which is a cause of great distress in cold weather; as that part is frequently severely frost bitten; yet with all their experience of this bad contrivance, they will not add an inch to the established length.

“The boots reach to the bottom of the breeches, which hang loosely over them. In these, as in other parts of the dress, are many varieties of colour, material, and pattern, yet in shape they never vary. The general winter boots are of deer-skin, one having the hair next the leg, and the other with the fur outside. A pair of soft slippers of the same kind are worn between the two pair of boots, and outside of all a strong seal-skin shoe is pulled to the height of the ankle, where it is tightly secured by a drawing string. For hunting excursions, or in summer when the country is thawed, one pair of boots only is worn. They are of seal-skin, and so well sewed and prepared without the hair, that although completely saturated, they allow no water to pass through them. The soles are generally of the tough hide of the walrus, or of the large seal called Ooghioo, so that the feet are well protected in walking over rough ground. Slippers are sometimes worn outside. In both cases the boots are tightly fastened round the instep with a thong of leather. The mittens in common use are of deer-skin, with the hair inside: but in fact every kind of skin is used for them. They are extremely comfortable when

dry, but if once wetted and frozen again, in the winter afford as little protection to the hand as a case of ice would do. In summer, and in fishing, excellent seal-skin mittens are used, and have the same power of resisting water as the boots of which I have just spoken. At Igloodik, on our first arrival, we found a few pair of fingered gloves, very neatly made. The dresses I have just described are chiefly used in winter. During the summer it is customary to wear coat, boots, and even breeches, composed of the prepared skins of ducks, with the feathers next the body. These are comfortable, light, and easily prepared. When we first became acquainted with the different parties of natives, and before they had received presents from us, we found that the few ornaments in their possession were worn by the men. These were some bandeaus which encircled the head, and were composed of various coloured leather, plaited in a Mosaic pattern, and in some cases having human hair woven in them as a contrast to the white skins. From the lower edge foxes' teeth hung suspended, arranged as a fringe across the forehead. In different parts of the hair several wore a musk-ox tooth, a small ivory figure, or the bone of some small animal.

The clothing of the women is of the same materials as that of the men, but in shape almost every part is different from the male dress. An inner jacket is worn next the skin, and the fur of the other is outside. This hind flap or tail is of the form before described, but there is also a small flap in front, extending about half way down the thigh. The coats have each an immense hood, which, as well as covering the head, answers the purpose of a child's cradle for two or three years after the birth of an infant. This is called *ama-oo-ta*, and is the same as the *amaut* of Crantz. In order to keep the burthen of the child from drawing the dress tight across the throat, a contrivance, in a great measure resembling the slings of a soldier's knapsack, is affixed to the collar or neck part, whence it passes beneath the *ama-*

oo-ta, crosses, and being brought under the arms, is secured on each side the breast by a wooden button. The shoulders of the woman's coat have a wide bag-like space, for which we were long unable to account; but it was at length ascertained to be for the purpose of facilitating the removal of the child from the hood round the breast without taking it out of the jacket.

"When a girdle is worn round the waist, it answers the double purpose of comfort and ornament; being frequently composed of some valuable trinkets, such as foxes' bones those of the kableeaghioo, or sometimes of the ears of deer, which hang in pairs to the number of twenty or thirty, and are trophies of the skill of the hunter, to whom the wearer is allied. The inexpressibles of the woman are of the same form as those of the men, but they are not ornamented by the same curious arrangement of colours; the front part is generally of white, and the back of dark fur. The manner of securing them at the waist is also the same; but the drawing-strings are of much greater length, being suffered to hang down by one side, and their ends are frequently ornamented with some pendant jewel, such as a grinder or two of the musk-ox, a piece of carved ivory, a small ball of wood, or a perforated stone.

"Children have no kind of clothing, but lie naked in their mother's hoods until two or three years of age, when they are stuffed into a little dress, generally of fawn-skin, which has jacket and breeches in one, the back part being open; into this they are pushed, when a string or two closes all up again. A cap forms an indispensable part of the equipment, and is generally of some fantastical shape: the skin of a fawn's head is a favourite material in the composition, and is sometimes seen with the ears perfect; the nose and holes for the eyes lying along the crown of the wearer's head, which, in consequence, looks like that of an animal. Although by necessity and habit an extremely dirty people, the Esquimaux appear fully aware of the truth of a well-



known saying, and practically shown that "a stitch in time" does wonders; for, however old or worn their dresses may be, it is rarely that ragged clothes are seen.

Our woollen jackets, shirts, or stockings, were very much esteemed; and though not a tenth part so warm as the skin coverings, yet always had the credit with the Esquimaux of being much more comfortable than those; the poor creatures, who wore them generally outside their proper dresses, ascribing all the warmth they felt to the Kabloona cloth. In this way I have seen a thin cotton shirt placed over two coats, while the happy wearer exclaimed with delight that "it made him quite hot."

The wind being favourable, the ship ran through Hudson's Strait, and on the twenty-third they took their final departure, passing Button's Isles. During their passage across the Atlantic the Auroræ Boreales were generally seen every night. On one occasion they were so brilliant as to cast shadows on the deck.

A solan goose was seen on the seventh of October, and as the ships approached the Orkneys several more of these birds were seen. The appearance of other vessels, indicative of the prospect of soon obtaining intercourse with those from whom they had been now separated for seven and twenty months, excited in all the most cheering feelings.

The breeze increasing to a fresh gale from the southward in the course of the night, with a heavy sea from the same quarter, rendering it impossible to make any progress in that direction, they put into Lerwick in the Shetland Islands, to procure refreshments and await a change of wind, and on the 10th at ten in the morning anchored there, where they were immediately visited by a great number of the inhabitants, anxious to greet them on their return to their native country.

On the first information of their arrival the bells of Lerwick were set ringing, the inhabitants flocked from every part of the country to express their joy, and the town was at night illuminated as if each individual had a brother or a

son among the crew. On the 12th, being Sunday, the officers and men of both ships attended divine service on shore, when the worthy minister, the Reverend Mr. Menzies, who was before well known to many, offered up in the most solemn and impressive manner a thanksgiving for their safe return.

On the 13th, a breeze springing up from the northward, they took leave of their kind and hospitable friends, deeply sensible of the cordial and affectionate reception they experienced. On the 16th, being off Whitby, Captain Parry went on shore there, accompanied by Mr. Fisher the astronomer, and after receiving the cordial greetings of a great number of the worthy inhabitants of Whitby, who had assembled, set off for London and arrived at the Admiralty on the morning of the 18th. The ships, after touching at the Humber for pilots, arrived in the River Thames shortly afterwards, and were paid off at Deptford on the 14th of November, 1823.

Notwithstanding the attempts of this voyage to discover a north-west passage were ineffectual, Captain Parry says that his convictions of the possibility are increased; but that the opening must be found through Prince Regent's Inlet, and that the passage will be into Bhering's Strait. He says, "While the probability of the existence of the passage has been greatly strengthened by the efforts of our various expeditions by land and sea, as well as by those of the Russians about Icy Cape, the hope of its ultimate accomplishment has, notwithstanding our late failure, received no inconsiderable encouragement. That the sea is sometimes navigable upon the northern shores of America is no longer a matter of speculation or conjecture, but stands recorded upon the authority, and to the honour, of our distinguished countryman Captain Franklin, and his brave companions. A single view of the drawings accompanying his description of their extraordinary canoe-navigation along these desolate shores, must at once convey to the minds of

those who are interested in the accomplishment of this long-sought object, a degree of encouragement which the most sanguine could scarcely have experienced before. And although there can be no doubt, that the various changes of wind and tide would occasionally block up with ice the shores surveyed by Captain Franklin, yet the open water he observed is a proof that the ice has a considerable space to move in : and I cannot, therefore, but entertain a very confident hope that if a ship could once be got upon that coast, she might, by patience and perseverance, ultimately complete the desired object. It becomes, therefore, a matter of more interest than ever, to inquire by what route a ship is most likely to reach that part of the coast lately discovered and surveyed by Captain Franklin.

“It is more than probable, that the obstacles which finally arrested our progress in the Strait are to be mainly attributed to the current we found setting to the eastward, through it; and which coincides with that observed by Captain Franklin and by the Russians to the westward. This stream, in finding its way out through the Strait, would undoubtedly have the effect of keeping the ice close home upon its western mouth, so as to prevent the egress of a ship in that direction ; and I cannot help thinking that, on this account, the navigation of that Strait will seldom if ever be practicable.”

The information which the second voyage of Captain Parry produced, although unsuccessful in accomplishing the great object in pursuit, induced the Government to make further attempts ; and accordingly in the succeeding spring vessels were again fitted out, of which the following are the particulars.

## CAPTAIN PARRY'S THIRD VOYAGE.

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THE *Fury* and *Hecla*, which had been paid off in November 1823, were re-commissioned, and to them was added the *Griper*, to be commanded by Captain Lyon, which last, however, was to take a different route, but to co-operate with Captain Parry by land, each taking a course which former lights and experience pointed out as most likely to ensure success. It was intended that Captain Parry should endeavour to make the passage by the Prince Regent's Inlet, which runs out of Lancaster Sound to the southward, towards Hudson's Bay, and which was discovered by him in his second voyage; Captain Lyon was to land in Repulse Bay, leaving charge of the *Griper* to Lieutenant G. Dixon, and to proceed over-land to the Copper-mine River; whilst Captain Franklin was to explore by land the coast of the Arctic Sea from Mackenzie's River to Icy Cape.

Every advantage was taken of the experience obtained in the former voyages, and nothing was omitted which could add to the comfort or secure the safety of the crews in their perilous undertaking. Considerable improvements have taken place in the mode of warming the vessels in their several departments; and increased strength has been given to their bows by an additional casing of timber. Capstans upon a new construction have also been introduced, which promise less risk of injury than those formerly in use. The sails and cordage were all new, and of superior workmanship; while the stores of every description are abundant, and applicable to every casualty than can occur. Modern publications were added to the libraries, and nothing was

neglected which might afford amusement or informatior to the officers.

A very splendid and hospitable entertainment was given on board the *Fury* and *Hecla*, lying off Deptford dock-yard, by Captain Parry, on Tuesday, the 4th of May. The most distinguished of the company present on this occasion were the Duke of Marlborough, Earl Bathurst, Lady Georgiana Bathurst, Lady Emily Bathurst, Lord and Lady Sidmouth, Lord Nugent, Lord Clinton, Sir Everard Home, the Lord Mayor and family, the Right Hon. W. W. Wynn and family, Mr. and Mrs. Hobhouse, Sir J. Yorke; Sir Henry, Lady, and Miss Martin; Captain J. Franklin, the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, S. Whitbread, Esq. Sir Alexander and Lady Johnston, Mrs. Admiral Hamilton, Captain and Mrs. Napier, Lieutenant Colonel Ady, Captain and Mrs. Wilbraham, Mr. Alderman Heygate and Lady; and a long list of others, too numerous to mention.

The *Hecla* and *Fury* dropped down the river from Deptford on Saturday the 8th of May, 1824. The crew of the *Griper* gave three cheers as she passed, which was answered by the *Hecla*'s crew. This incident was interesting, inasmuch as, the *Griper* being to take out the land expedition, the next intercourse of those brave men was expected to be in the regions of desolation and cheerless misery.

Captain Parry proceeded on his voyage; and of him we have heard nothing positive since, and doubt not but he found winter-quarters. Suddenly, however, and unexpectedly, on the 10th of November 1824, the *Griper*, Captain Lyon, ran into Portsmouth-harbour, (without anchoring at Spithead,) with signals of distress flying, having narrowly escaped destruction in fruitless endeavours to get into Repulse-Bay. The ship appears to have suffered dreadfully. She had reached to within six hours sail of Repulse Bay, when a most tremendous gale came on, hitherto unequalled for severity in those seas, which continued for several days with unabated fury; and after the crew had suffered in a dread-

ful manner, Captain Lyon was obliged to bear up for England to refit, the ship having lost all her anchors and cables amongst the ice, besides having been on shore and sustained damage in her bottom; her boats were all stove in. We are happy to learn, however, that no lives were lost.

Captain Lyon, the moment he arrived in London, began to prepare a "Brief Narrative of an unsuccessful attempt, &c." and within a very few weeks it was published. The enterprising individuals whose arduous exertions and intense sufferings are recorded in this interesting volume, have the most powerful claims on the gratitude of their countrymen; and, though they have been unsuccessful in the principal object of the expedition, the skill and intrepidity of the gallant commander and his crew are not the less deserving of admiration. In a short preface, Captain Lyon details the object of the voyage, by stating the general belief, "that a western portion of the Polar Sea lies at no great distance across Melville Peninsula from Repulse Bay, and that all the Esquimaux agree in placing it at three days journey. Should this be the case, of which no doubt seems to be entertained, the water in question may be inferred to join that sea, which opens out from the western mouth of the Strait of the Fury and Hecla, and the form of the peninsula may be tolerably imagined from the charts drawn by the natives. A bight may therefore exist as far to the southward as Akkoolee, which is the opposite shore from Repulse Bay; and it certainly would be an object of great interest to trace the connexion of its shores with Point Turn-again, at which Captain Franklin's operations terminated." Under this supposition, Captain Lyon was directed to winter in Repulse Bay; and in the spring of 1825 to proceed with a small party across Melville Peninsula, and endeavour to trace the shores of the Polar Sea as far as the above mentioned Point.

The Griper, of 180 tons, and a crew of forty-one men, left Deptford on the 10th of June, 1824, and joined her pro

vision-vessel, the Snap, at the Little Nore. Before they reach Stromness in the Orkneys, where they did not arrive till the 30th, they were nearly shipwrecked. They here took in water and some provisions; and on the 3d of July sailed from Stromness. But it was soon discovered that the sailing-qualities of the Griper were of the worst description; and, whilst steering their course across the Atlantic, it was necessary she should be frequently taken in tow by her provision-tender, the Snap.

On the 1st of August they fell in with their first piece of ice, a small berg of about 70 feet; and in the evening they first discerned the Labrador coast. On the 3d the stores were removed from the Snap in a fog so dense, "that the boats were directed backwards and forwards, amongst loose ice, by the sound of bells which were continued ringing." "When our stores were all on board," says Captain Lyon, "we found her narrow decks completely crowded by them. The gangways, forecastle, and abaft the mizen-masts, were filled with casks, hawsers, whale-lines, and stream-cable, while on our straightened lower deck we were obliged to place casks and other stores in every part but that allotted to the ship-company's mess table; and even my cabin had a quantity of things stowed away in it. The launch was filled high above her gunwales with various articles; and our chains and waist were lumbered with spars, planks, sledges, wheels, &c. Our draft of water aft was now sixteen feet one inch, and forward fifteen feet ten inches."

On the 5th they made Cape Resolution, the weather being very severe; and Captain Lyon declares, that even "up to this period, we had, in fact, experienced more severe and unpleasant weather than during our passage out on the last voyage." On the 8th, abreast of Saddleback, and the Middle Savage Islands, and about five miles from the land, the Griper struck twice, and heeled very much, but fortunately did not sustain any damage. The deviation of the compasses now became very great, notwithstanding one

had been fitted with Professor Barlow's plate. Rain had fallen incessantly during the last two days, and on the 10th continued with fog until noon, when the sky cleared, and they made the Upper Savage Island, and, making fast to the largest floe they had yet seen, remained until the following noon. "On this floe, as the weather was tolerably fine, we were enabled to stretch lines for the purpose of drying clothes, &c. which was now very requisite, as, from the continual wet weather we had experienced, the ship and every thing within her had become very damp."

At day-light on the 12th the first Esquimaux was seen paddling very quietly towards them; and, hauling his canoe on the ice, began to barter. From Captain Lyon's knowledge of the language a conversation directly took place, and in about half an hour sixty more natives made their appearance in eight kajaks and three omiaks, the latter with sails made of the intestines of the walrus. As usual, they began to make free with many articles; and one fellow succeeded in picking the captain's pocket of his handkerchief, for which he received a box on the ear. The others traded fairly, each woman producing her stores from a neat little skin bag, which was distinguished by our men by the name of a reticule. A new variety of comb was purchased, and Captain Lyon procured a mirror composed of a broad plate of black mica, so fitted into a leathern case as to be seen on either side. Some of the natives were admitted on board the Griper to see the ponies and pigs, at which they evinced signs of fear, particularly at the squeaking of the latter, and considered them as two new species of tooktoo, (rein-deer.) Captain Lyon purchased for a knife the sail of a woman's boat. It was nine feet five inches at the head, by only six feet at the foot, and having a deep of thirteen feet. The gut of which it was composed was in four-inch breadths, neatly sewed with thread of the same material; and the whole sail only weighed three pounds three quarters. Off the North Bluff



another party was met with, and a familiar intercourse took place.

On the 14th, their progress was painfully slow, and they passed much closely-packed ice. The temperature was 30° in the shade, and the fog froze thickly on the rigging. On the 15th the compasses were extremely sluggish, and the one fitted with the plate showed as much deviation when the ship's head was to the eastward as any other. This caused much anxiety. On the 17th they made Charles Island, and killed two walruses in shoal water. Before the evening of the 19th they were within ten miles of Cape Wolstenholme, and the following afternoon of Digges Island, the sea full of ice. The very dull and bad sailing of the Griper continued; on the morning of the 22d, part of the mountains of Southampton Island were seen.

On the 24th, Captain Lyon, accompanied by Mr. Kendall, landed for the purpose of making observations. They saw some deer. They returned on board in the afternoon; and the point on which they landed was named after Mr. Leyson, the assistant surgeon; and the inlet between it and Cape Pembroke named after Mr. Evans, the purser of the Griper. On the 25th they made the high land at Pembroke, the next day passed abreast of it. The compasses had now become quite useless, with the ship's head southerly, and that in particular to which the plate was fitted so powerless, that its north point stood wherever it was placed by the finger; but, with the head northerly, they all traversed again. This, however, benefited but little; for Captain Lyon says, "as our rout lay to the south-west, we were without other guidance than celestial bearings, which could not always be obtained."

On the 27th they fell in with a native, who, as he approached, was observed "seated on three inflated seal-skins, connected most ingeniously by blown intestines, so that his vessel was extremely buoyant. He was astride upon one skin, while another of a larger size was secured on each side

of it, so that he was placed in a kind of hollow. His legs, well furnished with seal-skin boots, were immersed nearly to the knees in water, and he rowed with a very slender soot-stained paddle of whalebone, which was secured to his boat by a thong. He exhibited some signs of fear; but, some beads being given to him, he placed them with trembling fingers across a large bunch of hair which protuded from his forehead. Captain Lyon afterwards landed with him, in hopes of obtaining sights for the instruments, and was then joined by six others, who all appeared most miserable, having only a piece of chipped flint for a knife. They afterwards visited two tents, very small, and full of holes, in which were five women and six children. One of the women, by her appearance, could have been scarcely fifteen years of age; yet carried her own child, a stout boy at least twelve months old, at her back. In one tent was a little piece of deal, about three inches in length, planed and painted black on one side; and, with three bows made of many pieces, was all the wood in their possession. Knives, boarding-pikes, and many other articles, were distributed among these wretched beings. Each man was distinguished by an immense mass of hair, as large as the head of a child, rolled into a ball, and projecting from the rise of the forehead. Captain Lyon caused one of these to be opened. It consisted of six long strings of his own locks, originally platted, but so matted with dirt, deer's fur, &c. as to resemble a rough hair-tether. These extraordinary tresses were bound tightly together at their base, and measured above four feet.

On the 29th they again landed to procure water, and found some Esquimaux graves. In the afternoon it blew a gale, and the ship was put under close reefed top-sails. Captain Lyon adds, a strong weather-tide rose so short, and a high sea, that for three hours the ship was unmanageable, and pitched bowsprit-under every moment. We now found, that although with our head off this truly dangerous

shore, we were nearing it rapidly, and driving boldly down on the shoal. To add, if possible, to this distressing situation, the masts were expected to go every moment, and all hands were kept on deck in readiness. The tiller twice broke adrift, and two men were bruised. In the morning the wind came round and moderated from south-west, with a turbulent short sea. The deviation of the compasses now increased, and, with the lamentable sailing of the Griper, the strong tides, and bad weather, caused her situation to be most perilous.

Capt. Lyon says, "as there was reason to fear the falling of the tide, which was from 12 to 15 feet on this coast, and in that case the total destruction of the ship, I caused the long-boat to be hoisted out, and, with the four smaller ones, to be stored to a certain extent with arms and provisions. The officers drew lots for their respective boats, and the ship's company were stationed to them. The long-boat having been filled with stores which could not be put below, it became requisite to throw them overboard, as there was no room for them on our very small and crowded decks, over which heavy seas were constantly sweeping. In making these preparations for taking to the boats, it was evident to all, that the long-boat was the only one which had the slightest chance of living under the lee of the ship, should she be wrecked; but every man drew his lot with the greatest composure, although two of our boats would have been swamped the instant they were lowered. Yet such was the noble feeling of those around me, that it was evident, had I ordered the boats in question to be manned, their crews would have entered them without a murmur.

"In the afternoon, on the weather clearing a little, we discovered a low beach all around astern of us, on which the surf was running to an awful height; and it appeared evident that no human power could save us. At three in the afternoon the tide had fallen to twenty-two feet (only six feet more than we drew;) and the ship, having been lifted

by a tremendous sea, struck with great violence the whole length of her keel. This we naturally conceived was the forerunner of her total wreck, and we stood in readiness to take to the boats and endeavour to hang under her lee. She continued to strike with sufficient force to have burst any less fortified vessel, at intervals of a few minutes, whenever an unusually heavy sea passed us ; and, as the water was so shallow, these might almost be called breakers rather than waves, for each in passing burst with great force over our gangways ; and, as every sea topped, our decks were continually, and frequently flooded. All hands took a little refreshment, for some had scarcely been below for twenty-four hours, and I had not been in bed for three nights. Although few or none of us had any idea that we should survive the gale, we did not think that our comforts should be entirely neglected ; and an order was therefore given to the men to put on their best and warmest clothing, to enable them to support life as long as possible. Every man therefore, brought his bag on deck, and dressed himself ; and, in the fine athletic forms which stood before me, I did not see one muscle quiver, nor the slightest sign of alarm. The officers each secured some useful instrument about them for the purpose of observation, although it was acknowledged by all, that not the slightest hope remained. At about six in the afternoon the rudder, which had received some very heavy blows, rose, and broke up the after-lockers ; and this was the last severe shock which the ship received. We found by the well that she made no water, and by dark she struck no more. God was merciful to us ; and the tide, almost miraculously, fell no lower. At dark heavy rain fell, but was borne with patience ; for it beat down the gale, and brought with it a light air from the northward. At nine in the evening the water had deepened to five fathoms. The ship kept off the ground all night, and our exhausted crew obtained some broken rest."

The next morning they weighed their anchors, and found

that the best bower had lost a fluke, and that the others were uninjured. This place, Captain Lyon adds, "in humble gratitude for our delivery, I named the bay of God's Mercy." The latitude of it is  $63^{\circ} 35' 48''$  N. longitude  $86^{\circ} 32'$  W.

There was at this moment no anchor left in the ship. Notwithstanding, it was determined, if possible, to winter about Chesterfield Inlet, or even to the southward of that spot. The persevering efforts of all on board were accordingly directed to gain the American shore; but finding that the ship got into the shallows of Hudson's Bay, they were reluctantly compelled to edge away for Salisbury Island, still hoping that a few fine and favourable days would restore to them their lost ground. At length the hopeless continuance of bad weather, the wretched condition of the ship (from her incapacities,) the officers and crew having suffered more hardships than on any previous voyage, the advanced stage of the season, with numerous other concomitant miseries, compelled Captain Lyon to consent that the ship should be got out of Hudson's Straits (an extent of 800 miles of dangerous navigation;) which place they had scarcely cleared, when a southerly gale drove them up to Davis's Straits, 150 miles to the southward of Resolution Island. Providentially, a change of wind enabled them soon after to proceed on a southern passage homeward; and the Griper arrived at Portsmouth in six weeks in the state described.

The Griper spoke several whalers, all of which had been unsuccessful in the fishery; no ship had more than two fish, and many none whatever. From the master of the Phoenix whaler, Captain Lyon heard that Captain Parry's expedition had been seen in the middle of August, in lat.  $71^{\circ}$  beset with ice. On the whole, the season has been more boisterous, and consequently the sea less clear, than it has been known for a number of years. It was very questionable if Captain Parry would be able to reach Lancaster Sound. Had

the Griper effected a wintering either in Repulse Bay or Wager River, or Chesterfield Inlet, Captain Lyon, with a strong party, would have made a land-journey to Point Turnagain, near the Coppermine River, a distance of seven hundred miles, for which expedition they were fully equipped. Captain Parry, if he succeeds in passing Lancaster Sound, and getting to the southward down Prince Regent's Inlet (by which Captain Lyon was next year to communicate with him,) will send a land expedition, if possible, in the same direction, as well as to Repulse Bay, in the hope of communicating with the Griper.

Whenever any further information shall be obtained as to the fate of the third voyage of Captain Parry, it will be narrated in this work.

# CAPTAIN FRANKLIN'S JOURNEY

TO

THE POLAR SEA.

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THE Government having determined upon sending an expedition from the shores of Hudson's Bay by land, to explore the northern coast of America, from the mouth of the Coppermine River to the eastward, Captain Franklin was appointed to this service by Earl Bathurst, on the recommendation of the Lord's Commissioners of the Admiralty; who, at the same time, nominated Doctor John Richardson, a surgeon in the Royal Navy, Mr. George Back, and Mr. Robert Hood, two Admiralty Midshipmen, to be joined with him in the enterprize. The main object of the Expedition was that of determining the latitudes and longitudes of the northern coast of North America, and the trending of that coast from the mouth of the Coppermine River to the eastern extremity of that continent. Circumstances were to guide him whether to proceed at once directly to the northward till he arrived at the sea-coast, and thence westerly towards the Coppermine River; or advance, in the first instance, by the usual route to the mouth of the Coppermine River, and from thence easterly till he should arrive at the eastern extremity of that continent. In the adoption of either of these plans, he was to be guided by the advice of the Hudson's Bay Company, who would be instructed by their employers to co-operate cordially in the prosecution of the objects of the expedition, and who would provide him

with the necessary escort of Indians to act as guides, interpreters, game-killers, &c. and also with such articles of clothing, ammunition, snow-shoes, presents, &c. as should be deemed expedient to take. Another principal object of the expedition was to amend the very defective geography of the northern part of North America, to ascertain correctly the latitude and longitude of every remarkable spot upon the route, and of all the bays, harbours, rivers, headlands, &c. that might occur along the northern shores of North America. In proceeding along the coast, he was to erect conspicuous marks at places where ships might enter, or to which a boat could be sent; and to deposit information as to the nature of the coast for the use of Lieutenant Parry. In the journal of his route, he was to register the temperature of the air at least three times in every twenty-four hours; together with the state of the wind and weather, and any other meteorological phenomena. He was to notice whether any, and what kind or degree of, influence the Aurora Borealis might appear to exert on the magnetic needle; and to notice whether that phenomenon were attended with any noise; and to make any other observations that might be likely to tend to the further developement of its cause, and the laws by which it is governed.

Mr. Back and Mr. Hood were to assist in all the observations above-mentioned, and to make drawings of the land, of the natives, and of the various objects of natural history; and, particularly, of such as Dr. Richardson, who, to his professional duties, was to add that of naturalist, might consider to be most curious and interesting,

He was instructed on arriving at, or near, the mouth of the Coppermine River, to make every inquiry as to the situation of the spot whence native copper had been brought down by the Indians to the Hudson's Bay establishment, and to visit and explore the place in question; in order that Dr. Richardson might be enabled to make such observations



as might be useful in a commercial point of view, or interesting to the science of mineralogy.

Joseph Berens, Esq. the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the gentlemen of the committee, afforded all kinds of assistance and information, previous to his leaving England; and they sent orders to their agents and servants in North America, containing the fullest directions to promote, by every means, the progress of the Expedition. The gentlemen of the North-west Company, both in England and America, also gave much useful information, and sent letters of recommendation to the partners and agents of that Company, resident on the line of route.

The late Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who visited the coast they were to explore, afforded in the most open and kind manner, much valuable information and advice.

The provisions, instruments, and articles furnished by direction of the Lord's Commissioners of 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. To Dr. Richardson, in particular, the exclusive merit is due of whatever collections and observations have been made in the department of natural history. The charts and drawings were made by Lieutenant Back and the late Lieutenant Hood. Both these gentlemen cheerfully and ably assisted in making the observations and in the daily conduct of the expedition. Great praise is due to the fidelity, exertion and uniform good conduct in the most trying situations, of John Hepburn, an English seaman, and the only attendant, to whom in the latter part of the journey they owed, under Divine Providence, the preservation of the lives of some of the party.

All things having been previously arranged, the party embarked on the 23d of May 1819, on board the *Prince of Wales*, a ship belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. The wind

not being favourable they did not reach Yarmouth Roads until the 30th, and expecting to remain there for a change of wind, several officers and passengers went on shore. They had not however been long landed before the wind changed to the south-east, and the ship fired signal guns for all to be on board. Mr. Back having gone a few miles distance on business, the ship sailed without him, but Captain Franklin left a letter directing him to proceed by coach to Stromness, at which place he arrived nearly at the same period as the ship, having travelled nine days almost without taking rest.

At Stromness Captain Franklin endeavoured to engage some seamen adapted to the service on which he was proceeding. On the 14th of June several persons met him by appointment; but they were so impressed with apprehension that great danger would attend the service, or that they would be taken further than the engagement required, that only four men offered themselves. The bowmen and steermen were to receive forty pounds a year, and the middlemen thirty-five pounds. Captain Franklin says, "They stipulated to be sent back to the Orkney Islands, free of expense, and to receive their pay until the time of arrival. Only these few men could be procured, although our requisition had been sent to almost every island, even as far as the northernmost point of Ronaldsha. I was much amused with the extreme caution these men used before they would sign the agreement; they minutely scanned all our intentions, weighed every circumstance, looked narrowly into the plan of our route, and still more circumspectly to the prospect of return. Such caution on the part of the northern mariners form a singular contrast with the ready and thoughtless manner in which an English seaman enters upon any enterprise, however hazardous, without inquiring, or desiring to know where he is going, or what he is going about.

The Brig *Harmony*, belonging to the Moravian Missionary Society, and bound to their settlement at Nain, on

the coast of Labrador, was lying at anchor. With the view of collecting some Esquimaux words and sentences, or gaining any information respecting the manners and habits of that people, Doctor Richardson and myself paid her a visit. We found the passengers, who were going out as Missionaries, extremely disposed to communicate; but as they only spoke the German and Esquimaux languages, of both which we were ignorant, our conversation was necessarily much confined: by the aid, however, of an Esquimaux and German dictionary, some few words were collected, which we considered might be useful. There were on board a very interesting girl, and a young man, who were natives of Disko, in Old Greenland; both of them had fair complexions, rather handsome features, and a lively manner; the former was going to be married to a resident Missionary, and the latter to officiate in that character. The commander of the vessel gave me a translation of the Gospel of St. John in the Esquimaux language, printed by the Moravian Society in London."

On the 16th the Prince of Wales made the preparatory signal for sea. At three in the afternoon the ships weighed, an hour too early for the tide; as soon as this served they entered into the passage between Hoy and Pomona, and had to beat through against a very heavy swell, which the meeting of a weather tide and a strong breeze had occasioned. Some dangerous rocks lie near the Pomona shore, and on this side also the tide appeared to run with the greatest strength. On clearing the outward projecting points of Hoy and Pomona, they entered at once into the Atlantic, and commenced their voyage to Hudson's Bay, having the Eddystone, Wear, and Missionary brig, Harmony, in company.

Being now fairly launched into the Atlantic, Captain Franklin issued a general memorandum for the guidance of the officers during the prosecution of the service on which they were engaged, and communicated to them the several points

of information that were expected from them by their instructions. He also furnished them with copies of the signals which had been agreed upon between Lieutenant Parry and himself, to be used in the event of reaching the northern coast of America, and falling in with each other. At the end of the month of June, the progress was found to have been extremely slow, owing to a determined N. W. wind and much sea. Numerous birds hovered round the ship; principally fulmars and shearwaters, and they not unfrequently saw shoals of grampusses sporting about, which the Greenland seaman term finners from their large dorsal fin. Some porpoises occasionally appeared, and whenever they did, the crew were sanguine in their expectation of having a speedy change in the wind, which had been so vexatiously contrary, but they were disappointed in every instance.

By the 25th of July they had opened the entrance of Davis's Straits, and in the afternoon spoke the Andrew Marvell, bound to England with a cargo of fourteen fish. The master said that the ice had been heavier this season in Davis's Straits than he had ever recollected, and that it lay particularly close to the westward, being connected with the shore to the northward of Resolution Island, and extending from thence within a short distance of the Greenland coast; that whales had been abundant, but the ice so extremely cross, that few could be killed. His ship, as well as several others, had suffered material injury, and two vessels had been entirely crushed between vast masses of ice in latitude  $74^{\circ} 40'$  N. but the crews were saved. No intelligence could be obtained respecting Lieutenant Parry, and the ships under his command; but blowing strong from the northward for some time, which would, probably, clear Baffin's Bay of ice, they were disposed to hope favourably of his progress.

On the 4th of August, in latitude  $59^{\circ} 58'$  N. longitude  $59^{\circ} 53'$  W. they first fell in with large icebergs; and in the evening were encompassed by several of considerable

magnitude, which obliged them to tack the ship, in order to prevent getting entangled amongst them. The estimated distance from the nearest part of the Labrador coast was then 88 miles; here they tried for soundings, without gaining the bottom.

On the 5th of August, a party of the officers endeavoured to get on one of the largest icebergs, but ineffectually, owing to the steepness and smoothness of its sides, and the swell produced by its undulating motion. This was one of the largest they saw, and Mr. Hood ascertained its height to be 149 feet; but these masses of ice are frequently magnified to an immense size, through the illusive medium of a hazy atmosphere, and on this account their dimensions have often been exaggerated by voyagers.

In the morning of the 7th, the Island of Resolution was indistinctly seen through the haze, but was soon afterwards entirely hidden in a very dense fog. The favourable breeze subsided into a perfect calm, and left the ship surrounded by loose ice. Two attempts were ineffectually made to gain soundings, and the extreme density of the fog precluded any other means of ascertaining the direction in which the ship was driving until half-past twelve, when they had the alarming view of a barren rugged shore within a few yards, towering over the mast-heads. Almost instantly afterwards the ship struck violently on a point of rock, projecting from the island; and the ship's side was brought so near to the shore, that poles were prepared to push her off. This blow displaced the rudder, and raised it several inches, but it fortunately had been previously confined by tackles. A gentle swell freed the ship from this perilous situation, but the current hurried the ship along in contact with the rocky shore, and the prospect was most alarming. On the outward bow was perceived a rugged and precipitous cliff, whose summit was hid in the fog, and the vessel's head was pointed towards the bottom of a small bay, into which they were rapidly driving. There now

seemed to be no probability of escaping shipwreck, being without wind, and having the rudder in its present useless state; the only assistance was that of a boat employed in towing, which had been placed in the water between the ship and the shore, at the imminent risk of its being crushed. The ship again struck in passing over a ledge of rocks, and happily the blow replaced the rudder, which enabled them to take advantage of a light breeze, and to direct the ship's head without the projecting cliff. But the breeze was only momentary, and the ship was a third time driven on shore on the rocky termination of the cliff. Here they remained stationary for some seconds, and with little prospect of being removed from this perilous situation, but were once more extricated by the swell from this ledge also, and carried still farther along the shore. The coast became now more rugged, and the view of it was terminated by another projecting point on the starboard bow. Happily, before they had reached it, a light breeze enabled them to turn the ship's head to seaward, and she drew off the shore. They had made but little progress, however, when she was violently forced by the current against a large iceberg lying aground.

The prospect was now more alarming than at any preceding period; and it would be difficult to pourtray the anxiety and dismay depicted on the countenances of the female passengers and children, who were rushing on deck in spite of the endeavours of the officers to keep them below, out of the danger which was apprehended if the masts should be carried away. After the first concussion, the ship was driven along the steep and rugged side of this iceberg with such amazing rapidity, that the destruction of the masts seemed inevitable, and every one expected to be forced on the rocks in the most disabled state; but providentially, they escaped this perilous result, which must have been decisive.

The dense fog now cleared away for a short time, and they discovered the Eddystone close to some rocks, having

three boats employed in towing; but the Wear was not visible.

The ship receiving water very fast; the pumps were instantly manned and kept in continual use, and signals of distress were made to the Eddystone, whose commander promptly came on board, and then ordered to our assistance his carpenter and all the men he could spare, together with the carpenter and boat's crew of the Wear, who had gone on board the Eddystone in the morning, and were prevented from returning to their own vessel by the fog. As the wind was increasing, and the sky appeared very unsettled, it was determined the Eddystone should take the ship in tow, that the undivided attention of the passengers and crew might be directed to pumping, and clearing the holds to examine whether there was a possibility of stopping the leak. They soon found the principal injury had been received from a blow near the stern-post, and, after cutting away part of the ceiling, the carpenters endeavoured to stop the rushing in of the water, by forcing oakum between the timbers; but this had not the desired effect, and the leak, in spite of all efforts at the pumps, increased so much, that parties of the officers and passengers were stationed to bail out the water in buckets at different parts of the hold. A heavy gale came on, blowing from the land, as the night advanced; the sails were split, the ship was encompassed by heavy ice, and, in forcing through a closely-connected stream, the tow-rope broke, and they were obliged to take a portion of the seamen from the pumps, and appoint them to the management of the ship.

On the 9th upwards of five feet water was found in the well. Renewed exertions were now put forth by every person, and before eight in the morning the water was so much reduced as to enable the carpenters to get at other defective places; but the remedies they could apply were insufficient to repress the water from rushing in, and all their labours could but just keep the ship in the same state throughout the

day, until six in the afternoon ; when the strength of every one began to fail, the expedient of thrusting in felt, as well as oakum, was resorted to, and a plank nailed over all. After this operation a perceptible diminution in the water was made, and being encouraged by the change, the utmost exertion was used in bailing and pumping ; and before night, the leak was so overpowered that the pumps were only required to be used at intervals of ten minutes. A sail, covered with every substance that could be carried into the leaks by the pressure of the water, was drawn under the quarter of the ship, and secured by ropes on each side.

As a matter of precaution in the event of having to abandon the ship, which was for some time doubtful, the elderly women and children were removed to the Eddystone when the wind was moderate, but the young women remained to assist at the pumps, and their services were highly valuable, both for their personal labour, and for the encouragement their example and perseverance gave to the men.

At day-light, every eye was anxiously cast around the horizon in search of the Wear, but in vain ; and the recollection of their own recent peril caused considerable apprehensions for her safety. Every glass was directed along the shore to discover any trace of their absent consort. Guns were frequently fired to apprise any who might be near of their approach ; but no one appeared, and no signal was returned. At eight in the evening they were abreast of the island called Cape Resolution, which is a low point, but indicated at a distance by a lofty round backed hill that rises above it. They entered Hudson's Straits soon afterwards.

They arrived abreast of the Upper Savage Island early in the morning of the 12th of August, and as the breeze was moderate, the ship was steered as near to the shore as the wind would permit, to give the Esquimaux inhabitants an opportunity of coming off to barter, which they soon embraced.

Their shouts at a distance intimated their approach some



time before they described the canoes paddling towards them; the headmost of them reached us at eleven; these were quickly followed by others, and before noon about forty canoes, each holding one man, were assembled round the two ships. In the afternoon, when we approached nearer to the shore, five or six larger ones, containing the women and children, came up.

The Esquimaux immediately evinced their desire to barter, and displayed no small cunning in making their bargains, taking care not to exhibit too many articles at first. Their principal commodities were, oil, sea-horse teeth, whalebone, seal-skin dresses, caps and boots, deer-skins and horns, and models of their canoes; and they received in exchange small saws, knives, nails, tin-kettles, and needles. It was pleasing to behold the exultation, and to hear the shouts of the whole party, when an acquisition was made by any one; and not a little ludicrous to behold the eagerness with which the fortunate person licked each article with his tongue, on receiving it, as a finish to the bargain, and an act of appropriation. They in no instance omitted this strange practice, however small the article; the needles even passed individually through the ceremony. The women brought imitations of men, women, animals, and birds, carved with labour and ingenuity out of sea-horse teeth. The dresses and the figures of the animals, were not badly executed, but there was no attempt at the delineation of the countenances; and most of the figures were without eyes, ears and fingers, the execution of which would, perhaps, have required more delicate instruments than they possess. The men set most value on saws; kuttee-swa-bak, the name by which they distinguish them, was a constant cry. Knives were held next in estimation. An old sword was bartered from the Eddystone, and I shall long remember the universal burst of joy on the happy man's receiving it. It was delightful to witness the general interest excited by individual acquisitions. There was no desire shewn by any one

to over-reach his neighbour, or to press towards any part of the ship where a bargain was making, until the person in possession of the place had completed his exchange and removed, and if any article happened to be demanded from the outer canoes; the men nearest assisted willingly in passing the thing across. Supposing the party to belong to one tribe, the total number of the tribe must exceed two hundred persons, as there were, probably, one hundred and fifty around the ships, and few of these were elderly persons, or male children.

Their faces were broad and flat, the eyes small. The men were in general stout. Some of the younger women and the children had rather pleasing countenances; but the difference between these and the more aged of that sex, bore strong testimony to the effects which a few years produce in this ungenial climate. Most of the party had sore eyes, all of them appeared of a plethoric habit of body; several were observed bleeding at the nose during their stay near the ship. The men's dresses consisted of a jacket of seal-skin, the trowsers of bear-skin, and several had caps of the white fox-skin. The female dresses were made of the same materials, but differently shaped, having a hood in which the infants were carried. Their manner was very lively and agreeable, and they were fond of mimicking our speech and gestures; but nothing afforded them greater amusement than when we attempted to retaliate by pronouncing any of their words.

The canoes were of seal-skin, and similar in every respect to those of the Esquimaux in Greenland; they were generally new and very complete in their appointments. Those appropriated to the women are of ruder construction, and only calculated for fine weather; they are, however, useful vessels, being capable of containing twenty persons with their luggage. An elderly man officiates as steersman, and the women paddle, but they have also a mast which carries a sail, made of dressed whale-gut. When

the women had disposed of all their articles of trade they resorted to entreaty, and put in practice many enticing gestures to procure presents of a variety of beads, needles, and other articles in great demand among females.

On the evening of the 19th, they passed Digge's Islands, the termination of Hudson's Strait. Here the Eddystone parted company, being bound to Moose Factory at the bottom of the Bay.

On the 30th the Prince of Wales arrived off York Flats, and they had the gratifying sight of the ship *Wear*, which they feared was lost, riding at anchor. The governor of the place, Mr. Williams, came on board, accompanied by the commander of the *Wear*, and the latter gentleman, (from the circumstance of himself and his crew having been supposed to be lost) was received with the most hearty welcome. It appeared that one of the largest masses of ice had providentially drifted between the vessel's side and the rocks just at the time he expected to strike, to which he secured it until a breeze sprung up and enabled him to pursue his voyage.

The governor said that he had received information from the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company of the equipment of the Expedition, and that the officers would come out in their first ship. In the evening Dr. Richardson, Mr. Hood, and Captain Franklin, accompanied the governor to York Factory; it is distant from the Flats seven miles. Early next morning the honour of a salute was conferred on the members of the Expedition.

Captain Franklin informed the governor that he was directed to consult with him and the senior officers of the Company as to the best mode of proceeding on their journey, and in reply was informed that instructions had been received to render all possible assistance to the Expedition. He also received the most friendly and full assurance from Mr. Shaw and other gentlemen belonging to the North-west Company, of their cordial disposition to promote the interests of the ex-

pedition ; and as at this period a violent commercial opposition existed between the Hudson's Bay and the North-west Company, this assurance was highly gratifying. From these gentlemen they obtained much information respecting the interior of the country. Under a consideration of the opposite interests of the two companies, Captain Franklin issued an order strictly prohibiting all interference in their quarrels. This order he made known to the principals of the different Companies, and they expressed their satisfaction thereat. The opinion of the gentlemen connected with both companies was that the party should proceed by Cumberland House, and through the chain of posts to the Great Slave Lake, and Captain Franklin determined to pursue the route they recommended.

York Factory, the principal depot of the Hudson's Bay Company, stands on the west Bank of Hayes' River, about five miles above its mouth, on the marshy peninsula which separates the Hayes and Nelson rivers. The surrounding country is flat and swampy, and covered with willows, poplars, larch, spruce, and birch-trees ; but the requisition for fuel has expended all the wood in the vicinity, and the residents have now to send for it to a considerable distance.

The principal buildings 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 merchandise are kept : the workshops, storehouses for the furs, and the servants' houses are ranged on the out side of the square, and the whole is surrounded by a stockade twenty feet high. A platform is laid from the house to the pier on the bank for the convenience of transporting the stores and furs, which is the only promenade the residents have on this marshy spot during the summer season. The few Indians who frequent this establishment belong to the Swampy Crees. There were several of them encamped on the outside of the stockade. Their

tents 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 were covered with dressed moose-skin. The fire is placed in the centre, and a hole is left for the escape of the smoke. The inmates had a squalid look, and were suffering under the combined afflictions of hooping cough and measles ; but even these miseries did not keep them from an excessive indulgence in spirits, which they unhappily can procure from the traders with too much facility.

Their sickness at this time was particularly felt by the traders, this being the season of the year when the exertion of every hunter is required to procure their winter's stock of geese, which resort in immense flocks to the extensive flats in this neighbourhood. These birds, during the summer, retire far to the north, and breed in security ; but when the approach of winter compels them to seek a more southern climate, they generally alight on the marshes of this bay, and fatten there for three weeks or a month, before they take their final departure from the country. They also make a short halt at the same spots in their progress northwards in the spring. Their arrival is welcomed with joy, and the goose hunt is one of the most plentiful seasons of the year. The ducks frequent the swamps all the summer.

All things having been prepared, and one of the largest Company's boats having been procured, the party prepared early in the month of September for their departure. The various stores provided however were found too bulky to be stowed in the boat, so that a part of the provisions were necessarily left behind. All of them excepting the bacon, which was of too great a bulk, the governor promised to forward in the course of the next season, and the party embarked under a salute of eight guns and three cheers from the fort, thus commencing their voyage into the interior of America.

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, rendered at this season soft and slippery by frequent rains, and their progress was often further impeded by fallen trees, which, having slipped from the verge of the thick wood above, hung on the face of the bank in a great variety of directions. Notwithstanding these obstacles, 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 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. At sunset they landed, and pitched the tent for the night, having made a progress of twelve miles. A large fire was quickly kindled, supper speedily prepared, and they then retired in their buffalo robes, and enjoyed a night of sound repose.

On the 14th Mr. M'Donald, on his way to Red River, in a small canoe, manned by two Indians, overtook the party. The Indians had on the preceding day, with no other arms than a hatchet, killed two deer, a hawk, a curlew, and a sturgeon. Three of the Company's boats joined in the course of the morning, and they pursued their journey up Hill River in company. Captain Franklin's boat being overladen, they were unable to keep pace with the others; and therefore proposed to the gentlemen in charge of the Company's boats, that they should relieve them of part of their cargo. This they declined doing, under the plea of not having received orders to that effect, notwithstanding the circular furnished by Governor Williams, strictly enjoining all the Company's servants to afford every assistance. In consequence of this refusal they dropt behind, and being deprived of the advantage of observing the route followed by the guide, who was in the foremost boat, they frequently

took a wrong channel. The tow-line broke twice, and the boat was only prevented from going broadside down the stream, and breaking to pieces against the stones, by the officers and men leaping into the water, and holding her head to the current until the line could be carried again to the shore. The traders, guides, and most experienced of the boatmen, being of opinion, that unless the boat was further lightened, the winter would put a stop to their progress before they could reach Cumberland House, or any eligible post, sixteen pieces were left with Mr. Bunn, the gentleman in charge of a depot called Rock House, to be forwarded by the Athabasca canoes next season, this being their place of rendezvous.

The exertions of the Orkney boatmen, (whom Captain Franklin had engaged) in navigating the rivers deserve the highest commendation. They had often to lift the boats over rocks by leaping into the water, although the temperature was below the freezing point. The immense loads which on many occasions they had to carry in crossing the portages or rocky parts, were also astonishing, as well as their activity on these occasions.

They continued their journey, and on the twenty-third arrived at a depot on Swampy Lake. Here they were supplied with a further stock of provisions, denominated pemmican. This food consists of buffalo meat, which is pounded and mixed with melted fat. On examination this provision was found to be mouldy; but upon this wretched food the residents at this cheerless abode, which consisted of only two persons, had to subsist until more arrived.

On the 24th they passed through some woods which were still smoking, having caught fire in the summer, through the negligence of some party in not properly extinguishing their fires when they left an encampment. This is no uncommon occurrence in dry seasons; and the woods on those occasions are seen blazing to the extent of several miles.

On the 28th the party arrived at Oxford House, where

formerly the Hudson's Bay Company had a station. A few Cree Indians were encamped in the neighbourhood, but they were at this time afflicted with the measles and the whooping cough, and were altogether in a wretched state. Captain Franklin endeavoured to prevail on some of these Indians to accompany them in hunting and killing ducks, which here were very numerous ; but could not prevail on any of them to join in the attempt. They procured on Holey Lake, on which Oxford House is situated, a supply of fish, which was very acceptable. On the following day two of the boats in passing Swampy Lake were broken against the rocks, and this accident detained them some time in order to repair the boats. At this place the river runs with rapid force, and they were informed that in the preceding year, in hauling a boat up one of the channels, a man was precipitated into the stream, and hurried down the rapid with such force, that all efforts to save him were ineffectual.

On the second of October while superintending the operations of the party, Captain Franklin slipped from the summit of a rock into the river, and for a time all his efforts to extricate himself failed. He was carried a considerable distance down the stream, but at length he caught hold of a willow, and kept fast until two gentlemen belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company came to his assistance.

At Norway House they met with Lord Selkirk's colonists who had been their companions as they sailed across the Atlantic, and had preceded their departure one day from York Factory. The people were greatly pleased at meeting each other again in so distant and wild a country.

On the 14th sailing across Cedar Lake, they landed at an Indian tent, which contained two families, to the number of thirty persons. They were very poorly clothed, and afflicted with the whooping cough and the measles, and were at this time preparing a sweating house to cure their sick companions. By singing and drumming and sweating they cure all the diseases they meet with. At a short distance,



on an adjoining island, another party of Indians had fixed their residence, for the purpose of killing geese and ducks. They sailed up the Saskatchewan river, and passed another Indian party consisting of three tents, who appeared to be in a more afflicted state than the former. They were concluding their incantations for their sick. Among other of their ceremonies on this occasion they hung up a dog as a propitiatory offering to their imaginary deity. Continuing their journey up the river, they came on the twentieth to another party of Indians. These had a very large tent, forty feet long and eighteen feet wide, covered with moose deer skins. There was a fire at each end, and openings for the smoke to pass through. In the centre of the tent there were drums and other instruments of enchantment hanging up, and sleeping apartments appeared to be marked out and divided for different families.

The party continued their journey across Pine Island Lake, and soon arrived at a station belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company called Cumberland House. The lake was so severely frozen near the sides, that they were under the necessity of breaking the ice to make their landing good. Governor Williams invited them to take up their winter residence at this place, as it appeared impracticable to proceed any further with safety, the frost having set in with great severity. Captain Franklin being satisfied of the propriety of accepting his invitation, preparations were immediately made for their accommodation, and an unfinished building was completed with all speed and every needful arrangement made. Captain Franklin visited Mr. Connolly, one of the partners of the North-west Company, who assured him of every endeavour on his part to effect the object of his journey.

The winter having set in with severity, on the ninth of November it was determined to send for a supply of fish from Swampy River, where a party had been stationed for the purpose of procuring a supply of that article. For this

purpose the sledges were prepared, and dogs and men were in full spirits at the prospect of their journey, and immediately on starting they went forwards with great rapidity. On removing into their newly-prepared house, they found it extremely cold, notwithstanding fires were kept up.

On the 24th several Indians made their appearance at Cumberland House, who from illness had been incapable of hunting and procuring provisions. They appeared to be in great distress, and probably but for the supply now afforded them by the Company, they would have perished from want. Indeed instances were stated in which these people had been so overcome by hunger, as to kill and feed upon each other.

In the beginning of December there was a partial thaw, and the ice on the Saskatchewan River, and on the lake, broke up, so as to render travelling dangerous. One of the party attached to Captain Franklin having the conduct of a sledge and dogs, in passing from Swampy River with fish, being fatigued, and riding on his sledge, was missed by his companions, who were driving other sledges, and great apprehensions were entertained for his safety. A party were sent the next day in search of him, who found him in the woods, to which he had turned, under the conviction that he could not get across the lake in his sledge. He was unprovided with materials for making a fire, and was much chilled by the cold; but his companions brought him to the house in safety.

The information which Captain Franklin obtained of the state of the country, induced him to resolve on proceeding himself, during the winter, beyond the Great Slave Lake, and he communicated his resolution to the gentlemen who managed the concerns of the two trading Companies. He requested that by the middle of January he might be furnished with the means of conveyance for three persons, having resolved that Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood should remain at Cumberland House till the spring.

Christmas-day was spent at Cumberland Fort with festivity ; all the people belonging to the factory having met, to be present on the occasion, and to partake of a substantial dinner, which was provided on the occasion. The entrance of the new year was celebrated by the discharge of fire arms, a ceremony always adopted at this season. On this occasion the captain and his party dined with the gentlemen of the North-west Company, and wereregaled with the taste of a beaver, which they found to be excellent food.

On the morning of the 17th of January, a wolf having been caught in a steel trap, ran off with it. A party went in search of him, taking two English bull dogs and a terrier. At first the dogs appeared fearful, and kept at a distance, barking loudly, but one of the party firing at the wolf, and wounding it, the dogs made an attack upon the creature, and it was soon killed.

The severity of the winter was felt by the Indians ; many of them being reduced to a state of starvation and the greatest suffering. One evening a poor native entered the house of the North-west Company, with his only child in his arms, accompanied by his starving wife. They had been afflicted with the measles, and as soon as they recovered they set out for Cumberland House. They had been compelled to feed on bits of skin and offal, and at last had been several days without tasting food ; but the desire of saving the life of their infant child added strength to their efforts, and they persevered in their journey until they arrived at Cumberland House, but their infant expired just as they arrived within sight of the place. The gentleman in charge of the place received them with the greatest kindness, but language cannot describe their feelings in consequence of the loss of their child.

The origin of the Crees, to which nation the Cumberland House Indians belong, is, like that of the other Aborigines of America, involved in obscurity. Mr. Heckewelder, a

missionary, who resided long amongst these people, states, that the Lenapè Indians have a tradition amongst them, of their ancestors having come from the westward, and taken possession of the whole country from the Missouri to the Atlantic, after driving away or destroying the original inhabitants of the land, whom they termed Alligewi. In this migration and contest, which endured for a series of years, the Mengwe, or Iroquois, kept pace with them, moving in a parallel but more northerly line, and finally settled on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and the great lakes from whence it flows. The Lenapè being more numerous, peopled not only the greater part of the country at present occupied by the United States, but also sent detachments to the northward as far as the banks of the River Mississippi and the shores of Hudson's Bay. The principal of their northern tribes are now known under the names of Saulteurs or Chipeways, and Crees; the former inhabiting the country betwixt Lakes Winipeg and Superior, the latter frequenting the shores of Hudson's Bay, from Moose to Churchill, and the country from thence as far to the westward as the plains which lie betwixt the forks of the Saskatchewan.

These Crees, formerly known by the French Canadian traders under the appellation of Knisteneaux, generally designate themselves as Eithinyoowuc (men), or, when they wish to discriminate themselves from the other Indian nations, as Nathehwy-withinyoowuc (Southern-men.)

The moral character of a hunter is acted upon by the nature of the land he inhabits, the abundance or scarcity of food, and in his means of access to spirituous liquors. In a country so various in these respects as that inhabited by the Crees, the causes alluded to must operate strongly in producing a considerable difference of character amongst the various hordes.

Much of their character, no doubt, originates in their mode of life; accustomed as a hunter to depend greatly on chance for his subsistence, the Cree takes little thought of

to-morrow; and the most offensive part of his behaviour—the habit of boasting—has been probably assumed as a necessary part of his armour, which operates upon the fears of his enemies. Every Cree fears the medical or conjuring powers of his neighbour; but at the same time exalts his own attainments to the skies. “I am God-like,” is a common expression amongst them, and they prove their divinity ship by eating live coals, and by various tricks of a similar nature. A medicine-bag is an indispensable part of a hunter's equipment. It is generally furnished with a little bit of indigo, blue vitriol, vermillion, or some other showy article; and is, when in the hands of a noted conjurer, such an object of terror to the rest of the tribe, that its possessor is enabled to fatten at his ease upon the labours of his deluded countrymen.

A fellow of this description came to Cumberland House in the winter of 1819. Notwithstanding the then miserable state of the Indians, the rapacity of this wretch had been preying upon their necessities, and a poor hunter was actually at the moment pining away under the influence of his threats. The mighty conjurer, immediately on his arrival at the House, began to trumpet forth his powers, boasting, among other things, that although his hands and feet were tied as securely as possible, yet when placed in a conjuring-house, he would speedily disengage himself by the aid of two or three familiar spirits, who were attendant on his call. He was instantly taken at his word, and that his exertions might not be without an aim, a capot or great coat was promised as the reward of his success. A conjuring-house having been erected in the usual form, that is, by sticking four willows in the ground, and tying their tops to a hoop at the height of six or eight feet, he was fettered completely, by winding several fathoms of rope round his body and extremities, and placed in its narrow apartment, not exceeding two feet in diameter. A moose-skin being then thrown over the frame, secluded him from the sight. He forthwith began to

chaunt a kind of hymn in a very monotonous tone. The rest of the Indians, who seemed in some doubt respecting the powers of a devil when put in competition with those of a white man, ranged themselves around and watched the result with anxiety. Nothing remarkable occurred for a long time. The conjurer continued his song at intervals, and it was occasionally taken up by those without. In this manner an hour and a half elapsed; but at length attention, which had begun to flag, was roused by the violent shaking of the conjuring-house. It was instantly whispered round the circle, that at least one devil had crept under the moose-skin. But it proved to be only the "God-like man" trembling with cold. He had entered the lists, stript to the skin, and the thermometer stood very low that evening. His attempts were continued, however, with considerable resolution for half an hour longer, when he reluctantly gave in. He had found no difficulty in slipping through the noose when it was formed by his countrymen; but in the present instance, the knot was tied by Governor Williams, who is an expert sailor. After this unsuccessful exhibition, his credit sunk amazingly, and he took the earliest opportunity of sneaking away from the fort.

About two years before a conjurer paid more dearly for his temerity. In a quarrel with an Indian he threw out some obscure threats of vengeance, which passed unnoticed at the time, but were afterwards remembered. They met in the spring at Carlton House, after passing the winter in different parts of the country, during which the Indian's child died. The conjurer had the folly to boast that he had caused its death, and the enraged father shot him dead on the spot. It may be remarked, however, that both these Indians were inhabitants of the plains, and had been taught, by their intercourse with the turbulent Stone Indians, to set but comparatively little value on the life of a man.

During their visits to a post, they are suffered to enter every apartment in the house, without the least restraint,

and although articles of value to them are scattered about, nothing is ever missed. They scrupulously avoid moving any thing from its place, although they are often prompted by curiosity to examine it. In some cases, indeed, they carry this principle to a degree of self-denial which would hardly be expected. It often happens that meat, which has been paid for, (if the poisonous draught it procures them can be considered as payment,) is left at their lodges until a convenient opportunity occurs of carrying it away. They will rather pass several days without eating, than touch the meat thus intrusted to their charge, even when there exists a prospect of replacing it.

The hospitality of the Crees is unbounded. They afford a certain asylum to the half-breed children when deserted by their unnatural white fathers; and the infirm, and indeed every individual in an encampment, share the provisions of a successful hunter as long as they last. Fond too as a Cree is of spirituous liquors, he is not happy unless all his neighbours partake with him. It is not easy, however, to say what share ostentation may have in the apparent munificence in the latter article; for when an Indian, by a good hunt, is enabled to treat the others with a keg of rum, he becomes the chief of a night, assumes no little stateliness of manner, and is treated with deference by those who regale at his expense. Prompted also by the desire of gaining a name, they lavish away the articles they purchase at the trading posts, and are well satisfied if repaid in praise.

The Cree women are not in general treated harshly by their husbands, and possess considerable influence over them. They often eat, and even get drunk, in consort with the men; a considerable portion of the labour, however, falls to the lot of the wife. She makes the hut, cooks, dresses the skins, and, for the most part, carries the heaviest load; but, when she is unable to perform her task, the husband does not consider it beneath his dignity to assist her. Capable as they are of behaving thus kindly, they affect in their

discourse to despise the softer sex, and on solemn occasions will not suffer them to eat before them, or even come into their presence. In this they are countenanced by the white residents, most of whom have Indian or half-breed wives, but seem afraid of treating them with the tenderness or attention due to every female, lest they should themselves be despised by the Indians. At least, this is the only reason they assign for their neglect of those whom they make partners of their beds, and mothers of their children.

When a hunter marries his first wife, he usually takes up his abode in the tent of his father-in-law, and of course hunts for the family; but when he becomes a father, the families are at liberty to separate, or remain together, as their inclinations prompt them. His second wife is, for the most part, sister of the first, but not necessarily so; for an Indian of another family often presses his daughter upon a hunter whom he knows to be capable of maintaining her well. The first wife always remains the mistress of the tent, and assumes an authority over the others, which is not in every case quietly submitted to. It may be remarked, that whilst an Indian resides with his wife's family, it is extremely improper for his mother-in-law to speak, or even look at him; and when she has a communication to make, it is the etiquette that she should turn her back upon him, and address him only through the medium of a third person. This singular custom is not very creditable to the Indians, if it really had its origin in the cause which they at present assign for it; namely, that a woman's speaking to her son-in-law is a sure indication of her having conceived a criminal affection for him.

Tattooing is almost universal with the Crees. The women are in general content with having one or two lines drawn from the corners of the mouth towards the angles of the lower jaw; but some of the men have their bodies covered with a great variety of lines and figures. It seems to be considered by most rather as a proof of courage than an



ornament, the operation being very painful, and, if the figures are numerous and intricate, lasting several days. The lines on the face are formed by dexterously running an awl under the outicle, and then drawing a cord, dipt in charcoal and water, through the canal thus formed. The punctures on the body are formed by needles of various sizes set in a frame. A number of hawk bells attached to this frame, serve, by their noise, to cover the suppressed groans of the sufferer, and, probably for the same reason, the process is accompanied with singing. An indelible stain is produced by rubbing a little finely-powdered willow-charcoal into the punctures.

In the month of May, whilst Dr. Richardson was at Carlton House, a Cree hunter resolved upon dedicating several articles to one of his deities named Kepoochikawn. The ceremony took place in a sweating-house, or, as it may be designated, from its more important use, a temple, which was erected for the occasion by the worshipper's two wives. It was framed of arched willows, interlaced so as to form a vault capable of containing ten or twelve men, ranged closely side by side, and high enough to admit of their sitting erect. It was very similar in shape to an oven, or the kraal of a Hottentot, and was closely covered with moose skins, except at the east end, which was left open for a door. Near the centre of the building there was a hole in the ground, which contained ten or twelve red-hot stones, having a few leaves strewed around them. When the women had completed the preparations, the hunter made his appearance, perfectly naked, carrying in his hand an image of Kepoochikawn, rudely carved, and about two feet long. He placed his god at the upper end of the sweating-house, with his face towards the door, and proceeded to tie round its neck his offerings, consisting of a cotton handkerchief, a looking-glass, a tin pan, a piece of ribband, and a bit of tobacco, which he had procured the same day, at the expense of fifteen or twenty skins. Whilst he was thus occupied,

several other Crees, who were encamped in the neighbourhood, having been informed of what was going on, arrived, and stripping at the door of the temple, entered, and ranged themselves on each side ; the hunter himself squatted down at the right hand of Kepoochikawn.

The hunter, who throughout officiated as high priest, commenced by making a speech to Kepoochikawn, in which he requested him to be propitious, told him of the value of the things now presented, and cautioned him against ingratitude. This oration was delivered in a monotonous tone, and with great rapidity of utterance, and the speaker retained his squatting posture, but turned his face to his god. At its conclusion, the priest began a hymn, of which the burthen was, "I will walk with God, I will go with the animal;" and at the end of each stanza, the rest joined in an insignificant chorus. He next took up a calumet, filled with a mixture of tobacco and bear-berry leaves, and holding its stem by the middle, in a horizontal position, over the hot stones, turned it slowly in a circular manner, following the course of the sun. Its mouth-piece being then with much formality held for a few seconds to the face of Kepoochikawn, it was next presented to the earth, having been previously turned a second time over the hot stones ; and afterwards, with equal ceremony, pointed in succession to the four quarters of the sky ; then drawing a few whiffs from the calumet himself, he handed it to his left-hand neighbour, by whom it was gravely passed round the circle. When the tobacco was exhausted by passing several times round, the hunter made another speech, similar to the former ; but was, if possible, still more urgent in his requests. A second hymn followed, and a quantity of water being sprinkled on the hot stones, the attendants were ordered to close the temple, which they did, by very carefully covering it up with moose-skins. They continued in the vapour-bath for thirty-five minutes, during which time a third speech was made, and a hymn was sung, and water occasionally sprin-

kled on the stones, which still retained much heat, as was evident from the hissing noise they made. The coverings were then thrown off, and the poor half-stewed worshippers exposed freely to the air ; but they kept their squatting postures until a fourth speech was made, in which the deity was strongly reminded of the value of the gifts, and exhorted to take an early opportunity of shewing his gratitude. The ceremony concluded by the sweaters scampering down to the river, and plunging into the stream. It may be remarked, that the door of the temple, and, of course, the face of the god, was turned to the rising sun ; and the spectators were desired not to block up entirely the front of the building, but to leave a lane for the entrance or exit of some influence of which they could not give a correct description. Several Indians, who lay on the outside of the sweating-house as spectators, seemed to regard the proceedings with very little awe, and were extremely free in the remarks and jokes they passed upon the condition of the sweaters, and even of Kepoochikawn himself. One of them made a remark, that the shawl would have been much better bestowed upon himself than upon Kepoochikawn, but the same fellow afterwards stripped and joined in the ceremony.

Dr. Richardson took an opportunity of asking a communicative old Indian, of the Blackfoot nation, his opinion of a future state ; he replied, that they had heard from their fathers, that the souls of the departed have to scramble with great labour up the sides of a steep mountain, upon attaining the summit of which they are rewarded with the prospect of an extensive plain, abounding in all sorts of game, and interspersed here and there with new tents, pitched in agreeable situations. Whilst they are absorbed in the contemplation of this delightful scene, they are deserted by the inhabitants of the happy land, who, clothed in new skin-dresses, approach and welcome with every demonstration of kindness those Indians who have led good lives ; but the bad Indians, who have imbued their hands in

the blood of their countrymen, are told to return from whence they came, and without more ceremony precipitated down the steep sides of the mountain.

Women who have been guilty of infanticide, never reach the mountain at all, but are compelled to hover round the seats of their crimes, with branches of trees tied to their legs. The melancholy sounds which are heard in the still summer evenings, and which the ignorance of the white people consider as the screams of the goat-suckers, are really, according to the old Indian's account, the moanings of these unhappy beings.

The Crees have somewhat similar notions, but as they inhabit a country widely different from the mountainous lands of the Blackfoot Indians, the difficulty of their journey lies in walking along a slender and slippery tree, laid as a bridge across a rapid stream of stinking and muddy water. The night owl is regarded by the Crees with the same dread that it has been viewed by other nations. One small species, which is known to them by its melancholy nocturnal hootings, (for as it never appears in the day, few even of the hunters have ever seen it,) is particularly ominous. They call it the cheepai-peethees, or death bird, and never fail to whistle when they hear its note. If it does not reply to the whistle by its hootings, the speedy death of the inquirer is augured.

When a Cree dies, that part of his property which he has not given away before his death, is burned with him, and his relations take care to place near the grave little heaps of fire-wood, food, pieces of tobacco, and such things as he is likely to need in his journey. Similar offerings are made when they revisit the grave, and as kettles, and other articles of value, are sometimes offered, they are frequently carried off by passengers, yet the relations are not displeased, provided sufficient respect has been shewn to the dead, by putting some other article, although of inferior value, in the place of that which has been taken away.

The Crees are wont to celebrate the returns of the seasons

by religious festivals, but we are unable to describe the ceremony in use on these joyous occasions from personal observation. The following brief notice of a feast, which was given by an old Cree chief, according to his annual custom, on the first croaking of the frogs, is drawn up from the information of one of the guests. A large oblong tent, or lodge, was prepared for the important occasion by the men of the party, none of the women being suffered to interfere. It faced the setting sun, and great care was taken that every thing about it should be as neat and clean as possible. Three fire places were raised within it, at equal distances, and little holes were dug in the corners, to contain the ashes of their pipes. In a recess, at its upper end, one large image of Kepoochikawn, and many smaller ones, were ranged with their faces towards the door. The food was prepared by the chief's wife, and consisted of marrow pemmican, berries boiled with fat, and various other delicacies that had been preserved for the occasion.

The preparations being completed, and a slave, whom the chief had taken in war, having warned the guests to the feast by the mysterious word *peerasheway*, they came, dressed out in their best garments, and ranged themselves according to their seniority, the eldest seating themselves next the chief at the upper end, and the young men near the door.

The chief commenced by addressing his deities in an appropriate speech, in which he told them, that he had hastened, as soon as summer was indicated by the croaking of the frogs, to solicit their favour for himself and his young men, and hoped that they would send him a pleasant and plentiful season. His oration was concluded by an invocation to all the animals in the land, and a signal being given to the slave at the door, he invited them severally by their names to come and partake of the feast.

The Cree chief having by this very general invitation displayed his unbounded hospitality, next ordered one of the young men to distribute a mess to each of the guests. This

was done in new dishes of birch bark ; and the utmost diligence was displayed in emptying them, it being considered extremely improper in a man to leave any part of that which is placed before him on such occasions. It is not inconsistent with good manners, however, but rather considered as a piece of politeness, that a guest who had been too liberally supplied, should hand the surplus to his neighbour. When the viands had disappeared, each filled his calumet and began to smoke with great assiduity, and in the course of the evening several songs were sung to the responsive sounds of the drum, and seeseequay, their usual accompaniments.

The Cree drum is double-headed, but possessing very little depth, it strongly resembles a tambourine in shape. Its want of depth is compensated, however, by its diameter, which frequently exceeds three feet. It is covered with moose-skin parchment, and painted with rude figures of men and beasts, having various fantastic additions, and is beat with a stick. The seeseequay is merely a rattle, formed by enclosing a few grains of shot in a piece of dried hide. These two instruments are used in all their religious ceremonies, except those which take place in a sweating-house.

A Cree places great reliance on his drum, and I cannot adduce a stronger instance than that of the poor man who is mentioned in a preceding page, as having lost his only child by famine, almost within sight of the fort. Notwithstanding his exhausted state, he travelled with an enormous drum tied to his back.

Many of the Crees make vows to abstain from particular kinds of food, either for a specific time, or for the remainder of their life, esteeming such abstinence to be a certain means of acquiring some supernatural powers, or at least of entailing upon themselves a succession of good fortune.

One of the wives of the Carlton hunter, of whom we have already spoken as the worshipper of Kepoochikawn, made a determination not to eat of the flesh of the Wawaskeesh, or American stag ; but during our abode at that place, she was

induced to feed heartily upon it, through the intentional deceit of her husband, who told her that it was buffalo meat. When she had finished her meal, her husband told her of the trick, and seemed to enjoy the terror with which she contemplated the consequences of the involuntary breach of her vow. Vows of this nature are often made by a Cree before he joins a war party, and they sometimes, like the eastern bonzes, walk for a certain number of days on all fours, or impose upon themselves some other penance, equally ridiculous. By such means the Cree warrior becomes godlike ; but unless he kills an enemy before his return, his newly-acquired powers are estimated to be productive in future of some direful consequence to himself.

As the party did not witness any of the Cree dances themselves, it may be remarked, that like the other North American nations, they are accustomed to practice that amusement on meeting with strange tribes, before going to war, and on other solemn occasions.

The habitual intoxication of the Cumberland House Crees has induced such a disregard of personal appearance, that they are squalid and dirty in the extreme ; hence a minute description of their clothing would be by no means interesting. The dress of the male 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 ankle to the middle of the thigh, are suspended by strings to the girdle. These hose, or as they are termed, Indian stockings, are commonly ornamented with beads or ribands, and from 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 ankle, 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, considering

their own dress as inferior.—The females strive to imitate the wives of the traders, wearing shawls and printed calicoes when they can procure them; but their custom of using fat to grease their hair and faces soon render all these garments so dirty and filthy, that they lose very soon their original appearance, and send forth an effluvia of a most disagreeable nature.

They form a kind of cradle for their infants, which is extremely suitable for the purpose. It is formed of a bag bedded with bog moss, and may be suspended to a tree, or hung on the parent's back in the most secure and comfortable manner.

It may be profitable to the reader (amidst the many ills he thinks he has to bear) to compare his own state, and the comforts he possesses, with those enjoyed by these poor Indians. The most distressed state of society in Great Britain, is comfort, ease, and security, compared with that of these people. While describing the character of these Indians, the following account of other tribes recited by John Eliot, a missionary, many years among them, may be added. He says, their housing is nothing but a few mats tied about poles fastened in the earth; their clothing is but the skin of a beast, covering their hind-parts, their fore-parts having but a little apron where nature calls for secrecy; their diet has not a greater dainty than their nokehick, that is, a spoonful of parched meal, with a spoonful of water, which will strengthen them to travel a day together; except we should mention the flesh of deers, bears, moose, rackoons, and the like, which they have when they can catch them: as also a little fish, which if they would preserve, it is by drying, not by salting; for they had not a grain of salt in the world, I think, till we bestowed it on them. Their physic includes, (excepting a few odd specifics, which some of them encounter certain cases with,) nothing hardly, but a hot-house, or a powaw; their hot house is a little cave, eight feet over; where, after they have terribly heated it, a crew of them go sit and sweat.



and smoke for an hour together, and then immediately run into some very cold adjacent brook, without the least mischief to them. In this way they recover themselves of some diseases ; but in most of their dangerous distempers, powaw must be sent for ; that is, a priest, who has more familiarity with Satan than his neighbours ; this conjurer comes and roars, and howls, and uses magical ceremonies over the sick man, and is well paid for it when he has done. If this do not effect the cure, "the man's time is come, and there is an end."

They live in a country full of the best ship-timber under heaven, but never saw a ship till some came from Europe hither ; and then they were scared out of their wits, to see the monster come sailing in, and spitting fire with a mighty noise out of her floating side. They cross the water in canoes made sometimes of trees which they burn and hew till they have hollowed them ; and sometimes of barks, which they stitch into a light sort of vessel, to be easily carried over land ; if they are over-set, it is but a little paddling like a dog, and they are soon where they were.

Their way of living is infinitely barbarous : the men are most abominably slothful ; making their poor squaws, or wives, plant and dress and barn and beat their corn, and build their wigwams for them. In the mean time, their chief employment, when they will condescend unto any, is that of hunting ; wherein they will go out some scores, if not hundreds of them in a company, driving all before them.

They continue in a place till they have burnt up all the wood thereabouts, and then they pluck up stakes, to follow the wood which they cannot fetch home unto themselves. Hence, when they inquire about the English, "why come they hither?" they very learnedly determine the case, "it was because they wanted firing."

Their division of time is by sleeps, and moons, and winters, and by lodging abroad they have somewhat observed

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the motions of the stars ; among which it has been surprising to find, that they have always called Charles's Waia by the name of *Paukunnawaw*, or the Bear, which is the name whereby Europeans also have distinguished it. Moreover, they have little if any traditions among them worthy of our notice ; and reading and writing is altogether unknown to them, though there is a rock or two in the country that has unaccountable characters engraved upon it. All the religion they have, amounts unto thus much : they believe that there are many gods, who made and own the several nations of the world ; of which a certain great god in the south-west regions of heaven, bears the greatest figure. They believe that every remarkable creature has a peculiar god within it, or about it : there is with them a sun-god, a moon-god, and the like ; and they cannot conceive but that the fire might be a kind of god, inasmuch as a spark of it will soon produce very strange effects. They believe that when any good or ill happens to them, there is the favour or the anger of a god expressed in it ; and hence, as in a time of calamity, they keep a dance, or a day of extravagant ridiculous devotions to their god ; so in a time of prosperity, they likewise have a feast, wherein they also make presents one unto another. Finally, they believe that their chief god, *Kautantowit*, made a man and woman of a stone ; which, upon dislike, he broke to pieces, and made another man and woman of a tree, which were the fountains of all mankind ; and, that we all have in us immortal souls, which, if we are godly, shall go to a splendid entertainment with *Kautantowit* ; but otherwise, must wander about in a restless horror for ever. But if you say to them any thing of a resurrection, they will reply upon you, " I shall never believe it."

Eliot saw the Indians using many parables in their discourses ; much given to anointing their heads ; much delighted in dancing, especially after victories ; computing their times by nights and months ; giving dowries for wives ;

causing their women to dwell by themselves at certain seasons, for secret causes; and accustoming themselves to grievous mournings and yellings for the dead; all which were usual things among the Israelites. They have too a great unkindness for swine; but I suppose that is because our hogs devour the clams, which are a dainty with them. Eliot also saw some learned men looking for the lost Israelites among the Indians in America, and counting that they had good reasons for so doing. And a few small arguments or indeed but conjectures, meeting with a favourable disposition in the hearer, will carry some conviction with them. He saw likewise the judgments threatened unto the Israelites of old, strangely fulfilled upon the Indians; particularly that, "Ye shall eat the flesh of your sons," which is done with exquisite cruelties upon the prisoners that they take from one another in their battles.

The first step which Eliot judged necessary to be taken by him, was to learn the Indian language, for he saw them so stupid and senseless, that they would never so much as inquire after the religion of the strangers who came into the country, much less would they so far imitate them as to leave off their way of living, that they might be partakers of an spiritual advantage, unless he could first address them in language of their own. He hired a native to teach him, and with a laborious care and skill, reduced it into a grammar, which afterwards he published. If their alphabet be short, the words composed of it are long enough to tire the patience of any scholar in the world. One would think they had been growing ever since Babel, unto the dimensions to which they are now extended. For instance, *Nummatchekodtantamooonganunnonash*, signifies no more in English than our lusts; and to translate our loves, it must be nothing shorter than *Noowomantammoonkanunnonash*. We find in all this language there is not the least affinity to, or derivation from any European speech that we are acquainted with. This tedious language Eliot quickly be-

ferre a master of; he employed a witty Indian, who also spoke English well, for his assistance in it; and compiling some discourses by his help, he would single out a word, a noun, a verb, and pursue it through all its variations. Having finished his grammar, at the close he writes, "Prayers and pains, through faith in Jesus Christ, will do any thing!" and being by his prayers and pains thus furnished, he set himself to preach the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ among these desolate outcasts.

§ The North-west Company was formed originally by the merchants of Montreal, who wisely considered that the fur trade might be carried on to those distant parts of the continent, inhabited solely by Indians, with more security and greater profit, if they joined together in a body, than if they continued to trade separately. The stock of the company was divided into forty shares; and as the number of merchants in the town at that time was not very great, this arrangement afforded an opportunity to every one of them to join in the company if they thought proper.

The company principally carries on its trade by means of the Utawas or Grand River, that falls into the St. Lawrence about thirty miles above Montreal, and which forms by its confluence with that river, "Le Lac de Deux Montagnes et le Lac St. Louis," the Lake of the Two Mountains and the Lake of St. Louis, wherein are several large islands. To convey the furs down this river, they make use of canoes, formed of the bark of the birch tree, some of which are upon such a large scale that they are capable of containing two tons, but they seldom put so much in them, especially on this river, it being in many places shallow, rapid, and full of rocks, and contains no less than thirty-two portages.

These canoes are navigated by the French Canadians, who are particularly fond of the employment, preferring it in general to that of cultivating the ground. A fleet of them sets off from Montreal about the month of May, laden

with provisions, consisting chiefly of biscuit and salt pork sufficient to last the crews till their return, and also with the articles given in barter to the Indians. At some of the shallow places in the river, it is sufficient if the men merely get out of the canoes, and push them on into the deep water; but at others, where there are dangerous rapids and sharp rocks, it is necessary for the men to unlade the canoes, and carry both them and the cargoes on their shoulders till they come again to a safe part of the river. At night they drag the canoes upon shore, light a fire, cook their provisions for the following day, and sleep upon the ground wrapped up in their blankets. If it happens to rain very hard, they sometimes shelter themselves with boughs of trees, but in general they remain under the canopy of heaven, without any covering but their blankets: they copy exactly the Indian mode of life on these occasions, and many of them even wear the Indian dresses, which they find more convenient than their own.

Having ascended the Utawas River for about two hundred and eighty miles, which it takes them about eighteen days to perform, they then cross by a portage into Lake Nipissing, and from this lake by another portage they get upon French River, that falls into Lake Huron on the north-east side; then coasting along this last lake, they pass through the Straits of St. Mary, where there is another portage into Lake Superior; and coasting afterwards along the shores of Lake Superior, they come to the Grand Portage on the north-west side of it; from hence, by a chain of small lakes and rivers, they proceed on to the Rainy Lake to the Lake of the Woods, and for hundreds of miles beyond it, through Lake Winnipeg, &c.

The canoes, however, which go so far up the country never return the same year; those intended to bring back cargoes immediately stop at the Grand Portage, where the furs are collected ready for them by the agents of the company. The furs are made up in packs of a certain weight,

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and a particular number is put into each canoe. By knowing thus the exact weight of every pack, there can be no embezzlement; and at the portages there is no time wasted in allotting to each man his load, every one being obliged to carry so many packs.

At the Grand Portage, and along that immense chain of lakes and rivers, which extend beyond Lake Superior, the company has regular posts, where the agents reside; and with such astonishing enterprize and industry have the affairs of this company been carried on, that trading posts are established within five hundred miles of the Pacific Ocean.

In the first attempt which Mr. M'Kenzie made to penetrate to the ocean, he set out early in the spring from the remotest of the posts belonging to the company. He took with him a single canoe, and a party of chosen men; and after passing over prodigious tracts of land, never before traversed by any white person, at last came to a large river. Here the canoe, which was carried by the men on their shoulders, was launched, and having all embarked, they proceeded down the stream. From the course this river took for a very great distance, Mr. M'Kenzie was led to imagine that it was one of those rivers he was in quest of; namely, one which emptied itself into the Pacific Ocean; but at the end of several weeks, during which they had worked their way downward with great eagerness, he was convinced, from the gradual inclination of the river towards another quarter, that he must have been mistaken; and that it was one of those immense rivers, so numerous on the continent of North America, that ran into Baffin's Bay, or the Arctic Ocean.

The party was now in a very critical situation; the season was far advanced, and the length of way which they had to return was prodigious. If they attempted to go back, and were overtaken by winter, they must in all probability perish for want of provisions in an uninhabited country; if, on the contrary, they made up their minds to spend the winter

where they were, they had no time to lose in building huts, and going out to hunt and fish, that they might have sufficient stores to support them through that dreary season. Mr. M'Kenzie represented the matter, in the most open terms, to his men, and left it to themselves to determine the part they would take. The men were for going back at all hazards; and the result was, that they reached their friends in safety. The difficulties they had to contend with, and the exertions they made in returning, were almost surpassing belief.

In the second expedition entered upon by Mr. M'Kenzie, and which succeeded to his wishes, he set out in the same manner, well provided with several different things, which he found the want of in the first expedition. He was extremely well furnished this time with astronomical instruments, and in particular with a good time-piece, that he procured from London. He took a course somewhat different from the first, and passed through many nations of Indians who had never before seen the face of a white man, amongst some of whom he was for a time in imminent danger; but he found means at last to conciliate their good will. From some of these Indians he learned, that there was a ridge of mountains at a little distance, beyond which the rivers all ran in a western direction. Having engaged some of them therefore for guides, he proceeded according to their directions until he came to the mountains, and after ascending them with prodigious labour, found, to his great satisfaction, that the account the Indians had given was true, and that the rivers on the opposite side did indeed all run to the west. He followed the course of one of them, and finally came to the Pacific Ocean, not far from Nootka Sound.

Here he was given to understand by the natives, and their account was confirmed by the sight of some little articles they had amongst them, that an English vessel had quitted the coast only six weeks before. This was a great mortification to Mr. M'Kenzie, for had there been a ship on the

coast, he would most gladly have embarked in it rather than encounter the same difficulties, and be exposed to the same perils, which he had experienced in getting there; however there was no alternative; he set out after a short time on his journey back again, and having found his canoe quite safe under some bushes, near the head of the river, where he had hid it, together with some provisions, lest on going down to the coast the natives might have proved unfriendly, and have cut off his retreat by seizing upon it, he finally arrived at one of the trading posts in security.

Many other individuals belonging to the North-west Company, before Mr. M'Kenzie set out, penetrated far into the country in different directions, and much beyond what any person had done before them, in order to establish posts. In some of these excursions they fell in with the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, who were also extending their posts from another quarter: this unexpected meeting between the two companies, at one time gave rise to some very unpleasant altercations, and the Hudson's Bay Company threatened the other with an immediate prosecution for an infringement of its charter.

By its charter, it seems, the Hudson's Bay Company was allowed the exclusive privilege of trading to the Bay, and along all the rivers and waters connected with it. This charter, however was granted at a time when the northern parts of the continent were much less known than they are now, for to have the exclusive trade along all the waters connected with Hudson's Bay was, literally speaking, to have the exclusive trade of the greater part of the continent of North America. Hudson's Bay, by a variety of rivers and lakes, is closely connected with Lake Superior, and from that chain of lakes of which Lake Superior is one, there is a water communication throughout all Canada, and a very great part of the United States; however, when the agents of the North-west Company were fixing trading posts upon some rivers which ran immediately into Hudson's Bay, it



undoubtedly appeared to be an infringement of the charter, and so indeed it must strictly have been, had not the Hudson's Bay Company itself infringed its own charter in the first instance, or at least neglected to comply with all the stipulations contained therein. A clause seems to have been in the charter, which, at the same time that it granted to the company the exclusive privilege of trading to Hudson's Bay, and along all the waters connected with it, bound it to erect a new post twelve miles farther to the westward every year, otherwise the charter was to become void. This had not been done; the North-west Company therefore rested perfectly easy about the menaces of a prosecution, satisfied that the other company did not in fact legally possess those privileges to which it laid claim.

The Hudson's Bay Company, though it threatened, never indeed attempted to put its threats into execution, well knowing the weakness of its cause, but continued, nevertheless, to watch the motions of its rival with a most jealous eye; and as in extending their respective trades, the posts of the two companies were approximating nearer and nearer to each other every year, there was great reason to imagine that their differences, instead of abating, would become still greater than they were, and finally, perhaps, lead to consequences of the most serious nature. A circumstance, however, unexpectedly took place, at a time when the greatest enmity subsisted between the parties, which happily reconciled them to each other, and terminated all their disputes.

A very powerful nation of Indians, called the Assiniboin, who inhabit an extended tract of country to the south-west of Lake Winnipeg, conceiving that the Hudson's Bay Company had encroached unreasonably upon their territories, and had otherwise maltreated a part of their tribe, formed a resolution of instantly destroying a post established by that company in their neighbourhood. A large body of them soon collected together, and breathing the fiercest cries

revenge, marched unperceived and unsuspected by the party against whom their expedition was planned, till within a short distance from their post. Here they halted according to custom, waiting only for a favourable moment to pounce upon their prey. Some of the agents of the North-west Company, however, who were scattered about this part of the country, fortunately got intelligence of their design. They knew the weakness of the place about to be attacked, and forgetting the rivalry subsisting between them, and thinking only how to save their countrymen, they immediately dispatched a messenger to give the party notice of the assault meditated; they at the same time sent another messenger to one of their own posts, desiring that instant succour might be sent to that belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, which the Indians were about to plunder. The detachment arrived before the attack commenced, and the Indians were repulsed; but had it not been for the timely assistance their rivals had afforded, the Hudson's Bay people were fully persuaded that they must have fallen victims to the fury of the Indians.

This signal piece of service was not undervalued or forgotten by those who had been saved; and as the North-west Company was so much stronger, and on so much better terms with the Indians in this part of the country than its rivals, it now evidently appeared to be the interest of the latter to have their posts established as near its own as possible. This is accordingly done for their mutual safety, and the two companies are now on the most friendly terms, and continue to carry on their trade close to each other.

About two thousand men are employed by the North-west Company in their posts in the upper country. Those who are stationed at the remote trading posts lead a very savage life, but little better indeed than that of Indians: some of them remain far up in the country for four or five years together. The head clerk or principal agent generally marries an Indian girl, the daughter of some eminent chief,

by which he gains in a peculiar manner the affections of the whole tribe, a matter of great importance. These marriages, as may be supposed, are not considered as very binding by the husband ; but that is nothing in the opinion of an Indian chief, who readily influences his sister or daughter to the match.

Besides the furs and pelts conveyed down to Montreal from the north-western parts of the continent, by means of the Utawas River, there are larger quantities also brought there across the lakes, and down the River St. Lawrence. These are collected at the various towns and posts along the Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, where the trade is open to all parties, the several posts being protected by regular troops, at the expense of the government. Added likewise to what are thus collected by the agents of the company, and of private merchants, there are considerable quantities brought down to Montreal for sale by traders, on their own account. Some of these traders come from parts as remote as the Illinois Country, bordering on the Mississippi. They ascend the Mississippi as far as Onisconsing River, and from that by a portage of three miles get upon Fox River, which falls into Lake Michigan. In the fall of the year these two rivers overflow, and it is then sometimes practicable to pass in a light canoe from one river to the other, without any portage whatsoever. From Lake Michigan they get upon Lake Huron, afterwards upon Lake Erie, and so on to the St. Lawrence. Before the month of September is over, the furs are all brought down to Montreal ; as they arrive they are immediately shipped, and the vessels dispatched in October, beyond which month it would be dangerous for them to remain in the river on account of the setting in of winter.

The Indians generally go in large parties to hunt bears, and on coming to the place where they suppose these animals are lurking, they form themselves into a large circle, and as they advance endeavour to rouse them. Dogs of a large size are chosen for bear-hunting ; those most generally pre-

ferred seem to be of a breed between the blood-hound and the mastiff; they will follow the scent of the bear, as indeed most field dogs will, but their chief use is to keep the bear at bay when wounded, or to follow him if he attempt to make off whilst the hunter is reloading his gun. Bears will never attempt to attack a man or a dog while they can make their escape, but once wounded, or closely hemmed in, they will fight most furiously. The young ones, at sight of a dog, generally take to a tree; but the old ones, as if conscious of their ability to fight a dog, and at the same time that they cannot fail of becoming the prey of the hunter if they ascend a tree, never do so, unless indeed they see a hunter coming towards them on horseback, a sight which terrifies them greatly. "It is seldom that the white hunters muster together in sufficient numbers to pursue their game as the Indians, says a writer who accompanied a hunting party, but whenever they have men enough to divide themselves so, they always do it. We proceeded in this manner at Point Abineau, where three or four men are amply sufficient to hem in a bear between the water and the main land. The point was a very favourable place for hunting this year, for the bears, intent upon emigrating to the south, used, on coming down from the upper country, to advance to the extreme end of the point, as if desirous of getting as near as possible by land to the opposite side of the lake, and scarcely a morning came but what one or two of them were found upon it. An experienced hunter can at once discern the track of a bear, deer, or any other large animal, in the woods, and can tell with no small degree of precision how long a time before it was that the animal passed that way. On coming to a long valley, between two of the sand hills on the point, a place through which the bears generally passed in going towards the water, the hunters whom I accompanied at once told how many bears had come down from the upper country the preceding night, and also how many of them were cubs. To the eye of a common observer the track of these animals

amongst the leaves is wholly imperceptible; indeed, in many instances, even after the hunters had pointed them out to me, I could barely perceive the prints of their feet on the closest inspection; yet the hunters, on coming up to the place, saw these marks with a glance of the eye.

After killing a bear, the first care of the hunters is to strip him of his skin. This business is performed by them in a very few minutes, as they always carry knives about them particularly suited for the purpose; afterwards the carcase is cut up, an operation in which the tomahawk, an instrument that they mostly carry with them also, is particularly useful. The choicest parts of the animal are then selected and carried home, and the rest left in the woods. These Indians hold the paws of the bear in great estimation; stewed with young puppies, they are served up at all their principal feasts. On killing the animal, the paws are gashed with a knife, and afterwards hung over a fire, amidst the smoke, to dry. The skins of the bears are applied to numberless uses, in the country, by the farmers, who set no small value upon them. They are commonly cured by being spread upon a wall or between two trees, before the sun, and in that position scraped with a knife, or piece of iron, daily, which brings out the grease or oil, a very considerable quantity of which oozes from them. Racoon and deer skins, &c. are cured in a similar manner. The Indians have a method of dressing these different skins with the hair on, and of rendering them at the same time as pliable as a piece of cloth; this is principally effected by rubbing the skins with the hand, in the smoke of a wood fire.

Lake Erie is of an elliptical form; in length about three hundred miles, and in breadth, at the widest part about ninety. The depth of water in this lake is not more than twenty fathoms, and in 'calm weather vessels may securely ride at anchor in any part of it; but when stormy, the anchorage in an open part of the lake is not safe, the sands at bottom not being firm, and the anchors apt therefore to lose

their hold. Whenever there is a gale of wind the waters immediately become turbid, owing to the quantity of yellow sand that is washed up from the bottom of the lake ; in calm weather the water is clear, and of a deep greenish colour. The northern shore of the lake is very rocky, as likewise are the shores of the islands, of which there are several clusters towards the western extremity of the lake ; but along most parts of the southern shore is a fine gravelly beach. The height of the land bordering on the lake is very unequal ; in some places long ranges of steep mountains rise from the very edge of the water ; in others the shores are so flat and so low, that when the lake is raised a little above its usual level, in consequence of a strong gale of wind setting in towards the shore, the country is deluged for miles."

A young gentleman, who was sent in a bateau with dispatches across the lake, not long previous to the writing this account, perished, with several of his party, owing to an inundation of this sort that took place on a low part of the shore. It must here be observed, that when you navigate the lake in a bateau, it is customary to keep as close as possible to the land ; and when there is any danger of a storm, you run the vessel on shore, which may be done with safety, as the bottom of it is perfectly flat. The young gentleman alluded to was coasting along, when a violent storm suddenly arose. The bateau was instantaneously turned towards the shore ; unfortunately, however, in running her upon the beach some mismanagement took place, and she overset. The waves had already begun to break in upon the shore with prodigious impetuosity ; each one of them rolled farther in than the preceding one ; the party took alarm, and instead of making as strenuous exertions as it was supposed they might have made, to right the bateau, they took a few necessities out of her, and attempted to save themselves by flight ; but so rapidly did the water flow after them, in consequence of the increasing storm, that before they could proceed far enough up the country to gain a place of safety, they were all over-

whelmed by it, two alone excepted, who had the presence of mind and ability to climb a lofty tree. To the very great irregularity of the height of the lands on both sides of it, is attributed the frequency of storms on Lake Erie. The shores of Lake Ontario are lower and more uniform than those of any of the other lakes ; and that lake is the most tranquil of any, as has already been noticed.

There is a great deficiency of good harbours along the shores of this Lake. On its northern side there are but two places which afford shelter to vessels drawing more than seven feet water, namely Long Point and Point Abineau ; and these only afford a partial shelter. If the wind should shift to the southward whilst vessels happen to be lying under them, they are thereby exposed to all the dangers of a rocky lee shore. On the southern shore, the first harbour you come to in going from Fort Erie, is that of Presqu' Isle. Vessels drawing eight feet water may there ride in perfect safety ; but it is a matter of no small difficulty to get into the harbour, owing to a long sand bar which extends across the mouth of it. Presqu' Isle is situated at the distance of about sixty miles from Fort Erie. Beyond this, nearly midway between the eastern and western extremities of the lake, there is another harbour, capable of containing small vessels, at the mouth of Cayahoga River, and another at the mouth of Sandusky River, which falls into the lake within the north and western territory of the States. It is very seldom that any of these harbours are made use of by the British ships ; they, indeed, trade almost solely between Fort Erie and Detroit River : and when in prosecuting their voyages they chance to meet with contrary winds, against which they cannot make head, they for the most part return to Fort Erie, if bound to Detroit River ; or to some of the bays amidst the clusters of islands situated towards the western territory of the lake. It very often happens that vessels, even after they have got close under these islands, the nearest of which is not less than two hundred and forty miles from Fort Erie, are driven back by storms

the whole way to that fort, and it is not without very great difficulty that they can keep their station. It is seldom that vessels bound from Fort Erie to any place on Detroit River, accomplish their voyage without stopping amongst these islands; for the same wind favourable for carrying them from the eastern to the western extremity of the lake will not waft them up the river. The river runs nearly in a south-west direction; its current is very strong; and unless the wind blows fresh, and nearly in the opposite direction to it, you cannot proceed. The navigation of Lake Erie in general is very uncertain; and passengers that cross it in any of the king's or principal merchant vessels, are not only called upon to pay double the sum for their passage, demanded for that across Lake Ontario, but anchorage money besides, that is, a certain sum per diem as long as the vessel remains wind bound in anchor at any harbour. The anchorage money is about three dollars per day for each cabin passenger.

The islands at the western end of the lake, which are of various sizes, lie very close to each other, and the scenery amongst them is very pleasing. The largest of them are not more than fourteen miles in circumference, and many would scarcely be found to admeasure as many yards round. They are all covered with wood of some kind or other, even to the very smallest. The larger islands produce a variety of fine timber, amongst which are found oaks, hickory trees, and red cedars; the latter grow to a much larger size than in any part of the neighbouring country, and they are sent for even from the British settlements on Detroit River, forty miles distant. None of these islands are much elevated above the lake, nor are they diversified with any rising grounds; most of them, indeed, are as flat as if they had been overflowed with water, and in the interior parts of some of the largest of them there are extensive ponds and marshes. The fine timber which these islands produce, indicates that the soil must be uncommonly fertile. Here are found in great num



bers, amongst the woods, racoons and squirrels; bears are also at times found upon some of the islands during the winter season, when the lake is frozen between the main land and the islands; but they do not remain continually, as the other animals do. All the islands are dreadfully infested with serpents, and on some of them rattlesnakes are so numerous, that in the height of summer it is really dangerous to land.

There are two kinds of rattlesnakes found in this part of the country,—one of these rattlesnakes is of a deep brown colour, clouded with yellow, and is seldom met with more than thirty inches in length. It usually frequents marshes and low meadows, where it does great mischief amongst cattle, which it bites mostly in the lips as they are grazing. The other sort is of a greenish yellow colour, clouded with brown, and attains nearly twice the size of the other. It is most commonly found between three and four feet in length, and as thick as the wrist of a large man. The rattlesnake is much thicker in proportion to its length than any other snake, and it is thickest in the middle of the body, which approaches somewhat to a triangular form, the belly being flat, and the back bone rising higher than any other part of the animal. The rattle with which this serpent is provided, is at the end of the tail; it is usually about half an inch in breadth, one quarter of an inch in thickness, and each joint about half an inch long. The joint consists of a number of little cases of a dry horny substance, inclosed one within another, and not only the outermost of these little cases articulates with the outermost case of the contiguous joint, but each case, even to the smallest one of all, at the inside, is connected by a sort of joint with the corresponding case in the next joint of the rattle. The little cases or shells lie very loosely within one another, and the noise proceeds from their dry and hard coats striking one against the other. It is said that the animal gains a fresh joint in its rattle every

year ; this, however, is doubted, for the largest snakes are frequently found to have the fewest joints to their rattles.

A medical gentleman in the neighbourhood of Newmarket, behind the Blue Mountains in Virginia, had a rattle in his possession, which contained no less than thirty-two joints ; yet the snake from which it was taken scarcely admeasured five feet ; rattlesnakes, however, of the same kind, and in the same part of the country, have been found of a greater length with not more than ten rattles. One of these snakes, killed on Bass Island, in Lake Erie, had no more than four joints in its rattle, and yet was nearly four feet long.

The skin of the rattlesnake, when the animal is wounded, or otherwise enraged, exhibits a variety of beautiful tints, never seen at any other time. It is not with the teeth which the rattlesnake uses for ordinary purposes that it strikes its enemy, but with two long crooked fangs in the upper jaw, which point down the throat. When about to use these fangs, it rears itself up as much as possible, throws back its head, drops its under jaw, and springing forward upon its tail, endeavours to hook itself as it were upon its enemy. In order to raise itself on its tail, it coils itself up previously in a spiral line, with the head in the middle. It cannot spring farther forward than about half its own length.

The flesh of the rattlesnake is as white as the most delicate fish, and is much esteemed by those who are not prevented from tasting it by prejudice. The soup made from it is said to be delicious, and very nourishing.

The exuviae of these snakes, is in the opinion of the country people of Upper Canada, very efficacious in the cure of the rheumatism, when laid over the part afflicted, and fastened down with a bandage. The body of the rattlesnake dried to a cinder over the fire, and then finely pulverised, and infused in a certain portion of brandy, is also said to be a never failing remedy against that disorder. The liquor is taken inwardly, in the quantity of a wine glass full at once,

about three times a day. No effect, more than from taking plain brandy, is perceived from taking this medicine on the first day, but at the end of the second day the body of the patient becomes suffused with a cold sweat, every one of his joints grow painful, and his limbs become feeble, and scarcely able to support him; he grows worse and worse for a day or two; but persevering in the use of the medicine for a few days, he gradually loses his pains, and recovers his wonted strength of body.

Many different kinds of serpents besides rattlesnakes are found on these islands in Lake Erie. Mr. Carver tells of a serpent that is peculiar to these islands, called the hissing snake: "It is," says he, "of the small speckled kind, and about eighteen inches long. When any thing approaches it, it flattens itself in a moment, and its spots, which are of various dyes, become visibly brighter through rage; at the same time it blows from its mouth with great force a subtle wind that is reported to be of a nauseous smell, and if drawn in with the breath of the unwary traveller, will infallibly bring on a decline, that in a few months must prove mortal, there being no remedy yet discovered which can counteract its baneful influence." Were a traveller to believe all the stories respecting snakes that are current in the country, he must believe that there is such a snake as the whip snake, which, it is said, pursues cattle through the woods and meadows, lashing them with its tail, till overcome with the fatigue of running they drop breathless to the ground, when it preys upon their flesh; he must also believe that there is such a snake as the hoop snake, which has the power of fixing its tail firmly in a certain cavity inside of its mouth, and of rolling itself forward like a hoop or wheel, with such wonderful velocity that neither man nor beast can possibly escape from its devouring jaws.

\* The ponds and marshes in the interior parts of these islands abound with ducks and other wild fowl, and the shores

swarm with gulls. A few small birds are found in the woods ; none amongst them are remarkable either for their song or plumage.

On the east side of Detroit River is the town of Malden, where there are extensive ranges of store-houses, for the reception of presents yearly made by the British government to the Indians in this part of the country, in which several clerks are kept constantly employed. The following account is given by one engaged on the occasion. A number of chiefs of different tribes assembled at the place appointed by the head of the department in this quarter, and gave each a bundle of little bits of cedar wood, about the thickness of a small pocket book pencil, to remind him of the exact number of individuals in each tribe that expected to share the bounty of their great Father. The sticks in these bundles were of different lengths, the longest denoted the number of warriors in the tribe, the next in size the number of women, and the smallest the number of children. On receiving them he handed them over to his clerks, who made a memorandum in their books of the contents of each bundle, and of the persons that gave them, in order to prepare the presents accordingly. The day fixed upon for the delivery of the presents was bright and fair, and being in every respect favourable for the purpose, the clerks began to make the necessary arrangements accordingly.

A number of large stakes were first fixed down in different parts of the lawn, to each of which was attached a label, with the name of the tribe, and the number of persons in it who were to be provided for ; then were brought out from the stores several bales of thick blankets, of blue, scarlet, and brown cloth, and of coarse figured cottons, together with large rolls of tobacco, guns, flints, powder, balls, shot, case-knives, ivory and horn combs, looking-glasses, pipe-tomahawks, hatchets, scissars, needles, vermilion in bags, copper and iron pots and kettles, the whole valued at about 500*l*.

sterling. The bales of goods being opened, the blankets, cloths, and cottons, were cut into small pieces, each sufficient to make for one person a wrapper, shirt, a pair of leggings, or whatever else it was intended for; and the portions of the different articles intended for each tribe were thrown together in a heap, at the bottom of the stake which bore its name. This business took up several hours, as there were no less than four hundred and twenty Indians to be served. No liquor, nor any silver ornaments, except to favourite chiefs in private, are ever given on the part of government to the Indians, notwithstanding they are so fond of both; and a trader who attempts to give these articles to them in exchange for the presents they have received from government, or, indeed, who takes from them on any conditions, their presents, is liable to a very heavy penalty for every such act, by the laws of the province.

The presents having been all prepared, the chiefs were ordered to assemble their warriors, who were loitering about the grounds at the outside of the lawn. In a few minutes they all came, and having been drawn up in a large circle, a speech was made on the occasion, without which ceremony no business, according to Indian custom, is ever transacted. In this they are told, "that their great and good Father, who lived on the opposite side of the big lake (meaning thereby the king) was ever attentive to the happiness of all his faithful people; and that, with his accustomed bounty, he had sent the guns, the hatchets, and the ammunition for the young men, and the clothing for the aged, women, and children; that he hoped the young men would have no occasion to employ their weapons in fighting against enemies, but merely in hunting; and that he recommended it to them to be attentive to the old, and to share bountifully with them what they gained by the chase; that he trusted the great spirit would give them bright suns and clear skies, and a favourable season for hunting; and that when another year should pass

over, if he continued to find them good children, he would not fail to renew his bounties, by sending them more presents from across the big lake.

This speech was delivered in English, but interpreters attended, who repeated it to the different tribes in their respective languages, paragraph by paragraph, at the end of every one of which the Indians signified their satisfaction by a loud coarse exclamation of "Hoah! Hoah!" The speech ended, the chiefs were called forward, and their several heaps were shewn to them, and committed to their care. They received them with thanks, and beckoning to their warriors, a number of young men quickly started from the crowd, and in less than three minutes the presents were conveyed from the lawn, and laden on board the canoes in waiting to convey them away. The utmost regularity and propriety was manifested on this occasion in the behaviour of every Indian; there was not the smallest wrangling amongst them about their presents; nor was the least spark of jealousy observable in any one tribe about what the other had received; each one took up the heap allotted to it, and departed without speaking a word.

The presents delivered to the Indians, together with the salaries of the officers in the Indian department, are computed to cost the crown about 100,000*l.* sterling, on an average, per annum. When we first gained possession of Canada, the expence of the presents was much greater, as the Indians were then more numerous, and as it was also found necessary to bestow upon them, individually, much larger presents than are now given, in order to overcome the violent prejudices which had been instilled into their minds by the French. These prejudices having happily been removed, and the utmost harmony having been established between them and the people on the frontiers, presents of a less value even than what are now distributed amongst them, would perhaps be found sufficient to keep up the good understanding which now subsists; it could not, however, be deemed a very advisable

measure to curtail them, as long as a possibility remained that the loss of their friendship might be incurred thereby.

Acceptable presents are generally found efficacious in conciliating the affections of any uncivilized nation; they have very great influence over the minds of the Indians; but to conciliate their affections to the utmost, presents alone are not sufficient; you must appear to have their interest at heart in every respect; you must associate with them; you must treat them as men that are your equals; and in some measure, even adopt their native manners.

In general, the skin of the Indians is of a copper cast, but a most wonderful difference of colour is observable amongst them; some, in whose veins there is no reason to think that any other than Indian blood flows, not having darker complexions than natives of the south of France or of Spain, whilst others, on the contrary, are nearly as black as negroes. Many persons, whose long residence amongst the Indians ought to have made them competent judges of the matter have been of opinion, that their natural colour does not vary from ours; and that the darkness of their complexion arises wholly from their anointing themselves so frequently with unctuous substances, and from their exposing themselves so much to the smoke. But although it is certain that they think a dark complexion very becoming; that they take great pains, from their earliest age to acquire such an one; and that many of them do, in process of time, contrive to vary their original colour very considerably; although it is certain likewise, that when first born their colour differs but little from ours; yet it appears evident to me, that the greater part of them are indebted for their different hues to nature alone. The writer has been induced to form this opinion from the consideration, that those children which are born of parents of a dark colour are almost universally of the same dark cast as those from whom they sprang. Nekig, that is the Little Otter, an Ottaway chief of great notoriety, whose village is on Detroit River, has a complexion that differs

but little from that of an African, and his little boys, who are the very image of the father, are just as black as himself. With regard to Indian children being white on their first coming into the world, it ought by no means to be concluded from thence, that they would remain so if their mothers did not bedaub them with grease, herbs, &c. as it is well known that negro children are not perfectly black when born, nor indeed for many months afterwards, but that they acquire their jetty hue gradually, on being exposed to the air and sun, just as in the vegetable world the tender blade, on first peeping above ground, turns from a white to a pale greenish colour, and afterwards to deeper green.

Though the Mississaguis, who live about Lake Ontario, are of a much darker cast than any other tribe of Indians, yet the different shades of complexion observable amongst the Indians are not so much confined to particular tribes as to particular families; for even amongst the Mississaguis several men were comparatively of a very light colour. The Creeks, Cherokees, and other southern Indians, have a redder tinge, and more warmth of colouring in it than that of the Indians in the neighbourhood of the lakes.

Amongst the female Indians in general, there is a much greater sameness of colour than amongst the men. The Indians universally have long, straight, black, coarse hair, and black eyes, rather small than full sized; they have, in general, also, high prominent cheek bones, and sharp small noses, rather inclining to an aquiline shape; they have good teeth, and their breath, in general, is as sweet as that of a human being can be. The men are for the most part very well made, it is a most rare circumstance to meet with a deformed person amongst them; they are remarkably straight, have full open chests, their walk is firm and erect, and many amongst them have really a dignified deportment. Very few of them are under the middle stature, and none of them ever become very fat or corpulent. You may occasionally see amongst them stout robust men, closely put together, but in



general they are but slightly made. Their legs, arms, and hands, are for the most part, extremely well shaped; and very many amongst them would be deemed handsome men in any country in the world.

The women, on the contrary, are mostly under the middle size, and have higher cheek bones, and rounder faces than the men. They have very ungraceful carriages; walk with their toes turned considerably inwards, and with a shuffling gait; and as they advance in years they grow remarkably fat and coarse. An Indian woman at the age of thirty, her eyes are sunk, her forehead wrinkled, her skin loose and shrivelled, and her whole person, in short, forbidding; yet, when young, their faces and persons are really pleasing, not to say sometimes very captivating. One could hardly imagine, without witnessing it, that a few years could possibly make such an alteration as it does in their persons. This sudden change is chiefly owing to the drudgery imposed on them by the men after a certain age; to their exposing themselves so much to the burning rays of the sun; sitting so continually in the smoke of wood fires; and, above all, to the general custom of prostituting themselves at a very early age.

Though the Indians are profusely furnished with hair on their heads, yet on none of the other parts of the body, usually covered with it, is the smallest sign of hair visible, except, indeed, on the chins of old men, where a few slender straggling hairs are sometimes seen, not different from what may be occasionally seen on women of a certain age in Europe. Many persons have supposed that the Indians have been created without hair on those parts of the body where it appears wanting; others, on the contrary, are of opinion, that nature has not been less bountiful to them than to us, and that this apparent deficiency of hair is wholly owing to their plucking it out themselves by the roots, as soon as it appears above the skin. It is well known, indeed, that the Indians have a great dislike to hair, and that such of the

men as are ambitious of appearing gayer than the rest, pluck it not only from their eye-brows, and eye-lashes, but also from every part of the head, except one spot on the back part of the crown, where they leave a long lock.

To pluck out their hair, all such as have any connection with the traders make use of a pliable worm, formed of flattened brass wire. This instrument is closely applied in its open state, to the surface of the body where the hair grows, it is then compressed by the finger and thumb; a great number of hairs are caught at once between the spiral evolutions of the wire, and by a sudden twitch they are all drawn out by the roots. An old squaw, with one of these instruments, would deprive you of your beard in a very few minutes, and a slight application of the worm two or three times in the year, would be sufficient to keep your chin smooth ever afterwards. A very great number of the white people, in the neighbourhood of Malden and Detroit, from having submitted to this operation, appear at first sight as little indebted to nature for beards as the Indians. The operation is painful, but it is soon over, and when one considers how much time and trouble is saved, and ease gained by it in the end, it is only surprising that more people do not summon up resolution, and patiently submit to it.

The long lock of hair on the top of the head, with the skin on which it grows, constitutes the true scalp; and in scalping a person that has a full head of hair, an experienced warrior never thinks of taking off more of the skin than a bit of about the size of a crown piece, from the part of the head where this lock is usually left. They ornament this solitary lock of hair with beads, silver trinkets, &c. and on grand occasions with feathers. The women do not pluck any of the hair from off their heads, and pride themselves with having it as long as possible. They commonly wear it neatly plaited up behind, and divided in front in the middle of the forehead. When they wish to appear finer than usual, they paint the small part of the skin, which ap

pears on the separation of the hair, with a streak of vermillion ; when neatly done, it looks extremely well, and forms a pleasing contrast to the jetty black of their hair.

The Indians, who have any dealings with the English or American traders, and all of them have that live in the neighbourhood of the great lakes at the north-west, have totally laid aside the use of furs and skins in their dress, except for their shoes or moccasins, and sometimes for their leggings, as they find they can exchange them to advantage for blankets and woollen cloths, &c. which they consider likewise as much more agreeable and commodious materials for wearing apparel. The moccasin is made of the skin of the deer, elk, or buffalo, which is commonly dressed without the hair, and rendered of a deep brown colour by being exposed to the smoke of a wood fire. It is formed of a single piece of leather, with a seam from the top to the instep, and another behind, similar to that in a common shoe ; by means of a thong, it is fastened round the instep, just under the ankle-bone, and is thus made to sit very closely to the foot. Round that part where the foot is put in, a flap of the depth of an inch or two is left, which hangs loosely down over the string by which the moccasin is fastened ; and this flap, as also the seam, are tastefully ornamented with porcupine quills and beads ; the flap is edged with tin or copper tags filled with scarlet hair, if the moccasin be intended for a man, and with ribbands if for a woman. An ornamental moccasin of this sort is only worn in dress, as the ornaments are expensive and the leather soon wears out ; one of plain leather answers for ordinary use. Many of the white people on the Indian frontiers wear this kind of shoe, but a person not accustomed to walk in it, or to walk barefoot, cannot wear it abroad on a rough road without great inconvenience, as every unevenness of surface is felt through the leather, which is soft and pliable : in a house it is the most agreeable sort of shoe that can be imagined ; the Indians wear it universally.

Above the moccasin all the Indians wear what are called leggings, which reach from the instep to the middle of the thigh. They are commonly made of blue or scarlet cloth, and are formed so as to sit close to the limbs, like the modern pantaloons; but the edges of the cloth annexed to the seam, instead of being turned in, are left on the outside, and are ornamented with beads, ribbands, &c. when the leggings are intended for dress. Many of the young warriors are so desirous that their leggings should fit them neatly, that they make the squaws, who are the tailors, and really very good ones, sew them tight on their limbs, so that they cannot be taken off, and they continue to wear them constantly till they are reduced to rags. The leggings are kept up by means of two strings, one on the outside of each thigh, which are fastened to a third, that is tied round the waist.

They also wear round the waist another string, from which are suspended two little aprons, somewhat more than a foot square, one hanging down before and the other behind, and under these a piece of cloth, drawn close up to the body between the legs, forming a sort of truss. The aprons and this piece of cloth, which are all fastened together, are called the breech cloth. The utmost ingenuity of the squaws is exerted in adorning the little aprons with beads, ribbands, &c.

The moccasins, leggings, and breech cloth constitute the whole of the dress which they wear when they enter upon a campaign, except indeed it be a girdle, from which hangs their tobacco pouch and scalping knife, &c.; nor do they wear any thing more when the weather is very warm; but when it is cool, or when they dress themselves to visit their friends, they put on a short shirt, loose at the neck and wrists, generally made of coarse figured cotton or calico of some gaudy pattern, not unlike what would be used for window or bed curtains at a common inn in England. Over

the shirt they wear either a blanket or a large piece of broad cloth, or else a loose coat made somewhat similar to a common riding frock; a blanket is more commonly worn than any thing else. They tie one end of it round their waist with a girdle, and then drawing it over their shoulders, either fasten it across their breasts with a skewer, or hold the corners of it together in the left hand. One would imagine, that this last mode of wearing it could not but be highly inconvenient to them, as it must deprive them in a great measure of the use of one hand; yet it is the mode in which it is commonly worn, even when they are shooting in the woods; they generally, however keep the right arm disengaged when they carry a gun, and draw the blanket over the left shoulder.

The dress of the women differs but very little from that of the men. They wear moccasins, leggings, and loose short shirts, and like them they throw over their shoulders, occasionally, a blanket or piece of broad cloth, but most generally the latter; they do not tie it round their waist however, but suffer it to hang down so as to hide their legs; instead also of the breech cloth, they wear a piece of cloth folded closely round their middle, which reaches from the waist to the knees. Dark blue or green cloths in general are preferred to those of any other colour; a few of the men are fond of wearing scarlet.

The women in warm weather appear in the villages without any other covering above their waists than these shirts, or shifts, as they may be called, though they differ in no respect from the shirts of the men; they usually, however, fasten them with a brooch round the neck. In full dress they also appear in these shirts, but then they are covered entirely over with silver brooches, about the size of a six-penny piece. In full dress they likewise fasten pieces of ribbands of various colours to their hair behind, which are suffered to hang down to their very heels. A young squaw,

that has been a favourite with the men, will come forth at a dance with upwards of five guineas worth of ribbands streaming from her hair.

On their wrists the women wear silver bracelets when they can procure them; they also wear silver ear-rings; the latter are in general of a very small size; but it is not merely one pair which they wear, but several. To admit them, they bore a number of holes in their ears, sometimes entirely round the edges. The men wear ear-rings likewise, but of a sort totally different from those worn by the women; they mostly consist of round flat thin pieces of silver, about the size of a dollar, perforated with holes in different patterns; others, however, equally large, are made in a triangular form. Some of the tribes are very select in the choice of the pattern, and will not wear any but the one sort of pendants. Instead of boring their ears, the men slit them along the outward edge from top to bottom, and as soon as the gash is healed, hang heavy weights to them in order to stretch the rim thus separated as low down as possible. Some of them are so successful in this operation, that they contrive to draw the rims of the ears in form of a bow, down to their very shoulders, and their large ear-rings hang dangling on their breasts. To prevent the rim thus extended from breaking, they bind it with brass wire; however, there is not one in six that has his ears perfect; the least touch, indeed, is sufficient to break the skin, and it would be wonderful if they were able to preserve it entire, engaged so often as they are in drunken quarrels, and so often liable to be entangled in thickets whilst pursuing their game.

Some of the men wear pendants in their noses, but these are not so common as ear-rings. The chiefs and principal warriors wear breast-plates, consisting of large pieces of silver, sea shells, or the like. Silver gorgets, such as are usually worn by officers, please them extremely, and to favourite chiefs they are given out; amongst other presents,

on the part of government. Another sort of ornament is likewise worn by the men, consisting of a large silver clasp or bracelet, to which is attached a bunch of hair dyed of a scarlet colour, usually taken from the knee of a buffalo. This is worn on the narrow part of the arm above the elbow, and it is deemed very ornamental, and also a badge of honour, for no person wears it that has not distinguished himself in the field. Silver ornaments are universally preferred to those of any other metal.

The Indians not only paint themselves when they go to war, but likewise when they wish to appear full dressed. Red and black are their favourite colours, and they daub themselves in the most fantastic manner. Some have their faces entirely covered with black, except a round spot in the centre, which includes the upper lip and end of the nose, which is painted red; others again, have their heads entirely black, except a large red round spot on each ear; others with one eye black and the other red, &c.; but the most common style of painting is, to black their faces entirely over with charcoal, and then wetting their nails, to draw parallel undulating lines on their cheeks. They generally carry a little looking glass about them to enable them to dispose of their colours judiciously. When they go to war they rub in the paint with grease, and are much more particular about their appearance, which they study to render as horrible as possible; they then cover their whole body with red, white, and black paint, and seem more like devils than human beings. Different tribes have different methods of painting themselves.

Though the Indians spend so much of their time in adorning their persons, yet they take no pains to ornament their habitations, which for the most part are wretched indeed. Some of them are formed of logs, but the greater part are of a moveable nature, and formed of bark. The bark of the birch tree is deemed preferable to every other sort, and where it is to be had is always made use of; but in this part

of the country not being often met with, the bark of the elm tree is used in its stead. The Indians are very expert in stripping it from a tree; and frequently take the entire bark from off the trunk in one piece. The skeletons of their huts consist of slender poles, and on them the bark is fastened with strips of the tough rind of some young tree: this, if found, proves a very effectual defence against the weather. The huts are built in various forms; some of them have walls on every side, doors, and also a chimney in the middle of the roof; others are open on one side, and are nothing better than sheds. When built in this last style, four of them are commonly placed together, so as to form a quadrangle, with the open parts towards the inside, and a fire common to them all is kindled in the middle. In fine weather these huts are agreeable dwellings; but in the depth of winter they must be dreadfully uncomfortable. Others of their huts are built in a conical shape. Many of the Indian nations have no permanent place of residence, but move about from one spot to another, and in the hunting season they all have moveable encampments, which last are in general very rude, and insufficient to give them even tolerable shelter from a fall of rain or snow. The hunting season commences on the fall of the leaf, and continues till the snow dissolves.

In the depth of winter, when the snow is frozen on the ground, they form their hunting sheds of the snow itself; a few twigs platted together being simply placed overhead to prevent the snow, which forms the roof, from falling down. These snowy habitations are much more comfortable and warmer in the winter time than any others that can be erected, as they effectually screen you from the keen piercing blasts of the wind, and a bed of snow is far from being uncomfortable.

The utensils in an Indian hut are very few; one or two brass or iron kettles procured from the traders, or, if they live removed from them, pots formed of stone, together with



a few wooden spoons and dishes made by themselves, constitute in general the whole of them. A stone of a very soft texture, called the soap stone, is very commonly found in the back parts of North America, particularly suited for Indian workmanship. It receives its name from appearing to the touch as soft and smooth as a bit of soap; and indeed it may be cut with a knife almost equally easy. In Virginia they use it powdered for the boxes of their wheels instead of grease. Soft, however, as is this stone, it will resist fire equally with iron. The soap stone is of a dove colour; others, nearly of the same quality, are found in the country, of a black and red colour, which are still commonly used by the Indians for the bowls of their pipes.

The bark canoes, which the Indians use in this part of the country, are by no means so neatly formed as those made in the country upon and to the north of the River St. Lawrence; they are commonly formed of one entire piece of elm bark, taken from the trunk of the tree, which is bound on ribs formed of slender rods of tough wood. There are no ribs, however, at the ends of these canoes, but merely at the middle part, where alone it is that passengers ever sit. It is only the centre, indeed, which rests upon the water; the ends are generally raised some feet above the surface, the canoes being of a curved form. They bring them into this shape by cutting, nearly midway between the stem and stern, two deep slits, one on each side, in the back, and by lapping the disjointed edges one over the other. No pains are taken to make the ends of the canoes water tight, since they never touch the water.

On first inspection you would imagine, from its miserable appearance, that an elm bark canoe, thus constructed, was not calculated to carry even a single person safely across a smooth piece of water; it is nevertheless a remarkable safe sort of boat, and the Indians will resolutely embark in one of them during very rough weather. They are so light that they ride securely over every wave, and the only precaution

necessary in navigating them is to sit steady. A dozen people will go securely in one, which might be easily carried by a single able-bodied man. When an Indian takes his family to any distance in a canoe, the women, the girls, and boys, are furnished each with a paddle, and are kept busily at work; the father of the family gives himself no trouble but in steering the vessel.

The Indians that are connected with the traders have now, very generally, laid aside bows and arrows, and seldom take them into their hands, except it be to amuse themselves for a few hours, when they have expended their powder and shot; their boys, however, still use them universally, and some of them shoot with wonderful dexterity. A young Shawnese chief, not more than ten years old, fixed three arrows running in the body of a small black squirrel, on the top of a very small tree, and he scarcely missed half a dozen times in a day. It is astonishing to see with what accuracy, and at the same time with what readiness, they mark the spot where their arrows fall. They will shoot away a dozen arrows or more, seemingly quite careless about what becomes of them, and as inattentive to the spot where they fall as if they never expected to find them again, yet afterwards they will run and pick them every one up without hesitation. The southern Indians are much more expert at the use of the bow than those near the lakes, as they make much greater use of it.

The expertness of the Indians in throwing the tomahawk is well known. At the distance of ten yards they will fix the sharp edge of it in an object nearly to a certainty. They are not fond of letting it out of their hands in action, and they never attempt to throw it but when they are on the point of overtaking a flying foe, or are certain of recovering it. Some of them will fasten a string the length of a few feet to the tomahawk, and will launch it forth, and draw it back again into their hand with great dexterity; they will

also parry the thrust or cuts of a sword with the tomahawk very dexterously.

The common tomahawk is nothing more than a light hatchet, but the most approved sort has on the back part of the hatchet, and connected with it in one piece, the bowl of a pipe, so that when the handle is perforated, the tomahawk answers every purpose of a pipe ; the Indians indeed are fonder of smoking out of a tomahawk than out of any other sort of pipe. That formerly given to the Indians by the French traders, instead of a pipe, had a large spike on the back part of the hatchet ; very few of these instruments are now to be found amongst them. The tomahawk is commonly worn by the left side, stuck in a belt. For the favourite chiefs, very elegant pipe tomahawks, inlaid with silver, are manufactured by the armourers in the Indian department.

An Indian child, soon after it is born, is swathed in cloths or skins, and being then laid on its back, is bound down on a piece of thick board, spread over with soft moss. The board is left somewhat longer and broader than the child, and tent pieces of wood, like pieces of hoops, are placed over its face to protect it, so that if the machine were suffered to fall the child would not probably be injured. The women, when they go abroad, carry their children thus tied down on their backs, the board being suspended by a broad band, which they wear round their foreheads. When they have any business to transact at home, they hang the board on a tree, if there be one at hand, and set them a swinging from side to side, like a pendulum, in order to exercise the children ; sometimes also, they unloose the children from the boards, and putting them each into a sort of little hammock, fasten them between two trees, and there suffer them to swing about. As soon as they are strong enough to crawl about on their hands and feet they are liberated from all confinement, and suffered, like young puppies, to run about, stark naked, into water, into mud, into snow, and in short,

to go wheresoever their choice leads them ; hence they derive that vigour of constitution which enables them to support the greatest fatigue, and that indifference to the changes of the weather which they possess in common with the brute creation. The girls are covered with a loose garment as soon as they have attained four or five years of age, but the boys go naked till they are considerably older.

The Indians are for the most part very slightly made, and from a survey of their persons, one would imagine that they were much better qualified for any pursuits that required great agility than great bodily strength. This has been the general opinion of most of those who have written on this subject ; however, others think that the Indians are much more remarkable for their muscular strength than for their agility. At different military posts on the frontiers, where this subject has been agitated, races, for the sake of experiment, have frequently been made between soldiers and Indians, and provided the distance was not great, the Indians have almost always been beaten ; but in a long race, where strength of muscle was required, they have without exception been victorious ; in leaping also the Indians have been infallibly beaten by such of the soldiers as possessed common activity ; but the strength of the Indians is most conspicuous in the carrying of burdens on their backs ; they esteem it nothing to walk thirty miles a day for several days together, under a load of eight stone, and they will walk an entire day under a load without taking any refreshment. In carrying burdens they make use of a sort of frame, somewhat similar to what is commonly used by a glazier to carry glass ; this is fastened by cords, or strips of tough bark or leather, round their shoulders, and when the load is fixed upon the broad ledge at the bottom of the frame, two bands are thrown round the whole, one of which is brought across the forehead, and the other across the breast, and thus the load is supported. The length of way an Indian will travel in the course of the day, when unen-

cumbered with a load, is astonishing. A young Wyandot, who was employed to carry a message, travelled but little short of eighty miles on foot in one day, and when he arrived at the end of his journey, he did not appear in the least degree fatigued.

Le P. Charlevoix observes, that the Indians seem to him to possess many personal advantages over Europeans; their senses, in particular, he thinks much finer; their sight is, indeed, quick and penetrating, and it does not fail them till they are far advanced in years, notwithstanding that their eyes are exposed so many months each winter to the dazzling whiteness of the snow, and to the sharp irritating smoke of wood fires. Disorders in the eyes are almost wholly unknown to them; nor is the slightest blemish ever seen in their eyes, excepting it be a result from some accident. Their hearing is very acute, and their sense of smelling so nice, that they can tell when they are approaching a fire long before it is in sight.

The Indians have most retentive memories; they will preserve to their deaths a recollection of any place they have once passed through; they never forget a face that they have attentively observed but for a few seconds; at the end of many years they will repeat every sentence of the speeches that have been delivered by different individuals in a public assembly; and has any speech been made in the council house of the nation, particularly deserving of remembrance, it will be handed down with the utmost accuracy from one generation to another, though perfectly ignorant of the use of hieroglyphicks and letters; the only memorials of which they avail themselves are small pieces of wood, and belts of wampum; the former are only used on trifling occasions, the latter never but on very grand and solemn ones. Whenever a conference, or a talk as they term it, is about to be held with any neighbouring tribe, or whenever any treaty or national compact is about to be made, one of these belts differing in some respects from every other that has

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made before, is immediately constructed; each person in the assembly holds this belt in his hand whilst he delivers his speech, and when he has ended, he presents it to the next person that rises, by which ceremony each individual is reminded, that it behoves him to be cautious in his discourse, as all he says will be faithfully recorded by the belt. The talk being over, the belt is deposited in the hands of the principal chief.

On the ratification of a treaty, very broad splendid belts are reciprocally given by the contracting parties, which are deposited amongst the other belts belonging to the nation. At stated intervals they are all produced to the nation, and the occasions upon which they were made are mentioned; if they relate to a talk, one of the chiefs repeats the substance of what was said over to them; if to a treaty, the terms of it are recapitulated. Certain of the squaws, also, are entrusted with the belts, whose business it is to relate the history of each one of them to the younger branches of the tribe; this they do with great accuracy, and thus it is that the remembrance of every important transaction is kept up.

The wampum is formed of the inside of the calm shell, a large sea shell bearing some similitude to that of a scallop, which is found on the coasts of New England and Virginia. The shell is sent in its original rough state to England, and there cut into small pieces, exactly similar in shape and size to the modern glass bugles worn by ladies, which little bits of shell constitute wampum. There are two sorts of wampum, the white and the purple; the latter is most esteemed by the Indians, who think a pound weight of it equally valuable with a pound of silver. The wampum is strung upon bits of leather, and the belt is composed of ten, twelve, or more strings, according to the importance of the occasion on which it is made; sometimes, also, the wampum is sowed in different patterns on broad belts of leather.

The use of wampum appears to be very general amongst the Indian nations, but how it became so, is a question that

would require discussion, for it is well known that they are a people obstinately attached to old customs, and that would not therefore be apt to adopt, on the most grand and solemn occasion, the use of an article that they had never seen until brought to them by strangers; at the same time it seems wholly impossible that they should ever have been able to have made wampum from the calm shell for themselves; they fashion the bowls of tobacco pipes, indeed, from stone, in a very curious manner, and with astonishing accuracy, considering that they use no other instrument than a common knife, but then the stone which they commonly carve thus is of a very soft kind; the calm shell, however, is exceedingly hard, and to bore and cut it into such small pieces as are necessary to form wampum, very fine tools would be wanting. Probably they made some use of the calm shell, and endeavoured to reduce it to as small bits as they could with their rude instruments, but on finding that Europeans could cut it so much more neatly than they could, laid aside the wampum before in use for that of our manufacture.

The Indians are exceedingly sagacious and observant, and by dint of minute attention, acquire many qualifications to which we are wholly strangers. They will traverse a trackless forest, hundreds of miles in extent, without deviating from the straight course, and will reach to a certainty the spot whither they intended to go on setting out; with equal skill they will cross one of the large lakes, and though out of sight of the shores for days, will to a certainty make the land at once, at the very place they desired. Some of the French missionaries have supposed that the Indians are guided by instinct, and have pretended that Indian children can find their way through a forest as easily as a person of maturer years; but this is a most absurd notion. It is unquestionably by a close attention to the growth of the trees, and position of the sun, that they find their way. On the northern side of a tree there is generally the most moss, and the bark on that side in general differs from that on the op-

posite one. The branches toward the south are for the most part more luxuriant than those on the other side of trees, and several other distinctions also subsist between the northern and southern sides, conspicuous to Indians, who are taught from their infancy to attend to them, which a common observer would perhaps never notice. Being accustomed from their childhood, likewise, to pay great attention to the position of the sun, they learn to make the most accurate allowance for its apparent motion from one part of the heavens to another, and in any part of the day they will point to the part of the heavens where it is, although the sky be obscured by clouds or mists.

An instance of their dexterity in finding their way through an unknown country, is noticed by Mr. Weld. He says, a number of the Creek nation had arrived at Staunton, in their way to Philadelphia, whither they were going upon some affairs of importance, and had stopped there for the night. In the morning some circumstance or another, which could not be learned, induced one half of the Indians to set off without their companions, who did not follow until some hours afterwards. When these last were ready to pursue their journey, several of the towns-people mounted their horses to escort them part of the way. They proceeded along the high road for some miles, but all at once, hastily turning aside into the woods, though there was no path, the Indians advanced confidently forward; the people who accompanied them, surprised at this movement, informed them that they were quitting the road to Philadelphia, and expressed their fears lest they should miss their companions who had gone on before. They answered, that they knew better; that the way through the woods was the shortest to Philadelphia; and that they knew very well that their companions had entered the woods at the very place they did. Curiosity led some of the horsemen to go on; and to their astonishment, for there was apparently no track, they overtook the other Indians in the thickest part of the wood;



but what appeared most singular was, ~~that~~ the route which they took was found, on examining a map, to be as direct for Philadelphia as if they had taken the bearings by a mariner's compass. From others of their nation, who had been at Philadelphia at a former period, they had probably learned the exact direction of that city from their village, and had never lost sight of it, although they had already travelled three hundred miles through woods, and had upwards of four hundred miles more to go before they could reach the place of their destination.

The Indians, for the most part, are admirably well acquainted with the geography of their own country. Ask them any questions relative to the situation of a particular place in it, and if there be a convenient spot at hand, they will, with the utmost facility, trace upon the ground with a stick a map, by no means inaccurate, of the place in question and the surrounding country; they will point out the course of the rivers, and by directing your attention to the sun, make you acquainted with the different bearings.

The Indians most commonly take upon them the name of some animal, as, The Blue Snake; The Little Turkey; The Big Bear; The Mad Dog, &c. and their signatures consist of the outline, drawn with a pen, of the different animals whose names they bear. Some of the signatures at the bottom of these deeds were really well executed, and were lively representations of the animals they were intended for.

The Indians in general possess no small share of ingenuity. Their domestic wooden utensils, bows and arrows, and other weapons, &c. are made with the same neatness; and indeed the workmanship of them is frequently such as to excite astonishment, when it is considered that a knife and a hatchet are the only instruments they make use of. On the handles of their tomahawks, on their powder horns, on the bowls of their pipes, &c. you oftentimes meet with figures extremely well designed, and with specimens of carving far from contemptible. The embroidery upon their moccasins

and other garments shews that the females are not less ingenious in their way than the men. Their porcupine quill work would command admiration in any country in Europe. The soft young quills of the porcupine are those which they use, and they dye them of the most beautiful and brilliant colours imaginable. Some of their dyes have been discovered, but many of them yet remain unknown, as do also many of the medicines with which they perform sometimes most miraculous cures. Their dyes and medicines are all procured from the vegetable world.

A French writer tells of some Iroquois Indians that walked through several of the finest streets of Paris, but without expressing the least pleasure at any thing they saw, until at last they came to a cook's shop; this called forth their warmest praise; a shop where a man was always sure of getting something to satisfy his hunger, without the trouble and fatigue of hunting and fishing, was in their opinion one of the most admirable institutions possible; had they been told, however, that they must have paid for what they eat, they would have expressed equal indignation perhaps at what they saw. In their own villages they have no idea of refusing food to any person that enters their habitation in quality of a friend; and there is not one of them but what would prefer his own wigwam to the most splendid habitations they see in any of these places. The shipping, however, at Philadelphia and the other sea-ports, seldom fails to excite admiration, because they at once see the utility and advantage of large vessels over canoes, which are the only vessels they have. The young Wyandot, who, as before mentioned, made such a wonderful day's journey on foot, while at Philadelphia, appeared highly delighted with the river, and the great number of ships of all sizes upon it; but the tide attracted his attention more than any thing else whatsoever. On coming to the river the first day, he looked up at the sun, and made certain observations upon the course of the stream, and general situation of the place, as the Indians never fail

to do on coming to any new or remarkable spot. The second time, however, he went down to the water, he found to his surprise that the river was running with equal rapidity in a contrary direction to what he had seen it run the day before. For a moment he imagined that by some mistake he must have got to the opposite side of it; but soon recollecting himself, and being persuaded that he stood on the very same spot from whence he had viewed it the day before, his astonishment became great indeed. To obtain information upon such an interesting point, he immediately sought out an aid-de-camp of General Wayne, who had brought him to town. This gentleman, however, only rendered the appearance still more mysterious to him, by telling him, that the Great Spirit, for the convenience of the white men, who were his particular favourites, had made the rivers in their country to run two ways.

Nothing gives more delight to the Indians than to see a man that excels in any bodily exercise; and tell them even of a person that is distinguished for his great strength, for his swiftness in running, for his dexterous management of the bow or the gun, for his cunning in hunting, for his intrepid and firm conduct in war, or the like, they will listen to you with the greatest pleasure, and readily join in praises of the hero.

No people on earth are more alive to the calls of friendship; no people have a greater affection for their offspring in their tender years; no people are more sensible of an injury; a word in the slightest degree insulting will kindle a flame in their breasts, that can only be extinguished by the blood of the offending party; and they will traverse forests for hundreds of miles, exposed to the inclemency of the severest weather and to the pangs of hunger, to gratify their revenge; they will not cease for years daily to visit, and silently to mourn over the grave of a departed child; and they will risk their lives, and sacrifice every thing they possess, to assist a friend in distress; but at the same time, in their opi-

nion, no man can be esteemed a good warrior, or a dignified character, that openly betrays any extravagant emotions of surprise, of joy, of sorrow, or of fear, on any occasion whatsoever. The excellence of appearing thus indifferent to what would excite the strongest emotions in the minds of any other people, is forcibly inculcated on them from their earliest youth; and such an astonishing command do they acquire over themselves, that even at the stake, when suffering the severest tortures that can be inflicted on the human body by the flames and the knife, they appear unmoved, and laugh, as it is well known, at their tormentors.

The Indians scarcely ever lift their hands against their children; but if they are unmindful of what is said to them, they sometimes throw a little water in their faces, a species of reprimand of which the children have the greatest dread, and which produces an instantaneous good effect. One of the French missionaries tells of his having seen a girl of an advanced age so vexed at having some water thrown in her face by her mother, as if she was still a child, that she instantly retired, and put an end to her existence. As long as they remain children, the young Indians are attentive in the extreme to the advice of their parents; but when arrived at the age of puberty, and able to provide for themselves, they no longer have any respect for them, and they will follow their own will and pleasure in spite of all their remonstrances, unless, indeed, their parents be of an advanced age. Old age never fails to command their most profound veneration.

In their conduct towards one another, nought but gentleness and harmony is observable; but when intoxicated with spirits, which is but too often the case, a very different picture is presented to view, and they appear more like devils incarnate than human beings; they roar, they fight, they cut each other, and commit every sort of outrage; indeed, so sensible are they of their own infirmities in this state, that when a number of them are about to get drunk, they give

up their knives and tomahawks, &c. to one of the party, who is on honour to remain sober, and to prevent mischief, and who does generally behave according to this promise. If they happen to get drunk without having taken this precaution, their squaws take the earliest opportunity to deprive them of their weapons.

The Indians prefer whisky and rum to all other spirituous liquors ; but they do not seem eager to obtain these liquors so much for the pleasure of gratifying their palates as for the sake of intoxication. There is not one in a hundred that can refrain from drinking to excess if he have it in his power, and the generality of them having once got a taste of any intoxicating liquor, will use every means to gain more ; and to do so they at once become mean, servile, deceitful, and depraved, in every sense of the word. Nothing can make amends to these unfortunate people for the introduction of spirituous liquors amongst them. Before their acquaintance with them, they were distinguished beyond all other nations for their temperance in eating and drinking ; for their temperance in eating, indeed, they still are remarkable, they esteem it indecorous in the highest degree even to appear hungry ; and on arriving at their villages, after having fasted, perhaps for several days preceding, they will sit down quietly, and not ask for any food for a considerable time ; and having got wherewith to satisfy their appetite, they will eat with moderation, as though the calls of hunger were not more pressing than if they had feasted the hour before. They never eat on any occasion in a hurry.

These Indians are by nature of a very hospitable, generous disposition, where no particular circumstances operate to the contrary ; and, indeed, even when revenge would fain persuade them to behave differently, yet having once professed a friendship for a stranger, and pledged themselves for his safety, nothing can induce them to deviate from their word.

The generality of the Indian nations appear to have two sorts of chiefs, council chiefs, and war chiefs. The former:

are hereditary, and are employed principally in the management of their civil affairs ; but they may be war chiefs at the same time ; the latter are chosen from amongst those who have distinguished themselves the most in battle, and are solely employed in leading the warriors in the field. The chiefs have no power of enforcing obedience to their commands, nor do they ever attempt to give their orders in an imperious manner ; they simply advise. Each private individual conceives that he is born in a state of perfect liberty, and he disdains all control, but that which his own reason subjects him to. As they have all one interest, however, at heart, which is the general welfare of the nation, and as it is well known that the chiefs are actuated by no other motives, whatever measures they recommend are generally attended to, and at once adopted.

The Indians have the most sovereign contempt for any set of people that have tamely relinquished their liberty ; and they consider such as have lost it, even after a hard struggle, as unworthy any rank in society above that of old women ; to this cause, and not to the difference that subsists between their persons, is to be attributed the rooted aversion which the Indians have for negroes. You could not possibly affront an Indian more readily, than by telling him that you think he bears some resemblance to a negro ; or that he has negro blood in his veins ; they look upon them as animals inferior to the human species, and will kill them with as much unconcern as a dog or a cat.

An American officer, who, during the war with Great Britain, had been sent to one of the Indian nations resident on the western frontiers of the States, to persuade them to remain neuter in the contest, has stated, that whilst he remained amongst them, some agents arrived in their village to negotiate, if possible, for the release of some negro slaves whom they had carried off from the American settlements. One of these negroes, a remarkably tall handsome fellow, had been given to an Indian woman of some consequence in

the nation, in the manner in which prisoners are usually disposed of amongst them. Application was made to her for his ransom. She listened quietly to what was said ; resolved at the same time, however, that the fellow should not have his liberty, she stepped aside into her cabin, and having brought out a large knife, walked up to her slave, and without more ado, plunged it into his bowels : " Now," says she, addressing herself coolly to the agents ; " now I give you leave to take away your negro." The poor creature that had been stabbed fell to the ground, and lay writhing about in the greatest agonies, until one of the warriors took compassion on him, and put an end to his misery by a blow of a tomahawk.

It is a very singular and remarkable circumstance, that notwithstanding the striking similarity in the persons, manners, dispositions, and religion of the different tribes of Indians from one end of the continent of North America to the other, a similarity so great as hardly to leave a doubt on the mind but that they must all have had the same origin, the languages of the different tribes should yet be so materially different. No two tribes speak exactly the same language ; and the languages of many of those who live at no great distance asunder, vary so much, that they cannot make themselves at all understood by each other.

Some persons, who have made the Indian languages their study, assert, that all the different languages spoken by those tribes, with which we have any connection, are but dialects of three primitive tongues, viz. the Huron, the Algonquin, and the Sioux ; the two former of which, being well understood, will enable a person to converse, at least slightly, with the Indians of any tribe in Canada or the United States. All the nations that speak a language derived from the Sioux have, it is said, a hissing pronunciation ; those who speak one derived from the Huron, have a guttural pronunciation ; and such as speak any one derived from the Algonquin, pronounce their words with greater softness and ease than any of the other.

The Indians, both men and women, speak with great deliberation, and never appear to be at a loss for words to express their sentiments. The native music of the Indians is very rude and indifferent, and equally devoid of melody and variety. Their famous war song is nothing better than an insipid recitative. Singing and dancing with them go hand in hand; and when a large number of them, collected together, join in one song, the few wild notes of which it consists, mingled with the sound of their pipes and drums, sometimes produce, when heard at a distance, a pleasing effect on the ear; but it is then and then only that their music is tolerable.

A writer who was witness to their dancing says, three elderly men, seated upon a tree, were the principal musicians. One of these beat a small drum, formed of a piece of a hollow tree covered with a skin, and the two others marked time equally with the drum, with rattles formed of dried squashes or gourds filled with peas. At the same time these men sung, indeed they were the leaders of the song, which the dancers joined in. The dancers consisted solely of a party of squaws, to the number of twenty or thereabouts, who standing in a circle, with their face inwards and their hands folded round each other's necks, moved, thus linked together, side ways, with close short steps, round a small fire. The men and women never dance together, unless indeed a pretty squaw be introduced by some young fellow into one of the men's dances, which is considered as a very great mark of favour. This is of a piece with the general conduct of the Indians, who look upon the women in a totally different light from what we do in Europe, and condemn them as slaves to do all the drudgery.

After the women had danced for a time, a larger fire was kindled, and the men assembled from different parts of the island, to the number of fifty or sixty, to amuse themselves in their turn. There was little more variety in their dancing than in that of the women. They first walked round the fire in a large circle, closely, one after another, marking time



with short steps to the music ; the best dancer was put at their head, and gave the step ; he was also the principal singer in the circle. After having made one round, the step was altered to a wider one, and they began to stamp with great vehemence upon the ground ; and every third or fourth round, making little leaps off the ground with both feet, they turned their faces to the fire and bowed their heads, at the same time going on sideways. At last, having made a dozen or two rounds, towards the end of which each one of them had begun to stamp on the ground with inconceivable fury, but more particularly the principal dancer, they all gave a loud shout at once, and the dance ended.

In two or three minutes another dance was begun, which ended as soon, and nearly in the same way as the other. There was but little difference in the figures of any of them, and the only material difference in the songs was, that in some of them the dancers, instead of singing the whole of the air, came in simply with responses to the airs sung by the old men. They beckoned to us to join them in their dance, which we immediately did, as it was likely to please them, and we remained on the island with them till two or three o'clock in the morning. There is something inconceivably terrible in the sight of a number of Indians dancing thus round a fire in the depths of thick woods, and the loud shrieks at the end of every dance add greatly to the horror which their first appearance inspires.

They never think of dancing till the night is considerably advanced, and they keep it up till daybreak. In the day time they lie sleeping in the sun, or set smoking tobacco, that is, when they have nothing particular to engage them. Though the most diligent persevering people in the world when roused into action, yet when at peace with their neighbours, and having got wherewith to satisfy the calls of hunger, they are the most slothful and indolent possible.

The dances mentioned are such as the Indians amuse themselves with in common. On grand occasions they have

a variety of others much more interesting to a spectator. The dances which you see in common amongst the Shawnese, and certain other tribes, are also, it is said, much more entertaining than those here described.

Of their grand dances the war dance must undoubtedly, from every account received of it, be the one most worthy the attention of a stranger. It is performed both on setting out and returning from their war parties, and likewise at other times, but never except on some very particular and solemn occasion. The chiefs and warriors who are about to join in this dance dress and paint themselves as if actually out on a warlike expedition, and they carry in their hands their warlike weapons. Being assembled, they seat themselves down on their hams, in a circle, round a great fire, near to which is placed a large post; after remaining a short time in this position, one of the principal chiefs rises, and placing himself in the centre, begins to rehearse, in a sort of recitative, all the gallant actions which he has ever performed; he dwells particularly on the number of enemies he has killed, and describes the manner in which he scalped them, making gestures all the time, and brandishing his weapons, as if actually engaged in performing the horrid operation. At the end of every remarkable story he strikes his war club on the post with great fury. Every chief and warrior tells of his deeds in turn. The song of one warrior often occupies several hours, and the dance itself sometimes lasts for three or four entire days and nights. During this period no one is allowed to sleep, a person who stands at the outside of the circle being appointed (whose business it is) to rouse any warrior that appears in the least drowsy. A deer, a bear, or some other large animal is put to roast at the fire as soon as the dance begins, and while it lasts each warrior rises at will to help himself to a piece of it. After each person in the circle has in turn told of his exploits, they all rise, and join in a dance truly terrifying: they throw themselves into a variety of postures, and leaping about in the most frantic manner, bran-

dish their knives and other weapons ; at the same time they set up the war hoop, and utter the most dreadful yells imaginable. In this manner the dance terminates.

The Indian flute or pipe is formed of a thick cane, similar to what is found on the banks of the Mississippi, and in the southern parts of the United States. It is about two feet or more in length, and has eight or nine holes in it, in one row. It is held in the same manner as the oboe or clarinet, and the sound is produced by means of a mouth piece not unlike that of a common whistle. The tones of the instrument are by no means unharmonious, and they would admit of a pleasing modulation, but it is seldom that an Indian is found able to play a regular air upon it, not even any one of the airs which they commonly sing, although several are extremely fond of amusing themselves with the instrument, and will sit for hours together over the embers of their cabin fires, playing over a few melancholy notes. Every Indian that can bring a sound out of the instrument, and stop the holes, which any one may do, thinks himself master of it; and the notes which they commonly produce are as unconnected and unmeaning as those which a child would bring forth from a halfpenny whistle.

Notwithstanding they are such a very friendly hospitable people, yet few persons, who ever tasted of the pleasures and comforts of civilized life, would feel any inclination to reside amongst them, on becoming acquainted with their manner of living. The filthiness and wretchedness of their smoky habitations, the nauseousness of their common food to a person not even of a delicate palate, and their general uncleanness, would be sufficient to deter any one from going to live amongst them from choice, supposing even that no other reasons, operated against his doing so.

Bethlehem, the principal settlement, in North America, of the Moravians, or United Brethren, is most agreeably situated on a rising ground, bounded on one side by the River Lehigh, which falls into the Delaware, and on the other by

a creek, which has a very rapid current, and affords excellent seats for a great number of mills. The town is regularly laid out, and contains about eighty strong built stone dwelling houses and a large church. Three of the dwelling houses are very spacious buildings and are appropriated respectively to the accommodation of the unmarried young men of the society, of the unmarried females, and of the widows. In these houses different manufactures are carried on, and the inmates of each are subject to a discipline approaching somewhat to that of a monastic institution. They eat together in a refectory; they sleep in dormitories; they attend morning and evening prayers in the chapel of the house; they work for a certain number of hours in the day; and they have stated intervals allotted to them for recreation. They are not subjected, by the rules of the society, to perpetual confinement; but they seldom, notwithstanding, go beyond the bounds of their walks and gardens, except it be occasionally to visit their friends in the town.

The young persons of different sexes have but very little intercourse with each other; they never enter each other's houses, and at church they are obliged to sit separate; a bachelor is not permitted to offer his proposals in person to the object of his choice, but merely through the medium of the superintendant of the female house. If from the report of the elders and wardens of the society it appears to the superintendant that he is able to maintain a wife, she then acquaints her protégée with the offer, and should she consent, they are married immediately, but if she do not, the superintendant selects another female from the house, whom she imagines would be suitable to the young man, and on his approval of her they are as quickly married. Hasty as these marriages are, they are never known to be attended with unhappiness; for being taught from their earliest infancy to keep those passions under controul, which occasion so much mischief amongst the mass of mankind; being inured to regular habits of industry, and to a quiet sober life; and being in their peaceable

and retired settlements out of the reach of those temptations which persons are exposed to who launch forth into the busy world, and who mingle with the multitude, the parties meet with nought through life to interrupt their domestic repose.

Attached to the young men's and to the young women's houses there are boarding schools for boys and girls, under the direction of proper teachers, which are also inspected by the elders and wardens of the society. These schools are in great repute, and not only the children of Moravians are sent to them, but also those of many genteel persons of a different persuasion, resident in Philadelphia, New York, and other towns in the neighbouring States. The boys are instructed in the Latin, German, French, and English languages; arithmetic, music, drawing, &c. the girls are likewise instructed in these different languages and sciences, and, in short, in every thing that is usually taught at a female boarding school, except dancing. When of a sufficient age to provide for themselves, the young women of the society are admitted into the house destined for their accommodation, where embroidery, fine needle-work, carding, spinning, knitting, &c. &c. and other works suitable to females, are carried on. A separate room is allotted for every different business, and a female, somewhat older than the rest, presides in it, to inspect the work, and preserve regularity. Persons are appointed to dispose of the several articles manufactured in the house, and the money which they produce is distributed amongst the individuals engaged in manufacturing them, who, after paying a certain sum towards the maintenance of the house, and a certain sum besides into the public fund of the society, are allowed to keep the remainder for themselves.

After the boys have finished their school education, they are apprenticed to the business which accords most with their inclination. Should this be a business or trade that is carried on in the young men's house, they at once go there to learn it, but if at the house of an individual in the town, they only board and lodge at the young men's house. If they are in-

clined to agricultural pursuits, they are then put under the care of one of the farmers of the society. The young men subscribe to the support of their house, and to the public fund, just as the young women do; the widows do the same; and every individual in the town likewise contributes a small sum weekly to the general fund of the society.

Situated upon the creek, which skirts the town, there is a flour mill, a saw mill, an oil mill, a fulling mill, a mill for grinding bark and dye stuff, a tan yard, a currier's yard; and on the Leheigh River an extensive brewery, at which very good malt liquor is manufactured. These mills, &c. belong to the society at large, and the profits arising from them, the persons severally employed in conducting them being first handsomely rewarded for their services, are paid into the public fund. The lands for some miles round the town, which are highly improved, likewise belong to the society, as does also the tavern, and the profits arising from them are disposed of in the same manner as those arising from the mills, the persons employed in managing the farms, and attending to the tavern, being nothing more than stewards or agents of the society. The fund thus raised is employed in relieving the distressed brethren of the society in other parts of the world, in forming new settlements, and in defraying the expense of the missions for the purpose of propagating the gospel amongst the heathens.

The tavern at Bethlehem is very commodious, and it is the neatest and best conducted one, without exception, in any part of America. Having communicated to the landlord, on arriving at it, a wish to see the town and public buildings, he immediately dispatched a messenger for one of the elders, and in less than a quarter of an hour, brother Thomas, a lively fresh coloured little man, of about fifty years of age, entered the room: he was dressed in a plain blue coat and waistcoat, brown corderoy breeches, and a large round hat; there was goodness and innocence in his looks, and his manners were so open and unconstrained, that it was impossible not

to become familiar with him at once. When we were ready to sally forth, he placed himself between two of us, and leaning on our arms, and chatting without ceremony, he conducted us first to the young women's house. Here we were shewn into a neat parlour, whilst brother Thomas went to ask permission for us to see the house. In a few minutes the superintendant herself came; brother Thomas introduced her to us, and accompanied by them both we visited the different apartments.

The house is extensive, and the passages and stair-cases are commodious and airy, but the work rooms are small, and to such a pitch were they heated by stoves, that on entering into them at first we could scarcely breathe. The stoves, which they use, are built in the German style. The fire is inclosed in a large box or case formed of glazed tiles, and the warm air is thence conducted, through flues, into similar large cases placed in different parts of the rooms, by which means every part is rendered equally warm. About a dozen females or more, nearly of the same age, were seated at work in each apartment. The entrance of strangers did not interrupt them in the least: they went on with their work, and except the inspectress, who never failed politely to rise and speak to us, they did not even seem to take any notice of our being in the room.

The dress of the sisterhood, though not quite uniform, is very nearly so. They wear plain calico, linen, or stuff gowns, with aprons, and close tight linen caps, made with a peak in front, and tied under the chin with a piece of ribband. Pink ribbands are said to be worn as a badge by those who are inclined to marry; however, all the unmarried women wore them, not excepting those whose age and features seemed to have excluded them from every chance of becoming the votaries of Hymen.

The dormitory of the female house is a very spacious apartment in the upper story, which is aired by a large ventilator in the ceiling. It contains about fifty boarded beds without

testers, each calculated to hold one person. They sleep here during winter time in the German style, between two feather beds, to which the sheets and blankets are stitched fast; in summer time the heat is too great here to admit even of a single blanket.

After having gone through the different apartments of the female house, we were conducted by the superintendant into a sort of shop, where different little articles of fancy work, manufactured by the sisterhood, are laid out to the best advantage. It is always expected that strangers visiting the house will lay out some trifling sum here; and this is the only reward which any member of the society expects for the trouble of conducting a stranger throughout every part of the town.

The house of the sisterhood exhibits a picture of the utmost neatness and regularity, as do likewise the young men's and the widow's houses; and indeed the same may be said of every private house throughout the town. The mills, brewery, &c. which are built upon the most approved plans, are also kept in the very neatest order.

Brother Thomas, after having shewn us the different public buildings and works, next introduced us into the houses of several of the married men, that were most distinguished for their ingenuity, and in some of them, particularly at the house of a cabinet maker, we were entertained with very curious pieces of workmanship.

The manufactures in general carried on at Bethlehem consist of woollen and linen cloths, hats, cotton and worsted caps and stockings, gloves, shoes, carpenters, cabinet makers, and turners work, clocks, and a few other articles of hardware, &c.

The church is a plain building of stone, adorned with pictures from sacred history. It is furnished with a tolerable organ, as likewise are the chapels of the young men's and young women's houses; they accompany their hymns, besides, with violoncellos, violins, flutes, &c. The whole



society attends the church on a Sunday, and when any one of the society dies, all the remaining members attend his funeral, which is conducted with great solemnity, though with little pomp ; they never go into mourning for their departed friends.

Every house in the town is supplied with an abundance of excellent water from a spring, which is forced through pipes by means of an hydraulic machine worked by water, and which is situated on the banks of the creek. Some of the houses are supplied with water in every room. The machine is very simple, and would easily raise the water of the spring, if necessary, several hundred feet.

The spring from whence the houses are supplied with water stands nearly in the centre of the town, and over it, a large stone with very thick walls, is erected. Houses like this are very common in America ; they are called spring houses, and are built for the purpose of preserving meat, milk, butter, &c. during the heats of summer. This spring house in Bethlehem is common to the whole town ; a shelf or board in it is allotted to each family, and though there is no watch placed over it, and the door be only secured by a latch, yet every person is certain of finding, when he comes for it, his plate of butter or bowl of milk, &c. exactly in the same state as when he put it in.

The Moravians study to render their conduct strictly conformable to the principles of the Christian religion. Every unprejudiced person that has visited their settlements must acknowledge, that their moral conduct is truly excellent, and is such as would, if generally adopted, make men happy in the extreme. They live together like members of one large family ; the most perfect harmony subsists between them, and they seem to have but one wish at heart, the propagation of the gospel, and the good of mankind. They are in general of a grave turn of mind ; but nothing of that stiffness, or that singularity, prevalent amongst the Quakers, is observable in their manners,

Wherever their society has extended itself in America, the most happy consequences have resulted from it ; good order and regularity have become conspicuous in the behaviour of the people of the neighbourhood, and arts and manufactures have been introduced into the country.

As the whole of the plot of ground, on which Bethlehem stands, belongs to the society, as well as the lands for a considerable way round the town, the Moravians here are not liable to be troubled by intruders ; but any person that will conform to their line of conduct will be received into their society with readiness and cordiality.

They do not seem desirous of adding to the number of houses in Bethlehem ; but whenever there is an increase of people, they send them off to another part of the country, there to form a new settlement. Since Bethlehem was founded, they have established two other towns, namely, Nazareth and Letitz. The former of these stands at the distance of about ten miles from Bethlehem, and in coming down from the Blue Mountains you pass through it ; it is about half the size of Bethlehem, and built much on the same plan.

The country for many miles round Bethlehem is most pleasingly diversified with rising grounds ; the soil is rich, and better cultivated than any other part of America. Until within a few years past this neighbourhood has been distinguished for the salubrity of its climate ; but fevers, chiefly bilious and intermittent, have increased to a great degree of late, and indeed, not only here, but in many other parts of Pennsylvania, which have been long settled. Various reasons have been assigned for this increase of fevers in Pennsylvania, but it appears most probably to be owing to the unequal quantities of rain that have fallen of late years, and to the unprecedented mildness of the winters.

Bethlehem is visited during summer time by numbers of people from the neighbouring large towns, who are led thither by curiosity or pleasure ; and regularly, twice a week

throughout the year. a public stage waggon runs between it and Philadelphia.

At the distance of eighteen miles from the town of Niagara or Newark, are those remarkable Falls in Niagara River, which may justly be ranked amongst the greatest natural curiosities in the known world. The road leading from Lake Ontario to Erie runs within a few hundred yards of them. This road, which is within the British dominions, is carried along the top of the lofty steep banks of the river: for a considerable way it runs close to their very edge, and in passing along it the eye of the traveller is entertained with a variety of the most grand and beautiful prospects. The river, instead of growing narrow as you proceed upwards, widens considerably; at the end of nine or ten miles it expands to the breadth of a mile, and here it assumes much the appearance of a lake; it is inclosed, seemingly on all sides, by high hills, and the current, owing to the great depth of the water, is so gentle as to be scarcely perceptible from the top of the banks. It continues thus broad for a mile or two, when on a sudden the waters are contracted between the high hills on each side. From hence up to the falls the current is exceedingly irregular and rapid. At the upper end of this broad part of the river, and nearly at the foot of the banks, is situated a small village, that has been called Queenstown, but which, in the adjacent country, is best known by the name of "The Landing." The lake merchant vessels can proceed up to this village with perfect safety, and they commonly do so, to deposit, in the stores there, such goods as are intended to be sent higher up the country, and to receive in return the furs, &c. that have been collected at the various posts on Lakes Huron and Erie, and sent thither to be conveyed down to Kingston, across Lake Ontario. The portage from this place to the nearest navigable part of Niagara River, above the Falls, is nine miles in length.

From the town of Niagara to Queenstown, the country

in the neighbourhood of the river is very level; out here it puts on a different aspect; a confused range of hills, covered with oaks of an immense size, suddenly rises up before you, and the road that winds up the side of them is so steep and rugged, that it is absolutely necessary for the traveller to leave his carriage, if he should be in one, and proceed to the top on foot. Beyond these hills you again come to an unbroken level country; but the soil here differs materially from that on the opposite side: it consists of a rich dark earth intermixed with clay, and abounding with stones; whereas, on the side next Lake Ontario, the soil is of a yellowish cast, in some places inclining to gravel and in others to sand.

From the brow of one of the hills in this ridge, which overhangs the little village of Queenstown, the eye of the traveller is gratified with one of the finest prospects that can be imagined in nature: you stand amidst a clump of large oaks, a little to the left of the road, and looking downwards, perceive, through the branches of the trees with which the hills is clothed, from the summit to the base, the tops of the houses of Queenstown, and in front of the village, the ships moored in the river; the ships are at least two hundred feet below you, and their masts appear like slender reeds peeping up amidst the thick foliage of the trees. Carrying your eye forward, you may trace the river in all its windings, and finally see it disembogue into Lake Ontario, between the town and the fort: the lake itself terminates your view in this direction, except merely at one part of the horizon, where you just get a glimpse of the blue hills of Toronto. The shore of the river, on the right hand, remains in its natural state, covered with one continual forest; but on the opposite side the country is interspersed with cultivated fields and neat farm houses down to the water's edge. The country beyond the hills is much less cleared than that which lies toward the town of Niagara, on the navigable part of the river.

From the sudden change of the face of the country in the neighbourhood of Queenstown, and the equally sudden change in the river with respect to its breadth, depth and current, conjectures have been formed, that the great falls of the river must originally have been situated at the spot where the waters are so abruptly contracted between the hills; and indeed it is highly probable that this was the case, for it is a fact well ascertained, that the falls have receded very considerably since they were first visited by Europeans, and that they are still receding every year; Mr. Weld says, every step we advanced towards them, our expectations rose to a higher pitch; our eyes were continually on the look out for the column of white mist which hangs over them; and an hundred times, I believe, did we stop our carriage in hopes of hearing their thundering sound; neither, however, was the mist to be seen, nor the sound to be heard, when we came to the foot of the hills; nor after having crossed over them, were our eyes or ears more gratified. This occasioned no inconsiderable disappointment, and we could not but express our doubts to each other, that the wondrous accounts we had so frequently heard of the Falls were without foundation, and calculated merely to impose on the minds of credulous people that inhabited a distant part of the world. These doubts were nearly confirmed when we found that after having approached within half a mile of the place, the mist was but just discernable, and that the sound even then was not to be heard; yet it is nevertheless strictly true, that the tremendous noise of the Falls may be distinctly heard, at times, at the distance of forty miles; and the cloud formed from the spray may be even seen still farther off; but it is only when the air is very clear, and there is a fine blue sky, which however are common occurrences in this country, that the clouds can be seen at such a great distance. The hearing of the sound of the Falls afar off also depends upon the state of the atmosphere; it is observed, that the sound can be heard at the

greatest distance just before a heavy fall of rain, and when the wind is in a favourable point to convey the sound toward the listener ; the day on which we first approached the Falls was thick and cloudy.

On that part of the road leading to Lake Erie which draws nearest to the falls, there is a small village, consisting of about half a dozen straggling houses : here we alighted, and having disposed of our horses, and made a slight repast, in order to prepare us for the fatigue we had to go through, we crossed over some fields towards a deep hollow place surrounded with large trees, from the bottom of which issued thick volumes of whitish mist, that had much the appearance of smoke issuing from large heaps of burning weeds. Having come to the edge of this hollow place, we descended a steep bank of about fifty yards, and then walked for some distance over a wet marshy piece of ground, covered with thick bushes, and at last came to the Table Rock, so called from the remarkable flatness of its surface, and its bearing some similitude to a table. This rock is situated a little to the front of the great fall, above the top of which it is elevated about forty feet. The view from it is truly sublime ; but before I attempt to give any idea of the nature of this view, it will be necessary to take a more general survey of the river and falls.

Niagara River issues from the eastern extremity of Lake Erie, and after a course of thirty-six miles discharges itself into Lake Ontario. For the first few miles from Lake Erie, the breadth of the river is about three hundred yards, and it is deep enough for vessels drawing nine or ten feet water ; but the current is so extremely rapid and irregular, and the channel so intricate, on account of the numberless large rocks in different places, that no other vessels than bateaux ever attempt to pass along it. As you proceed downward the river widens, no rocks are to be seen either along the shores or in the channel, and the waters glide smoothly along, though the current continues very strong. The river

runs thus evenly, and is navigable with safety for bateaux as far as Fort Chippeway, which is about three miles above the falls ; but here the bed of it again becomes rocky, and the waters are violently agitated by passing down successive rapids, so much so indeed, that were a boat by any chance to be carried a little way beyond Chippeway, where people usually stop, nothing could save it from being dashed to pieces long before it came to the falls. With such astonishing impetuosity do the waves break on the rocks in these rapids, that the mere sight of them from the top of the banks is sufficient to make you shudder. I must in this place, however, observe, that it is not only on each side of the river that the waters are so much troubled ; in the middle of it, though the current is also there uncommonly swift, yet the breakers are not so dangerous but boats may pass down, if dexterously managed, to an island which divides the river at the very falls. To go down to this island it is necessary to set off at some distance above Chippeway, where the current is even, and to keep exactly in the middle of the river the whole way thither ; if the boats were suffered to get out of their course ever so little, either to the right or left, it would be impossible to stem the current, and bring them again into it ; they would be irresistibly carried towards the falls, and destruction must inevitably follow. In returning from the island there is still more difficulty and danger than in going to it. Notwithstanding these circumstances, numbers of persons have the foolhardiness to proceed to this island, merely for the sake of beholding the falls from the opposite side of it, or for the sake of having it in their power to say that they had been upon it.

The river forces its way amidst the rocks with redoubled impetuosity, as it approaches towards the falls ; at last coming to the brink of the tremendous precipice, it tumbles headlong to the bottom, without meeting with any interruption from rocks in its descent. Just at the precipice

the river takes a considerable bend to the right, and the line of the falls, instead of extending from bank to bank in the shortest direction, runs obliquely across. The width of the falls is considerably greater than the width of the river, measured below the precipice. The river does not rush down the precipice in one unbroken sheet, but it is divided by islands into three distinct collateral falls. The most stupendous of these is that on the north-western or British side of the river, commonly called the Great, or Horse-shoe Fall, from its bearing some resemblance to the shape of a horse-shoe. The height of this is only one hundred and forty-two feet, whereas the others are each one hundred and sixty feet high; but to its inferior height it is indebted principally for its grandeur; the precipice, and of course the bed of the river above it, being so much lower at the one side than at the other, by far the greater part of the water of the river finds its way to the low side, and rushes down with greater velocity at that side than it does at the other, as the rapids above the precipice are strongest there. It is from the centre of the Horse-shoe Fall that arises that prodigious cloud of mist which may be seen so far off. The extent of the Horse-shoe Fall can only be ascertained by the eye; the general opinion of those who have most frequently viewed it is, that it is not less than six hundred yards in circumference. The island which separates it from the next fall is supposed to be about three hundred and fifty yards wide; the second fall is about five yards wide; the next island about thirty yards; and the third, commonly called the Fort Schloper Fall, from being situated towards the side of the river on which that fort stands, is adjudged to measure at least as much as the large island. The whole extent of the precipice, therefore, including the islands, is, according to this computation, thirteen hundred and thirty-five yards. This is certainly not an exaggerated statement. Some have supposed, that the line of the falls altogether exceeds an English mile. The quantity of water carried



down the falls is prodigious. It will be found to amount to 670,255 tons per minute, though calculated simply from the following data, which ought to be correct, as coming from an experienced commander of one of the King's ships on Lake Erie, well acquainted in every respect with that body of water, viz. that where Lake Erie, towards its eastern extremity, is two miles and a half wide, the water is six feet deep, and the current runs at the rate of two knots in an hour; but Niagara river, between this part of Lake Erie and the falls, receives the waters of several large creeks, the quantity carried down the falls must therefore be greater than the foregoing computation makes it to be; if we say that six hundred and seventy-two thousand tons of water are precipitated down the falls every minute, the quantity will not probably be much over-rated.

To return now to the Table Rock, situated on the British side of the river, and on the verge of the Horse-shoe Fall. Here the spectator has an unobstructed view of the tremendous rapids above the falls, and of the circumjacent shores, covered with thick woods; of the Horse-shoe Fall, some yards below him; of the Fort Schloper Fall, at a distance to the left; and of the frightful gulph beneath, into which, if he has but courage to approach to the exposed edge of the rock, he may look down perpendicularly. The astonishment excited in the mind of the spectator by the vastness of the different objects which he contemplates from hence is great indeed, and few persons, on coming here for the first time, can for some minutes collect themselves sufficiently to be able to form any tolerable conception of the stupendous scene before them. It is impossible for the eye to embrace the whole of it at once; it must gradually make itself acquainted, in the first place, with the component parts of the scene, each one of which is in itself an object of wonder; and such a length of time does this operation require, that many of those who have had an opportunity of contemplating the scene at their leisure, for years together,

have thought that every time they beheld it, each part has appeared more wonderful and more sublime, and that it has only been at the time of their last visit that they have been able to discover all the grandeur of the cataract.

Having spent a considerable time on the Table Rock, we returned to the fields the same way by which we had descended, pursuant to the direction of the officer of engineers accompanying us, who was intimately acquainted with every part of the cataract, and of the adjoining ground, and was perhaps, the best guide that could be procured in the whole country. It would be possible to pursue your way along the edge of the cliff, from the Table Rock, a considerable way downwards; but the bushes are so exceedingly thick, and the ground so rugged, that the task would be arduous in the extreme.

The next spot from which we surveyed the falls, was from the part of the cliff nearly opposite to that end of the Fort Schloper Fall which lies next to the island. You stand here on the edge of the cliff, behind some bushes, the tops of which have been cut down in order to open the view. From hence you have a better prospect of the whole cataract, and are enabled to form a more correct idea of the position of the precipice, than from any other place. The prospect from hence is more beautiful, but I think less grand than from any other spot. The officer who so politely directed our movements on this occasion was so struck with the view, that he once had a wooden house constructed, and drawn down here by oxen, in which he lived until he had finished several different drawings of the cataract: one of these we were gratified with the sight of, which exhibited a view of the cataract in the depth of winter, when in a most curious and wonderful state. The ice in winter accumulates at the bottom of the cataract in immense mounds, and huge icicles, like the pillars of a massy building, hang pendant in many places from the top of the precipice, reaching nearly to the bottom.

Having left this place, we returned once more through the woods bordering upon the precipice to the open fields, and then directed our course by a circuitous path, about one mile in length, to a part of the cliff where it is possible to descend to the bottom of the cataract. The river, for many miles below the precipice, is bounded on each side by steep, and in most parts perpendicular cliffs, formed of earth and rocks, and it is impossible to descend to the bottom of them, except at two places, where large masses of earth and rocks have crumbled down, and ladders have been placed from one break to another, for the accommodation of passengers. The first of these places which you come to in walking along the river, from the Horse-shoe Fall downwards, is called the "Indian Ladder," the ladders having been constructed there by the Indians. These ladders, as they are called, of which there are several, one below the other, consist simply of long pine trees, with notches cut in their sides, for the passenger to rest his feet on. The trees, even when first placed there, would vibrate as you stepped upon them, owing to their being so long and slender; age has rendered them still less firm, and they now certainly cannot be deemed safe, though many persons are still in the habit of descending by their means. We did not attempt to get to the bottom of the cliff by this route, but proceeded to the other place, which is lower down the river, called Mrs. Simcoe's Ladder, the ladders having been originally placed there for the accommodation of the lady of the governor. This route is much more frequented than the other; the ladders, properly so called, are strong, and firmly placed, and none of them, owing to the frequent breaks in the cliff, are required to be of such a great length but what even a lady might pass up or down them without fear of danger. To descend over the rugged rocks, however, the whole way down to the bottom of the cliff, is certainly no trifling undertaking, and few ladies, I believe, could be found of sufficient strength of body to encounter the fatigue of such an expedition.

On arriving at the bottom of the cliff, you find yourself in the midst of huge piles of mis-shapen rocks, with great masses of earth and rocks projecting from the side of the cliff, and overgrown with pines and cedars hanging over your head, apparently ready to crumble down and crush you to atoms. Many of the large trees grow with their heads downwards, being suspended by their roots, which had taken such a firm hold in the ground at the top of the cliff, that when part of it gave way the trees did not fall altogether. The river before you here is somewhat more than a quarter of a mile wide; and on the opposite side of it, a little to the right, the Fort Schloper Fall, is seen to great advantage: what you see of the Horse-shoe Fall also appears in a very favourable point of view; the projecting cliff conceals nearly one half of it. The Fort Schloper Fall, is skirted at bottom by milk white foam, which ascends in thick volumes from the rocks; but it is not seen to rise above the fall like a cloud of smoke, as is the case at the Horse-shoe Fall; nevertheless the spray is so considerable, that it descends on the opposite side of the river, at the foot of Simcoe's Ladder, like rain.

Having reached the margin of the river, we proceeded towards the Great Fall, along the strand, which for a considerable part of the way thither consists of horizontal beds of limestone rock, covered with gravel, except, indeed, where great piles of stone have fallen from the sides of the cliff. These horizontal beds of rocks, in some places, extend very far into the river, forming points which break the force of the current, and occasion strong eddies along particular parts of the shore. Here great numbers of the bodies of fishes, squirrels, foxes, and various other animals, unable to stem the current of the river above the falls, have been carried down the precipice. The timber is generally terribly shattered, and the carcasses of all the large animals, particularly of the large fishes, are found very much bruised. A dreadful stench arises from the quantity of putrid matter

lying on the shore, and numberless birds of prey, attracted by it, are always seen hovering round the place.

Amongst the many numerous stories current in the country, relating to this wonderful cataract, there is one that records the hapless fate of a poor Indian, which I select, as the truth is unquestionable. The unfortunate hero of this tale, intoxicated, it seems, with spirits, had laid himself down to sleep at the bottom of his canoe, which was fastened to the beach at the distance of some miles above the falls. His squaw sat on the shore to watch him. Whilst they were in this situation, a sailor from one of the ships of war on the neighbouring lakes happened to pass by; he was struck with the charms of the squaw, and instantly determined upon enjoying them. The faithful creature, however, unwilling to gratify his desires, hastened to the canoe to arouse her husband; but before she could effect her purpose, the sailor cut the cord by which the canoe was fastened, and set it adrift. It quickly floated away with the stream from the fatal spot, and ere many minutes elapsed, was carried down into the midst of the rapids. Here it was distinctly seen by several persons that were standing on the adjacent shore, whose attention had been caught by the singularity of the appearance of a canoe in such a part of the river. The violent motion of the waves soon awoke the Indian; he started up, looked wildly around, and perceiving his danger, instantly seized his paddle, and made the most surprising exertions to save himself; but finding in a little time that all his efforts would be of no avail in stemming the impetuosity of the current, he with great composure put aside his paddle, wrapt himself up in his blanket, and again laid himself down in the bottom of the canoe. In a few seconds he was hurried down the precipice, but neither he nor his canoe were ever seen more. It is supposed that not more than one-third of the different things that happen to be carried down the falls re-appear at the bottom.

From the foot of Simcoe's Ladder you may walk along the

strand for some distance without inconvenience ; but as you approach the Horse-shoe Fall, the way becomes more and more rugged. In some places where the cliff has crumbled down, huge mounds of earth, rocks, and trees, reaching to the water's edge, oppose your course ; it seems impossible to pass them ; and indeed, without a guide, a stranger would never find his way to the opposite side ; for to get there it is necessary to mount nearly to their top, and then to crawl on your hands and knees through long dark holes, where passages are left open between the torn up rocks and trees. After passing these mounds, you have to climb from rock to rock close under the cliff, for there is but little space here between the cliff and the river, and these rocks are so slippery, owing to the continual moisture from the spray, which descends very heavily, without the utmost precaution it is scarcely possible to escape a fall. At the distance of a quarter of a mile from the Great Fall we were as wet, owing to the spray, as if each had been thrown into the river.

There is nothing whatsoever to prevent you from passing to the foot of the Great Fall ; and you might even proceed behind the prodigious sheet of water that comes pouring down from the top of the precipice, for the water falls from the edge of a projecting rock ; and, moreover, caverns of a very considerable size have been hollowed out of the rocks at the bottom of the precipice, owing to the violent ebullition of the water, which extends some way underneath the bed of the upper part of the river. I advanced within about six yards of the edge of the sheet of water, just far enough to peep into the caverns behind it ; but here my breath was nearly taken away by the violent whirlwind that always rages at the bottom of the cataract, occasioned by the concussion of such a vast body of water against the rocks. I confess I had no inclination at the time to go farther ; nor, indeed, any of us afterwards attempted to explore the dreary confines of these caverns, where death seemed to await him that should be daring enough to enter their threat-

ening jaws. No words can convey an adequate idea of the grandeur of the scene at this place. Your senses are appalled by the sight of the immense body of water that comes pouring down so closely to you from the top of the stupendous precipice, and by the thundering sound of the billows dashing against the rocky sides of the caverns below ; you tremble with reverential fear, when you consider that a blast of the whirlwind might sweep you from off the slippery rocks on which you stand, and precipitate you into the dreadful gulph beneath, from whence all the power of man could not extricate you ; you feel what an insignificant being you are in the creation, and your mind is forcibly impressed with an awful idea of the power of that mighty Being who commanded the waters to flow.

Since the Falls of Niagara were first discovered they have receded very considerably, owing to the disrapture of the rocks which form the precipice. The rocks at bottom are first loosened by the constant action of water upon them ; they are afterwards carried away, and those at top being thus undermined, are soon broken by the weight of the water rushing over them ; even within the memory of many of the present inhabitants of the country, the falls have receded several yards. The commodore of the King's vessels on Lake Erie, who had been employed on that lake for upwards of thirty years, said, that when he first came into the country it was a common practice for young men to go to the island in the middle of the falls ; that after dining there, they used frequently to dare each other to walk into the river towards certain large rocks in the midst of the rapids, not far from the edge of the falls ; and sometimes to proceed through the water, even beyond these rocks. No such rocks are to be seen at present ; and were a man to advance two yards into the river from the island, he would be inevitably swept away by the torrent. It has been conjectured, that the Falls of Niagara were originally situated at Queenstown ; and indeed the more pains you take to examine the course of the river

from the present falls downward, the more reason is there to imagine that such a conjecture is well founded. From the precipice nearly down to Queenstown, the bed of the river is strewn with large rocks, and the banks are broken and rugged; circumstances which plainly denote that some great disruption has taken place along this part of the river: and we need be at no loss to account for it, as there are evident marks of the action of water upon the sides of the banks, and considerably above their present bases. Now the river has never been known to rise near these marks during the greatest floods; it is plain, therefore, that its bed must have been once much more elevated than it is at present. Below Queenstown, however, there are no traces on the banks to lead us to imagine that the level of the water was ever much higher there than it is now. The sudden increase of the depth of the river just below the hills at Queenstown, and its sudden expansion there at the same time, seem to indicate that the waters must for a great length of time have fallen from the top of the hills, and thus have formed that extensive deep basin below the village. In the river, a mile or two above Queenstown, there is a tremendous whirlpool, owing to a deep hole in the bed; this hole was probably also formed by the waters falling for a great length of time on the same spot, in consequence of the rocks which composed the then precipice having remained firmer than those at any other place did. Tradition tells us, that the great fall, instead of having been in the form of a horse-shoe, once projected in the middle. For a century past, however, it has remained nearly in the present form; and as the ebullition of the water at the bottom of the cataract is so much greater at the centre of this fall than in any other part, and as the water consequently acts with more force there in undermining the precipice than at any other part, it is not unlikely that it may remain nearly in the same form for ages to come.

At the bottom of the Horse-shoe Fall is found a kind of



white concrete substance, by the people of the country, called spray. Some persons have supposed that it is formed from earthly particles of the water, which descending, owing to their great specific gravity, quicker than the other particles, adhere to the rocks, and are there formed into a mass. This concrete substance has precisely the appearance of petrified froth ; and it is remarkable that it is found adhering to those rocks against which the greatest quantity of the froth that floats upon the water, is washed by the eddies.

We did not think of ascending the cliff till the evening was far advanced, and had it been possible to have found our way up in the dark, I verily believe we should have remained at the bottom of it until midnight. Just as we left the foot of the great fall the sun broke through the clouds, and one of the most beautiful and perfect rainbows that ever I beheld was exhibited in the spray that arose from the fall. It is only at evening and morning that the rainbow is seen in perfection ; for the banks of the river, and the steep precipice, shade the sun from the spray at the bottom of the fall in the middle of the day.

The Falls of Niagara are much less difficult of access now than they were some years ago ; Charlevoix, who visited them in the year 1720, tells us, that they were only to be viewed from one spot ; and that from thence the spectator had only a side prospect of them. Had he been able to have descended to the bottom, he would have had ocular demonstration of the existence of caverns underneath the precipice, which he supposed to be the case from the hollow sound of the falling of the waters ; from the number of carcases washed up there on different parts of the strand, he would also have been convinced of the truth of a circumstance which he totally disbelieved, namely, that fish were oftentimes unable to stem the rapid current above the falls, and were consequently carried down the precipice.

The most favourable season for visiting the falls is about the middle of September ; for then the woods are seen in all

their glory, beautifully variegated with the rich tints of autumn; and the spectator is not then annoyed with vermin. In the summer season you meet with rattle-snakes at every step, and musquitoes swarm so thickly in the air, that to use a common phrase of the country, "you might cut them with a knife." The cold nights in the beginning of September effectually banish these noxious animals.

The natives who visit Cumberland House calculate the value of all articles by beaver skins; a black fox skin or a large bear skin is equal to four beaver skins, and so of all other animals. A fowling piece will purchase fifteen beaver skins, and a coarse woollen blanket is equal to eight skins. These regulations do not bear a correct proportion as to their cost by the trading companies; but having obtained this standard, their dealings are regulated by this rule.

The Indians obtain credit for their articles in the autumn, and are to repay by skins which they procure by hunting in the course of the winter. In general they faithfully fulfil their engagements.

The Hudson's Bay Company have about thirty men at Fort Cumberland, and about the same number of women and children. The North-west Company have still a greater number. Their support is principally fish caught at Beaver Lake, about fifty miles distance, where nearly three thousand were caught during the season in which Captain Franklin's party wintered there.

The greater part of the servants of the company take Indian women for their wives, and their progeny are becoming very numerous. There is indeed but little restraint upon their moral conduct; and as there is not the opportunity of much education, they cannot be expected to manifest sentiments and feelings which are congenial to European manners. The girls are frequently wives at twelve years of age; and sometimes they sell their wives for a season or altogether, receiving some small articles in exchange.

Having given a description of the names, character, and

general habits of many of the various tribes scattered over the cold northern parts of America, it will be proper to resume the narrative.

Captain Franklin having determined to proceed during the winter beyond the Great Slave Lake, as stated in the former part of this work, in order to procure such further information as the servants of the Companies resident there might afford, and being furnished with the necessary equipments, set out on his journey on the 18th of January, 1820. The party consisted of Captain Franklin, Mr. Back, and John Hepburn. Each individual carried a blanket, a hatchet, a flint, steel and tinder. They had two sledges, and two carioles, which is a sledge with a covering of leather affixed so as to embrace the lower part of the body. They wore leathern trowsers, which closed round the moccasins or Indian shoes, so as to keep out the snow. The gentlemen who managed the concerns of the two companies provided the dogs which were necessary to draw the sledges, and proper persons to drive them. They also attended to the providing and arrangement of the articles necessary to be taken, which when stowed in the sledges, almost filled them. Three dogs were attached to each sledge, which when filled was rather more than three hundred pounds, and with this the dogs generally proceeded at the rate of about fifteen miles a day. Dr. Richardson, Mr. Hood and Mr. Connolly accompanied the party a short distance, and then returned to Cumberland House, bidding farewell for a season to their companions.

Mr. Mackenzie of the Hudson's Bay Company joined the party with four sledges, having to go to Isle a la Crosse. The snow being deep the party proceeded in a line, so that each followed in the same track. After proceeding about six miles they encamped for the night; after clearing the ground and covering the place with branches of trees, they spread their blankets upon them, and making a good fire composed themselves to sleep in the open air.

On the third day of their journey they were overtaken by Mr. Isbester, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, and an Orkney man who was a servant of the Company. Mr. Isbester's province was to collect furs from the Indians. For this purpose he had to seek out the Indians on parts of this dreary waste where it had been previously agreed they should hunt. With this precarious information he went forward apparently without concern, although he had not more than a week's provision ; and although it frequently occurs that the Indians remove from the appointed places of meeting when their efforts are attended with but little success ; indeed he had on a former journey been four days without food either for himself or dogs.

On the twenty-fourth they met with two dead red deer, at the base of a precipice. It was supposed that they had been driven over the precipice by a party of wolves. It is said that while a herd is quietly grazing, the wolves, who are upon the watch for their prey, will often assemble in great numbers and so surround the herd, that having no means of escape any other way, they jump from these high cliffs and are often killed by the fall. A wolf this day passed close by the man that was beating the track, but offered no violence.

On the twenty-sixth, after travelling seventeen miles, they came to a deserted house belonging to the Company at Upper Nippeween, where they passed the night ; but the dilapidated state of the house, being without doors or windows, afforded them so little shelter, that they found the place less comfortable than sleeping in the open air. The following morning was severely cold ; but as there was little wind they did not experience more inconvenience than formerly, and found that it was not altogether the temperature of the weather, but the force of the wind, which affected their feelings the most.

In the course of the twenty-seventh the party passed the ruins of an establishment which the traders had been com-

pelled to abandon through the fraudulent habits of the Stone Indians, who not only stole all they possibly could, but some years previous had murdered the party who resided here.

On the twenty-ninth the party arrived at a place near the Net-setting River, where there is a figure of their god Kepoochikawn, which was formerly held in veneration and is still respected. Formerly offerings were made to it in abundance, but the reputation in which this god was held has much declined. By this time the provisions became scarce, and the dogs had been so scantily supplied that they forced open a box, containing various other articles, to procure a small piece of meat which had been placed there for security.

At day-light on the thirty-first the party renewed their journey, anxious to get to Carlton House, the next station of the Hudson's Bay Company. Here they arrived about noon, and met with a welcome reception from Mr. Prudens, who had charge of the place. They were quickly supplied with buffalo steaks, to appease their hungry appetites; and afterwards enjoyed the further comforts of a change of dress, having travelled for fourteen days without possessing the means of doing so.

Captain Franklin felt disappointed at learning that a party of the Stone Indians had left the house the preceding day, as he was particularly desirous of seeing them; however he was afterwards so far gratified as to find that every day during his residence at Carlton House, one or more of these people came there. Their appearance indicated nothing of that ferocity of character which is attributed to them. Their countenances are affable and pleasing, their eyes large and expressive, nose aquiline, teeth white and regular, the forehead broad, the cheek-bones rather high. Their figure is usually good, above the middle size, with slender, but well proportioned limbs. 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, which is

extremely neat and convenient, consists of a vest and trousers of leather fitted to the body ; over these a buffalo robe is thrown gracefully. These dresses are in general cleaned with white mud, a sort of marl, though some use red earth, a kind of bog-iron-ore ; but this colour neither looks so light, nor forms such an agreeable contrast as the white with the black hair of the robe. Their quiver hangs behind them, and in the hand is carried the bow, with an arrow always ready for attack or defence, and sometimes they have a gun ; they also carry a bag containing materials for making a fire, some tobacco, the calumet or pipe, and whatever valuables they possess. This bag is neatly ornamented with porcupine quills. Thus equipped, the Stone Indian bears himself with an air of perfect independence.

The only articles of European commerce they require in exchange for the meat they furnish to the trading post, are tobacco, knives, ammunition, and spirits, and occasionally some beads, but more frequently buttons, which they string in their hair as ornaments. A successful hunter will probably have two or three dozen of them hanging at equal distances on locks of hair, from each side of the forehead. At the end of these locks, small coral bells are sometimes attached, which tingle at every motion of the head, a noise which seems greatly to delight the wearer ; sometimes strings of buttons are bound round the head like a tiara : and a bunch of feathers gracefully crowns the head.

The Stone Indians steal whatever they can, particularly horses ; these animals they maintain as common property, sent by the Almighty for the general use of man, and therefore may be taken wherever met with ; still they admit the right of the owners to watch them, and to prevent theft if possible. This avowed disposition on their part calls forth the strictest vigilance at the different posts ; notwithstanding which the most daring attacks are often made with success, sometimes on parties of three or four, but oftener on individuals. About two years ago a band of them had the

audacity to attempt to take away some horses which were grazing before the gate of the North-west Company's fort; and, after braving the fire from the few people then at the establishment through the whole day, and returning their shots occasionally, they actually succeeded in their enterprise. One man was killed on each side. They usually strip defenceless persons whom they meet of all their garments, but particularly of those which have buttons, and leave them to travel home in that state, however severe the weather. If resistance be expected, they not unfrequently murder before they attempt to rob. The traders, when they travel, invariably keep some men on guard to prevent surprise, whilst the others sleep; and often practise the stratagem of lighting a fire at sun-set, which they leave burning, and move on after dark to a more distant encampment—yet these precautions do not always baffle the depredators. Such is the description of men whom the traders of this river have constantly to guard against. It must require a long residence among them, and much experience of their manners, to overcome the apprehensions their hostility and threats are calculated to excite. Through fear of having their provision and supplies entirely cut off, the traders are often obliged to overlook the grossest offences, even murder, though the delinquents present themselves with unblushing effrontery almost immediately after the fact, and perhaps boast of it. They do not, on detection, consider themselves under any obligation to deliver up what they have stolen without receiving an equivalent.

The Stone Indians keep in amity with their neighbours the Crees from motives of interest; and the two tribes unite in determined hostility against the nations dwelling to the westward, which are generally called Slave Indians—a term of reproach applied by the Crees to those tribes against whom they have waged successful wars. The Slave Indians are said greatly to resemble the Stone Indians, being equally

desperate and daring in their acts of aggression and dishonesty towards the traders.

These parties go to war almost every summer, and sometimes muster three or four hundred horsemen on each side. Their leaders, in approaching the foe, exercise all the caution of the most skilful generals ; and whenever either party considers that it has gained the best ground, or finds it can surprise the other, the attack is made. They advance at once to close quarters, and the slaughter is consequently great, though the battle may be short. The prisoners of either sex are seldom spared, but slain on the spot with wanton cruelty. The dead are scalped, and he is considered the bravest person who bears the greatest number of scalps from the field. These are afterwards attached to his war dress, and worn as proofs of his prowess. The victorious party, during a certain time, blacken their faces and every part of their dress in token of joy, and in that state they often come to the establishment, if near, to testify their delight by dancing and singing, bearing all the horrid insignia of war, to display their individual feats. When in mourning, they completely cover their dress and hair with white mud.

On the sixth of February the party accompanied Mr. PRUDENS to an encampment of Cree Indians, about six miles from the house. The largest tent belonged to the chief, who gave them a hearty welcome. Fresh grass was spread on the ground, and buffalo skins placed for them to sit on. After a short conversation the English party invited the Indians to smoke the calumet, upon which others joined the party, and the women and children retired, as was always the custom on such occasions. The calumet having been lighted, on being handed to the chief, he pointed with it to the four cardinal points, and taking three whiffs gave the calumet to the Indian who sat next him ; this person having taken the same number of whiffs handed it to the next and thus it went round. After this some spirits mixed with



water were handed to the chief, on receiving which he addressed a prayer to the Great Spirit that he would cause plenty of buffaloes to come into their pound, that they all might enjoy health, and also other blessings. In the course of his supplications, his companions frequently exclaimed *aha!* Having concluded his address, he drank of the liquor and passed it to the next, and it went round as before. When these ceremonies were concluded, the whole party indulged more freely in smoking and drinking as suited their inclinations. One individual Indian however not indulging in these pursuits, was ridiculed for his forbearance ; but it appeared by the statement of the residents at Carlton House, that his conduct as a hunter, and in all his dealings, was most consistent and upright, and that his refraining from a participation of these indulgences was in consequence of his conviction of their injurious tendency.

During the above visit some Stone Indians arrived, and were invited to partake of the entertainment. Captain Franklin being considered by these people as a considerable chief, took upon himself to harangue them on the necessity of their being kind to the traders, and in being careful to provide them with provisions and skins. He also required them not to commit thefts, and said that if they attended to his advice he would mention their conduct to their Great Father (by which they understand the king of Great Britain), and that in so doing they would acquire his esteem and friendship. To this advice they all attentively listened and promised to pay due attention to it.

Having finished this address, the English party went to visit different tents and also the buffalo pound.

This pound was a fenced circular space of about a hundred yards in diameter ; the entrance was banked up with snow, to a sufficient height to prevent the retreat of the animals that once have entered. For about a mile on each side of the road leading to the pound, stakes were driven into the ground at nearly equal distances of about twenty yards ; these were

intended to represent men, and to deter the animals from attempting to break out on either side. Within fifty or sixty yards from the pound, branches of trees were placed between these stakes to screen the Indians, who lie down behind them to await the approach of the buffalo.

The principal dexterity in this species of chase is shewn by the horsemen, who have to manœuvre round the herd in the plains so as to urge them to enter the Broadway, which is about a quarter of a mile broad. When this has been accomplished, they raise loud shouts, and, pressing close upon the animals, so terrify them that they rush heedlessly forward toward the snare. When they have advanced as far as the men who are lying in ambush, they also rise, and increase the consternation by violent shouting and firing guns. The affrighted beasts having no alternative, run directly to the pound, where they are quickly despatched, either with an arrow or gun.

Other modes of killing the buffalo are practised with success. A hunter mounted on horseback, on seeing a herd of buffalos, will select one individual and strive to separate him from the rest. When he hath accomplished this, he will prevent his joining the herd again, and when he finds that he has approached sufficiently near he fires at the beast and it is seldom he misses wounding the animal. Considerable danger accompanies this pursuit; for when closely pressed the buffalo will turn suddenly upon his pursuer, attack the horse and sometimes dismount the rider. Another mode of killing the buffalo is by approaching the herd on foot, unperceived, which requires much caution, as if the person be noticed they take to flight. This animal is of an uncouth shape, with shaggy curling hair about the head, especially in the bull buffalo.

A party of Stone Indians being encamped in this neighbourhood, several of the party expressed a wish to pay them a visit, but were dissuaded by the traders informing them

that they were suffering under the hooping cough and measles, which the Indians believed to have been introduced among them by some of the people belonging to the Company : in which case it was not improbable that these savages might seek revenge by the death of some of the party. These diseases had carried off nearly three hundred of the Indians.

Carlton House is situated on a flat ground within a short distance of the river. The land produces wheat, barley, potatoes and oats. The object of this station is to obtain a depot of provisions, which is converted into pemmican and forms the principal support of those agents of the Company who pass this way. The mode of making pemmican is as follows : the wheat is dried by a fire or in the sun ; it is then pounded, and the proportion of one third of melted fat is added to it and well mixed. It is then put into leathern bags and closely pressed down, after which it is put into a cool place to be used as emergencies may require. In this state it will remain fit for use for a year and sometimes for a much greater length of time. At La Montee, adjoining Carlton House, the station of the North-west Company, there were about one hundred and thirty persons, men, women and children, who consumed upwards of seven hundred pounds of buffalo meat daily. Each man had an allowance of eight pounds. It must be noticed however that they had no corn or vegetables.

Having rested for a few days at Carlton House, on the ninth of February the party set forwards on their journey to Isle à la Crosse. They received from the agents of both the Hudson's Bay and North-west Company, such a supply of provisions and other necessities as they required. On the tenth, after ascending a hill and passing through a wood, they came in view of Lake Iroquois. On their road they came to the remains of an Indian hut, adjoining to which was a pile of wood. The Canadian Indians belonging to the party, supposing that provisions were buried under the

pile, determined to search for them ; but instead of provisions they found the body of a female wrapped in leather, and which apparently had not been long interred. A fishing line, a hatchet, a dish and the clothes she had formerly worn, were placed beside the body. On the fourteenth they came to a beaten track, and soon met an Indian of the Iroquois nation who belonged to a party that were procuring provisions and furs for the North-west Company. On arriving at the place where his stores were preserved, he invited the party to spend the day, which however they declined. The Canadians, whose voracious appetites were always craving, received a present from him before they parted. One of the sledges had been so much broken as to become useless, and the loading was divided among the others. The same day they fell into another track, which shortly brought them to some Indian huts of the Cree nation, who were hunting for beavers.

On the sixteenth they met an Indian and his family who had just left Green Lake ; and as they described the road as well beaten, Captain Franklin and his party resolved to attempt reaching it before they encamped ; but notwithstanding their utmost efforts they were not able to reach this post until the following day to breakfast. On their arrival they were very kindly received by Mr. Macfarlane, who was in charge of the house occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company. The party afterwards paid a visit to Mr. Dugald Cameron, who resided at a station occupied by the North-west Company on the opposite side of the river. This gentleman received the party with expressions of the greatest kindness, and honoured them with a salute of small arms.

These establishments are small, but said to be well situated for procuring furs ; as the numerous creeks in their vicinity are much resorted to by the beaver, otter, and musquash. The residents usually obtain a superabundant supply of provision. This season, however, they barely had sufficient for their own support, owing to an epidemic which incapacitated

the Indians for hunting. The Green Lake lies nearly north and south, is eighteen miles in length, and does not exceed one mile and a half of breadth in any part. The water is deep, and it is in consequence one of the last lakes in the country that is frozen. Excellent tittameg and trout are caught in it from March to December, but after that time most of the fish remove to some larger lake.

The party remained two days waiting the return of some men who had been sent to the Indian lodges for meat. They dined with Mr. Cameron, and received from him many useful suggestions respecting their future operations. This gentleman having stated that provisions would, probably, be very scarce next spring in the Athabasca department, in consequence of the sickness of the Indians during the hunting season, undertook to cause a supply of pemmican to be conveyed from the Saskatchewan to Isle à la Crosse for use during winter, and Captain Franklin wrote to apprise Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood, that they would find it at the latter post when they passed; and also to desire them to bring as much as the canoes would stow from Cumberland.

On the twentieth, having been supplied with provisions and all necessary articles, the party set forward on their journey. On taking their departure they were honoured with a salute of fire arms, which were fired by the females, the men being all absent. They found the advantage of the necessary articles they had just received at the Green Lake; and wrapped up in their buffalo skins, and seated in their carioles, or sledges, they proceeded on their journey through the whole of the day, notwithstanding the weather was extremely cold.

On the twenty-third they received a supply of provisions, which Mr. Clark, the resident agent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Lake à la Crosse, had sent for them, which place they reached the same evening. Mr. Clark gave the party a most hearty welcome, receiving them under a fire of small arms; and Mr. Bethune, who was in charge of a

house occupied by the North-west Company, manifested an equally kind disposition.

These establishments are situated on the southern side of the lake, and close to each other. They are forts of considerable importance, being placed at a point of communication with the English River, the Athabasca, and Columbia districts. The country around them is low, and intersected with water, and was formerly much frequented by beavers and otters, which, however, have been so much hunted by the Indians, that their number is greatly decreased. The Indians frequenting these forts are the Crees and some Chipewyans; they scarcely ever come except in the spring and autumn; in the former season to bring their winter's collection of furs, and in the latter to get the stores they require.

Three Chipewyan lads arrived during their stay, to report what furs the band to which they belonged had collected, and to desire they might be sent for; the Indians having declined bringing either furs or meat themselves, since the opposition between the Companies commenced.

Isle à la Crosse Lake receives its name from an island situated near the forts, on which the Indians formerly assembled annually to amuse themselves at the game of the Cross. It is justly celebrated for abundance of the finest tittameg, which weigh from five to fifteen pounds. The residents live principally upon this most delicious fish, which fortunately can be eaten a long time without disrelish. It is plentifully caught with nets throughout the year, except or two or three months.

On the 5th they recommenced their journey, having been supplied with the means of conveyance by both the Companies in equal proportions. Mr. Clark accompanied the party with the intention of going as far as the boundary of his district. This gentleman was an experienced winter traveller, and caused the men to arrange the encampment

with more attention to comfort and shelter than their former companions had done.

On the seventh of March they arrived at a house belonging to the North-west Company and received a hearty welcome from Mr. Mac Murray, one of the partners. This post is frequented by only a few Crees and Chipewyans. The country round is not sufficiently stocked with animals to afford support to many families, and the traders subsist almost entirely upon fish caught in the autumn, prior to the lake being frozen ; but the water being shallow, they remove to a deeper part, as soon as the lake is covered with ice.

Mr. Mac Murray gave a dance to his voyagers and the women ; a treat which they expect on the arrival of any stranger at the post.

On the tenth the party set forward on their journey, and following in a beaten path made considerable progress. Passing the Methye Lake, they came to a trading post occupied by some of the hunters. On the thirteenth Mr. Clark took his leave of the party, and set out on his return to his residence near Isle à la Crosse. Crossing a small lake, they gradually ascended hills beyond it, until they arrived at the summit of a lofty chain of mountains commanding the most picturesque and romantic prospects. Two ranges of high hills ran parallel to each other for several miles, until the faint blue haze hid their particular characters, when they slightly changed their course, and were lost to the view. The space between them is occupied by nearly a level plain, through which a river pursues a meandering course, and receives supplies from the creeks and rills issuing from the mountains on each side. The prospect was delightful even amid the snow, and though marked with all the cheerless characters of winter.

Crossing the Cascade Portage, which is the last on the way to the Athabasca Lake, they came to some Indian tents, containing five families, belonging to the Chipewyan tribe

They smoked the calumet in the chief's tent, whose name was the Thumb, and distributed some tobacco and a weak mixture of spirits and water among the men. They received this civility with much less grace than the Crees, and seemed to consider it a matter of course. There was an utter neglect of cleanliness, and a total want of comfort in their tents; and the poor creatures were miserably clothed. Mr. Frazer, who accompanied Captain Franklin from the Methye Lake, accounted for their being in this forlorn condition by explaining, that this band of Indians had recently destroyed every thing they possessed, as a token of their great grief for the loss of their relatives in the prevailing sickness. It appears that no article is spared by these unhappy men when a near relative dies; their clothes and tents are cut to pieces, their guns broken, and every other weapon rendered useless, if some person do not remove these articles from their sight, which is seldom done. Mr. Back sketched one of the children, which delighted the father very much, who charged the boy to be very good since his picture had been drawn by a great chief.

On the 16th they came to some Indian lodges, which belonged to an old Chipewyan chief, named the Sun, and his family, consisting of five hunters, their wives and children. They were delighted to see the party, and when the object of the expedition had been explained to them, expressed themselves much interested in the progress. The party smoked with them, and gave each person a glass of mixed spirits and some tobacco. A Canadian servant of the Northwest Company, who was residing with them, said that this family had lost numerous relatives, and that the destruction of property, which had been made after their deaths, was the only cause for the pitiable condition in which they now were, as the whole family were industrious hunters, and therefore, were usually better provided with clothes, and other useful articles, than most of the Indians. They purchased a pair of snow shoes, in exchange for some ammuni-



tion. The Chipewyans are celebrated for making them good and easy to walk in; some were upwards of six feet long, and three broad. With these unwieldy clogs an active hunter, in the spring, when there is a crust on the surface of the snow, will run down a moose or red deer.

On the 18th they met two persons belonging to the establishment at Pierre au Calumet; and following the track, proceeded with expedition, although the weather was stormy, and on the following day arrived at the station occupied by the North-west Company. Mr. Stuart, one of the partners, resided at this post, and received the party with marks of great kindness. This gentleman having travelled across the country until he reached the Pacific Ocean, was well qualified to give advice with respect to the best modes of travelling, and to state the obstacles in the way. His passage to the Pacific had been by the river Columbia, so that he was not acquainted with the road Captain Franklin was now pursuing farther than the Great Slave Lake. His opinion was, however, that satisfactory information might be obtained from the Indians residing on the western side of the Great Slave Lake, who visited the forts in the spring. Mr. Stuart said that it was not very likely any of the Canadians would be prevailed on to accompany the Captain to the sea, as the Esquimaux were very hostile, and had killed a party who were sent to open a traffic with them; he said, however, that every endeavour should be used on his part to aid the purposes of the expedition.

Pierre au Calumet receives its name from the place where the stone is procured, of which many of the pipes used by the Canadians and Indians are made. It is a clayey limestone, impregnated with various shells. The house, which is built on the summit of a steep bank, rising almost perpendicular to the height of one hundred and eighty feet, commands an extensive prospect along this fine river, and over the plains which stretch out several miles at the back of it, bounded by hills of considerable height, and apparently

better furnished with wood than the neighbourhood of the fort, where the trees grow very scantily.

On the 22nd they proceeded on their journey to Fort Chipewyan, at which place they hoped to be able to arrange the plans for their further progress. On the 24th, they joined an Indian who was carrying meat on his sledge to Fort Chipewyan. His sledge, though heavily laden (having nearly three hundred pounds weight on it) was drawn by only two dogs. The weather was extremely stormy and compelled the party to encamp. On the 26th, they arrived at Fort Chipewyan, where they received a hearty welcome from Messrs. Black and Keith, two partners of the North-west Company residing at this post. The distance from Cumberland House to Chipewyan Fort was nearly nine hundred miles, which Captain Franklin and his party had now travelled in the depth of winter; oftentimes having to quit the carioles and walk in snow shoes, weighing perhaps three pounds, in addition to the incumbrance they otherwise produce.

On the following day the Captain and Mr. Back waited on Mr. Macdonald, who occupied the post of the Hudson's Bay Company. At this post they made enquiries as to the means of reaching the Coppermine River. One of the Indian servants of the North-west Company, who had been on that river, described several particulars of the coast; and Captain Franklin after this wrote to the gentlemen in charge of the posts at the Great Slave Lake, to communicate the object of the expedition, and to solicit any information they possessed, or could collect from the Indians, relative to the countries to be passed through, and the best manner of proceeding. As the Copper Indians frequent the establishment on the north side of the lake, they were requested to explain to them the object of the visit, and to endeavour to procure from them some guides and hunters to accompany the party.

Mr. Dease, a gentleman belonging to the establishment of

the North-west Company, having passed several winters on the Mackenzie River, and at the posts to the northward of Slave Lake, possessed considerable information respecting the Indians, and those parts of the country, which he very promptly and kindly communicated. During this conversation an old Chipewyan Indian, named the Rabbit's Head, entered the room, to whom Mr. Dease referred for information on some point. He stated that he was the step-son of the late Chief Matonnabee, who had accompanied Mr. Hearne on his journey to the sea, and that he had himself been of the party, but being then a mere boy, he had forgotten many of the circumstances. He confirmed however, the leading incidents related by Hearne, and was positive he reached the sea, though he admitted that none of the party had tasted the water. He represented himself to be the only survivor of the party.

The second week in May they were gratified with the sight of the flower anemone. The trees began to shoot; rain frequently descended; and the advance of the Spring was every way denoted. Captain Franklin now thought it necessary to prepare for his departure, and requested the advice of the different gentlemen who superintended the concerns of both the Companies at this place. He found however such a spirit of hostility between the agents of the two Companies, that in order to avoid hurting the feelings of either, he directed a tent to be pitched at a short distance from the settlements, and then invited the gentlemen connected with each Company to a conference. They all readily accepted his invitation, and gave such answers to his various enquiries as was in the compass of their knowledge. After this Captain Franklin requested the agents of each Company to supply him with eight men each, and also to furnish certain stores which he named. To his mortification he was informed that there had been such an expenditure of goods as to leave them the means of furnishing only a partial sup-

ply ; and hardly a man appeared willing to engage in the journey of discovery.

On the third of June, Mr. Smith, a partner of the North-west Company, arrived from the Great Slave Lake, bearing the welcome news that the principal Chief of the Copper Indians had received the communication of Captain Franklin's arrival with joy, and given all the intelligence he possessed respecting the rout to the sea-coast by the Copper-Mine River ; and that he and a party of his men, at the instance of Mr. Wentzel, a clerk of the North-west Company, whom they wished might go along with them, had engaged to accompany the expedition as guides and hunters. They were to wait at Fort Providence, on the north side of the Slave Lake. They had no doubt of being able to obtain the means of subsistence in travelling to the coast. This agreeable intelligence had a happy effect upon the Canadian voyagers, many of their fears being removed : several of them seemed now disposed to volunteer ; and, on the same evening, two men from the North-west Company offered themselves and were accepted.

On the fifth Captain Franklin and Mr. Back waited on Mr. Robertson, superintending Fort Wedderburne, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. He stated that notwithstanding his endeavours to persuade them, his most experienced voyagers still declined engaging without very exorbitant wages. After some hesitation, six men, who were represented to be active and steady, were engaged ; Mr. Robertson also gave permission to St. Germain, an interpreter belonging to this Company, to accompany them from Slave Lake if he should choose. The bow-men and steersmen were to receive one thousand six hundred livres Halifax per annum, and the middle men one thousand two hundred, exclusive of their necessary equipments ; and they stipulated that their wages should be continued until their arrival in Montreal, or their rejoining the service of their present employers. Five men were afterward engaged

from the North-west Company, for the same wages, and under the same stipulations as the others, besides an interpreter for the Copper Indians ; but this man required three thousand livres Halifax currency, which they were obliged to give him, as his services were indispensable.

The residents of these establishments depend for subsistence almost entirely on the fish which this lake affords ; they are usually caught in sufficient abundance throughout the winter, though at the distance of eighteen miles from the houses ; on the thawing of the ice, the fish remove into smaller lakes, and the rivers on the south shore. Though they are nearer to the forts than in winter, it frequently happens that high winds prevent the canoes from transporting them thither, and the residents are kept in consequence without a supply of food for two or three days together.

The fish caught in the net are the attihhawmegh, trout, carp, methye, and pike. The traders also get supplied by the hunters with buffalo and moose deer meat, (which animals are found at some distance from the forts,) but the greater part of it is either in a dried state, or pounded ready for making pemmican ; it is required for the men who keep travelling during the winter to collect the furs from the Indians, and for the crews of the canoes on their outward passage to the depots in spring. There was a great want of provisions this season, and both the Companies had much difficulty to provide a bare sufficiency for their different brigades of canoes.

At the opening of the water in spring, the Indians resort to the establishments to settle their accounts with the traders, and to procure the necessaries they require for the summer. This meeting is generally a scene of much riot and confusion, as the hunters receive such quantities of spirits as to keep them in a state of intoxication for several days. This spring, however, owing to the great deficiency of spirits, they were generally sober. They belong to the great family of the Chipewyan, or Northern Indians ; dialects of their language

being spoken in the Peace and Mackenzie's Rivers, and by the populous tribes in New Caledonia, as ascertained by Sir Alexander Mackenzie in his journey to the Pacific. They style themselves generally Dinneh men, or Indians, but each tribe, or horde, adds some distinctive epithet taken from the name of the river, or lake, on which they hunt, or the district from which they last migrated. Those who come to Fort Chipewyan term themselves Saw-eessaw-dinneb, (Indians from the rising sun, or Eastern Indians,) their original hunting grounds being between the Athabasca and Great Slave Lake, and Churchill River. This district, more particularly termed the Chipewyan lands, or barren country, is frequented by numerous herds of rein-deer, which furnish easy subsistence, and clothing to the Indians ; but the traders endeavour to keep them in the parts to the westward, where the beavers resort. There are about one hundred and sixty hunters who carry their furs to the Great Slave Lake, forty to Hay River, and two hundred and forty to Fort Chipewyan. A few Northern Indians also resort to the posts at the bottom of the Lake of the Hills, or Red Deer Lake, and to Churchill. The distance, however, of the latter post from their hunting grounds, and the sufferings to which they are exposed in going thither from want of food, have induced those who were formerly accustomed to visit it, to convey their furs to some nearer station.

On the thirteenth of July, Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood arrived from Cumberland House, with two canoes. They made an expeditious journey from Cumberland, notwithstanding they were detained near three days in consequence of the melancholy loss of one of their bowmen, by the upsetting of a canoe in a strong rapid. These gentlemen brought all the stores they could procure from the establishments at Cumberland and Isle à la Crosse ; and at the latter place they had received ten bags of pemmican from the Northwest Company, which proved to be mouldy, and so totally unfit for use, that it was left at the Methye Portage. They

got none from the Hudson's Bay post. The voyagers belonging to that Company being destitute of provision, had eaten what was intended for Captain Franklin's party. In consequence of these untoward circumstances, the canoes arrived with only one day's supply of this most essential article. The prospect of having to commence their journey from hence, almost destitute of provisions, and scantily supplied with stores, was very discouraging. It was evident, however, that any unnecessary delay here would have been very imprudent, as Fort Chipewyan did not, at the present time, furnish the means of subsistence for so large a party, much less was there a prospect of receiving any supply to carry them forward. They therefore hastened to make the necessary arrangements for a speedy departure. All the stores were demanded that could possibly be spared from both the establishments ; and when this collection was added to the articles that had been brought up by the canoes, they had a sufficient quantity of clothing for the equipment of the men who had been engaged here, as well as to furnish a present to the Indians, besides some few goods for the winter's consumption ; but they could not procure any ammunition, which was the most essential article, nor spirits, and but little tobacco.

They then made a final arrangement respecting the voyagers, who were to accompany the party ; and, fortunately, there was no difficulty in doing this, as Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood had taken the precaution to bring up ten men from Cumberland, who engaged to proceed forward if their services were required. The Canadians whom they brought, were most desirous of being continued. When the numbers were completed, it was found to consist of sixteen Canadian voyagers, one English attendant, John Hepburn, besides two interpreters whom they were to receive at the Great Slave Lake. They were also accompanied by a Chipewyan woman. An equipment of goods was given to each of the men who had been engaged at this place, similar to what had

been furnished to the others at Cumberland ; and when this distribution had been made, the remainder were made up into bales, preparatory to their departure, on the following day.

While Mr. Hood and Dr. Richardson were at Cumberland Fort, waiting until the Spring was more advanced, they took measures for a proper supply of necessaries. Mr. Hood made an excursion to the Basquiau Hill, situated about fifty miles to the southward of Cumberland House, but which may be seen from thence. Two men, who were going to that place to procure provisions, accompanied him. After travelling two days the party arrived at a hunting tent of the Indians. The state of the weather compelled them to remain several days at this place, during which some other Indians arrived, one of whom was named the Warrior. These people having an encampment about ten miles distant, Mr. Hood paid them a visit the next day. When he entered the tent, the Indians spread a buffalo robe before the fire, and desired him to sit down. Some were eating, others sleeping, many of them without any covering except the breech cloth and a blanket over the shoulders, a state in which they love to indulge themselves till hunger drives them forth to the chase. Besides the Warrior's family, there was that or another hunter named Long-legs, whose bad success in hunting had reduced him to the necessity of feeding on moose leather for three weeks, when he was compassionately relieved by the Warrior. They invited the party to dine, and they witnessed the mode of preparing the repast. They cut into pieces a portion of fat meat, using for that purpose a knife and their teeth. It was boiled in a kettle, and served in a platter made of birch bark, from which, being dirty, they had peeled the surface.

Mr. Hood engaged five Canadians, who were to continue with the party until Captain Franklin should discharge them. They required, however, that in case of meeting with Captain



Parry they should not be compelled to embark with him, so fearful were they of being conveyed on board a ship of war

All things being prepared, Dr. Richardson, Mr. Hood, and the various servants attached, took their departure from Cumberland House on the 13th, and on the following evening reached Beaver Lake. On the eighteenth, sailing along the river Missinippi, they crossed the Otter portage, where that river runs with great velocity. In attempting to draw the canoes along the shore, one of them, in which were two of the servants, overset and was carried down the current. One of them, named Louis Saint Jean, the foreman, was lost, the other man reached the bank of the river with difficulty and was saved. The sufferings which the party endured from the sting of the mosquitoes is described as most acute. Sometimes they closed the tent and burnt wood, or set fire to gunpowder, that the smoke might drive them away ; but no efforts were effectual entirely to disperse them ; they swarmed in the blankets and drew blood with their piercing trunks so as deeply to stain their clothes. In addition to this they had to endure the sting of the horse-fly and the sand-fly, so that their bodies were in constant pain. After undergoing many privations and passing through many difficulties, Dr. Richardson, Mr. Hood, and the servants they had engaged, arrived at Fort Chipewyan as noticed before, and they had the satisfaction of meeting Captain Franklin and their other companions in good health.

After remaining at Fort Chipewyan a few days, they prepared for their journey toward the Polar Sea. Their stock of provisions unfortunately was adequate to only a few days consumption ; it was pleasant, however, to remark that the scarcity of food did not dispirit the Canadians who were to be of the party. At noon on the 18th, Captain Franklin and the whole party bade farewell to the residents of the Company at Fort Chipewyan, and soon entered the Stony River. The current being favourable, they passed swiftly along and

entered the Slave River. In crossing Little Rock portage, the bowman, who was carrying one of the canoes, let it slip upon the rock and it broke in two. This circumstance detained them two hours to sew the pieces together and cover them with pitch, which rendered the canoes as serviceable as ever.

At a place called the Portage of the crowned, a most serious accident happened a few years preceding. Two canoes arrived at the upper end of the portage, in one of which there was an experienced guide. This man judging from the height of the river, deemed it practicable to shoot the rapid, and determined upon trying it. He accordingly placed himself in the bow of his canoe, having previously agreed, that if the passage was found easy, he should, on reaching the bottom of the rapid, fire a musket, as a signal for the other canoe to follow. The rapid proved dangerous, and called forth all the skill of the guide, and the utmost exertion of his crew, and they narrowly escaped destruction. Just as they were landing, an unfortunate fellow seizing the loaded fowling piece, fired at a duck which rose at the instant. The guide anticipating the consequences, ran with the utmost haste to the other end of the portage, but he was too late: the other canoe had pushed off, and he arrived only to witness the fate of his comrades. They got alarmed in the middle of the rapid, the canoe was upset, and every man perished.

On the twenty-second they shot a buffalo, which gave them a plentiful supply of provisions for the present. On the twenty-fourth they reached the establishment of the North-west Company on Moose-Deer Island, where they found letters from Mr. Wentzel, dated Fort Providence, a station on the North side of the lake, informing them that the Indian guide was waiting for them at that port.

Captain Franklin engaged an interpreter at this place named Pierre St. Germain, for the Copper Indians. They were greatly disappointed as to the provisions they expected

to be furnished with ; after a little delay however, some men arrived with meat, and from the depots of the two Companies a supply of nearly six hundred pounds of dried provisions were procured ; and as they calculated that they had now sufficient until they joined the hunters, they resolved to proceed. The houses of the North-west and Hudson's Bay Companies are small, and the principal support of the inhabitants is fish, which the lake produces in abundance. The hunters also bring occasionally the flesh of moose, buffalo, and rein deer. On the twenty-seventh the party left Moose-Deer Island. Since leaving Fort Chipewyan they had travelled two hundred and sixty miles. On the twenty-ninth they reached Fort Providence, a post occupied by the North-west Company only. The Hudson's Bay Company have no settlement to the northward of Great Slave Lake. At this place they found Jean Baptiste Adam, one of the interpreters who was to accompany them. The chief of the Indian tribe and his hunters were encamped at some distance from the fort, at a good fishing station. A fire was lighted on the top of a hill to announce the arrival of Captain Franklin and his party, and a present of tobacco and other articles was sent to him. The duties allotted to Mr. Wentzel were, the management of the Indians, the superintendence of the Canadian voyagers, the obtaining, and the general distribution of the provision, and the issue of the other stores. These services he was well qualified to perform, having been accustomed to execute similar duties, during a residence of upwards of twenty years in this country ; he was one of the few traders who speak the Chipewyan language.

As external appearances make lasting impressions on the Indians, the party prepared for the interview by decorating themselves in uniform, and suspending a medal round each of their necks. The tents had been previously pitched, and over one a silken union flag was hoisted. Soon after noon, on July 30th, several Indian canoes were seen advancing in a regular line, and on their approach the chief was discovered

in the headmost, which was paddled by two men. On landing at the fort, the chief assumed a very grave aspect, and walked up to Mr. Wentzel with a measured and dignified step, looking neither to the right nor to the left, at the persons who had assembled on the beach to witness his debarkation, but preserving the same immoveability of countenance until he reached the hall, and was introduced to the officers. When he had smoked his pipe, drank a small portion of spirits and water himself, and issued a glass to each of his companions, who had seated themselves on the floor, he commenced his harangue, by mentioning the circumstances that led to his agreeing to accompany the expedition, an engagement which he was quite prepared to fulfil. He was rejoiced, he said, to see such great chiefs on his lands; his tribe were poor, but they loved white men, who had been their benefactors; and he hoped that the visit would be productive of much good to them. It was at first rumoured, he said, that a great medicine chief accompanied the party, who was able to restore the dead to life; at this he rejoiced; the prospect of again seeing his departed relatives had enlivened his spirits, but his first communication with Mr. Wentzel had removed these vain hopes, and he felt as if his friends had a second time been torn from him. He now wished to be informed exactly of the nature of the expedition.

In reply to this speech, which had been prepared for many days, Captain Franklin endeavoured to explain the objects of the mission in a manner best calculated to ensure his exertions in the service. With this view, says Captain Franklin, I told him that we were sent out by the greatest chief in the world, who was the sovereign also of the trading companies in the country; that he was the friend of peace, and had the interest of every nation at heart. Having learned that his children in the north, were much in want of articles of merchandize, in consequence of the extreme length and difficulty of the present route, he had sent us to search for a passage by the sea, which if found, would enable large vessels to

transport great quantities of goods more easily to their lands. That we had not come for the purpose of traffic, but solely to make discoveries for their benefit, as well as that of every other people. That we had been directed to inquire into the nature of all the productions of the countries we might pass through, and particularly respecting their inhabitants. That we desired the assistance of the Indians in guiding us, and providing us with food ; finally, that we were most positively enjoined by the great chief to recommend that hostilities should cease throughout this country ; and especially between the Indians and the Esquimaux, whom he considered as children, in common with other natives ; and by way of enforcing the latter point more strongly, I assured him that a forfeiture of all the advantages which might be anticipated from the expedition would be a certain consequence if any quarrel arose between his party and the Esquimaux. I also communicated to him that owing to the distance we had travelled, we had now few more stores than was necessary for the use of our own party ; a part of these however, should be forthwith presented to him ; on his return he and his party should be remunerated with cloth, ammunition, tobacco, and some useful iron materials, besides having their debts to the North-west Company discharged.

The chief, whose name was Akaitcho or Big-foot, replied by a renewal of his assurances, that he and his party would attend them to the end of the journey, and that they would do their utmost to provide them with the means of subsistence. He admitted that his tribe had made war upon the Esquimaux, but said, they were now desirous of peace, and unanimous in their opinion as to the necessity of all who accompanied them abstaining from every act of enmity against that nation. He added, however, that the Esquimaux were very treacherous, and therefore recommended that they should advance towards them with caution.

The communications which the chief and the guides then gave respecting the route to the Copper-Mine River, and its

course to the sea, coincided in every material point with the statements which were made by others at Chipewyan, but they differed in their descriptions of the coast. The information, however, collected from both sources was very vague and unsatisfactory. None of his tribe had been more than three days' march along the sea-coast to the eastward of the river's mouth.

As the water was unusually high this season, the Indian guides recommended going by a shorter route to the Copper Mine River than that they had first proposed to Mr. Wentzel, and they assigned as a reason for the change, that the reindeer would be sooner found upon this track. They then drew a chart of the proposed route on the floor with charcoal, exhibiting a chain of twenty-five small lakes extending towards the north, about one half of them connected by a river which flows into Slave Lake, near Fort Providence. One of the guides, named Keskarrah, drew the Copper-Mine River, running through the Upper Lake, in a westerly direction towards the Great Bear Lake, and then northerly to the sea. The other guide drew the river in a straight line to the sea from the above-mentioned place, but after some dispute, admitted the correctness of the first delineation. The latter was elder brother to Akaitcho, and he said that he had accompanied Mr. Hearne on his journey, and though very young at the time, still remembered many of the circumstances, and particularly the massacre committed by the Indians on the Esquimaux.

They pointed out another lake to the southward of the river, about three day's journey distant from it, on which the chief proposed the next winter's establishment should be formed, as the reindeer would pass there in the autumn and spring. Its waters contained fish, and there was a sufficiency of wood for building as well as for the winter's consumption. They could not say what time it would take in reaching the lake, until they saw the manner of travelling in the large canoes, but they supposed it would be about twenty days.

Akaitcho and the guides having communicated all the information they possessed on the different points to which questions had been directed, Captain Franklin placed a medal round the neck of the chief, and the officers presented theirs to an elder brother of his and the two guides, communicating to them that these marks of distinction were given as tokens of friendship. Being conferred in the presence of all the hunters, their acquisition was highly gratifying to them, but they studiously avoided any great expression of joy, because such an exposure would have been unbecoming the dignity which the senior Indians assume during a conference. They expressed themselves sensible of these tokens of regard, and that they should be preserved during their lives with the utmost care. The chief evinced much penetration and intelligence during the whole of this conversation. He made many inquiries respecting the discovery ships, under the command of Captain Parry, which had been mentioned to him, and asked why a passage had not been discovered long ago, if one existed. The chief was desirous of being present, with his party, at a dance which was given in the evening to our Canadian voyagers. They were highly entertained by the vivacity and agility displayed by them in their singing and dancing; and especially by their imitating the gestures of a Canadian, who placed himself in the most ludicrous postures; and, whenever this was done, the gravity of the chief gave way to violent bursts of laughter. In return for the gratification Akaitcho had enjoyed, he desired his young men to exhibit the Dog-Rib Indian dance; and immediately they ranged themselves in a circle, and keeping their legs widely separated, began to jump simultaneously sideways; their bodies were bent, their hands placed on their hips, and they uttered forcibly the interjection *tsa* at each jump. Devoid as were their attitudes of grace, and their music of harmony, the novelty of the exhibition was amusing

The custom of dispersing and destroying the mosquitoes, by lighting fires and leaving the coals to burn, was attended with a very serious accident. The tent in which Captain Franklin slept caught fire and was entirely consumed. A quantity of powder was stowed in the tent, and Hepburn was sleeping within it. He awoke just in time to throw the powder out of the tent, and to preserve the baggage; otherwise this circumstance would have put an end to the further progress of the expedition.

On the first day of August the Indians quitted Fort Providence, and proceeded to the entrance of Yellow Knife River. After their departure the stores were made up into packages of about eighty pounds for the convenience of conveyance. In this arrangement the absence of the Indians was indispensably necessary, as they were always begging every article which came under their notice.

The expedition now consisted of the following persons, together with three females, the wives of the voyagers.

John Franklin, lieutenant of the royal navy and commander.  
 John Richardson, M. D., surgeon of the royal navy.  
 Mr. George Back, of the royal navy, midshipman.  
 Mr. Robert Hood, of the royal navy, midshipman.  
 Mr. Frederick Wentzel, clerk to the North-west Company.  
 John Hepburn, English seaman.

*Interpreters.*

Pierre St. Germain, Chipewyan Bois Brûlés  
 Jean Baptiste Adam.

*Canadian Voyagers.*

Joseph Peltier, Gabriel Beuparlant,  
 Matthew Pelonquin, dit Crèdit, Vincenza Fontano,  
 Solomon Belanger, Registe Vaillant,  
 Joseph Benoit, Jean Baptiste Parent,

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Joseph Gagne,	Jean Baptiste Belanger,
Pierre Dumas,	Jean Baptiste Belleau,
Joseph Forcier,	Emanuel Cournoy��,
Ignace Perrault,	Michael Teroahaut��, an Iroquois.
Francois Samandr��.	

On the 2nd of August the party encamped at about eight miles distance from Fort Providence, and on the following day arrived at the entrance of Yellow Knife River, where they found Akaitcho and his party with their families. They mustered a fleet of seventeen canoes, and the whole party proceeded together up the River. Akaitcho endeavoured to sustain the importance of his character, and was rowed by a youth whom he made captive ; when however he was so far from observation as to admit it, he laid aside his importance, and aided by his personal exertions in paddling the canoe. Several of the canoes were paddled by women.

In crossing a portage, the Indians had much the superiority ; the men carried the canoes, and the women and children the clothes, so that they soon accomplished their journey ; while those of the Expedition had to make four journeys to convey their canoes and stores. At night, on encamping, the men were divided into different watches for the night, with an officer attached to each watch. This was done for security of the property, and to manifest to the Indians that no opportunity could occur for dishonest attempts ; and Akaitcho, the chief, observing the systematic efforts pursued for their protection, declared that he should be without apprehension of danger from the Esquimaux, as no opportunity could occur when the party might be surprised.

On the 5th, an issue was made of the last portion of dried meat in their possession ; and a few pounds of preserved meat and some portable soup was all that remained. To supply their future wants, the hunters were sent forward to shoot the rein deer which usually frequented a place they were

approaching. Akaitcho also informed them that some lakes which they would soon approach abounded with fish. The voyagers began to complain that they could not proceed with the scanty subsistence that was now given them. In the night of the seventh, the dry moss where they were encamped, by some accident took fire, and they narrowly escaped losing great part of their canoes and baggage.

Arriving at Carp Lake, which the Indians said was very productive of fish, they resolved to rest for a day or two to afford the opportunity of recruiting their supply of provisions. The chief and all the Indians went forwards to endeavour to procure some rein-deer, and the nets produced a sufficient quantity of fish to give the whole party some hearty meals. Being refreshed by this supply, they proceeded on the eleventh, and received the agreeable information that the hunters who were in advance had obtained a supply of rein-deer. This was a most welcome account, as the Canadians had expressed great discontent at having so scanty a supply of food, and complained that they had been led into a country where there were no means of subsistence.

On the 14th they entered Hunters' Lake, situated in lat. sixty-four deg. six min. and in long. one hundred and thirteen deg. twenty-five min. The hunters brought in more meat this evening, but the nets produced scarcely any fish. On the following day they received no less than seventeen deer, so that a sufficient store was now obtained for some days to come. Akaitcho now proposed that he and his hunters should proceed towards Winter Lake to procure a fresh store of provisions against the arrival of the party. He also desired the opportunity of providing clothing for himself and people. He accordingly was permitted to proceed.

As the supply of provisions was now very abundant, and a prospect of its continuing so, the people resumed their cheerfulness, and on the nineteenth the party arrived at a small lake to the westward of Winter Lake, where Akaitcho recommended them to take up their residence for the winter.

At being Sunday, divine service was performed as usual when opportunity offered. The distance from Fort Chipewyan, which the party had travelled, was nearly six hundred miles; and the servants in conveying the stores across the portages had walked upwards of one hundred and fifty miles.

As the party were expected to spend many months at this place, they set about erecting a place of residence, and they gave to it the name of Fort Enterprise. Mr. Wentzel had the principal superintendence of this erection, and the building was made as comfortable as the resources and circumstances would admit.

The party were the next day divided into two companies; one company was to procure wood and erect a store-house, and the other company were to bring in the provisions. As it was the intention of Captain Franklin to descend the Copper-mine River, he sent for the chief, who was hunting in the neighbourhood, according as he had appointed on leaving the party some days preceding. On his arrival however it appeared that he had procured but few deer: for having heard of the death of his brother in law, several days had been spent in lamentation on that account. He also refused to accompany the party to the Copper-mine River, saying that the winter was too far advanced, that the rein-deer had left the river, and that provisions would not be to be procured. Captain Franklin still asserting that he should make the attempt, Akaitcho said that it should not be laid to their charge that their visitors were suffered to go alone; and although it did appear to him that the journey would be at the peril of their lives, yet that some of his young men should accompany the party. Captain Franklin assured the chief that he, in common with all his companions, was solicitous for the welfare of all that accompanied them; but that it was of importance to obtain some correct knowledge of that river, in order that in their next despatches to the Great Chief (the King of Great Britain) they might state some particulars respecting it. Akaitcho, after all, appeared so greatly to

object to the journey, that it was thought prudent to decline the attempt. On holding a conference with the officers on the subject, it was finally resolved that Mr. Back and Mr. Hood should be sent to explore those parts, in a light canoe.

On the 25th, John Hepburn, the English seaman, having gone out to hunt, a dense fog coming on, he missed the road, and not returning in the evening, the greatest anxiety prevailed for his safety. Nothing was heard of him on the following day; and on the twenty-seventh a party of Indians went in search of him. They fortunately succeeded, and brought him back the same evening, although he was much fatigued. He had been wandering about during the whole time, and had eaten only a partridge, and the tongue of a deer which he shot. After partaking of some food, and taking rest, he recovered his usual health and strength.

An eclipse being to take place about this time, Akaitcho was informed of it, and when the circumstance occurred, it brought him to the most decided admission of the superior knowledge and talents of the white people, who could account for, and foretell such an event; and he said that he and his people could not but be glad to have the company of such intelligent persons, and that on their part every exertion should be made to procure provisions.

On the 29th, Mr. Hood and Mr. Back, accompanied by Pierre St. Germain, eight Canadians and one of the Indians, embarked to explore the Copper-mine River. If the weather permitted, he was, on arriving at its banks, to trace its course and make observations for a few days and then to return. At this time also the Indian chief took his departure, leaving two of his people to procure provisions.

On the 9th of September, having nothing which particularly required their attention to prevent it. Dr. Richardson and Captain Franklin set out on an excursion to the Copper-mine River, taking three of the servants with them. They attempted as straight a course as the country would permit. The land was extremely barren, there being scarcely any

trees. One of the party killed a rein-deer, of which they all partook. At night, they had to sleep on the frozen ground, with only a small quantity of twigs under them, and little covering upon them. In Indian who was of the party stripped himself naked; and then warming himself by the fire, covered himself with his garments and went to sleep. They passed a herd of rein-deer on the second day and killed one of them; but they were so loaded already that they left the greater part of the carcase behind, carefully covered with stones, some of the party intending to possess themselves of it on their return. On the thirteenth they came in view of the Copper-mine River, and soon arrived on the edge of Point Lake, which is about the lat. of 65 deg. 9 min. and long. 112 deg. 57 min. Having satisfied themselves as far as the present circumstance admitted, they set out on their return to the fort. The coldness of the weather had considerably increased. The ground was covered with snow, and the whole country had a wintry appearance. On the 16th they arrived at their old quarters at Fort Enterprise. Mr. Back, Mr. Hood and the party accompanying them, had returned from their journey to explore the Copper-mine River. They had travelled upwards of fifty miles to the northward, as far as the Lake into which the Copper-mine River runs. Although the cold was severe, and fuel was scarce, yet they cheerfully persevered in their journey, and no complaint was made of any one attached to the party.

During the absence of the reconnoitering parties, Mr. Wentzel had proceeded in the erection of the house, and in the beginning of October, the place being finished, the party removed into it. It was merely a log-building, fifty feet long, and twenty four wide, divided into a hall, three bed rooms and a kitchen. The walls and roof were plastered with clay, the floors laid with planks rudely squared with the hatchet, and the windows closed with parchment of deer-skin. The clay, which from the coldness of the weather required to be tempered before the fire with hot water, froze

as it was daubed on, afterwards cracked in such a manner as to admit the wind from every quarter; yet, compared with the tents, this new habitation appeared comfortable; and having filled the capacious clay-built chimney with faggots, they spent a cheerful evening before the invigorating blaze. The change was peculiarly beneficial to Dr. Richardson, who having, in one of his excursions, incautiously laid down on the frozen side of a hill when heated with walking, had caught a severe sore throat, which became daily worse whilst remaining in the tents, but he began to mend soon after he was enabled to confine himself to the more equable warmth of the house.

The meridian sun at this time melted the light covering of snow or hoar frost on the lichens, which clothe the barren grounds, and rendered them so tender as to attract great herds of rein-deer. Captain Franklin estimated the numbers he saw during a short walk, at upwards of two thousand. They form into herds of different sizes, from ten to a hundred, according as their fears or accident induce them to unite or separate. The females being at this time more lean and active, usually lead the van. The haunches of the males are now covered to the depth of two inches or more with fat, which beginning to get red and high flavoured, is considered a sure indication of the commencement of the rutting season.

The horns of the rein-deer vary, not only with its sex and age, but are otherwise so uncertain in their growth, that they are never alike in any two individuals. The old males shed their's about the end of December; the females retain them until the disappearance of the snow enables them to frequent the barren grounds, about the middle or end of May, soon after which period they proceed towards the sea-coast and drop their young. The young males lose their horns about the same time with the females or a little earlier, some of them as early as April. The hair of the rein-deer falls in July, and is succeeded by a short thick coat of mingled clove, deep reddish, and yellowish browns; the belly and under

parts of the neck, &c., remaining white. As the winter approaches the hair becomes longer, and lighter in its colours, and it begins to loosen in May, being then much worn on the sides, from the animal rubbing itself against trees and stones. Their principal movement to the northward commences generally in the end of April, when the snow begins to melt on the sides of the hills; and early in May, when large patches of the ground are visible, they are on the banks of the Copper-mine River. The females take the lead in this spring migration, and bring forth their young on the sea-coast about the end of May or beginning of June. There are certain spots or passes well known to the Indians, through which the deer invariably pass in their migration to and from the coast, and it has been observed that they always travel against the wind.

The herds of rein-deer are attended in their migrations by bands of wolves, which destroy a great many of them. The Copper Indians kill the rein-deer in the summer with the gun, or taking advantage of a favourable disposition of the ground, they enclose a herd upon a neck of land, and drive them into a lake, where they fall an easy prey; but in the spring, when they are numerous on the skirts of the woods, they catch them in snares. The snares are simple nooses, formed into a rope made of twisted sinews, which are placed in the aperture of a slight hedge, constructed of the branches of trees. This hedge is so disposed as to form several winding compartments, and although it is by no means strong, yet the deer seldom attempt to break through it. The herd is led into the labyrinth by two converging rows of poles, and one is generally caught at each of the openings by the noose placed there. The hunter, too, lying in ambush, stabs some of them with his bayonet as they pass by, and the whole herd frequently becomes his prey.

The Dog-rib Indians have a mode of killing these animals, which though simple, is very successful. It was thus described by Mr. Wentzel, who resided long amongst that

people. The hunters go in pairs, the foremost man carrying in one hand the horns and part of the skin of the head of a deer, and in the other a small bundle of twigs, against which he, from time to time, rubs the horns, imitating the gestures peculiar to the animal. His comrade follows, treading exactly in his footsteps, and holding the guns of both in a horizontal position, so that the muzzles project under the arms of him who carries the head. Both hunters have a fillet of white skin round their foreheads, and the foremost has a stripe of the same kind round his wrists. They approach the herd by degrees, raising their legs very slowly, but setting them down somewhat suddenly, after the manner of a deer, and always taking care to lift their right or left feet simultaneously. If any of the herd leave off feeding to gaze upon this extraordinary phenomenon, it instantly stops, and the head begins to play its part by licking its shoulders, and performing other necessary movements. In this way the hunters attain the very centre of the herd without exciting suspicion, and have leisure to single out the fattest. The hindmost man then pushes forward his comrade's gun, the head is dropt, and they both fire nearly at the same instant. The herd scampers off, the hunters trot after them; in a short time the poor animals halt to ascertain the cause of their terror, their foes stop at the same instant, and having loaded as they ran, greet the gazers with a second fatal discharge. The consternation of the deer increases, they run to and fro in the utmost confusion, and sometimes a great part of the herd is destroyed within the space of a few hundred yards.

Having nothing to require attention, Mr. Back and Mr. Wentzel, accompanied by two of the voyagers and two Indians, with the wives of the latter, whose names were Little Forehead and Smiling Martin, set out on the eighteenth, on a journey to Fort Providence, to expedite the conveyance of stores, and to obtain additional supplies of ammunition, tobacco, and other articles.

In the course of the autumn they procured upwards of one



thousand pounds weight of fish, each weighing two pounds and upwards. When the weather was severe the fish froze as they were taken out of the nets ; and if they were afterwards placed near the fire so as to thaw the ice, they revived, even when they had been in a frozen state for several hours.

The party who had been dispatched to Fort Providence continuing longer absent than had been expected, it occasioned considerable anxiety, especially among the Indians, who gave way, as was their custom on such occasions, to fearful apprehensions. At one time they supposed they had perished by some accident, at another, that they had been murdered by some Indian tribe. The repetition of their fears greatly dispirited the Canadians ; but as Captain Franklin and his companions always expressed the firmest confidence that they would soon receive advice respecting their absent friends, they strove against their forebodings, until on the twenty-third of November Belanger, one of the voyagers who accompanied Mr Back, made his appearance. He came alone, having left his companions the day before in a wood through which they passed, and as the snow fell in abundance they were too timid to encounter the storm. He was covered with snow and ice from the severity of the weather. He brought a packet of letters, which had been sent by the way of Canada in the canoes of the North-west Company to Fort Providence, and a few balls for the guns. He stated that several packages from York Factory had been left at the Grand Rapid in consequence of a misunderstanding or dispute between the servants of the North-west and Hudson's Bay Companies. This was a most serious disappointment to all parties ; more especially as it was impossible to present any thing to the Indians equivalent to the loss of ammunition and tobacco ; the one article so necessary to procure food, the other so essential to the comfort of the Indians. The letters contained information that two of the Esquimaux nation were engaged as interpreters, and were on their journey : this was most acceptable news to the Indians,

as they were fearful if they proceeded northward of meeting with a party of that nation, and being killed by them.

On the day following the Indians whom Belanger had left behind, arrived ; but they gave out reports of so painful a nature as to put the success of the enterprize to hazard. They stated that Mr. Weeks, the gentleman in charge of Fort Providence, had told them, that so far from being the officers of a great Chief, the party were merely a set of dependent wretches, whose only aim was to obtain subsistence for a season in the plentiful country of the Copper Indians ; that, out of charity they had been supplied with a portion of goods by the trading Companies, but that there was not the smallest probability of their rewarding the Indians when their term of service was completed. Akaitcho, with great good sense, instantly desired to have the matter explained, stating at the same time, that he could not credit it. Captain Franklin then pointed out to him that Mr. Wentzel, with whom they had long been accustomed to trade, had pledged the credit of his Company for the stipulated rewards to the party that accompanied them, and that the trading debts due by Akaitcho and his party had already been remitted, which was of itself a sufficient proof of influence with the North-west Company. He also reminded Akaitcho, that having caused the Esquimaux to be brought up at a great expense, was evidence of their future intentions. The Indians retired from the conference apparently satisfied, but this business was in the end productive of much inconvenience, and proved very detrimental to the progress of the Expedition.

The residence of so great a number of persons as abode at Fort Enterprise caused such a large consumption of provisions as induced Captain Franklin to represent the circumstance to Akaitcho ; and he promised to send his party away. The balls which had been received by Belanger were given him for the use of his hunters, and after lingering a week longer they quitted their residence near Fort Enterprise. Akaitcho's mother being at this time very ill, he left her be-

#### FRANKLIN'S JOURNEY

hind, with two female companions, requesting, in case of her death, that she might be buried at a distance from the house, that his mind might not be pained whenever he came back.

The wife of Keskarrah, one of the Indian guides, being afflicted, Dr. Richardson gave him a medicine to be taken by her. In receiving it, he practised a variety of ceremonies which in their opinion were no doubt as effectual to her recovery as the medicine itself, which fortunately assisted her recovery. They had a daughter named Green Stockings, who was considered by all as a great beauty. Indeed so high an opinion had her mother of her charms, that on sitting for her picture, which after some unwillingness Mr. Hood was permitted to take, the good old lady expressed her conviction that when the Great Chief (King George) saw her picture, he would not be satisfied until he had sent for the original to make her his wife. The young lady, although under sixteen years of age, had already had two husbands.

The weather at this time was extremely cold, 29° below zero; yet notwithstanding this severity the people went about their regular daily labours, wearing leather mittens, furred caps, and rein-deer shirts. Although their faces were without covering, they experienced no ill effects, excepting when on the water, or any unsheltered place, where the wind came with full force. The operation of the cold however upon the trees was such as to render them as impervious as a stone, so that in attempting to fell them almost every hatchet was broken.

Captain Franklin says, as it may be interesting to know how we passed our time at this season of the year, I shall mention briefly, that a considerable portion of it was occupied in writing up our journals. Some newspapers and magazines, that we had received from England with our letters, were read again and again, and commented upon, at our meals; and we often exercised ourselves with conjecturing the changes that might take place in the world before we

could hear from it again. The probability of our receiving letters, and the period of their arrival, were calculated to a nicety. We occasionally paid the woodmen a visit, or took a walk for a mile or two on the river.

In the evenings we joined the men in the hall, and took a part in their games, which generally continued to a late hour; in short, we never found the time to hang heavy upon our hands; and the peculiar occupations of each of the officers afforded them more employment than might at first be supposed.

On the 15th some of the men arrived from Fort Providence. They brought some rum, a barrel of powder, some tobacco, sixty pounds of ball, and some clothing. The spirits were frozen, and so severe was the temperature that their fingers adhered to the glass. It appeared by the confession of one of the Indians who accompanied the party from Fort Providence, that they had drawn out some of the rum. This disposition to a breach of trust was the occasion of much distress, as it manifested how little reliance was to be placed on these people. It was more peculiarly distressing when it was manifest that their superiors were suffering equal if not greater privations than themselves. The ammunition, and a part of the rum, were sent to Akaitcho.

On the 27th the two Esquimaux arrived. Their names were The Belly and The Ear. Mr. Wentzel, and St. Germain, one of the interpreters, accompanied them. The Esquimaux had also a name given to them correspondent with the month of their arrival at Fort Churchill, and were called Junius and Augustus.

On the 5th of February, Akaitcho sent for further supplies of ammunition; and by his people Captain Franklin was informed that reports most unfavourable to that confidence so requisite on the part of the Indians, were circulated, and that it was said Mr. Weeks had not fulfilled some demands made on him.

It appeared that the Esquimaux Augustus came from

the neighbourhood of Churchill, and on comparing their language with the printed books for the use of those of the same name on the Labrador coast, it was essentially the same. Augustus, after his arrival, erected a snow-house, cutting out slabs of snow three feet long, six inches thick, and two feet deep. The building was about eight feet high; and the layers of snow were placed over each other in a most methodical form until a complete dome was erected. The entrance was approached by steps, which led into a hall or porch; then going through a passage there was an antechamber. From thence you passed into another passage, on one side of which was the cooking house, and on the other a recess for wood. At one part of this passage was the fire-place, the only one in the building. From thence you entered another apartment, on each side of which were bed places, and in the centre a sitting place. Beyond this was a smaller apartment where the provisions belonging to the family were carefully stowed.

On the 5th of March, the people returned from Fort Providence bringing all the stores that could be procured. It consisted of a cask of flour, thirty-six pounds of sugar, forty pounds of powder, and a roll of tobacco. Mr. Weeks took the opportunity of writing to Captain Franklin to assure him that the reports which had been circulated stating that he had said they were only a party of adventurers was entirely without foundation, but that on the contrary he had strove every thing in his power to aid the efforts of the Expedition, and had discountenanced Akaitcho when he signified to him his intention of leaving all connection with Captain Franklin's party. These declarations being made known to the Indians then at Fort Enterprize, one of them asserted that he himself had heard Mr. Weeks express himself in contempt of the expedition, and was surprised that he should deny that he had said so. Akaitcho soon after this sent them the fullest assurances that he would continue to render them every service in his power.

On the 17th Mr. Back returned. He had proceeded as far as Fort Chipewyan, having travelled on foot since he took his departure from Fort Enterprise, more than one thousand miles. When he and Mr. Wentzel quitted Fort Enterprise on the eighteenth of October, to visit Fort Providence, two Canadians, two Indian hunters, and their wives accompanied them. Their rout lay sometimes over lakes so thinly frozen, that the ice often bent under them. On passing over one of the lakes an instance occurred of the kindest feeling on the part of the Indians: provisions being scarce, one of the women making a hole through the ice, caught a fine fish, which they refused to partake of, saying that they were accustomed to seasons of hunger, and could therefore better bear up under the privation than the gentlemen who were with them. This was not a solitary instance of such generous feeling, but occurred in subsequent parts of their journey. In one instance while attempting to cross a branch of the Great Slave Lake, Mr. Back fell through the ice; but fortunately by the aid of his companions he was quickly extricated. On the first of November the party arrived safe at Fort Providence, an establishment of the North-west company, and were kindly received by Mr. Weeks, who was in charge of that post.

Mr. Back was so dissatisfied with the information he received at this post of the progress of the various stores which were to be expected, that he resolved to proceed so the Athabaska Lake to enquire into the cause of the neglect, and to expedite their conveyance; and dispatching the packet of letters and a few musket balls to Fort Enterprise as before noticed, waited the freezing up of the Great Slave Lake, in order to proceed on his enquiries. While he remained at Fort Providence, a party of the Slave Indians arrived with furs; and from their reports it appeared they had a knowledge of the settlement at Fort Enterprise, and would have paid them a visit, but feared meeting some of the Copper Indian nation.

On the 27th of December, Mr. Back left Fort Providence

for the purpose of crossing the lake, which was now sufficiently frozen. The keenness of the wind was severe, and at the solicitations of the servants Mr. Back wrapped himself up in a rein-deer skin and a blanket, and placing himself on a sledge, was lashed on, leaving the head sufficiently at liberty just to notice the road, and on the ninth arrived at some fishing huts near Stony Island, which some Indians occupied, where they remained for the night. On the succeeding day they set out at an early hour, and reached the residence of the North-west Company on Moose-deer Island. Here he found additional information that the stores which were to be forwarded had not arrived, only five packages being at the fort. At this place he met the two Esquimaux, who were to join the expedition as interpreters.

Disappointed of the stores so necessary for the expedition, Mr. Back resolved to proceed to Fort Chipewyan on the Athabaska Lake. Accordingly on the twenty-third of December, he set out for that place, accompanied by the Canadian Beuparlant and Bois Brules. The severity of the weather greatly affected them in their journey, which notwithstanding all the sufferings they had to endure, they accomplished on the second of January, after an interval of eleven days from the time of their leaving Fort Providence. Mr. G. Keith and Mr. Macgilliray were greatly surprised at his presence, as was also Mr. Simpson, the resident at the Hudson's Bay Fort; for it had been reported to them that the party had been killed by the Esquimaux.

Mr. Back sent a requisition to the heads of each Company desiring a supply of ammunition, tobacco, spirits, and other stores, stating that unless his request was complied with, the Expedition could not proceed. He remained at Fort Chipewyan five weeks, but could not obtain the supplies he required. During this time a few laden sledges arrived, which brought letters from Great Britain, for Captain Franklin and his people; and after earnestly requesting that supplies might be sent from the depots as early in the year as could

be accomplished, Mr. Back prepared for his return to Fort Enterprise.

On the 9th of February, having every thing prepared, Mr. Back set out. He had under his direction four sledges, laden with goods for the Expedition, and a fifth belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. He returned exactly by the same route, suffering no other inconvenience but that arising from the chafing of the snow-shoe, and bad weather. Some Indians, whom they met on the banks of Little Buffalo River, were rather surprised at seeing them, for they had heard that they were on an island, which was surrounded by Esquimaux. The dogs were almost worn out, and their feet raw, when, on February the 20th, they arrived at Moose-Deer island all in good order. Towards the end of the month, two men arrived with letters from Lieutenant Franklin, containing some fresh demands, the major part of which Mr. Back was fortunate enough to procure without the least trouble. Having arranged the accounts and receipts between the Companies and the Expedition, and sent every thing before him to Fort Providence, he prepared to depart ; and it is but justice to the gentlemen of both parties at Moose Deer Island to remark, that they afforded the means of forwarding the stores in the most cheerful and pleasant manner.

On the 7th of March, Mr. Back arrived at Fort Providence, and found the stores safe and in good order. There being no certainty when an Indian, who was to accompany him, would arrive, and impatience to join his companions increasing, after making the necessary arrangements with Mr. Weeks respecting the stores, on March the 10th Mr. Back quitted the fort, with two men, who had each a couple of dogs and a sledge laden with provision. On the 13th they met the Indian, near Icy Portage, and, on the 17th, at an early hour, he arrived at Fort Enterprise, having travelled about eighteen miles a-day. He had the pleasure of meeting his friends all in good health, after an absence of nearly five months, during which time he had travelled one thousand



one hundred and four 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 degrees, and once at 57 degrees; and sometimes passing two or three days without tasting food.

About this time a chief named the Hook, who was next in authority to Akaitcho, sent a message, that if Captain Franklin would send him ammunition, he would provide a stock of provisions for the Expedition in their passage along the Copper-mine River. As he generally occupied during the summer months, a portion of country adjoining Great Bear Lake, and near the Copper mountain, it was easy for him to provide a supply; but there was such a scarcity of every article, that Captain Franklin could not with any propriety spare any part; he however sent the Hook word that he would give them an order on the agents of the Northwest Company for the value of any provisions they might provide for them; and desired that as in the interim they would probably take their stock of furs to Fort Providence, they would satisfy themselves by speaking to Mr. Weeks on the subject. It appeared further that the Hook was ill and wished to have the advice of Dr. Richardson.

The variety of difficulties which presented themselves worked upon the fears of some of the servants of the Expedition; and it appeared that Pierre St. Germain, one of the interpreters, had so expressed himself as to excite a disinclination in some of the Indians to proceed. On being questioned by Captain Franklin he acknowledged, after much equivocation, that he had spoken to them of the very great difficulties they would have to meet, and his fears for all their personal safety; and it further appeared that he was excited in a measure to express himself against the success of the enterprise, because he did not receive that attention he thought belonged to him. On being threatened to be arrested and sent to England to be punished, he exclaimed that he might as well die in the journey they were on the

eve of taking, as in any other way ; and although he thought such would be the result, he would willingly continue with the Expedition. As his services were of importance, no further steps were taken, than to admonish him as to his future conversations.

On the 29th, Akaitcho arrived at the Fort, having been sent for to request him to procure a stock of provisions previous to the commencement of their journey, and also to be satisfied as to his accompanying the party. In reply he said that his hunters should use every exertion to procure a good store of provisions, and that he and his men would accompany them to the mouth of the Copper-mine River ; and if they were unmolested by the Esquimaux, they would extend their journey farther. The chief desired that in case of meeting with any other tribes of Indians or with the Esquimaux, that the captain would influence them to live in peace with his people ; a request that was heard with the greatest satisfaction by Captain Franklin, and which he gave the fullest assurance to Akaitcho he would endeavour to promote.

On the 4th of April the last supply of goods from Fort Providence arrived, the fruits of Mr. Back's arduous journey to the Athabasca Lake ; and on the 17th Solomon Belanger and Jean Baptiste Belanger, set out for Slave Lake, with a box containing the journals of the officers, charts, drawings, observations, and letters addressed to the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs. They also conveyed a letter for Governor Williams, in which Captain Franklin requested that he would, if possible, send a schooner to Wager Bay with provisions and clothing to meet the exigences of the party, should they succeed in reaching that part of the coast.

About the commencement of the month of April, provisions became extremely scarce ; the hunters sent in no supplies, and the women and children belonging to the Indians, who preferred a stationary residence near the house, to the continual removing to which they were subject in following the hunters, began to endure great privations, and were

compelled to sustain themselves by picking up the bones of the animals which had been killed, and pounding them for food. Pieces of the hides of the deer were also cut up and eaten. The appearance that there would be shortness of food for the whole party was very alarming, and only one moose-deer, which had been killed at the distance of nearly fifty miles from the house, was procured for several days. On the 27th a supply was sent in from Akaitcho, who had taken Augustus, one of the Esquimaux with him when he last quitted the neighbourhood of Fort Enterprise; and who now returned in company with the persons sent with provisions, and expressed great satisfaction at the reception he met with among Akaitcho's people. Dr. Richardson, who had made an excursion to collect specimens of natural curiosity, returned on the seventh of May, and reported that he had visited the Indian tents, who had received an accession of several families of old people, which occasioned such a consumption of provisions as made him apprehensive there would not be sufficient provision obtained against the time for the departure of the Expedition.

On the 11th Mr. Wentzel, who, had been to the Indian lodges, returned, having made the necessary arrangements with Akaitcho for the drying of meat for summer use, and bringing fresh meat to the fort and for procuring a sufficient quantity of the resin of the spruce fir, or as it is termed by the voyagers gum, for repairing the canoes previous to starting and during the voyage. He promised payment to the Indian woman who should bring in any of the latter article, and sent several men to the woods to search for it.

As Mr. Wentzel had expressed a desire of proceeding no farther than the mouth of Copper-mine River, which was seconded by the Indians, who wished him to return with them, Captain Franklin readily acceded to his wishes; and thinking that he could render him the most effectual service in establishing depots of provisions at certain places, arranged a plan to that effect to be modified by circumstances. Ducks

and geese now began to appear in considerable numbers. Blueberries, cranberries, and other symptoms of the advance of milder weather, presented themselves; the sap ran in the pine trees; and though the ground continued frozen, the power of the sun was evident.

On the 16th a Chief of the Copper Indian nation arrived from Fort Providence. He brought with him his son. Being affected with snow blindness, Dr. Richardson relieved him by pouring a few drops of laudanum into his eyes, a remedy which had always proved effectual whenever any of the party became affected by that complaint. On the 21st all the men belonging to the Expedition who had been sent to assist Akaitcho returned, and information was giving that Akaitcho was on his journey to the Fort, and that he expected to be received with a salute of muskets and other honours. As soon as his approach was announced, a flag was hoisted, and a salute fired; which was returned by his own people. His standard bearer marched before him, and he followed with martial step, and was received with all possible parade by the captain and his party. The calumet or pipe was passed round the assembly, each taking a whiff, and a present of such things as could be produced and spared, placed before the chief, whose people seated themselves in a circle around him. He then made a speech, in the conclusion of which he expressed his hope that the Great Chief (the King of Great Britain) would send him a present. This he was assured should be done provided he was faithful to the engagements he had made. He then spoke of many disappointments he had experienced, and said that the reports he had received were to the discredit of the party and caused him to doubt as to their being what they represented themselves. In conclusion he said that he should decline the present laid before him.

To these observations Captain Franklin replied, that Akaitcho ought not to credit the reports he had heard to the prejudice of the Expedition, and that it was within his (the

chief's) knowledge, by his debts to the Company having been cancelled, that his connection with the Expedition would be serviceable to his own interest, and to the interest of his people. Captain Franklin also stated that on his part he felt disappointment, as Akaitcho had not fulfilled his engagements in providing that supply of provisions which he gave them to expect; and that indeed there appeared more real ground for complaint on the part of those attached to the Expedition than there was on that of Akaitcho. Upon being silenced by these arguments, he began again to express his opinion that the whole party would perish in the attempt to reach the sea, and insinuated that the presents set before him were not to the extent of his expectations; and that the quantity of rum was not sufficient. Upon this he was assured that it was all the rum they had, and that the other articles were to the utmost extent that they could spare. Finding all his efforts to obtain more unavailable, he should, he said wait the arrival of his brother, who was named Humpy, before he accepted the present; his people however came afterwards to fetch the rum, and this was considered as an evidence of content.

On the 25th, clothing, and other necessary articles, were issued to the Canadians as their equipment for the ensuing voyage. Two or three blankets, some cloth, iron-work, and trinkets were reserved for distribution amongst the Esquimaux on the sea-coast. Laced dresses were given to Augustus and Junius, and it is impossible to describe the joy that took possession of the latter on the receipt of this present. The happy little fellow burst into ecstatic laughter, as he surveyed the different articles of his gay habiliments. In the afternoon Humpy, Akaitcho's elder brother, Annethai-yazzeh, another of his brothers, and one of the guides, arrived with the remainder of Akaitcho's band; as also Long-legs, brother to the Hook, with three of his band. There were now in the encampment thirty hunters, thirty-one women, and sixty children, in all one hundred and twenty-one, of the

Copper Indian or Red-Knife tribe. The rest of the nation were with the Hook on the lower part of the Copper-mine River. Annoethai-yazzeh is remarkable amongst the Indians for the number of his descendants ; he has eighteen children living by two wives, of whom sixteen were at the fort at this time.

On the 26th they met the heads of the Indian party again in council. Akaitcho complained that Mr. Wentzel had obtained a greater distribution of presents for the Canadians than they ought to have received, and thereby his share had been reduced ; upon which Mr. Wentzel reminded him that on the very outset it had been stated to him that the presents were to be made to him on his return, from accompanying the Expedition ; and his brother Humpy said that he himself was present at a conference when that declaration was made. One of the guides now declared that he would accompany the white people to the sea, expecting the presents on his return. These assertions so silenced Akaitcho, that after some further enquiries made by him whether the trading Companies were rich, and an effort to obtain a few more kettles and blankets, to supply which the officers each gave up a blanket from their own beds, he ceased urging his request. It seemed evident that his purpose was to get every article the party had taken with them as presents to the Esquimaux or other strangers they might meet, and before the day closed he explicitly declared to his people that if any of them chose to follow the Expedition they might, but that the presents were too few to satisfy him. Upon this several came forwards and declared their readiness to proceed, and then received their share of the presents ; a proceeding most consolatory to Captain Franklin, as rendering the conduct of the chief of very little importance.

On the 28th, Long-legs had a meeting with the captain, and stated that his brother the Hook was on the borders of the Copper-mine River procuring provisions for the party ; Akaitcho entering the room at the time, assumed a cheerful

demeanor, and said that as he was fully satisfied the captain had it not in his power to make any more presents, he should rely upon his promises, and would proceed to the river as soon as the weather would permit them to travel.

By the end of the month of May, there was daylight during the whole twenty-four hours. Every thing being ready as far as their resources would admit, on the 4th of June one party of the Expedition, headed by Dr. Richardson, set out on their journey of discovery. They had three sledges, drawn by dogs, to convey the stores and other necessaries, and each man had to take also a package of about eighty pounds, besides such articles of their own as were necessary. The whole party comprehended twenty-three persons, consisting of Indian hunters and guides with their wives, exclusive of children. On the same day Akaitcho and the hunters under his direction quitted the house. On their leaving, twenty balls were giving to each hunter, with a proportion of powder, and they were desired to make depots of provisions for the Expedition on the road to Point Lake. It was then particularly urged upon the chief, in the presence of all his people, that he should make a depot of provisions at this place previous to next September, as a resource should the party return this way. He and the guides not only promised to see this done, but suggested that it would be more secure if placed in the cellar, or in Mr. Wentzel's room. The Dog-ribs, they said, would respect any thing that was in the house, as knowing it to belong to the white people. At the close of the conversation Akaitcho exclaimed with a smile, "I see now that you have really no goods left, (the rooms and stores being completely stripped,) and therefore I shall not trouble you any more, but use my best endeavours to prepare provisions for you, and I think if the animals are tolerably numerous, we may get plenty before you can embark on the river."

The snow was now confined to the bases of the hills, and the hunters said that the season was early. The operations

of nature, however, seemed very tardy. They were eager to be gone, and dreaded the lapse of summer, before the Indians would allow it had begun. On the 11th the geese and ducks had left the vicinity of Fort Enterprise, and proceeded to the northward. Some young ravens and whiskey-johns made their appearance at this time.

On the 12th Winter River was nearly cleared of ice, and on the 13th the men returned, having left Dr. Richardson on the borders of Point Lake. Dr. Richardson stated by letter that the snow was deeper in many parts near his encampment than it had been at any time last winter near Fort Enterprise, and that the ice at Point Lake had scarcely begun to decay. Although the voyagers were much fatigued on their arrival, and had eaten nothing for the last twenty-four hours, they were very cheerful, and expressed a desire to start with the remainder of the stores next morning.

On the 15th and 16th of June, the canoes having been repaired, the remainder of the party attached to the Expedition took their departure from Fort Enterprise, full of spirits at embarking in the further pursuit of the great object which engaged their attention. In one of the rooms they left a box in which was deposited a journal of their progress, which, on the return of Mr. Wentzel, was to be conveyed to England in the most ready manner in which it could be accomplished.

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 fixed to the door, to deter any Indians from breaking it open. They now directed their course towards the Dog-rib Rock, but as the servants were loaded with the weight of near one hundred and eighty pounds each, they proceeded at a slow pace. The day was extremely warm, and the mosquitoes, whose attacks had hitherto been feeble, issued forth in swarms from the marshes, and were very tormenting. Having walked five miles they encamped near a small cluster of pines about two miles from the Dog-rib Rock. The canoe party had not been seen since they set



out. The hunters went forward to Marten Lake, intending to wait at a place where two deer were deposited. At Marten Lake they joined the canoe party, and encamped with them. They had the mortification of learning from the hunters that the meat they had put in store here, had been destroyed by the wolverènes, and they had in consequence to furnish the supper from their scanty stock of dried meat.

On the 21st of June, some of the party reached the tents on Point Lake, where Dr. Richardson and the people who accompanied him had fixed their residence, and in the evening of the same day, Mr. Wentzel and the party with the canoes, also arrived, after a most fatiguing journey. The ice on the lake was still six or seven feet thick, and there was no appearance of its decay except near the edges; and as it was evident that, by remaining here until it should be removed, they might lose every prospect of success in the undertaking, Captain Franklin determined on dragging the stores along its surface, until they should come to a part of the river where they could embark; and directions were given this evening for each man to prepare a train for the conveyance of his portion of the stores.

Akaitcho and the hunters were encamped here, but their families, and the rest of the tribe, had gone off two days before to the Beth-see-to, a large lake to the northward, where they intended passing the summer. Long-legs and Keskarrah had departed, to desire the Hook to collect as much meat as he could against their arrival at his lodge. They learnt that Akaitcho and his party had expended all the ammunition they had received at Fort Enterprise, without having contributed any supply of provision. Dr. Richardson had, however, through the assistance of two hunters he kept with him, prepared two hundred pounds of dried meat, which was now their sole dependance for the journey.

The number of the hunters was now reduced to five, as two of the most active declined going any further, their father who thought himself dying, having solicited them to

remain and close his eyes. These five were furnished with ammunition, and sent forward to hunt on the south border of the lake, with directions to place any meat they might procure near the edge of the lake, and set up marks to guide to the spots. Akaitcho, his brother, the guide, and three other men, remained. They were much surprised to perceive an extraordinary difference in climate in so short an advance to the northward as fifty miles. The snow here was lying in large patches on the hills. The dwarf-birch and willows were only just beginning to open their buds, which had burst forth at Fort Enterprise many days before their departure. Vegetation seemed to be three weeks or a month later here than at that place. The provision consisted of only two bags of pemmican, two of pounded meat, five of suet, and two small bundles of dried provision, together with fresh meat sufficient for supper at night. It was gratifying to witness the readiness with which the men prepared for and commenced a journey, which threatened to be so very laborious, as each of them had to drag upwards of one hundred and eighty pounds on his sledge.

The sufferings of the people in this early stage of the journey were truly discouraging. Captain Franklin, therefore, determined on leaving the third canoe, which had been principally carried to provide against any accident to the others. They would thus gain three men, to lighten the loads of those who were most lame, and an additional dog for each of the other canoes. It was accordingly properly secured on a stage erected for the purpose near the encampment. Dried meat was issued for supper, but in the course of the evening the Indians killed two deer.

They continued their journey till the 29th, when their attention was drawn to some pine branches which were scattered on the ice, and which proved to be marks directing to a place where the hunters had deposited the carcasses of two deer. Akaitcho, judging from the appearance of the meat,

thought it had been placed there three days before, and that the hunters were considerably in advance.

On the 30th of June, the men having gummed the canoes, embarked with their burdens to descend the river. The river was about two hundred yards wide, and its course being uninterrupted, a sanguine hope was indulged of getting on more speedily, until they perceived that the waters of Rock-nest Lake were still bound by ice, and that recourse must again be had to the sledges. The ice was much decayed, and the party were exposed to great risk of breaking through in making the traverse. In one part they had to cross an open channel in the canoes, and in another were compelled to quit the Lake, and make a portage along the land. When the party got upon the ice again, the guide evinced much uncertainty as to the route. The ice cracked at every step, and the party were obliged to separate widely to prevent accidents.

The guide being still uncertain as to the road they were pursuing, they came to a bay on the north side of Rock-nest Lake, expecting to find the Copper-mine River; but to their great disappointment, they perceived only a small stream emptying itself into the Lake. The guide now confessed that he knew not where he was, and desired the party to wait while he ascended a hill to take a view of the country, that he might set himself right. While waiting his return, two rein-deer were seen running swiftly near them, pursued by a wolf; but the latter, on perceiving the party, fled away when within a few paces of the hindmost of the deer. On the return of the guide, he said that he had discovered the Copper-mine River, at a distant part of the lake; and they immediately proceeded towards it. The canoes and stores were dragged over the ice, and passing two hazardous rapids, they approached the Copper-mine River. It was two hundred yards wide at this place, and the sides were well covered with wood. At this place Akaitcho and several of the Indians met them, and stated that their companions were

behind, having placed five rein-deer under cover for the party. These were immediately sent for.

They embarked at nine in the morning on the 2nd of July, and descended a succession of strong rapids for three miles. They were carried along with rapidity, shooting over large stones, upon which a single stroke would have been destructive to the canoes, and were also in danger of breaking them, for the want of the long poles which lie along their bottoms and equalize their cargoes, as they plunged very much, and on one occasion the first canoe was almost filled with the waves. In one place the passage was blocked up by drift ice, still deeply covered with snow. A channel for the canoes was made for some distance with the hatchets and poles; but on reaching the more compact part, they were under the necessity of transporting the canoes and cargoes across it; an operation of much hazard, as the snow concealed the numerous holes which the water had made in the ice.

The guide was again in doubt as to the correctness of his rout, and the party rested for the day while the guide and two men were sent to examine the country. In the evening some of the hunters arrived, and stated that it was reported the party had perished in crossing one of the rapids. This arose from the circumstance of one of the dogs having two days before set off in pursuit of some deer, and finding the encampment of the hunters, had joined them; and these people being always disposed to apprehensions and fears, concluded that this dog had escaped alone. The consequence of these surmises was, that leaving the meat they had collected, they set out for the place at which they supposed Long-legs was hunting, and the distance they had left the meat behind was too great for them to return and fetch it. Akaitcho and the hunters now therefore proceeded forwards to a spot eminent for the success which the hunters met with, and where they calculated upon meeting with plenty of deer.

In passing through the rapids which they had crossed, the boats had sustained considerable injury, and Captain Frank-

lin now ordered that in future no rapid should be entered until the bowman had examined whether it were safe to go through it, as otherwise they were directed to land and convey the canoes over. Having given these directions, early in the morning of the 4th of July the party again set forward, and on the same day passed through several dangerous rapids, the persons in charge of the boats taking the precaution, wherever any hazard appeared, of landing several of the articles ; yet notwithstanding all their care, the bark of one of their canoes was split. The damage however was soon repaired. After this they came to a part of the river where the drift ice had accumulated so as to fill the channel, and they were compelled to carry the cargoes and canoes over it. In doing this, three of the people fell through, but sustained no other inconvenience than a thorough wetting.

After travelling upwards of twenty miles they encamped, and received the agreeable intelligence that Akaitcho and his hunters had killed eight musk oxen. Some of the party were sent off to assist in bringing in this seasonable supply.

The musk oxen, like the buffalo, herd together in bands, and generally frequent the barren grounds during the summer months, keeping near the rivers, but retire to the woods in winter. They seem to be less watchful than most other wild animals, and when grazing are not difficult to approach, provided the hunters go against the wind ; when two or three men get so near a herd as to fire at them from different points, these animals instead of separating or running away, huddle closer together, and several are generally killed ; but if the wound is not mortal they become enraged and dart in the most furious manner at the hunters, who must be very dexterous to evade them. They can defend themselves by their powerful horns against the wolves and bears, which, as the Indians say, they not unfrequently kill. They feed on the same substance with the rein-deer, and the prints of the feet of these two animals are so much alike, that it requires the eye of an experienced hunter to distinguish them. The

hunters added two more to their stock in the course of the night, and as they had now more meat than the party could consume fresh, they delayed their voyage next day to dry it. The hunters were supplied with more ammunition, and sent forward ; but Akaitcho, his brother, and another Indian, remained.

The officers had treated Akaitcho more distantly since their departure from Point Lake, to mark their opinion of his misconduct. The diligence in hunting, however, which he had evinced at this place, induced them to receive him more familiarly when he came to the tent. During conversation he endeavoured to excite suspicions against the Hook, by saying, " I am aware that you consider me the worst man of my nation ; but I know the Hook to be a great rogue, and I think he will disappoint you."

On the 6th, they again set forward, passing through several more rapids. On the following day they arrived at the Hook's encampment. There were with him at this time only three of the hunters, and some old men and their families, the remainder of his party remaining on the confines of Bear Lake. Keskarrab, one of the guides, had joined him some days previous, as had his brother Long-legs, and on meeting the Hook at once informed the captain what preparations he had made in respect of provisions for the party. He said that an unusual scarcity of animals this season, together with the circumstance of having only just received a supply of ammunition from Fort Providence, had prevented him from collecting the quantity of meat he had wished to do. The amount, indeed, he said, is very small, but I will cheerfully give you what I have : we are too much indebted to the white people, to allow them to want food on our lands, whilst we have any to give them. Our families can live on fish until we can procure more meat, but the season is too short to allow of your delaying, to gain subsistence in that manner. He immediately desired, aloud, that the women should bring all the meat they had ; and soon collected sufficient to make

three bags and a half of pemmican, besides some dried meat and tongues. The party were truly delighted by this prompt and cheerful behaviour, and would gladly have rewarded the kindness of himself and his companions by some substantial present, but were limited by the scantiness of their store to a small donation of fifteen charges of ammunition to each of the chiefs; however they accepted notes on the Northwest Company, to be paid at Fort Providence; and to these was subjoined an order for a few articles of clothing, as an additional present.

As the animals abound, at all times, on the borders of Bear Lake, the Hook promised to remain on the east side of it until the month of November, at a particular spot nearest to the Copper-mine River, from whence there is a communication by a chain of lakes and portages. There the principal deposit of provision was to be made; but during the summer the hunters were to be employed in putting up supplies of dried meat at convenient distances, not only along the communication from this river, but also upon its banks, as far down as the Copper Mountain. They were also to place particular marks to guide to their stores.

The confidence manifested by the Hook in the assurances of a liberal payment for what supplies he procured, was highly pleasing, and Captain Franklin promised to send the necessary documents by Mr. Wentzel. The great anxiety also which the Hook expressed for the safety and welfare of the party gave additional pleasure. After representing the numerous hardships they would have to encounter in the strongest manner, though in language similar to what had often been heard from Akaitcho, he earnestly entreated they would be constantly on guard against the treachery of the Esquimaux; and no less forcibly desired they would not proceed far along the coast, as they dreaded the consequences of being exposed to a tempestuous sea in canoes, and having to endure the cold of the autumn on a shore destitute of fuel. The Hook, having been an invalid for several years, rejoiced

at the opportunity of consulting Dr. Richardson, who immediately gave him advice, and supplied him with medicine.

Proceeding on their voyage, and passing the base of a range of hills, and through several rapids, they arrived at a place which exhibited manifest tokens of having been recently visited. They therefore encamped, and made a large fire as a signal, which was answered in a similar way. Mr. Wentzel was immediately sent, in expectation of getting provision for them. On his return, they learned that the party consisted of three old Copper Indians, with their families, who had supported themselves with the bow and arrow since last autumn, not having visited Fort Providence for more than a year; and so successful had they been, that they were enabled to supply the party with upwards of seventy pounds of dried meat, and six moose skins fit for making shoes, which were the more valuable as they were apprehensive of being barefooted before the journey could be completed. They now came to a rapid which had been the theme of discourse with the Indians for many days, and which they had described as impassable in canoes. The river here descends for three quarters of a mile, in a deep, but narrow and crooked channel, which it has cut through the foot of a hill of six hundred feet high. It is confined between perpendicular cliffs, resembling stone walls, varying in height from eighty to one hundred and fifty feet, on which lies a mass of fine sand. The body of the river, pent within this narrow chasm, dashed furiously round the projecting rocky columns, and discharged itself at the northern extremity in a sheet of foam. The canoes, after being lightened of part of their cargoes, ran through this defile without sustaining any injury. In the evening the Indians made a large fire, as a signal to the Hook's party that they had passed the terrific rapid in safety. The hunters were sent forward to hunt at the Copper Mountains, under the superintendence of Adam, the interpreter, who received strict in-



junctions not to permit them to make any large fires, lest they should alarm straggling parties of the Esquimaux.

The latitude of their situation at this time was 67dg. 10min. longitude 116dg. 25min. They had provisions for fourteen days; although the weather was warm, much snow remained on the mountains. The Indians, knowing the course of the river to be now nothing but a succession of rapids, said it was useless to take the canoes any farther, but Captain Parry expecting that circumstances might arise which would require the use of a canoe, directed one to be conveyed with the party.

As they were now entering the confines of the Esquimaux country, the guides recommended caution, in lighting fires, lest they should discover themselves, adding that the same reason would lead them to travel as much as possible in the valleys, and to avoid crossing the tops of the hills. Large masses of ice twelve or fourteen feet thick, were still adhering to many parts of the bank, indicating the tardy departure of winter from this inhospitable land, but the earth around was rich with vegetation. In the evening two musk-oxen being seen on the beach, were pursued and killed. Whilst waiting to embark the meat, the Indians rejoined, and reported they had been attacked by a bear, which sprung upon them whilst they were conversing together. His attack was so sudden that they had not time to level their guns properly, and they all missed except Akaitcho, who, less confused than the rest, took deliberate aim, and shot the animal dead.

Being informed that they were now within a short distance of those parts which the Esquimaux always frequent, the tents were pitched and a party sent forward to examine the country. The remains of an Esquimaux residence were visible, and a watch was constantly kept to prevent surprise. The remainder of the party slept with their arms, ready to repel every assault; and Junius and Augustus, the two Esquimaux who were attached to the expedition, were sent forward to seek for an interview with some of their nation.

They were most desirous of being so employed ; and each concealing a brace of pistols in their dress, and being provided with looking glasses, beads, and other trinkets, prepared to depart. It was with much reluctance on the part of Captain Franklin that they were put in an exposed situation ; but they cheerfully engaged in the duty ; and putting on the Esquimaux dresses which had been prepared for them, and receiving directions to state to their people that the white men were desirous of promoting peace and reconciliation between them and the neighbouring nations, they set forward on their journey. They were also to enquire by what passage large ships might be sent to the Esquimaux people. If possible, he was to prevail on some of the people to return with him ; but if he found no inhabitants, he was to return without delay. The Indians were required at this time to keep within their encampment, and the solicitude for the welfare of the two Esquimaux was such as to induce the officers to ascend a hill which was near, for the purpose of ascertaining their return.

Dr. Richardson, having the first watch, had gone to the summit of the hill and remained seated, contemplating the river that washed the precipice under his feet, long after dusk had hid distant objects from his view. His thoughts were, perhaps, far distant from the surrounding scenery, when he was roused by an indistinct noise behind him, and on looking round, perceived that nine white wolves had ranged themselves in form of a crescent, and were advancing, apparently with the intention of driving him into the river. On his rising up they halted, and when he advanced they made way for his passage down to the tents. He had his gun in his hand, but forbore to fire, lest there should be Esquimaux in the neighbourhood. During Mr. Wentzel's middle watch, the wolves appeared repeatedly on the summit of the hill, and at one time they succeeded in driving a deer over the precipice. The animal was stunned by the

fall, but recovering itself, swam across the stream, and escaped up the river.

The night having passed away without the return of either Junius or Augustus, Captain Franklin resolved to seek for them. It was with difficulty that they prevailed on the Indians to remain at the encampment, which it was wished they should do, to prevent their being seen by the Esquimaux. Akaitcho was, as usual, full of fearful apprehensions, saying that Junius and Augustus must have been killed, and that no doubt the Esquimaux were collecting for the purpose of attacking the party. After much persuasion, however, he agreed to remain, provided Mr. Wentzel continued with them, which he accordingly did.

Having thus far succeeded, the party proceeded along the river, each person carrying a gun and a dagger. On ascending a hill to take a view of the country before them, to their great disappointment, no sea was discernible, but an extent of land bounded by a range of hills, quite contrary to what their guides led them to expect. In the course of the day they met Junius, who was returning to inform the party that they had found some Esquimaux tents at one of the Falls, on the opposite side of the river, the people in which were asleep; that they afterwards spake to them across the river, and told them of the arrival of some white people from a very distant part, and that they had brought some useful articles, to give the Esquimaux in token of peace. Junius said that they appeared considerably alarmed at the information; but that one of the party approached the shore on the side where Junius and Augustus were, and spake with the latter, who was able to converse with them, although there was some difficulty in making each other understand. After a few hours rest, Junius set out again to join Augustus, taking sufficient provisions with him, the want of which had given occasion to his present return. He was now accompanied by the seaman Hepburn, who was to follow at a short distance.

Soon after they were mortified by the appearance of the Indians with Mr. Wentzel, who had in vain endeavoured to restrain them from following. The only reason assigned by Akaitcho for his conduct was, that he wished for a re-assurance of the captain's promise to establish peace between his nation and the Esquimaux. He again enforced the necessity of their remaining behind, until the party had obtained the confidence and good will of their enemies. After supper, Dr. Richardson ascended a lofty hill about three miles from the encampment, and obtained the first view of the sea; it appeared to be covered with ice. A large promontory, and its lofty mountains, proved to be the land they had seen in the forenoon, and which had led them to believe the sea was still far distant. He saw the sun set a few minutes before midnight from the same elevated situation. It did not rise during the half hour he remained there, but before he reached the encampment its rays gilded the tops of the hills.

On the 15th of June they proceeded on their journey, restraining with difficulty the Indians from accompanying them, notwithstanding Captain Franklin threatened that he would withhold the reward he had promised them if they did not wait till he had prepared the Esquimaux to receive them. At noon they perceived Hepburn lying on the left bank of the river, and landed immediately to receive his information. As he represented the water to be shoal the whole way to be rapid (below which the Esquimaux were,) the shore party were directed to continue their march to a sandy bay at the head of the fall, and there await the arrival of the canoes. Some of the men incautiously appeared just as Augustus was speaking to one of the Esquimaux, who had again approached in his canoe, and was almost persuaded to land. The unfortunate appearance of so many people at this instant, revived his fears, and he crossed over to the eastern bank of the river and fled with the whole of the party. They learned from Augustus that this party, con-

sisting of four men and as many women, had manifested a friendly disposition. Two of the former were very tall. The man who first came to speak to him, inquired the number of canoes that he had with them, expressed himself to be not displeased at their arrival, and desired him to caution the party not to attempt running the rapid, but to make the portage on the west side of the river. Notwithstanding this favourable appearance, the Esquimaux soon after fled; but it was hoped that they would return after their first alarm had subsided; and therefore Augustus and Junius were sent across the river to look for the runaways, but their search was entirely fruitless. They afterwards put a few pieces of iron and trinkets in their canoes, which were lying on the beach. Several human skulls, which bore the marks of violence, and many bones were strewed about the ground near the encampment, and as the spot exactly answers the description given by Mr. Hearne, where the Chipewyans who accompanied him had perpetrated the dreadful massacre on the Esquimaux, no doubt was made of this being the place, notwithstanding the difference in its position as to latitude and longitude given by him.

On the morning of the 16th three men were sent up the river to search for dried wood to make floats for the nets. Adam the interpreter was also dispatched with a Canadian, to inform Akaitcho of the flight of the Esquimaux. Adam soon returned in the utmost consternation, and said that a party of Esquimaux were pursuing the men who had been sent to collect floats. They had come quite unawares upon the Esquimaux party, which consisted of six men, with their women and children, who were travelling towards the rapid with a considerable number of dogs carrying their baggage. The women hid themselves on the first alarm, but the men advanced, and stopping at some distance from the party, began to dance in a circle, tossing up their hands in the air, and accompanying their motions with much shouting, to signify, as we supposed, their desire of peace.

Neither party was willing to approach the other ; and at length the Esquimaux retired to the hill, from whence they had descended when first seen. They proceeded in the hope of gaining an interview with them, and on the summit of the hill they found, lying behind a stone, an old man who was too infirm to effect his escape with the rest. He was much terrified when Augustus advanced, and probably expected immediate death ; but that the fatal blow might not be unrevenged, he seized his spear, and made a thrust with it at his supposed enemy. Augustus, however, easily repressed the feeble effort, and soon calmed his fears by presenting him with some pieces of iron, and assuring him of his friendly intentions. Dr. Richardson and Captain Franklin then joined them, and after receiving some presents, the old man was quite composed, and became communicative. His dialect differed from that used by Augustus, but they understood each other tolerably well.

The old man said that the party who accompanied him, amounted to seven persons with their families. He had heard, he said, of white men having been seen by some of his nation, a considerable distance to the eastward. In reply to enquiries addressed to him, he said that drift wood would be found along the coast, that fish were plentiful, that seals were abundant ; and that it was usual with his nation at this season to come into these parts to procure salmon, which were now abundant about the Bloody Fall. He said his name was White Fox and that his tribe called themselves the Deer Horn Esquimaux. He said that at the conclusion of the time for catching salmon they removed to the westward, where they built themselves snow-houses on the borders of a river. After this White Fox proposed to go to his store ; but appearing too infirm to walk without the help of sticks, Augustus assisted him ; and when arrived there he presented some dried meat to each of the party, which being considered among these people as an offer of peace, was eaten by them although it was far from being sweet. Being given to un-

derstand that the party wanted provisions, he said that the had a good supply for them, which he would shew them.

Captain Franklin now communicated to him that they were accompanied by some Copper Indians, who were very desirous to make peace with his nation, and that they had requested him to prevail upon the Esquimaux to receive them in a friendly manner; to which he replied, "He should rejoice to see an end put to the hostility that existed between the nations, and therefore would most gladly welcome them." Having dispatched Adam to inform Akaitcho of this circumstance, they left White Fox, in the hope that his party would rejoin him; but as they had doubts whether the young men would venture upon coming to the tents, on the old man's bare representation, Augustus and Junius were sent back in the evening, to remain with him until they came, that they might fully detail their intentions.

White Fox was bent with age, but appeared to be about five feet ten inches high. His hands and feet were small in proportion to his height. Whenever he received a present, he placed each article first on his right shoulder, and then on his left; and when he wished to express still higher satisfaction, he rubbed it over his head. He held hatchets, and other iron instruments, in the highest esteem. On seeing his countenance in a glass for the first time, he exclaimed, "I shall never kill deer more," and immediately put the mirror down. The tribe to which he belongs repair to the sea in spring, and kill seals; as the season advances they hunt deer and musk oxen at some distance from the coast. Their weapon is the bow and arrow, and they get sufficiently nigh the deer, either by crawling, or by leading these animals by ranges of turf towards a spot where the archer conceals himself. Their bows are formed of three pieces of fir, the centre piece alone bent, the other two lying in the same straight line with the bowstring; the pieces are neatly tied together with sinew. Their canoes are similar to those in Hudson's Straits, but smaller. They get fish constantly in the rivers,

and in the sea as soon as the ice breaks up. This tribe do not make use of nets, but are tolerably successful with the hook and line. Their cooking utensils are made of pot-stone, and they form very neat dishes of fir, the sides being made of thin deal bent into an oval form, secured at the ends by sewing, and fitted so nicely to the bottom as to be perfectly water-tight. They have also large spoons made of the horns of the musk oxen.

Akaitcho arrived in the evening, and it appeared that he had seen the Esquimaux the day before, and sought to hold correspondence with them; but that they appeared fearful to advance. Akaitcho followed them at a distance, and sought so to surround them that they would be reduced to the necessity of meeting either with the English party, or with the Indians. He had obtained an interview with White Fox, who at first manifested a hostile spirit, but was soon pacified on finding that the Indians were friendly disposed.

As Junius and Augustus did not return, Mr. Hood and a party of men were sent in search of them. They found that White Fox's wife had been with him, who said that all the Esquimaux had gone to a distance, where some of their people were fishing. In the course of the day, a party of Esquimaux were observed at a short distance, but as soon as they saw Captain Franklin's people they fled with precipitation. On the other hand such fearful apprehensions took hold of Akaitcho and his people that they resolved to proceed no farther. They expressed their fears lest their retreat should be cut off; and although Captain Franklin endeavoured to prevail on them to continue, by offers of considerable advantage, nothing could overcome their fears; he then requested them to wait at the Copper Mountains for Mr. Wentzel and the men who were to return, on the party arriving at the sea, which after much persuasion they agreed to do, and then departed after promising to provide a deposit of provisions at Fort Enterprise, for the use of the party on their return.

Pierre St. Germain and Jean Baptiste Adam, two of the  
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interpreters, were also impressed with such fearful apprehensions for their safety, that they solicited to be discharged; and the former declared that he had only engaged to accompany the party with the Indians, and that therefore when they returned, he was also to be discharged. As, however, a written engagement had been made with St. Germain, he was quickly silenced on being shewn the written contract which he had entered into. The assistance which St. Germain and Baptiste Adam also were of in procuring provisions by hunting were so important that their return would have exposed the party to many difficulties. Notwithstanding these ties, Captain Franklin was informed that they meditated the taking the first opportunity of quitting the party, and it was necessary to watch their conduct until the Indians departed, as they were in too much dread of the Esquimaux to quit alone.

On the 18th of July, Captain Franklin and his companions embarked on the Copper-mine River, and proceeded to the sea, which they reached in a few hours. The Canadian voyagers complained much of the cold, but they were amused with their first view of the sea, and particularly with the sight of the seals that were swimming about near the entrance of the river; but these sensations gave place to despondency before the evening had elapsed. They were terrified at the idea of a voyage through an icy sea in bark canoes. They speculated on the length of the journey, the roughness of the waves, the uncertainty of provisions, the exposure to cold where they could expect no fuel, and the prospect of having to traverse the barren grounds to get to some establishment. The two interpreters expressed their apprehensions with the least disguise, and again urgently applied to be discharged; but only one of the Canadians made a similar request. Judging that the constant occupation of their time as soon as they were enabled to commence the voyage would prevent them from conjuring up so many causes of fear, and that familiarity with the scenes on the coast, would in a short time ena-

ble them to give scope to their natural cheerfulness, the officers endeavoured to ridicule their fears, and happily succeeded for the present. The manner in which Hepburn viewed the element to which he had been so long accustomed, contributed not a little to make them ashamed of their fears.

On the morning of the 19th, Dr. Richardson, accompanied by Augustus, paid another visit to White Fox, to see if he could obtain any additional information respecting the country to the eastward; but he was disappointed at finding that his affrighted family had not yet rejoined him, and the old man could add nothing to his former communication. Dr. Richardson remarked that he had a great dislike to mentioning the name of a river to the westward, and also of his tribe. He attempted to persuade Augustus to remain with him, and offered him one of his daughters for a wife. These Esquimaux strike fire with two stones, catching the sparks in the down of the catkins of a willow.

Mr. Wentzel and some others of the party being to return from this place, Captain Franklin made up a packet to be conveyed by them to England. Those who were to remain with him consisted of twenty persons, including officers. The course which they would probably pursue, was drawn out and laid before Mr. Wentzel, and he was requested to require the Indians to provide a supply of dried provisions at Fort Enterprise as early in the winter as they could; that in case the party were prevented by the severity of the weather from returning by the Copper-mine River, and were compelled to travel across the country, they might be sure of a sufficient supply at Fort Enterprise. In case the Indians should be in want of ammunition, he was desired to obtain a supply from Fort Providence or some other port, and to send it to the Indians in order that there might be no occasion of excuse on their part. Mr. Wentzel was also to leave a letter at Fort Enterprise with information where the Indians would hunt in the months of September and October. He was also

furnished with a list of the stores that had been promised to Akaitcho and his party as a remuneration for their services, as well as with an official request to the North-west Company that these goods might be paid to them on their next visit to Fort Providence, which they expected to make in the latter part of November.

If Mr. Wentzel met the Hook, or any of his party, he was instructed to assure them that he was provided with the necessary documents to get them payment for any meat they should provide; and to acquaint them, that Captain Franklin fully relied on their fulfilling every part of the agreement they had made. Whenever the Indians, whom he was to join at the Copper Mountains, killed any animals on their way to Fort Enterprise, he was requested to put in store whatever meat could be spared, placing conspicuous marks to guide to them. When Mr. Wentzel's party had been supplied with ammunition, the remaining stock consisted of one thousand balls, and rather more than the requisite proportion of powder. A bag of small shot was missing, and it was afterwards discovered that the Canadians had secreted and distributed it among themselves, in order that when provision should become scarce, they might privately procure ducks and geese, and avoid the necessity of sharing them with the officers. The situation of the encampment was ascertained to be latitude  $67^{\circ} 47' 50''$  north, longitude  $115^{\circ} 36' 49''$  west. The travelling distance from Fort Enterprise to the north of Copper-mine River, is about three hundred and thirty-four miles. The canoes and baggage were dragged over snow and ice for one hundred and seventeen miles of this distance.

On the 21st, the party embarked on the Arctic Sea. They had with them provision for only a fortnight's consumption, with very doubtful prospects as to their future supplies. They shortly after landed on an island which showed that it had been visited by the Esquimaux. There was a quantity of fishing implements, and also many skins of the seals, musk-

ox, and rein-deer. There were also various kinds of cooking implements, and many other articles which appeared to be manufactured with great ingenuity, the uses of which could not be understood. As they approached they found the coast well covered with vegetation, and a considerable quantity of drift wood was found upon the beach. They made a run of nearly forty miles along the coast in an eastern direction, and were full of spirits at the progress they made. In the evening they landed, and passed the night on shore.

On the 22nd, they again set forwards in their canoes, sailing along the coast to the eastward, and making their way through various detached pieces of ice, in which they found themselves often exposed to dangers. According as the wind blew over the ice or from the land, they found a great difference in the temperature of the air. They noticed many geese and ducks and a few deer. On the 23rd, the wind having blown from the land during the night, the ice was cleared away from the coast, and they again proceeded on their voyage; but the wind after a short time becoming adverse, they were obliged to land, and taking the opportunity of using their nets, they caught a few fish. On ascending a cliff to take a view of the sea, the ice also appeared to have been driven around them in all directions. On observation their latitude was  $67^{\circ} 42'$  north, and their longitude  $112^{\circ} 30'$  west. On the 24th they saw indications that some Esquimaux had recently been in that neighbourhood.

On the 25th they embarked at six o'clock in the morning and paddled against a cold breeze, until the spreading of a thick fog compelled them to land. The rocks here consisted of a beautiful mixture of red and grey granite, traversed from north to south by veins of red felspar, which were crossed in various directions by smaller veins filled with the same substance. At noon the wind coming from a favourable quarter, they were tempted to proceed, although the fog was unabated. Just as they were endeavouring to double a bold cape, the fog partially cleared away, and allowed an

imperfect view of a chain of islands on the outside, and of much heavy ice which was pressing down. The coast near them was so extremely steep and rugged that no landing of the cargoes could be effected, and they were preserved only by some men jumping on the rocks, and thrusting the ice off with poles. There was no alternative but to continue along this dreary shore, seeking a channel between the different masses of ice which had accumulated at the various points. In this operation both the canoes were in imminent danger of being crushed by the ice, which was now tossed about by the waves that the gale had excited. They effected a passage, however, and keeping close to the shore, landed at the entrance of what they named Detention Harbour, having come 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.

On the 26th they embarked at four o'clock in the morning and attempted to force a passage, when the first canoe got enclosed, and remained for some time in a very perilous situation; the pieces of ice, crowded together by the action of the current and wind, pressing strongly against its feeble sides. A partial opening, however, occurring, they landed without having sustained any serious injury. Two men were then sent round the bay, and it was ascertained that instead of having entered a narrow passage between an island and the main, they were at the mouth of an harbour, having an island at its entrance; and that it was necessary to return by the way they came, and get round a point to the northward. This was, however, impracticable, the channel being blocked up by drift ice; and there was no prospect of release except by a change of the wind. In the afternoon the weather cleared up, and several men went hunting, but were unsuccessful.

On the morning of the 27th, the ice remaining stationary, they carried the canoes and cargoes about a mile and a half across a point of land that formed the east side of the bay;

but the ice was not more favourable there than at the place they had left. It consisted of small pieces closely packed together by the wind, extending along the shore, but leaving a clear passage beyond a chain of islands with which the whole of this coast is girt.

As the ice continued in the same state the following day, several of the men were sent out to hunt ; and one of them fired no less than four times at deer, but unfortunately without success. It was satisfactory, however, to ascertain that the country was not destitute of animals. They had the mortification to discover that two of the bags of pemmican, which was their principal reliance, had become mouldy by wet. The beef too had been so badly cured, as to be scarcely eatable, through their having been compelled, from haste, to dry it by fire instead of the sun. It was not, however, the quality of the provision that gave them uneasiness, but its diminution, and the utter incapacity to obtain any addition. Seals were the only animals seen at this place, and these they could never approach. There was a sharp frost in the night, which formed a pretty thick crust of ice in a kettle of water that stood in the tents ; and for several nights thin films of ice appeared on the salt water amongst the cakes of stream ice. Notwithstanding this state of temperature, they were tormented by swarms of musquitoes.

On the morning of the 29th the party attended divine service. About noon the party embarked, having consumed all the fuel within reach. The wind came off the land just as the canoes had started, and they determined on attempting to force a passage along the shore ; in which they succeeded, after seven hours' labour and much hazard to the vessels. The ice lay so close that the crews disembarked on it, and effected a passage by bearing against the pieces with their poles ; but in conducting the canoes through the narrow channels thus formed, the greatest care was requisite, to prevent the sharp projecting points from breaking the bark. They

fortunately received no material injury, though they were split in two places.

At the distance of three miles, they came to the entrance of a deep bay, whose bottom was filled by a body of ice so compact as to preclude the idea of a passage through it; whilst at the same time, the traverse across its mouth was attended with much danger, from the approach of a large field of ice, which was driving down before the wind. The dread of detention, however, induced them to proceed, and in an hour and a half they landed on the opposite shore, where they halted to repair the canoes and to dine.

On the 30th they breakfasted on a small deer which St. Germain had killed; and sent men in pursuit of some others in sight, but with which they did not come up. Re-embarking, they passed a river without perceiving it. Their stock of provision being now reduced to eight days' consumption, it had become a matter of the first importance to obtain a supply; and as they had learned from White Fox that the Esquimaux frequent the rivers at this season, Captain Franklin determined on seeking a communication with them here, in the hope of obtaining relief for their present wants, or even shelter for the winter, if the season should prevent returning either to the Hook's party, or Fort Enterprise; and he was the more induced to take this step at this time, as several deer had been seen, and the river appeared good for fishing. Augustus, Junius, and Hepburn, were therefore furnished with necessary presents, and desired to go along the bank of the river as far they could, on the following day, in search of the natives, to obtain provision and leather, as well as information respecting the coast.

Having dispatched Hepburn and the Esquimaux, others of the party were employed in setting the nets. They met however with but little success in fishing, as they caught only one salmon and five small fish. The hunters, who had been sent out to procure provision, returned the next day, bringing in two small deer and a bear, and shortly after another

hunter brought in a deer. The party who had been sent to look for the Esquimaux also returned, not having met with any persons on their journey.

On the 1st of August the party proceeded down the inlet, and afterwards running along the eastern shore, rounded a point of land which they named Point Wollaston, and then opened on an extensive sheet of water. Approaching a small island, they entered a bay and pitched their tents on the shore. Being confined the following day by the rising of a strong gale of wind, the hunters were sent out, while some of the officers walked to the top of some hills to take a view of their situation, and to ascertain whether they were amid a cluster of islands or near the continent, the broken appearance of the land rendering the circumstance doubtful whether they were skirting the shores of the sea, or proceeding through a large inlet. Under these impressions they often landed and ascended the highest hills to ascertain their situation. After continuing their voyage until the 5th, they had the mortification to find the inlet terminated in a small river; and sailing back to the opposite shore, were until the 10th of August before they again entered upon the open sea. In the course of their progress through this inlet, Junius killed a musk-ox, and others of the party killed two bears, and a few lean deer. The bears were fat and in good condition, and the Canadian voyagers, who had been disposed to complain from the fear of a scantiness of food, were highly pleased at feeding on the fat meat of the bear.

On the 11th they rounded a point which was named Point Everitt, and then encountered a strong breeze and heavy swell, which by causing the canoes to pitch very much, greatly impeded their progress. Some deer being seen grazing in a valley near the beach, they landed and sent St. Germain and Adam in pursuit of them, who soon killed three, which were very small and lean. Their appearance, however, quite revived the spirits of the men, who had suspected that the deer had retired to the woods. Resuming the



voyage after noon, they proceeded along the coast, which is fringed by islands ; and at five in the afternoon, entered another bay, where they were for sometime involved in difficulties by the intricacy of the passages ; but having cleared them in the afternoon, they encamped near the northern entrance of the bay, at a spot which had recently been visited by a small party of Esquimaux, as the remains of some eggs containing young were lying beside some half-burnt wood. There were also several piles of stones put up by them.

Embarking at four on the morning of the 12th, they proceeded against a fresh piercing north-east wind, which raised the waves to a height that quite terrified some of the people, accustomed only to the navigation of rivers and lakes. They resolved, however, to persevere, feeling that the short season for operations was hastening away ; but after rounding Cape Croker the wind became so strong that they could proceed no farther, and encamped for the night. On the following day a paddle was found, which Augustus, on examination, declared to be made after the fashion of the White Goose Esquimaux, a tribe with whom his countrymen had had some trading communication. Some articles left by them attracted attention ; they found a winter sledge raised upon four stones, with some snow-shovels, a small piece of whale-bone, an ice-chisel, a knife, and some beads.

Most of the head-lands they now visited shewed that the Esquimaux had been upon them. On the 24th they saw some geese and swans, and also several deer, but the country being open they easily escaped. In the evening, after the tents were pitched, Mr. Back stated that the canoes were materially damaged. On examination it appeared that fifteen timbers of one of the canoes were broken, and that the others were so loose in the frame, that there was danger of the bark separating if exposed to a heavy sea. Distressing as were these circumstances, they gave less pain than the discovery that the voyagers, who had hitherto displayed a courage beyond expectation, now felt serious apprehensions

for their safety, which so possessed their minds that they were not restrained even by the presence of their officers from expressing them. Their fears had been principally excited by the interpreters, St. Germain and Adam, who from the outset had foreboded every calamity.

The strong breezes which now prevailed and other circumstances indicated that the winter was fast setting in, and severe weather was to be expected. Destitute as the country was of fuel, and reduced as their stock of provision now was to about three days consumption, it became the duty of Captain Franklin to be careful for the safety of his people. Though rein-deer were seen, they could not be easily approached on the level shores they were now coasting, besides it was to be apprehended they would soon migrate to the south. It was evident that the time spent in exploring the sounds and inlets had precluded the hope of reaching Repulse Bay, which at the outset of the voyage they had fondly cherished; and it was equally obvious that as the distance from any of the trading establishments would increase as they proceeded, the hazardous traverse across the barren grounds, which they would have to make, if compelled to abandon the canoes upon any part of the coast, would become greater.

On stating to the officers his sentiments on these points, their opinions coincided with his own. All were convinced of the necessity of putting a speedy termination to their voyage, as a hope of meeting the Esquimaux and of their procuring provision from them, could now scarcely be retained; but yet all were desirous of proceeding, until the land should be seen trending again to the eastward. As it was needful, however, at all events, to set a limit to their voyage, it was determined to return in the course of four days, unless they should meet the Esquimaux, and be enabled to make some arrangement for passing the winter with them. This communication was joyfully received by the men, and it was hoped that the industry of the hunters being thus excited, they should be able to add to their stock of provision.

On the 16th of August they paddled along the coast for several miles, until at length a thick fog compelled them to land on a point of land to which they gave the name of Slate Clay Point. At this place they found marks of its having been visited by the Esquimaux, although none were now to be seen. A human skull was also found set up on a conspicuous part. Continuing their progress along the coast, they passed a deep bay, and rounding a point of land which they named Cape Flinders, proceeded northward, with an open sea, quite clear of islands. This view of the great expanse of waters excited great astonishment in the Canadian voyagers, who had not before obtained an uninterrupted view of the ocean.

They continued their course along the coast until evening, when a change in the wind and a threatening thunder squall caused them to encamp; but the water was so shallow, that they found some difficulty in approaching the shore. Large pieces of drift wood evidenced that they had finally escaped from the bays. Their tents were scarcely pitched before they were assailed by a heavy squall and rain, which was succeeded by a violent gale from west-north-west, which thrice overset the tents during the night. The wind blew with equal violence on the following day, and the sea rolled furiously upon the beach. The Canadians had now an opportunity of witnessing the effect of a storm upon the sea; and the sight increased their desire of quitting it.

The hunters were sent out, and saw many deer, but the flatness of the country defeated their attempts to approach them; they brought, however, a few unfledged geese. As there was no appearance of increasing their stock of provision, the allowance was limited to a handful of pemmican, and a small portion of portable soup to each man per day. The latitude was  $68^{\circ} 18' N.$ , longitude  $110^{\circ} 5' W.$

On August 18th the stormy weather and sea continuing, there was no prospect of being able to embark. Dr. Richardson, Mr. Back, and Captain Franklin, therefore, set out

on foot to discover whether the land within a day's march inclined more to the east. They went from ten to twelve miles along the coast, which continued flat, and kept the same direction as the encampment. The most distant land had the same bearing north-north-east, and appeared like two islands, which was estimated to be six or seven miles off; the shore on their side seemingly trended more to the east, so that it is probable Point Turnagain, for so this spot was named, forms the pitch of a low flat cape.

Augustus killed a deer in the afternoon, but the men were not able to find it. The hunters found the burrows of a number of white foxes, and Hepburn killed one of those animals, which proved excellent eating, equal to the young geese, with which it was boiled, and far superior to the lean deer upon the coast. Large flocks of geese passed over the tents, flying to the southward. The lowest temperature to-day was 38°.

Though Point Turnagain is only six degrees and a half to the east of the mouth of the Copper-mine River, they sailed, in tracing the deeply indented coast, five hundred and fifty-five geographic miles, which is little less than the direct distance between the Copper-mine River and Repulse Bay. Having extended his voyage to the utmost limits which the season and circumstances would admit, Captain Franklin now contemplated his return. To have attempted to proceed would have been to have put the lives of the people under his charge to the greatest hazard. With scarcely any provisions, and failing of all intercourse with the Esquimaux, it would have been an unjustifiable circumstance to delay any longer their return. It therefore became a matter of deep importance to determine by what rout they should proceed. His original intention had been to return by the Copper-mine River, and in pursuance of arrangements with the Hook to travel to Slave Lake, through the line of woods extending thither by the Great Bear and Martin Lakes; but the scanty stock of their provision and the length of the voyage rendered

it necessary to make for a nearer place. They had found that the country, in the direction of the Copper-mine River, would not supply their wants, and this it seemed probable would now be still more the case at this advanced season; and they had to expect the frequent recurrence of gales, which would cause great detention, if not danger, in proceeding along that very rocky part of the coast. He determined, therefore, to make at once for Arctic Sound, where they had found the animals more numerous than at any other place; and entering Hood's River, to advance up that stream as far as it was navigable, and then to construct small canoes out of the materials of the larger ones, which could be carried in crossing the barren grounds to Fort Enterprise. They remained at their encampment until the 22nd, and during their stay, Junius, Belanger, and Michel were sent to search for a deer which had been killed.

Junius returned in the evening, bringing part of the meat, but owing to the thickness of the weather, his companions parted from him and did not make their appearance. Divine service was read. On the 20th they were presented with the most chilling prospect, the small pools of water being frozen over, the ground covered with snow, and the thermometer at the freezing point at mid-day. Flights of geese were passing to the southward. The wind, however, was moderate, having changed to the eastward. Considerable anxiety now prevailing respecting Belanger and Michel, others were sent out to look for them. The search was successful, and they all returned in the evening. The stragglers were much fatigued, and had suffered severely from the cold, one of them having his thighs frozen, and what under present circumstances was most grievous, they had thrown away all the meat. The wind during the night returned to the north-west quarter, blew more violently than ever, and raised a very turbulent sea, the snow remained on the ground, and the small pools were frozen. The hunters were sent out, but they returned after a fatiguing day's march without

having seen any animals, and they made a scanty meal off a handful of pemmican, after which only half a bag remained. Cheered by the prospect of returning, the men shewed the utmost alacrity on embarking; and, paddling with unusual vigour, they crossed Riley's and Walker's Bays, a distance of twenty miles, before noon, when they landed on Slate-Clay Point, as the wind had freshened too much to permit them to continue the voyage. The whole party went to hunt, but returned without success in the evening, drenched with the heavy rain which commenced soon after they had set out. Several deer were seen, but could not be approached in this naked country; and as their stock of pemmican did not admit of serving out two meals, they went dinnerless to bed. It is a curious coincidence, that this Expedition left Point Turnagain on August 22nd, on the same day that Captain Parry sailed out of Repulse Bay. The parties were then distant from each other 539 miles.

A severe frost caused them to pass a comfortless night on the 23rd, and in the afternoon of that day they launched out to make a traverse of fifteen miles across Melville Sound, before a strong wind and heavy sea. The privation of food under which the voyagers were then labouring absorbed every other terror, otherwise the most powerful persuasion could not have induced them to attempt such a traverse. It was with the utmost difficulty that the canoes were kept from turning their broadsides to the waves, though they sometimes steered with all the paddles. One of them narrowly escaped being overset by this accident, which occurred in a mid-channel, where the waves were so high that the mast-head of one canoe was often hid from the other, though it was sailing within hail.

On the 24th they crossed the entrance of the bay, which had before taken them so many days in sailing up, and landed on an island near the opposite shore. Some deer being seen on the beach, the hunters went in pursuit of them, and succeeded in killing three females, which enabled them to save

their last remaining meal of pemmican. They saw also some fresh tracks of musk-oxen on the banks of a small stream which flowed into a lake in the centre of the island. These animals must have crossed a channel at least three miles wide, to reach the nearest of these islands. On the 25th the hunters killed two deer, which relieved them from apprehension of immediate want of food. From the deer assembling at this time in numbers on the islands nearest to the coast, it was conjectured that they were about to retire to the main shore. Those they saw were generally females with their young, and all of them very lean.

Leaving this island they entered Hood's River, which they ascended as high as the first rapid and encamped. Here terminated their voyage on the Arctic Sea, during which they had gone over six hundred and fifty geographical miles. The Canadian voyagers could not restrain their joy at having turned their backs on the sea, and passed the evening in talking over their past adventures with much humour and no little exaggeration. The consideration that the most painful, and certainly the most hazardous part of the journey, was yet to come, did not depress their spirits at all. It is due to their character to mention that they displayed much courage in encountering the dangers of the sea, magnified to them by their novelty.

On leaving their encampment on the 26th of August, an assortment of iron materials, beads, looking-glasses, and other articles, were put up in a conspicuous situation for the Esquimaux, and the English Union was planted on the loftiest sand-hill, where it might be seen by any ships passing in the offing. Here also was deposited, in a tin box, a letter containing an outline of the proceedings, the latitude and longitude of the principal places, and the course they intended to pursue towards Slave Lake. Embarking at eight in the morning, they proceeded up the river which is full of sandy shoals, but sufficiently deep for canoes in the channels. It is from one hundred to two hundred yards

wide, and bounded by high and steep banks of clay. Bear and deer tracks had been numerous on the banks of the river when they were here before, but not a single recent one was to be seen at this time. Credit, however, killed a small deer at some distance inland, which, with the addition of berries, furnished a delightful repast. The weather was remarkably fine, and the temperature so mild, that the mosquitoes again made their appearance, but not in any great numbers. The next morning the net furnished ten white fish and trout. Having made a further deposit of iron work for the Esquimaux, they pursued their journey up the river, but the shoals and rapids in this part were so frequent, that they walked along the banks the whole day, and the crews laboured hard in carrying the canoes, when lightened, over the shoals or dragging them up the rapids. The walls of a chasm through which the river flowed were two hundred feet high, quite perpendicular, and in some places few yards apart. The river precipitates itself into it over a rock, forming two magnificent and picturesque falls close to each other. The upper fall is about sixty feet high, and the lower one at least one hundred; but perhaps considerably more, for the narrowness of the chasm into which it fell prevented them from seeing its bottom, and they could merely discern the top of the spray far beneath their feet. The lower fall is divided into two, by an insulated column of rock which rises about forty feet above it. The whole descent of the river at this place was about two hundred and fifty feet. Captain Franklin named these magnificent cascades "Wilberforce Falls," as a tribute of respect for that distinguished philanthropist and christian. The river being surveyed from the summit of a hill, above these falls, appeared so rapid and shallow, that it seemed useless to attempt proceeding any farther in the large canoes, he therefore determined on constructing out of their materials two smaller ones of sufficient size to contain three persons, for the purpose of crossing any river that might obstruct their progress. This operation was



accordingly commenced, and by the 31st both the canoes being finished, they set out on the following day.

The leather which had been preserved for making shoes was equally divided among the men, two pair of flannel socks were given to each person, and such articles of warm clothing as remained, were issued to those who most required them. They were also furnished with one of the officers' tents. This being done, Captain Franklin communicated to the men his intention of proceeding in as direct a course as possible to a part of Point Lake, which was only distant one hundred and forty-nine miles in a straight line. The people received the communication cheerfully, considered the journey to be short, and were in high spirits. The stores, books, &c. which were not absolutely necessary to be carried, were left behind, in order that the men's burdens might be as light as possible.

The next morning was warm, and very fine. Every one was on the alert at an early hour, being anxious to commence the journey. The luggage consisted of ammunition, nets, bathets, ice chisels, astronomical instruments, clothing, blankets, three kettles, and two canoes, which were each carried by one man. The officers carried such a portion of their own things as their strength would permit; the weight carried by each man was about ninety pounds, and with this they advanced at the rate of about a mile an hour, including rests. In the evening the hunters killed a lean cow, out of a large drove of musk-oxen; but the men were too much laden to carry more than a small portion of its flesh. The alluvial soil, which towards the mouth of the river was covered with grass and willows, was now more barren and hilly, so that they could but just collect sufficient brushwood to cook their suppers. About midnight their tent was blown down by a squall, and they were completely drenched with rain before it could be re-pitched.

On the morning of the 1st of September, a fall of snow took place; the canoes became a cause of delay, from the

difficulty of carrying them in a high wind, and they sustained much damage through the fall of those who had charge of them. At the end of eleven miles they encamped, and sent for a musk-ox and a deer which St. Germain and Augustus had killed. The day was extremely cold, the thermometer varying between  $34^{\circ}$  and  $36^{\circ}$ . In the afternoon a heavy fall of snow took place, on the wind changing from north-west to south-west. They found no wood at the encampment, but made a fire of moss to cook the supper, and crept under their blankets for warmth.

Having ascertained from the summit of the highest hill near the tents, that the river continued to preserve a west course; and fearing that by pursuing it further they might lose much time, and unnecessarily walk over a great deal of ground, Capt. Franklin determined on quitting its banks the next day, and making as directly as they could for Point Lake. They accordingly followed the river on the 3d, only to the place where a musk-ox had been killed, and after the meat was procured, crossed the river in the two canoes lashed together.

Having walked twelve miles and a half, on the 4th, they encamped at seven in the afternoon, and distributed their last piece of pemmican, and a little arrow-root for supper, which afforded but a scanty meal. This evening was warm, but dark clouds overspread the sky. The men now began to find their burdens very oppressive, and were much fatigued by this day's march, but did not complain. One of them was lame from an inflammation in the knee. Heavy rain commenced at midnight, and continued without intermission until five in the morning, when it was succeeded by snow, on the wind changing to north-west, which soon increased to a violent gale. As they had nothing to eat, and were destitute of the means of making a fire, they remained in bed all the day; but the covering of the blankets was insufficient to prevent feeling the severity of the frost, and suffering incon-

venience from the drifting of the snow into the tents. There was no abatement of the storm next day; the tents were completely frozen, and the snow had drifted around them to a depth of three feet, and even in the inside there was a covering of several inches on the blankets.

On the morning of the 7th, just as they were to commence their march, Capt. Franklin was seized with a fainting fit, in consequence of exhaustion and sudden exposure to the wind; after eating a morsel of portable soup, he recovered so far as to be able to move on. Those who carried the canoes were repeatedly blown down by the violence of the wind, and they often fell, from making an insecure step on a slippery stone; on one of these occasions, the largest canoe was so much broken as to be rendered totally unserviceable. This was a serious disaster, as the remaining canoe having through mistake been made too small, it was doubtful whether it would be sufficient to carry them across a river. As the accident could not be remedied, they turned it to the best account, by making a fire of the bark and timbers of the broken vessel, and cooked the remainder of the portable soup and arrow-root. This was a scanty meal after three days' fasting, but it served to allay the pangs of hunger and enabled them 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 voyagers taking it in turn to lead the party.

A considerable quantity of tripe de roche was gathered, and with half a partridge each, (which they shot in the course of the day,) furnished a slender supper, which they cooked with a few willows, dug up from beneath the snow. They passed a comfortless night in their damp clothes, but took the precaution of sleeping upon their socks and shoes to prevent them from freezing. This plan was afterwards adopted throughout the journey.

At half-past five in the morning they proceeded; and after

walking about two miles, came to Cracroft's River, flowing to the westward, with a very rapid current over a rocky channel. They had much difficulty in crossing this, the canoe being useless, not only from the bottom of the channel being obstructed by large stones, but also from its requiring gumming, an operation which, owing to the want of wood and the frost, they were unable to perform. However, after following the course of the river some distance, they effected a passage by means of a range of large rocks that crossed a rapid. As the current was strong, and many of the rocks were covered with water to the depth of two or three feet, the men were exposed to much danger in carrying their heavy burdens across, and several of them actually slipped into the stream, but were immediately rescued by the others. Their only meal to-day consisted of a partridge each (which the hunters shot,) mixed with tripe de roche. This repast, although scanty for men with appetites such as their daily fatigue created, proved a cheerful one, and was received with thankfulness. Most of the men had to sleep in the open air, in consequence of the absence of Credit, who carried their tent; but they fortunately found an unusual quantity of roots to make a fire, which prevented their suffering much from the cold, though the thermometer was at  $17^{\circ}$ .

They started at six on the 9th, and at the end of two miles regained the hunters, who were halting on the borders of a lake amidst a clump of stunted willows. This lake stretched to the westward as far as they could see, and its waters were discharged by a rapid stream one hundred and fifty yards wide. Being entirely ignorant where they might be led by pursuing the course of the lake, and dreading the idea of going a mile unnecessarily out of the way, they determined on crossing the river if possible; and the canoe was gummed for the purpose, the willow furnishing them with fire. Junius, who had been sent to seek for the best crossing place, arrived in the afternoon and said that he had seen a large herd of musk-oxen on the banks of Cracroft's River,

and had wounded one of them, but it escaped. He brought about four pounds of meat, the remains of a deer that had been devoured by the wolves. The poor fellow was much fatigued, having walked throughout the night, but as the weather was particularly favourable for crossing the river, they could not allow him to rest. After he had taken some refreshment they proceeded to the river. The canoe being put into the water was found extremely ticklish, but it was managed with much dexterity by St. Germain, Adam, and Peltier, who ferried over one passenger at a time, causing him to lie flat on its bottom, by no means a pleasant position, owing to its leakiness, but there was no alternative. The transport of the whole party was effected by five o'clock, and walking about two miles further they encamped, having come five miles and three quarters on a south-west course. Two young alpine hares were shot by St. Germain, which, with the small piece of meat brought in by Junius, furnished the supper of the whole party.

On the 10th they had a cold north wind with foggy atmosphere. The ground they passed over was hilly, and more deeply covered with snow. In gathering tripe de roche the cold was so benumbing that they collected scarcely sufficient for a scanty meal. They saw this day the track of a man, and also several tracks of deer on the snow. About noon the weather cleared up a little, and to their great joy, they saw a herd of musk-oxen grazing in a valley below. The party instantly halted, and the best hunters were sent out; they approached the animals with the utmost caution, no less than two hours being consumed before they got within gun-shot. One of the largest cows fell; another was wounded, but escaped. This success infused spirit into the starving party. To skin and cut up the animal were the work of a few minutes. The contents of its stomach were devoured upon the spot, and the raw intestines, which were next attacked, were pronounced by the most delicate to be excellent. A few willows, whose tops were peeping through

the snow at the bottom of the valley, were quickly grubbed, the tents pitched, and supper cooked, and devoured with avidity. This was the sixth day since they had had a good meal; the tripe de roche, even where they got enough, only serving to allay the pangs of hunger for a short time. After supper, two of the hunters went in pursuit of the herd, but could not get near them.

The gale had not diminished on the 12th, and as they were fearful of its continuance for some time, they determined on going forward; their only doubt regarded the preservation of the canoe, but the men promised to pay particular attention to it, and the most careful persons were appointed to take it in charge. The snow was two feet deep and the ground much broken, which rendered the march extremely painful. The whole party complained more of faintness and weakness than they had ever done before; their strength seemed to have been impaired by the recent supply of animal food. In the afternoon the wind abated, and the snow ceased; cheered with the change, they proceeded forward at a quicker pace, and encamped at six in the afternoon, having come eleven miles. Supper consumed the last of the meat.

On the 13th they came to the borders of a large lake. They coasted along it to the westward in hopes of finding a crossing place, and after a journey of only six miles encamped for the evening. They had only a single partridge, upon which and tripe de roche the party supped. This evening they were extremely distressed, at discovering that their companions had thrown away three of the fishing-nets, and burnt the floats. Being thus deprived of their principal resource, that of fishing, and the men evidently getting weaker every day, it became necessary to lighten their burdens of everything except ammunition, clothing, and the instruments that were required to find their way. Captain Franklin, therefore, issued directions to deposit at this encampment the dipping needle, azimuth compass, magnet, a large ther-

mometer, and a few books, having torn out of these such parts as were required to work the observations for latitude and longitude.

On the 14th Credit having killed two deer, they halted and prepared breakfast. After this, having selected a place where the current was most smooth, the canoe was placed in the water, and St. Germain, Solomon Belanger, and Captain Franklin, embarked in order to cross. They went from the shore very well, but in mid-channel the canoe became difficult to manage under her burden as the breeze was fresh. The current drove them to the edge of a rapid, when Belanger unluckily applied his paddle to avert the apparent danger of being forced down it, and lost his balance. The canoe was upset in consequence in the middle of the rapid. They fortunately kept hold of it, until they touched a rock where the water did not reach higher than their waists; here they kept footing, notwithstanding the strength of the current, until the water was emptied out of the canoe. Belanger then held the canoe steady whilst St. Germain placed Captain Franklin in it, and afterwards embarked himself in a very dextrous manner. It was impossible, however, to embark Belanger, as the canoe would have been hurried down the rapid, the moment he should have raised his foot from the rock on which he stood. They were, therefore, compelled to leave him in his perilous situation. They had not gone twenty yards before the canoe, striking on a sunken rock, went down. The place being shallow, they were again enabled to empty it, and the third attempt brought them to the shore. In the mean time Belanger was suffering extremely, immersed to his middle in the centre of a rapid, the temperature of which was very little above the freezing point, and the upper part of his body covered with wet clothes, exposed in a temperature not much above zero, to a strong breeze. He called piteously for relief, and St. Germain on his return endeavoured to embark him, but in vain. The canoe was hurried down the rapid, and when he

landed he was rendered by the cold incapable of further exertion, and Adam attempted to embark Belanger, but found it was impossible. An attempt was next made to carry out to him a line, made of the slings of the men's loads. This also failed, the current acting so strongly upon it, as to prevent the canoe from steering, and it was finally broken and carried down the stream. At length, when Belanger's strength seemed almost exhausted, the canoe reached him with a small cord belonging to one of the nets, and he was dragged perfectly senseless through the rapid. By the direction of Dr. Richardson, he was instantly stripped, and being rolled up in blankets, two men undressed themselves and went to bed with him; but it was some hours before he recovered his warmth and sensations. As soon as Belanger was placed in his bed, the officers sent over some blankets, and a person to make a fire. Augustus brought the canoe over, and in returning he was obliged to descend both the rapids, before he could get across the stream; which hazardous service he performed with the greatest coolness and judgment. By this accident Captain Franklin had the misfortune to lose his port-folio, containing his journal from Fort Enterprise, together with all the astronomical and meteorological observations made during the descent of the Copper-mine River, and along the sea-coast.

On the 15th, the rest of the party were brought across, and Belanger was so much recovered as to be able to proceed, but they could not set out until noon, as the men had to prepare substitutes for the slings which were lost. Soon after leaving the encampment they discerned a herd of deer, and after a long chase a fine male was killed by Perrault. The party were now in good spirits at the recollection of having crossed the rapid, and being in possession of provision for the next day. Besides which, they took the precaution to bring away the skin of the deer to eat when the meat should fail.

On the 16th, the party again commenced their journey at  
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seven o'clock in the morning. After having travelled for a few hours they came to a spot where they observed branches of willows visible above the snow, and they halted for the purpose of providing some refreshment. As they proceeded they found the country extremely rugged, and their toil in ascending and descending the different ravines with which the country was intersected was great and very fatiguing. They met with some deer tracks, and also marks which had been placed by Indians as direction points. On the 17th they saw some deer, and found the track of a large herd which the hunters said had passed the day before; unfortunately however they failed in killing either the deer they saw, or of overtaking the herd whose foot-steps they had traced. They were therefore compelled to put up with a scanty meal upon some pieces of a singed hide, and some tripe de roche.

On the 18th they came to another track of the rein-deer, who had passed in such numbers as to produce a beaten road, which they followed for a short time, until it deviated from the course to Slave Lake so much as to render it necessary to quit it. They crossed several small lakes, which were now so frozen as to be capable of being crossed without the least hazard. Their repast this evening consisted only of the tripe de roche which they had gathered during their progress. A great fall of snow took place this evening, and the whole party were become extremely faint, so that on the following day it was with difficulty that they got forwards on their way. Notwithstanding all their difficulties, however, they proceeded about ten miles on their journey. They were obliged to gather Iceland moss this evening for their suppers, not having met with any tripe de roche during the whole of the day. It was however a substitute so unpleasant and bitter, that most of the party partook of but a very small portion.

The severity of the weather was now so piercing that it is wonderful how they were enabled to endure it. At the

conclusion of the day's march the first operation was to thaw their frozen shoes, if a sufficient fire could be made, and dry ones were put on ; each person then wrote his notes of the daily occurrences, and evening prayers were read ; as soon as supper was prepared it was eaten, generally in the dark, and they went to bed, and kept up a conversation until their blankets were thawed by the heat of their bodies. On many nights they did not even go to bed in dry clothes, for when the fire was insufficient to dry their shoes, they would not venture to pull them off, lest they should freeze so hard as to be unfit to put on in the morning, and, therefore, inconvenient to carry.

By the 20th, travelling became so laborious that the party proceeded with great difficulty. Mr. Hood, who had hitherto followed the leading man to direct him in the line of march which was to be pursued, became so weak that he could no longer sustain his post, and Dr. Richardson was obliged to occupy it. By calculation they were so near to Point Lake that they expected to be within view of it this evening ; and this so inspirited the men that they proceeded on quickly. After all their efforts however they were disappointed of seeing it ; and this, with a sparing supply of tripe de roche, so excited their murmurs that they threatened to give up all further efforts and to quit the party ; and this it is not improbable would have been the case if they had not been convinced that the captain had the means of tracing the direct road, which they themselves did not possess.

On the 21st they again set forward, although the men were much dispirited and very weak. By taking an observation Captain Franklin found they were six miles too much inclined to the southward of that part of Point Lake to which they had purposed to journey, and accordingly they altered their course, and fired some muskets to give the hunters an intimation of the change of their route. Some tripe de roche, and two partridges which they had killed, were all which they were able to procure this day. The error which Cap-

tain Franklin had fallen into in calculating their journey to Point Lake now excited increasing fears in the Canadians, as they supposed they had lost their way and were returning back again. On the two following days their progress was extremely slow, and they were arrested in their journey by a large lake, along the banks of which they were compelled to walk for a considerable distance. Joseph Peltier, one of the Canadian voyagers, who carried the canoe, having fallen several times, by which the canoe was greatly injured, at last refused to carry it, and it was given to Registe Vaillant, another of the Canadians, who managed to carry it with greater ease to himself, and they made for a time considerable speed. Captain Franklin and Dr. Richardson, not going forwards with the party, but following afterwards, accidentally passed them; and not finding a track to guide them, returned and discovered their companions among some willows, where they had found some pieces of skin and bones of a deer, on which, added to some old shoes, they were making a meal. They found Peltier and Vaillant also here, who said that the canoe was so broken by another fall as to be perfectly useless, and that they had left it behind. The anguish this intelligence occasioned may be conceived, but cannot be described. Impressed, however, with the necessity of taking it forward, even in the state these men represented it to be, Captain Franklin urgently desired them to fetch it; but they declined going, and the strength of the officers was inadequate to the task. To their infatuated obstinacy on this occasion, a great portion of the melancholy circumstances which attended their subsequent progress may, perhaps, be attributed. The men now seemed to have lost all hope of being preserved; and all the arguments that could be used failed in stimulating them to the least exertion. After consuming the remains of the bones and horns of the deer, they resumed their march, and in the evening reached a contracted part of the lake, which they forded, and encamped on the opposite side. Heavy rain began soon afterwards

and continued all night. On the following morning the rain had so wasted the snow, that the tracks of Mr. Back and his companions, who had gone before with the hunters, were traced with difficulty ; and the frequent showers during the day almost obliterated them. The men became furious at the apprehension of being deserted by the hunters, and some of the strongest throwing down their bundles, prepared to set out after them, intending to leave the more weak to follow as they could. The entreaties and threats of the officers, however, prevented their executing this mad scheme ; but not before Solomon Belanger was dispatched with orders for Mr. Back to halt. Soon afterwards they overtook Mr. Back, who had been detained in consequence of his companions having followed some recent tracks of deer. After halting an hour, during which they refreshed themselves with eating their old shoes, and a few scraps of leather, they set forward in the hope of ascertaining whether an adjoining piece of water was the Copper-mine River or not, but were soon compelled to return and encamp, for fear of a separation of the party as they could not see each other at ten yards' distance. The fog diminishing towards evening, Augustus was sent to examine the water, but having lost his way he did not reach the tents before midnight, when he brought the information of its being a lake. They supped upon tripe de roche, and enjoyed a comfortable fire, having found some pines, seven or eight feet high, in a valley near the encampment.

The next mornig, they killed five small deer out of a herd, which came in sight as they were on the point of starting. This unexpected supply re-animated the drooping spirits of the men, and filled every heart with gratitude. They so earnestly and strongly pleaded their recent sufferings, and their conviction that the quiet enjoyment of two substantial meals, after eight days' fasting, would enable them to proceed next day more vigorously, that their entreaties could not be resisted. The flesh, the skins, and even the contents of the stomachs of the deer were equally distributed among

the party by Mr. Hood, who had volunteered, on the departure of Mr. Wentzel, to perform the duty of issuing the provision. This invidious task he had all along performed with great impartiality, but seldom without producing some grumbling among the Canadians; and, on the present occasion, the hunters were displeased that the heads and some other parts, had not been added to their portions. It is proper to remark, that Mr. Hood always took the smallest portion for his own mess, but this weighed little with these men, as long as their own appetites remained unsatisfied. They all suffered much inconvenience from eating animal food after their long abstinence, but particularly those men who indulged themselves beyond moderation. The Canadians, with their usual thoughtlessness, consumed above a third of their portion of meat that evening.

On the 26th they arrived at the Copper-mine River. It flowed to the northward, and after winding about five miles, terminated in Point Lake. Its current was swift, and there were two rapids in this part of its course, which in a canoe could have been crossed with ease and safety. These rapids, as well as every other part of the river, were carefully examined in search of a ford; but finding none, the expedient occurred of attempting to cross on a raft made of the willows which were growing there, or in a vessel framed with willows, and covered with the canvass of the tents; but both these schemes were abandoned, through the obstinacy of the interpreters and the most experienced voyagers, who declared that they would prove inadequate to the conveyance of the party, and that much time would be lost in the attempt. The men, in fact, did not believe that this was the Copper-mine River, and so much had they bewildered themselves on the march, that some of them asserted it was Hood's River, and others that it was the Bethe-tessy, (a river which rises from a lake to the northward of Rum Lake, and holds a course to the sea parallel with that of the Copper-mine.) In short, their despondency had returned, and they all de-

spaired of seeing Fort Enterprise again. However, the steady assurances of the officers that they were actually on the banks of the Copper-mine River, and that the distance to Fort Enterprise did not exceed forty miles, made some impression upon them, which was increased upon their finding some bear-berry plants, which are reported by the Indians not to grow to the eastward of the river. They then deplored their folly and impatience in breaking the canoe, being all of opinion, that had it not been so completely demolished on the 23d, it might have been repaired sufficiently to take the party over. Peltier and Vaillant were examined as to its state, with the intention of sending for it; but they persisted in the declaration, that it was in a totally unserviceable condition. St. Germain being called upon to endeavour to construct a canoe frame of willows, stated that he was unable to make one sufficiently large. It became necessary, therefore, to search for pines of sufficient size to form a raft; and being aware that such trees grow on the borders of Point Lake, they considered it best to trace its shores in search of them; and, therefore, resumed their march, carefully looking for a fordable part, and encamped at the east end of Point Lake.

As there was little danger of losing the path of the hunters whilst they coasted on the shores of this lake, Captain Franklin determined on again sending Mr. Back forward, with the interpreters to hunt. In this arrangement, he had the further object of enabling Mr. Back to get across the lake with two of the men, to convey the earliest possible account of their situation to the Indians. He instructed him to halt at the first pines he should come to, and then prepare a raft; and if his hunters had killed any animals, he was to cross immediately with St. Germain and Beauparlant, and send the Indians as quickly as possible with supplies of meat.

Mr. Back and his party set out at six in the morning, and Captain Franklin started at seven. As the snow had entirely disappeared, and there was no means of distinguishing the footsteps of stragglers, he gave strict orders for all

the party to keep together; and desired the two Esquimaux not to leave them, they having often strayed in search of the remains of animals. The people, however, through despondency, had become careless and disobedient, and had ceased to dread punishment, or hope for reward. Much time was lost in halting and firing guns to collect them, but the labour of walking was so much lightened by the disappearance of the snow, that they advanced seven or eight miles along the lake before noon, exclusive of the loss of distance in rounding its numerous bays. At length they came to an arm, running away to the north-east, and apparently connected with the lake which they had coasted on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of the month.

The idea of again rounding such an extensive piece of water and travelling over so barren a country was dreadful, and they feared that other arms, equally large, might obstruct their path, and that the strength of the party would entirely fail, long before they could reach the only part where they were certain of finding wood. While they halted to consider of this subject, and to collect the party, the carcass of a deer was discovered in the cleft of a rock into which it had fallen in the spring. It was putrid, but little less acceptable to them on that account; and a fire being kindled, a large portion was devoured on the spot. The men, cheered by this unlooked-for supply, became sanguine in the hope of being able to cross the stream on a raft of willows, although they had before declared such a project impracticable, and they unanimously desired to return back to the rapid, a request which was acceded to. Credit and Junius, however, were missing, and it was also necessary to send notice of their intention to Mr. Back and his party. Augustus being promised a reward, undertook the task, and it was agreed to wait for him at the rapid. It was supposed he could not fail meeting with the two stragglers on his way to or from Mr. Back, as it was likely they would keep on the borders of the lake.

In the night they heard the report of Credit's gun in answer to signal muskets, and he rejoined them in the morning, but they got no intelligence of Junius.

Eight deer were seen by Michel and Credit, who loitered behind the rest of the party, but they could not approach them. A great many shots were fired by those in the rear at partridges, but they missed, or at least did not choose to add what they killed to the common stock. It was subsequently learned that the hunters often secreted the partridges they shot, and ate them unknown to the officers. Some tripe de roche was collected, which they boiled for supper, with the moiety of the remainder of the deer's meat. The men commenced cutting willows for the construction of a raft to convey them across the river. As an excitement to exertion, Captain Franklin promised a reward of three hundred livres to the first person who should convey a line across the river, by which the raft could be managed in transporting the party. Several attempts were made by Belanger and Benoit, the strongest men of the party, to convey the raft across the stream, but they failed for want of oars. A pole constructed by tying the tent poles together, was too short to reach the bottom at a short distance from the shore; and a paddle which had been carried from the sea-coast by Dr. Richardson, did not possess sufficient power to move the raft in opposition to a strong breeze, which blew from the other side. All the men suffered extremely from the coldness of the water, in which they were necessarily immersed up to the waist, in their endeavours to aid Belanger and Benoit; and having witnessed repeated failures, they began to consider the scheme as hopeless. At this time Dr. Richardson, prompted by a desire of relieving his suffering companions, proposed to swim across the stream with a line, and to haul the raft over. He launched into the stream with a line round his middle, but when he had got a short distance from the bank, his arms became benumbed, and he lost the power of moving them; still he persevered, and turning on his back,



had nearly gained the opposite bank, when his legs also became powerless, and he sank. They instantly hauled upon the line and he came on the surface, and was gradually drawn ashore in an almost lifeless state. Being rolled up in blankets, he was placed before a good fire of willows, and fortunately was just able to speak sufficiently to give some slight directions respecting the manner of treating him. He recovered strength gradually, and through the blessing of God was enabled in the course of a few hours to converse, and by the evening was sufficiently recovered to remove into the tent. They then regretted to learn, that the skin of his whole left side was deprived of feeling, in consequence of exposure to too great heat. He did not perfectly recover the sensation of that side until the following summer. It cannot be described what every one felt at beholding the skeleton which Dr. Richardson's debilitated frame exhibited.

In the evening Augustus came in. He had walked a day and a half beyond the place from whence they had turned back, but had neither seen Junius nor Mr. Back. Of the former he had seen no traces, but he had followed the tracks of Mr. Back's party for a considerable distance, until the hardness of the ground rendered them imperceptible. Junius was well equipped with ammunition, blankets, knives, a kettle, and other necessities, and it was the opinion of Augustus that when he found he could not rejoin the party, he would endeavour to gain the woods on the west end of Point Lake, and follow the river until he fell in with the Esquimaux, who frequent its mouth. Credit, on a hunting excursion, found a cap, which was recognised to belong to one of the hunters who had left them in the spring. This circumstance produced the conviction of their being on the banks of the Copper-mine River, which all the exertions of the officers had hitherto failed in effecting with some of the party; and it had the happy consequence of reviving their spirits considerably.

In the evening, after supping on some tripe de roche, they retired to sleep. On the 1st of October, they had the satisfaction of seeing Mr. Back return. He had advanced nearly twenty miles beyond the party accompanying Captain Franklin; and fearing that the lake extended yet many miles farther, he thought it most prudent to return. One of the hunters this evening brought in some bones and antlers of a deer. The meat had been entirely picked off; but the marrow, although it was now become putrid, was gladly eaten, although it was acrid, and the bones being burnt, were equally divided among the party, and eaten by them.

They now occupied their time in making another raft to convey them across the lake, to effect which a quantity of willows were gathered, with which, and some canvass, Germain undertook to form a vessel for that purpose. Many of them were now in a state of the greatest weakness. A great quantity of snow had fallen during the 2d and 3d, and their sufferings led several to give up all hopes of being able to return. Mr. Hood and Dr. Richardson presented to the eye the appearance of skeletons, as indeed did most of the party. The former was afflicted with so severe a complaint in his bowels from eating the tripe de roche, that he could no longer partake of what was dressed, and at this juncture, when out of consideration for his sufferings a partridge was reserved for him, it was stolen by some of the men. The person whose spirits were least depressed was the seaman Hepburn, who appeared to rely with unabated confidence on the divine protection, and never relinquished his efforts to procure sustenance, nor his endeavours to assist the weak and depressed.

On the 4th of October, St. Germain having completed the canoe which was to convey them across the water, embarked in it himself and reached the opposite shore in safety. It was then brought back and others conveyed over until the whole party had crossed in safety, although several of them were severely wet by its admitting a considerable quantity of water. As soon as they had recovered from the fatigue of

crossing, Captain Franklin requested Mr. Back to proceed forwards, taking with him Pierre St. Germain, Solomon Belanger, and Gabriel Beuparlant. He was to search for the Indians and to proceed to Fort Enterprise; at which place, if they met with no succour before, they had not a doubt but their necessities would be supplied, and where sufficient intelligence would be left by Mr. Wentzel, as had been agreed on their parting, to direct them to different depots of provisions.

The spirits of the whole party again revived, and the Canadian voyagers now expressed their confidence that they should soon arrive at Fort Enterprise, where they expected all their trials would have an end. They had however to endure the want of even a little tripe de roche, and large quantities of snow fell during the night.

On the morning of the 5th, they did not proceed until eight o'clock, as the frozen state of their clothes caused them to remain round the fire they had kindled. After proceeding about two hours, they found some tripe de roche, on which they breakfasted. They afterwards continued their journey until the evening, when they partook of a slender meal of tripe de roche and scraps of roasted leather. On the following morning they made another meal of scraps of leather, and then went forwards. The road was now over a range of bleak hills, and the wind was severely cold. The weakness of some of the party was so great as almost to prevent their proceeding farther. Credit was no longer able to carry more than his blanket and gun, and with others, lingered a distance behind. About noon Samandre came up and said that Credit and Vaillant were too weak to proceed any farther. Upon this the party halted and Dr. Richardson went back to them. As there was a quantity of willows on the spot, a fire was made. After returning nearly two miles, he found Vaillant, who was extremely weak from fatigue and cold. On being informed that if he made an effort to reach the party in advance he would find a fire provided, he strove to

proceed, but repeatedly fell. He said that Credit was a short distance in the rear, and the Doctor proceeded in search of him; but there being a very strong snow drift, after proceeding about half a mile he was constrained to return, as he lost all traces of their footsteps. On arriving again at the spot where he had found Vaillant, he had moved only a few yards, having been unable to stand, and was now scarcely able to articulate. The Doctor now hastened to inform the captain and his party of their situation, and Belanger, with others, immediately proceeded to his help; he was benumbed with cold and incapable of being roused. Those who were sent to help him on, declared themselves too weak to carry him, and even begged to be permitted to leave their baggage and make the best of their way to Fort Enterprise.

It was now proposed that the strongest of the party should proceed forwards; and at length Mr. Hood and Dr. Richardson agreed to remain behind with one of the men, whenever they should arrive at a spot where a sufficient quantity of tripe de roche could be found for a few days support; and that Captain Franklin and the others should proceed to Fort Enterprise and send them from thence supplies and help as they needed. By this plan several articles might be left behind, so as to ease the advance party; and accordingly a tent, a small barrel of powder, and other luggage, was given into the care of Dr. Richardson, and they then proceeded on their journey. Vaillant's blanket was left, under a hope, which indeed was very distant, that he might get further on his journey; and as Credit had some leather and a blanket, their hopes were that he also might be preserved alive.

Having come to this determination, they proceeded on the following morning on their journey; and arriving at a place where there grew a quantity of willows, and near which they observed a quantity of tripe de roche, Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood determined to remain here; and the faithful seaman John Hepburn, voluntarily offered to remain

with them. They therefore pitched their tent, collected a supply of willows, and placed in as much safety as they could the ammunition and other articles which were to be left with them. The circumstance of leaving these friends behind, after having been his companions in such a variety of difficulties, Captain Franklin felt most keenly ; but the hope of being able the sooner to send a supply of provisions from Fort Enterprise, induced him to submit ; and two of the Canadian voyagers promised to hasten with supplies from the fort, or to guide any of the Indians to their encampment whom they might meet.

Having taken an affectionate farewell of their companions, Captain Franklin and his party set forward on their journey, and had not proceeded far before they arrived at a spot covered with pines, and surrounded by a considerable quantity of *tripe de roche*, which made them regret that the friends whom they had so recently parted with had fixed their tents so early, as their accommodation would have been greater at this place. Proceeding forwards, they found the country presented a level surface, on which the snow lay to a considerable depth, and walking became so laborious, that after travelling about four miles, they were obliged to encamp. Belanger and Michel got on with very great difficulty, not being able to keep up with their companions ; and on arriving, stated their wish to return to their companions behind. They were unable to find any *tripe de roche*, but made some tea of a plant they found, and took a small portion of burnt leather. They passed an almost sleepless night from the severity of the cold, and being unable through weakness to raise their tent, they cut it up and made coverings of the canvass. Captain Franklin wrote a note to Mr. Hood and his companions, and gave it to Michel and Belanger, who continued in their purpose of returning, and then proceeded forwards. They had scarcely moved, before Perrault and Fontano, two of the Canadian voyagers, became subject to a giddiness and could not proceed. A little tea was quickly prepared for

them, and some scorched leather was given them to eat, which in a measure recovered them, and they desired to proceed. Perrault however soon found himself again so affected that he declared his incapability to proceed, and said he would return to Belanger and Michel. Bidding the party adieu he set out on his return, and Captain Franklin again went forwards. The snow was deep and their progress slow. Crossing a small lake, the ice was so smooth, and the wind blew so powerfully, that they continually slipped, and were then scarcely able to recover themselves. Fontano now became incapable of proceeding; every endeavour was used to sustain him, and encourage him to proceed, but in vain, and he often fell down. Finding it impossible for him to proceed, it was recommended to him to return to the parties who had been left behind, and as the clump of pines was still in view the way was easily to be found. He accordingly after being a little recovered set out to rejoin his feeble companions, and though weak and proceeding slowly, yet Captain Franklin had the satisfaction to see him get on better than he expected.

To leave his companions behind one after another in so weak, feeble and distressing a situation gave the mind of Captain Franklin the greatest pain. Had any of the party had sufficient strength to have borne one of their companions upon their shoulders, he would have endeavoured to have supported them; but the strongest men were so weak and feeble, that the effort would have been fruitless; and however much it might excite his feelings, no alternative was left, and indeed it appeared to be only to delay and prolong the prospect of obtaining help, if they remained with such of their companions as had not strength to go forwards. The party now consisted of only five persons; Captain Franklin, Semandre, Benoit, Adam and Peltier. Augustus had gone forwards alone, while the party were detained by the different persons who became so affected as to be obliged to return. These five persons now proceeded on their journey, and arriving at a spot where there were a quantity of willows,

they encamped, and making a fire, attempted to gather some tripe de roche, but without success, from the severity of the weather; they therefore made a meal of a few pieces of leather and some tea. The next morning the weather being more mild, they gathered a quantity of tripe de roche, and felt much refreshed after their repast. They then commenced their journey, and arrived at Martin Lake, which they found so frozen over as to enable them to cross it, which they did, and arrived at Winter River, by which the spirits of the party were greatly raised, as they had now arrived at a spot known to them all. Having encamped for the night, which was very stormy, they rose early in the morning, and commenced their journey in the hope of reaching Fort Enterprise before night. In their journey they saw a large herd of rein-deer, but they were so feeble that they could not pursue them. In the afternoon they encamped in the vicinity of a great number of pines, and made a comfortable fire. They made a meal on some shoes and made some tea; but no tripe de roche could be found. They then set out for the fort, anticipating that their sufferings were now at an end; but what their feelings were on arriving at that place, no language can describe. Instead of finding a depot of provisions, and some Indians or other persons to administer to their many wants and necessities, they found it completely desolate. The sight was so extremely distressing that the whole party burst into tears. Comforting themselves as they had done, with the pleasing assurance that at this place their trials would end, and that they should quickly dispatch to their suffering friends in the rear, that assistance and support which they so greatly needed, the view of the house in its desolate state was like an arrow to the heart, and the whole party almost sunk under the feelings it produced. Here they expected to find a letter from Mr. Wentzel giving them information respecting the places where they should find provision; but no letter, nor the least indication of any effort to serve them, could be seen. They found here how-

ever a note from Mr. Back, intimating that he had been at this place two days before, and saying that he was gone to search after the Indians, and that he should proceed in the direction of Fort Providence, and that if he did not meet with any Indians he would expedite assistance from thence ; but at the same time he expressed his fears that neither himself nor any of his party would have strength to accomplish the journey.

As the hope of help was now so distant, Captain Franklin resolved to make an excursion himself to find some of the Indians ; he resolved however to wait two or three days, that his party might recruit their strength, and also in the hope that he might hear from Mr. Back that he had been successful in seeking for them. As to the place of their present residence, the room in which they took up their abode was exposed to all the severity of the weather, the temperature of which was now 15° below zero. There were indeed several deer skins, which were left when they took up their residence here in the spring, and they found among the ashes a quantity of the bones of the animals which they then killed. With this fare, and with the tripe de roche which they might gather, they considered they had sufficient to support them for a time, and having no other choice they endeavoured to submit.

On the following evening, while preparing their hard fare for a repast, the Esquimaux Augustus made his appearance. They were greatly rejoiced to see him, as from the length of time he had been missing they were apprehensive some serious misfortune had befallen him. On inquiry it was found that on leaving the party he had pursued a different rout from the others ; but accustomed as the people of his nation are to roving about, he had sufficient conception of the direction in which Fort Enterprise was situated, so as to reach it without those helps by which the English made their reckonings. The weather at this time was much more severe than it had been at the same period in the last year ; and



they saw but few tracks of the rein-deer, which the preceding year had been very numerous.

On the 13th of October, the wind being high, the snow drifting very much, the party remained at their residence, and in the course of the day Solomon Belanger made his appearance in a state of great exhaustion and distress. His hair was frozen, his whole dress was covered with ice, and it was with difficulty he gave them to understand that he had fallen into one of the rapids and narrowly escaped with his life. He brought a letter from Mr. Back, in which he said that he had not been able to meet with any of the Indians, and requested Captain Franklin to signify his wishes as to the road he should take.

Every endeavour was used to reanimate the almost expiring spirits of Belanger ; they gave him some warm broth, took off his frozen garments, rubbed his chilled limbs, and exerted every effort to make him comfortable. It could not but be noticed how much a sense of the sufferings they had endured, and the still awful appearances as to what awaited them, appeared to influence their behaviour. Oaths, to which some of the party were greatly addicted, now no longer came out of their mouths ; a spirit of humble submission to their fate appeared to influence them ; and feelings of the most affectionate nature were now particularly manifest towards the suffering Belanger. That the custom which had prevailed, during the whole progress of the expedition, of paying regard to the Lord's Day, and of prayer to the Divine Being on other occasions, had now its measure of influence upon the most thoughtless and reprobate, cannot be doubted, and the circumstance may be added to the many arguments which history and experience holds forth, to those who are in any measure of authority, that their duty is to profess their dependence and manifest their reliance upon the over-ruling providence of God, assured that the time of suffering and difficulty will lead others to seek for the salvation of Him in whom they live, and move, and have their being.

As from the letter of Mr. Back, it appeared there were no Indians in the neighbourhood of Fort Enterprise, Captain Franklin resolved to proceed towards Rein-deer Lake, which was in the road to Fort Providence. He wrote to this effect to Mr. Back, and also apprised him of the state and circumstances in which Mr. Hood and the other persons were left behind, that they might receive any attention which circumstances might present. It was three days before Belanger was sufficiently recovered to return, and then he was dismissed with the letter.

Captain Franklin now proceeded to arrange for his journey to Fort Providence ; but it appeared impossible for him to take the whole party, as Adam, one of the hunters, was so afflicted with numerous swellings in different parts of his body, as to be incapable of walking. He therefore determined to take Benoit and Augustus, and to send assistance by one of them the very first opportunity. Preparatory to removing he made up a package for the government in England, consisting of their journals and other papers, which was left to the care of the persons who were to remain at Fort Enterprise, and to be given to the Indians, should any call, directing them to send it to any of the North-west or Hudson's Bay settlements, as they might have opportunity. Captain Franklin then wrote a letter (to be sent when opportunity offered) to Mr. Hood and Dr. Richardson. Having given some other directions to Peltier, Samandre and Adam, who were to remain at Fort Enterprise, they bade them farewell. This was a season which excited all their feelings and brought afresh to their recollection the various sufferings which they had mutually endured. A disposition to be resigned to the divine will, be the result whatever it might, appeared to influence the whole party ; and every one appeared to possess a mind prepared for all the sufferings and privations each might have to pass through.

Having singed some pieces of skin to be used for food, and mended their snow shoes, Captain Franklin and his two

companions quitted Fort Enterprise on the 20th. They found themselves so weak, and the road so difficult, that after six hours labour they had only proceeded four miles, and then fixed their abode for the night on the edge of a lake, and partook of some tea and singed skin. Worn out and emaciated as they were, the cold was severe and distressing, and they lay close to each other to procure warmth. In the morning, after a slight repast, they again set out, but had proceeded only a short distance when Captain Franklin had the misfortune to fall and break his snow shoes, and the difficulty in walking became so great, and exhausted him so much, that he resolved to relinquish the attempt, and to send Benoit and Augustus forwards while he returned to the fort. He therefore wrote a note to Mr. Back, describing his situation and desiring him to send provisions by some means the very first opportunity; and they were to continue their journey until they reached Fort Providence in case they missed of meeting any persons from whom assistance could be obtained.

Having dispatched these men, he made his way back to the fort, where he found his companions in a state of great weakness and imbecility. Peltier was the only one who seemed capable of using any efforts towards their support; Samandre appeared to give himself up to despair, and Adam was too ill to afford any help. Upon the whole it seems probable that but for Captain Franklin's return they would have sunk under their accumulated sufferings. He used every effort to cheer their spirits and to inspire them with the hope that their trials would soon be over, and that assistance would quickly arrive. Under feelings of their inadequacy to exert themselves, they had resolved to partake of only one meal a day; but the captain now cooked their food and required them to take refreshment more often. The weather being at this time snowy and gloomy, neither Peltier nor Adam would leave their beds, and it was with difficulty that they could be prevailed on to take the food provided for them.

Their strength declined daily, and every effort to do the necessary duties was painful. Even to change the position in which they sat or lay required an exertion which they almost refused to make. It was to be expected that as the winter advanced, and the ground became bound by the frost, that they would be deprived of the *tripe de roche*, which was so very necessary to mix with the pounded bones and scorched skins that they found at the fort; yet under all these complicated sufferings, their solicitude for Mr. Hood, Dr. Richardson and those left behind, whom they supposed to be, if possible, in a state of greater privation, excited their increasing sensibility, and was indeed, with the ideas of the help to be sent, principally the subject of their conversation.

By the 29th they had burned up all the loose wood about their dwellings and proceeded to pull down some of the partitions of the houses which had been erected when they were at this place in the spring. The distance from the place in which they dwelt was but a few yards, yet the conveying them was a work of great labour in their weak state; and Peltier, who alone was strong enough to do the work of loosening the boards, felt so oppressed that it was with difficulty that they procured wood sufficient to continue the fire. They saw this day a herd of rein-deer about a mile distant, but every one was now so weak that it was not in their power to go after them.

This day they had the pleasing, yet in many respects mournful satisfaction of seeing Dr. Richardson and the seaman Hepburn enter their apartment. As none of the other persons who were left behind made their appearance, they were filled with anxious fears respecting their fate. The emaciated appearance of the doctor and his companion shocked their feelings, and they were still more agitated upon hearing that Perrault and Fontano had not been seen by them, and that Mr. Hood and Michel were dead. On the other hand the hollow countenances of the captain and his companions, and the sepulchral tone of their voices, excited in the

doctor and Hepburn sensations of a like kind in respect of them.

Hepburn having shot a partridge, the doctor tore off the feathers, and having held it to the fire a few minutes, divided it into six portions. The captain and his three companions ravenously devoured their shares, as it was the first morsel of flesh any of them had tasted for thirty-one days, unless indeed the small gristly particles which were found occasionally adhering to the pounded bones may be termed flesh. Their 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. The doctor having brought his prayer book and testament, some prayers and psalms, and portions of scripture, appropriate to their situation, were read, and they 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. The cold compelled the former to return soon, but Hepburn persisted until late in the evening. Peltier and Samandre continued very weak and dispirited, and they were unable to cut fire-wood. Hepburn had in consequence that laborious task to perform after he came back.

Dr. Richardson stated, that upon Captain Franklin, Peltier, Samandre, and the others leaving, they had kept up the fire as long as they had any wood to burn; and that the weather was afterwards so stormy that they could not move during the next day, and therefore lay in their beds, and having a few religious books which were given to them by a lady in London, one of the party read them aloud. The doctor stated that the reading of these books, together with their attention to daily reading prayers, so sustained their spirits, and influenced them to trust in the divine protection, that a spirit of cheerfulness was manifest among them. On the

succeeding day Michel, who with Belanger had, as noticed in a preceding part of the narrative, been compelled to relinquish the journey, joined him. He stated that Belanger had left him, but the doctor said that the circumstances which afterwards occurred led him since to suppose that Michel had murdered his companion. Michel brought with him a hare and a partridge, which was a most acceptable supply to the hungry party, and after partaking thereof they rested for the night. On the succeeding day they proceeded to the place which Captain Franklin had by letter recommended him to move to, and afterwards Mr. Hood removed to it. Michel, who had remained by himself the preceding evening, brought some meat, which he said was part of a wolf which had been killed by a deer, but which the parties since have supposed to be part of a human body, and that he had killed Perrault also.

After this Michel refused to hunt or to assist in conveying the wood for the fire; he manifested also in various other ways much of an angry spirit, saying "you had better kill and eat me, for there are no beasts to be found." In this state some days passed, until one morning, after having read the prayers, Dr. Richardson went out to endeavour to gather some tripe de roche, and Hepburn was engaged in procuring wood, in order that he might leave a stock for a few days supply, as it was purposed that he and Michel should set out for Fort Enterprise. They had not been long absent from the house when they heard the report of a gun, and shortly after Hepburn, in a state of great alarm, called to the doctor to come instantly to the house, where Mr. Hood lay dead, a ball having passed through his forehead. Their distress at viewing him in that state was indescribable; at first Dr. Richardson supposed that in a fit of despondency he had hurried himself into the presence of his Almighty Judge, by an act of his own hand; but the conduct of Michel soon gave rise to other thoughts, and excited suspicions, which were confirmed, when upon examining the body, he discovered that the shot

had entered the back part of the head, and passed out at the forehead, and that the muzzle of the gun had been applied so close as to set fire to the night-cap behind. The gun, which was of the longest kind supplied to the Indians, could not have been placed in a position to inflict such a wound, except by a second person. 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. Hepburn afterwards said that previous 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 hid from him by intervening willows, but that on hearing the report, he looked up and saw Michel rising up from before the tent-door, or just behind where Mr. Hood was seated, and then going into the tent. Thinking that the gun had been discharged for the purpose of cleaning it, 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. The loss of a young officer of such distinguished and varied talents and application, cannot but be felt and duly appreciated by the persons under whose command he had served; but the calmness with which he contemplated the probable termination of a life of uncommon promise, and the patience and fortitude with which he sustained great bodily sufferings, can only be known to the companions of his distresses. Owing to the effect that the *tripe de roche* invariably had, when he ventured to taste it, he undoubtedly suffered more than any of the survivors of the party. Bickersteth's Scripture Help 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.

They passed the next night together 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 that belonged to Mr. Hood, and boiled and ate it. They afterwards set out on their journey to Fort Enterprise.

Hepburn and Michel had each a gun, and the doctor 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 ; he was constantly muttering to himself, expressed an unwillingness to go to the Fort, and tried to persuade them 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 the expression of his countenance, Dr. Richardson requested him to leave them, and to go to the southward by himself. This proposal increased his ill-nature ; he threw out some obscure hints of freeing himself from all restraint on the morrow ; and was overheard muttering threats against Hepburn, whom he openly accused of having told stories against him. He also, for the first time, assumed such a tone of superiority in addressing Dr. Richardson, as evinced that he considered both to be completely in his power, and he gave vent to several expressions of hatred towards the white people, or as he termed them in the idiom of the voyagers, the French, some of whom, he said, had killed and eaten his uncle and two of his relations. Taking every circumstance of his conduct into consideration, Dr. Richardson and Hepburn concluded that he would attempt to destroy them on the first opportunity that offered, and that he had hitherto abstained from doing so from his ignorance of his way to the Fort. In their journey, Michel coming to a rock on which there was some tripe de roche, halted, and said he would gather it whilst they went on, and that he would soon overtake them. Hepburn and the doctor were now left together for the first time since Mr. Hood's death, and they were of opinion that there was no safety for them except in Michel's death. Convinced of the necessity of such a dreadful act, Dr. Richardson resolved to take the whole responsibility upon himself ; and immedi-



ately upon Michel's coming up, he put an end to his life by shooting him through the head with a pistol.

The narrative here cannot but excite feelings of the most distressing kind in the mind of the reader, at the awful circumstances which have been stated. It appears, however, that the doctor was a man of too benevolent and humane a character to have proceeded to those extremities, but from a sense of its absolute necessity. After this awful event they proceeded on their journey, and ultimately arrived at the fort as before noticed.

Hepburn, who was the strongest of the party, went out on the 31st in quest of deer, and Dr. Richardson took his gun and set out in search of some provision. A herd of deer passed within view of the doctor, but he was so weak as to be unable to kill one of the herd. On the 1st of November, Hepburn again set out in pursuit of some deer, but his weakness was so great as to render him unsuccessful. Dr. Richardson gathered some tripe de roche, but Semandre and Peltier were become so weak, and their throats so sore, that they could partake of only a small portion. The latter manifested such lassitude that he could no longer sit up, but sunk upon his bed. Supposing him to have laid down because of its being a more easy posture, no particular apprehensions were entertained for him until a rattling was heard in his throat ; this circumstance excited their attention, and on Dr. Richardson's examining him, he found him speechless, and he expired before the morning. This circumstance appears to have so affected Semandre, that he died in a few hours after. The severe shock occasioned by the sudden dissolution of their two companions rendered them very melancholy. Adam became low and despondent, a change to be lamented the more, as he had been gaining strength and spirits for the two preceding days. The labour of collecting wood now devolved upon Dr. Richardson and Hepburn, and they were occupied the whole of the next day in tearing down the logs of which the store-house was built, the mud plastered

between them being so hard frozen that the labour of separation exceeded their strength, and they were completely exhausted by bringing in wood sufficient for less than twelve hours' consumption.

They continued to support themselves by occasionally gathering some tripe de roche, which they had hardly strength to effect, their weakness being so great that to move the distance of a few yards was a labour almost insupportable, until the 7th of November. They were become such skeletons that it was with pain of body they lay down on their blankets, and to change their posture was a labour which required a considerable effort to accomplish, and they were obliged to assist each other to rise from their seats. Thus reduced, they had the pleasure on the 7th of November to hear the sound of a musket, and the voices of persons shouting. They soon after had the great pleasure of seeing three Indians named Boudelkell, Crooked-foot and the Rat, approaching them, having been sent by Akaitcho on the 5th with a supply of dried deer's meat, a few tongues and some other articles, of which they imprudently eat so much as to render them very unwell for a time. It appeared that Mr. Back had reached their encampment, and on stating to Akaitcho the distressed state of his companions, the chief immediately dispatched the three men to the fort.

Mr. Back's journey had been attended with a variety of circumstances almost as afflictive as those of Captain Franklin. In crossing the lakes which were frozen, Belanger twice fell through the ice, and was in one instance saved by Mr. Back and his people pulling him out by fastening the belts which they wore together. Mr. Back in describing his sufferings says, "my shoulders were as if they would fall from my body, my legs seemed unable to support me, and had it not been for the remembrance of my friends behind, who relied on me for relief, as well as the necessity of regarding those persons of whom I had charge, I should have preferred remaining where I was to the pain of attempting to remove."

Beuparlant, one of Mr. Back's companions, weighed down with fatigue and overcome by the severity of the weather, died on the 16th of October ; the other men, with Mr. Back, after great fatigue, reached the encampment of Akaitcho as before stated

Boudelkell was sent back to Akaitcho, and with a letter to Mr. Back desiring a further supply of provisions to be sent with all speed ; the other two Indians remained with the party at Fort Enterprise, and proceeded to clear the apartment of the dirt and fragments of bones and other things which were spread over it. They rendered their habitation by this means, and by the large fires which they now made, so much more comfortable, that the spirits and recovery of the party considerably increased. The Indians caught several fish in Winter Lake, and used every exertion to make their abode comfortable ; but finding that the supply of provisions which was expected from Akaitcho did not arrive, they suddenly quitted the house on the 13th of November, without giving the least intimation of their intention either to Captain Franklin or his companions. This circumstance appeared so unaccountable that they were at a loss to surmise a cause, until by questioning Adam they learned that their fears lest the long delay of provisions which was expected might be the occasion of renewed sufferings in the captain and his people, and that they had gone away purposely to hasten its conveyance.

On the next day they were obliged to return to their former diet of eating singed skin, and Hepburn had again to procure wood for the fire ; the succeeding day also they were occupying themselves in the same way, when Hepburn descried a party approaching the house. He instantly gave information to his companions, and they set about clearing their apartment and removing the scraps of skins out of sight, as it is one of the curious opinions of the Indians that such a practice occasions disappointment to the hunters. Three Indians quickly arrived and two of their wives. Benoit also,

who had quitted the house with Augustus to go in search of Mr. Back, returned with them, from whom he brought a letter saying that himself and his companions were about to take their journey to Fort Providence. The spirits of Adam were so revived by their appearance that he walked about with an activity which surprised them.

Having partaken of the refreshments brought, they resolved to quit Fort Enterprise the following day ; and after uniting in prayer and thanksgiving to God, they set out on the 16th of November. Their feelings on quitting the Fort where they had formerly enjoyed much comfort, if not happiness, and, latterly, experienced a degree of misery scarcely to be paralleled, may be more easily conceived than described. The Indians treated them with the utmost tenderness, gave them their snow-shoes, and walked without themselves, keeping by their sides, that they might lift them up when they fell. They descended Winter River, and about noon, crossed the head of Round-Rock Lake, distant about three miles from the house, where they were obliged to halt, as Dr. Richardson was unable to proceed. The swellings in his limbs rendered him by much the weakest of the party. The Indians then prepared their encampment, cooked for them, and fed them as if they had been children ; evincing a humanity that would have done honour to the most civilized people. The night was mild, and they slept soundly.

On the 26th they arrived at Akaitcho's encampment. They were received in silence, no one opening their lips for a short time, which is their mode of indicating their sympathy and compassion. They were then presented with some food ; after which the conversation commenced. Akaitcho shewed the most friendly hospitality, and great personal attention, even cooking for them with his own hands, an office which he never performs for himself. Annœthai-yazzeh and Humpy, the Chief's two brothers, and several of the hunters, with their families, were encamped here, together with a number of old men and women. In the course of the day they

were visited by every person of the band, not merely from curiosity, but from a desire to evince their tender sympathy.

On the first of December, they proceeded in company with the Indians towards Fort Providence; and on the 6th Belanger and another person from Mr. Weeks met them with two trains of dogs, some spirits and tobacco for the Indians, a change of dress for the captain, and a little tea and sugar. They also brought letters from England, and from Mr. Back and Mr. Wentzel. Their letters from England informed them that they had been promoted.

All the Indians flocked around to learn the news, and to receive the articles brought for them. Having got some spirits and tobacco, they withdrew to the tent of the Chief, and passed the greater part of the night in singing. They had now the indescribable gratification of changing their linen, which had been worn ever since their departure from the sea-coast.

On the 8th of December, after a long conference with Akaitcho, they took leave of him and his kind companions, and set out with two sledges heavily laden with provision and bedding, drawn by the dogs, and conducted by Belanger and the Canadian sent by Mr. Weeks. Hepburn and Augustus jointly dragged a smaller sledge, laden principally with their own bedding. Adam and Benoit were left to follow with the Indians. They encamped on the Grassy-Lake Portage, having walked about nine miles, principally on the Yellow-Knife River. It was open at the rapids, and in these places they had to ascend its banks, and walk through the woods for some distance, which was very fatiguing, especially to Dr. Richardson, whose feet were severely galled in consequence of some defect in his snow-shoes.

On the 11th, they arrived at Fort Providence, where Mr. Weeks gave them every attention. Their joy and gratitude to God for having again brought them to a place where all their necessities could be relieved was great, and they united in thanksgiving and praises for their mercies. The stores and

presents for the Indians having partly arrived, Capt. Franklin resolved to wait until Akaitcho and his party came up, that he might present them unto him himself. He arrived on the 14th with all his people. Having smoked his pipe according to their usual custom, and made a speech to Mr. Weeks, he addressed himself to Captain Franklin, in which he said he felt disappointed that so small a portion of the present and supplies intended for them had arrived, because, he said, his people looked to him to secure that remuneration to them which had been promised. That he did not however intend to cast any blame on the captain and his companions. "This world goes badly," he said, "all are poor; you are poor, the traders appear to be poor, I and my party are poor likewise; and since the goods have not come in, we cannot have them. I do not regret having supplied you with provisions, for a Copper Indian can never permit white men to suffer for want of food on his lands, without flying to their aid. I trust, however, that we shall, as you say, receive what is due next autumn; and at all events," he added, in a tone of good humour, "it is the first time that the white people have been indebted to the Copper Indians." He was assured the supplies should certainly be sent to him by the autumn, if not before. He then cheerfully received a small present for himself; and, although they could give but a few things to those only who had been most active in their service, the others, who, perhaps, thought themselves equally deserving, did not murmur at being left out in the distribution.

Akaitcho at the conclusion of the meeting desired that a good report might be made to the people of England of the conduct of his Indians, and he was assured that his kindness should very soon be noticed. Such of the Indians as owed the trading Company money, now received a discharge to the amount of any articles which had been furnished to the captain and his party, and a credit was entered on the Company's books to the value due to any others and to Akaitcho

himself. Having thus adjusted their engagements, the captain presented the band with a barrel of spirits mixed with water, and they retired.

Having concluded all his engagements to their mutual satisfaction, Dr. Richardson, Captain Franklin and others of the party left Fort Providence on the 15th, and proceeded to Moose-deer Island. The party consisted of Belanger, who had charge of a sledge laden with the bedding, and drawn by two dogs, and the two cariole men, Benoit, and Augustus. Previous to their departure, they had another conference with Akaitcho, who, as well as the rest of his party, bade them farewell, with a warmth of manner rare among the Indians.

The badness of Belanger's dogs, and the roughness of the ice, impeded their progress very much, and obliged them to encamp very early. They had a good fire made of the drift wood, which lines the shores of this lake in great quantities. The next day was very cold. They began the journey at nine in the morning, and encamped at the Big Cape, having made another short march, in consequence of the roughness of the ice.

On the 17th, they encamped on the most southerly of the Rein-deer Islands. The night was very stormy, but the wind abating in the morning, they proceeded, and by sunset reached the fishing butts of the Company at Stony Point. Here they found Mr. Andrews, a clerk of the Hudson's Bay Company, who regaled them with a supper of excellent whitefish, for which that part of Slave Lake is particularly celebrated. They set off in the morning before day break, with several companions, and arrived at Moose-deer Island about one in the afternoon, where they had the great satisfaction of again meeting Mr. Back. Their mutual feelings on meeting again after having passed through such a series of sufferings was of the most affecting kind. Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Vicar, the chief resident at Moose-deer Island received them with the greatest kindness, and by his attention to their diet and their comforts, their health and strength were fully restored. Here they remained until the

middle of May, during which time the remainder of the stores intended for Akaitcho and his people arrived ; and the captain had sufficient to add an additional present of ammunition to every one who had assisted them. On the 26th they set out for Fort Chipewyan, where they arrived on 2nd of June, which they quitted on the 5th, and proceeded to Norway House, which they reached on the 4th of July. At this place they discharged the Canadian voyagers, sending them home by canoes which were going to Montreal. On the 14th, they arrived at York Factory, thus concluding a journey, perhaps unparalleled in history, of upwards of five thousand five hundred miles by land and water.

That this journey did not attain all its objects must be admitted, yet it made an important addition to the northern boundaries of America ; and not only established the fact of an ocean on that side, but ascertained its latitude. Captain Franklin's expedition also threw much light on arctic discovery, which must be of great service in all new attempts to reach the North Pole.

The importance of having an overland expedition at the same time as one by sea for the Arctic Regions, had so strongly impressed itself on the British government, that on Captain Parry sailing again in 1824 to those regions, where

“ Pale suns unfelt at distance roll away,  
And on the impassive ice the lightnings play,”

It was determined that Captain Franklin should follow in the spring, and renew his arduous task of traversing those bleak and inhospitable regions to the northern shores of America. Captain Franklin was accompanied by Dr. Richardson, his former travelling companion, Mr. Drummond, a young botanist, and others. They sailed from Liverpool in February 1825, for New York ; and thence proceeded, by the Lake Erie Canal, to Lac Huron, where the party, about thirty in number, arrived on the 22nd of April, 1825.

From Montreal to Lac Huron, no incident worth record-



#### FRANKLIN'S JOURNEY

ing occurred ; but the journey was performed with ease and expedition ; every man enjoyed excellent health and daily felt his spirits becoming more buoyant from the continued calmness and fineness of the weather. On the 24th of April, the party were to embark in two large canoes for Fort William, traversing in their course the upper end of Lac Huron, Sault St. Marie and Lake Superior. From thence they proceed in four canoes by Lac la Pluie, Lake Winipeg, Cumberland House, and Methy-portage, to Athabasca, where they expect to overtake three boats with their crews of Argylshire-men who were sent out from England in the summer of 1824, and have had ample time to forward the instruments and luggage entrusted to their care.

In their voyage through the principal lakes, the travellers will be conveyed in American steam boats, and when that accommodation ceases, they will procure, as formerly, the services of stout Canadian boatmen. One of the greatest evils attendant on this expedition, is, that it requires upwards of twelve months to convey them to what may be called the starting point of discovery. And however heavily the time may hang on their hands, they must patiently wait the tardy lapse of an Arctic winter, and even after the sun begins to peep above the horizon, there are not above six or eight weeks, during which they can travel with any thing like safety.

Fort Reliance, situated on the shore of the Great Bear Lake, and the most northern piece of masonry in the world, was expressly built for the safety and comfort of the travellers, and will terminate their wanderings for the first season. This spot they expect to reach by the end of September, and in the spring Captain Franklin and his old companion, Mr. Back, who goes out on promotion, with one half of the party, will proceed down Mackenzie's River, and from thence explore the coast to the westward, as far as Icy Cape and Behring's Straits. Here Captain Beechy, who sailed in the Blossom on the 21st of May 1825, is to endeavour to join

Captain Franklin, and after rendering him every assistance, as to pursue his exploratory investigations in such parts about Behring's Straits as are imperfectly known. Every thing that can contribute to the success of these several expeditions and add to the comfort, or rather lessen the privations of the enterprising navigators who have undertaken them, has been done by government; they are accompanied also by the prayers and wishes of every Briton, while neighbouring nations look on their efforts with admiration and anxiety. From their known talents and ardent zeal every thing is to be hoped; and although

" 'Tis not in mortals to command success,  
Yet they'll do more—they'll deserve it."

Captain Franklin was married to Miss Eleanor Porden, a lady of poetical talents of the highest order, the daughter of William Porden, Esq. the architect who erected the king's stables at Brighton, Eaton Hall, the seat of Lord Grosvenor, and other buildings which placed his name high in his profession. At the age of twenty, Miss Porden, who from childhood discovered a genius for poetry, published a poem in six cantos, entitled the "The Veils, or the Triumph of Constancy." The union of poetical grace and scientific intelligence in this poem excited much admiration, and in three years afterwards it was followed by "The Arctic Expedition," an interesting poetic tribute to the gallant adventurers Captains Ross and Buchan, and Lieutenants Parry and Franklin, then engaged in one of the most perilous enterprises by which the present age has been distinguished. The opening of the poem had a pretty allusion to the labours of the voyagers—

" Sail, sail adventurous barks! go fearless forth,  
Storm, on his glacier seat, the misty North,  
Give to mankind the inhospitable zone,  
And Briton's trident plant in seas unknown.  
No! sure wherever science fills the mind,  
Or grief for man long sever'd from his kind


The anxious nations watch the changing gales,  
And prayers and blessings swell your flagging sails."

The publication of this poem is said to have led to her acquaintance with Captain Franklin. Miss Porden afterwards published a very spirited Ode on the Coronation of his Majesty George the Fourth; but her grand work was "*Cœur de Lion, or the Third Crusade*," a poem in sixteen cantos, and one of the greatest efforts of a female pen in the annals of English literature.

In the month of August, 1823, Miss Porden gave her hand to Captain Franklin, to whom she had been some time engaged, and who had then recently returned from the land expedition employed to assist in exploring the Polar Regions. Happy, but brief was their union. In the circumstances of Mrs. Franklin's death there was something unusually distressing. Constitutionally delicate, it has been generally, though erroneously, understood, that the fatal event was occasioned by grief at her husband's departure, acting upon a previously debilitated frame. This, however, was not the case.

Mrs. Franklin entered with energy into the enterprising spirit of her husband; she earnestly wished him to repeat the attempt, hoping that he might accomplish the object so much desired. With this anticipation she looked forward to welcome his return; but, a pulmonary complaint, from which she had suffered nearly two years, reached its crisis about the time that Captain Franklin received his orders to proceed. She expired at her house, Devonshire Street, on the 22nd of February, aged 30, exactly one week after having bidden her husband farewell, leaving a daughter eight months old.

Captain Franklin was promoted to the rank of commander in 1821, and to that of Post Captain in 1822. We trust higher honours in his profession and the reward of his grateful country still await him.



# BELZONI'S TRAVELS

IN

EGYPT AND NUBIA,

&c. &c.



THE Narrative of the Travels and Researches of Mr. Belzoni have obtained a justly deserved attention among the readers of the present day. In his introductory preface to his own narrative he says, "I made my discoveries alone. I have been anxious to write my book myself, though in so doing the reader will consider me, and with great propriety, guilty of temerity; but the public will perhaps gain in the fidelity of my narrative what it loses in elegance. I am not an Englishman, but I prefer that my readers should receive from myself, as well as I am able to describe them, an account of my proceedings in Egypt, in Nubia, on the coast of the Red Sea, and in the Oasis; rather than run the risk of having my meaning misrepresented by another. If I am intelligible, it is all that I can expect. I shall state nothing but the plain matters of fact, as they occurred to me in these countries, in 1815-16-17-18 and 19. A description of the means I took in making my researches, the difficulties I had to encounter, and how I overcame them, will give a tolerably correct idea of the manners and customs of the people I had to deal with." Much has been written on Egypt and Nubia by the travellers of the last century, by Denon, and the French sçavans, whose general account of these countries has scarcely left any thing unnoticed; and by Mr

Hamilton, whose description is unimpeached, and by Mr. Burckhardt, who was so well acquainted with the language and manners of these people, that none of them suspected him to be an European? His account of the tribes in these countries is minutely correct, as well as his observations on modern Egypt and Nubia in general.

No traveller had ever such opportunities of studying the customs of the natives as were afforded to him, for none had ever to deal with them in so peculiar a manner. His constant occupation was searching after antiquities, and this led him in the various transactions he had with them, to observe the real characters of the Turks, Arabs, Nubians, Bedo-weens, and Ababdy tribes. Thus he was very differently circumstanced from a common traveller, who goes merely to make his remarks on the country and its antiquities, instead of having to persuade ignorant and superstitious people to undertake a hard task, in labours, with which they were previously totally unacquainted.

Mr. Belzoni was born in the city of Padua, was of a Roman family, which had resided there for many years. The state and troubles of Italy in 1800, which are too well known to require any comment, compelled him to leave it, and from that time he visited different parts of Europe, and suffered many vicissitudes. The greater part of his younger days he passed in Rome, the former abode of his ancestors, where he was preparing to become a monk when the sudden entry of the French army into that city altered the course of his education, and destined him to travel ever since. His family supplied him occasionally with remittances; but as they were not rich, he contrived to live on his own industry, and the little knowledge he had acquired in various branches. He turned his chief attention to hydraulics, a science that he had learned in Rome, and which was ultimately the cause of his going to Egypt. In 1803 he arrived in England, and soon after married, and after residing in it nine years, he formed the resolution of going to

the south of Europe. Taking Mrs. Belzoni with him, he visited Portugal, Spain, and Malta, from which latter place they embarked for Egypt, where they remained from 1815 to 1819. Here he was the discoverer of many remains of antiquity of that primitive nation. He opened one of the two famous Pyramids of Ghizeh, as well as several of the tombs of the kings at Thebes. Among the latter, that which has been pronounced by one of the most distinguished scholars of the age to be the tomb of Psammuthis, is at this moment the principal, the most perfect and splendid monument in that country. The celebrated bust of young Memnon, now in the British Museum, was discovered by him, and after an absence of twenty years, he returned to his native land, and from thence proceeded to England.

On the 19th of May, 1815, Mr. Belzoni, his wife and an Irish lad, named James Curtain, set sail from Malta, and arrived at Alexandria on the 9th of June. The principal cause of his going to Egypt was the project of constructing hydraulic machines, to irrigate the fields, by a system much easier and more economical than what is in use in that country. On entering the harbour of Alexandria, the pilot informed them that the plague was in the town. To an European who had never been in that country, this was alarming intelligence, and wishing to have some information concerning the state of the disease, Mr. Belzoni did not land till the next day, when two European gentlemen came alongside in a boat, and said that the plague was rapidly diminishing. They then landed, but with much caution, and proceeded to the French Occale, where they were to perform quarantine. Fortunately, St. John's day, which is the 24th of June, when the plague is supposed to cease, was near. Some superstitious persons attribute this to the power of the saint himself; but it is well known, that extreme heat checks the plague in the same manner as the cold season; and, that when the heat of summer is not so great as usual, the plague lasts longer; while, on the other hand,

when the cold season continues longer, the plague comes later

The Occale is an enclosure of several houses, so disposed as to form a square. There is no entrance to the area of the square but by the great gate, leading to a common staircase, above which a gallery leads to every house. In plague time, the people of these habitations must communicate with each other without touching; no provision can enter without being passed through water, nor must bread be touched whilst warm. The disease is so easily caught, that a piece of thread blown by the wind is quite sufficient to infect the whole country. Had it been known that they were ill, no one would have approached them, except the Arabs, who go in case of sickness indiscriminately to every one; and are thus likely to spread the plague, by giving it to those who have it not. Many die the victims of neglect, merely because every disease is taken for the plague; others are victims of a different kind, of the atrocious, interested views of their relatives, who, profiting by their death, may take what advantage they please, even by poison, as no investigation takes place in any instance. "He died of the plague" is the general cry, whatever may be the disease; and as several hundreds perish daily, they are all carried away without distinction.

After the 24th of June, called the great St. John, the plague nearly ceased, and desirous of reaching Cairo, they hired a boat, in company with Mr. Turner, an English gentleman, who was going up the Nile. They sailed on the 1st of July, but owing to the contrary winds, were brought back the same evening. The next day they re-embarked, and were then obliged to land at Aboukir, in consequence of high winds, and visited the place where General Abercromby, and many of the brave army under his command, had fallen in war, and to the glory of their country. Several human bones were scattered about.

Continuing their voyage the same day, they entered the

mouth of the Nile, and landed at Rosetta; and in four days more arrived at Boolak, within a mile of Cairo. The bustling scene here was most striking. The majestic appearance of Turkish soldiers in various costumes, without regularity or discipline, Arabs of many tribes, boats, canjeas, camels, horses and asses, all in motion, presented a striking picture. Mr. Belzoni landed, and went immediately to Cairo; and as the holy fathers of the convent of Terrasanta could not receive women within their walls, they were accommodated in an old house in Boolak, belonging to Mr. Baghos, to whom Mr. Belzoni was recommended. He was the principal interpreter of Mahomed Ali, and director of all foreign affairs; a man of great acuteness of understanding, and so well disposed towards strangers, particularly Europeans, that it was soon arranged, that on a particular day he was to be presented to his highness the Bashaw, to make a proposal.

The house they inhabited was old and out of repair, all the windows were shut up with broken wooden rails; the staircase was in a wretched condition, and scarcely a step entire; the door was fastened simply by a pole placed against it, having neither lock nor any thing else to secure the entrance. There were many rooms in it, but the ceiling in all of them was in a most threatening state. They had mattresses and linen, otherwise they must have adopted the Arab method of sleeping: as there are no chairs in this country, they sat on the ground; a box and a trunk served as a table; fortunately, they had a few plates, as well as knives and forks, which they had provided to use in the boat; and James, the Irish lad, bought a set of culinary utensils of pottery. Such were their accommodations.

Mr. Belzoni took an opportunity of going to see the wonder of the world, the pyramids, with Mr. Turner, who obtained an escort of soldiers from the Bashaw to accompany them. They went there to sleep, that they might ascend the pyramid early enough in the morning to see the rising of the



sun; and accordingly were on the top of it long before the dawn of day. The scene was majestic and grand far beyond description; a mist over the plains of Egypt formed a veil, which ascended and vanished gradually as the sun rose and unveiled to the view that beautiful land, once the site of Memphis. The distant view of the smaller pyramids on the south marked the extension of that vast capital; while the solemn, endless spectacle of the desert on the west inspired reverence for the all-powerful Creator. The fertile lands on the north, with the serpentine course of the Nile, descending towards the sea; the rich appearance of Cairo, and its numerous minarets, at the foot of the Mokatam mountain on the east, the beautiful plain which extends from the pyramids to that city; the Nile, which flows magnificently through the centre of the sacred valley, and the thick groves of palm trees, altogether formed a scene, of which very imperfect ideas can be given by the most elaborate description. Having examined several of these mausoleums, they returned to Cairo with the satisfaction of having seen a wonder, which they had long desired, but never supposed they should have the happiness to behold.

Soon after this Mr. Baghos introduced Mr. Belzoni to the Bashaw, that he might come to some arrangement respecting the hydraulic machine, which he proposed to construct for watering the gardens of the seraglio, and which was in fact the main object of his visit to Egypt. As they were proceeding towards the palace, through one of the principal streets of Cairo, a brutal Turk struck Mr. Belzoni so fiercely on the leg with his stirrup, that it tore away a large piece of flesh. The blow was so severe, and the discharge of blood so copious, that he was obliged to be conveyed home, where he remained under cure thirty days before he could support himself on the wounded leg. When able to leave the house, he was presented to the Bashaw, who received him very civilly, but on being told of the misfortune which had happened to him, contented himself

with coolly observing, "that such accidents could not be avoided where there were troops."

An arrangement was immediately concluded for erecting a machine which was to raise as much water with one ox, as the ordinary ones do with four. Mr. Belzoni soon found however, that he had many prejudices to encounter, and many obstacles to overcome, on the part of those who were employed in the construction of the work, as well as of those who owned the cattle engaged in drawing water for the Bashaw's gardens. The fate of a machine which had been sent from England, taught him to augur no good for that which he had undertaken to construct. Though of the most costly description, and every way equal to perform what it was calculated to do, it had failed to answer the unreasonable expectations of the Turks, because "the quantity of water raised by it was not sufficient to inundate the whole country in an hour, which was their measure of the power of an English water-wheel."

While Mr. Belzoni resided at Cairo a revolution broke out among the soldiers, and some of the troops pursued the Bashaw to the citadel, whither he had retired for safety. All the soldiers ran after him, but as to the rest of the people, no one came out of their houses. All the Franks in their quarter were alarmed, and prepared for defence, in case the gates should be attacked. Mr. Belzoni proceeded to the house of Mr. Baghos, in the same quarter, as he had business with him. He had not gone far, when he met a body of armed soldiers running towards the centre of the town. Advancing further, he heard several muskets discharged in a street near, and many others at some distance: indeed there was a continual firing kept up. On approaching the Esbakie, he saw several soldiers running towards the seraglio, and others hastening towards him. When they came up one seized the bridle of his doukey, while another took him by the collar, and the rest were busied in rifling his pockets. He had fortunately but a few dollars in his possession.

For several days they kept close in the house: during this time, the soldiers plundered the shops in Cairo, and the Bashaw sent the Syrian horse against them, now known under the appellation of Tartoor. These were the only troops faithful to him; but being mounted, they could not follow the Albanians, who were posted in ploughed fields between Cairo and Boolak. One day the cavalry advanced and the Albanians retired towards Boolak. The house in which Mr. Belzoni resided was so situated, that from the upper part of it he could see the firing of the troops on one side, and on the other the confusion of the people, who had taken to the boats, which were soon crowded with them, and in the hurry many of them went adrift. There was a universal cry among the people, and the troops advanced to the very entrance of the town; but, fortunately, they were prevented from coming in by the cavalry, who, by making a circuit, had taken post on the road. The confusion continued in this manner for several days: at last, after having plundered and ravaged Cairo at their pleasure, the troops retired to their camps, and in a few days more matters were arranged again. The discontented troops were all sent to encampments in various stations, at a distance from Cairo, and part towards Mecca; but the European exercise, to introduce which was said to have been the cause of the revolt of the troops, was wholly abandoned, and consigned to oblivion. Turks are averse to controul of any sort, and particularly to what is not the result of Mahomedan customs.

One of the buffoons of the Bashaw took it into his head one day, for a frolic, to shave his beard; which is no trifle among the Turks, for some of them would sooner have their head cut off than beard; he borrowed some Frank's clothes of the Bashaw's apothecary, who was from Europe, and, after dressing himself in European costume, presented himself as an European, who could not speak a single word either of Turkish or Arabic, which is often the case. Being in the dark, the Bashaw took him for what he represented

himself to be, and sent immediately for the interpreter, who put some questions to him in Italian, which he did not answer; he was then questioned in French, but no reply; and next in the German and Spanish languages, and still he was silent; at last, when he saw that they were all deceived, the Bashaw not excepted, he burst out in plain Turkish, the only language he was acquainted with, and his well known voice told them who he was; for such was the change of his person, particularly by the cutting off his beard, that otherwise they could scarcely have recognised him. The Bashaw was delighted with the fellow; and, to keep up the frolic, gave him an order on the treasury for an enormous sum of money, and sent him to the Kaciabay, to present himself as a Frank, to receive it. The Kaciabay started at the immensity of the sum, as it was nearly all that the treasury could furnish; but upon questioning this new European, it was soon discovered who he was. In this attire he went home to his women, who actually thrust him out of the door; and such was the disgrace of cutting off his beard, that even his fellow buffoons would not eat with him till it was grown again.

Having heard of electricity, the Bashaw sent to England for two electric machines, one with a plate, the other with a cylinder. The former was broken by the way, the latter was dismounted. The physician of the Bashaw, an Arminian, did not know, though it was so easy a matter, how to set it up. Mr. Belzoni happening to be at the garden one evening, when they were attempting it, and could not succeed, he was requested to put the several pieces together, and having done so, he made one of the soldiers mount on the insulating stool, charged the machine, and gave the Turk a good shock; who, expecting no such thing, uttered a loud cry, and jumped off much terrified. The Bashaw laughed at the man's jumping off, supposing his fright to be a trick, and not the effect of the machine; and when told that it was actually occasioned by the machine, he affirmed

positively that it could not be, for the soldier was at such a distance, that it was impossible the small chain he held in his hand could have such power. Mr. Belzoni then desired the interpreter to inform his highness, that if he would mount the stool himself, he would be convinced of the fact. He hesitated for a while whether to believe it or not; however he mounted the stool, the chain was put into his hand, and he received a pretty smart shock. He jumped off, like the soldier, on feeling the effect of the electricity; but immediately threw himself on the sofa in a fit of laughter, not being able to conceive how the machine could have such power on the human body.

During Mr. Belzoni's stay at Soubra, a circumstance occurred, which shewed plainly the country he was in, and the people he had to deal with. Some particular business calling him to Cairo, he was on his ass in one of the narrow streets, where he met a loaded camel. The space that remained between the camel and the wall was so little, that he could scarcely pass; and at that moment he was met by a Binbashi, a subaltern officer, at the head of his men. For the instant he was the only obstacle that prevented his proceeding on the road, and he could neither retreat nor turn round, to give him room to pass. The soldier seeing it was a Frank who stopped his way, gave him a violent blow on his stomach. Not being accustomed to put up with such salutations, Mr. Belzoni returned the compliment with his whip across the shoulders of the Binbashi; upon which he instantly took his pistol out of his belt, and fired at the head of Mr. Belzoni, singed his hair near the right ear, and killed a soldier who at this time had come behind him. Finding that he had missed his aim, he took out a second pistol, but his own soldiers assailed and disarmed him.

A great noise arose in the street, and as it happened to be near the seraglio in the Esbakie, some of the guards ran up, but on seeing what the matter was, they interfered and stopped the Binbashi. Mr. Belzoni mounted his charger,

and rode off to Mr. Baghos, and told him what had happened; they repaired immediately to the citadel, saw the Bashaw, and related the circumstance to him. He was much concerned, and wished to know where the soldier was, but observed, that it was too late that evening to have him taken up, however, he was apprehended the next day. This was a lesson to Mr. Belzoni, who took good care in future, not to give the least opportunity of the kind to men of that description, who can murder an European with as much indifference as they would kill an insect.

A charming young lady, about sixteen years of age, daughter of the Chevalier Bocty, consul-general of Sweden, went out of her house, in company with her mother, sister, and some other ladies, to go to a bath. They formed a cavalcade on asses, as is the custom of the country, and had not proceeded far from their door when they met a soldier, (a monster it should seem) who took a pistol from his belt, and with the greatest coolness, fired and killed the young lady. She was one of the most amiable creatures, both in manners and person, that ever lived; and was most deservedly lamented by every one who knew her. To the honour of Mahommed Ali, the monster was taken and executed, but what satisfaction could this be to her afflicted parents.

The Arabs of Soubra exhibit as much festivity, when a marriage of consequence takes place, as those of any of the villages in Egypt. Early in the morning of the grand holiday, a high pole is planted in the centre of the place, with a banner belonging to the village. A large assembly of people gather under it, and preparations are made for an illumination with glass lamps, &c. The Arabs from other villages come to the feast in procession, beating their tambourines, and waving their flags. At some distance from the pole they halt, and do not advance till a deputation is sent to invite them to the feast. The elders of the village seat themselves around and under the pole, and the strangers at a little distance. One of the villagers near the pole begins

to sing, meanwhile the rest divide themselves into two parties, forming two circles, one within the other, round the pole and facing each other. By each man putting his arms over his neighbour's shoulders, each circle forms a continuous chain. The outer circle stand still, while the people of the inner circle keep dancing and bowing in an orderly manner to those in the outer. Thus they continue for three hours. Some of the Hadgees, who are desirous of exhibiting their powers in ceremonial devotion, go on for two hours, bending their bodies nearly to the ground, and raising them up again with such quickness, that it would be impossible for any one who is not accustomed to it, to undergo such exertion a quarter of an hour. All the women are at a distance by themselves, and among them is the bride. When the dancing and singing is ended, they all sit down in large circles, and a great quantity of boiled rice is brought to them in large wooden bowls, besides a number of dishes of melokie and bamies, (plants eaten in common by the Arabs as greens), and three or four large sheep roasted, which are immediately torn to pieces and devoured. For the drinking department they have a number of boys, who are fully employed in fetching water in large bardacks from the Nile. At night, the pole and all the place around it is illuminated; the people seat themselves in an orderly manner, in the form of an amphitheatre, the women forming a part of the circle, separate from the men. A band of tambourines and pipes is continually playing, and the entertainment begins with dancing, by two well-known and distinguished performers.

When the dancing is at an end, a sort of play is performed, the intent of which is to exhibit life and manners, as in the European theatres. The subject represented an Hadgee, who wants to go to Mecca, and applies to a camel-driver to procure a camel for him; the driver imposes on him, by not letting him see the seller of the camel, and putting a higher price on it than is really asked, giving so much less to the seller than he received from the purchaser. A camel is

at length seemingly produced, which consists of two men covered over with a cloth and apparently in waiting to set out for Mecca. The Hadgee mounts and attempts to ride, but finds the camel so bad a beast that he requires his money to be returned. An altercation then arises between the driver and the buyer, during which the real owner of the camel appears, and on examination finds that the driver has substituted a camel of inferior value, and was thus defrauding the buyer and seller. Upon this the driver is severely beaten and in conclusion runs away. The whole audience appeared well pleased with the performance.

This was followed by another performance, describing a European on his travels. Arriving at the house of a poor Arab, he wished to obtain refreshment. The former made an ostentatious parade of his wealth by ordering his wife to kill a sheep, and this command she seems to obey, but quickly returns with an account that the flock had strayed to a great distance and could not be found. Upon this information he directs several fowls to be killed; but she returns and states that she cannot catch them. She is then sent to procure a supply of pigeons, but every pigeon is absent from their roost. At length, as their only remaining resource, the traveller is provided with a meal of sour milk and bread, which concludes the entertainment.

Mr. Bankes, jun. arrived soon after this period, as did also the celebrated traveller Burckhardt, and Mr. Salt the British consul. During an interval of a few weeks, in which Mr. Bankes proceeded to Mount Sinai and visited other interesting places, Mr. Belzoni had finished his water machine, and every preparation being made, on a stated day the Basha arrived from Alexandria and attended the exhibition of the powers of the machine, accompanied by several persons who were considered to possess a considerable acquaintance with hydraulics. The principle of the machine was that of a crane having a large tread wheel, in which an ox was to walk and draw up more water than four oxen could accomplish on



the plans at that time adopted in the country. The machine being put in motion, drew six times the quantity of water which their own machines produced; but a considerable deal of envy and prejudice was manifested by the natives against the improved method, and every impediment and objection thrown in the way of its accomplishment. Mahomed Ali, the Bashaw, could not but notice the prejudice entertained by his people, and admitted that great improvement was effected, for instead of six hundred oxen and drivers being necessary to procure water, it was evident that one hundred of each would be sufficient. A circumstance however took place which put a stop to the further prosecution of these plans.

The Bashaw took it into his head to have the oxen taken out of the wheel, in order to see, by way of frolic, what effect the machine would have by putting fifteen men into it. James, the Irish lad, entered with them: but no sooner had the wheel turned once round, than they all jumped out, leaving the lad alone in it. The wheel, overbalanced by the weight of the water, turned back with such velocity, that the catch was unable to stop it. The lad was thrown out, and in the fall broke one of his thighs. Mr. Belzoni stopped the wheel before it did farther injury which might have been fatal to him.

The Turks are strong believers in fatalism, and this accident was considered by them as so bad an omen, that accompanied by the prejudices which were manifested, the Bashaw was prevailed on to abandon the use of this machine, and to continue the use of those already worked in that country.

Being thus defeated in the further pursuit of the plan which brought him to Egypt, and also deprived of that pecuniary remuneration which he expected, as he received not the money which had been agreed by the Bashaw to pay him, his mind was led to the contemplation of other projects, and he felt particularly reluctant to leave a country abounding with the grandest works of the ancients, and in the investigation of which he felt peculiar delight. His finances however

were too circumscribed to afford him the opportunity of proceeding to any distance, especially as he was accompanied by Mrs. Belzoni.

Having had several interviews with Mr. Burckhardt and Mr. Salt while the machine was in progress, during which their conversation often turned naturally on the antiquities by which they were surrounded, the removal of the colossal bust of Memnon to Great Britain had been started by Mr. Burckhardt as an object greatly to be desired. Being much disposed to such pursuits, Mr. Belzoni often expressed before them with what satisfaction he should like to undertake the removal of that bust, and to further any efforts to send it to the British Museum. These conversations however ended without producing any decisive measures, and upon a full consideration he at length resolved to trust to his own efforts, and calculating that with economy he could make a voyage to Assouan and back, he gave way to his enthusiastic love of antiquities, and which he had cultivated in early life while resident in Italy, he resolved to ascend the river Nile.

Having resolved as to his course, he communicated his intentions to Mr. Burckhardt; and on applying to the British Consul to request him to procure a firman, or protection from the Bashaw, he manifested great satisfaction. Mr. Burckhardt was present at the time of his application to the Consul, and they said that it was their wish to obtain the colossal head, and to make a present of it to the British Museum. They requested Mr. Belzoni to undertake the removal of it, and he promised to use his endeavours to effect it, saying that it would afford him great pleasure in removing it to that place.

In consequence of this interview the following plan of directions for his conduct was given to him.

“ Mr. Belzoni is requested to prepare the necessary implements at Boolak, for the purpose of raising the head of a statue of the younger Memnon, and carrying it down the Nile. He will proceed as speedily as circumstances will allow, to Siout,

there to deliver his letters, prepared for that effect, to Ibrahim Bashaw, or whoever may be left in the charge of the government; and he will, at that place, consult with Doctor Scotto on the subject of his further proceedings. He will take care to engage a proper boat for bringing down the head, and will request Mr. Scotto to provide him with a soldier to go up with him, for the purpose of engaging the Fellahs to work whenever he may require their assistance, as otherwise they are not likely to attend to Mr. Belzoni's orders; and he should on no account leave Siout without an interpreter.

“ Having obtained the necessary permission to hire workmen, &c., Mr. Belzoni will proceed direct to Thebes. He will find the head referred to on the western side of the river, opposite to Carnak, in the vicinity of a village called Gornou, lying on the southern side of a ruined temple, called by the natives Kossar el Dekaki. To the head is still attached a portion of the shoulders, so that altogether it is of large dimensions, and will be recognized—by the circumstances of its lying on its back with the face uppermost—by the face being quite perfect, and very beautiful—by its having, on one of its shoulders, a hole bored artificially, supposed to have been made by the French for separating the fragment of the body—and from its being a mixed blackish and reddish granite, and covered with hieroglyphics on its shoulders. It must not be mistaken for another, lying in that neighbourhood, which is much mutilated.

“ Mr. Belzoni will spare no expense or trouble in getting it as speedily conveyed to the banks of the river as possible; and he will, if it be necessary, let it wait there till the river shall have attained sufficient height, before he attempts to get it into the boat. But, at the same time, he is requested not to attempt removing it, on any account, if he should judge there would be any serious risk of either injuring the head, of burying the face in the sand, or of losing it in the Nile. If, on arriving at the ground, he should perceive

that his means are inadequate, or that the difficulties of the undertaking, from the nature of the ground, or other causes, are likely to prove insurmountable, he will, at once, relinquish the enterprise, and not enter into farther expense on that account.

“ Mr. Belzoni will have the goodness to keep a separate account of the expenses incurred in this undertaking, which, as well as his other expenses, will gladly be reimbursed ; as, from the knowledge of Mr. Belzoni’s character, it is confidently believed they will be as reasonable as circumstances will allow.

“ The boat meant to carry the head should be hired for a sufficient time to allow of its being carried directly down to Alexandria ; but, on the way, Mr. Belzoni will not fail to stop at Boolak for further instructions.

“ If Mr. Belzoni should ascertain the certainty of his being able to accomplish his purpose, he is requested immediately to dispatch an express with the gratifying intelligence to Cairo.

“ HENRY SALT.”

Mr. Salt requested that Mr. Belzoni should not confine his efforts to the obtaining the bust of Memnon ; but desired he would purchase any other productions of antiquity which he might see eligible, and furnished him with money to enable him to accomplish it.

All things being now ready, on the 30th of June 1816, he quitted his residence at Boolak in the suburbs of Cairo accompanied by his wife, and the Irish lad ; he also took with him an interpreter who had formerly been in the French army. On the 5th of July they arrived at Manfalut, where he met Ibrahim, Bashaw of Upper Egypt, the son of Mahomet Ali, on his way to Cairo. The Bashaw was accompanied by Mr. Drouetti, formerly consul of the French government. He gave Mr. Belzoni to understand that the Arabs resident at Thebes, whither he was now proceeding, were too idle a people to be prevailed on to assist in raising the bust of Memnon. The Bashaw made Mr. Belzoni a present of the

granite cover of a sarcophagus which the Arabs had discovered in one of the tombs; and said that his people had been employed in endeavouring to get the sarcophagus out but without success, and told Mr. Belzoni he was welcome to procure it for himself. Having thanked the Bashaw, Mr. Belzoni proceeded on his journey.

On the 6th, in the afternoon, he arrived at Siout. The Defterdar Bey was not there, but was expected in two or three days. Mr. Belzoni waited upon Mr. Scotto, the physician of Ibrahim Bashaw, to whom he was referred for information respecting boats, carpenters, &c. Upon introducing the matter to Mr. Scotto, he made many difficulties: first, about obtaining permission to have the necessary workmen; then there were no boats to be had; and next, the bust was a mass of stone not worth the carriage: at last, he plainly recommended him not to meddle in the business, as he would meet with many disagreeable things, and have many serious obstacles to encounter. On the 6th day the Bey arrived. He received Mr. Belzoni very politely, who presented a letter to him which Mr. Salt had received from Mahomet Ali himself, and he then furnished him with orders to the Casheff of the province of Erments, to whom the Fellahs of Thebes are subject.

Siout is the capital of Sais, or Upper Egypt. There is a constant commerce kept up by the caravans from Darfoor. Negroes, feathers, elephants' teeth, and gum, are the principal articles that are brought to market. The viceroy of Upper Egypt is always the first to select what he pleases from the caravan; for which he fixes his own price, and pays what he likes. The rest is for the merchants, who dare not buy any thing till the viceroy has made his choice. This place is celebrated for the making of eunuchs. As soon as the operation is performed, the boys are buried in the ground, all but the head and shoulders; and many, who are not of strong constitutions, die with the excruciating pain. It is calculated,

that the operation, during its performance or afterwards, proves fatal to two out of three.

The tyrannical power exercised by those in authority may be imagined from the following circumstance. A man was brought before the Bashaw charged with a particular crime. Having put two or three questions as to the circumstances of the case, he sent him to an inferior judge called a Cadi, and with little previous ceremony he was condemned to be tied to the mouth of a cannon, which blew the body into a thousand pieces. On another occasion a soldier had conducted himself in a violent manner towards two Arabs, by whom in the contest he was afterwards killed. The Arabs were seized and fastened to a pole and roasted to death before a fire. Actions so revolting to human nature cannot but excite sentiments of commiseration in the minds of every Christian, living under the regulated and defined principles of a government conducted as in this happy land; and must lead every one who properly reflects, not to murmur at what he may suppose to be erroneous and wrong in his own nation, but to admire the tendency of the whole system of the British government to deal faithfully, equitably and mercifully towards every subject, whatever their rank may be.

On the 15th Mr. Belzoni visited a convent of religious at Acmin. Some of the fathers accompanied him on a visit to the Casheff or governor of the place, who being given to understand that Mr. Belzoni was in search of antiquities, said that there were many in the neighbourhood, but that no one could obtain them because they were under the controul of a spirit whose enchantments it would be dangerous to meddle with. Mr. Belzoni in reply requested to have the situation pointed out, and said that he felt himself superior to the power of any magical opposition. The Casheff however said, that if any one were to point out their situation, the spirit would certainly inflict some punishment upon them. The Casheff further informed him that at the distance of a few miles from Acmin there was a rock, in which was for-

merly a gold ring of considerable size ; that various attempts had been made to get it out, and cannon balls had been fired against it to break that part of the rock without producing any effect ; but that a person who was witnessing the attempt, threw part of a cucumber which he was eating at the ring, and it immediately fell out. The belief of such an absurdity must shew in what a state of ignorance and fanaticism the people of this country live, when even the governor was thus blinded and prejudiced.

On the 19th, Mr. Belzoni arrived at the ruins of the temple of Tentyra, situated about two miles from the river Nile. The grandeur of the scene was impressive and filled the beholder with astonishment. The structure was in a state of great preservation, and the harmonious proportion of the various parts excited the most delightful feelings, and was altogether a magnificent display of the talents and powers of the ancients. It is supposed to have been erected in the time of the first Ptolomy, the founder of the great Alexandrian library, so well known as one of the wonders of the age. Denon, who accompanied Buonaparte and the French army into Egypt, considered this spot as the sanctuary of the sciences and of the arts.

The front is adorned with a beautiful cornice, and a frieze covered with figures and hieroglyphics, over the centre of which a winged globe is predominant, and the two sides are embellished with compartments of sacrifices and offerings. The columns that form the portico are twenty-four in number, divided into four rows, including those in the front. On entering the gate the quadrangular form of the capitals strikes the eye. At each side of the square there is a colossal head of the goddess Isis with cows' ears. These heads are much mutilated, particularly those on the columns in the front of the temple facing the outside ; but notwithstanding the disadvantage, and the flatness of their form, there is a simplicity in their countenance approaching to a smile. The shafts of the columns are covered with hieroglyphics and figures, which

are in basso-relievo, as are all the figures in the front and lateral walls. The front of the door-way, which is in a straight line with the entrance and the sanctuary, is richly adorned with figures of smaller size than the rest of the portico. The ceiling contains the zodiac, inclosed by two long female figures, which extend from one side to the other of it. The walls are divided into several square compartments, each containing figures representing deities, and priests in the act of offering or immolating victims. On all the walls, columns, ceiling, or architraves, there is no where a space of two feet that is not covered with figures of human beings, animals, plants, emblems of agriculture, or of religious ceremony. The inner apartments are much the same as the portico, all covered with figures in basso-relievo, to which the light enters through small holes in the walls: the sanctuary itself is quite dark. In the corner of it is the door, which leads to the roof by a staircase, the walls of which are covered with figures in basso-relievo. On the top of the temple the Arabs had built a village, but it is all in ruins, as no one now lives there. Mr. Belzoni descended into some apartments on the east side of the temple, and saw the famous zodiac on the ceiling. On the left, there is a small temple surrounded by columns. In the inside is a figure of Isis sitting with Orus in her lap, and other female figures, each with a child in her arms. The capitals of the columns are adorned with the figure of Typhon. The gallery or portico, that surrounds the temple, is filled up with rubbish to a great height, and walls of unburnt bricks have been raised from one column to another. Farther on, in a right line with the propylæon, are the remains of an hypæthral temple, which form a square of twelve columns, connected with each other by a wall, except at the door-way, which fronts the propylæon. The eastern wall of the great temple is richly adorned with figures in intaglio relevato: they are perfectly finished: the female figures are about four feet high, disposed in different compartments. Behind the temple is a small Egyptian building, quite detached from the



large edifice, and from its construction appeared to have been the habitation of the priests. At some distance from the great temple are the foundations of another not so large as the first.

Having continued the examination of these superb ruins as long as time would permit, the party returned to the Nile. Here a considerable number of persons assembled and surrounded the interpreter, a report having become current that he was a native of the place; and they manifested a determination not to permit him to be taken from them. It appeared that at the time the French army lay here, a youth belonging to this place accompanied them; and the interpreter having in the course of his conversations with the inhabitants stated that he had been in the French army, they immediately concluded that this must be the same person. Although he himself assured them to the contrary they could not be persuaded of their error, and declared that their countryman should not be taken from them, for that he had passed already too much of his time among the Christian dogs, an appellation which they affix to persons of the Christian religion. The mother of the boy who had joined the French army was fortunately still alive, although she resided at the distance of several miles from them. However as no other terms would pacify them, she was at length sent for, and on her arrival together with another son, she very quickly satisfied her neighbours that he was not her child, and he was permitted to depart. During the time of this uncertainty however, the interpreter was greatly caressed by the inhabitants, and liberally supplied with fruits, milk, bread and other refreshments, so that he had no occasion to regret the intimacy which they insisted had formerly subsisted between them.

On the 22nd, they arrived at Luxor, and for the first time saw the ruins of Thebes. Of the magnificence and splendor of the buildings here presented to the eye of the beholder, no modern building are capable of conveying a just idea.

Such is the difference, not only in magnitude, but in form, proportion, and construction, that even the pencil can convey but a faint idea of the whole. It appeared like entering a city of giants, who, after a long conflict, were all destroyed, leaving the ruins of their various temples as the only proofs of their former existence. The temple of Luxor presents to the traveller at once, one of the most splendid groups of Egyptian grandeur. The extensive propylæon, with the two obelisks, and colossal statues in the front; the thick groups of enormous columns; the variety of apartments and the sanctuary it contains; the beautiful ornaments which adorn every part of the walls and columns; the battles on the propylæon, described by Mr. Hamilton; cause in the astonished traveller an oblivion of all that he has seen before. On the north side of Thebes the towering remains that project a great height above the wood of palm trees, will call his attention to such an assemblage of ruins of temples, columns, obelisks, colossi, sphynxes, portals and other astonishing objects, as will be at once beyond the possibility of description. On the west side of the Nile, the temples of Gournou, Memnonium, and Medinet Abou, attest the extent of the great city on this side. The unrivalled colossal figures in the plains of Thebes, the number of tombs excavated in the rocks, those in the great valley of the kings, with their paintings, sculptures, mummies, sarcophagi, figures, &c. are all objects of the greatest admiration; and the traveller will be led to wonder how a nation, which was once so great as to erect such stupendous edifices, could so far fall into oblivion, that even their language and writings are now totally unknown.

Having taken a view of the various other objects which arrest the attention of the traveller and man of taste, they examined the colossal bust that was intended to be removed. Fourteen poles had been brought from Cairo to lay the bust on, and part of them were formed into a kind of car, on which it was to be placed. Being at this time far distant

from the boat which had brought them up the Nile; they took up their residence in a portion of the buildings with which they were surrounded. Mrs. Belzoni, who accompanied her husband, manifested a disposition to conform to the privations and indifferent accommodations which presented themselves, with as great a readiness as her husband. The time was now approaching when the Nile annually inundates the country, and it would in that case have been impossible to remove the bust this season; and this induced Mr. Belzoni to use every effort to quicken the conveyance of the bust.

On the 24th of July, he went to the Cacheff of Erments to obtain an order to the Caimakan of Gournou and Agalta to procure eighty Arabs, to assist in the removal of the bust of young Memnon. He received him with that politeness which is peculiar to the Turks, even when they do not mean in the slightest degree to comply with a person's wishes, and which often deceives a traveller, who only *en passant* takes coffee, smokes his pipe, and goes away. There are exceptions among them, as there are among the Christians of Europe; but in general the protestations of friendship and partiality for a person, whom they never saw before, is so common among them, that at last it becomes a matter of course; and no reliance is placed on it, except by those who are unacquainted with the customs of the country.

He promised to do every thing in his power to get the Arabs to work. Mr. Belzoni told him he relied on his word, and gave him to understand, that if he behaved in a manner conformably to the orders of the Bashaw, he would receive a present accordingly.

All the promises made by the Cacheff were only so many attempts to deceive. Several fellahs, or persons of the labouring class, might have been procured, but they dared not assist without permission from the Cacheff or some person in authority, however desirous they might be of earning money. After repeated efforts and solicitations, the Cacheff

did, on the 27th, send a few men to aid him in his attempt. Mr. Belzoni agreed to pay them thirty paras a day, which sum was about the value of four-pence halfpenny of British money. This being considerably more than the wages usually paid, many more fellahs entered upon the work. The car which was built for the conveyance of the colossal bust being now ready, the work began. Upon seeing it move they all gave a loud shout, and said some spirit moved it; and noticing that Mr. Belzoni was making marks as they supposed, he being at this time writing, they all concluded that by some talismanic charm he had caused the head to move, and did not believe it to be the effect of their own efforts. By means of four leavers he raised the bust, so as to leave a vacancy under it to introduce the car; and, after it was slowly lodged on this, the car was raised in the front, with the bust on it, so as to get one of the rollers underneath. The same operation being performed at the back, the colossus was readily pulled up. Men were stationed with levers each side of the car, to assist occasionally, if the colossus should turn to either side. In this manner he kept it safe from falling, and by this means removed it the distance of several yards from its original place.

Mr. Belzoni now sent an Arab to Cairo with intelligence that the bust had begun its journey towards Great Britain. When the Arabs found that they received money for the removal of what appeared to them only a stone, they entertained the opinion that it was filled with gold in the inside, and that a thing of such value ought not to be taken away. The heat of the climate, the exposure to the sun, and the efforts made by Mr. Belzoni himself, so overpowered him, that he was obliged to take a day to rest and recover his strength. They continued daily moving the head towards the Nile, advancing sometimes one hundred yards and sometimes two or three hundred yards each day, until the 5th of August, by which time they were nearly advanced over the lands, which if inundated by the overflowing of the

river would have stopped their progress for that season. Anticipating a successful end to his efforts, Mr. Belzoni was surprised to find, on the morning of the sixth, that none of the fellahs came to his assistance. The persons who had been left during the night to guard the head, informed him that the Caimakan, or head officer of the neighbourhood, had forbidden the fellahs to work any longer for the Christian dogs. The spot where the head lay being expected to be under water in a very few days; and in this case, independent of being obliged to wait till another season, the head would naturally be sunk deep into the earth or mud. Finding that the Caimakan was gone to Luxor, he set out to find him, accompanied by a Janizary whom he kept in his service. Having found him, the Caimakan treated him with great insolence; and hoping by long forbearance to conciliate him, Mr. Belzoni restrained his anger and shewed a spirit of submission and conciliation which only increased the haughty demeanour of the Caimakan. Presuming on Mr. Belzoni's forbearance, he attempted to put his hands on him, which he resisted. He then became more violent, and drew his sword. Having received a good lesson at Cairo from another Albanian like himself, Mr. Belzoni gave him no leisure to execute his purpose, but instantly seized and disarmed him, placed his hands on his stomach, and made him sensible of his superiority, in point of strength, by keeping him firm in a corner of the room. The pistols and sword, which he had thrown on the ground, were taken up by the Janizary; and after giving the fellow a good shaking, Mr. Belzoni took possession of them, and told him, that he should send them to Cairo, to show the Bashaw in what manner his orders were respected. The Caimakan followed him towards the boat, and was no sooner out of the crowd than he began to be quite humble, and talk of matters as if nothing had happened. He then said, that the order he had given to the fellahs not to work he had received from the Cacheff himself, and it could not be expected, that, being

only a Caïmakan, he could disobey his superior. It is in this way only the true character of these people can be known.

Mr. Belzoni then hastened to Erments to the Cacheff, who had many of his principal officers, and several Hadgees and Santons at dinner with him, it being the time of Ramadan. The custom of these Turkish travellers, at this season, is to live at great men's tables. There were about thirty. The dinner was prepared in a field before the house, as no room within it could contain so many persons. An old carpet, about twenty feet long and three wide, was spread on the ground. They were just going to begin their repast, the hour of dining being always a little after sunset during the festival of Ramadan, as they are then not allowed to eat till the sun has wholly disappeared. The Cacheff received him very politely, and invited him to dine. Accordingly they sat all round the carpet, on the ground. The Turkish cookery does not always suit an European palate; but there are a few dishes, that are equally agreeable with our own; particularly mutton roasted on a wooden pole, at a wood fire. They have a particular way of cooking it, putting it on the fire immediately after it is killed, and before it has lost its natural warmth; and in this way it has a particular flavour, quite agreeable to the taste. The soldiers and Hadgees tucked up their large sleeves, and with naked arms dipped the fingers of their right hands into the various dishes. They never employ the left hand in eating, nor do they eat much out of one dish, but taste of all that are within their reach. They always finish their dinner with pilau, and seldom drink while eating. They wash immediately after, and pipes and coffee being served all round, they begin to converse on their usual topics, horses, arms, saddles, or dress.

At a proper opportunity he requested the Cacheff to give an order for the fellahs to proceed with the operations the next morning. He answered with indifference, that they must work in the fields for the Bashaw, and that he could

not spare one; but that, if Mr. Belzoni would wait till the next season, he might have as many as he liked. Mr. Belzoni told the Cacheff that he should immediately proceed to Luxor to obtain some helpers, and then the Cacheff would lose the merit of his assistance. Among other things he observed that he had sent to Cairo for a very handsome pair of pistols which he intended to present to him. In an instant the Cacheff declared that he should have his request, and directed a firman or order to be made out, and which he instantly signed, and Mr. Belzoni took his leave.

Having given the firman to the sheik or officer, the fellahs were soon ready to their work, and on the 8th they had proceeded so far that no danger of delay would arise from the overflowing of the Nile; and on the 12th they arrived on the banks of that river. Besides their promised payment he gave the Arabs a bakshis, or present, of one piastre each, equal to sixpence English, with which they were exceedingly pleased. No labour hardly can be compared to their exertions; the hard task they had to drag such a weight, the heavy poles they were obliged to carry to use as levers, and the continual replacing the rollers, with the extreme heat and dust, were more than any European could have withstood: but what is still more remarkable, during all the days of this exertion, it being Ramadan, they never ate or drank till after sunset.

Mr. Belzoni now sent a courier to Cairo to inform the English consul of his arrival on the banks of the Nile, and requesting him to send a boat proper to convey the colossus down, as none were then to be procured in Upper Egypt. As it would be several days before the messenger returned, Mr. Belzoni resolved to take the opportunity for an excursion up the Nile. Hitherto he had always appointed two persons at all times to remain with the bust; he now, however, surrounded it also with an embankment of earth for greater security, and then sending his Irish lad to Cairo, and discharging the carpenter, for whose service he had no

longer any occasion, he set out accompanied by one Janizary and the interpreter. On the second day they arrived at Esne, where he was introduced to Khalil Bey, a governor of part of Upper Egypt. He was seated on a sofa made of earth, which was covered with a fine carpet, and satin cushions, and was surrounded by a number of his officers. As it might be possible that Mr. Belzoni would proceed into Nubia, he obtained from Khalil Bey a letter to Osseyn Cacheff, a prince in Nubia. Some conversation afterwards took place on the difficulties he would have to surmount, and persons he might probably meet with. He then took coffee and smoked a few pipes; after which he took his leave and proceeded to the boat.

On the 20th they passed Elethias with a strong wind, and arrived at Edfu. The temple here may be compared with that of Tentyra in point of preservation, and is superior in magnitude. The propylæon is the largest and most perfect of any in Egypt: it is covered on all sides with colossal figures of intaglio relevato, and contains several apartments in the interior, which receive light by square apertures in the side. Here is one of those curious subjects of inquiry, which have never yet been explained. The square holes, or windows, viewed from the inside of the chambers, appear to have been made for the purpose of giving light to these apartments, or to hold some particular ornaments or emblems, placed in them occasionally on festival days; consequently, it might be concluded that they were made at the same time with the building; yet, on the outside, these very windows come in contact with the colossal figures which are sculptured on the walls; and part of these appear as if cut off where the windows have been made; so that, from the appearance on the outside, it is to be inferred that these apertures were formed after the building was finished. The pronaos is very wide, and is the only one to be seen in Egypt in such perfection, though completely encumbered with Arab huts. The portico is also magnificent; but, unfortunately, three-fourths of it is



covered with rubbish. The Fellahs have built part of their village on the top of it, as well as stables for cattle, &c. The temple is surrounded by a high thick wall, which extends from each side of the propylæon, so as to inclose the whole building. Not only the temple, but every part of the wall, is covered with hieroglyphics and figures. On the side wall of the pronaos is seen the figure of Harpocrates which is described by Hamilton, seated on a full-blown lotus, with his finger on his lips, as in the minor temple at Tentyra; and on the west side of the wall is the figure of an unicorn. This is one of the few figures of beasts to be observed in Egypt. The elephant is to be seen only in the entrance to the temple of Isis, in the island of Philoe; the horse, as an hieroglyphic, is on the northern exterior wall at Medinet Aboo; and the cameleopard is on the wall of the sekos of the Memnonium, and on the back of the temple at Erments. On looking at an edifice of such magnitude, workmanship, and antiquity, inhabited by a half savage people, whose huts are stuck against it, not unlike wasps' nests, and to contrast their filthy clothes with these sacred images, that once were so highly venerated, makes one strongly feel the difference between the ancient and modern state of Egypt. The minor temple is but of small dimensions. It had a portico in the front; nothing of which is to be seen but fragments of columns buried in the rubbish. Some say that this temple was dedicated to Apollo; but there is as much reason to suppose that it was dedicated to Typhon, as that the temple at Tentyra was dedicated to Isis. The square capitals of the columns at Tentyra are adorned with heads of Isis; and this is one of the principal circumstances that indicate the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. In the temple at Edfu the figure of Typhon is placed on the capitals in a similar manner; and though there are representations of the beneficent deeds of nature on the walls, these may have been placed there by way of contrast, to elucidate the power of the destroying god. Farther on to the south is part of a building, which no doubt was a second

propylæon, as it faces the one now standing. Farther still is a small temple, almost unnoticed by travellers, which has an avenue of sphinxes leading in a right line towards the great temple. The sphinxes, several of which our traveller cleared from the surrounding sand, have a lion's body and female head as large as life. There are vast heaps of ruins all round these temples, and many relics of antiquity are probably buried there.

Arriving near Assouan, which stands on a hill, they went to see the ruins of a convent, where they observed many grottos, which had served as chapels for the Christian worship. The convent was formed of several small arched cells, separate from each other; and commanded a very pleasing view of the cataract, Assouan, and the lower part of the Nile. One of the Arabian traditions relating to this place, is worth notice :

There is in this spot, say the Arabs, great treasure, left by an ancient king of the country, previous to his departure for the upper part of the Nile, on a war with the Ethiopians. He was so avaricious, that he did not leave his family any thing to live on; and he was in close friendship with the magician, whom he appointed to guard his treasure till his return. But no sooner was he gone, than his relations attempted to take possession of the treasure: the magician resisted, was killed in the defence of his charge, and changed to an enormous serpent, which devoured all his assailants. The king is not yet returned, but the serpent still keeps watch over the treasure; and once every night, at a particular position of the stars, he comes out of the caves, with a powerful light on his head, which blinds all that attempt to look at it. He is of an enormous size; descends to the Nile, where he drinks; and then returns to his cave, to watch the treasure till the king returns.

The Aga paid the party a visit, attended by his whole train of courtiers, in their rags and finery. They were all clad in their gala attire, as this was their grand feast of the Ra-

madan. The motley confused manner in which this great divan was decorated was curious; one had a new tunic of their brown cloth, and a ragged turban; another had a fine turban, and a ragged tunic; a third without turban or tunic, had a fine red woollen shawl round his body; the Aga himself was uncommonly dirty and showy, being dressed in green and red, and without a shirt on his back. He came on board with all his suite.

On the 28th, they passed several ruins on the bank of the Nile. The Reis to whom the boat belonged, and the sailors, went on shore at a village, leaving only Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni and the interpreter in the boat. Soon after they were gone, some of the inhabitants came towards the boat and appeared to examine it with close attention. After this they all retired. Soon, however, a party were observed approaching armed with offensive weapons. Alarmed rather by their appearance, Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni and the interpreter armed themselves with pistols and stood upon their guard. The natives entered their boat, and made towards Mr. Belzoni, who by signs desired them to keep at a distance, as they understood not their language. Disregarding his motions they came close, and he resisted the foremost with one hand, while with the other he presented a pistol at him, and gave him to understand that he would certainly fire if he persisted in his attempt. This checked them for a time, and the Reis and crew appearing in sight, they thought proper to withdraw.

On the 29th, landing at a place near which stood the ruins of an ancient temple, they immediately entered it, but on coming out they found themselves surrounded by a party of the natives armed with offensive weapons. They demanded to be paid for permission to come out; but Mr. Belzoni replied that he would not suffer money to be taken from himself by such conduct, but that he would make them such presents as he thought proper if they did not oppose him; and instantly moving forward with a determined step,

they gave way and let the party pass. The next morning they proceeded to Gyrshe and entered a small temple, the floors of which had mostly been dug up, probably in search of treasure. The natives were rather rough in their manners, but were easily satisfied with a piece of soap, a pipe of tobacco, and a few paras. Here they bought some gargadan, a grain about the size of a small shot, which the Nubians use as coffee. It is a good substitute where no coffee is to be had, and is much cheaper. A little above this place is a dangerous passage of the Nile, a chain of rocks running across the river, and making it very alarming, when the waters are low; but as they were now high, it was passed without danger.

On the 1st of September they arrived at Korosko. The Reis caught some cameleons. These creatures feed on rice, or on flies. They bit off each others legs. They swim faster than they can crawl. It was endeavoured to keep them alive, but without success. On the 5th they arrived at Deir, the principal town of Lower Nubia. The houses are not more than ten feet high, and are built principally of earth intermixed occasionally with stones. Mr. Belzoni waited on Hassan Cacheff, the governor of the place, who desired to know his business. He replied, that their party were desirous of examining the antiquities of the country. This the Cacheff said would not be practicable, as at this time they were at war with the people who occupied the territories higher up the country. He made inquiry if any presents were intended to be made to him, and being given to understand that the party had but little, but that they would spare him part of their store of coffee, soap and tobacco, and he appeared satisfied. He also gave the Cacheff a large looking glass with which he appeared to be highly pleased. There were several of his people who had not seen a looking-glass before, and it astonished them greatly. The Cacheff was never tired of admiring his bear-like face; and all his attendants behind him strove to get a peep at their

own chocolate beauty, laughing, and much pleased with it. The Cacheff gave it, not without fear, to one of them, with a strict charge to be careful not to break it.

The Esquimaux are said to be very filthy in their food, but these people were not unlike them in that respect. I they killed a sheep, the intrails were opened, and pieces were dipped into the water and eaten raw. The head and feet with the skin on, wool, hoofs, and all, were put into a pot to be half-boiled, when they drank the broth, and devoured the rest.

On reaching Faras, they went to see the temples of Ybsambul. Crossing the Nile exactly opposite, they had an opportunity of examining and having full views of them at a distance. In the front of the minor temple are six colossal figures, which make a better appearance at a distance than when near. They are thirty feet high, and are hewn out of the rock ; as is also the large temple, which has one figure of an enormous size, with the head and shoulders only projecting out of the sand. The sand from the north side, accumulated by the wind on the rock above the temple, and which had gradually descended towards its front, choked the entrance, and buried two thirds of it, so that the hope of opening its entrance vanished ; for the amazing accumulation of sand was such, that it appeared an impossibility ever to reach the door.

The Cacheff exercises the most tyrannical authority. He seizes on the property of any person at his pleasure, and the life of his people is subject entirely to him. The son of the Cacheff, who exercised authority here at this time, desired to know what gave occasion to the visit of Mr. Belzoni and his people. To this it was replied, that Mr. Belzoni had a letter to his father from his uncle and that he came into the country in search of ancient stones. He laughed, and said that a few months before he had seen another man, who came in search of treasure, and took away a great deal of gold in his boat ; and that he supposed they came for the

same purpose, for what could they want with stone, if it were not that he was able to procure gold for them.

Mr. Belzoni proposed to have the place opened, and on a promise, that, if he succeeded, the Cacheff should receive a bakshis, he consented on his own part; but still he said his father remained to be persuaded,, and then people to be procured, who would work at such a place without fearing harm from the devil. Mr. Belzoni told him, that those who worked would gain money. "What money do you mean?" said he, "money from Mahomet Ali, Bashaw of Cairo? What can we do with it? we cannot buy any thing here, or at Don-gola." It appeared that they had little notion of commerce, and that what produce they carry to Cairo, Siout, or Esne, they exchange for other articles, which they send to the southern country of Nubia, and never receive any money for it.

Mr. Belzoni produced a piastre, and showed it to some of the people: one of them took the piastre, and after looking at it for some time, asked who would give any thing for that small piece of metal. "Any one," said Mr. Belzoni, "will give a measure of dhourra for it, quite enough for a man to eat in three days." "That may be so in your country," replied he; "but here, no one will give six grains of dhourra for so small a bit of iron." Mr. Belzoni told him, if he went on board his boat, and presented it to any one there, he would get for it dhourra enough to suffice him for the time mentioned. Off he ran like a deer, and in a few minutes returned with the dhourra folded in a rag fastened to his waist.

Being very desirous to see the cataracts, Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni, with the Janizary and interpreter, proceeded as far as the day would permit, so as to return in proper time to the boat at night. They had many views of the cataract, and in different directions. It is a flat country, except a few rocks that project here and there, particularly at the river's side, but they are of small dimensions. Towards

the desert they saw several wild antelopes, which kept at a great distance. As the Nile was high, the current had not so great a fall as when it is low; but the cataract is not navigable at any time of the year. The rock forming this cataract differs from that of the first, for here is no granite, but a kind of black marble quite as hard.

Early in the morning of the 14th, they took on board two men of the island, to pilot them towards the cataract as far as the boat could go, and then to show the way to proceed. Several of the women came to see Mrs. Belzoni, who made them presents of glass bead-necklaces, with which they were wonderfully pleased; though, as it is their custom to take all, and give nothing, they did not even return thanks for what they received; but took their presents, laughed, and ran away immediately.

The Cacheff's house was adorned with an old mat spread on the ground as usual, a water jar, and a chain with two hooks made in a particular manner. This was that same Osseyn, who was one of the two brothers that caused Mr. Burckhardt to return from Tinareh. He was about sixty-eight years of age, five feet eleven inches high, stout and robust, and able to support the charge he was born to hold. He was surrounded by thirty men, all armed, some with matchlock guns and long swords, and some with spears and shields instead of guns. He was clothed in a long tunic down to his feet, made of white woollen cloth, with a belt round his waist, to which his sword, flint, and steel were attached. Over his shoulder he had a long shawl, made of the same stuff as the tunic, thrown partly over his head, so as to cover it from the sun. He had also a red turban, and on his feet a pair of ragged shoes. Notwithstanding his dress, there was an air of superiority about him, which distinguished him at once above all the rest. It is worthy of observation, that even among barbarians great respect is paid to superiors; and those very men, who would murder a fellow creature in a difference about a few pipes of to-

bacco, almost tremble at the frown of a single and sometimes harmless old man. His inquiries concerning Mr. Belzoni were very minute. Mr. Belzoni brought the affair of the temple forward, which did not a little surprise him. He said he knew the entrance into the temple very well; that the round ball on the large head was the door of the great Dere, as he named it, and if removed any one could immediately enter. This round ball was no other than the globe on the head of the hawk-headed Osiris, which stood over the door. At first he stated the great difficulty, if not impossibility of opening this place; and at last, when Mr. Belzoni had removed these obstacles, he received a promise, that if Mr. Belzoni found in the temple any gold, he should have half. To this Mr. Belzoni agreed, on condition that if he found only stones, they should be all his own property. The Cacheff immediately assented, for he said he wanted no stones.

Next morning they went to Ybsambul. Having presented to Daoud the letter from his father, he sent for the men who were intended to work. These people were complete savages, and entirely unacquainted with any kind of labour. They had changed their minds since Mr. Belzoni was last there; and, though he had the authority of the Cacheff, they would not work. All persuasion was of no avail; first, because they were not inclined to such labour; secondly, they did not know the value of money, &c. At last Mr. Belzoni pretended to give up his project, and go away. When the Cacheff saw that he meant to go, and that he should lose many a good present, he began to talk to them; and at last, with much difficulty, reduced the payment to one half of what they had demanded before. On Mr. Belzoni agreeing to this, they immediately insisted, that he should employ as many as they chose. It was in vain that he stated, thirty were more than sufficient for his purpose; they would not hear of less than an hundred. At last it was concluded, that he should take forty men, who were to be at the bark before the sun



rose next morning, as it was nearly two miles from the village to the temple.

Rising early in the morning in expectation of seeing the people whom he was to employ, Mr. Belzoni was surprised that not one made his appearance. On going in search of them, some few at last made their appearance. They pretended that they had seen a Bedoween, and feared that they should be killed or taken captives. They now proceeded to remove the sand and earth which covered the front of the temple, and expressed their expectation that much gold, and many jewels would be found in the place. Concluding that such an opinion would stimulate their efforts, Mr. Belzoni did not in the least strive to alter their opinion. On the 19th the Cacheff began to start many objections, and to state many difficulties. He said the fellahs would not work, and that they said it was useless for them to labour hard for a little money. After listening to many other trifling excuses, it was suggested to Mr. Belzoni that a handsome present to the Cacheff would at once remove all the difficulties. Being from past experience led to see that they never are satisfied with whatever they receive, but were always contriving to obtain more than they agree for, if previously paid, Mr. Belzoni only assured the interpreter, that the Cacheff, and himself (the interpreter,) should receive a good bakshis (present,) if they would serve him. At length several fellahs agreed to work, and on the 20th they began again to proceed, although the exertions made were not to much effect. The Cacheff, with his attendants, came to see how they were proceeding, and said he intended dining with them. Mr. Belzoni said he should be glad of his company, but that he had nothing except boiled rice, unless he would order his people to kill a sheep, which Mr. Belzoni said he would gladly pay for. They consulted about who could afford to part with a sheep, and receive piastres in payment, and at last the order was given to an old man, who had five, which was a greater number than any body else. When the sheep

was brought, the difficulty was to fix the price of it. Being the first ever sold for money in that place, to put a high price on it would have increased the value of sheep in general, and consequently would have been against the interest of the Cacheff; for when he receives his revenue in these animals, he sets them at a very low price, that he may have the more given him. To estimate it at a low price would be worse, for it would be against them all in the exchange of sheep for dhourra with the other villages. Finding it a dangerous point to decide, it was at length resolved, that no price at all should be put upon the sheep, but that the man should make a present of it, and Mr. Belzoni should give any thing he pleased in return. To prevent any standard being established from what he gave the man, he paid him in soap, tobacco, and salt.

At dinner the sheep was brought in pieces in two wooden bowls, and the Cacheff and his attendants seated themselves in a circle on the sand near the temple. The extremities of their filthy hands were soon washed in the liquor, and in a few seconds the whole was devoured. Soon after dinner coffee was brought up from the boat, and Mr. Belzoni went on board to take dinner with Mrs. Belzoni, who had boiled rice and water for her fare, in preference to the chieftain's mess of mutton. In a short time the Cacheff approached, and signified his wish to speak to him in secret. The great secret was this : on the night before, as he stood on the bank close to the boat, he saw him drinking a coffee cup of red liquor that he poured out of a bottle ; and having inquired what it was, was told it was nebet (wine). Now he had heard that the wine of the English was much better than what they made in their own country with dates ; he wished, therefore, to have some to drink also, but in a secret way. Mr. Belzoni had a few bottles left, which were preserved for extraordinary occasions ; and he sent the interpreter down to the boat to fetch one. When the wine was first poured out into a cup and presented to the Cacheff, he sternly looked at the

interpreter, and told him to drink first. The interpreter, who was a Copt, and had been in the French army for several years, did not want much persuasion to make a libation to Bacchus ; so with a smile he soon convinced the Cacheff of the purity of the contents of the bottle, and the Cacheff did not hesitate to drink the next cup. At the first taste it did not appear to him so strong as he had supposed ; but at last he found it so good, that in three days the scanty stock was nearly finished.

Next morning (21st), the people took it into their heads to come in such numbers, that Mr. Belzoni could not employ them all, as the work was directed only to one point. There was warm debating on the subject : but, as he told them he would not spend one farthing more than he had promised from the first, they agreed at last that the pay should be divided amongst them all ; and thus, instead of forty men, he had eighty for the same price, which was less than sixpence a day. The anxiety to see the inside of the temple, and to plunder all that it might contain, brought the chiefs now on board very early in the morning. They soon gave Mr. Belzoni to understand plainly, that all that was there was their property ; and that the treasure should be for themselves. Even the savages began to lay their account in the division of the spoil. He assured them that he expected to find nothing but stones, and wanted no treasure. They still persisted, that, if he took away any stones, the treasure was in them ; and, if he could make a drawing, or likeness of them, he could extract the treasure from them also, without their perceiving it. Some proposed, that, if there were any figure discovered, it should be broken before it was carried away.

In the course of the evening, two of the men left the work, and went down the Nile to the boat. Finding Mrs. Belzoni on board, with only a little girl from the village, they were rather impertinent to her, and attempted to go on board in spite of all she could say to them, intending to rob the boat.

At last she presented a pistol at them, on which they immediately retired, and ran up the hill. She followed, but they mixed with a number of their fellow savages, and it was impossible to find them out; for they were all like so many lumps of chocolate seated on the sand at work, and not to be distinguished the one from the other. At night, on paying the men, the Cacheff's brother said, the money must be counted all in one heap, before it was divided among the people. The interpreter, who was also treasurer, accordingly counted the money on a piece of a ragged shawl, which he had no sooner done, than the Cacheff's brother threw himself on it, and seized every piastre. The men looked at each other, but no one dared to say a word about it; and he took it all away with him.

Mr. Belzoni supposed that no one would come to work next morning, but in this he was mistaken. It was evident that this work would employ him longer than he could remain in that country, as the period he had meant to dedicate to it was already elapsed. Mr. Belzoni also began to experience the want of that very article which, a few days before, was so despised and unknown; and now he absolutely could not proceed without it. It was money, which now had shown its usual power among mankind, of exciting avarice, and of which those wild people soon became very fond. Mr. Belzoni began to perceive it required a longer time to reach the door than he could stay, and more money than he could then afford. He had by this time removed so much sand, as to uncover twenty feet in the front of the temple. The colossal statues above the door were completely exposed; and one of the great colossi sitting before the temple, on the north side, which was buried in the sand, appeared with his face and shoulders like his companion on the south. Having obtained a promise from the Cacheff, that he would not let any touch the place till his return, which would be in a few months, he contented himself with putting a mark where the sand was before he commenced the operation; and after taking a

drawing of the exterior of the temple, quitted it, with a firm resolution of returning to accomplish its opening. After making some trifling presents to the Cacheff, they set off the same evening. They descended the Nile rapidly, as the current was very strong. Every soldier has here a servant, to take care of his camel, horses, or asses, if he have any. Thus, when a body of five thousand men marches against an enemy, there are always at least six thousand people more to encumber it, and eat up the provision: for not only every common soldier has a man, but every officer has two or three; and those of the higher rank, as Beys, Cacheffs, &c. have ten or more. The next day, in the evening, they arrived at Ibrim, and early on the 24th at Dier.

On the 27th, they came to the Shellal, or first cataract. A soldier of Derow, who brought some letters, set off immediately, and Mr. Belzoni never saw him afterwards. Taking particular notice of a small obelisk which was lying before the propylæon, and which, if brought to England, might serve as a monument in some particular place, or as an embellishment to the metropolis, he sent for the Aga of Assouan, and a Reis who knew the channels in the Shellal, and in the meantime took a general view of these superb ruins. When the Aga and the Reis came, he made an agreement with them to have the obelisk taken down the cataract; but, for want of a boat, it could not be effected that season. The obelisk is twenty-two feet long, by two wide at the base; so that it required a pretty large boat to convey it. It was agreed, and perfectly understood, that Mr. Belzoni took possession of this obelisk in the name of his Britannic Majesty's consul-general of Cairo; and he gave four dollars to the Aga, to pay for a guard for it till his return.

The blocks of stone, which formed the compartment of fourteen feet long and twelve wide, were twelve in number. When they were put together on the ground, they were a beautiful group, consisting of the great god Osiris seated on his chair, with an altar before him, receiving offerings from

priests and female figures; the whole surrounded by flowers and hieroglyphics. The blocks were three feet six inches long, and three feet wide: but as they were two feet three inches thick, they were too bulky to be embarked whole. As they could be easily cut, being a calcareous gritstone, he made an agreement for one hundred piastres, to have them cut to six inches thickness. He left the money in the hands of the Aga; and it was understood, that these stones were to be embarked by the first opportunity of a boat, and sent down to Luxor.

On Mr. Belzoni's return to Assouan, no boat had arrived, and he became impatient, as he wished to reach Thebes. An Arab came to the Aga, and whispered in his ear, as if he had something of great importance to communicate. The Aga rose, though his dinner was not finished, and went away with the air of a man of great business. Half an hour after he returned, accompanied by two other persons of distinction, and the Arab who came before. They all seated themselves round Mr. Belzoni, and after introducing the affair with a degree of caution, he was asked whether he wished to purchase a large piece of diamond. He said, that if the article were good, he would purchase it, if they could agree; but it was necessary that he should see it. The Aga said the piece had been found by one of the natives of that place; and as he was not in want of money, it had been preserved in the family for many years. The original proprietor being now dead, his successors wished to dispose of it. Mr. Belzoni requested to see it; so retiring some distance out of the way of the people, the man with great solemnity took a small wooden box from a pocket in his leathern belt. In this was a paper, which he unfolded; after that, two or three others, till at last he opened his sanctum sanctorum. Mr. Belzoni took its contents in his hands with no small expectation: but saw it was only part of the stopple of a common glass cruet, of the size of a hazel-nut, with two or three little gilt flowers on it. Observing by his motions the disappointment strongly

marked in his countenance, it destroyed their great expectations of wealth from this invaluable jewel. When he told them, that it was only a piece of glass, the words affected their minds like the unhappy tidings of some great misfortune and they walked off in solemn silence.

The deception of these people is extreme. A traveller passing by a village stops his bark for an hour or two : what good people he finds ! Some bring him a small basket of dates, others a few eggs, another some bread and milk ; with which he is so pleased, that he immediately gives them five or perhaps ten times more than the worth of what he receives, without being aware, that it is through such an expectation they bring him these things ; and exclaims, that in Europe they do not treat a stranger so civilly. But let him take the smallest of these presents without giving any thing in return, or even no more than the worth, they will not fail to murmur at him. If he give only double the price, they have the art of returning the money with scorn and contempt, in order to shame him to give more : and if he take the money returned, or give them nothing from the beginning, he must not expect that they will let him go away without paying them for what they brought him. All this is unknown to a traveller merely passing by ; for there is no one in this character who would be so mean as to accept any thing, without returning double or treble its value. From these trifles it may be presumed what they are in all their dealings ; to-night one word for such a thing, to-morrow another : their intrigues are beyond description : they have the art of making one thing appear like another so well, that it is very difficult to avoid falling into their trap.

Settling all his affairs with the Aga, and satisfying his demands of oil, vinegar, and some empty bottles, they left Assouan in the morning of the 30th, and in two days arrived at Esne, the current being very strong.

On the morning of the 4th of October they arrived at Luxor. Seeing no boat had arrived from Cairo, though the

consul had sent some money, Mr. Belzoni set off in the same boat to Gheneh, arrived there the next morning, and went to see Mr. Sokiner, a person whom he knew.

Having paid half the money down required for a boat, it was determined to ascend the Nile as far as Assouan, to unload at that place, and to return immediately.

On one occasion Mr. Belzoni dined with Calil Bey, the governor of Upper Egypt. The dinner was brought in a large tray. It consisted, as usual, of very poor rice soup, which, after eating three spoonfuls, was taken away, and a dish of roast mutton brought forward. No sooner had they begun to eat of that, than a man came in with his hand full a large green peppercorns, and let them fall on the tray, which, being of metal, sounded like a drum-head. After him came another, with half-a-dozen onions peeled, which he let fall in like manner, and they rolled about the tray like billiard balls; and a third followed with peeled garlic, &c. After eating the mutton, a dish of very small fried fish was served up. They were about half-a-dozen, and there were eight of the party, so that no one could eat too much of this. It was soon removed, and a kind of tart was produced; but neither the Bey, the Cacheff, the Sheik, nor Mr. Belzoni, could eat a single bit of it. The fruit consisted of a water melon, which having demolished, they finished their repast by washing their beards.

At Carnak, the work to be done consisted in transporting the six sphinxes and the white statue to Luxor for embarkation, a distance of nearly a mile, without a road. In many parts the water had left a soft ground where the statues had to pass; and, as there was no mechanical power to assist, the Arabs had enough to do to carry them to the place of destination.

The time having elapsed in which Mr. Belzoni expected to receive letters from Cairo, he resolved to return to Kenneh. On his arrival at that place, he found the courier had just entered it. He brought letters from Mr. Salt, with an order



for money on the Seraf, or banker, of Kenneh. He then finished his business there, and proceeded to Luxor, where he found the boat returned from Assouan, to take the colossal bust on board : but he was soon informed by the proprietor, that it was loaded with dates, and that he was come himself from Esne, to return the money he had paid as earnest ; for they could not think of taking that large stone into the boat, as it would crush it to pieces.

After various impediments, on the 17th of November the head of the younger Memnon was actually embarked. It was no easy undertaking to put a piece of granite, of such bulk and weight, on board a boat, that, if it received the weight on one side, would immediately upset ; and this was to be done without the smallest mechanical contrivance, even a single tackle, and only with four poles and ropes ; the water was about eighteen feet below the bank where the head was to descend. The causeway was gradually sloped to the edge of the water close to the boat, and with the four poles formed a bridge from the bank into the centre of the boat, so that when the weight bore upon the bridge, it pressed only on the boat. On the opposite side of the boat Mr. Belzoni directed them to put some mats well filled with straw. In the ground behind the colossus a piece of a palm-tree was firmly planted, round which a rope was twisted, and then fastened to its car, to let it descend gradually. A lever was placed on each side, and at the same time that men in the boat were pulling, others were slackening the ropes, and others shifting the rollers as the colossus advanced. Thus it descended gradually from the main land to the causeway, when it sunk a good deal, as the causeway was made of fresh earth. However, it went smoothly on board. The Arabs, who were unanimously of opinion that it would go to the bottom of the river, or crush the boat, were all attention, as if anxious to know the result, as well as to learn how the operation was to be performed ; and when the owner of the boat, who considered it as consigned to perdition, witnessed the success, and

saw the huge piece of stone, as he called it, safely on board, he squeezed Mr. Belzoni by the hand, and exclaimed, they had reason to be thankful. The boat then crossed the water to Luxor, for what was to be taken in there, which was done in three days, and on the 21st they left Thebes to return to Cairo, which they reached on the 15th of December, having been twenty-four days from Thebes. From thence they proceeded to Alexandria, which they reached on the 14th of January, 1817, and lodged it in the Bashaw's magazine; he then returned to the capital; and accompanied by Mr. Beechy, immediately proceeded up the Nile, with a determination, if possible, to accomplish the opening of the great temple of Ipsambul. At Philæ the party was reinforced by Captains Irby and Mangles of the Royal Navy.

Having conciliated the two Cacheffs by suitable presents, Mr. Belzoni agreed to give the workmen eighty in number,) three hundred paistres for removing the sand as low down as the entrance: at first they seemed to set about the task like men who were determined to finish the job; but at the end of the third day they all grew tired, and under the pretext that the Rhamadan was to commence on the next day, they left Mr. Belzoni, with the temple, the sand and the treasure, and contented themselves with keeping the three hundred piastres.

Being convinced, that, if the temple was to be opened at all, it must be by their own exertions; assisted by the crew of the boat, they set to work, and, by dint of perseverance and hard labour, for about eighteen days, they arrived at the door-way of the temple, which Mr. Belzoni considers as the finest and most extensive excavation in Nubia, and one that can stand a competition with any in Egypt, except the tomb newly discovered in Beban el Molook. The temple of Ipsambul has, in all probability, been covered with sand two thousand years, or more. The following is the description given of it.

From what they could perceive at the first view, it was evidently a very large place; but their astonishment increased

when they found it to be one of the most magnificent of temples, enriched with beautiful intaglios, paintings, colossal figures, &c. They entered at first into a large pronaos, fifty-seven feet long and fifty-two wide, supported by two rows of square pillars, in a line from the front door to the door of the sekos. Each pillar had a figure, finely executed, and very little injured by time. The tops of their turbans reached the ceiling, about thirty feet high: the pillars were five feet and a half square. Both these and the walls were covered with beautiful hieroglyphics, the style of which is somewhat superior, or at least bolder, than that of any others in Egypt, not only in workmanship, but also in the subjects. They exhibited battles, stormings of castles, triumphs over the Ethiopians, sacrifices, &c. In some places were to be seen the same hero as at Medinet Aboo, but in a different posture. Some of the columns were much injured by the close and heated atmosphere, the temperature of which was so hot, that the thermometer must have risen to above a hundred and thirty degrees. The second hall was about twenty-two feet high, thirty-seven wide, and twenty-five and a half long. It contained four pillars about four feet square; and the walls of this also were covered with fine hieroglyphics in pretty good preservation. Beyond this was a shorter chamber, thirty-seven feet wide, in which is the entrance into the sanctuary. At each end of the chamber was a door, leading into smaller chambers in the same direction with the sanctuary, each eight feet by seven. The sanctuary was twenty-three feet and a half long. It contained a pedestal in the centre, and at the end four colossal sitting figures, the heads of which were in good preservation, not having been injured by violence. On the right side of the great hall, entering into the temple, were two doors, at a short distance from each other, which led into two long separate rooms, the first thirty-eight feet ten inches in length, and eleven feet five inches wide; the other forty-eight feet seven inches, by thirteen feet three. At the end of the first

were several unfinished hieroglyphics, of which some, though merely sketched, gave fine ideas of their manner of drawing. At the lateral corners of the entrance into the second chamber from the great hall was a door, each of which led into a small chamber twenty-two feet six inches long, and ten feet wide. Each of these rooms had two doors leading into two other chambers, forty-three feet in length, and ten feet eleven inches wide. There were two benches in them, apparently to sit on. The most remarkable subjects in the temple were, 1st, a group of captive Ethiopians, in the western corner of the great hall: 2nd, an hero killing a man with his spear, another lying slain under his feet, on the same western wall: 3rd, the storming of a castle, in the western corner from the front door.

The outside of the temple also was magnificent. It was a hundred and seventeen feet wide, and eighty-six feet high; the height from the top of the cornice to the top of the door being sixty-six feet six inches, and the height of the door twenty feet. There were four enormous sitting colossi, the largest in Egypt or Nubia, except the great sphinx at the pyramids, to which they approach in the proportion of near two-thirds. From the shoulder to the elbow they measured fifteen feet six inches; the ears three feet six inches; the face seven feet; the beard five feet six inches; across the shoulders twenty-five feet four inches; their height was about fifty-one feet, not including the caps, which are about fourteen feet. There are only two of these colossi in sight, one being still buried under the sand, and the other, near the door, is half fallen down, and buried also. On the top of the door was a colossal figure of Osiris, twenty feet high, with two colossal hieroglyphic figures, one on each side looking towards it. On the top of the temple was a cornice with hieroglyphics, a torus and frieze under it. The cornice six feet wide, the frieze four feet. Above the cornice was a row of sitting monkeys eight feet high, and six across the shoulders, twenty-one in number. The temple was nearly two-

thirds buried under the sand, of which they removed thirty-one feet before they came to the upper part of the door.

Mr. Belzoni observed that the heat on first entering the temple was so great that they could scarcely bear it, and the perspiration from their hands was so copious as to render the paper by its dripping unfit for use. On the first opening that was made by the removal of the sand, the only living object that presented itself was a toad of prodigious size. The inanimate objects within were the figures of two lions with hawks' heads, as large as life, and a small sitting human figure.

Mr. Belzoni and his party now returned to Thebes, and opened three new tombs, but in none of them did there appear any thing to prove that they had been intended for the sepulchre of the kings of Egypt. Some were only passages and staircases leading to painted rooms. In one of these was a sarcophagus of granite with two mummies in it, covered with hieroglyphics in an unfinished state, and a statue standing erect, six feet six inches high, and beautifully cut out of sycamore. There were besides many little images of wood well carved, some with the head of a lion, others of a fox, and others of a monkey. In another tomb were mummies in their cases lying flat on the ground; the bodies were covered with linen of different degrees of fineness, and, as Mr. Belzoni thinks, wrapped round them at different and distant periods of time: so careful were the ancient Egyptians in their attentions to the dead! Some of the tombs had paintings beautifully executed, others were quite plain. In one chamber were discovered two naked bodies without either wrappers or case; they were females, with hair of considerable length, and well preserved. In some of the chambers the mummies of cows, sheep, monkeys, crocodiles, bats, and other animals were intermixed with human bodies; and one tomb was filled with nothing but cats, carefully folded in red and white linen, the head covered by a mask representing the cat, and made of the same linen.

The Egyptians appear to have been acquainted with linen manufactures to a perfection equal to the English ; for, in many of their figures, their garments were quite transparent ; and among the folding of the mummies, some cloth quite as fine as common muslin, very strong, and of an equal texture. They had the art of tanning leather, with which they made shoes, some of which were found of various shapes. They had also the art of staining the leather with various colours, and knew the mode of embossing on it, for they found leather with figures impressed on it, quite elevated. It appears to have been done with a hot iron while the leather was damp. They also fabricated a sort of coarse glass, with which they made beads and other ornaments.

Besides enamelling, the art of gilding was in great perfection among them, as they found several ornaments of this kind. They knew how to cast copper as well as to form it into sheets, and had a metallic composition not unlike lead, rather softer, but of great tenacity, much like the lead which is on paper in the tea-chests from China, but much thicker. They found some pieces of it covered on both sides with a thin coat of another metal, which might be taken for silver.

Sufficient proofs were also procured of the skill of the ancients in varnishing on baked clay, and that this art was carried to great perfection : in their colours, especially the red, blue, green, and yellow, still remain, after so many ages, as brilliant and as beautiful as when first laid on.

The inconvenience, and the hazard of visiting these sepulchres, can only be duly appreciated by those who have made the experiment ; and nothing but an extraordinary degree of enthusiasm for researches of this kind could have supported Mr. Belzoni in the numerous descents which he made into the mummy pits of Egypt, and through the long subterraneous passages, particularly inconvenient for a man of his size.

Of some of these tombs he says many persons could not withstand the suffocating air, which often causes fainting. A

vast quantity of dust rises, so fine that it enters the throat and nostrils, and chokes the nose and mouth to such a degree, that it requires great power of lungs to resist it and the strong effluvia of the mummies. This is not all; the entry or passage where the bodies are, is roughly cut in the rocks, and the falling of the sand from the upper part or ceiling of the passage causes it to be nearly filled up. In some places there is not more than the vacancy of a foot left, which you must contrive to pass through in a creeping posture like a snail, on pointed and keen stones, that cut like glass. After getting through these passages, some of them two or three hundred yards long, there is generally a commodious place, perhaps high enough to sit. But what a place of rest! surrounded by bodies, by heaps of mummies in all directions; which, previous to the beholder being accustomed to the sight, impress with horror. The blackness of the wall, the faint light given by the candles or torches for want of air, the different objects that surround him, seeming to converse with each other, and the Arabs with the candles or torches in their hands, naked and covered with dust, themselves resembling living mummies, absolutely formed a scene that cannot be described. In such a situation Mr Belzoni observes, he found himself several times, and often returned exhausted and fainting, till at last he became inured to it, and indifferent to what he suffered, except from the dust, which never failed to choke his throat and nose; and though, fortunately, he was destitute of the sense of smelling, he could taste that the mummies were rather unpleasant to swallow. After the exertion of entering into such a place, through a passage of fifty, a hundred, three hundred, or perhaps six hundred yards, nearly overcome, he sought a resting-place, found one, and contrived to sit; but when his weight bore on the body of an Egyptian, it crushed it like a band-box. He naturally had recourse to his hands to sustain his weight, but they found no better support; so that he sank altogether among the broken mummies, with a crash of bones,

rags, and wooden cases, which raised such a dust as kept him motionless for a quarter of an hour, waiting till it subsided again. He could not move from the place, however, without increasing it, and every step he took he crushed a mummy in some part or other. Once he was conducted from such a place to another resembling it, through a passage of about twenty feet in length, and no wider than that a body could be forced through. It was choked with mummies, and he could not pass without putting his face in contact with that of some decayed Egyptian; but as the passage inclined downwards, his own weight helped him on; however, he could not avoid being covered with bones, legs, arms, and heads rolling from above. Thus he proceeded from one cave to another, all full of mummies piled up in various ways, some standing, some lying, and some on their heads. The purpose of his researches was to rob the Egyptians of their papyri; of which he found a few hidden in their breasts, under their arms, in the space above the knees, or on the legs, and covered by the numerous folds of cloth, that envelop the mummy.

The tombs in the Beban el Molook were more capacious. The first that was opened had a staircase eight feet wide and ten feet high, at the foot of which were four mummies in their cases, flat on the ground, with their heads towards the stairs; further on were four more in the same direction; one of them had a covering thrown over it exactly like the pall on the coffins of the present day.

Mr. Belzoni says, I went through the operation of examining all these mummies one by one. They were much alike in their foldings, except that which had the painted linen over it. Among the others he found one, that had new linen, apparently, put over the old rags; which proves that the Egyptians took great care of their dead, even for many years after their decease. That which was distinguished from all the rest, he observed, was dressed in finer linen, and more neatly wrapped up. It had garlands of flowers and leaves,



and on the side over the heart, Mr. Belzoni says, that he found a plate of metal soft like lead, covered with another metal, not unlike silver leaf. It had the eyes of a cow, which so often represents Isis, engraved on it; and in the centre of the breast was another plate, with the winged globe. Both plates were nearly six inches long. On unfolding the linen, they still found it very fine, which was not the case with the other mummies; for, after three or four foldings, it was generally of a coarser kind. At last they came to the body, of which nothing was to be seen but the bones, which had assumed a yellow tint. The case was in part painted: but the linen cloth covering it fell to pieces as soon as it was touched.

On the 16th, Mr. Belzoni recommenced the excavations in the valley of Beban el Molook, and pointed out the fortunate spot which paid him for all the trouble of his researches. He may call this, he adds, a fortunate day, one of the best perhaps of his life; from the pleasure it afforded him of presenting to the world, a new and perfect monument of Egyptian antiquity, which can be recorded as superior to any other in point of grandeur, style and preservation, appearing as if just finished on the day they entered it; and what he found in it, he adds, will shew its great superiority to all others. Certain indications had convinced him of the existence of a large and unopened sepulchre. Impressed with this idea he caused the earth to be dug away to the depth of eighteen feet, when the entrance made its appearance. The passage, however, was choked up with large stones, which were with difficulty removed. A long corridor, with a painted ceiling, led to a staircase twenty-three feet long, and nearly nine feet wide. At the bottom was a door twelve feet high; it opened into a second corridor of the same width, thirty-seven feet long, the sides and ceiling finely sculptured and painted. The more he saw, he says, the more he was eager to see. His progress, however, was interrupted at the end of this second corridor by a pit thirty feet deep and twelve wide. Beyond this he perceived a small aperture of about two feet

square in the wall, out of which hung a rope reaching probably to the bottom of the well; another rope fastened to a beam of wood stretching across the passage on this side also hung into the well. One of these ropes was apparently for the purpose of descending on one side of the well and the other for that of ascending on the opposite side. Both the wood and the rope crumbled to dust on being touched.

By means of two beams Mr. Belzoni contrived to cross the pit or well, and to force a larger opening in the wall, beyond which was discovered a third corridor of the same dimensions as the two former. Those parts of the wood and rope which were on the further side of this wall did not fall to dust, but were in a tolerably good state of preservation, owing, as he supposed, to the dryness of the air in these more distant apartments.

The sepulchre was found to open into a number of chambers of different dimensions, with corridors and staircases. Of the chambers, the first was a beautiful hall, twenty-seven feet six inches by twenty-five feet ten inches, in which were four pillars each three feet square. Mr. Belzoni says, at the end of this room, which he called the entrance-hall, and opposite the aperture, was a large door, from which three steps led down into a chamber with two pillars, which was twenty-eight feet two inches by twenty-five feet six inches. The pillars are three feet ten inches square. He gave it the name of the drawing room; for it is covered with figures, which, though only outlined, are so fine and perfect, that one would think they had been drawn only the day before. Returning into the entrance hall, they saw on the left of the aperture a large staircase, which descended into a corridor. It is thirteen feet four inches long, seven and a half wide, and has eighteen steps. At the bottom they entered a beautiful corridor, thirty-six feet six inches by six feet eleven inches. They perceived that the paintings became more perfect as they advanced farther into the interior. They retained their gloss, or a kind of varnish over the colours, which had a

beautiful effect. The figures are painted on a white ground. At the end of this corridor, they descended ten steps, which he called the small stairs, into another, seventeen feet two inches by ten feet five inches. From this they entered a small chamber, twenty feet four inches by thirteen feet eight inches, to which he gave the name of the Room of Beauties; for it was adorned with the most beautiful figures in basso-relievo, like all the rest, and painted. When standing in the centre of this chamber, the traveller is surrounded by an assembly of Egyptian gods and goddesses. Proceeding further, they entered a large hall, twenty-seven feet nine inches, by twenty-six feet ten inches. In this hall are two rows of square pillars, three on each side of the entrance, forming a line with the corridors. At each side of this hall was a small chamber: that on the right is ten feet five inches by eight feet eight inches: that on the left, ten feet five inches by eight feet nine inches and a half. This hall he termed the Hall of Pillars; the little room on the right, Isis' Room, as in it a large cow is painted; that on the left, the Room of Mysteries, from the mysterious figures it exhibits. At the end of this hall they entered a large saloon, with an arched roof or ceiling, which is separated from the Hall of Pillars only by a step; so that the two may be reckoned one. The saloon is thirty-one feet ten inches by twenty-seven feet. On the right of the saloon is a small chamber without any thing in it, roughly cut, as if unfinished, and without painting: on the left they entered a chamber with two square pillars, twenty-five feet eight inches by twenty-two feet ten inches. This he called the sideboard room, as it had a projection of three feet in form of a sideboard all round, which was perhaps intended to contain the articles necessary for the funeral ceremony. The pillars are three feet four inches square, and the whole beautifully painted as the rest. At the same end of the room, and facing the Hall of Pillars, they entered by a large door into another chamber with four pillars, one of which is fallen

down. This chamber is forty three feet four inches by seventeen feet six inches ; the pillars three feet seven inches square. It is covered with white plaster, where the rock did not cut smoothly, but there is no painting on it. He named it the Bull's or Apis' Room, as they found the carcase of a bull in it, embalmed with asphaltum ; and also, scattered in various places, an immense quantity of small wooden figures of mummies six or eight inches long, and covered with asphaltum to preserve them. There were some other figures of fine earth baked, coloured blue and strongly varnished. On each side of the two little rooms were some wooden statues standing erect, four feet high, with a circular hollow inside, as if to contain a roll of papyrus. There were likewise fragments of other statues of wood and of composition.

The description of what was found in the centre of the saloon, merits the most particular attention, not having its equal in the world, and being such as they had no idea could exist. It is, says Mr. Belzoni, a sarcophagus of the finest oriental alabaster, nine feet five inches long, and three feet seven inches wide. Its thickness is only two inches ; and it is transparent when a light is placed inside of it. It is minutely sculptured within and without with several hundred figures, which do not exceed two inches in height, and represent, as he supposes, the whole of the funeral procession and ceremonies relating to the deceased, united with several emblems, &c. Nothing can give an adequate idea of this beautiful and invaluable piece of antiquity, and he says, that nothing has been brought into Europe from Egypt that can be compared with it. The cover was not there ; it had been taken out, and broken into several pieces, which they found in digging before the first entrance. The sarcophagus was over a staircase in the centre of the saloon, which communicated with a subterraneous passage leading downwards, three hundred feet in length. At the end of this passage they found a great quantity of bats' dung, which choked it up,

so that they could go no further without digging. It was nearly filled up too by the falling in of the upper part.

The whole of the figures and hieroglyphics in this wonderful excavation are sculptured in bas relief and painted over, except in one chamber, where the outlines are only given. Great care appears to have been taken to have these accurate; as several sketches were observed on the walls in red lines, which had afterwards been traced with corrections in black; the stone was then cut away from the side of the chamber all round the black lines, leaving the figure raised to the height of half an inch or more, according to its size. A coat of whitewash was then passed over it, which Mr. Belzoni says is still so beautiful and clear, that his best and whitest paper appeared yellowish when compared to it. The painter came next and finished the figure in colours, which after more than 2000 years still retain all their original brilliancy. Among the numerous representations of figures in various positions, one group is singularly interesting, as describing the march of a military and triumphal procession with three different sets of prisoners, who are evidently Jews, Ethiopians, and Persians. The procession begins with four red men with white kirtles followed by a hawk-headed divinity; these are Egyptians apparently released from captivity and returning home under the protection of the national deity. Then follow four white men in striped and fringed kirtles, with black beards, and with a simple white fillet round their black hair; these are obviously Jews and might be taken for the portraits of those, who, at this day, walk the streets of London. After them come three white men with smaller beards and curled whiskers, with double-spreading plumes on their heads, tattooed, and wearing robes or mantles spotted like the skins of wild beasts; these are Persians or Chaldeans. Lastly, come four negroes with large circular ear-rings, and white petticoats supported by a belt over the shoulder; these are Ethiopians.

The Egyptians appear to have had three different modes of

embalming their dead ; Herodotus says, that these modes were according to the inclinations of the friends of the deceased, whether they were disposed to be sparing in the expense, or not. He says, certain persons were appointed by the laws to the exercise of this profession. When a dead body was brought to them, they exhibited to the friends of the deceased different models, highly finished in wood. The most perfect of these, he said, resembles one, whom I do not think it religious to name on such an occasion ; the second was of less price, and inferior in point of execution ; the other was still more mean. They then enquired after which model the deceased should be represented. When the price was determined, the relations retired, and the embalmers proceeded in their work. In the most perfect specimens of their art, they extracted the brain through the nostrils, partly with a piece of crooked iron, and partly by the infusion of drugs. They then, with an Ethiopian stone, made an incision in the side, through which they drew out the intestines. These they cleansed thoroughly, washing them with palm-wine, and afterwards covering them with pounded aromatics. They then filled the body with powder of pure myrrh, cassia, and other spices, without frankincense. Having sewn up the body, it was covered with nitre for the space of seventy days, which time they were not allowed to exceed. At the end of this period, being first washed, it was closely wrapped in bandages of cotton, dipped in a gum, which the Egyptians used as a glue. It was then returned to the relations, who inclosed the body in a case of wood, made to resemble a human figure, and placed it against the wall in the repository of their dead. This was the most costly mode of embalming.

For those who wished to be at less expense, the following method was adopted. They neither drew out the intestines, nor made an incision in the dead body, but injected a liniment made from the cedar. After taking proper means to secure the injected oil within the body, it was covered

with nitre for the time above specified. On they last day they withdrew the liquid before introduced, which brought with it all the intestines. The nitre dried up and hardened the flesh, so that the corpse appeared little but skin and bone. In this state the body was returned, and no further care taken concerning it.

There was a third mode of embalming, appropriated to the poor. A particular kind of lotion was made to pass through the body, which was afterwards merely left in nitre for the above space of seventy days, and then returned. Such is the account given by Herodotus.

Mr. Belzoni says, that Herodotus was incorrect in some of his accounts of the mummies; he mentions them as erect: but it is somewhat singular, that in many pits which Mr. Belzoni opened, not a single mummy was standing. On the contrary, he found them lying regularly, in horizontal rows, and some were sunk into a cement, which must have been nearly fluid when the cases were placed on it.

The lower classes were not buried in cases: they were dried up, as it appears, after the regular preparation of the seventy days. Mummies of this sort were in the proportion of about ten to one of the better class, as near as he could calculate by the quantity he saw of both; and it appeared, that after the operation of the nitre, adopted by the mummy-makers, these bodies may have been dried in the sun.

Among these tombs they saw some which contained the mummies of animals intermixed with human bodies. There were bulls, cows, sheep, monkeys, foxes, cats, crocodiles, fishes, and birds. Some of the mummies have garlands of flowers, and leaves of the acacia, or sunt tree, over their heads and breasts. This tree is often seen on the banks of the Nile, above Thebes, and particularly in Nubia. The flower, when fresh, is yellow, and of a very hard substance, appearing as if artificial. The leaves, also, are very strong, and though dried and turned brown, they still retain their firmness. In the inside of these mummies are found lumps

of asphaltum, sometimes so large as to weigh two pounds. The entrails of these mummies are often found bound up in linen and asphaltum. What does not incorporate with the fleshy part, remains of the natural colour of the pitch; but that which does incorporate becomes brown, and evidently mixed with the grease of the body, forming a mass, which on pressure crumbles into dust. The wooden case is first covered with a layer or two of cement, not unlike plaster of Paris; and on this are sometimes cast figures in basso relievo, for which they make holes cut in stone. The whole case is painted; the ground generally yellow, the figures and hieroglyphics blue, green, red, and black. The last is very seldom used. The whole of the painting is covered with a varnish, which preserves it very effectually.

It is somewhat singular that no instruments of war are found in these places, when it is considered what a warlike nation the Egyptians were.

The reader may see several of these mummies in the British Museum; which place is open to the public every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and any person decently dressed is admitted between the hours of ten and two o'clock.

Dr. Young observes, that the sepulchral inscriptions constitute the most considerable part of the Egyptian literature which remains; that the general tenor of them, as might be expected, from the testimony of Herodotus, appears to be the identification of the deceased with Osiris, and, if a female, with Isis; and that the subject of the most usual representations, seems to be the reception of this new personage by the principal deities.

By a diligent and accurate comparison of a great number of these hieroglyphical and pictorial representations, he has succeeded in ascertaining the names of the principal deities, and of several of the kings of Egypt, as well as the meaning of the epithets attached to them; and from the hieroglyphic of the name, and other corroborating circumstances, he



entertains no doubt whatever, that the principal figure taken from the wall of the catacomb in question, is meant for Psammis, who, according to Herodotus, was the son of Necos or Nechao.

There was a procession of native Egyptians, and of captive Ethiopians, Jews, and Persians, each distinctly and characteristically marked in feature, colour and dress; an event which we shall find to accord with the history of the times: for we know from the great source of all authentic information relating to ancient history, the Bible, that Necho, the father of Psammis, carried on war with the Jews and Babylonians; and Herodotus notices his expedition against the Ethiopians; so that this procession may very naturally be considered as consisting of the three descriptions of captives made in his wars. In turning to the 35th Chapter of the 2nd of Chronicles, we shall find this painting of the catacomb more strikingly elucidated by the following remarkable passage: 'After all this, when Josiah had prepared the temple, Necho, king of Egypt, came up to fight against Charchemish, by Euphrates; and Josiah went out against him. But he sent ambassadors to him, saying, what have I to do with thee, thou king of Judea? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war; for God commanded me to make haste; forbear thee from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not. Nevertheless, Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself, that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the valley of Megiddo. And the archers shot at King Josiah; and the king said to his servants, have me away, for I am sore wounded. His servants therefore took him out of that chariot, and put him in the second chariot he had, and they brought him to Jerusalem and he died, and was buried in one of the sepulchres of his fathers, and all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah.' And again, in Chapter 36: 'Then the people of the land, took

Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, and made him king in his father's stead in Jerusalem. Jehoahaz was twenty and three years old when he began to reign, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem. And the king of Egypt put him down at Jerusalem, and condemned the land in a hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold. And the king of Egypt made Eliakim, his brother, king over Judah and Jerusalem, and turned his name to Jehoiakim. *And Necho took Jehoahaz, his brother, and carried him into Egypt.'*

The wonderful sculptures of the Egyptians are to be admired for the boldness of their execution. Their enormous sizes render it difficult for the artists to maintain their due proportions, which were according to the height of the figure. For instance, if a statue were erected of the size of life, the head was of the natural size ; if the statue were thirty feet high, the head was larger in proportion to the body ; and if fifty feet high, the magnitude of the head was farther increased. Had it been otherwise, in statues of so great height, the distance from the eyes of the spectator would have so much diminished the size, that the head would have appeared too small in proportion to the legs. The tedious work of the endless hieroglyphics which are to be seen in every part of every edifice, the numberless figures on the temples, tombs, obelisks, and walls, must have required wonderful labour. They had only four sorts of stones in general use for sculpture, the sandy, the calcareous, breccia, and granite. All, except the first, are very hard, and what is most singular is, it is not known with what tools they were cut out. Ocular demonstration shews, that the tools of the present day will not cut granite without great difficulty.

When a young man wants to marry, he goes to the father of the intended bride, and agrees with him what he is to pay for her. This being settled, so much money is to be spent on the wedding-day feast. To set up housekeeping nothing is requisite but two or three earthen pots, a stone to grind meal and a mat, which is the bed. The spouse has a gown

and jewels of her own ; and, if the bridegroom present her with a pair of bracelets of silver, ivory, or glass, she is happy and fortunate indeed. The house is ready, without rent or taxes. No rain can pass through the roof ; and there is no door, for there is no want of one, as there is nothing to lose. They make a kind of box of clay and straw, which, after two or three day's exposure to the sun, becomes quite hard. It is fixed on a stand, an aperture is left to put all their precious things into it, and a piece of mummy case forms the door. If the house do not please them, they walk out and enter another as there are several hundreds at their command.

At Carnak, one morning, previous to crossing the Nile to Gournou, Mr. Belzoni set several men to work on a spot of ground at the foot of a heap of earth, where part of a large colossus projected out. Mr. Beechey, who sometimes visited the ruins, superintended the work on that day ; and had the pleasure to discover a colossal head, larger than that which had been sent to England. It was of red granite, of beautiful workmanship, and uncommonly well preserved, except one ear, and part of the chin, which had been knocked off along with the beard. It is detached from the shoulder at the lower part of the neck, and has the usual corn-measure, or mitre, on its head. Though of larger proportion than the young Memnon, it is not so bulky or heavy, as it has no part of the shoulder attached to it. Mr. Belzoni had it removed to Luxor, which employed eight days, though the distance is little more than a mile. Besides this head, which is ten feet from the neck to the top of the mitre, he procured an arm belonging to the same colossus, which measures also ten feet, and with the head, will give a just idea of the size of the statue.

At this time an order came from the Defterdar Bey, who had arrived at Gamola, three miles north of Thebes, to all the Cacheffs and Caimakans, who commanded on both sides of Thebes, not to permit the English to accumulate any

more antiquities, nor to allow the Arabs to work or sell any thing more to them on any account.

Mr. Belzoni waited on the Bey the next morning, and found him seated in his divan, surrounded by his Cacheffs, and a number of other attendants. He received him coolly. He inquired whether he had not yet made up his collection. He answered, that, as long as he had his permission he would still endeavour to find something more.

It was manifest he wanted an excuse for his conduct; for he said he had been informed that the Fellahs had complained of being exceedingly ill-treated, and that they drew their swords to cut off their heads and Mr. Belzoni's people beat them continually.

The Bey said, that Mr. Belzoni had bought nearly every article of antiquity that could be obtained in Gournou, and therefore it was time to stop their proceedings. Mr. Belzoni replied, that what he had bought had been voluntarily sold by the Arabs, and begged the Bey not to believe what he heard from his opponents. The Bey inquired whether Gournou was far off. On being shewn the place out of the window, six miles distant, he ordered horses, and in a few minutes they set off for that place. He went straight on to Memnonium; where he inquired about the great mosquees, as he named them, and put several questions concerning the buildings and the colossi that are there. He then proceeded to the two colossi. After a general survey of the ruins, he seated himself before the famous battle painted on the wall, and gave his opinion concerning it; observing, it was impossible that the colouring could have been done at the time the figures were made, as it was so fresh, and the stones so much broken. Mr. Belzoni said, it was owing to the climate of the country that these things were preserved; but he persisted in his opinion, that it was impossible it could be so. Then, quitting his station, he seated himself under the archway of the first entrance, and called the Shiek of Gournou, whom he knew to be their friend, and

who had received the order the night before. The poor Shiek, trembling all over at this call, was asked how many men there were in Gournou who dug the ground in search of mummies. The Shiek answered six or seven. It was plain the Bey did not know what to do to gratify his spleen ; and, as he could not avoid retracting the order, the poor Shiek was to suffer. A diabolical thought came into his head ; and he asked the Shiek if he could find in Gournou a mummy that had not been opened. The Shiek answered, that one might be found, if he gave him time to search ; but the people who find them always open them instantly. On this the Bey flew into a great rage, and insisted that one should be found immediately ; and, if he did not find it, he would give him the bastinado. The poor Shiek was ordered to dig directly under his feet and take out a mummy ; but he answered that the mummies were in Gournou, and none were ever found in the place where he stood ; and it was well for him that one of the attendants and a Cacheff confirmed what he said. The Bey then sent him to Gournou, and told him to see that he found a mummy, in its case, and unopened ; and he allowed him an hour for doing it. The poor Shiek attempted to speak, but was turned out by three or four soldiers. They then went to Gournou, and under a doum-tree saw the Shiek and some of the Janizaries, with the mummy ready for his highness. Before he drew near to ascertain the fact, the Bey began to cry out that he was sure it had been opened by one of the fellows who search for mummies ; and it was in vain he was told otherwise. None could imagine things would be carried on to such an extreme. That the case had been opened no one could suspect ; but the Bey wanted a pretence to beat the poor Shiek for being Mr. Belzoni's friend. Accordingly, he ordered him to be immediately stretched on the ground ; and such a scene ensued, as drew from the Turks themselves expressions both of displeasure and disgust. Mr. Belzoni endeavoured to intercede for the unfortunate wretch, who all this time was under

the stick, but it was useless, as the more he entreated, the more beating he received. The interpreter not reflecting on what he did, ventured to intercede in the name of Mr. Salt, the British consul, at which the Bey laughed. He then begged in the name of his father-in-law, the Bashaw; and the Bey made answer, that he was the sole commander in all business there; adding, to the man who was punishing the Shiek, "Go on, go on, and hard.

By this time the poor fellow was like the mummy that lay by his side, deprived of sense and feeling; and with a little more beating would have remained there for ever, and been buried where he lay. At last he told the man to stop, and the miserable Shiek was carried to his cave as into his tomb; and was, indeed, more fit for the tomb than for a house. The Bey then caused the mummy to be opened, and finding nothing, he exclaimed, if they did not bring him one that was entire, he would throw the Shiek into the river;\*

An order was sent, that they might have twenty men to work for eight days. When Mr. Belzoni perceived that the Bey did not stop, he spoke to the Cacheff, to use his influence, that the order might be enforced; but he seemed desirous of evading it, as he was aware it was merely a pretext on the part of the Bey. He says, I saw plainly, that we had been calumniated to the Bey; and the Cacheff protested, that if it had been in his power, he would have befriended us. Accordingly I gave him to understand that it would be to his advantage to be friendly to our party, as well as to the other, and that the Bey's enmity would not last much longer. Mr. Belzoni said, it was some business which had prevented the Consul from coming, who intended to bring with him presents both to the Bey and the Cacheff, when all would be set to rights again. At length, persuasions prevailed: and he ordered the men to work; and in a few days Mr. Belzoni collected all the pieces of antiquity together on the quay of Luxor; and caused a mud wall to be made round them.

Various phenomena often happen in Egypt. The *whirl*.

*winds* occur all the year round, but especially at the time of the camseen wind, which begins in April, and lasts fifty days. Hence the name of camseen, which in Arabic signifies fifty. It generally blows from the south-west, and lasts four, five, or six days without varying, so very strong, that it raises the sands to a great height, forming a general cloud, so thick that it is impossible to keep the eyes open, if not under cover. It is troublesome even to the Arabs; it forces the sand into the houses through every cranny, and fills every thing with it. The caravans cannot proceed in the deserts; the boats cannot continue their voyages; and the travellers are obliged to eat sand in spite of their teeth. The whole is like a chaos. Often a quantity of sand and small stones gradually ascends to a great height, and forms a column sixty or seventy feet in diameter, and so thick, that were it steady on one spot, it would appear a solid mass. This not only revolves within its own circumference, but runs in a circular direction over a great space of ground, sometimes maintaining itself in motion for half an hour, and where it falls it accumulates a small hill of sand.

The next phenomenon is the *mirage*, often described by travellers, who assert having been deceived by it, as at a distance it appears like water. It generally appears like a still lake, so unmoved by the wind, that every thing above is to be seen most distinctly reflected by it, which is the principal cause of the deception. If the wind agitate any of the plants that rise above the horizon of the mirage, he cannot see through it, so that it appears to him clear water. On approaching it, it becomes thinner, and appears as if agitated by the wind, like a field of ripe corn. It gradually vanishes as the traveller approaches, and at last entirely disappears when he is on the spot.

The third phenomenon is the *locusts*. These animals are seen in such clouds, that twice the number in the same space would form an opaque mass, which would wholly intercept the rays of the sun, and cause complete darkness.

They alight on fields of corn, or other vegetables, and in a few minutes devour their whole produce. The natives make a great noise to frighten them away, but in vain; and, by way of retaliation, they catch and eat them when fried, considering them a dainty repast. They are something like the grasshopper in form, about two inches in length. They are generally of a yellow or gold colour, but there are some red and some green.

The work of the columns of a temple in the isle of Philoe, is in a much lighter style than the old Egyptian, evincing that nation would have improved gradually; and in due course of time, by amalgamating the Grecian elegance with the vast and lofty magnificence of its own works of art, would have formed an architecture of which we have no idea, but, no doubt, most sublime. There are other proofs that this temple is a more modern structure, formed of the materials of an older edifice. In one of the columns, opposite the gate in the portico which leads to the sanctuary, there is in the centre, a stone, sculptured with hieroglyphics inverted; and another stone of this kind is to be seen in the same column on the west side, near the ground. The whole edifice consists of two temples, nearly united together. A small temple, dedicated to Isis, is within the peristyle of the larger, which was dedicated to the same goddess, to Serapis, and to the rest of the gods. The building faces the south, with a large portal or propylæon, flanked by two porticoes or colonnades, the capitals of the pillars of which are different from each other. At the entrance of the first portal lies an obelisk of granite, thrown down, its pedestal having a Greek inscription on it, which is a complaint of the priests, addressed to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, against the soldiers and the government of that place, and proves that the Egyptian priests had no influence in the government at that period. The inscription was discovered by an English traveller, Mr. Banks, who, not having time to dig it out, left it, and Mr. Beechey took a copy of it. Part of another obelisk and pedestal are



to be seen in the mud wall opposite. There are also two lions, of granite.

After passing the first portal is the entrance to the pronaos ; on the west of which is the small temple of Isis, surrounded by square pillars, with the head of the goddess as the capital. The inner part consists of three apartments : the portico, the cella, and the adytum. The hieroglyphics on it are nearly perfect, but almost covered with mud, as it has served as a Greek chapel. On the east side of the pronaos is a gallery with several cells, no doubt for the use of the priests ; and the north is the second portal, covered with colossal figures like the first. On passing this you come to the portico, which is reckoned the most perfect and beautiful part of this building. The hieroglyphics are entire and highly painted, as are the capitals of the columns, which are ten in number. The figures on the wall of this portico are all divided into several groups, forming compartments of five feet high ; those on the columns forming the ornaments of this hall are highly beautiful. There are other ruins on the west of the island, which formed the entrance into the temple by the water-side ; and on the north-east are the remains of three arches made by the Romans. The middle arch has fallen down. On the key-stone the words "sanctum, sanctum, sanctum," are cut ; affording clear evidence, that this island served as a holy seat not only to the Egyptians and Greeks, but also to the Romans. There are marks of the whole temple having been fitted up for Christian worship. The walls are covered with mud, to hide the hieroglyphics on them ; and some figures peculiar to the Christian religion were painted on this ; but time uncovered the hieroglyphics again, as the mud lost its hold in several places. At the back of the temple, or on the north side of it, are the foundations of a building that served for a Greek church ; and was formed of the stones from the ruins of the other buildings, as is obvious from the hieroglyphics on them. This island is perhaps the most superb group of ruins ever beheld together in so small a

space of ground. The whole island, which is not more than a thousand feet in length, and less than five hundred in breadth, is richly covered with ruins; and being detached from the other barren islands which surround it at some distance, has a very superb appearance.

In a valley to the westward of Beban el Malook Mr. Belzoni found that the Egyptians had a particular manner of forming the entrance into their tombs, which gave him many leading ideas to the discovery of them. Besides, the supposition that many of these tombs must have been buried under the stones and rubbish, which continually fall from the mountains, the great quantity of materials cut out of the tomb accumulated in considerable heaps in different parts in the valley, might give various suggestions of the spots where the entrance to the tombs was to be found, as is justly observed by Mr. Hamilton.

He set men to work near a hundred yards from the tomb which he discovered the year before; and when they had got a little below the surface, they came to some large stones, which had evidently been put there by those who closed the tomb. Having removed these stones, he perceived the rock had been cut on both sides, and found a passage leading downwards. He could proceed no farther that day, as the men were much fatigued, and he had more than four miles to return to Thebes. The next day they resumed their labour, and in a few hours came to a well-built wall of stones of various sizes. The following day he caused a large pole to be brought, and by means of another small piece of palm-tree laid across the entrance, he made a machine not unlike a battering-ram. The walls resisted the blows of the Arabs for some time, but they contrived to make a breach at last, and in this way the opening was enlarged. Mr. Belzoni and his party immediately entered, and found themselves on a staircase, eight feet wide and ten feet high, at the bottom of which were four mummies, in their cases, lying flat on the ground with their

heads toward the outside. Farther on were four more lying in the same direction. The cases were all painted, and one had a large covering thrown over it, exactly like the pall upon the coffins of the present day.

He went through the operation of examining all these mummies one by one. They were much alike in their foldings, except that which had the painted linen over it. Among the others he found one, that had new linen apparently put over the old rags; which proves, that the Egyptians took great care of their dead, even for many years after their decease. That which was distinguished from all the rest, was dressed in a finer linen, and more neatly wrapped up. It had garlands of flowers and leaves, and on the side over the heart was a plate of metal, soft like lead, covered with another metal, not unlike silver leaf. It had the eyes of a cow, which so often represents Isis, engraved on it; and in the centre of the breast was another plate, with the winged globe. Both plates were nearly six inches long. On unfolding the linen, they found it very fine, which was not the case with the other mummies; for, after three or four foldings, it was generally of a coarser kind. At last came the body, of which nothing is to be seen but the bones, which had assumed a yellow tint. The case was in part painted; but the linen cloth covering it fell to pieces as soon as it was touched, owing to the paint that was on it, which consisted of various devices and flowers. The cases were sunk four inches into the cement already mentioned. Some of the painting on the inside of the cases appeared quite fresh, as if recently done; and there was generally a coat of varnish. For what purpose this tomb might have been intended, cannot be said, perhaps it was originally designed for one of the royal blood. It appeared by the entrance to have been commenced on a scale similar to those of the kings; though it seems to have been finished for a more humble family.

The result of the researches gave all the satisfaction de-

sired, of finding mummies in cases, in their original position: but this was not the principal object; for, as he was near the place where the kings of Egypt were buried, he thought he might have a chance of discovering some of their relics.

The sacred valley, named Beban el Malook, begins at Gournou, runs towards the south-west, and gradually turns due south. It contains the celebrated tombs of the kings of Egypt, and divides itself into two different branches, one of which runs two miles farther to the westward, making five miles from the Nile to the extremity. The other, which contains most of the tombs, is separated from Gournou only by a high chain of rocks, which can be crossed from Thebes in less than an hour. The same rocks surround the sacred ground, which can be visited only by a single natural entrance, that is formed like a gateway, or by the craggy paths, across the mountains. The tombs are all cut out of the solid rock, which is of calcareous stone, as white as it is possible for a stone to be. They consist in general of a long square passage, which leads to a staircase, sometimes with a gallery at each side of it, and other chambers. Advancing farther they came to wider apartments, and other passages and stairs, and at last into a large hall, where the great sarcophagus lay, which contained the remains of the kings. Some of these tombs are quite open, and others incumbered with rubbish at the entrance. Nine or ten may be reckoned of a superior class, and five or six of a lower order. Strabo may have counted eighteen, as may be done to this day, including some of an inferior class, which cannot be esteemed as tombs of the kings of Egypt from any other circumstance, than that of having been placed in this valley.

Mr. Belzoni says in his opinion the tombs in the valley of Beban el Malook were erected subsequently to those in Gournou; for he could scarcely find a spot in the latter place adapted to the excavation of another of the great tombs, and it may be supposed, that when all the best spots for large tombs in Gournou had been occupied, the Eg

tians went over the rocks to seek another situation in which to deposit their kings. Certain it is, that the tombs in the valley of Beban el Malook are in far better condition than those at Gournou.

On the 11th of October, they went to see the tombs in Gournou, and the temple in the valley behind Memnonium. A tomb discovered the day before was opened, so that they might enter it. On this they took the road over the rocks immediately, and arrived in less than three quarters of an hour. Having proceeded through a passage thirty-two feet long, and eight feet wide, they descended a staircase twenty-eight feet, and reached a tolerably large and well-painted room. They found a sarcophagus of granite, with two mummies in it, and in a corner a statue standing erect, six feet six inches high, and beautifully cut out of sycamore-wood: it is nearly perfect except the nose. They found also a number of little images of wood, well carved, representing symbolical figures. Some had a lion's head, others a fox's, others a monkey's. One had a land-tortoise instead of a head. They found a calf with the head of a hippopotamus. At each end of this chamber is a smaller one, eight feet wide, and seven feet long; and at the end of it is another chamber, ten feet long by seven wide. In the chamber on the right hand they found another statue like the first, but not perfect. No doubt they had been placed one on each side of the sarcophagus, holding a lamp or some offering in their hands, one hand being stretched out in the proper posture to hold something, and the other hanging down. The sarcophagus was covered with hieroglyphics merely painted, or outlined: it faces south-east by east.

On the 13th of October they caused some spots of ground to be dug at Gournou, and they succeeded in opening a mummy-pit, so that they had the satisfaction of seeing a pit just opened, and receiving clear ideas of the manner in which the mummies are found, though all tombs are not alike. It was a small one, and consisted of two rooms

painted all over, but not in the best style. It appeared that the tomb belonged to some warrior, as there were a great number of men enrolling themselves for soldiers, and another writing their names in a book. There were also several other figures, &c. In the lower apartment they saw the mummies lying here and there, without any regularity. To all appearance therefore this pit had been opened by the Greeks or some other people, to plunder it.

Mr. Belzoni after repeated attempts made an entrance into a new Pyramid. An Arab then entered with a candle, and returned saying, that the place within was very fine. Mr. Belzoni at last made the entrance large enough to squeeze himself in; and after thirty days exertion he had the pleasure of finding the way to the central chamber of one of the two great pyramids in Egypt, which have long been the admiration of beholders. He entered a passage twenty-two feet seven inches long, and the works including the portcullis occupy six feet eleven inches in all. Where the granite work finishes at the end of the passage, there is a perpendicular shaft of fifteen feet, and at each side of the passage, an excavation in the solid rock, one of which, on the right as you enter, runs thirty feet in an upward direction, approaching the end of the lower part of the forced passage. Before them they had a long passage running in an horizontal direction toward the centre. They descended the shaft by means of a rope. At the bottom Mr. Belzoni perceived another passage running downward at the same angle of  $26^{\circ}$  as that above, and toward the north. As his first object was the centre of the pyramid, he advanced that way, and ascended an inclined passage which brought him to an horizontal one, that led toward the centre: he observed, that after they entered within the portcullis, the passages were all cut out of the solid rock. The passage leading toward the centre is five feet eleven inches high, and three feet six inches wide.

Mr. Belzoni says, as they advanced they found the sides of this passage covered with arborizations of nitre;

some projecting in ropes, some not unlike the skin of a white lamb, and others so long as to resemble an endive leaf. He reached the door at the centre of a large chamber. He walked slowly two or three paces, and then stood still to contemplate the place where he was. Whatever it might be, he certainly considered himself in the centre of that pyramid, which from time immemorial had been the subject of the obscure conjectures of many hundred travellers, both ancient and modern. His torch, formed of a few wax candles, gave but a faint light; he could, however, clearly distinguish the principal objects. He naturally turned his eyes to the west end of the chamber, looking for the sarcophagus, which he strongly expected to see in the same situation as that in the first pyramid; but he was disappointed when he saw nothing there. The chamber has a pointed or sloping ceiling; and many of the stones had been removed from their places, evidently by some one in search of treasure. On his advancing toward the west end, he was agreeably surprised to find, that there was a sarcophagus buried on a level with the floor.

By this time Chevalier Frediani had entered also; and they took a general survey of the chamber, which Mr. Belzoni found to be forty-six feet three inches long, sixteen feet three inches wide, and twenty-three feet six inches high. It is cut out of the solid rock from the floor to the roof, which is composed of large blocks of calcareous stone, meeting in the centre, and forming a roof of the same slope as the pyramid itself. The sarcophagus is eight feet long, three feet six inches wide, and two feet three inches deep in the inside. It is surrounded by large blocks of granite, apparently to prevent its removal, which could not be effected without great labour. The lid had been removed at the side, so that the sarcophagus was half open. It is of the finest granite but, like the other in the first pyramid, there is not one hieroglyphic on it.

Looking at the inside, he perceived a great quantity of

earth and stones, but did not observe the bones among the rubbish till the next day, as his intention was principally bent in search of some inscription that would throw light on the subject of this pyramid. They examined every part of the walls, and observed many scrawls executed with charcoal, but in unknown characters, and nearly imperceptible. They rubbed off into dust at the slightest touch; and on the wall at the west end of the chamber he perceived an inscription in Arabic.

*The following is a translation of the Inscription by  
Mr. Salame.*

“ The Master Mohammed Ahmed, lapicide, has opened them; and the Master Othman attended this (opening); and the King Alij Mohammed at first (from the beginning) to the closing up.”

Mr. Belzoni adds, that the circumstances of the pyramid having been again closed up agrees with what he has said of his finding it so.

It appears, that in the time of Herodotus as little was known of the second pyramid as before the late opening, with this exception, that in his time the second pyramid was nearly in the state in which it was left when closed by the builders, who must have covered the entrance with a coating so that it might not be perceived. At the time Mr. Belzoni was fortunate enough to find his way into it, the entrance was concealed by the rubbish of the coating, which must have been nearly perfect at the time of Herodotus.

The circumstance of having chambers and a sarcophagus (which undoubtedly contained the remains of some great personage), so uniform with those in the other pyramid, leaves no question but that they were erected as sepulchres; and it is a wonder, that any doubt has ever existed, considering what could be learned from the first pyramid, which has been so long open. This contains a spacious chamber



with a sarcophagus ; the passages are of such dimensions as to admit nothing larger than the sarcophagus ; they had been closely shut up by large blocks of granite from within, evidently to prevent the removal of that relic. Ancient authors are pretty well agreed in asserting, that these monuments were erected to contain the remains of two brothers, Cheops and Cephren, kings of Egypt. They are surrounded by other smaller pyramids intermixed with mausoleums on burial-grounds. Many mummy pits have been continually found there ; yet with all these proofs, it has been asserted, that they were erected for many other purposes than the true one, and nearly as absurd as that they served for granaries.

Some consider them as built for astronomical purposes, but there is nothing in their construction to favour this supposition. Others maintain, that they were meant for the performance of holy ceremonies by the Egyptian priests. Any thing, in short, for the sake of contradiction, or to have something new to say, finds its advocate. If the ancient authors had advanced, that they were erected for treasuries, the moderns would have agreed perhaps, more in conformity with the truth, that they were made for sepulchres ; and they would not have failed to see plainly those circumstances, which clearly proves the facts, and which are not noticed as they ought to be. It will be agreed that the Egyptians, in erecting these enormous masses, did not fail to make their sides due north and south, and consequently, as they are square, due east and west. Their inclination too is such as to give light to the north side at the time of the solstice. But even all this does not prove in the least, that they were erected for astronomical purposes ; though it is to be observed, that the Egyptians connected astronomy with their religious ceremonies, as various zodiacs were found, not only among the temples, but in their tombs also.

By the measurement of the second pyramid it was as follows :

	Feet.
The basis . . . . .	684
Apotome or central line down the front, from the top to the basis . . . . .	568
Perpendicular . . . . .	458
Coating from the top to the place where it ends	140

Mr. Belzoni now again proceeded to Thebes, and on arriving at Siout went to the Bey. He was about a mile out of town, exercising his soldiers and young Mamelukes in gunnery and horsemanship. The cannon exercise was with balls against the rocks; and they were better marksmen than he expected to find among soldiers without discipline. The Bey fired himself at the same mark with two balls in one barrel of an English gun, of which some one in Cairo had made him a present. He liked it extremely; and observed, "These guns may become offensive to their makers some day or other." After the cannon exercise, they began to fire at an earthen pot placed on a kind of pedestal of about six feet high. They commence their course at two hundred feet from it; ride towards it at full gallop; at the distance of fifty-feet drop the bridle, take their gun, and fire at the pot while at full speed. The horse is so accustomed to this, that, before he reaches the stand on which the pot is, he wheels to the right, to make room for the next in the course. It is a very difficult matter to hit a small pot about a foot high, while the horse is running with all speed. In about two hundred shots only six pots were broken: the favourite Mameluke of the Bey, a lad of twelve years old, broke three. He had the best horse belonging to the Bey, and went as near the pot as the length of a gun and a half. Two other Mamelukes broke one each at a good distance, and one was broken by the Bey himself, for which he received of course great praise from all his subjects.

At four o'clock Mr. Belzoni went to his palace. He was sitting on a very high armed chair, a fashion not common

among the Turks ; though he did not sit like an European, but in a Turkish manner, with his legs up. Here he had an opportunity of being present at a trial upon life or death. The case was this : a soldier belonging to the Bey had been found dead upon the road near the village to Acmin, with his throat cut, and several marks of violence upon his body. He was on his return from Mecca, where he had been on a pilgrimage. His camel was found dead near the door of a peasant, and it was supposed that he had a great deal of money about him. He was seen in the house of the peasant, near which the camel was found, in company with seven other men, among whom was a Bedoween. The soldiers of the village, who took the prisoners into custody, asserted, that the prisoners had assisted the Bedoween in making his escape ; and the Sheik of the same village affirmed, that one of them said he knew where to find him at any time. Several witnesses were examined, but no one gave any evidence that could bring the facts home to the supposed culprits.

One point, however, was very much against one of them, and this was, his countenance did not please the Bey ; for no sooner did the Bey set his eyes on the poor fellow, than he exclaimed, " O ho ! the case is evident ! I see plainly who is the murderer : look at that man ; can there be any doubt but it was he committed the crime ? So own at once that you did it, for denial will be useless ; I see it in your face ! " Several witnesses came forward to prove, that the peasant, in whose house the soldier was, could have had nothing to do with it, as he was not in the town at that time. Witnesses in this country are rather more exact in their depositions than those of Europe, for they do not get off so easily. To make them impartial they generally get so severe a bastinado on the soles of their feet, that all the flesh is off to the bones, and they are unable to walk for a long time after. A thousand blows is reckoned a moderate number for a witness to receive. It was said, afterward, that several of

those supposed to be concerned in the murder, had their heads cut off.

Mr. Belzoni again commenced his operations near Thebes, and having observed, that the part where the sekos and cella must be was not touched, he set the men to work there, and on the second day of his researches came to a large statue, which proved to be the finest of the kind yet found. It is a sitting figure of a man, in all points resembling the great colossus of Memnon. It is nearly ten feet high, and of the most beautiful Egyptian workmanship. The stone is grey granite, and has the peculiarity of having particles in it of a colour not unlike that of the substance generally known by the name of Dutch metal. Part of its chin and beard have been knocked off, but all the rest is quite perfect. In the same ground he found several lion-headed statues, like those in Carnak, some sitting and some standing.

Between two colossal statues and the portico of the temple is an enormous colossus, thrown down and buried, all but the back of its chair, which is broken in two about the middle. It was one of his principal objects to uncover it, but he never had an opportunity. Among the columns of the portico were found a great many fragments of colossal statues of granite, breccia, and calcareous stones; and from the great number of fragments of small dimensions, and of standing and sitting lion-headed statues, these ruins appear to have belonged to the most magnificent temple of any on the west side of Thebes.

Mr. Belzoni took many impressions of the principal figures in basso relievo. The wax alone he found would not stand, as the climate would not permit it; but with wax, resin, and fine dust, he made an excellent composition. The greatest difficulty was to take the impression of the figure without injuring the colours of it. The figures were as large as life, in all a hundred and eighty-two: those of a smaller size, from one to three feet, could not be less than eight hundred.

The hieroglyphics are nearly five hundred, of which he took a faithful copy, with their colours; they are of four different sizes, from one to six inches; so that he was obliged to take one of each size, which makes nearly two thousand in all.

At the latter end of June they had a visit from Mr. Briggs, on his return from India. He brought with him from that country the pine-apple and the mango, some of which he had planted in the garden of the Aga at Kenneh, and some he tried to cultivate at Thebes. The mango at Kenneh turned out very well; but those which were planted in Thebes died, from want of care.

After this Mr. Belzoni ceased all sorts of researches, as Mr. Drouetti and others claimed the privilege of opening different places themselves. Having communicated his intentions of taking a journey to the Red Sea to Mr. Beechey, he resolved to go also, and Mr. Ricci, a medical gentleman, also proposed to accompany them.

They set sail on the 16th of September, 1818. The company consisted of Mr. Beechey, the doctor, and Mr. Belzoni, two Greek servants, a miner, and two boys from Gournou, who were hired to take care of the luggage in the desert.

The Nile rose this season three feet and a half above the highest mark left by the former inundation, with uncommon rapidity, and carried off several villages and some hundred of their inhabitants.

The Arabs had expected an extraordinary inundation this year, in consequence of the scarcity of water the preceding season; but they did not apprehend it would rise to such a height. They generally erect fences of earth and reeds around their villages, to keep the water from their houses; but the force of this inundation baffled all their efforts. Their cottages, being built of earth, could not stand one instant against the current, and no sooner did the water reach them, than it levelled them with the ground. The rapid stream carried off all that was before it; men,

women, children, cattle, corn, every thing was washed away in an instant, and left the place where the village stood without any thing to indicate that there had ever been a house on the spot. It is not the case, as is generally supposed, that all the villages of Egypt are raised so high above the general level of the ground, that the water cannot reach them; on the contrary, most of those in Upper Egypt are little if any thing higher than the rest of the ground, and the only way they have to keep off the water on the rise of the Nile, is by artificial fences made of earth and reeds.

The first village they came to was Agalta, whither they went not merely to see the place but to desire the Caimakan to send a soldier to guard the tombs, in addition to the Arabs, who were left there. He expected to be washed away by the Nile. There was no boat in this village; and should the water break down their weak fences, the only chance of escape was by climbing the palm-trees, till Providence sent some one to their relief. All the boats were employed in carrying away the corn, from villages that were in danger. Both in Upper and Lower Egypt the men, women and children are left to be last assisted, as their lives are not so valuable as corn, which brings money to the Bashaw. As this village was then four feet below the water, the poor Fellahs were on the watch day and night round their fences. They employed their skin machines or bags to throw the water out again which rose from under the ground; but if their fences should be broken down all was lost.

On the 17th several villages were in great danger of being destroyed. The rapid stream had carried away the fences, and their unfortunate inhabitants were obliged to escape to higher grounds, where it was possible, with what they could save from the water. The distress of these people was great. Some of them had only a few feet of land, and the water was to rise twelve days more, and

after that to remain twelve days at its height, according to the usual term of the inundation. Fortunate was he who could reach high ground. Some crossed the water on pieces of wood, some on buffaloes or cows, and others with reeds tied up in large bundles. The small spots of high ground that stood above the water, formed so many sanctuaries for these poor refugees, and were crowded with people and beasts. The scanty stock of provisions they could save was the only subsistence they could expect. In some parts the water had left scarcely any dry ground, and no relief could be hoped till four and twenty days had elapsed. The Cacheffs and Caimakans of the country did all they could to assist the villages with their little boats, but they were so small in proportion to what was wanted, that they could not relieve the greater part of the unfortunate people. It was distressing to behold these poor wretches in such a situation. On arriving at Erments, where fortunately the land is very high, they found many of the neighbouring people collected, employing the boat to fetch the people from an opposite village. The Caimakan set off himself with another boat, and in the course of an hour he returned with several men and boys. He sent the boats again, and they returned loaded with men, corn, and cattle. The third trip brought still more corn, buffaloes, sheep, goats, asses, and dogs. The fourth voyage was employed in fetching the women, as the last and most insignificant of their property, whose loss would have been less regretted than that of the cattle. This circumstance will convince the European fair sex of their superiority over the Turks and Arabs, at least in point of due respect to them.

The party was now increased by a soldier from Esne, four camel-drivers, and a Sheik to guide, making in all twelve men. They had sixteen camels, six of which were laden with provisions, water, culinary utensils, &c.

In the morning of the 23rd they set out very early, and arrived at the first well in three hours. Several of the

Ababde nation came to water their cattle at the well, but kept at a distance. They live scattered about in the rocks and little valleys among the mountains, but occasionally assemble together in a few minutes. To pass this place without a good understanding with their Sheik for security would be imprudent and dangerous.

On the 24th they set off pretty well. The valley afforded a very level and good road. At the entrance of this valley stands a high rock, on the left of which is a small Egyptian temple. To this they directed their course, and arrived at it six hours after setting off from the well in the morning.

It was adorned with Egyptian figures in intaglio relief, and some retain their colour pretty well. They are as large as life, and not of the worst execution. In the sekos, which is cut out of the rocks, are four pilasters. At the end of it are three small chambers; and there are two others, one on each side, in the corner of the lateral walls, on which are to be seen figures and hieroglyphics in a pretty good style. On one of the columns they observed a Greek inscription. Near the temple are the remains of an enclosure, which no doubt was a station for the caravans. It was built by the Greeks, is twelve feet high, and contained several houses within it for the accommodation of travellers. In the centre was a well, which is now filled up with sand. All round the wall there is a platform or gallery, raised six feet high, on which a guard of soldiers might walk all round. On the upper part of the wall are holes for discharging arrows, similar to those formed in our ancient buildings for the same purpose. The sides of the gateways are built of calcareous stones and the wall is of bricks.

On the 25th, they continued their journey. No vegetation of any sort was to be seen any where. Sometimes they passed over wide and level plains, and sometimes crossed rugged hills, till two hours before sun-set, when they



entered the valley called Beezak by the Arabs. At this place Mr. Ricci, the doctor, was attacked with a violent disorder, and it was decided that he should return the next morning, as it would increase if he advanced farther in the desert.

From this place they travelled to the valley where it was intended to halt. The caravan had reached the place an hour before. Here they found two wells, one of salt water, and the other quite putrid and brackish. There are few waters in the world better than that of the Nile; and now to have to drink the worst was such a change in one day, that they could not help feeling the consequences of it. Mr. Beechey was taken very ill, from drinking at the first well, and they had great apprehension of the next, which was worse. They had provisions for a month, but the fresh meat was gone, and it was with difficulty they could procure a very lean goat. The tribe of this country are all Ababde, and extend from the confines of Suez to the tribe of Bisharein, on the coast of the Red Sea, below the latitude of 23°. The manner of this race show them to be lovers of freedom: they prefer living among these solitary rocks and deserts, where they eat nothing but dhourra and drink water, before submission to the commands of any government on earth. It is a great feast among them when they take the resolution of killing a lean goat, but they eat it without fearing that any rapacious hands should take it from them. A man of this stamp, accustomed to liberty and independance, would naturally find himself as in a prison, if under the controul of even the best of governments. Their greatest care is for their camels, which are their support. They breed them up to a certain growth, and then send them to be exchanged for dhourra, which constitutes their food. The camels, as well as other animals, live upon the common thorn plants, which is the most abundant to be found in the country. Some of the most industrious of the Ababde cut wood, and make charcoal with it, which they

send to the Nile on camels, and barter it for dhourra, tallow, and tent cloth. Few, however, undergo such a labour, for they like to live at their ease. A pipe of tobacco is a luxury, and a piece of a fat ram quite raw a great dainty. They are all nearly naked, badly made, and of small stature. They have fine eyes, in particular the women, as far as we could see of those that came to the wells. The married women are covered, the rest uncovered. The head-dresses are very curious. Some are proud of having hair long enough to reach below their ears, and there formed into curls which are so entangled that it would be impossible to pass a comb through them, therefore the women never use such an instrument. When they kill a sheep that has any fat, which is very seldom, they grease their heads all over, and leave the fat in small pieces to be melted by the sun, which makes them appear as if they had powder on their heads; and this lasts for several days, till the sun melts the whole, and produces an exquisite odour for those who have a good nose. As their hair is very crispy, their heads remain dressed for a long time; and that they may not derange their coiffure when their heads itch, they have a piece of wood something like a packing needle, with which they scratch themselves with great ease, without disordering their head-dress, of which they are very proud. Their complexions are naturally of a dark chocolate; their hair quite black; their teeth fine and white, protuberant, and very large.

In the winter all the scattered Ababde in the mountains assemble together here, and if any marriage takes place, it is at this time. It is always performed with due ceremony. The bridegroom first sends a camel to the father of the bride. If this be accepted, he applies personally to herself, in the presence of one man as a witness. If she consent, the day of marriage is appointed, before which the lover does not see his bride for seven days. On the eighth she is presented to him in the tent of her father. This day is

celebrated by killing some of their lean sheep, and by camel races. The next day the happy couple retire to the tent of the bridegroom. If the man becomes tired of his wife, he sends her back with the same camel which he sent to her father, as this is her own from the time of the marriage. The mother of the bride must not speak a word to the bridegroom as long as she lives : a regulation intended to prevent her from making mischief between the young couple.

When a child is born, the next day the father kills a sheep and gives the child a name. When they are sick, they say *hulla kerim*, and lie down till they are better, or till they die. There were old men that did not know nor could tell their age, as they keep no account of such things ; but by appearance they must have been ninety years old. When any one dies, they dig a hole in the ground, and put the corpse into it, and very often on the spot where the person died, and then remove their tents a little farther on. They never intermarry with any but their own people. A girl had been refused in marriage to a Turkish Cacheff, though she was as poor as any of her tribe. The Cacheff attempted to use force, and the consequence was, that they assembled to the number of above three hundred, and he prudently retired, leaving his intended bride to be married to her cousin.

Some of these wild people, as they are called, came to the well in the course of the day, and as they saw the party quiet and peaceful, they ventured, at the persuasion of the drivers, to approach. A few of them had been as far as the Nile to purchase dhourra, and these were accounted men of knowledge, but the greater part had never quitted their mountains. One of them seeing a piece of lemon-peel lying on the ground, wondered what it was ; and another who had been to the Nile, to shew his great knowledge of things, took it up, and ate it with an air of self-sufficiency. They gave them a piece of loaf-sugar, and when they had eaten it, they declared, that their valley must be better than their own, as it produced such good and sweet bread. When

they buy dhourra they generally get it ground with the usual hand millstone in the village where they buy it, and carry the flour into the desert. Their bread is baked under the ashes, and is in the form of a large cake, without leaven or salt. Their great enemies were the tribe of El Mahasa and Banousy, which dwell from between Suez to the interior of Arabia and the confines of Syria. With these tribes they had had many battles, but it appeared, that neither one nor the other advanced beyond their old possessions. They had also been at variance with the Bishareines on the south, but were now at peace with them all.

On the 29th they saw the Red Sea at a great distance, and having entered a range of mountains, stopped at a place called Owell, or place of the dragon.

On the 30th they set off early, bent their course to the south-south-west, and passed through several valleys, towards a very high mountain called Zubara, a name given to it in consequence of the emeralds which have been found there. At the foot of this mountain about fifty men were encamped, and at work in the old mines of the ancients, in hopes of finding some of the precious stones : but it appeared, that their predecessors had searched pretty well before they quitted their works. These unfortunate wretches receive a supply of provisions from the Nile, but sometimes it did not arrive in due time, and great famine of course prevails among them. There are two small wells, not more than half a day's journey distant, and one of them had a tolerably good quantity of water. Their work had commenced about six months before, but had been attended with no success. The mines or excavations of the ancients were all choked up with the rubbish of the upper part that had fallen in, and the labour to remove this rubbish was great, for the holes were very small, scarcely capable of containing the body of a man crawling like a camoleon. They were all thoroughly tired of their situation. They rose several times against their leaders, and in one instance two of them

were killed. On the day the party were there one of the poor wretches nearly fell a victim to the avaricious caprice of their powerful employer. As he was penetrating into one of the holes, part of the roof fell down upon him, and not only cut off his retreat, but nearly killed him on the spot. He was fortunately taken out alive, but it did not give much encouragement to the rest.

Having procured an old man from among the natives to guide to the ruins of Berenice, they prepared for departure on the next morning, the 1st of October.

The road was among the high rocks, and in very narrow valleys, but in which there were a great number of trees. Here they were led by the old man in various directions through wild and craggy places for seven hours. At length, about noon, the valley opened all at once, and at the distance of five miles they saw the Arabian gulf. The sight of an open horizon, after the contracted view of a long and narrow valley, was much welcomed. On reaching the shore, they plunged into the sea like the crocodiles into the Nile, and found that a bath after a long journey was very refreshing. They had no time to lose, as their biscuit, as they calculated, would last only seventeen days, and not an hour longer.

In some rocks that lay at the foot of the mountains facing the Red Sea, they saw several mines of sulphur, but it was a doubt whether their produce would be advantageous, owing to their situation. They are near the sea, but the conveyance by land to the Nile would prevent any benefit from the speculation. They made some repast on some shell-fish, which abound in great quantities along the coast. The large periwinkles are excellent, and, when young, are very tender and delicious, particularly to a hungry man. Some of them weighed half a pound, and part of the tail was quite delicate, though the white, or upper part, is rather tough.

The guide met with an acquaintance of his who lived by catching fish, not far from this spot. His only habitation

consisted of a tent four feet high, and five feet wide; and his wife, a daughter, and a young man, her husband, formed the whole family.

Their mode of fishing is somewhat strange; they throw in the water a piece of the trunk of a doomt tree, perhaps ten or twelve feet long, at each end of which is a piece of wood in an horizontal direction, so as to prevent the tree from turning round; at one of the ends a small pole is stuck upright to serve as a mast, on the top of which there is a piece of wood horizontally fastened as that below. A woollen shawl thrown over it, and fastened at each end, and to the piece of wood horizontally fastened below, forms a kind of sail, and two fishermen mount on the large trunk like on horseback, and by means of a cord, attached to the middle of the sail, they take the wind more or less as is required. But it is only when the wind blows either from north or south that such a contrivance can serve; for if it blows from the east they cannot set off their boat from the shore, or if it blows from the west it will blow them too far out to sea. When the fishermen are at some distance from the shore, it was not clearly seen by what means the rest of the operation is executed; but it seemed that they darted their long thin spear at the fish when they happened to see any, and by these means they procured their subsistence. On their return they brought four fish, each of about six pounds weight, and one foot six inches long; they were of a strong blue silvered colour; their fins, head, and tail red; and their teeth, which are only four, are quite flat and out of their mouths. They had very large scales, and their form not unlike the benne of the Nile. It would seem that the Egyptians must have had a knowledge of this fish, as it is so clearly seen in their hieroglyphics, and in the new tomb of Psammuthis some are painted exactly as they are in reality. They are exceedingly good, have very few bones, and very large galls.

On the 5th, in the morning, they ascended a high mountain to view the coast as far as they could, and they saw

that it ran in a straight direction towards the south-east. Early on the 6th, the camels arrived with a load of fresh water, and it was well they did so, for their thirst was increased, not only from the scarcity of water, but by the shell-fish which they had found and eaten abundantly; an inconvenience which the fishermen had not to contend with, being accustomed to the bitter water of a well not far off. They now divided their caravan into two parties; and sent all the luggage, culinary articles, the soldier, the Greek servant, and the best part of the camels, to a spring of running water in the mountains of Amuse, there to wait till Mr. Belzoni and his companions returned. They took as much water as they could, and formed a party, consisting of Mr. Beechey, Mr. Belzoni, a Greek servant, four drivers, and the two Arab boys brought from Gournou, with five camels in all.

They set off in the morning, and went along the coast till they arrived at El Whady Abghsoon, near the mines of El Kebrite, or sulphur, and on the south-west were the mountains of Hamata. He observed the coast all the way, and took its direction. On the road they met some fishermen. When they saw the party at a distance, they left their tents and marched off towards the mountains. On arriving at their tents, they found some excellent fish just roasted, which, no doubt, these people had made ready for their supper. They partook of their meal, and left some money in payment, on the top of a water jar, and continued their journey. For two days they had been troubled with the winds from the east, blowing strong and resembling the siroccos of Italy, so that all their nerves were relaxed. During this time, every thing was wet, and at night there was an excessive heat, and the atmosphere quite covered with clouds; fortunately it changed after two days, and the north wind dissipated all. Had it lasted longer, they could not have proceeded on their journey. At night they stopped at a well of bitter water.

On the 7th, they set off early to see the mines of El Ke-brite, or sulphur, as they were not out of their road. They never were productive; but what little they may have afforded, it appeared that the ancients had carried entirely away, so that they left them exhausted like those of the emeralds.

On the 8th, early in the morning they set off, and two hours after, saw the sea at a distance, and went over a very extensive plain. At about noon they approached the sea, very thirsty, and regaled themselves with a little water; and at one o'clock arrived on the shore. They arrived all at once on one of those moles of ruins which show the spot of ancient towns, so often seen in Egypt. They entered, and at once saw the regular situations of the houses; the main streets, their construction, and in the centre, a small Egyptian temple, nearly covered by the sand, as well as the insides of the houses; and their wonder increased on examining the materials with which the houses were built. They could see nothing but coral, roots, madrepore, and several petrifications of sea-weeds, &c.

The temple is built of a kind of soft, calcareous, and sandy stone, but decayed much by the air of the sea. The situation of this town is delightful. The open sea before it is on the east, and from the southern coast to the point of the cape is like an amphitheatre of mountains, except an opening on the north-west plain. The Cape el Golahen extends its point nearly opposite the town on the east, and forms a shelter for large ships from the north and north-west winds. Right opposite the town there is a very fine harbour entirely made by nature; its entrance is on the north; it is guarded on the east by a neck of incrustated rock, on the south by the land, and on the west by the town; the north side being covered by the range of mountains which forms the cape, protects the harbour also. Its entrance has been deep enough for small vessels, such as the ancients had at those times, but no doubt was deeper. It has at present a bar of sand



across, so that nothing could enter at low water ; but a passage could be easily cut, and the harbour rendered useful. They concluded this to be the Berenice described by Pliny, and laid down by D'Anville ; it nearly agreed with the situation where it was marked on the map ; but in order to ascertain with more accuracy, they resolved to venture by going half a day higher towards the south. The town is, in breadth, from north to south, 1600 feet, and in length, from east to west, 2000 feet. The temple seems to be in construction according to the Egyptian style, and they imagined that if the Greeks had built it they had taken their plans from this ancient people, as they had done in many other things. It is one hundred and two feet long, and forty-three feet wide ; it contains four chambers, one on each side of the sekos and cella, and two in the great hall in the front.

It was three days since they had eaten any thing but dry biscuit and water, except the fish found at the fishermen's hut. On the morning of the 9th, before the sun rose, they set the little Mussa to digging. He was one of the Arab boys brought from Gournou. He had no spade, but with a shell or caquille, he worked very well, as it was only soft sand.

The boy had excavated about four feet of sand close to the north-east corner of the cella, and they saw that the temple was Egyptian. The part of the wall which was discovered was adorned with Egyptian sculpture in basso relievo, and well executed. They could see three figures, two feet three inches high. The remaining part of the wall was covered with hieroglyphics, &c. In the same hole the boy found part of an Egyptian tablet covered with hieroglyphics and figures. It is a kind of a reddish pudding-stone or breccia, not belonging to the rocks near that place. They took it away as a memorandum of having seen an Egyptian temple on the coast of the Red Sea ; a circumstance that, as yet, no antiquarian has had any idea of. The plain that surrounds this town is very extensive : the nearest point to

the mountains which form the crescent is about five miles on the west of it. On the north, the mountain is about twelve miles distant, and on the south fifteen. All the plain is inclined to vegetation, such as a sandy soil can produce; but, in particular, the lower part of it towards the sea is perpetually moist, and would produce, if cultivated, pasture for camels, sheep, and other animals. This moisture is naturally produced by the damp of the sea, which is very strong when it happens. The upper part of the plain is not so damp, and would be perhaps more productive of dry plants.

The houses were not so extensive as they are built at this day. It was the custom of those people to live close to each other. The largest houses were about forty feet in length, and twenty in breadth; some were smaller; the square of 2000 feet would contain 4000 houses; but, as there were spaces of ground without buildings, which may be reckoned half the town, Mr. Belzoni counted them to be only 2000. These people had no need of great sheds to put coaches, chariots, or any other luxurious lumber. Their cattle and camels lay always in the open air, as they still do in all these countries: nor had they extensive manufactories. The only massy buildings for their commerce could be but a few store-houses, nor could the narrow lanes, which were in use in those times, occupy much of the ground. He calculated that, with the houses out of town, which are scattered about in groups here and there, the population of that port must have exceeded 10,000 inhabitants: a town which even at this day would be reckoned considerable, if situated on that coast, as a port for commerce with India. He observed also some of the tombs dug in the nearest lower rocks, of a kind of soft or calcareous stone, which are the only ones on the plain near the town on the western side. They left the spot before the evening of the same day, in consequence of the want of water; and, as the camel-drivers had nearly lost their patience, they gave them half-a-pint each, and conti-

nued their road towards the mountain on the north-west, with the firm intention of returning prepared to scrutinise the whole of these ruins.

The 20th, they set off, and passed through a wide plain. As they left the mountain, and arrived at Habookroog, a place that appears to be at the entrance of the chain of mountains that leads to the Nile, the camels were so tired they could hardly crawl : they had lost three on the road, and one they expected would not last long. It is difficult to form a correct idea of a desert without having been in one ; it is an endless plain of sand and stones, sometimes intermixed with mountains of all sizes and heights, without roads or shelter, without any sort of produce for food. The few scattered trees and shrubs of thorns, that only appear when the rainy season leaves some moisture, barely serve to feed wild animals, and a few birds. Every thing is left to nature ; the wandering inhabitants do not care to cultivate even these few plants, and when there is no more of them in one place, they go to another. When the trees become old, and lose their vegetation in such climates as these, the sun, which constantly beams upon them, burns and reduces them to ashes. The other smaller plants have no sooner risen out of the earth than they are dried up, and all take the colour of straw, with the exception of the plant harack ; this falls off before it is dry. Speaking of a desert, there are few springs of water, some of them at the distance of four, six, or eight days journey from one another, and not all of sweet water ; on the contrary, it is generally salt or bitter, so that if the thirsty traveller drinks of it, it increases his thirst, and he suffers more than before ; but when the dreadful calamity happens that the next well, which is anxiously sought for, is found dry, the misery of such a situation cannot be well described. The camels, which afford the only means of escape, are so thirsty that they cannot proceed to another well ; and if the travellers kill them to

extract the little liquid which remains in their stomachs, they themselves cannot advance any farther. The situation must be dreadful, and admits of no resource.

Many perish victims of the most horrible thirst. It is then that the value of a cup of water is really felt. He that has a *zenzabia* of it is the richest of all. In such a case there is no distinction; if the master has none, the servant will not give it to him, for very few are the instances where a man will voluntarily lose his life to save that of another, particularly in a caravan in the desert, where people are strangers to each other. What a situation for a man, though a rich one, perhaps the owner of all the caravans! He is dying for a cup of water—no one gives it to him—he offers all he possesses—no one hears him—they are all dying—though by walking a few hours farther they might be saved,—the camels are lying down, and cannot be made to rise—no one has strength to walk—only he that has a glass of that precious liquid lives to walk a little farther, and perhaps dies too. If the voyages on sea are dangerous, so are those in the deserts: at sea, the provisions very often fail; in the desert it is worse: at sea, storms are met with, in the desert there cannot be a greater storm than to find a dry well: at sea, one meets with pirates—we escape—we surrender—or die; in the desert they rob the traveller of all his property and water; they let him live perhaps—but what a life! to die the most barbarous and agonising death. In short, to be thirsty in a desert, without water, exposed to the burning sun, without shelter, and no hopes of finding either, is the most terrible situation that a man can be placed in, and, perhaps one of the greatest sufferings that a human being can sustain: the eyes grow inflamed, the tongue and lips swell; a hollow sound is heard in the ears, which brings on deafness, and the brains appear to grow thick and inflamed:—all these feelings arise from the want of a little water. In the midst of all this misery, the deceitful mirages appear before the traveller at no great distance, something

like a lake or river of clear fresh water. The deception of this phenomenon is well known, as is mentioned before ; but it does not fail to invite the longing traveller towards that element, and to put him in remembrance of the happiness of being on such a spot. If perchance a traveller is not undeceived, he hastens his pace to reach it sooner ; the more he advances towards it, the more it goes from him, till at last it vanishes entirely, and the deluded passenger often asks where is the water he saw at no great distance ; he can scarcely believe that he is so deceived ; he protests that he saw the waves running before the wind, and the reflection of the high rocks in the water.

If, unfortunately, any one falls sick on the road, there is no alternative ; he must endure the fatigue of travelling on a camel, which is troublesome even to healthy people, or he must be left behind on the sand, without any assistance, and remain so till a slow death comes to relieve him. What horror ! What a proceeding to an unfortunate sick man ! No one remains with him, not even his old and faithful servant ; no one will stay and die with him ; all pity his fate, but no one will be his companion. Why not stop the whole caravan till he is better, or do what they can for the best till he dies ? No, this delay cannot be ; it would put all in danger of perishing of thirst if they do not reach the next well in such a time ; besides, they are all different parties generally of merchants or travellers, who will not only refuse to put themselves in danger, but will not even wait a few hours to save the life of an individual, whether they know him or not.

In contrast to this evil, there is the luxury of the desert, and also its sport, which is generally at the well ; there one enjoys all the delight of drinking as much water as one likes, which tastes not unlike cordials or other precious liquors, with the others in that situation. The beasts, mixed with birds, drink together close to the well. There is a kind of basin made of clay which is filled up by the drivers, from

the well, where the thirsty animals all drink together, camels, sheep, dogs, donkeys, and birds, as it is the only time they can partake of that liquid; for in some places if it is not drawn up from the well, they cannot reach it. The travellers only saw four species of birds, viz. the vulture, crow, wild pigeon, and partridge; of this last they eat some, and found them exceedingly good: the crows are the most numerous; they teize the camels by pecking their wounds, if they have any. The other and most pleasing diversion is the beautiful damsels who come as shepherdesses to water their flocks, who after being assured that there is no danger in approaching strangers, become very sociable.

They set off at two in the morning of the 20th, and, before noon, reached the well at Hamesh, containing very good water. Here they lost another camel; he could not go any farther.

Early on the 23d, they proceeded, and arrived at the first well; the water of this place tasted very bad on going up, but it appeared pretty good on their return. In the night they arrived at the Nile, and having been long deprived of good water made them sensible of the superiority of that of the river over the wells they had been accustomed to.

The place they now reached on the Nile was a few miles north of that where they had entered in the desert opposite Elfou, and a little south of Eleithias. The road all along the valley undoubtedly was a communication between that town and Berenice, and on the east to the emerald mines. It is not to be wondered at that the town of Eleithias must have been of some consequence, as there is all the probability of commerce having been carried on there; there is still a landing-place, which evidently proves the loading and unloading of boats for that purpose; and this place must have been more frequented by the caravans from the sea than Coptus, as it is a somewhat shorter journey to the Nile.

On their way down the Nile it was pleasing to see the

difference of the country ; all the lands that were under water before were now not only dried up, but were already sown ; the muddy villages carried off by the rapid current were all rebuilt ; the fences opened ; the Fellahs at work in the fields ; and all wore a different aspect. It was only fifteen days since the water had retired, and in that period it decreased more than eight feet. It is not so every year : when the Nile increases slowly, it decreases also in the same manner ; this is in consequence of the abundance or scarcity of rain which falls during the rainy season in Abyssinia.

The natives rather prefer the rapid rising of the Nile, for it covers more space of land, so that it be not too much, as was the case this year ; and if the water remain eight days over it, it does as much good as if it continued twenty. By this time the drowned people were forgotten, and the only calamity remaining was the scarcity of provisions among the Fellahs. The Nile had taken away their stock, and the Cacheffs were only busied in procuring grain for seed. In all such cases the poor labourer is the last thought of.

Mr. Belzoni now proceeded again to the island of Philoe to remove the great obelisk from thence to Alexandria. He met with much opposition. The greatest difficulty was to persuade the Reis, or captain of the shallal, to undertake to launch the boat down the cataract with the obelisk on board. The water was very low at that time. However, the promise of a good present, and half of the money in his hands, mollified the captain, and he promised that he would accomplish the undertaking. There was some difficulty at first in removing the obelisk from its original station ; but once put on its way, it soon came to the water-side. The pedestal was rather more troublesome ; owing to its square form, it was almost buried under the rubbish ; and as they had no tackle whatever, and very little wood, it retarded the work one or two days.

Just as the obelisk was ready to be embarked, the follow-

ing accident happened, which was entirely owing to neglect, by trusting a single manœuvre to some who speak more than they can execute. Mr. Belzoni left the care to others of making a sort of temporary pier of large blocks of stones, while he examined a certain passage in the cataract where the boat was to be taken up empty, and launched down when loaded. On his return, the pier appeared quite strong enough to bear at least forty times the weight it had to support; but, alas! when the obelisk came gradually on from the sloping bank, and all the weight rested on it, the pier, with the obelisk, and some of the men, took a slow movement, and sunk into the river.

Mr. Belzoni observed that the stones which were to serve as a foundation on the sloping bank had been only laid on the surface of it, so that naturally the weight of the obelisk must have carried it, or rather pressed down into the Nile. The obelisk was still peeping a little out of the water: the labourers were of various humours; some were sorry, not for the obelisk, which was no loss to them, but for the loss of what they might have gained in future operations in passing it down the cataract, and others were laughing, at seeing the evident disappointment expressed on many countenances. The obelisk is one single piece of granite of twenty-two feet in length, and two in breadth at the basis. It is about the height of that in St. George's Fields, but of a stone of a much heavier quality.

Having determined to take the obelisk up, he ordered the men to come the next morning, and sent to Assouan that evening to fetch some ropes if possible. The two next days were employed in raising the obelisk.

A great quantity of stones were now brought to the water-side. Several men entered the water, and raised a heap of stones on the side of the obelisk opposite the shore, to form a solid bed for the levers to rest upon. The levers were then placed under the obelisk, one at the basis, and the other near the leaning point, so that by the pressure of the



levers, the obelisk must turn round upon its axis ; the men could not put down the lever under water as they do on shore, but by seating themselves on the extremity of the levers, the pressure of their own weight produced the effect. Two ropes were passed under the obelisk : the end which was from under it was fastened to some date-trees, which happened to be on the bank, and to the ends which came from above were as many men put as were sufficient. At the side of the levers were some good divers, who were ready to put large stones under the obelisk when it rose, so that it might not return back to its former situation. When the men at the rope began to pull, and the divers to mount on the extremities of the levers, the obelisk rose on the side opposite the bank ; and when the levers were to be removed, the obelisk was propped by stones under it. It was thus risen so that its own weight caused it to move round at each turn till it came quite on dry ground, which was effected in less than two days.

Mr. Belzoni continued his operation, and put the obelisk on board, by means of a bridge of palm-trees, thrown from across the boat to the land under the obelisk, which was now turned on the bridge, and entered on board : when in the centre of the boat, he removed the trees from under it ; and no sooner was this done than they set off with the obelisk for the Marada, to have it ready to be launched down the cataract on the next morning.

Next morning all was ready for the dangerous operation of passing the cataract with the obelisk. At this place is the greatest fall, or rather descent, of water in the cataract. When the inundation is half high in the Nile, it is a column of water of about three hundred yards in length, which falls in an angle of twenty and twenty-five degrees among rocks and stones, which project out in various directions. The boat was brought to the margin of the cascade ; a strong rope, or rather a small cable, was attached to a large tree, the end of which was passed through the beams of the boat,

so as to be slackened or stopped at pleasure. In the boat there were only five men ; and on the rocks, on each side of the cascade, a number of others in various places, with ropes attached to the boat, so as to put it either on one side or the other, as it required, to prevent its running against the stones ; for if it should be touched in the smallest degree, with such a weight on board, and in such a rapid stream, the boat could not escape being dashed to pieces. The cable, which was borrowed from a merchant-boat in Assouan, was pretty strong, but not sufficient to stop the boat in its course, in case it should be in danger of running against a rock. It was only sufficient to check its course down ; nor could the boat have been stopped in such a situation, for in that case the water would run over the boat, and sink it instantly. Under these circumstances, all depended on the dexterity of the men who were posted in various parts to pull or slacken according as necessity required. Mr. Belzoni did not fail to use all the persuasion possible, and promises of bakshis to the wild people, as they are called, but who on this occasion, were as steady as so many pilots. The Reis, of whom he had hired the boat, was almost out of his senses, thinking it would be certainly lost. The poor fellow had engaged his vessel merely because it happened that his trade failed ; and he was in Assouan for some time without hope of getting a cargo, and had incurred debts, which confined him there, and he would have been glad of any freight to get out ; but when he saw the danger his boat was in, he cried like a child, and begged Mr. Belzoni would relinquish his object, and return his boat safe to him. But when he saw the vessel on the point of being launched, he threw himself with his face to the ground, and did not rise till all was out of danger. Having seen that all was ready, the signal to slacken the cable was given. It was a grand sight. The boat took a course which may be reckoned at the rate of twelve miles an hour. Accordingly, the men on land slackened the rope ; and at

the distance of one hundred yards the boat came in contact with an eddy, which, beating against a rock, returned towards the vessel, and helped much to stop its course. The men on the side pulled the boat out of the direction of that rock, and it continued its course, gradually diminishing its rate, till it reached the bottom of the cataract, and was out of danger. The labourers altogether seemed pleased at the good success of the attempt, even independently of the interest they might derive from it; and it is not very often that such feelings enter into the bosoms of these people. The Reis of the boat had joy expressed in his countenance, as may easily be imagined, and they arrived safe at Assouan the same day shortly afterwards.

Mr. Belzoni now resolved to return to Europe, and having put all things in readiness, and all the models of the tombs being embarked, he took the celebrated sarcophagus out of the tomb and put it in a strong case. The valley it had to pass to reach the Nile is rather uneven for more than two miles, and one mile of good soft sand and small pebbles. He had it conveyed on rollers all the way, and safely put on board.

It was on the 27th of January, 1819, when they left these truly magnificent ruins, and arrived at Cairo on the 18th of February. At Cairo they only stopped a few days, and continued the voyage to Rosetta; there they landed the various pieces of antiquity, the obelisk, the sarcophagus, and the cover of another sarcophagus. It had been thrown from its sarcophagus when it was forced open, and being reversed it remained buried by the stones, and unnoticed by any visitor. Mr. Belzoni cleared off all the stones, and on examination of the under part, found that it was a fine figure, larger than life, in alto relievo, and, except the foot, all the rest was quite perfect. Having re-embarked all these articles again on board of a djerm, they came to Alexandria with a firm intention to set off with the first opportunity.

Having however, from circumstances, to remain longer than he expected, he resolved to take a journey to the Oasis of Ammon. He left Rosetta on the 20th, and arrived at Benisouef on the 29th of April, 1819. He took a Sicilian servant, whom he hired in Alexandria, as his Irish lad had taken the opportunity of returning to England from Jerusalem with Mr. Legh. He took, also, a Moorish Hadge, who was on his return from Mecca, and begged to be taken on board at Gene. As he was a Hadge or pilgrim, his company would be of some service; and he proved very useful. At Benisouef they procured some donkeys to take them and a little provision as far as the lake Mœris.

On the 29th of April they set off, and directed their course through a vast plain of cultivated land, of corn and other products of the country. This plain is all under water at the time of the inundation, excepting the scattered villages, which stand elevated, and appear like so many islands during that time. About fifteen miles from the Nile, the chain of mountains on the west are but low. They open and form a valley into the Faioum; and it was at this entrance that they arrived on the first night of their journey. The Bahr Yousef passes into the centre of this valley, and enters, in various serpentine directions, into the Faioum. They took their station under some date trees near the water, about two miles from the first pyramid. Here, after a slight repast, they went to sleep on their usual bed, a mattress, thin enough to serve as a saddle when folded up, but, when laid on a mat or on the ground, affording as good a bed as any traveller ought to expect. The Sicilian servant, the Moorish Hadge, and the donkey-drivers, kept watch in their turn; and it was arranged so, that this system should be observed during the whole of their journey.

On the 30th, they set off before sunrise, and soon arrived at the first pyramid. It is composed of sun-burnt bricks, and stands on a high ground at the foot of a hill on the northern side of the valley. Its basis is covered round with

sand and stones, out of which it rises sixty feet, but its original height must have been above seventy, as the top has been thrown down. The basis above the sand is eighty feet. Mr. Belzoni ascended the pyramid, and from the top could see the whole valley, and the entrance into the Faïoum. On the west, at only two hours' walk distance, was another pyramid, situated on a lower ground; consequently it appeared less high. Further to the west, was Medinet El Faïoum, which stands on the ruins of ancient Arsinoë, and has a respectable appearance at a distance.

They set off for the temple, named Cassar el Haron, about three miles from a lake, standing in the midst of the ruins of a town, of which there is a track of the wall to be seen, and the foundations of several houses and other small temples. There are fragments of columns, and blocks of stone of a middling size. The temple is in good preservation, excepting in the upper part: it is of a singular construction, and differs somewhat from the Egyptian. There are no hieroglyphics either inside or out, and only two figures on the wall on the western side of the upper apartments, one of which he took for Osiris, and the other for Jupiter Ammon. In the front of this temple there is a semicircular pilaster at each side of the door, and two pilasters attached to the wall; but the exterior workmanship is evidently of a later date than the temple. Part of the town is covered with sand. On the east side of it there is something like a gateway, in an octangular form, and at a little distance there is a Greek chapel, elevated on a platform, with cellars under it.

After having taken a proper view of the temple and of the town, they went to see the small Greek chapel, accompanied by the two boatmen; and as there was no appearance of any danger, Mr. Belzoni left his gun and pistols in the temple, but had nearly suffered for his temerity; for just as he was mounting the few steps that lead to the platform of the small chapel, a large hyena rushed from the apartments beneath the chapel. The animal stopped three or four yards from

him, and then turned round as if determined to attack him ; but it appeared on second thoughts to have relinquished its intent, and after having shown its pretty teeth, gave a hideous roar, and set off galloping as fast as it could.

On the morning of May 5, they took the road on the west side of the lake, and saw the site of a town named El Haman, of which nothing now remains but scattered pieces of brick and part of a bath. This place is situated full forty feet above the lake, and the ground all round was covered with small shells such as cockles, small conchilies, and others not unlike periwinkles. They returned afterwards on the east on the same day, and passed several ancient villages, built of sun-burnt bricks. At a place named Terza, Mr. Belzoni observed several blocks of white stone and red granite, which evidently must have been taken from edifices of greater magnitude than what had ever stood there. He could not see the smallest appearance of an edifice, either on the ground, or any appearance from under it ; but he observed all through that part of the country a great number of stones and columns of beautiful colours, of white marble and of granite. These pieces were scattered about for the space of several miles, some on the road, and some in the houses of the Arabs, and others put to various uses in the erection of huts, &c.

They continued their journey in a direction parallel with the lake, through several villages, woods of palm and other fruit trees, and well cultivated lands, and at sunset arrived at Fedmin el Kunois, which means the Place of Churches : it stand on a high mound of earth and rubbish, and has evidently been rebuilt on other ruins. It is divided into two parts by a small canal from the Bahr Yousef. One side of the town is inhabited by Christian Copts, and the other by Mahomedans ; and though the two religions officiated almost in sight of each other, they never interfered in each other's rights. The poor Copts were destitute of the principal means of educating their children ; and the only

reference they had to the rites of the Christian religion was an old book of manuscripts, copied from the Bible ; but even this was kept as the only relic they had. Mr. Belzoni says if he had possessed an Arabic Bible or Testament he might have become a great man among them, and states his wonder that the Missionaries of the Bible Society, who had lately visited Egypt, omitted this place, being a noted Christian town.

A young man of the name of Burckhardt, cousin to the celebrated traveller of that name, went, unprotected, into Egypt for the purpose of distributing Bibles, and was in consequence persecuted and obliged to fly in great haste. He went into Syria, but with over fatigue, or perhaps from the effects of the climate, he was unable to proceed higher than Aleppo, where he died.

The tradition of the town of Fedmin el Kunois is, that in ancient times there were on that spot three hundred churches which were allowed to fall in ruins by the old inhabitants of the place, and that when the Mahomedans succeeded to the country, they built the present town on these very three hundred churches ; for which reason the town is named Fedmin of the churches. The story is somewhat strange and may afford grounds for a modern traveller to place the Egyptian Labyrinth in this spot ; for, by conceiving that the three hundred churches were the three hundred cellars of the Labyrinth, as mentioned by Herodotus, or by supposing that the father of history meant to say three hundred instead of three thousand, the above churches could have been nothing less than the old Egyptian Labyrinth itself. All this might pass off well enough among the wanderers ; but, unfortunately, there is proof to the contrary, which will do away with any such supposition. The above branch of the Bahr Yousef passes through the town, cut not above two centuries ago ; and none of the said churches appeared in the progress of the excavation through the town, which must have been the case had it been built on the said three

hundred churches. However, notwithstanding the little probability there is of the Labyriuth being in this place, it must have been at no great distance from the lake, as the great quantity of materials which is scattered about the country has evidently belonged to some extensive and splendid building.

On the morning of the 7th they went to see the ruins of the ancient Arsinoe. It had been a very large city; but nothing of it remained, except high mounds of rubbish. The chief materials appear to have been burnt bricks. There are many stone edifices, and a great quantity of wrought granite. In the present town of Medinet were several fragments of granite columns, and other pieces of sculpture, of a most magnificent taste.

Having seen all he wished in this place, Mr. Belzoni went to see Hussuff Bey, who had returned from Cairo. He was a native of Circassia, and bought at the usual market as a common slave, by the Bashaw of Egypt, who, after many years' servitude, made him Bey, or governor, of the finest province of that country. He was uncommonly civil, and eager to know any thing with which he was unacquainted; but, on application for a Bedoween guide to conduct them through the desert, he said that the Bedoween were all encamped in that part of the province which was subject to Khalil Bey at Benisouef.

It was quite night before they arrived on the banks of the Nile; and, as no business could be done that evening, Mr. Belzoni caused his saddle to be prepared for his bed, and went to sleep. I do not know, says he, to what cause it is to be attributed, but I certainly slept more soundly on the banks of the Nile, or on the sands of the desert, than I ever did in any other place, and particularly under a roof.

Mr. Belzoni went to the coffee-house in the bazar of the town, the only place of amusement. These places are only frequented by the Turkish soldiers, for though a cup of coffee is only five paras, little more than a halfpenny, yet it



is more than an Arab can afford to pay, as his general pay for his day's labour is only twenty paras, three-pence, so that it is very seldom an Arab is to be seen in these spend-thrift places. It is somewhat singular to observe, that while these soldiers are drinking their coffee, they assume the same airs and consequence as their Beys. A beenbashe, who is only in rank with a serjeant, issues to the corporal the order he received from the Cacheff, in the same tone as it was delivered to him ; the corporal does so to the soldier, who occasionally passes it to an Arab in the same manner.

On the morning of the 27th of May, Mr. Belzoni was taken to see the seat of an old town a short distance in the south. As he thought he might see some inscription on the wall, Mr. Belzoni took from his pocket a small telescope, which, when opened, was not more than two feet long. Having put it in a direction to the upper part of the wall, all the people that were there retired in great precipitation, and the others near were on the point of doing the same. An old man stared at the telescope, and wished to know what he was about. He thought it best to please the old man by letting him have a peep. He was shy at first, but he took it ; and, after a long examination, put it to his eyes. At last he caught the focus of the glasses, and was much astonished that the stones of the wall should come so near to him.

They entered through a house into the interior of a temple ; but there was nothing but the inner part of a wall, which must have been the sanctuary. All was apparently the vast ruins of a great edifice, covered with mud cottages which formed the village, and the standing part of a temple built by later nations ; the materials of the former temple having been employed to erect the latter, but the stone had been diminished in size.

By this time the principal people of the village had arrived. The telescope was what drew their attention at present, and it was handed from one to another ; but unfortunately, after

the first, no one could see any thing ; he protested that a branch of a date-tree, which was at some distance, came so close to him that it touched his nose. All the rest were willing to see this wonder, but he unwarily had put the telescope off its focus, consequently the others could not see. When put right again, the first that could see exclaimed, that he was close to the tree. His pleasure of sight did not last long, for no sooner did he say that he saw something, than the glass was taken from him, and put out of its focus again. This created sport for more than two hours, and Mr. Belzoni then received his telescope back again without injury. They were so pleased with it and with their knowledge of it, that Mr. Belzoni proposed to take a tour round the village on the outside of it, and they all agreed to accompany him. They set out with at least half the people. Mr. Belzoni inquired from some of them, who seemed to be disposed to tell any thing, if there were any places under ground any where : they seemed surprised how he should know of any places of the kind, and told him that there were many round the village. On going towards them, he perceived several tombs cut out of the rock. On entering he found three or four chambers, in each of which were several sarcophagi of burnt clay with the mummies inside, their folding not so rich or so fine, the linen of a coarse sort, and the corpses without asphaltum, consequently not so well preserved. They are in great quantity in each tomb. Many of the sarcophagi are still in good preservation, but he could not take any away, as it would have been too great a burthen for a camel. After a long tour over these tombs, they returned.

Mr. Belzoni inquired if any of them had any articles to dispose of, and told them that he would give them money in return : nothing was brought to him of any consequence, only a broken Grecian vase of bronze, about eight inches high, of a very curious shape ; and a small cherub of Greek work, not more than three inches high. During the morn-

ing Mr. Belzoni was taken on one side by the Cady, who was uncommonly polite to him all this time, for which attention he could not account : he told him in a few words, that himself, the Sheik Salem, and his father, had made up their minds to offer him to remain there with them, that he should become a Mahomedan, and that a great feast would be made on his account on the day of the festival of that ceremony ; that he should partake of part of their lands, and if he knew how to introduce some new produce, it would be all to his own advantage ; and lastly, that he might choose four wives from among their own daughters, and that he should be happy there without going about so much after stones. He had not a little difficulty to get himself out of this scrape. He left the Cady, giving him hopes that he would return soon, and then, perhaps, his mind might be more inclined to stop there and marry ; but, for the present, he could not leave all the rest of his affairs at Cairo unsettled. His Sicilian servant was attacked also at the same time, but he got off in a more speedy way ; he promised them, that as soon as he had accompanied his employers to Cairo, he would return immediately, and stay there with them all the rest of his life.

A feast of rice eating was kept in consequence of the death of a man related to Sheik Ibrahim, the landlord of the house where he was, and who was taken to be buried just before. No sooner was the eating ended, than the most tremendous noise issued from the outer doors ; it was the widow of the deceased, who returned home, accompanied with all the rest of the matrons of the village, all in great uproar.

On the next day the widow who had buried her husband came and seated herself near Mr. Belzoni, sobbing, as he supposed, for the loss of her husband. The Sicilian servant tried to persuade her to bear her loss patiently ; but she continued sobbing : at last she said, that none but Mr. Belzoni could restore her to happiness, and that she hoped that he would not refuse her the favour. At last he asked what

she wanted. She said, that she saw him writing magic, and begged he would write two pieces of paper—one to get another husband, as soon as possible, and the other to make use of for the same purpose if he should die. He endeavoured to persuade her that he was not in possession of magic; but she would not be convinced, and went away much displeased.

After various adventures, on the 15th of June the whole party returned to Benisouef, where they embarked for Cairo; from thence they proceeded to Alexandria; and Mr. Belzoni having arranged all his affairs in Egypt, in the middle of September, 1819, he embarked for Europe.

The head of Memnon, the sphynxes and other antiquities were sent to Great Britain and placed in the British Museum. There they are open for the public inspection, and the reader is recommended to pay a visit to that place, to which every person who is decently dressed is admitted every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, except on holydays or other particular days. There they will be led to appreciate in some degree the valuable and arduous services of Mr. Belzoni.

## CAPTAIN ROSS'S VOYAGE

TO

## THE ARCTIC REGIONS.



THE voyage of Captain Ross, although now introduced into this work, took place prior to those of Captains Parry and Franklin. The cause of this arrangement is, that the voyage of Captain Ross was not marked by such interesting incidents as those of the former. There is however much to be noticed even in this voyage, and such circumstances will form the history now to be given, which consequently will be comprised in a few pages.

On the 11th of December, 1817, Captain Ross received a letter from Sir George Hope, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, informing him that two ships were to be sent out to ascertain the existence or non-existence of a north-west passage, and desiring him to say whether he should wish to undertake it; at the same time informing him, that he would be accompanied by a man of science, and by Greenland pilots accustomed to navigate those seas. To this he returned for answer, that he had no hesitation in undertaking the service, particularly with the promised assistance. On the 16th he received orders from Sir George to make the best of his way from Lock Ryan to Greenock, in the *Driver* (which ship he then commanded,) and when superseded he was to proceed to London.

Having arrived in London on the 30th of December, and receiving directions, he visited the ships, and chose the

Isabella, as being the most proper ship for the senior officer; he was afterwards employed in planning the accommodations, and directing the various alterations which were necessary for the safety of the ships and comfort of the crews, as well as in obtaining information from the different masters of the Greenland ships, and other persons who had been accustomed to navigate the icy seas. He was furnished with the following official instructions.

*By the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c.*

HIS Royal Highness the Prince Regent having signified his pleasure to Viscount Melville, that an attempt should be made to discover a Northern passage, by sea, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean; We have, in consequence thereof, caused four ships or vessels to be fitted out and appropriated for that purpose, two of which, the *Isabella* and the *Alexander*, are intended to proceed together by the north-westward through Davis' Strait; and two, the *Dorothea* and *Trent*, in a direction as due north as may be found practicable through the Spitzbergen seas.

And whereas we have thought fit to intrust you with the command and direction of the former expedition, and have directed Lieutenant Parry, who has been appointed to command the *Alexander*, to follow your orders for his further proceedings; you are hereby required and directed to proceed to sea, with all convenient despatch, in the *Isabella*, and, taking under your orders the *Alexander* above mentioned, make the best of your way into Davis' Strait, through which you will endeavour to pass to the northward, without stopping on either of its coasts, unless you shall find it absolutely necessary. In this passage you may expect to meet with frequent obstructions from fields and islands of ice; to get clear of which, and to ensure the safety of the ships and people committed to your charge, will require from you, and all who are under your orders, the greatest precaution

and vigilance. And, as the navigation among ice may be considered as an art to be acquired only by practice, we have directed that there be appointed to each of the ships under your orders, a master and a mate of whale-fishing vessels, well experienced in those seas, from whose knowledge and skill you may derive material assistance.

It is not improbable that in the early part of the season, when you may be expected to arrive in Davis' Strait, the ice may be found to stretch across from land to land; but as ice is known to vary in its position from year to year, and, several times in the course of the year, and in those places where not fast by the ground, is almost constantly in motion by winds, tides, and currents; if, on your arrival, it should appear to present a compact barrier, you will, of course, be prepared to avail yourself of the first opening which may be discovered, to pass to the northward. As, however, in the present state of uncertainty with regard to the movements of the ice, and with the very imperfect knowledge we have of this strait, and still more so of the sea beyond it, no specific instructions can be given for your guidance, the time and manner of proceeding to fulfil the ulterior object of your destination, in places where impediments may occur, must be left entirely to your discretion; in the exercise of which we rely on your zeal and skill in your profession for the accomplishment, as far as it can be accomplished, of the service on which you are employed; not doubting that every exertion will be made on your part, and on that of your officers, while, at the same time, no precaution will be omitted, that prudence may dictate, to avoid accidents on an enterprise of so arduous a nature as that of conducting ships in safety through fields of ice in unknown seas. It may not, however, be amiss to suggest, as a general observation, that a passage through fields of ice is most likely to be found where the sea is deepest and least connected with land; as there is reason to suppose that ice is found to be more abundant near the shores of the continent and islands, in narrow straits, and deep bays. And

it may also be expected, that the sea will be most clear of ice where the currents are strongest, as the stream of a river will continue open long after the sides are frozen up.

From the best information we have been able to obtain, it would appear that a current of some force runs from the northward towards the upper part of Davis' Strait, during the summer season, and, perhaps, for some part of the winter also, bringing with it fields of ice in the spring, and icebergs in the summer.

This current, if it be considerable, can scarcely be altogether supplied by streams from the land, or the melting of ice; there would, therefore, seem reason to suppose, that it may be derived from an open sea; in which case, Baffin's Bay cannot be bounded by land, as our charts generally represent it, but must communicate with the Arctic Ocean.

In passing up the Strait, if such a current should be discovered, it will be of the greatest importance to you, in pointing out that part of the Strait which is likely to be the least incumbered with ice, as well as leading you direct to the opening by which it may be supposed to pass from the Arctic Sea into Davis' Strait.

In tracing this current, you will soon discover whether it takes its origin in the north-east or north-west quarter; if in the former, you will, of course, abandon all pursuit of it further; but if it should come from the north-west or west, it will prove the best guide you can follow, to lead you to the discovery of which you are in search.

The strength and direction of the current should be tried once in twenty-four hours; or oftener, if any material change is observed to take place; and it will be most advisable to take its temperature at the surface frequently, as you proceed, to compare it with the temperature of the surface, where there is no current.

If the reports of several intelligent masters of whaling vessels may be relied on, that part of the sea to the northward of Davis' Strait, which is marked on the charts as Baffin's



Bay, (that is to say, from the 72d degree of northern latitude, to the 77th, where Baffin is supposed to have seen the land,) is generally free from field-ice, which, from its extent of surface, offers the greatest impediment to navigation. Should you find this actually to be the case, it may be adviseable to stand well to the northward, before you edge away to the westward, in order to get a good offing, in rounding the north-east point of the continent of America; whose latitude has not been ascertained, but which, if a conjecture may be hazarded, from what is known from the northern coast of that continent, may perhaps be found in or about the 72d degree of latitude.

In the event of your being able to succeed in rounding this point, and finding the sea open, you are carefully to avoid coming near the coast, where you would be most likely to be impeded by fixed or floating ice; but keeping well to the northward, and in deep water, make the best of your way to Behring's Strait, through which you are to endeavour to pass into the Pacific Ocean; and in the event of your succeeding to pass this Strait, you are then to make the best of your way to Kamtschatka, if you think you can do so without risk of being shut up by the ice on that coast, for the purpose of delivering to the Russian Governor, duplicates of all the journals and other documents which the passage may have supplied, with a request, that they may be forwarded overland to St. Petersburg, to be conveyed from thence to London; and from this, you will proceed to the Sandwich Islands, or New Albion, or such other place in the Pacific Ocean as you may think proper, to refit and refresh your crews; and if, during your stay at such place, a safe opportunity should occur of sending these papers to England, you should send duplicates by that conveyance.

If the circumstances of your passage should be such as to encourage your attempting to return by the same course, you may winter at the Sandwich Islands, New Albion, or

any other proper place; and early in next spring, may proceed direct for Behring's Strait, and use your endeavours to repass the same; and should you succeed in this attempt, you are to proceed, if possible, to the eastward, keeping in sight and approaching the coast of America, whenever the position of the ice will permit you so to do, in order that you may be enabled to ascertain the latitudes and longitudes of some of the most remarkable headlands or inlets that may occur; taking every possible precaution, however, against being beset by the ice, and thus compelled to winter on that coast.

Before, however, you determine on returning by the same way, you will maturely consider and weigh the prudence of making such an attempt. If your original passage should be made with facility, and you see reason to believe that your success was not owing to circumstances merely accidental, or temporary, and that there is a probability that you may be able also to accomplish the passage back, it would be undoubtedly of great importance that you should endeavour to make it: but if, on the other hand, it shall have been attended with circumstances of danger or difficulty, so great as to persuade you that the attempt to return would risk the safety of the ships, and the lives of the crews, you, in this case, are to abandon all thoughts of returning by the northern passage, and are to make the best of your way home-ward, by Cape Horn.

Previous to your leaving England, or at any rate before your departure from Shetland, you are to fix with Captain Buchan, to whom the other expedition is intrusted, upon a rendezvous in the Pacific; and if you should be joined by the *Dorothea* and *Trent*, or either of them, you are to take them under your command; and, having detached one ship, with a copy of all your papers, and a complete set of despatches reporting your proceedings, to England, by the route of Cape Horn, you are to proceed with the other ships to repass Behring's Strait, as above directed, if you should

have determined on that course ; but if you should have resolved to return by the South, you are to take care to interchange with Captain Buchan copies of your respective journals and despatches ; or, if you do not meet Captain Buchan, or his ships, you are to deposit copies of your own papers on board the *Alexander*, in order to ensure, as far as possible, the arrival of these important documents in England, by thus multiplying the modes of conveyance.

If, however, it should so happen, that from obstruction of ice, or any other circumstance, your progress to the westward should prove too slow to admit of your approach to Behring's Strait, before the present season shall be too far advanced, to make it safe to attempt that passage ; and, at the same time, your progress should be too considerable to the westward, to ensure your return the same season by the way of Davis' Strait ; you are, in that case, to edge down to the northern coast of America, and endeavour to find out some secure bay, in which the ships may be laid up for the winter ; taking such measures for the health and comfort of the people committed to your charge, as the materials with which you are supplied for housing-in the ships, or hutting the men on shore, may enable you to do : and, if you shall find it expedient to resort to this measure, and you should meet with any inhabitants, either Esquimaux or Indians, near the place where you winter, you are to endeavour by every means in your power to cultivate a friendship with them, by making them presents of such articles as you may be supplied with, and which may be useful or agreeable to them : you will, however, take care not to suffer yourself to be surprised by them, but use every precaution, and be constantly on your guard against any hostility.

You will endeavour to prevail on them, by such reward, and to be paid in such manner, as you may think best to answer the purpose, to carry to any of the settlements of the Hudson's Bay Company, or of the North-west Company,

an account of your situation and proceedings, with an urgent request that it may be forwarded to England with the utmost possible despatch.

If, however, all your endeavours should fail in getting so far to the westward as to enable you to double the north-eastern extremity of America, (round which these Instructions have hitherto supposed a passage to exist,) you are, in that case, to use all the means in your power, by keeping to the northward and eastward, to ascertain to what extent you can proceed along the western coast of Old Greenland; and whether there is any reason to suppose that it forms a part of the continent of America; and you are also to endeavour to improve the very imperfect geography of the eastern coast of America, and of the island or islands which are supposed to intervene between it and Disko Island in Davis' Strait; but you are, on no account, in this latter case, to remain on this service so long, unless accidentally caught in the ice, as to be obliged to winter on any part of the eastern coast of America, or the western coast of Old Greenland, or the intermediate islands; but to leave the ice about the middle or the 20th of September, or the 1st of October at the latest, and make the best of your way to the River Thames.

Although the first, and most important, object of this voyage, is the discovery of a passage from Davis' Strait, along the northern coast of America, and through Behring's Strait, into the Pacific; it is hoped, at the same time, that it may likewise be the means of improving the geography and hydrography of the Arctic Regions, of which so little is hitherto known, and contribute to the advancement of science and natural knowledge.

With this view, we have caused a great variety of valuable instruments to be put on board the ships under your orders, of which you will be furnished with a list, and for the return of which you will be held responsible; and have also, at the recommendation of the President and Council of

the Royal Society, ordered to be received on board the *Isabella*, Captain Sabine, of the Royal Artillery, who is represented to us as a gentleman well skilled in astronomy, natural history, and various branches of knowledge, to assist you in making such observations as may tend to the improvement of geography and navigation, and the advancement of science in general. Amongst other subjects of scientific enquiry, you will particularly direct your attention to the variation and inclination of the magnetic needle, and the intensity of the magnetic force; you will endeavour to ascertain how far the needle may be affected by the atmospherical electricity, and what effect may be produced on the electrometer and magnetic needle on the appearance of the *Aurora Borealis*. You will keep a correct register of the temperature of the air and of the surface of the sea; and you will frequently try the temperature of the sea, in various situations and at different depths. You will cause the dip of the horizon to be frequently observed by the dip-sector invented by Doctor Wollaston; and ascertain what effect may be produced by measuring that dip across fields of ice, as compared with its measurement across the surface of the open sea. You will also cause frequent observations to be made for ascertaining the refraction, and what effect may be produced by observing an object, either celestial or terrestrial, over a field of ice, as compared with objects observed over a surface of water; together with such other meteorological remarks as you may have opportunities of making. You are to attend particularly to the height, direction, and strength of the tides, and to the set and velocity of the currents; the depth and soundings of the sea, and the nature of the bottom; for which purpose you are supplied with an instrument better calculated to bring up substances than the lead usually employed for this purpose.

For the purpose, not only of ascertaining the set of the currents in the Arctic Seas, but also of affording more frequent chances of hearing of your progress, We desire

that you do frequently, after you shall have passed the latitude of  $65^{\circ}$  North, and once every day when you shall be in an ascertained current, throw overboard a bottle, closely sealed, and containing a paper stating the date and position at which it is launched; and you will give similar orders to the Commander of the *Alexander*, to be executed in case of separation. And for this purpose, we have caused each ship to be supplied with papers, on which is printed, in several languages, a request that whoever may find it should take measures for transmitting it to this office.

And, although you are not to be drawn aside from the main object of the service on which you are employed, as long as you may be enabled to make any progress, yet whenever you may be impeded by ice, or find it necessary to approach the coasts of the continent or islands, you are to cause views of bays, harbours, headlands, &c. to be carefully taken, to illustrate and explain the track of the vessels, or such charts as you may be able to make; in which duty, you will be assisted by Lieutenant Hoppner, whose skill in drawing is represented to be so considerable, as to supersede the necessity of appointing a professional draughtsman.

You are to make use of every means in your power, to collect and preserve such specimens of the animal, mineral, and vegetable kingdoms, as you can conveniently stow on board the ships: and, of the larger animals, you are to cause accurate drawings to be made, to accompany and elucidate the descriptions of them. In this, as well as in every other part of your scientific duty, we trust that you will receive material assistance from Captain Sabine.

You are to use your best endeavours, to give instructions to the same effect to Lieutenant Parry, to keep the two vessels constantly together, and prevent their separation; if, however, they should separate, you are to appoint Lerwick, in the Shetland Islands, as the first rendezvous, and, after that, Love Bay, Disco Island, in Davis' Strait;

beyond which, as nothing is known, no other rendezvous can be appointed. And in the event of any irreparable accident happening to either of the ships, you are to cause the officers and crew of the disabled ship to be removed into the other, and with her singly, to proceed in prosecution of the voyage, or return to England, according as circumstances shall appear to require : should, unfortunately, your own ship be the one disabled, you are, in that case, to take the command of the *Alexander* : and, in the event of your own inability, by sickness or otherwise, to carry these instructions into execution, you are to transfer them to the Lieutenant next in command, who is hereby required to execute them in the best manner he can, for the attainment of the several objects in view.

As, in all undertakings of this nature, several emergencies may arise, against which no foresight can provide, and no specific instructions can be given ; you are, in all such cases, to proceed in such a manner as you may judge to be most advantageous to the service on which you are employed ; most likely to advance the accomplishment of the various objects of the expedition ; and most conducive to the security of the ships, and the health, comfort, and safety, of your officers and men.

On your arrival in England, you are immediately to repair to this office, in order to lay before Us a full account of your proceedings in the whole course of your voyage : taking care, before you leave the ship, to demand from the officers and petty officers the logs and journals they may have kept ; and also from Captain Sabine such journals or memoranda as he may have kept ; which are all to be sealed up : and you will issue similar directions to Lieutenant Parry and his officers ; the said logs, journals, or other documents, to be hereafter disposed of as We may think proper to determine.

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has been requested to apply to the courts of Russia

Denmark, and Sweden, to issue orders to their respective subjects, to afford any hospitality or assistance which these expeditions may be in a situation to require and receive: the Court of Russia has been particularly requested to give directions to the authorities at Kamtschatka, for the safe conveyance of any despatches you may intrust to them; and the Courts of Denmark and Sweden have been requested to order any of their ships, whether national or private, which you may fall in with, to treat you with amity, and to note carefully in their logs the situations in which they may see any of His Majesty's ships: You will, on your part, behave with cordiality and friendship to any foreign vessels you may fall in with, or the authorities of any port or place at which you may touch: and on all such occasions, you will not fail to address to Our Secretary, for Our information, a general account of your proceedings up to the date at which the opportunity of conveying your despatch may occur.

Given under Our hands the 31st of March, 1818.

(Signed)

MELVILLE,  
J. S. YORKE,  
GEO. HOPE,  
G. MOORE.

*By Command of their Lordships,*

(Signed)

J. W. CROKER.

*To John Ross, Esq., Commander  
of His Majesty's Sloop ISABELLA.*

Names of the officers, &c. who sailed on board the two ships.

*On Board the Isabella.*

John Ross, .....	Commander.
William Robertson, ....	Lieutenant.
William Thom, ...	Purser.
John Edwards, .....	Surgeon.
C. J. Beverley, .....	Assistant Surgeon.
Messrs. Skene and Ross, ....	Admiralty Midshipmen.



John Bushnan, ..... Midshipman and Clerk.  
 Benjamin Lewis, ..... Master and Greenland Pilot.  
 Thomas Wilcox, ..... Mate, ditto, ditto.

*On Board the Alexander.*

William Edward Parry, .... Commander.  
 H. H. Hoppner, ..... Lieutenant  
 Messrs. Bisson and Nius, .... Admiralty Midshipmen.  
 Alexander Fisher, ..... Assistant Surgeon.  
 W. H. Hooper, ..... Purser.  
 John Allison, ..... Master and Greenland Pilot.  
 Joseph Philips, ..... Mate, ditto, ditto.  
 James Halse, ..... Clerk.

During their stay at Deptford, they were joined by John Sacheuse, an Esquimaux, native of South-east Bay, Greenland, in latitude 69° N., and longitude 50° W. It appears that he had concealed himself on board the Thomas and Ann, of Leith, in the month of May, 1816: on being discovered, Captain Newton, who commanded that vessel, wished to land him again, but he earnestly entreated to be permitted to remain, and was accordingly brought to Leith. He returned to Greenland with the same ship in 1817, and, on his arrival at home, found that his only near relation had died in his absence. It was not ascertained, at his first outset, what were his motives for quitting his native country; but it seemed now, that the death of this relation was his reason for continuing in the ship, which he did, returning to Leith with her the same season. Captain Ross had several conversations with him on the subject; he related many adventures and narrow escapes he had experienced in his canoe, in one of which he stated himself to have been carried to sea in a storm with five others, all of whom perished, and that he was miraculously saved by an English ship. He also said that he had, through the missionaries, been converted to Christianity, and the strong desire he had to see the country these good men came from, had induced him to desert his own; but that it was always

his intention to return, when he had learnt the Scriptures and the art of drawing.

During his residence at Leith, in the winter of 1817, he had been taken notice of by Mr. Nasmyth, the artist, who introduced him to Sir James Hall. His wishes to accompany Captain Ross were made known to the Admiralty through Captain Basil Hall, and he was consequently engaged as interpreter.

On the 18th of April 1818, the ships dropped down to Galleons. From the prevalence, however, of contrary winds while in the river, and their subsequent detention at Sheerness, for the purpose of paying the crews an advance of three months' wages, it was not until the 25th that they took their final departure.

On the 30th they reached Lerwick in Shetland. An excellent seaman, who was discharged at his own request, by Captain Oliver, from the Prince of Wales revenue cruiser, joined the expedition. He was accompanied by another volunteer, who did the duty of cook on board, and who was also a performer on the violin. The latter talent they often found of use in their operations of tracking the ship through the ice; the severity of this labour being lightened by the character of amusement which was given to it, in consequence of the tracking party being always led by the musician. He also served to divert the people in those unoccupied hours when the spirits of seamen are apt to flag for want of objects, or to be employed in mischievous practices subversive of discipline.

On the 9th of June, they arrived in latitude 68 deg. and ran by the edge of the fixed ice, sailing along it till they approached the land, when they found it closely joined, and no water to be seen over it from the mast-head; they made fast to an iceberg of convenient height, which was aground near two small islands, that they supposed to lie off North Bay.

Some native Esquimaux came off, from whom they learnt

that this berg had remained aground in the same place since the last year. They also said, that the ice was close all the way from thence to Disco, and that no ship had yet got up thither.

At noon of the 10th they fell in with several ships employed in the whale fishery; one of them belonging to Dundee, the rest to Hull. They had all been successful. From the master of one of the ships, the Brunswick, of Hull, they gained intelligence that he had been in the bay to the westward of Disco; where, according to the chart, there is good anchorage. He had also seen Hare Island, and conjectured there was a good deal of clear ice about it. He had got into and out of South-East Bay, between two floes of ice. The whole bay between Dog and Whale Islands was covered with ice. The governor of the Whale Islands had informed him, that the ice was broken up, and froze again, no less than three times this season. The ship had only that morning got clear of the ice, in which she and several others had been pent up for fourteen days, and they left four still beset.

On the 14th of June they ran close to the largest of several islands placed in the entrance of Disco Bay, which is called Whale Island. This is apparently six miles in length, formed of a black rugged sterile rock, of considerable elevation, but low when compared with the huge mountains of Disco, which were seen over it. It has a good harbour, which has three entrances, but the best is pointed out by a flagstaff, and is on the S.W. quarter.

This island is called by the Danes, Kron Prins Island, and is in lat.  $63^{\circ} 54' N.$  and long.  $53^{\circ} 30' W.$  Its inhabitants consist of the governor of the factory, his wife and children, together with six Danes, and an hundred Esquimaux, who are employed during the season in catching seals and whales. The chief object in communicating with this factory, since it could be done without loss of time, was to gain information respecting the state of the ice from the Da-

nish resident ; guns were therefore fired, and a kajak was despatched with a message inviting him on board. This had the desired effect, and inspector Flushe, a respectable looking young man, who had been an officer in the Danish Navy, came on board in a boat manned with Europeans. His information was much calculated to damp their hopes of getting to the northward this season. During the eleven winters he had passed, not one he said had been so severe or protracted as the last : the sea had frozen up in the beginning of December, where it was usually open until February, and Disco Bay and harbour, which were generally navigable towards the end of March, still continued shut. During the spring the ice had twice partly broken up, but had been reunited by a fresh formation of hard frost, before it could drift away. He considered the attempt to get much farther to the North as hopeless, the Danes not having been able to communicate by sea for two seasons past with their Northern settlements. As an additional proof of the severity of the preceding winter, he said, that they had this year been reduced to great distress for provisions, and had been obliged to kill their dogs for food, owing to the impossibility of procuring seals during the winter.

Captain Ross was not a little surprised at this information, after the confidence with which the diminished rigour of the climate had been described at home before they began their voyage, and after the anticipations of success which had been so warmly entertained by those who had so eagerly entered into the plan for promoting it. The report of the Danish resident was certainly in decided opposition to those of the persons who had described the breaking up and dispersion of the polar ice, and who appear in this instance to have been guided rather by their imaginations than by a real knowledge of the circumstances attending this sea.

On the following day they worked with all sail to the

northward; Disco was in sight; and no ice except the bergs were to be seen. At eight in the evening of the next day the two ships were made fast to an iceberg, about one mile from the N.E. side of Hare island. They found here forty-five ships employed in the whale fishery, all detained by the ice; and as there appeared to be little chance of getting further for some days, it was determined on making observations on shore; for this purpose the observatory and instruments were landed, and tents erected for the officers who were appointed to attend them. While on shore, parties were occupied in collecting specimens of natural history. The iceberg to which the ships were fastened, suddenly got afloat; and was carried with great rapidity toward the west; it soon, however, grounded again, and the *Alexander* remained attached to it; not having followed the example of the *Isabella* in laying hold of another which was more secure, near to which they drifted at the time the former gave way.

They remained here till the 20th of June; when the ice having loosened considerably, they cast off from the iceberg and used every effort to get forward. This was effected by dint of labour, all hands with the boats were employed in towing and warping the ships among packs of ice, through which it was frequently necessary to cut a passage. Many of the whalers followed their example.

On the 24th, when both ships were in a very dangerous passage, a light wind from the North-west put the ice suddenly in motion; and in spite of every exertion, the *Isabella* was driven into sixteen feet water, and the *Alexander* was, for a few minutes, actually aground. The whalers, which were astern, sent their boats, and aided, by every means in their power, the exertions of the men to free the ship from this perilous situation, which was accomplished by running hawsers out to the nearest berg, and heaving the ships through the ice. The conduct of the Masters of

the Eggington, Brothers, Ingria, and Thornton, all of Hull, was highly meritorious, and they received the deserved acknowledgements for their ready services. The first-named of these ships having headed the *Isabella*, was persevering in her course, when she was of a sudden beset by a large floe of ice, and carried on shore; they had then an opportunity of making a return for the kindness experienced, and assisted in liberating her. A serious accident happened on board the *Ariel* whaler, a boat belonging to her having been crushed by the ice against the ship's side, by which one of her crew was killed, and another much hurt.

On the 29th, the weather being moderate, Captain Ross ordered the Esquimaux, John Sacheuse, who had accompanied the expedition from England as interpreter, to go on shore and communicate with the natives. He returned with seven natives in their canoes, or kajaks, bringing a small supply of birds. Their village, lying on the south side of the bay, appeared to consist of a few huts made of seal-skins, sufficient for the residence of about fifty persons. Being desirous of procuring a sledge and dogs, Captain Ross offered them a rifle musket for one completely fitted, which they promised to fetch; with much honesty and principle, however, refusing to accept the rifle till they had brought the sledge. They soon returned, bringing the sledge and dogs in a boat managed by five women, dressed in deer-skins. Two of these women were daughters of a Danish resident by an Esquimaux woman. One of the men also was the son of a Dane, and they were all of the colour of Mulattoes.

They soon became intimate with their visitors and invited them into the cabin, where they were treated with coffee and biscuit, and their portraits taken. After leaving the cabin, they danced Scotch reels on the deck with the sailors, to the animating strains of the musician. Sacheuse's mirth and joy exceeded all bounds; and, with a good-humoured

officialness, justified by the important distinction which his superior knowledge now gave him, he performed the office of master of the ceremonies.

A daughter of the Danish resident, about eighteen years of age, and by far the best looking of the group, was the object of Sacheuse's particular attentions; which, being observed by one of the officers, he gave him a lady's shawl, ornamented with spangles, as an offering for her acceptance. He presented it in a most respectful, and not ungraceful manner, to the damsel, who bashfully took a pewter ring from her finger and gave it to him in return: rewarding him, at the same time with a smile, which could leave no doubt on the Esquimaux's mind that he had made an impression on her heart. After the ball, coffee was again served, and at eight o'clock the party left. The ice beginning to break up; a channel was found leading towards the Black Hook by the *Majestic*, of London, and every ship crowded to sail after her.

They continued their course till July 17, when two ice-floes closed in upon them, and they were completely jammed in. The *Isabella* underwent a very severe pressure, but fortunately without damage, though she was lifted several feet out of water; the concussion lasted fifteen minutes; the floes then receded a little, and favoured the exertions used to heave her through, which was effected after two hours' labour, by purchases brought from each quarter and bow to the windlass and capstern. The *Alexander*, and some of the whalers, suffered in the same way.

On the 31st, it being calm, a boat was sent after a whale, which appeared to be particularly marked, being black and white: he was soon harpooned by the *Isabella's* boat; the first harpoon sticking him on the back a little behind the left fin, and at first appearing to be effectual. The boat was then carried to the edge of the ice, and several lines veered away, but, after holding a time, it was perceived that he had escaped; he soon however appeared, about a

mile and a half distant, with the harpoon in his back, being then a loose fish. As he remained near the surface, and appeared to suffer from the wound, the young officers of both ships, who each commanded boats, pulled with emulation to the spot where each expected him to rise, waiting for the moment of his appearance with anxiety. Fortune favoured Mr. James Ross, the animal rising nearest to his boat, and giving his harpooner an opportunity of infixing his weapon, following it by a third and fourth, which made the capture certain. He was now much exhausted, and obliged to remain near the surface, thereby exposing himself to the lancers; the blood, at intervals, flowing from his wounds, and being thrown up in volumes as he rose to breathe. At length, becoming exhausted, he had only strength to make a last and most terrible struggle. The people in the boats, aware of their danger, retreated, leaving him to spend his fury on the water, where he was seen rolling and writhing in dreadful agony, lashing the sea from side to side with his tail and fins, till he expired: he then sunk, remaining suspended by the lines of the harpooners, who weighed him to the surface, and towed him on board in triumph.

On the 6th of August, the weather proving fine, the ships were tracked with labour through about a mile of bay-ice to the narrowest part of a floe which obstructed their passage into the pool a-head; the usual resort was had to sawing, but their labours were soon suspended by the discovery of a passage a little to the eastward. To this, therefore, they warped the ships through the loose and bay-ice, and thus managed to proceed about a mile further.

As it appeared likely their people would be at work throughout the night, an extra allowance of provisions was served out; their labours were incessant till half-past one, when, being almost worn out with exertion, they were allowed to rest till five. At half-past six the ice began to move, and the wind increasing to a gale, the only chance left was to endeavour to force the ship through it to the north,



where it partially opened ; but the channel was so much obstructed by heavy fragments, that the utmost efforts were ineffectual ; the field closed in, and, at noon, they felt its pressure most severely. A large floe which lay on one side of the *Isabella* appeared to be fixed, while, on the other side, another of considerable bulk was passing along with a rapid motion, assuming a somewhat circular direction, in consequence of one side having struck on the fixed field. The pressure continuing to increase, it became doubtful whether the ship would be able to sustain it ; every support threatened to give way ; the beams in the hold began to bend, and the iron tanks settled together. At this critical moment, when it seemed impossible to bear the accumulating pressure much longer, the hull rose several feet ; while the ice, which was more than six feet thick, broke against the sides, curling back on itself. The great stress now fell upon their bow, and, after being again lifted up, they were carried with great violence towards the *Alexander*, which had hitherto been, in a great measure, defended by the *Isabella*. Every effort to avoid their getting foul of each other failed ; the ice-anchors and cables broke one after another, and the sterns of the two ships came so violently into contact, as to crush to pieces a boat that could not be removed in time. The collision was tremendous, the anchors and chain-plates being broken, and nothing less than the loss of the masts expected : but, at this eventful instant, by the interposition of Providence, the force of the ice seemed exhausted ; the two fields suddenly receded, and the *Isabella* passed the *Alexander* with comparative little damage. The last things that hooked each other were the two bower anchors, which, being torn from the bows, remained suspended in a line between the two ships, until that of the *Alexander* gave way. A clear channel soon after opened, and they ran into a pool, thus escaping immediate danger. Neither the masters, the mates, nor those men who had been all their lives in the Greenland service, had ever ex-

perienced such immense peril ; and they declared, that a common whaler must have been crushed to atoms.

It was soon after perceived, that a field of ice, to which they moored, was drifting rapidly on a reef of icebergs which lay aground ; the topsails were therefore close-reefed, in order that they might run between two bergs, or into any creek that might be found among them ; when suddenly the field acquired a circular motion, so that every exertion was now necessary for warping along the edge, that being the sole chance they had of escaping the danger of being crushed on an iceberg. In a few minutes they observed a part of the field, into which they had attempted to cut docks, come in contact with the berg, with such rapidity and violence, as to rise more than fifty feet up its precipitous side, where it suddenly broke, the elevated part falling back on the rest with a terrible crash, and overwhelming with its ruins the very spot they had previously chosen for their safety. Soon afterwards the ice appeared sufficiently open to pass the reef of bergs, and they once more were in a place of security

On the 9th they were surprised by the appearance of several men on the ice, who were hallooing to the ships : the first impression was, that they were shipwrecked sailors, probably belonging to some vessel that had been crushed in the late gale ; they therefore tacked, hoisted their colours, and stood in for the shore. On approaching the ice, they discovered them to be natives, drawn on rudely-fashioned sledges, by dogs, which they continued to drive backwards and forwards with wonderful rapidity. When they arrived within hail, Sacheuse called out to them, in his own language : some words were heard in return, to which a reply was again made to the Esquimaux ; but neither party appeared to be in the least degree intelligible to the other. For some time they continued to regard the ships in silence, but, on tacking, they set up a simultaneous shout, accompanied with many strange gesticulations

and went off in their sledges with great velocity towards the land.

It being necessary to examine if there was a passage in this place, the ships stood towards the head of the pool, which was about four miles off, trusting that, in the mean time, they would return to the same spot, to which it was also their intention to come back, after examining into the chances of a passage northward. No opening was, however, found; and they therefore returned after an absence of ten hours.

About ten o'clock on the following day, eight sledges appeared, driven by the natives, advancing by a circuitous route towards them; they halted about a mile off, and the people alighting, ascended a small iceberg, as if to reconnoitre. After remaining apparently in consultation for nearly half an hour, four of them descended, and came towards a flag-staff, which, however, they did not venture to approach. In the mean time a white flag was hoisted at the main in each ship, and John Sacheuse dispatched, bearing a small white flag, with some presents, that he might endeavour, if possible, to bring them to a parley. This was a service which he had most cheerfully volunteered, requesting leave to go unattended and unarmed, a request to which no objection could be made, as the place chosen for the meeting was within half a mile of the *Isabella*. It was equally advantageous to the natives, a canal, or small chasm in the ice, not passable without a plank, separating the parties from each other, and preventing any possibility of an attack from these people, unless by darts.

In executing this service, Sacheuse displayed no less address than courage. Having placed his flag at some distance from the canal, he advanced to the edge, and taking off his hat, made friendly signs for those opposite to approach, as he did; this they partly complied with, halting at a distance of three hundred yards, where they

got out of their sledges, and set up a loud simultaneous halloo, which Sacheuse answered by imitating it. They then ventured to approach a little nearer, having nothing in their hands but the whips with which they guide their dogs ; and, after satisfying themselves that the canal was impassable, one of them in particular seemed to acquire confidence. Shouts, words, and gestures, were exchanged for some time to no purpose, though each party seemed, in some degree, to recognise each other's language. Sacheuse, after a time, thought he could discover that they spoke the Humooke dialect, drawing out their words, however, to an unusual length. He immediately adopted that dialect, and, holding up the present, called out to them, Kahkeite, come on ! to which they answered, Naakrie, naakrieai-plaite, no, no—go away ; and other words which he made out to mean, that they hoped they were not come to destroy them. The boldest then approached to the edge of the canal, and drawing from his boot a knife, repeated, Go away ; I can kill you. Sacheuse, not intimidated, told them he was also a man and a friend, and, at the same time, threw across the canal some strings of beads and a chequed shirt ; but these they beheld with great distrust and apprehension, still calling, Go away, don't kill us. Sacheuse then threw them an English knife, saying, Take that. On this they approached with caution, picked up the knife, then shouted and pulled their noses. These actions were imitated by Sacheuse, who in return, called out, Heigh, yaw ! pulling his nose with the same gesture. They now pointed to the shirt, demanding what it was, and when told it was an article of clothing, asked of what skin it was made. Sacheuse replied, It was made of the hair of an animal which they had never seen ; on which they picked it up with expressions of surprise. They now began to ask many questions ; for, by this time, they found the language, spoken by themselves and Sacheuse,

had sufficient resemblance to enable them to hold some communication.

Captain Ross and Lieutenant Parry now visited them, taking additional presents of looking glasses and knives, with some caps and shirts. By the time they reached them the whole party were assembled; those who had been originally left at a distance with their sledges, having driven up to join their comrades. The party now therefore consisted of eight natives, with all their sledges, and about fifty dogs, two sailors, Sacheuse, Lieutenant Parry, and Captain Ross; forming a group of no small singularity, which was not a little increased by the circumstance of the meeting taking place on a field of ice and at a considerable distance from the land.

Perceiving that the natives were considerably alarmed, Sacheuse called to them to pull their noses, as he had discovered this to be the mode of friendly salutation with these people. This ceremony was accordingly performed by each of the party; the natives also retreated, making use of the same gesture, the nature of which was now well understood. In the same way the English party imitated their shouts as well as they could, using the same expression *Heigh, yaw!* which appeared to be an expression of surprise and pleasure. Captain Ross then advanced towards them, and presented the foremost with a looking glass and a knife, repeating the same presents to the whole, as they came up in succession. Having now acquired confidence, they advanced, offering, in return for knives, glasses and beads, their knives, sea-unicorns horns and sea-horse teeth, which were accepted. One of them having enquired what was the use of a red cap which had been given him, Sacheuse put it on his head, to the great amusement of the rest, each of whom put it on in his turn. The whole party now proceeded to the ships. Their shouts, halloos and laughter were heartily joined in, and imitated by all hands, as well as the ceremony of nose pulling. That which most of all excited

their admiration, was the circumstance of a sailor going aloft, and they kept their eyes on him till he reached the summit of the mast ; the sails which hung loose they supposed to be skins.

They were now loaded with various presents, consisting of some articles of clothing, biscuit, and pieces of wood, in addition to which the plank that had been used in crossing the chasm, was given to them. They then departed, promising to return as soon as they had eaten and slept, as there was no means of explaining to them what to-morrow meant. The parting was attended with the ceremony of pulling noses on both sides.

After they had reached and crossed the chasm, they were observed by some men, who had been sent to accompany them, throwing away the biscuit, and splitting the plank, which was of teak, into small pieces, for the purpose of dividing it among the party. Soon after this they mounted their sledges, and drove off in a body, hallooing apparently in great glee.

On the 13th they were gratified by the appearance of three of the natives at a distance. Preparations were made for continuing their intercourse, if they should prove to be the same as had been seen before, or for obtaining a parley, if they should prove to be strangers.

The flag-staff, as on a former occasion, was, therefore, pitched at some distance from the ships, and the natives were shortly seen to approach it, without much hesitation or alarm. They were observed to take down the bag that was attached to it ; but after examining the contents, they restored them to their place, and returned to their sledges. Sacheuse was then furnished with presents, and sent to speak with them. He found immediately that they were not their old friends, but other natives, who had received a good report of them, together with the history of their being people that lived beyond the ice, and that this had prevented any alarm.

It being proposed that they should drive close to the ship on their sledges, the eldest got into his sledge, for this purpose, and they had thus an opportunity of witnessing the mode in which he managed his dogs. These were six in number, each having a collar of seal-skin, two inches wide, to which the one end of a thong, made of strong hide, about three yards long, was tied, the other end being fastened to the fore part of the sledge: thus they all stood nearly abreast, each drawing by a single trace, without reins. No sooner did they hear the crack of the whip, than they set off at full speed, while he seemed to manage them with the greatest ease, guiding them partly by his voice, and partly by the sound of the whip. On approaching the sailors, however, they became so terrified, that it was with some difficulty they could be stopped. They were at length fastened to the ice, and one of the younger men, who had come up behind, was left in charge of the whole.

When Sacheuse was desired to ask if they had a king, he pronounced the words Nullikab, signifying a person in authority; then Nakouack, i. e. a strong man, who can kill more seals, and is respected or dreaded; but they did not understand him. He at last recollected that Pisarsuak had been used as the name of chief; they immediately answered in the affirmative, and said his name was Tulloowak.

It was about three o'clock when they departed, highly pleased. The ice being covered with small protuberant bergs, they were soon lost sight of as they drove away towards the shore; to gain which, they were obliged to follow a very circuitous route; this arose from a number of pools and chasms in the ice, as it was evident that they were only three or four miles from the land in a direct line.

The greatest number of natives seen was about eighteen; many attempts were made to discover the numbers of the tribe, but without success, as they could reckon no farther than five, and could therefore only say, "plenty people,"

pointing to the north ; but it must be recollected, that this was only a party detached from the main body.

The ships being again under sail, with more cheering prospects before them, proceeded along the margin of the ice, where it appeared attached to the land, with a fine breeze from the north. In about two hours they arrived at the barrier of icebergs. Having passed through many intricate and narrow channels, at four o'clock they rounded a cape, which they named after the Duke of York, in commemoration of the birth-day of His Royal Highness. The land, from this cape, took a W. by N. direction ; they continued to steer along it, at the distance of four miles, and, for the first time, saw the sea wash the rocks.

August 17th, they continued their course along the land, at the distance of five or six miles, among numerous bergs and pieces of loose ice. They discovered that the snow on the face of the cliffs presented an appearance both novel and interesting, being apparently stained, or covered, by some substance, which gave it a deep crimson colour. Many conjectures were formed concerning the cause of this appearance ; it was at once determined, that it could not arise from the dung of birds, as thousands of these, of various descriptions, were seen repeatedly sitting on the ice, and on the snow, but without producing any such effect.

A boat with Mr. Ross, Mr. Beverley, and others, was sent to bring off some of the snow, and to make their remarks on the circumstances attending it ; they were also ordered to procure specimens of natural history, and to ascertain if this part of the country was inhabited. The boat arrived at the shore nearly at low water, and found that the tide had fallen nine feet. The party remained two hours on shore, and found the cliffs were accessible at the spot where they landed ; but they did not get to the top, being recalled in consequence of a breeze which sprung up. They found that the snow was penetrated, in many places to a depth of ten or twelve feet, by the colouring matter, and that it had



the appearance of having been a long time in that state. The boat returned at seven with a quantity of this snow, together with specimens of the vegetation, and of the rocks. The snow was examined by a microscope, magnifying 110 times, and the substance seemed to consist of particles resembling a very minute round seed, all of them being of the same size, and of a deep red colour; on some of these globules a small dark speck was also seen. It was the general opinion of the officers that this was a vegetable substance, an opinion confirmed by the nature of the places where it was found. These were the sides of the hills, about six hundred feet high, the tops of which were covered with vegetation of a yellowish-green and reddish-brown colours. The extent of these cliffs was about eight miles; behind them at a considerable distance, high mountains were seen, but the snow which covered these was not coloured. Some of the snow was dissolved, and bottled, when the water had the appearance of muddy port-wine. In a few hours it deposited a sediment; which was examined by the microscope; some of it was bruised, and found to be composed wholly of red matter; when applied to paper, it produced a colour resembling that of Indian red. This substance has been examined since the return of the ships to this country, and various opinions given concerning it, but Dr. Wollaston seems to concur in the opinion of its being a vegetable substance produced on the mountain immediately above it. It cannot be a marine production, as in several places they saw it at least six miles from the sea, but always on the face or near the foot of a mountain.

In the course of their tedious and often laborious progress through the ice, it became necessary to keep the whole of the crew at the most fatiguing work, sometimes for several days and nights without intermission. When this was the case, an extra meal was served to them at midnight, generally of preserved meat; and it was found that this nourishment, when the mind and body were both occupied, and

the sun continually present, rendered them capable of remaining without sleep, so that they often passed three days in this manner without any visible inconvenience ; returning after a meal of this kind to their labour on the ice, or in the boats, quite refreshed, and continuing at it without a murmur. . The exercise was doubtless a considerable preventive of the scurvy, which was the complaint most to be feared. . As long as the vegetables lasted, no lime-juice was served ; when the men got wet, which often happened, they were made to shift their clothes and put on dry ones : caps of canvas, lined with flannel, were made for them ; these were conical in shape, and large enough to cover the shoulders, and button under the chin ; they had the effect of keeping the neck and breast warm, and being painted on the outside, turned the water off effectually ; they were made use of in rainy, snowy, or foggy weather. With these precautions, and the men being all of good constitution, they never had a sick person, and when they arrived at this part of their voyage, no crews were ever in higher health and spirits.

Lieutenant Robertson, and other officers, were stationed at the mast-head to look out for the direction of the coast ; and they made their reports that they were satisfied they had seen the land completely round this bay at different times ; as did also the officers of the *Alexander*, who were at the mast-head of that ship at the same time.

On the 19th of August, at fifty minutes past midnight the ship being nearly on the seventy-seventh degree of north latitude, ten leagues to the westward of Cape Saumarez, which forms the east side and the bottom of this bay, the land was distinctly seen. On the 20th and 21st, when off Cape Clarence, at the distance of six leagues, the land which forms the west side, and the bottom of this bay, was also distinctly seen, and by two observations the coast is determined to be connected all round. At each of these periods this immense bay was observed to be covered with

field-ice ; besides which, a vast chain of large icebergs was seen to extend across it ; these were apparently aground, and had probably been driven on shore there by southerly gales. It was also observed, that the tide rose and fell only four feet, and that the stream was scarcely perceptible.

On the 20th, they were by reckoning, in latitude  $76^{\circ} 54'$  N., Cape Saumarez ten leagues distant, and Carey's Island bearing about S.E. Having determined that there was no passage further to the northward, they stood under easy sail to the S.W. for ten miles further, during which they had much difficulty to avoid the loose ice with which the sea was covered, and it becoming thicker the nearer they approached the shore, they hove to in this position, for the fog to clear away

From these several considerations it appears perfectly certain that the land is here continuous, and that there is no opening at the northernmost part of Baffin's Bay from Hackluit's Island to Cape Clarence. Even if it be imagined that some narrow Strait may exist through these mountains, it is clearly evident, that it must for ever be unnavigable, and that there is not even a chance of ascertaining its existence, since all approach to the bottoms of these bays is prevented by the ice which fills them to so great a depth, and appears never to have moved from its station.

Being thus satisfied that there was no opening into the Pacific through these seas and that there could be no further inducement to continue longer in this place, and it being necessary to husband the little time yet remaining, for the work which was still to be done, Captain Ross ordered accurate bearings of the different headlands to be taken, and having named the remarkable cape forming the west side of the bay, after the Duke of Clarence, in commemoration of the birth-day of his Royal Highness, they shaped their course, on the morning of the 21st, towards the next opening which appeared in view to the westward.

They now stood for a Sound which they had seen on the 21st, tacking and bearing up occasionally to avoid the ice, which was generally from six to twelve feet thick, very uneven, and in pieces of various shapes; they found it impossible to keep clear of it, and the ship unavoidably received some severe shocks, but fortunately suffered no damage. Towards the evening they successively made out the north and south points of the land across the bottom of this bay, or inlet, which agreed with Baffin's description of Jones's Sound. At midnight, a ridge of very high mountains was seen to extend nearly across the bottom of it, joining another from the south, which was not quite so high. The bay was completely blocked with ice, in which were some very large icebergs; and from the points of land, glaciers of solid ice were seen extending for many miles into the sea. It was evident that there could be no passage in that direction, and they, therefore, began to beat to the southward. At eleven at night, a piece of fir wood was picked up: it contained nails, and the marks of the plane and adze were also evident. This seems to prove that it must have drifted up the Bay, probably by the strong southerly winds. Many seals were seen, and the tracks of bears were visible on the ice in many places.

On the 30th of August, near a Cape which they named Cape Charlotte, a wide opening appeared; but the wind shifting to the west, they could not stand in to explore it, and therefore stood to the southward; but, at ten in the evening, the wind changed to the south, when they tacked and stood in under all sail. The swell continued from the S.S.E., and, at midnight, the weather was very thick and foggy.

They saw the land which forms the northern side of the opening, extending from west to north in a chain of high mountains covered with snow. Soon afterwards the south side of this opening was discovered extending from S.W.

to S.E, forming also a chain of very high mountains. In the space between west and south-west, there appeared a yellow sky, but no land was seen, nor was there any ice on the water, except a few icebergs; the opening, therefore, took the appearance of a channel, the entrance of which was judged to be forty-five miles wide; the land on the north side lying in an E.N.E and W.S.W. direction, and on the south side, nearly east and west.

Having had good observations for time, and a meridian altitude of the sun, the latitude and longitude were accurately determined; and, at the same time, the bearings of the land were taken and registered. Divine service was performed; and, in the afternoon, the wind having obliged them to stand to the south side, they had an excellent view of the most magnificent chain of mountains ever beheld. This, and the Cape which terminates it, and forms the eastern extremity of the land on that side of the channel, was named after Sir Byam Martin, in compliment to the Comptroller of His Majesty's Navy; and the various capes and bays in this tract of land, were also named after his amiable family and nearest relatives. These mountains, which take their rise from the sea, at Cape Byam Martin on the east, and from a low plain near Catherine's Bay on the west, terminate in sharp lofty peaks; and the rocks which form them being, on one side or the other, and often on every side, too perpendicular for the snow to rest upon, they are distinctly seen above it, displaying very remarkable forms. In one place, nearly between Cape Fanshawe and Elizabeth's Bay, two rocks, resembling human figures of a gigantic size in a sitting posture, were seen on the highest peak; and, as it was considerably above the clouds, their appearance was both extraordinary and interesting.

The snow appeared to be deep in the valleys of the interior, but the ravines next the sea were only partly filled with it, and the precipices near the foot of the mountains were perfectly bare. The rest of the day was spent in beating to

the westward, all sail was carried, and every advantage taken of the changes in the direction and strength of the wind. As the evening closed the wind died away, the weather became mild and warm, the water much smoother, and the atmosphere clear and serene. The mountains on each side of the Strait, being clear of clouds, displayed various beautiful tints. For the first time they discovered that the land extended from the south two-thirds across this apparent Strait, but the fog which continually occupied that quarter, obscured its real figure. During this day much interest was excited on board by the appearance of this Strait; the general opinion, however, was that it was only an inlet. The land was partially seen extending across, the yellow sky was perceptible; and, as they advanced, the temperature of the water began to decrease. The mast-head and crow's nest was crowded with those who were most anxious, but nothing was finally decided at the setting of the sun.

Soon after midnight the wind began to shift, and the ship came gradually up, enabling them to stand directly up the bay; they, therefore, made all sail, and left the *Alexander* considerably astern. At a little before four o'clock, in the morning, the land was seen at the bottom of the inlet by the officers of the watch.

Although a passage in this direction appeared hopeless, Captain Ross was determined to explore it completely, as the wind was favourable; and, therefore, continued all sail. At eight the wind fell a little, and the *Alexander* being far astern, the *Isabella* sounded and found six hundred and seventy-four fathoms, with a soft, muddy bottom. There was, however, no current, but the temperature of the mud was  $29\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . Soon after this the breeze freshened and they carried all sail, leaving the *Alexander* and steering directly up the bay. The weather was now variable, being alternately cloudy and clear at intervals. Mr. Beverley, who was the most sanguine, went up to the crow's-nest; and, at twelve, reported that before it became thick, he

had seen the land across the bay, except for a very short space. The land to the S.E. was very distinct, and they had an excellent transit and bearing of Cape Byam Martin and Cape Fanshawe, with the ship's head on the point of the change, for the purpose of determining the variation, should no azimuths be obtained. Although all hopes were given up, even by the most sanguine, that a passage existed, and the weather continued thick, they determined to stand higher up, and put into any harbour they might discover, for the purpose of making magnetical observations.

As they stood up the bay two capes on the south side were discovered, one of which was named after the Earl of Liverpool ; the land which formed the boundary on one side of Catherine's Bay, was named Cape Hay. On the north side a remarkable conical rock, the only island on this part of the coast, was discovered, and named Sir George Hope's Monument, after one of the Lords of the Admiralty, who had recommended Captain Ross for the command of this expedition, and whose signature of his orders on his death-bed was the last act of his valuable life.

They distinctly saw the land round the bottom of the bay, forming a chain of mountains connected with those which extended along the north and south sides. This land appeared to be at the distance of eight leagues. There was a continuity of ice, at the distance of seven miles, extending from one side of the bay to the other, between the nearest cape to the north, which was named after Sir George Warrender, and that to the south, which was named after Viscount Castlereagh.

At a quarter past three, the weather again became thick and unsettled ; and being now perfectly satisfied that there was no passage in this direction, nor any harbour into which they could enter for the purpose of making magnetic observations, they tacked to join the *Alexander* which was at a distance of eight miles.

They continued to proceed until the 6th of September, when it became calm: afterwards there were some light and variable airs of wind. At eight it again fell calm, and continued so the whole day. The ship's head had, however, been generally kept near the course, by the assistance of the swell, which was from the north; and they made fourteen miles of southing and a degree of easting, although the log only gave half as much. They obtained some good observations in the forenoon for the longitude; and the sun being visible in the meridian, they also took its altitude for the purpose of ascertaining the latitude. At six it being quite calm, and the water smooth, they sounded with the deep sea clamms, and found one thousand and fifty fathoms, which were the deepest soundings they ever reached in Baffin's Bay. As they had only one hundred and twenty fathoms fifteen miles further north, it is evident that the bottom of the sea, like the land, must be very mountainous. The mud at the bottom was so soft that the instrument was completely buried, and it required considerable force to draw it out. The sea being a dead calm, the line became perfectly perpendicular, and they had a good opportunity of obtaining the exact depth before it started out of the ground. The instrument came up completely full, containing about six pounds of mud, mixed with a few stones and some sand. This mud was much coarser than that which they had before obtained, and was also of a much looser nature: when the line came up, a small star-fish was found attached to it, below the point marking eight hundred fathoms. The instrument took twenty-seven minutes to descend the whole distance. When at five hundred fathoms, it descended at the rate of one fathom per second, and when nearly one thousand fathoms down, it required one second and a half per fathom. Although the check made to the motion of the line when it struck the bottom, was evident to all, to put the fact beyond doubt, it was so nicely set as to act on the least resistance. The self-registering



thermometer, was then attached to it, and it was let down, first to five hundred fathoms, and afterwards to six hundred, seven hundred, eight hundred and a thousand, in succession. At each time it came up empty, the thermometer each time showing a lower temperature ; thus proving that the water was colder as it became deeper, and also indicating that the instrument had not reached the bottom, even at the depth of one thousand and five fathoms. It occupied one hour for all hands to pull it up from that depth.

When the boat was off Agnes' Monument, they saw two large bears which swam off to the ships, which were at the distance of six miles from the land ; they fetched the Alexander, and were immediately attacked by the boats of that ship and killed ; one, which was shot through the head, unfortunately sunk ; the other, on being wounded attacked the boats and shewed considerable play, but was at length secured, and towed to the Isabella by the boats of both ships. In this affair, Mr. Bisson, Mr. Nius, midshipmen, and Mr. Fisher, assistant-surgeon of the Alexander, shewed much dexterity and address. This animal, weighed one thousand one hundred and thirty-one pounds and a half, besides the blood it had lost, which cannot be estimated at less than thirty pounds. Its dimensions were carefully taken, and Mr. Beverly undertook to preserve the skin, in which he perfectly succeeded ; the bones of the head and feet were also preserved in their places, so that he was sent to the British Museum in excellent order.

On the 11th, seven leagues to the eastward of this rock, and at two miles distance, they discovered the largest iceberg in latitude 70 they had ever seen at such a distance from the land. As it was nearly calm, they determined on ascertaining its size, and sent Lieutenant Parry, Mr. Ross, and Mr. Bushman, and a boat with the necessary instruments, to obtain the magnetic dip of variation. Considerable difficulty was experienced in the attempt to land,

as in rowing round it they found it perpendicular in every place but one ; in this however there was a small creek, in which a convenient landing-place was discovered. When they had ascended to the top, which was perfectly flat, they discovered a white bear, who was in quiet possession of this mass. As their fire-arms had been wetted, it was some time before dispositions could be made for an attack, during which the animal seemed to wait with patience for the assault ; but as soon as they had formed their line and began to advance, he made for the other side of the island. The party had not calculated on any other way to escape but the landing-place before mentioned, which they had left well guarded ; but to their mortification, as well as astonishment, when the animal came to the edge of the precipice, which was fifty feet high, he plunged into the sea without hesitation, and there being no boat on that side of the island, he escaped. The party remained until sun-set, and had good observations ; and Lieutenant Parry reported, that the iceberg was four thousand one hundred and sixty-nine yards long, three thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine yards broad, and fifty-one feet high ; being aground in sixty-one fathoms. Its appearance was much like that of the back of the Isle of Wight, and the cliffs exactly resembled the chalk cliffs to the west of Dover.

On the 25th of September, the slops which were supplied by Government for winter clothing were served to the ships' companies, orders being sent to Lieutenant Parry to that effect. The whole of this day the weather was so foggy that the land was completely obscured.

On the 30th of October they made the island of Fula, and, passing between Fair Isle and Sumburg Head, arrived at Shetland, anchoring in Brassa Sound, after an absence of exactly six months. The Lerwick packet being about to sail for Leith, Captain Ross sent a short account of their proceedings to the Secretary of the Admiralty, for the information of their Lordships ; in which, after recom-

mending the officers and men of both ships, for their meritorious conduct, he concluded in the following words :—  
“ Not an instance of punishment has taken place in this ship, nor has there been an officer, or man, on the sick list ; and it is with a feeling not to be expressed, that I conclude this letter, by reporting that the service has been performed, and that the expedition, which I had the honour to command, has returned, without the loss of a man.

I have, &c. J. Ross.”

On the 7th of November they sailed from Brassa Sound with a fair wind, which carried them off Flamborough Head, where they met with a strong breeze of N.E. wind ; and after beating for several days they anchored in Grimsby Roads, on the 14th of November. The logs, journals, charts, and other memoranda, being sealed, and collected from all the officers of the expedition, Captain Ross here left the ship and departed for London, where he arrived on the 16th, and delivered them with a full account of the proceedings to the Lords of the Admiralty.

He was directed by Lord Melville to signify their Lordships approbation of the conduct of the officers and crews of the two ships ; and to acquaint them, that it was probable an expedition of a similar nature would be undertaken in the ensuing spring ; and that those who were desirous of volunteering their services, should have a preference over all others, should be found employment during the winter, granted a month's leave of absence, and kept in pay until the ships were ready for receiving men ; upon which nearly the whole volunteered, and the *Isabella* and *Alexander* were paid off on the 17th of December.

THE END

