

Sir Allen Young and his Arctic Voyages on board *Pandora*, 1875 and 1876

by William Barr

Abstract

In 1875 and 1876 Allen William Young, a veteran merchant captain, mounted two expeditions in his steam yacht *Pandora* to the North American Arctic. Building on his earlier arctic experience with McClintock in the *Fox* in 1857–9, in 1875 his objectives were to make the first transit of the Northwest Passage and, if possible, to make a thorough search of King William Island for relics or documents from the Franklin expedition when the land was free of snow. In the event he was blocked by ice in Peel Sound, just north of the western entrance of Bellot Strait, and was forced to retreat. In 1876 he was planning to repeat his attempt at the Northwest Passage but when the Admiralty got wind of this plan he was asked to leave or pick up messages to or from the expedition on board HMS *Alert* and *Discovery*, led by Captain George Strong Nares whose goal was the North Pole, and which had headed north in 1875. Young was to check for messages at Cape Isabella and at Littleton Ø, on either side of Smith Sound. This Young achieved, but only at the cost of forfeiting any chance of pursuing his own goal.

Introduction

In October 1854 John Rae of the Hudson's Bay Company returned to London with the first news of the horrifying fate of the officers and men of Sir John Franklin's expedition to the Arctic on board HMS *Erebus* and *Terror*. His account, whereby he was relaying information which he had gathered from the Inuit of the Pelly Bay and later Repulse Bay areas, was that a group of white men had been seen trudging south along the shores of an island a great distance to the west beyond a large river (in fact King William Island and the Back River) and that a number of bodies had later been discovered.¹ By the time he was able to identify King William Island as the site of the disaster, on the basis of what the people of Repulse Bay were later able to tell him, spring was well along and the Back River would have been quite impassable and therefore he had not been able to verify the Inuit accounts himself.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty were understandably reluctant to dispatch yet another shipborne expedition to the Arctic to verify Rae's reports. As recently as the period 18–20 October the courts-martial of Captains Sir Edward Belcher, Henry Kellett, Robert M'Clure and Commander George Richards had been held for having abandoned five ships in the Arctic, namely HMS *Investigator*, *Resolute*, *Intrepid*, *Assistance* and *Pioneer*. And in the spring of 1854 the Royal Navy had been engaged in operations against Russia in the Crimean War, in the Baltic, the White Sea, and the Pacific and in the Black Sea since the summer. In short the Admiralty had more pressing claims on its ships and its men.

The Admiralty therefore turned to the Hudson's Bay Company with a request to mount a search. The outcome was that in the summer of 1855 an expedition led by Chief Factor James Anderson and Post Master James Stewart descended the Back River to the ocean in two canoes.² While hampered by the lack of an Inuit interpreter (despite the best efforts of the Company and of

¹ *The Times*, 23 October 1854.

² Barr, ed., *Searching for Franklin*.

the individual selected to join the expedition from Churchill) they did retrieve artefacts clearly from the Franklin expedition among the Utkuhikalingmiut at the mouth of the Back River and found clear evidence of a boat having been broken up on Montreal Island, but they were unable to reach King William Island.

In 1857, frustrated at the Admiralty's abandonment of any further plans for searching for the missing expedition, Lady Franklin, Sir John's widow, purchased the yacht *Fox* and under the command of Captain Francis Leopold McClintock (and with Allen Young as sailing master) dispatched it in search of records or survivors of her husband's expedition.³ Unfortunately the *Fox* became beset in the ice of Melville Bugt and drifted south with the ice throughout the winter. On freeing his ship, in 1858 McClintock tried again, but was forced to winter yet again at Port Kennedy at the east end of Bellot Strait. From there in the spring of 1859 McClintock and Lieutenant William Robert Hobson searched the entire coast of King William Island, McClintock travelling clockwise and Hobson anticlockwise around the island.⁴ Between them they found the only message which provided meagre details of Franklin's death and of the abandonment of the ships in the spring of 1848, as well as abundant abandoned equipment and clothing and skeletal remains, and a ship's boat. Their search, however, was greatly hampered by the fact that the land was still covered with snow. For example, to quote Hobson 'I found a large boat entirely embedded in snow.'⁵ Clearly, therefore, both McClintock and Hobson may well have missed discovering smaller objects and skeletal remains hidden by the snow.

In 1864, on his second attempt to solve the mystery of the fate of the Franklin expedition the American Charles Francis Hall reached Roes Welcome Sound on board an American whaler. Living and travelling with the Inuit, in the spring of 1869 he finally reached the southeast shores of King William Island where he found a few relics and skeletal remains despite extensive snow cover but his Inuit companions refused to travel further and thus he did not reach the west coast of the island.⁶

Although the published account of Hall's expedition had not yet appeared, some word of Hall's experiences may have reached the veteran English mariner and experienced arctic traveller, Captain Allen Young, R.N.R., and may have thus confirmed that no previous expeditions had searched the island when the land was bare of snow. On this basis, in 1875 he mounted his own expedition with one objective being a search of the shores of King William Island after the snow had melted. This would be a secondary objective, however. His primary objective was an attempt at the first complete transit of the Northwest Passage from Atlantic to Pacific.⁷ He was well aware that in July 1855 Captain Robert M'Clure and his officers and men had been awarded the prize of £10,000 for 'discovering the Northwest Passage' by a Select Committee of the House of Commons.⁸ This was despite the fact that M'Clure and his officers and men had been rescued by Captain Kellett of HMS *Resolute* and had covered some 40% of the distance from the Beaufort Sea to Baffin Bay on foot across the ice (namely from HMS *Discovery* at Mercy Bay, Banks Island to HMS *Resolute* and *Intrepid* at Dealy Island off Melville Island, and then from *Resolute* and *Intrepid* off Cape Cockburn, Bathurst Island to HMS *North Star* at Beechey Island). Thus the true discovery of the Northwest Passage, namely by taking a ship through it, had still to be achieved.

³ McClintock, *Voyage*; McGoogan, *Lady Franklin's revenge*, pp. 358–9.

⁴ McClintock, *Voyage*, pp. 255–313; Stenton, 'A most inhospitable coast', pp. 511–22.

⁵ Stenton, 'A most inhospitable coast', p. 517.

⁶ Nourse, ed., *Narrative*, pp. 400–402.

⁷ Young, *Cruise of the 'Pandora'*, London, 1876, p. iii.

⁸ Great Britain, Parliament, *Report of the Select Committee*; Stein, *Discovering the North-West Passage*, p. 240.

Young's background and previous arctic experience

Born in Twickenham on 12 December 1827, Allen Young joined the merchant navy in 1842.⁹ He was quickly and steadily promoted and by 1853 was commanding the East India frigate *Marlborough*, in which he made two voyages around the world, i.e. from Britain to Australia and New Zealand and back. By 1855–6 he was commanding the steam troopship *Adelaide* in which he transported troops to Balaklava during the Crimean War. Returning from there, despite poor health he volunteered to join the steam-yacht *Fox* dispatched by Lady Franklin under the command of Leopold McClintock in search of records or survivors of the missing Franklin expedition. Young served as sailing master and himself contributed £500 towards the costs of the expedition.¹⁰

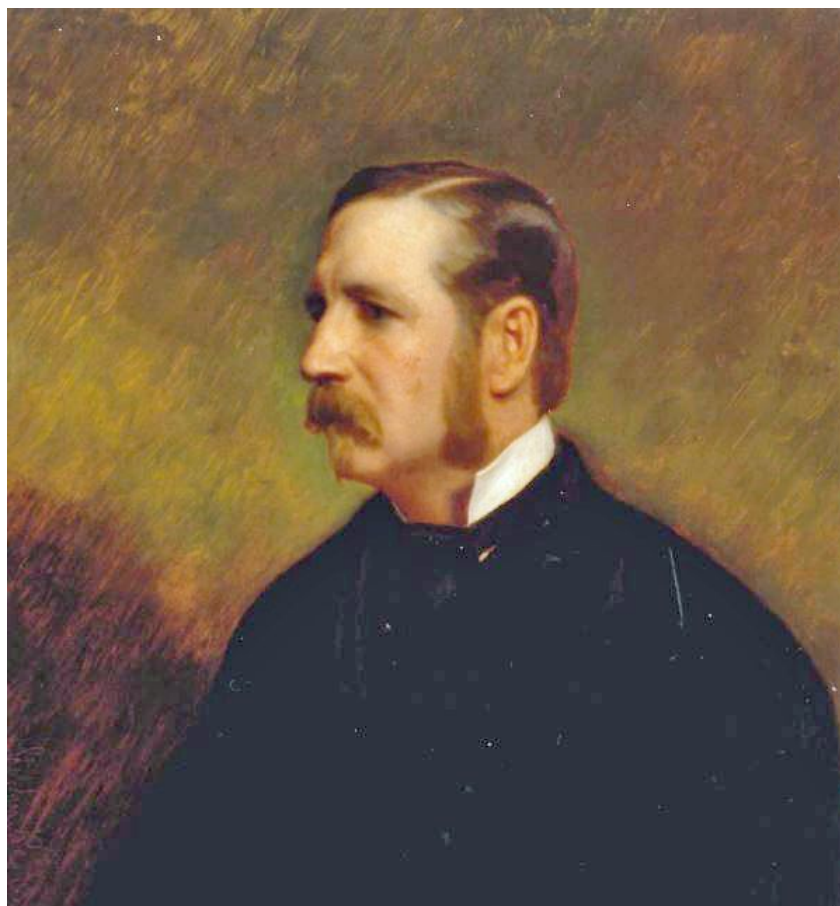


Fig. 1. Portrait of Sir Allen William Young by Stephen Pearce. National Portrait Gallery, NPG 920.

Following the tedium of *Fox*'s ice-drift over the winter of 1857–8, along with McClintock and all the other officers and men Young was faced with a second arctic wintering at Port Kennedy. For Young, however, this tedium was relieved by two significant sledge trips. Firstly, over the period 17 February until 5 March 1859 he relayed a depot across Franklin Strait to the southeast coast of Prince of Wales Island.¹¹ Then when it was found that the stocks of sugar, deemed by Dr Walker to be essential to the men's health, were running dangerously low, Young volunteered to make a trip north to the depot at Fury Beach left there by Captain William Edward Parry in 1825.¹² Setting off by dog sledge on 18 March with just two men and a Greenland dog driver, he reached

⁹ Markham, 'Sir Allen Young', p. 34; Young, *Cruise*, p. iv, note 1.

¹⁰ McGoogan, *Lady Franklin's revenge*, p. 361; McClintock, *Voyage*, p. 8.

¹¹ McClintock, *Voyage*, p. 227, pp. 238–9; Young, *The search*, p. 33.

¹² Parry, W.E., *Journal*.

Fury Beach but initially was unable to find the depot which was completely buried in snow.¹³ Having dug out the depot Young started back with 8 cwt (406 kg) of sugar, and although one sledge collapsed and had to be abandoned, and although Young was incapacitated by snow blindness, spending two days in his sleeping bag, the party returned to the ship with the all-important sugar on 28 March.¹⁴

Shortly afterwards, on 7 April Young set off on what would be his two main exploring trips on this expedition; accompanied by a sledge party of four men and a dog sledge (6 dogs) driven by Greenlander Samuel, he set off from the ship to search and survey the south and west coasts of Prince of Wales Island.¹⁵ The objective was to link up with the end-point of Lt Sherard Osborn's survey of the northwest coast of Prince of Wales Island which he had attained on 23 May 1851.¹⁶ Having picked up the depot he had cached earlier Young travelled round the southern tip of Prince of Wales Island but, encountering very rough ice conditions and afraid that he would not achieve his goal, on 28 April he sent back all the men except one (George Hobday) along with the dog sledge and the tent. Thereafter he and Hobday spent each night in a trench dug in the snow, roofed over with canvas.¹⁷ Despite another attack of snow blindness and 40 hours entombed in a snow drift by a blizzard Young succeeded in reaching Osborn's farthest point. From there he made an attempt to cross what would later be named McClintock Channel to Victoria Island but was forced to turn back after only 24 km, encountering severe pressure ice, just as Osborn had done.¹⁸

Their return journey became an extreme test of will, especially when one of their caches had been raided by bears, one of which had even punctured their can of stove-fuel. Their dogs all died and Hobday went insane.¹⁹ Finally, after a long wait while a bear gradually approached to within rifle range, their lives were saved when Young managed to shoot it. They got back to the ship, Young gravely ill, on 7 June.

Despite Dr Walker's protests, just three days later Young again set off, again with a crew of four men and a dog-sledge, to complete the survey of the east coast of Prince of Wales Island north to the southernmost point (Pandora Island) reached by Lt William Browne on 13 May 1851.²⁰ Young achieved his goal on 20 June and then, crossing Peel Sound to Cape Coulman, the southernmost point reached by Captain James Clark Ross in 1849,²¹ he then searched and surveyed the west coast of Somerset Island south to Bellot Strait. By then the melt was under way and men and dogs were wading through water on the sea ice for much of this distance. Young was seriously ill and was forced to ride on the dog sledge for the last few days while one of the men, William Harvey, developed scurvy and was barely able to keep up with the sledge.²² Concerned that Young and party were seriously overdue McClintock travelled west from the ship to Cape Bird to meet him; in this he was successful and on 28 June accompanied Young and party back to the ship at Port Kennedy.²³

¹³ McClintock, *Voyage*, p. 239; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 270.

¹⁴ McClintock, *Voyage*, p. 242; Young, *The search*, p. 35; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 274.

¹⁵ McClintock, *Voyage*, p. 318.

¹⁶ Barr, W., 'Searching', p. 487.

¹⁷ MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 280; Markham, 'Sir Allen Young', p. 35.

¹⁸ Barr, 'Searching', p. 487.

¹⁹ MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 284.

²⁰ Barr, 'Searching' p. 480.

²¹ Ross, 'Narrative', p. 61.

²² McClintock, *Voyage*, p. 332.

²³ Ibid, p. 339; Young, *The search*, p. 40.

North Atlantic cruise

Soon after his ship's return to Britain Young found himself on board the *Fox* again, but this time in command. In 1860 the Atlantic Telegraph Company had decided to survey a route for a trans-Atlantic cable using stepping-stones, as it were, from Britain via Orkney, Shetland, Faeroes, Iceland and Greenland to Labrador.²⁴ Young was commissioned to sound and survey suitable sites at which the cable could be brought ashore and out to sea again on the Faeroes, Iceland and Greenland. On board the *Fox* to survey the overland sections were John Rae, formerly of the Hudson's Bay Company, Colonel Shaffner of the United States and Lieutenant Theodor Zeilau, the Danish Commissioner for the Faeroes.

Fox sailed from Southampton on 16 July 1860,²⁵ and reached Tórshavn on Streymoy in the Faeroes on 3 August. Captain Young put Rae, Shaffner and Zeilau ashore on Streymoy to start their overland survey across the island on 4 August. Meanwhile he carried out a survey of Tórshavn harbor and of nearby Sandygerde which he selected as the best location at which the telegraph cable might be brought ashore.²⁶ Then by 6 August he was waiting for the overland survey group at Haldersvik on the west coast of Streymoy, where he surveyed the harbour and the fjord.²⁷ Then on 12 August he put Rae, Shaffner and Zeilau ashore at Berufjörður on the east coast of Iceland to start their survey across that island, while he spent the next five days surveying that fjord.²⁸ *Fox* reached Reykjavik on 21 August and from then until the 29th Young was surveying Hvalfjörður where he selected Mariahavn as the most suitable location for taking the cable out to sea again.²⁹ With the overland surveyors on board *Fox* sailed from Reykjavik for Greenland on 31 August. Having suffered some damage from heavy seas and ice while rounding Kap Farvel the ship put into Frederikshåb / Paamiut for repairs on 2 October. Then she ran back south to Igalikufjord where, at Julianehåb / Qaqortoq the telegraph line might come ashore, and then depart again bound for Hamilton Inlet, Labrador. Young then took *Fox* back to England and by 4 December Rae was back in London.³⁰

Service with the Royal Navy

On 24 February 1862 Young became a lieutenant in the Royal Naval Reserve.³¹ Almost immediately thereafter he was selected by Captain Sherard Osborn to command the gunboat *Quantung*, one of a fleet of ships which he took to China for service in the Imperial Chinese Navy in its efforts to suppress piracy.³² Thereafter he commanded a gunboat during the Taiping Rebellion, until 1864.³³ In 1871 Young attended the International Maritime Congress in Naples as the British commissioner, and soon afterwards was at sea as the commissioner to the National Aid Society.³⁴

²⁴ Barr, ed., *John Rae*, pp. 514–5.

²⁵ Zeilau, *Fox-Expeditionen*, p. 28.

²⁶ Bright, 'Synopsis' pp. 71–2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 74–5.

³⁰ Barr, *John Rae*, p. 515.

³¹ Markham, 'Sir Allen Young', p. 36.

³² *Ibid.*; Holland 'Osborn, Sherard', p. 561.

³³ Howgego, 'Young, A. W.', p. 699.

³⁴ Markham, 'Sir Allen Young', p. 26.

Voyage of the *Pandora* 1875

Despite the hardships which he had endured during his arctic sledge trips it is clear that something about the Arctic appealed to Young, and induced him to start planning his own arctic expedition. One of his first priorities was to find a suitable ship. He purchased HMS *Pandora*, a Philomel-class gunboat launched from the Pembroke Naval Dockyard on 7 February 1861. With a displacement of 570 tons, a length of 43 metres, a beam of 7.6 metres and a draft of 4 metres, she was barque-rigged but also had a steam engine of 80 hp.³⁵ On trials after renovations to the engines and boilers, she attained a speed of 7¾ knots at 75 to 80 revolutions per minute.³⁶ As a gunboat she had served off the West African coast and in the Mediterranean but since July 1872 she had been lying at Portsmouth as a unit of the reserve. Young retained the name *Pandora* for the ship.

Young had then taken the *Pandora* to Day and Summer's dockyard in Southampton to have her hull strengthened for work in ice: this involved the addition of a 4-inch ice-skin of American elm extending from above the water-line to the keel, reinforcing of the bows with iron plates and straps, and the addition of transverse iron beams amidships.³⁷ Her topmasts and lower yards were shortened since her crew would be smaller than her previous naval crew.³⁸ While Young was primarily financially responsible for the purchase of the ship, for the modifications and for provisioning and salaries, he also accepted contributions from Lt Frederick George Innes-Lillingston (R.N., ret'd.)³⁹, Lady Franklin and James Gordon Bennett, owner of the *New York Herald*.⁴⁰

Innes-Lillingston served as Young's first officer, having been invited by him to join the expedition in a letter in late February 1875.⁴¹ Second officer was George Pirie, R.N. Third officer was Luitnant-ter-zee Laurens Rijnhart Koolemans Beynen of the Dutch Navy.⁴² The ship's medical

³⁵ MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 5.

³⁶ The Times, *Arctic exploration*.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Innes-Lillingston, F.G., *The land of the white bear*, pp. 5–6.

³⁹ Lt. Frederick George Innes-Lillingston was born on 15 June 1849 at Balmacara House, Lochalsh, Ross. On October 3 he married Frances Elizabeth O'Brian at Holy Trinity, Paddington. He died at their home at Bute Court, Torquay in 1904. He had joined the Royal Yacht Squadron in 1873 and over the years owned and raced a number of vessels, especially *Mermaid* and *Iolair*, with considerable success (Classic Yacht Brokerage, *Mermaid*).

⁴⁰ Riffenburgh 'James Gordon Bennett,' p. 12.

⁴¹ Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 5.

⁴² Born in the Hague on 11 March 1852 Koolemans Beynen was the third son of Gijsbertus Johannes Koolemans Beynen and his wife, Neeltje Johanna, née Van der Stok. Having passed the entrance exam he entered the Royal Naval College at Willemsoord and after a cruise in the training ship *Urania*, was passed Midshipman first class in September 1871, and was appointed to the Royal guard-ship *De Rijn*. Posted to HMS *Wassenaer*, his first voyage in the spring of 1872 was to the coast of Guinea, where he contracted malaria and, while he recovered on the way home, it would recur for the rest of his life. In the spring of 1873 he was bound for Aceh, northwest Sumatra, where the Dutch had been fighting a stubborn guerilla war, on board the frigate *Zeeland*. At Aceh, leading parties of sailors and marines he saw fierce action on shore but in early February 1874 developed dysentery. Invalided first to Batavia (now Djakarta) then to Praeger (Bandung) in the hills of West Java, he was finally invalided home, reaching the Netherlands on 21 November 1874. Somewhat recovered, he had hopes of joining Captain George Nares's expedition to the North Pole on board *Alert* and *Discovery* but by the time an enquiry had been made on his behalf by his superior officer Commodore Jansen all the appointments had been filled. But then the latter received requests from Sir Clements Markham, Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society and from Allen Young himself, asking if he could recommend a young officer who might participate in Young's expedition.

On his return to the Netherlands from the 1876 voyage on board *Pandora* he was asked to edit a new edition of Gerrit de Veer's *Three voyages of Willem Barents to the arctic regions, 1594, 1595 and 1596*; it was published by the Hakluyt Society before the end of 1876. At the same time Koolemans Beynen embarked on a series of lectures around the Netherlands, campaigning for his country to become again engaged in arctic exploration and research. Then in 1877 he was appointed to the training ship *Zeehond* and on board her made a voyage around the North Sea, including a visit to Edinburgh. During that voyage Sir Allen Young sent him his Arctic Medal, which Queen Victoria had awarded to all members of the *Pandora* voyages. In part due to Koolemans Beynen's efforts the research vessel *Willem Barents* was launched on 6 April 1878, and he was appointed its Second Officer on its maiden voyage to Svalbard and Novaya

officer, who also functioned as naturalist and was responsible for meteorological observations, was a Scottish doctor, Dr Arthur C. Horner.⁴³ Young also engaged an artist for the expedition, George B. De Wilde, whose best known contribution is his superb photographs rather than any paintings or sketches.⁴⁴ However he was responsible for the sketches which appear in MacGahan's book about the expedition.⁴⁵ The role of Januarius Aloysius MacGahan on the expedition was as newspaper correspondent for James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald*;⁴⁶ his presence on board was undoubtedly not unrelated to Bennett's financial contribution to the expedition. Chief engineer was Benjamin Ball and Second engineer Archibald Porteous. The crew totaled 27 men, four of whom had previous arctic experience, including gunner Harry Toms who had been quartermaster on board McClintock's *Fox* in 1857–9, and captain-of-the-hold Thomas Florance, who had served under Captain William Pullen on board HMS *North Star* at Beechey Island in 1852–4 and later also on board *Fox* under McClintock.⁴⁷ Also on board, as interpreter was the Inuk Ebierbing (more correctly Ipiirviq) who had previously accompanied Charles Francis Hall on both his arctic expeditions,⁴⁸

Allen Young was well known to be very shy of publicity of any kind. In light of this when, during his first visit to the *Pandora* on 22 June, Dr Horner happened to encounter a reporter from Central News on board, who 'began pumping everybody, myself among the number' he was surprised to discover that he had a letter from Young 'allowing him to go over the ship & find out what he could'.⁴⁹

In addition to his own objectives, shortly before leaving Southampton, Young took delivery of two bags of mail and parcels which he undertook to deliver to the government's own expedition on board HMS *Alert* and *Discovery*, commanded by Captain George Strong Nares, or 'deposit them at the entrance to Smith Sound',⁵⁰ and 'to bring home their despatches'.⁵¹ *Alert* and *Discovery* had put to sea from Portsmouth on 29 May,⁵² their primary objective being 'to attain the highest northern latitude, and, if possible, to reach the North Pole'.⁵³ As he made his way north Nares would

Zemlya in the following summer. Then in January–February 1879 he sailed aboard the fishing vessel *Castor*, fishing for cod in the North Sea. His next naval posting was to Indonesia again; he reached Batavia (Djakarta) in late May 1879 and was posted to HMS *Macassar*. He was experiencing severe headaches and problems with his eyes. He committed suicide while his ship was visiting the town of Makassar, Sulawesi, and was buried on shore there (Boissevain, *Story*).

⁴³ Dr. Arthur Claypon Horner studied medicine at St Bartholomew's Hospital, London, becoming a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1872 and licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in 1876. He had earlier served as an assistant surgeon with the Fifth French Ambulance Corps during the Franco–Prussian War in 1870. Following his participation in the expeditions on board *Pandora* in both 1875 and 1876 he served as a house surgeon at Kidderminster Infirmary, resident obstetrician's assistant at Westminster Hospital and assistant medical officer to the Central London Sick Association. In 1879 he moved to Tonbridge, Kent where he initiated the local St John's Ambulance. He died at Tonbridge in August 1893 (Boneham, 'Arthur Horner collection').

⁴⁴ Credland, 'George Rexworthy De Wilde', pp. 672–9.

⁴⁵ MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*.

⁴⁶ MacGahan, had come to prominence as the correspondent for the *New York Herald* who reported on the Franco–Prussian War (1870–71), including the Battle of Sedan in September 1870, followed by the Paris Commune in the spring of 1870 (Riffenburgh, *The myth*, p.72); during the latter he was arrested and condemned to death and survived only through the intervention of an American statesman (Howgego, 'MacGahan, J. A.', p. 318). In 1873 J. Gordon Bennett had first sent correspondents to the Arctic on board the vessels sent to the relief of Charles Francis Hall's expedition on board *Polaris*; Martin Maher on board *Juniata* and Frank Commagere on board *Tigress* (Riffenburgh, *The myth*, p. 73). While neither ship rescued any of the survivors of Hall's expedition; they had been picked up by Scottish whalers (Bessels, *Polaris*, pp. 493–516). Both correspondents filed exciting reports. It was no doubt their success which persuaded Bennett to send MacGahan north on board *Pandora* in 1875.

⁴⁷ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 3, n. 2 & 3.

⁴⁸ Loomis, 'Ebierbing', pp. 52–4.

⁴⁹ Horner, *Journal*, 22 June.

⁵⁰ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 1.

⁵¹ Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 2.

⁵² Nares, *Narrative*, p. 1.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. xi.

leave caches or provisions and messages at the Carey Øer,⁵⁴ Cape Isabella⁵⁵ and Littleton Ø⁵⁶ as specified in his sailing orders.⁵⁷ In directing Nares to leave messages at stipulated places, the Lords of the Admiralty clearly were haunted by the disaster of the Franklin expedition, in that only one message from Franklin (or more correctly from Captains Crozier and Fitzjames, following Franklin's death), was ever found. It revealed that all 129 members of the expedition had died, and was found only in 1859, after searching expeditions had scoured most of what are now the Canadian arctic islands.

There was also a clear rationale behind the relatively southerly locations at which Nares was directed to leave messages and at which Young planned to check for them. Messages found there would reveal that *Alert* and *Discovery* had safely negotiated the notorious ice of Melville Bugt, and had not been crushed like so many whaling ships, or like McClintock's *Fox* in the winter of 1857–58,⁵⁸ were not still drifting south, beset in the pack. As MacGahan pointed out: 'It will therefore be understood that news of their safe passage through Melville Bay is of the greatest importance, and this we hope to obtain without deviating from the real object of our voyage.'⁵⁹

Having coaled, on 25 June 1875 *Pandora* proceeded under steam from Southampton to Portsmouth⁶⁰ where Young had promised to visit his old commander, now Admiral Sir Leopold McClintock, before sailing.⁶¹ Then on the evening of the 26th *Pandora* ran across to Cowes on the Isle of Wight. Koolemans Beynen and Horner, who had been living ashore in Portsmouth, were almost left behind but managed to reach the *Pandora* by boat before it had got fully under way.⁶² Having taken on more coal there, at 4 a.m. on 27 June it put to sea again, down-Channel to Plymouth where it loaded a final 10 tonnes of coal while Pirie and Innes-Lillingston paid a courtesy call to Admiral Henry Keppel, Command-in-Chief, Plymouth, on behalf of Young who was busy with other affairs.⁶³ Sir Henry paid a courtesy call to the ship in return.

Pandora finally put to sea, bound for Greenland at 6 p.m. that same evening. Off the Eddystone Lighthouse Young made all plain sail and the engine was stopped. *Pandora* passed the Lizard at noon on the 29th.⁶⁴ It would prove to be a slow, tedious transatlantic crossing. Strong northwesterly headwinds alternated with frustrating calms. On the evening of 9 July a squall even broke the jib-boom.⁶⁵ On other occasions, during calms some of the officers would take one of the whaleboats and go rowing just for exercise.⁶⁶ Spirits on board were high among both officers and crew. For example Dr Horner was the butt of a harmless practical joke; on 15 July he had hoisted a small box, perforated with holes, to the masthead to measure changes in ozone levels on the basis of colour changes in chemically prepared paper.⁶⁷ On lowering and checking the box next morning he was confronted with 'a black creature huddled up inside with its round eyes glaring at me & a long black pointed nose'⁶⁸ – in reality a tobacco pouch made to resemble a small bear, the work of Innes-

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 45.

⁵⁵ Ibid, pp. 56–7.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 52.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. xii.

⁵⁸ McClintock, *The voyage*, pp. 38–105.

⁵⁹ MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 1.

⁶¹ Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 8.

⁶² Horner, *Journal*, 26 June.

⁶³ Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 5.

⁶⁴ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 19.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 23; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 12.

⁶⁷ Horner, *Journal*, 16 July; Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 22.

⁶⁸ Horner, *Journal*, 16 July.

Lillingston and Koolemans Beynen, who roared with laughter at the doctor's initial surprised reaction.

As on many other polar expeditions a newspaper or newssheet was produced, entitled 'Pandora's box'; the editor was MacGahan and the sub-editor Pirie. The first issue appeared on 14 July,⁶⁹ but there is no further mention of it beyond the third issue on 25 July.

A further source of entertainment was a barrel-organ which appears to have been very similar to the barrel-organ first taken to the Arctic by Captain William Edward Parry in 1819–1820.⁷⁰ The one on board the *Pandora* had initially been donated by Prince Albert to Captain Charles Forsyth of the *Prince Albert* for his 1850 arctic expedition; having previously been on board McClintock's *Fox* in 1857–9⁷¹ it was now on its fifth arctic expedition.⁷² Its repertoire included hymn or psalm tunes and as a result was in demand to accompany the church services held by Innes-Lillingston on Sundays which followed the Church of England order of service.

MacGahan took it upon himself to give Koolemans Beynen, whom he jokingly referred to as 'Tromp' after the famous Dutch Admiral Maarten Harpertszoon Tromp (1598–1653), a daily lesson in English.⁷³ At the same time MacGahan was taking the trouble to learn useful words and phrases in Inuktitut from Ebierbing.⁷⁴

On 27 July *Pandora* encountered the brigantine *Traveller* out of Peterhead, bound for the cryolite mine at Ivittuut. She was able to produce some newspapers dated 12 July, i.e. two weeks after *Pandora* had sailed from Plymouth.⁷⁵ The two ships kept company the following day and the Scottish captain informed Young that he could buy coal at Ivittuut and also renew his supply of fresh water there.⁷⁶ Young decided to take advantage of this opportunity, although Ivittuut is located well inland up a tortuous fjord.

The first icebergs were sighted on the 28th and for several days thereafter there were usually several in sight, drifting slowly southwards on the East Greenland Current.⁷⁷ Next day the first pack-ice was encountered, also carried south along the East Greenland Current and *Pandora* was working her way through some fairly heavy ice for several days thereafter.⁷⁸

At noon on the 29th *Pandora* was at 60°14'N / 68°20'W and when the weather cleared Kap Desolation was clearly visible.⁷⁹ Quite a number of hooded seals (*Cystophora cristata*) were seen basking on the ice and numerous attempts were made at shooting them. On one occasion when a seal had been hit, afraid that the seal might still slide or wriggle into the water, quartermaster Henry Andrews jumped onto the floe on which the seal was lying, planning to give it a fatal blow but part of the floe broke off and Andrews and the seal ended up in the water; the former was then rescued by his laughing shipmates.⁸⁰ Later, however, several seals were shot and recovered.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Holland and Hill, 'Sir William Edward Parry's barrel-organ,' pp. 413–14.

⁷¹ Horner, *Journal*, 28 July.

⁷² MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 13.

⁷³ Boissevain, *Story*, p. 58.

⁷⁴ Horner, *Journal* 14 July; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, pp. 52 and 138.

⁷⁵ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 3; Horner, *Journal*, 27 July.

⁷⁶ Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 26.

⁷⁷ Ibid; Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 3.

⁷⁸ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 3; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 17.

⁷⁹ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 3.

⁸⁰ Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 30; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 20.



Map 1. The west coast of Greenland traversed by Pandora in both 1875 and 1876.

Pools of fresh water were discovered on the old floes and Young decided to take advantage of this for refilling his water casks. Delighted at a chance to stretch their legs parties of officers and men competed with each other to see which of them could carry the most buckets of water from the pools to the ship.⁸¹

On 30 July as *Pandora* was approaching the entrance to Arsukfjorden, leading to Ivittuut, some 25 km from the sea, she again encountered the brigantine *Traveller*, becalmed among loose ice and Young's offer to tow her to Ivittuut was gladly accepted.⁸² Here, too, two Greenlanders approached the ship in their kayaks and Dr Horner, in particular was intrigued by the design of their kayaks and their skill at handling them and their harpoons.⁸³

On reaching Ivittuut *Pandora* moored to the barque *Thor* which was loading cryolite at a jetty.⁸⁴ Young was also particularly pleased to see his old ship, *Fox*; it was used by the Danish mining company for transporting cryolite to Europe and relief workers and supplies from there.⁸⁵ Mr Fritz, the engineer in charge of the mine, was not only happy to provide *Pandora* with 28 tonnes of coal but even provided a gang of men to load the coal, allowing most of *Pandora*'s crew a run ashore.⁸⁶ Their pleasure was significantly reduced by the clouds of mosquitoes.⁸⁷ The officers were very hospitably received by the Governor (Koloniebestyrer) and by the company's medical officer, Dr Hans Arctander, while the crew were invited to a dance by the local ladies.⁸⁸ Mr Fritz presented the ship with a small pig, which was named Dennis, and a large basket of radishes.⁸⁹ Meanwhile the crew, who had hoped to find a ship's cat, returned aboard with three of them; soon afterwards one of them produced a litter of five kittens.⁹⁰

Pandora got under way, under steam, at 3 a.m. on 31 July, her decks covered with coal dust which the crew soon trampled into black mud.⁹¹ She soon encountered thick fog, however, so Young proceeded very cautiously. Fortunately, as the ship emerged from the entrance to the fjord the fog cleared and he was able to make sail to a fresh southwesterly wind, northward-bound.⁹² Initially he still had to cope with quite heavy ice, still the end-product of the flow of East Greenland ice which, having rounded Kap Farvel, swings north along the west coast of Greenland. Heavy rain began and continued for several days. By noon on 1 August *Pandora* was passing the island of Vardeø off the settlement of Frederikshåb / Paamiut.⁹³ By late afternoon the last of the sea ice was left behind and in the evening the conspicuous landmark of a large glacier, Frederikshåb Isblink, came into sight, the only large glacier to descend to sea level on the outer coast of southwest Greenland.⁹⁴ By the morning of 2 August *Pandora* was over the southernmost of the Torske Banks in 25 fathoms, and since it fell calm it was decided to try fishing for cod; this attempt was unsuccessful, however, probably because a current was preventing the lines from reaching the bottom.⁹⁵

⁸¹ Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 36; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 23–4; Horner, *Journal*, 29 July.

⁸² Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 5; Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 37.

⁸³ Horner, *Journal*, 30 July.

⁸⁴ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 6.

⁸⁵ Ibid; Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 41.

⁸⁶ Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 38.

⁸⁷ Ibid; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 26.

⁸⁸ Horner, *Journal*, 30 July.

⁸⁹ Ibid; Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 6.

⁹⁰ Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 42.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 10.

⁹³ Ibid, p. 11.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 12; Horner, *Journal*, 2 August.

By this time some of the seal meat from animals shot while the ship was still among ice, was being served to both officers and men; it was greatly enjoyed by the officers and certainly by Ebierbing. Initially, however, the crew members were less keen on it, although with time they changed their opinion.⁹⁶

By noon on 3 August *Pandora* was passing abeam of Sukkertoppen / Maniitsoq, and through the fog the conspicuous conical mountain which gives it its Danish name, could be made out.⁹⁷ Then by noon on 4 August, as she passed the mouth of the spectacular Sondrestromfjord / Kangerlussuaq she encountered a maze of reefs not marked on the chart and touched bottom briefly, but suffered no damage.⁹⁸ Young named the reef 'Pandora's Reef', located at 66°11'N / 53° 45'W.⁹⁹ Soon afterwards when *Pandora* had stopped to take soundings, some 25 km off shore, three kayaks were seen approaching from shore. When they came alongside the kayaks, complete with occupants still in them, were hoisted aboard.¹⁰⁰ They traded 18 quite large salmon, weighing 1½ to 2¾ lbs, plus some dried salmon in exchange for some biscuit and tobacco.¹⁰¹ They were taken down to the engine room to dry off and warm up and given a glass of grog¹⁰², before being lowered back into the water with their kayaks.

Pandora passed Holsteinsborg / Sisimiut on the morning of 5 August and at noon her position was determined to be 67°11'N / 54°26'W. At 7 a.m. on 6 August the higher parts of the island of Disko were sighted to the north,¹⁰³ and next morning *Pandora* dropped anchor in the harbor at Godhavn / Qeqertarsuaq on that island's south coast. The governor, Mr Elborg came off in a whaleboat with letters from Captain George Nares, leader of the Royal Navy's expedition on board *Alert* and *Discovery*. They had called here, 6–15 July, on their way north to make an attempt at the North Pole.¹⁰⁴

At Godhavn Young again took the opportunity to fill his water casks from a stream flowing past the settlement; when filled the casks were towed out to the ship by the steam launch.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile Horner went ashore, accompanied by the gunner, Toms, to study the vegetation, birds and geology.¹⁰⁶ He was severely tormented by mosquitoes, despite trying to use his fly-net as a head-net: 'The amount of bad language expended on these animals was something terrific'.¹⁰⁷ Young allowed most of the crew to go ashore and, following the usual custom a dance was held in a carpenter's shop measuring just 3.5 by 4.5 metres; with 40 to 50 people dancing the atmosphere soon became almost unbearable and at one point the dance was moved outdoors.¹⁰⁸ The Greenlandic women all wore their traditional costume, including pants and boots, giving rise to Innes-Lillingston's interesting comment that 'The novelty and convenience of dancing with young ladies unencumbered with long skirts or heavy trains was greatly appreciated by all of us'.¹⁰⁹

Pandora got under way at midnight (7–8 August), heading east then north into the Vaygat, the strait separating Disko from the Greenland mainland.¹¹⁰ As the ship turned into the strait she

⁹⁶ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 13; Horner, *Journal*, 31 July.

⁹⁷ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 13.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 14; Horner, *Journal*, 4 August.

⁹⁹ Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, p. 48.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 14; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 339–40; Horner, *Journal*, 4 August.

¹⁰² Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 14; Innes-Lillingston, *Land of the white bear*, pp. 47–8.

¹⁰³ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 16; Horner, *Journal*, 6 August.

¹⁰⁴ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 16; Nares, *Narrative*, Vol. 1, pp. 15–20.

¹⁰⁵ Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁶ Horner, *Journal*, 7 August.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁹ Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 63.

¹¹⁰ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 17.

encountered a strong headwind and fog, and Young decided to moor with ice-anchors to an iceberg which appeared to be aground. But at high tide in the early hours of 9 August the berg capsized; fortunately the ice anchors tore loose otherwise the ship might also have been capsized.¹¹¹

The next stop was at the small settlement of Ujarasussuk on the west shore of the Vaygat. On going ashore Young was informed by the Governor that he would soon meet a sloop which would supply him with twelve men and five women to assist in the operation of coaling, from coal seams which outcropped in the cliffs further north at Qutdligssat. Young also took the opportunity to buy four dogs, complete with harnesses, and a quantity of shark meat for dog food.¹¹² The sloop soon closed with *Pandora* and the promised 'coal miners' came aboard. *Pandora* reached the 'coal mine' at 7 p.m. on 9 August. The five young women were accommodated for the night on the chart-room floor, under the vigilant eye of an elderly chaperone.¹¹³

All hands were called at 4.30 next morning and had been sent ashore by 5 a.m. The coal was mined from a seam about 12–15 metres above sea level, using pick-axes; the smaller pieces were shoveled into sacks which along with individual larger chunks, were slid down a steep slope to the beach. There the coal was loaded into boats which were towed out to the ship by the steam-launch.¹¹⁴ About 40 tons were loaded aboard.

Pushing on northwards, by the morning of 13 August *Pandora* was off the settlement of Upernavik. Although he wanted to send a last batch of mail home Young decided not even to go ashore.¹¹⁵ Fortunately the governor came out to the ship, bringing with him his meteorological journal; Young and his officers were delighted to see from it that since late April northerly winds had predominated, which augured well for most of the ice having been driven out of notorious Melville Bugt.¹¹⁶ Two more dogs were purchased here.¹¹⁷ As they got under way again Young and his officers were delighted to find that the favourable ice conditions augured by the governor's meteorological journal, were indeed a reality. By the morning of the 15th August, with excellent visibility, various outlet glaciers reaching the sea from the Greenland Ice Sheet were almost constantly in sight – but there was practically no sea ice. This was precisely the location in Melville Bugt where, on 17 August 1857 McClintock's *Fox* had become solidly beset at the start of a drift in the pack-ice which would last until 24 April 1858.¹¹⁸ This must have made Young extremely optimistic as to *Pandora*'s prospects.

On the evening of 16 August a swimming bear was spotted, the first one seen; a boat was lowered to pursue the animal. Young fired and hit the animal but it was Innes-Lillingston's shot through the head which killed it.¹¹⁹ This bear provided a useful addition to the supply of dog food. Some of the officers tried eating the meat but decided that they preferred seal meat.

By the morning of 17 August *Pandora* was abeam of Kap York but a wide belt of ice prevented any possibility of a landing and hence there was no contact with the Inughuit of that area.¹²⁰ After running through some streams of ice for 15–25 km, by 8 a.m. on 18 August the ship was within sight of the Carey Øer, a small archipelago of six small rocky islands and numerous

¹¹¹ Ibid; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 67.

¹¹² Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 19; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 68.

¹¹³ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 20; Horner, *Journal*, 9 August; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 70.

¹¹⁴ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 20; Horner, *Journal*, 10 August; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 70–71.

¹¹⁵ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 22.

¹¹⁶ MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, pp. 163–4.

¹¹⁷ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 22; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 164, Horner, *Journal*, 13 August.

¹¹⁸ McClintock, *Voyage*, pp. 40 & 106.

¹¹⁹ Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 78; Horner, *Journal*, 16 August.

¹²⁰ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 24; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 81,

smaller islets and rocks.¹²¹ In a letter which he had left for him at Godhavn Nares had informed Young that he planned to call at the Carey Øer and to leave mail at a cairn on the northwestern island (Nordvestø). Along with Innes-Lillingston, Koolemans Beynen and MacGahan, Young landed on that island and, with some difficulty, climbed to two conspicuous cairns on the summit. In one they found messages left by the captain of the whaler *Intrepid* on 17 July 1867 and by the captains of the whalers *Alexander* and *Esquimaux* on 27 June 1869, but no messages from Nares.¹²² Spotting another cairn on the northwest tip of the island, Young sent Koolemans Beynen to examine it; in it he found a rusty tin with a message which had been left by Captain Erasmus Ommanney of HMS *Resolute* on 20 August 1851.¹²³ Young was understandably disappointed at finding no letters from Nares, having gone some 300 km out of his way with a view to picking up Nares's mail to take it back to England, at the cost of 10 tons of coal.¹²⁴ While descending to the beach Innes-Lillingston slid down a snow slope sitting on a shovel 'with the handle to the front, like a witch riding a broomstick'.¹²⁵ Before leaving Nordvestø Young left the mail addressed to Nares in two casks at a cairn on a knoll near the beach.

Pandora got under way at 1 a.m. on 19 August, heading southwest before a north-northwesterly gale, bound for Lancaster Sound; the only ice in sight was a small number of icebergs.¹²⁶ No floe ice was encountered until the morning of the 20th, about 48 km east of Cape Horsburgh, accompanied by dense fog.¹²⁷ Three bears were spotted on the ice: an adult female and two cubs, one of which, remarkably, was substantially larger than the other; clearly they were not twins. When they took to the water Young, Pirie, Koolemans Beynen and MacGahan pursued them in a boat and succeeded in shooting the female and the smaller cub.¹²⁸ Pirie lassoed the other cub which was then towed back to the ship and hoisted aboard and chained down on the quarterdeck.¹²⁹ The great difference in the size of the two cubs was a source of discussion; Young suggested that the female might have adopted the smaller one as a stray cub.¹³⁰

Next morning (21 August), off Cape Horsburgh Young, Innes-Lillingston and Koolemans Beynen succeeded in shooting a large bearded seal (*Erignathus barbatus*) which was spotted basking on a floe.¹³¹ But as it was being towed back to the ship it revived and managed to escape but soon resurfaced, quite dead.

As *Pandora* rounded Cape Warrender into Lancaster Sound she ran into fog and close pack ice which appeared to extend right across Lancaster Sound and also filled Croker Bay.¹³² The ship became beset about 13–16 km off Cape Warrender, but managed to get under way again heading south across Lancaster Sound and reached open water off the mouth of Admiralty Inlet.¹³³ Later that afternoon a small iceberg loomed out of the murk, dead ahead. It was spotted just in time; quartermaster Timpson who had the helm, swung hard to port but *Pandora* struck the berg a

¹²¹ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 26.

¹²² Ibid, pp. 27–8.

¹²³ Ibid, p. 29; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, pp. 84–5; Koolemans Beynen, *Reis der Pandora*, pp. 50–51; Ommanney, 'Captain Ommanney to Captain Austin', p. 293.

¹²⁴ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 30.

¹²⁵ Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 87.

¹²⁶ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 31.

¹²⁷ Ibid, p. 32; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 89.

¹²⁸ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 32; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 89.

¹²⁹ Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 92; Horner, *Journal*, 20 August.

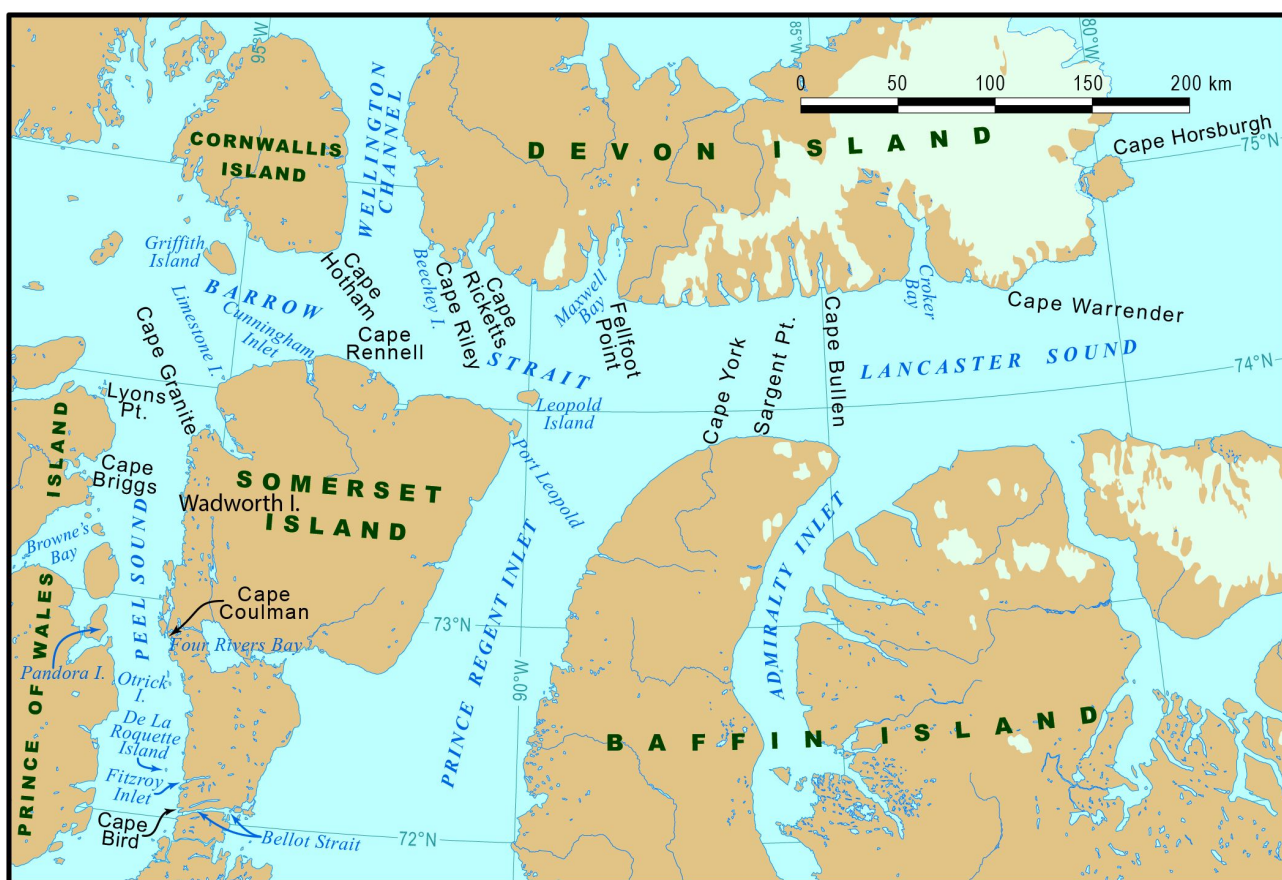
¹³⁰ Horner, *Journal*, 20 August.

¹³¹ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 33; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, pp. 93–4.

¹³² Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 33.

¹³³ Ibid, p. 34.

glancing blow; the starboard anchor was carried away from the cathead but fortunately was left hanging by a line to its stock.¹³⁴



Map 2. The area traversed by Pandora to where she was turned back by ice in 1875.

That night it snowed heavily and soon masts, yards and decks were covered in snow. At 11 p.m. Young got a brief glimpse of land, which he suspected was somewhere between Sargent Point and Cape York on the northwest coast of Baffin Island.¹³⁵ At this juncture the captive bear cub almost managed to escape; it took all the men of the watch plus Pirie and Young to subdue it, but only after it had bitten through a mop handle with which Young was defending himself.¹³⁶ As his contribution to the operation of subduing it Dr Horner poured some chloroform on its tongue then administered a drachm (3.5 gm) of opium in a piece of blubber; to his surprise neither had any effect.¹³⁷

In almost zero visibility in fog, snow and then sleet *Pandora* forged onwards through ice. At 8 a.m. on the 24th the lower part of a cliff was suddenly spotted ahead only about 2 miles away. With the compass almost useless due to the proximity to the Magnetic Pole, Young thought it might be Leopold Island, i.e. on the south side of Barrow Strait. But when the fog cleared he realized it was Fellfoot Point on the south coast of Devon Island.¹³⁸ Coasting west across the mouth of Maxwell Bay in fog, snow and sleet, at times working through heavy ice and with his compass still useless, Young even had to navigate to some extent on the basis of the flight of numerous flocks of thick-billed murres (*Uria lomvia*) flying to and from the cliffs across his course.¹³⁹ But at 1.30 p.m.

¹³⁴ Ibid, p. 35; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 100.

¹³⁵ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 36.

¹³⁶ Ibid, p. 37.

¹³⁷ Horner, *Private journal*, 24 August.

¹³⁸ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 37; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 104.

¹³⁹ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 38).

on 25 August the fog and clouds cleared and Cape Ricketts was spotted to the north in beautiful sunshine; apart from a few icebergs there was no ice in sight and far to the west even Cape Hotham, at the southeast corner of Cornwallis Island was visible.¹⁴⁰

Soon afterwards Cape Riley and Beechey Island came into sight and *Pandora* dropped anchor in Erebus and Terror Bay; with a gale blowing from the north to north-northwest the bay presented a well-sheltered anchorage.¹⁴¹ Young went ashore with Innes-Lillingston, Dr Horner and Koolemans Beynen. They examined Northumberland House, the wooden refuge building constructed by Captain William Pullen of HMS *North Star*; work on it had begun soon after that ship's arrival in August 1852 and was completed in the following spring.¹⁴² McClintock had subsequently examined it in August 1858 and then had found the door open, presumably blown open by the wind. The interior was partially filled with ice but, as McClintock noted 'The bears and foxes do not appear to have touched anything.'¹⁴³ But seventeen years later Young and his officers found a totally different situation: bears had broken in both at the door and also at the windows on the south side; indeed little of that wall remained.¹⁴⁴ The interior was filled with ice to a depth of 1 meter. The bears had dragged out casks of food and tins of pemmican – all well chewed – as well as bales of clothing and footwear and had scattered their contents over a wide area.¹⁴⁵ To quote Young 'It looked as if the bears had been amusing themselves by playing ball with everything they could not tear into shreds.'¹⁴⁶ He was, however, able to find some items of provisions of which he was running low as well as 13 bags of coal.¹⁴⁷ He also took the opportunity to examine the yacht *Mary* which Sir John Ross had left here in 1850¹⁴⁸ and found it still in good condition as, too, were two lifeboats.¹⁴⁹

He and his officers also examined the various memorials on Beechey Island. These included a monument, erected in 1854 by Captain Sir Edward Belcher to the fourteen men who had died on his expedition of 1852–4 (including Kellett's detachment)¹⁵⁰ (not the 32 men who had died since 1850 as stated by Miertsching).¹⁵¹ Still standing, it takes the form of an octagonal pillar topped by a ball on the sides of which the men's names were incised in lead plates. A plate on the monument identified it as a 'post-office'; Young placed beside it not only a range of documents which he had found inside Northumberland House but also a record of his own visit and a list of the provisions he had taken. Attached to this memorial were two others. One was a white marble tablet to the memory of Lieutenant-de-vaissseau Joseph-René Bellot who had drowned in Wellington Channel on 18 August 1853.¹⁵² It had been commissioned by John Barrow Jr., keeper of the records at the Admiralty and unveiled on 27 August 1854.¹⁵³ The other, a monument to Franklin and all his officers and men, commissioned by Henry Grinnell at Lady Franklin's request, had been left at Godhavn by Captain Henry Hartstene of USS *Reliance* in 1855, and then brought to Beechey Island

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 39.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p. 40.

¹⁴² Pullen, 'Journal', p. 132.

¹⁴³ McClintock, *Voyage*, p. 172.

¹⁴⁴ MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 266; Koolemans Beynen, *Reis der Pandora*, p. 55.

¹⁴⁵ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 41; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, pp. 108–9; Horner, *Journal*, 26 August; MacGahan *Under the northern lights*, pp. 206–7; Koolemans Beynen, *Reis der Pandora*, p. 55; *The Times*, 'The return', p. 10.

¹⁴⁶ *The Times*, 'The return', p. 10.

¹⁴⁷ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 43.

¹⁴⁸ Ross, *Polar pioneers*, pp. 329–30.

¹⁴⁹ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, pp. 41–3; Koolemans Beynen, *Reis der Pandora*, p. 55; *The Times*, 'The return', p. 10.

¹⁵⁰ Belcher, *Last of the arctic voyages*, p. 214; Powell, 'Memorials', p. 328.

¹⁵¹ Neatby, *Frozen ships*, p. 232.

¹⁵² Barr and Forestier-Blazarts, 'The last duty', p. 252.

¹⁵³ Ibid, p. 1.

by McClintock in the *Fox* in August 1858.¹⁵⁴ The five conspicuous graves on the Beechey Island tombolo were also examined by various of the officers; these were those of John Torrington, John Hartnell and William Braine of the Franklin expedition, buried during the winter of 1845–6, and that of Thomas Morgan of HMS *Investigator*, buried in 1854.¹⁵⁵ The fifth one was a ‘facsimile’ grave (complete with headboard) produced on 30 August 1853 to commemorate Bellot shortly after his death, by the officers and men of HMS *North Star*.¹⁵⁶ Koolemans Beynen noted that Bellot’s ‘grave’ was a little damaged.¹⁵⁷

On 26 August, before leaving, Young ‘carefully repaired and closed the house.’¹⁵⁸ In the meantime Koolemans Beynen and Dr Horner climbed to the top of the island; Koolemans Beynen was able to report that there was no ice in sight but that the view to the south was limited by mist.¹⁵⁹

Pandora weighed anchor at 8 p.m. on the 26th and headed south across Barrow Strait, bound for the entrance to Peel Sound.¹⁶⁰ It soon became obvious that the mist which Koolemans Beynen had reported was concealing seriously heavy ice, and by noon next day the ship had been brought to a halt among heavy ice and fog. The opportunity was grasped to obtain fresh water from pools on the ice.¹⁶¹ When the fog cleared Young got under way, under steam, working through leads as the ice became progressively looser. By 5 p.m. the ship was off Cunningham Inlet; Griffith Island and Cape Hotham were still in sight to the north and Limestone Island, off the northwest corner of Somerset Island, just visible from aloft.¹⁶² That night the ship was again brought to a halt by heavy ice, the edge of the pack running to the west-northwest from Cape Rennell, the northernmost point of Somerset Island. When the ice slackened on the morning of the 28th Young pushed on to Limestone Island where he landed along with Innes-Lillingston, Koolemans Beynen and Dr Horner,¹⁶³ in hopes of finding the depot of provisions left by two parties from *North Star*, wintering at Beechey Island, on the eastern (actually southeastern) spit of Limestone Island, named Cape Bunny, in April 1854.¹⁶⁴ Since this depot was buried on the spit it must have been close to sea level but Young was evidently not aware of this detail: he located a cairn about 1.2 km from the point at a height of about 95 metres a.s.l. but on demolishing it found neither message nor provisions. In pouring rain his men rebuilt the cairn and Young left a message in a tin box.¹⁶⁵ While Young continued to the summit of the island Horner was examining a dozen or more Inuit tent rings as well as several stone-built meat caches on the south side of the island.¹⁶⁶

Despite a strong southerly wind, heavy rain, sleet and thick fog, *Pandora* pushed south into Peel Sound under steam throughout the night of 28–29 August; fortunately there was no sign of ice. By about 6 a.m. she was off Cape Granite and shortly afterwards passed the point where McClintock in the *Fox* had turned back on encountering unbroken ice in August 1858, before trying Prince Regent Inlet instead.¹⁶⁷ When the fog cleared the coast of Prince of Wales Island to the west, around Lyons Point and Cape Briggs, was visible.¹⁶⁸

¹⁵⁴ McClintock, *Voyage*, pp. 173–4.

¹⁵⁵ De Bray, *A Frenchman*, p. 171.

¹⁵⁶ Pullen, ‘Journal’, p. 30.

¹⁵⁷ Koolemans Beynen, *Reis der Pandora*, p. 56.

¹⁵⁸ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 43.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 44.

¹⁶¹ Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 114.

¹⁶² Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 44.

¹⁶³ Horner, *Journal*, 28 August.

¹⁶⁴ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 46, n. 1.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 46; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 118.

¹⁶⁶ Horner, *Journal*, 28 August.

¹⁶⁷ McClintock, *The voyage*, p. 177; *The Times*, ‘The return’, p. 10.

¹⁶⁸ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 48; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 120.

That evening *Pandora* reached Cape Coulman, the location of Captain James C. Ross's and McClintock's farthest point on their sledge trip from their wintering site at Port Leopold in May/June 1849.¹⁶⁹ Young went ashore, along with Pirie, Koolemans Beynen and MacGahan and in a cairn discovered the message which Ross had left in a copper message cylinder;¹⁷⁰ taking the original he left a copy of the message and one of his own. As he pushed south from there Young was in familiar territory; he had sledged along this coast in June 1859 from *Fox*'s winter quarters at the east end of Bellot Strait, but under totally different conditions, wading through knee-deep water on the ice, with the sledge almost floating.¹⁷¹



Fig. 2. The *Pandora* in ice during the 1875 voyage. Photograph by George De Wilde.

Having passed Four Rivers Bay and having had to heave-to for much of the night due to thick fog, at 5 a.m. *Pandora* encountered a wide belt of ice stretching east-west across the Sound. Fortunately, she was able to run through it without too much difficulty, and beyond it found open water again although there was an ominous ice-blink to the south.¹⁷² By 4 p.m. on 31 August *Pandora* had reached the edge of the pack extending right across Peel Sound from about 6 km north of the entrance to Fitzroy Inlet. 'It is old floe ice from 5 ft. to 20 ft. thick, covered with little hills and hummocks, jammed close together and as solid as rock.'¹⁷³ Young moored to the floe edge but when the belt of ice which he had negotiated that morning began to drive southwards he was forced to cast off and to steam back north to open water to avoid being beset. Having lain-to all night in thick fog, when it cleared at 5 a.m. Young found himself close to the largest of the De La Roquette Islands, and went ashore along with Pirie, Koolemans Beynen, the artist De Wilde, and

¹⁶⁹ Ross, J. C., 'Narrative', p. 61; Jones, 'Sir James Clark Ross', p. 173; Ross, M. J., *Polar pioneers*, pp. 308–09

¹⁷⁰ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, pp. 49–51; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, pp. 244–5; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 120; Koolemans Beynen, *Reis der Pandora*, p. 59

¹⁷¹ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 50.

¹⁷² Ibid, p. 51; *The Times*, 'The return', p. 10.

¹⁷³ *The Times*, 'The return', p. 10.

MacGahan.¹⁷⁴ To the south Cape Bird and the entrance to Bellot Strait were clearly visible but there, too, unbroken, close pack ice extended to the horizon. Young built a cairn on the summit of the island and placed a message in it.¹⁷⁵ *Pandora* lay-to all night, during which the sea started to freeze. It was not until 6 p.m. that she managed to reach the island again through the loose ice surrounding it. Young landed again with MacGahan to get a further look at the ice situation; it had not improved, and indeed it looked worse with the edge of the pack moving north and the De La Roquette Islands lying at the southern end of a deep embayment in the pack edge. Reluctantly Young was forced to face reality, and to retreat back north, his dreams of King William Island and the North West Passage dashed, at least for now. As Dr Horner assessed the situation: 'Our hopes and anxious expectations blasted. No chance of a NW Passage so we are off home again – not disgraced but defeated. The poor Captain is very downhearted about it'.¹⁷⁶ As it was, when Young returned to his boat, he realized that the ship was surrounded by floes and the boat managed to reach it only with difficulty, whereupon *Pandora* even had difficulty getting clear of the ice. A southerly gale now started to blow, with sleet, snow and mist, driving the ice rapidly before it; *Pandora*, too ran north before the gale, accompanied by numerous floes.¹⁷⁷

By 8.00 next morning *Pandora* was close to Barth Island. But around noon the wind swung into the north and strengthened to gale-force with snow, driving ahead of it large amounts of new ice; Young was puzzled as to its source, unless it had come from Browne's Bay on the east coast of Prince of Wales Island. He beat his way upwind as far as Otrick Island and finding a polynya between it and Somerset Island, dodged there for the night.¹⁷⁸ He lingered at about this same latitude in Peel Sound throughout the morning of 3 September but, with no change in the ice conditions to the south, and well aware of the danger of being beset for the winter, in the afternoon he cut his losses and headed north. By 8 p.m. *Pandora* was just south of Wadworth Island and by noon on the 5th was off Cape Granite.¹⁷⁹ Except for the higher peaks the land had been snow-free a week earlier but now it was snow-covered right down to high-water mark.¹⁸⁰

Later that afternoon ice began to appear to the northwest and soon, as *Pandora* approached Limestone Island in heavy snow squalls the front of the pack ice was spotted barely 800 metres to the northwest. Running through the narrow strait between ice and land and afraid of being shut in for the winter, Young was relieved to discover that this shore-lead, perhaps 2.5 km in width, continued eastwards along the north coast of Somerset Island and, taking advantage of it 'threaded our way in the darkness, the white glare of the pack on the one hand and the gleam of the snow-clad land on the other, being our only guides.'¹⁸¹ Clearly there was a real danger of the ship being locked in for the winter, or, even worse, crushed. There were frequent heavy snow squalls and when the temperature dropped to -4.5°C the spray started to freeze on the ship. By midnight *Pandora* was off Cunningham Inlet.¹⁸² But at around 3 a.m. on the 6th, off Cape Rennell a solid line of ice was spotted ahead, closing the narrow stretch of open water. Young managed to turn just in time, only to find himself heading straight towards a towering cliff. Somehow he avoided it too. With daylight, at 5.30 a.m. he fought his way through a belt of ice about 100 metres wide to the northeast, into open

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, p.53; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 128; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 262.

¹⁷⁵ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, pp. 53–4; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, pp. 264–5.

¹⁷⁶ Horner, *Journal*, 2 September.

¹⁷⁷ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, pp. 57–8.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 58.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 61.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, p. 62.

¹⁸² Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 137.

water and by Cape Rennell, which he soon reached, he emerged into a completely open ice-free sea.¹⁸³

As *Pandora* ran before the gale Leopold Island was glimpsed briefly but soon heavy ice was spotted to the southeast and east; Young swung out to the northward, banked his fires and hove-to in high seas and a fresh northwesterly gale. Beechey Island to the north and Leopold Island to the south were occasionally visible through the snow.¹⁸⁴

Getting under way again, for 48 hours *Pandora* ran east down Lancaster Sound under close-reefed topsails before the gale and in heavy snow, with the barometer down at 29.40 inches and a temperature of -5.5°C. Fortunately, in striking contrast to the ice conditions on 22 August, when *Pandora* had been fighting ice from Cape Warrender to Cape Bullen, the Sound was now totally free of ice. Due to the combination of the low temperature and the heavy seas the ship's appearance was quite remarkable: 'the sea, which constantly dashed against our sides, freezing as it rose, had covered our ship on the port side with a solid mass of ice from the doubling up to the rail, whilst the bows from the figure-head to the anchor, were all frozen into a solid mass, and looking over the stern, a fringe of enormous icicles hung down to the water's level'.¹⁸⁵

Young now decided to again call at the Carey Øer to search further for any cairns in which Nares might have left mail on his way north. On the evening of the 9th Wolstenholme Ø was just visible to the northeast. Next morning it was still in sight to the east-southeast and Kap Parry to the northeast. Working his way to the northwest, toward where he knew the Carey Øer lay but were invisible in fog, when it cleared at 9 a.m. on 10 September Young spotted the most southeasterly island of the archipelago, Bjørling Ø, about 3 miles away. Soon a cairn was spotted on the island; although Nares had said he would leave any mail or messages in a cairn on Nordvestø, Young decided to check this cairn, just in case. Innes-Lillingston and Koolemans Beynen went ashore, and despite a heavy snow cover managed to climb to the cairn at a height of about 200 metres.¹⁸⁶ In it they found a record case containing a report from Nares dated 26 July and an assortment of private letters. While Nares had indeed left a message for Young at Godhavn that he would be leaving a depot of provisions on Nordvestø at the cairn left by Ommanney in 1851, on reflection, since there was a chance that if *Alert* and *Discovery* had to be abandoned farther north and their crews were retreating south by sledge and boat, he had decided to place the depot 'as near as possible to their line of retreat'.¹⁸⁷ Innes-Lillingston left a message in the cairn to explain that *Pandora* had found it, had removed Nares's message and the mail, and that mail for his expedition would be found in the cairn on Nordvestø, left there in August.¹⁸⁸ Nares had also left a depot of 3600 rations and a boat in a crevice in the rocks on Bjørling Ø, close to sea-level but Innes-Lillingston and Koolemans Beynen failed to find these items. They managed to get back to their ship just in time since a blinding snowsquall blew in from the south, with zero visibility, just as their boat was being hoisted aboard.

Dr Horner reported that from about 3 September Captain Young had been battling a persistent cough 'which however he will not own to'.¹⁸⁹ A week later he could report that 'the Captain's cough is no better. ... Of course he says there is nothing the matter with him. However I think differently, so I exercise my privilege of ordering him Port wine. All the physic I give him is

¹⁸³ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 63; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, p. 309; Koolemans Beynen, *Reis der Pandora*, p. 64; Boissevain, *Story*, p. 65.

¹⁸⁴ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 63.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 68; Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 141; MacGahan, *Under the northern lights*, pp. 312–13; Koolemans Beynen, *Reis der Pandora*, p. 65.

¹⁸⁷ Nares, *Narrative*, Vol. 1, p. 45.

¹⁸⁸ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 69.

¹⁸⁹ Horner, *Journal*, 3 September.

discarded; says he has never taken physic in his life, as much as to say he does not mean to begin to do so now'.¹⁹⁰

Young was now heading for home. Shortly after midnight on 12 September, running before a gale, the ship was off Kap York, negotiating some sea ice and a chain of icebergs, apparently aground. Daylight revealed that there was no more ice to the south or southwest except for a few large bergs.¹⁹¹ In the afternoon of 13 September a southwesterly gale with sleet and snow forced Young to heave-to under reefed-topsails; *Pandora* continued to lie hove-to throughout the 14th and 15th since there was no change in the weather or the wind direction. But when the wind swung round to the north on the 16th, she got under way again, running south.

She dropped anchor off Godhavn at 3 a.m. on 21 September. Young and his officers and men now had to suffer an unplanned enforced sojourn at Godhavn of four days due to persistent, strong southeasterly winds with snow and rain.¹⁹² To pass the time on the 21st Innes-Illingston and Pirie ran around to Disko Fjord in the steam launch to shoot some birds.¹⁹³ Next day, however, it rained constantly, so they bagged only a few birds. But on reaching the mouth of the fjord as they started back to Godhavn that night they were met by a southeasterly and easterly gale. Nonetheless they continued back around the coast in steadily rising seas. On reaching the vicinity of Godhavn in the dark they were faced with a line of heavy breakers and steamed up and down for a long time until they recognized two grounded icebergs and managed to run into the harbour.¹⁹⁴

Dr Horner, meanwhile, took advantage of this sojourn at Godhavn to make several excursions on shore to expand his studies of the vegetation and birds and to visit various of the Greenlanders' homes.¹⁹⁵ Probably in his company Koolemans Beynen also visited some of the Greenlanders' houses and has left a detailed description of a typical example.¹⁹⁶ On the 21st Young and Horner were invited to dinner by the Governor.¹⁹⁷ And, inevitably, a dance was held on shore every evening, which the crew members were allowed to attend until 10 p.m.¹⁹⁸

Pandora got under way, homeward bound, on 24 September.¹⁹⁹ Next day the propeller was hoisted up and thereafter the transatlantic crossing was made entirely under sail. It would prove to be an exceptionally rough voyage. Over the next week as the ship headed south along the 55°W meridian, parallel to the Greenland coast, she encountered 'baffling winds with a tremendous and confused sea.'²⁰⁰ With close-reefed sails the ship was rolling and pitching in a very uncomfortable fashion. By 30 September the wind was blowing more steadily out of the north-northwest but still with confused seas 'which caused the ship to tumble in such a manner as to render it impossible to walk about'.²⁰¹ Two topgallant yards, the main topsail yard and the jibboom carried away and had to be replaced. There was a brilliant display of aurora in the early hours of 1 October, followed by snow showers. By noon *Pandora* was abeam of, but well south of Kap Farvel. Several days of superb weather with only moderate breezes and brilliant aurora followed, but on the 4th a severe gale broke out of the north-northwest and *Pandora* scudded before it under close-reefed topsails. Remarkably, the brilliant auroral displays continued almost every night whenever there were breaks

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 11 September.

¹⁹¹ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 70.

¹⁹² Ibid, p. 72.

¹⁹³ Innes-Illingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 143.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, pp. 145–6.

¹⁹⁵ Horner, *Journal*, 20–24 September.

¹⁹⁶ Koolemans Beynen, *Reis der Pandora*, p. 66.

¹⁹⁷ Horner, *Journal*, 21 September.

¹⁹⁸ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 72.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid; Innes-Illingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 146.

²⁰⁰ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. 73.

²⁰¹ Ibid,

in the cloud cover.²⁰² By the morning of the 7th the gale had ‘increased until I thought that the close-reefed topsails under which we scudded must give out ... I never saw so frightful a sea excepting in a typhoon or cyclone and could not have believed that so violent a storm ever blew in extra-tropical latitudes.’²⁰³ Due to skillful ship-handling *Pandora* suffered no further damage except for a smashed boat, and the loss of a second jibboom on 13 October.

With only minor slackenings in wind speed and slight changes in wind direction the gales and wild seas continued for ten days, until after *Pandora* entered the English Channel, running in to the south of the Scilly Isles. At 6 a.m. on 14 October the Casquets, a group of rocks just west of the Channel Islands were sighted, and soon afterwards Alderney was also in sight. But then the wind speed dropped markedly and, under steam alone *Pandora*’s progress northwards to Spithead was frustratingly slow. She arrived there on 16 October and soon afterwards moved on to Portsmouth. Next day numerous visitors and reporters came aboard. As being indicative of Young’s dislike of publicity Dr Horner quoted in his journal the wording of a telegram which Young sent to his friends: ‘*Pandora* arrived. All’s well. For God’s sake don’t come rushing down.’²⁰⁴

Meanwhile Captain Young and Innes-Lillingston were very hospitably received by Sir Leopold and Lady McClintock. Innes-Lillingston was then dispatched to London with the reports and letters from the Nares expedition which had been retrieved from the *Carey Øer* and was given a warm welcome by Mr George Ward Hunt, first lord of the Admiralty.²⁰⁵

It was a matter of great pride for Koolemans Beynen that he soon received an invitation from Miss Sophie Cracroft, Lady Franklin’s niece, to visit her. He was particularly proud that, towards the end of his visit, she gave him a photo of Sir John Franklin.²⁰⁶ He was equally proud of the fact that while he was still on board *Pandora* in Portsmouth harbor he received an invitation to go aboard the battleship HMS *Sultan*, where Captain Young was dining. The latter introduced him to the Prince of Wales and his brother Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, who was the *Sultan*’s captain. Both of the latter princes visited *Pandora* next morning.²⁰⁷

Voyage of the *Pandora* 1876

Pandora was laid up at Southampton for the winter of 1875–6. Twelve of the crew were retained on board to carry out cleaning and repairs and to generally ensure that she would be ready for another arctic voyage in 1876.²⁰⁸ Young was planning to make another attempt at the Northwest Passage – once again via Peel Sound, Franklin Strait, James Ross Strait and Simpson Strait, i.e. around the east side of King William Island, the route which would be successfully followed by Roald Amundsen in 1903–06. Word of his plans somehow reached the Admiralty and he was invited to meet with Mr George Ward Hunt, first lord of the Admiralty and Sir Alexander Milne, first sea lord.²⁰⁹ Following this meeting, in mid-October 1875 Young received a letter from Mr Vernon Lushington, second secretary at the Admiralty to the effect that in the mail which Young had brought home from the *Carey Øer* Captain Nares had indicated that in the spring of 1876 he proposed sending a sledge party south with mail to be left at Cape Isabella or Littleton Ø. Since Young was planning to return to the Arctic ‘their Lordships would feel much obliged’ if he would

²⁰² Ibid, pp. 74–5; Horner, *Journal*, 1, 2 and 5 October.

²⁰³ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, pp. 75–6.

²⁰⁴ Horner, *Journal*, 17 October.

²⁰⁵ Innes-Lillingston, *In the land of the white bear*, p. 36.

²⁰⁶ Boissevain, *Story*, p. 94.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 95.

²⁰⁸ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 81.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 83.

take dispatches to, and pick up any mail from those places.²¹⁰ What Young does not mention in his book is the next clause in their Lordships letter, namely: ‘Any expense which you might incur in your endeavours to comply with their Lordships request, would be willingly borne by them, to the extent of £8,000.’²¹¹ Young agreed to comply with their request, still in the hope that he would be able to combine this objective with his original plan. However he decided that his final decision as to an attempt at the Passage would have to wait until he had complied with their Lordships’ wishes.

The work of refitting *Pandora* began in March 1876. The most important changes were the addition of two deck-houses: a forward one between the funnel and the mainmast which would house the four warrant officers; and the after one between the main and mizzen masts which would house the officers’ cabins and mess and the captain’s cabin.²¹² Once these alterations had been made and all provisions, coal and water loaded, the ship went on dry dock, slight damage to the false keel was discovered and repaired and the hull caulked where necessary.²¹³ For entertainment the same barrel organ as in the previous year was taken, and in addition a musical box or harmonium, the gift of Baroness Meyer de Rothschild was housed in the wardroom.²¹⁴ As during the previous voyage either the barrel organ or the harmonium (the latter played by Becker) provided the music for the Sunday services, conducted by Arbuthnot. Some of the Scottish crew members were talented fife players, while in the wardroom Becker played the zither, while Grant could play a range of instruments from the trombone to the Jew’s harp. In short the *Pandora* did not lack for musical talent

The Admiralty’s final instructions to Young about checking for possible dispatches left in the Smith Sound area, were dated 16 May 1876.²¹⁵ That was also the date on which officers, petty officers and crew members signed articles. First officer was Lieutenant Charles R. Arbuthnot, and George Pirie again signed as navigating lieutenant; both of these officers were granted their sea-time and pay by the Lords of the Admiralty. At Young’s request Luitnant Koolemans Beynen of the Royal Dutch Navy again joined the expedition²¹⁶, while Leutnant Alois Ritter von Becker was sent by the Austro-Hungarian government to study ice navigation.²¹⁷ Dr Arthur Horner again joined the expedition as surgeon-naturalist and meteorologist while the photographer on this voyage was

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Great Britain, *Arctic expedition*, p. 22.

²¹² Young, *The two voyages*, p. 84; Becker, *Reise*, p. 6.

²¹³ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 85.

²¹⁴ *The Times*, ‘The Pandora’, p. 12.

²¹⁵ Becker, *Reise*, p. 60.

²¹⁶ Boissevain, *Story*, p. 69.

²¹⁷ Alois Ritter von Becker was born on 18 July 1842 in Schottwien, Lower Austria, the son of a school inspector. After graduating from the Naval Academy he joined the Austro-Hungarian Navy as a provisional Naval Cadet and served on board the frigate *Bellona* in the Boche di Cattaro (Bay of Kotor). Thereafter he served on shore for a time at the fortress on Lissa (Vis). In 1864 he was one of the officers on board HMS *Novara* which took the ill-fated Emperor Maximilian and Empress Charlotte to Mexico. Then in 1866 he joined HMS *Arethusa* in Pola (now Pula) harbor. Over the period 1866–68 he was personal aide-de-camp to Vice-Admiral Ritter von Faust. Then for three years he was seconded to the Hydrographic Office in Pola, engaged in the coastal survey of the Adriatic. This was followed in 1875 by an assignment on shore, in charge of archaeological investigations on the island of Samothraki.

Following his return from the arctic expedition in 1877–88 he served on board various vessels in the Adriatic and Mediterranean, was appointed Director of Equipment at the Naval Arsenal in Pola, was seconded to Naval Headquarters, and took special training in artillery in Pola. In 1888–9 he commanded the corvette *Saida* on a special assignment to the West Indies and North America and in 1892–3 was in command of the *Kaiserin Elisabeth* during Archduke Franz Ferdinand’s world cruise. Then from 1895 until 1898 he was the head of the Naval Academy at Fiume (Rijeka). He was made Rear-Admiral on 25 October 1897, and died on 17 April 1900 in Fiume (Bayersburg, *Österreichs Admirale*).

William Grant.²¹⁸ Chief engineer was again Benjamin Ball and second engineer again Archibald Porteous; petty officers and crew totaled 24 men.²¹⁹

Pandora left Southampton Docks on 17 May 1876 and on the 18th ran across to Cowes where all the old and spare stores were landed.²²⁰ Then on the 22nd she proceeded to Portsmouth where Young took receipt of the mail and dispatches addressed to *Alert* and *Discovery*. There he also took the opportunity to discuss his plans with Sir Leopold McClintock. It was there too that the Prince of Wales, Prince Albert and Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh again honoured *Pandora* with a visit. Heading back across to Cowes again on the 27th²²¹ the ship finally put to sea on the 31st, heading down-Channel to Plymouth arriving there on the evening of 1 June. Having filled up with water and 20 tons of coal *Pandora* finally got under way, bound for the Arctic on 2 June.²²² The engine was stopped and the screw hoisted.

This was to be another slow and rough transatlantic crossing. By the afternoon of the 6th Fastnet Lighthouse, off Cape Clear in southwest Ireland, was still in sight.²²³ Then in the early hours of the 14th the ship was struck by such a ferocious gale out of the northwest that Young was forced to heave-to and to batten down the hatches until the gale slackened. Fortunately the ship suffered no serious damage, although a leaking skylight resulted in Becker's and Arbuthnot's cabins having to be baled out every few hours.²²⁴ Also the rough seas and the ship's unpredictable movements resulted in Horner having to deal with numerous cuts and contusions some of which required stitches.²²⁵

Then on the 21st another strong gale arose, this time out of east-southeast and Young ran before it, under close-reefed topsails, aiming to pass about 70 miles south of Kap Farvel. But then in the early hours of the 25th the first small ice floes were encountered and by 6 a.m. a belt of heavy, close pack ice was spotted ahead. Given the high seas there was no alternative but to choose what appeared to be the loosest ice and to run through it under bare poles except for a fore staysail. There were a few violent collisions with floes but *Pandora* received no damage.²²⁶

Young continued to run before the east-southeasterly gale throughout the 25th and 26th, and although he had not seen the sun since the 21st was fairly sure, by dead-reckoning, that he was well clear of Kap Farvel. On the 27th the sky cleared and by observation *Pandora* was at 61°56'N / 54°28'W, i.e. he had been proved correct. He now stood to the northeast and by the afternoon of the 30th *Pandora* was off Godthåb / Nuuk.²²⁷ But thereafter, with headwinds, further northward progress was slow and by the morning of 3 July the ship was only abeam of Sukkertoppen / Maniitsoq, and by that evening off Holteinsborg / Sisimiut.

With the wind in the north-northwest *Pandora* continued to beat to windward until the afternoon of the 6th. Disko was sighted at 2 p.m. and then steam was raised for the first time

²¹⁸ William John Alexander Grant was born on 1 May 1851 at Hillersdon House, Cullompton, Devon. He was educated at Harrow and Merton College, Oxford University, where he learned the art of photography. Very shortly after graduating he joined the *Pandora* for her 1876 cruise. He made further arctic cruises on board *Willem Barents* in 1878 and 1879, on board Benjamin Sleigh Smith's *Eira* in 1880, on board *Willem Barents* again in 1881, and on board *Kara* in 1882. He was thus on board *Kara* when the latter's crew assisted Sir Allen Young's *Hope* in Matochkin Shar. After another two arctic cruises, he did not return to the Arctic again. He was, however, one of the most productive of the early photographers of the Arctic. He died at home at Hillersdon House on 10 March 1935 (Mörzer-Bruns, 'Photography').

²¹⁹ Young, *The two voyages*, pp. 86–7.

²²⁰ Ibid, p. 90; Becker *Reise*, p. 7.

²²¹ Horner, *Private journal*, 27 May.

²²² *The Times*, 'The Pandora', p. 7.

²²³ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 93.

²²⁴ Horner, *Private journal*, 15 June; Becker, *Reise*, p.10.

²²⁵ Horner, *Private journal*, 20 June.

²²⁶ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 97; Becker, *Reise*, p. 11.

²²⁷ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 99.

since leaving Plymouth. As *Pandora* steamed into Godhavn she was met by a number of Greenlanders in kayaks.²²⁸ At midnight the sun was seen to remain above the horizon for the first time,²²⁹ illuminating large numbers of icebergs,²³⁰ from which large pieces would break off from time to time, producing quite large waves, sufficient to rock the ship quite violently.

Next day Young and several of his officers went ashore to visit the governor (Koloniebestyrer) Edgar Fencke. He was in an extremely depressed mood since the storehouse of the Kongelige Grønlandske Handel (Royal Greenland Trading Department) had caught fire on 17 June and the community's entire winter output of oil and blubber (200 barrels) had been lost.²³¹ Both he and some of the local inhabitants had suffered some injuries in trying to fight the blaze. Even now, three weeks later Mr Fencke was still very despondent.

During the stay at Godhavn the crew members were allowed ashore each evening and each evening there was a dance which both they and the local women enjoyed immensely.²³² One night (10 July) all the officers went by boat to Fortune Bay, just west of the settlement and were very successful at shooting eider ducks, murre and gulls.²³³ The only real drawback to the visit to Godhavn was the mosquitoes; despite having undoubtedly experienced arctic mosquitoes before Young found them particularly annoying:

I never in any climate knew such a pest as we found these Greenland mosquitoes, for wherever we went, either on shore or in a boat, and even on board ship, they followed us persistently, and at whatever hour, night or day, it was always the same. I was this time more bitten than I ever was before. My head and hands were completely swollen, and one of my eyes shut up.²³⁴

Von Becker and Pirie found the mosquitoes particularly irksome while trying to make magnetic observations.²³⁵

Before leaving Godhavn Young sent a kayak round to Disko Fjord to find Anton Christian, the Greenland hunter and dog-driver on board *Fox* in 1857–9.²³⁶ He soon arrived, quite prepared to serve on board *Pandora* in the same capacities. He had left his wife and three children with his brother, and they would receive a monthly allowance of food during his absence.²³⁷

Pandora steamed away from Godhavn on the evening of 11 July, bound first for Ujarasussuk on the Vaygat, arriving there at 6 p.m. next day. As in the previous year the purpose of this visit was to make arrangements to 'mine' coal at Qutdligssat further north along the coast. A priest and his wife also asked to be taken to Qutdligssat, en route to Nussaq, his boat to be towed astern.²³⁸ *Pandora* got under way and reached Qutdligssat at midnight; also on board apart from the priest and his wife were the Governor, Jansen, his three daughters and about twenty Greenlanders to help with the 'coal-mining' operation. The operation proceeded as in the previous year and about 50 tons were loaded, bringing the total on board to 175 tons; the operation was greatly helped by calm

²²⁸ Ibid, 103; Boissevain, *Story*, p. 72.

²²⁹ Becker, *Reise*, p. 12.

²³⁰ Ibid, p. 13.

²³¹ Ibid, p. 13 ; Young, *The two voyages*, p. 104.

²³² Becker, *Reise*, p. 17.

²³³ Ibid, p.18 ; Young, *The two voyages*, p. 104.

²³⁴ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 104.

²³⁵ Becker, *Reise*, p.18.

²³⁶ McClintock, *Voyage*, p. 27; Young, *The two voyages*, p. 105; Becker, *Reise*, p 19.

²³⁷ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 105.

²³⁸ Becker, *Reise*, p .19.

seas. Young, meanwhile, went duck-hunting every evening and on the 24th visited an Inuit camp of two tents.²³⁹ The ship got under way again, northward bound, at 3 p.m. on the 15th.²⁴⁰

She reached Upernavik on the afternoon of the 18th, where Young exchanged visits with Governor Tyrgesen and his wife.²⁴¹ Becker found much to talk about with Tyrgesen who spoke good German, having been a prisoner-of-war in first Prussia, then Austria during the Second Schleswig War in 1864. Officers and men bartered for fur clothing and in the evening, as per custom there was a dance on shore; since there were only five female partners they were in great demand. The officers went off in one of the whaleboats at 4 a.m. on the 19th to shoot murrelets at a neighbouring colony, returning at noon with 130 birds.²⁴² In the meantime the crow's nest was mounted on the fore-topmast.²⁴³ The governor, his wife and the priest, the first ordained Greenlander, came aboard for tea and then, at 10 p.m. *Pandora* weighed anchor.²⁴⁴

The next few days were bedevilled by light and variable winds, dense fog, icebergs and one-year ice. But at 7 a.m. on the 22nd the fog cleared to reveal Wilcox Head, generally considered the southern limit of Melville Bugt. With plenty of leads and a strong southeast wind the ship made good progress throughout the day but next morning the situation changed drastically: by the evening of the 24th *Pandora* was beset and caught in a nip and was hove over on her side. Young made preparations for abandoning ship: the boats were made ready to be launched and tents, sleeping bags, cooking and travelling gear were brought on deck and meanwhile Becker and Arbuthnot used gunpowder to blast the ice to try to relieve the pressure.²⁴⁵ Fortunately the pressure eased that evening and the ship swung back onto an even keel.

On the 27th Koolemans Beynen, who had the watch, shot a bear from the deck, but as he ran towards the wounded animal, he fell between two floes, but escaped with nothing worse than a wetting. Meanwhile another officer shot the bear dead.²⁴⁶

By that date *Pandora* was completely beset again, drifting with the ice towards the middle of Melville Bugt. Young began studying the details of Captain James Saunders report of his experience in these same waters on board HMS *North Star* in 1849: beset on 29 July, he did not get free again until 26 September.²⁴⁷ And Young must have recalled vividly his own experience on board McClintock's *Fox* which, beset in Melville Bugt, drifted southwards with the pack from 26 August 1857 until 25 April 1858, i.e. throughout the entire winter.²⁴⁸ Fortunately *Pandora* would fare better.

By the 28th *Pandora* was within sight of Kap York, drifting with the pack ice among large icebergs, the pressure on the ship increasing greatly from time to time as the ice piled up against grounded bergs. But at 8 p.m. on the 29th when a strong southwest wind arose the sound of breakers on the edge of the pack ice could be heard and open water could be seen about two miles away. Under full steam, by midnight the ship had escaped from the ice.²⁴⁹

²³⁹ Boissevain, *Story*, p. 73.

²⁴⁰ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 108.

²⁴¹ Becker, *Reise*, p. 21.

²⁴² Ibid, p. 23; Young, *The two voyages*, p. 110.

²⁴³ Becker, *Reise*, p. 24.

²⁴⁴ Ibid ; Young, *The two voyages*, p. 110.

²⁴⁵ Becker, *Reise*, p. 27; Boissevain, *Story*, p. 81.

²⁴⁶ Boissevain, *Story*, p. 83.

²⁴⁷ Saunders, 'Narrative', p. 57.

²⁴⁸ McClintock, *Voyage*, pp. 42–109.

²⁴⁹ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 118; Becker, *Reise*, p. 32.



Map 3. Northern Baffin Bay and Smith Sound visited by Pandora in both 1875 and 1876.

Next day she was abeam of Kap York;²⁵⁰ by 4 a.m. on the 31st off Kap Dudley Digges; by 9 a.m. off Kap Atholl; and soon afterwards was passing Wolstenholme Island.²⁵¹ But then the Arctic had another challenge for her: by noon it was blowing a gale from the southeast. *Pandora* hove-to under a reefed storm trysail, off Booth Sund. In the early hours of 31 August her deck cargo, including all the provisions and gear stowed on deck in case of possibly having to abandon ship, had been washed into the lee scuppers or was lost overboard. Worse still the best lifeboat was smashed.²⁵² Fortunately the gale had moderated by 6 a.m., although still with dangerously high seas, and Bjørlund Ø, the easternmost of the Carey Øer was sighted. Raising steam, Young headed for it and while Nares's cairn, built the previous year, could be seen, as well as the boat and depot he had left closer to the shore, there was no chance of landing until the seas had subsided. *Pandora* therefore circled the archipelago all day.²⁵³ It was not until 4 p.m. that Arbuthnot, Koolemans Beynen, Horner, Becker and Grant were able to put ashore by boat. They were back aboard by 8 pm. to report that nobody appeared to have visited the cairn or the depot since *Pandora*'s last visit in the previous September. Arbuthnot left a message at the cairn on the summit of the island while Grant took some photos.²⁵⁴

On the 2nd *Pandora* ran north under sail past Hakluyt Ø/Appaarsuit, and by the evening was off Kap Alexander, the western cape of Sutherland Ø. Arbuthnot, Becker and Koolemans Beynen went ashore but having searched the whole island found no messages from Nares, but did find a sodden message from Lieutenant Henry Hartstene, USS *Release*, who had called here several times (16–19 August, 1855) while searching for Dr Elisha Kent Kane's missing expedition.²⁵⁵ While a cairn was being built on Kap Alexander and a message deposited, Grant was taking photos of the glacier which completely embraced the east end of the island, and Becker took a shot at a blue fox.²⁵⁶

Young next ran north to Littleton Ø, reaching it at 2 a.m. on 3 August. With Arbuthnot and Becker in a boat ahead, sounding,²⁵⁷ he ran through the strait between the island and the mainland and round its north end and into the narrow strait between it and McGary Ø, where he anchored. Arbuthnot and Becker went ashore on Littleton Ø and in a cairn on the west end of the island found a message from Nares, dated 28 July 1875 and a letter from him addressed to Clements Markham. Nares reported that he planned to next cross to the Ellesmere Island coast and that he would leave dispatches at Cape Isabella; thereafter he would head north along the Ellesmere Island coast and named various points further north where further messages might be left.²⁵⁸

Young's next objective was to locate a secure anchorage where a relief ship, planned to be sent out in 1877, might lie at anchor, in anticipation of Nares and his men having to retreat south by sledge and/or by boat.²⁵⁹ With this in mind he inspected Port Foulke and Foulke Fjord, Hartstene Bugt and MacCormick Fjord, all of which he rejected as being too exposed, but found a very safe anchorage, which he named Pandora Harbour, opening off the northeast corner of MacCormick Fjord.²⁶⁰ On the morning of 5 August, while Pirie, Koolemans-Beynen and Becker surveyed and

²⁵⁰ Becker, *Reise*, *ibid.*

²⁵¹ Boissevain, *Story*, p. 89.

²⁵² Young, *The two voyages*, p. 118; Becker, *Reise*, p. 33.

²⁵³ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 120.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 122–3; Kane, *Arctic explorations*, Vol. 2, p. 327.

²⁵⁶ Becker, *Reise*, p. 35.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²⁵⁸ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 126.

²⁵⁹ Becker, *Reise*, p. 37.

²⁶⁰ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 129.

sounded the harbour,²⁶¹ Young, Horner and Christian climbed the hill on the north side where they shot 7 arctic hares and about 30 dovekies. Having built a cairn and left a message on the southern point at the entrance to the harbour, Young put to sea again at 5 p.m. that evening, westward bound across Smith Sound to Cape Isabella.

Initially he encountered thick fog, but when it cleared at 2 a.m. on 6 August he found himself only 13 km off Cape Isabella. A cairn was spotted on the summit of the cape and Arbuthnot and Becker put ashore to examine it.²⁶² At the first cairn they checked they found a depot of four cases of canned meat and a cask – which they did not open, assuming it also contained provisions.²⁶³ Then, having with difficulty climbed to a higher cairn by 11 a.m. they found a message from Nares dated 29 July 1875 specifying that messages would be left by sledge parties each spring while his ships were further north, either on Cape Isabella or Littleton Ø.²⁶⁴ Arbuthnot left a message at the higher cairn and a cask full of mail at the smaller, lower cairn, next to the depot of provisions left by Nares.²⁶⁵ The two officers were back aboard by 4 p.m.

As *Pandora* headed north past the mouth of Baird Inlet, bound for Cape Sabine, she encountered the edge of the pack, extending across Smith Sound from Leconte Island. Having had second thoughts about the cask on Cape Isabella, referred to by Nares but which Arbuthnot had not opened, assuming that it contained provisions, since Young had given instructions not to disturb any provisions, Young now decided to run back to Cape Isabella to check that cask in case it contained dispatches from Nares, possibly left by a sledge party in the spring.

By 3 a.m. on 7 August the ship was back at Cape Isabella again, but due to wind, fog and ice, by 9 August it had been impossible to put a boat ashore. Finally, on that date, with heavy pack ice extending right across Smith Sound, driving south before a northerly gale, Young again took refuge in Pandora Harbour.²⁶⁶ By then he had abandoned any hope of pursuing his original objective, namely an attempt at a transit of the Northwest Passage.²⁶⁷ This was just as well, since he was about to be subjected to a further two weeks of frustration. Time and again he attempted to reach Cape Isabella but each time was foiled by ice or gales, while all attempts to push northwards were also thwarted by solid pack ice extending right across Smith Sound. On several occasions when *Pandora* was separated from Cape Isabella by just a few miles of ice, attempts were made to reach it by sledge and boat, but on each occasion the attempt had to be abandoned as being too dangerous.

On several occasions the tedium was relieved by alternative activities. Thus on the night of 16 August, off Littleton Ø and further north off Cairn Point, a total of five walrus was killed producing 2½–3 tons of meat and oil.²⁶⁸ Just as in the previous year the officers found the meat to be very tasty and it was regularly served thereafter but the crew, typically conservative in their food tastes, were not fond of it.²⁶⁹

Then on 19 August Young took all the officers ashore in the steam launch and a dinghy to examine the site where half the crew of Charles Francis Hall's *Polaris* had wintered in 1872–3 at Polaris House on the mainland near Littleton Ø.²⁷⁰ The Inughuit had salvaged everything that they found useful and all that was left was a few pieces of wood and a scatter of assorted debris – old

²⁶¹ Becker, *Reise*, p. 38.

²⁶² Ibid, p. 39.

²⁶³ Ibid, p. 40.

²⁶⁴ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 134.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 136.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 137

²⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 141; Becker, *Reise*, p. 43.

²⁶⁹ Becker, *Reise*, p. 44.

²⁷⁰ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 144; Bessels, *Polaris*, pp. 347–62; 385–414.

boots, rags of clothing, torn paper, pieces of instruments and a kerosene lamp with Captain Sidney Budington's name scratched in it.²⁷¹

Finally, having lost all hope of ever reaching Cape Isabella again, at 10 p.m. on 23 August Young landed again on Littleton Ø and deposited three casks and four cases containing dispatches and letters in a crevice in the rocks, marked by a small cairn on the western part of the island. A message and a letter were deposited at Nares's cairn.

Next afternoon there were signs of the pack slackening towards Cape Isabella and, despite fog, Young started back across Smith Sound. With a partial clearing by 12.15 a.m. on the 25th *Pandora* was within half a cable-length (92.5 metres) from the rocks of the cape. Arbuthnot and Becker climbed to the cairn with three waterproof bags and cooper's tools for opening the cask. Within half an hour they could be descending to their dinghy again. They had found the cask to be empty!²⁷² Becker, understandably, described this disappointment as 'extremely disheartening'.²⁷³

Having canvassed his officers as to what they should do next, and having obtained a consensus that they should try to reach Cape Sabine on Pim Island (the next location to the north where Nares had indicated that messages might be left by sledge parties) Young tried to reach that cape but was thwarted by heavy ice. He then ran back across Smith Sound and there, despite fog and a severe southerly gale which drove pack ice in from the south, Young hung on in relatively open water in the lee of Kap Alexander until the evening of 28 August.²⁷⁴ But then he accepted the inevitable and started back south. Frustratingly, the contrast next morning could hardly have been greater: a light southeasterly wind, bright sunshine and a calm sea with almost no ice.

Swinging around Hakluyt Ø (Appaarsuit) and the south coast of Northumberland Ø (Kiatak) and across Hvalsund, Young next made a stop at an Inughuit tented camp (possibly at Natsilivik) next to several winter dwellings.²⁷⁵ With Anton Christian as interpreter he and his officers went ashore, where they found one family of eight. Young offered them walrus meat but they declined it, having had success in hunting seals and beluga. Young gave them six large knives, a large saw, a 15-foot oar, a plank and a gimlet, as well as needles and thread, combs and scissors for the women. In exchange he was given four narwhal tusks, a soapstone pot and three dogs, the latter in exchange for five of *Pandora*'s animals.²⁷⁶

Getting under way again *Pandora* rounded Kap Parry on the night of 29 August and by noon was off Saunders Ø. Then, passing Wolstenholme Ø, she coasted south past Kap Atholl and the snout of the Petuffek Gletscher and by 6 p.m. on the 30th was off Conical Rock near Kap Dudley Digges.

With a southerly storm and a nasty, breaking sea *Pandora* beat south to southwest for the next three days, but fortunately, encountered not a single ice floe. The weather on 3 September was much better, and that on the 4th just light winds and calms – 'the finest day we had had since we had been in Baffin's Sea',²⁷⁷ although there were many icebergs in sight. Young was now heading for Upernavik, hoping to arrive there before the last Danish ship of the season sailed – which usually occurred in early to mid-September. If he succeeded in this he planned to send one officer and a few men back to Europe by that vessel with a report of the season's activities while he took *Pandora* back north again, to winter if necessary.

Ice started to appear again on the afternoon of 6 September and on one floe a bear was spotted. Young and Becker took a boat to within rifle range and Young killed it with a single shot

²⁷¹ Becker, *Reise*, p. p. 44 ; Young, *The two voyages*, p. 144–5.

²⁷² Young, *The two voyages*, p. 149; Becker, *Reise*, p. 45.

²⁷³ Becker, *Reise*, p. 45.

²⁷⁴ Young, *The two voyages*, pp. 152–5.

²⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 157; Becker, *Reise*, p. 46; Boissevain, *Story*, pp. 90–92.

²⁷⁶ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 159; Becker, *Reise*, p. 48.

²⁷⁷ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 160.

through the head. By 5 p.m. on the 7th *Pandora* had reached Upernavik, only to find that the last ship had sailed for Denmark on 16 August.

Pandora lay at Upernavik for three days, her crew resting and refitting; the crew's nest was sent down and the deck-load of provisions, kept on deck as a precaution in the ice, was restowed. About 3 tons of walrus meat was given to the people of Upernavik. The usual dance was held ashore each evening.²⁷⁸

Pandora put to sea again on the evening of 11 September.²⁷⁹ From noon on the 13th until the morning of the 15th she was either running before a north-northwesterly gale and high, breaking seas, or lying hove-to. But when the weather cleared on the morning of the 15th Young raised steam and ran for Godhavn; the ship was passing Disko Fjord and Laksebugt that evening and arrived off Godhavn around 10 p.m. But since it was pitch dark Young hove-to for the night and ran into the harbor next morning.

He waited there for a few days on the remote chance that *Alert* and *Discovery* might turn up, and sailed again on the 21st.²⁸⁰ There followed four days of delightful weather with sunshine, light winds and a calm sea. But then fog rolled in, with overcast skies, although it remained fairly calm. Since the engines were undergoing a refit (they had been under steam constantly for 77 days) and the boilers had been emptied which meant that *Pandora* was under sail, progress was fairly slow.²⁸¹

On 1 October *Pandora* encountered heavy streams of East Greenland ice and that night, after dark, when a gale blew in from the south with rain and sleet Young hove-to. He was surprised that the East Greenland ice, having rounded Kap Farvel could penetrate so far north. By the evening of the 3rd, however, *Pandora* had emerged from the ice and the weather was fair.

This did not last for long, however; the gale which blew up, an easterly with heavy rain, lasted from the 4th until the 15th, greatly delaying the ship's homeward progress.²⁸² On the 16th two vessels were seen coming up astern, and were soon identified as *Alert* and *Discovery*. On the 17th *Pandora* exchanged signals with *Alert*, while on the 19th first *Discovery* and then *Alert*, outrunning *Pandora*, disappeared ahead.²⁸³

Young may well have been quite surprised at encountering *Alert* and *Discovery*, Nares having been given the option of spending two winters in the Arctic, and it was planned to send a relief ship north in 1877.²⁸⁴ What he and his expedition had achieved in 1875–76 was quite impressive. Nares had managed to reach Floeberg Beach at 82°28'N (near the present site of the station at Alert), i.e. he had emerged onto the shores of the Arctic Ocean, and had wintered there, while Captain Henry Stephenson in *Discovery* had wintered at Lady Franklin Bay. In the spring of 1876 starting from Cape Joseph Henry a sledge party led by Commander Albert Markham reached a record high latitude of 83°20'26"N,²⁸⁵ although it should be noted that at their turning point he and his men were only about 50 km from land. Meanwhile a sledge party led by Lieutenant Pelham Aldrich had explored some 400 km westwards along the northwest coast of Ellesmere Island to as far as Alert Point on the west side of Yelveron Bay.²⁸⁶ Simultaneously Lieutenant Lewis Beaumont led a sledge party eastwards along the north coast of Greenland to Sherard Osborn Fjord.²⁸⁷ All three sledge parties experienced severe outbreaks of scurvy and three men died. By the end of the

²⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 163.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 165; Becker, *Reise*, p. 49.

²⁸⁰ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 166; Becker, *Reise*, p. 49.

²⁸¹ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 167.

²⁸² Ibid, p. 168.

²⁸³ Ibid, p. 170, Becker, *Reise*, p. 51.

²⁸⁴ Nares, *Narrative*, vol. 1, p. xv.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, vol. 1, p.350–94.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, vol. 2, pp. 10–46.

²⁸⁷ Ibid, vol. 2, pp. 88–113.

summer of 1876, there were forty cases of scurvy on board *Alert* and twenty on board *Discovery*.²⁸⁸ This was the primary reason for Nares's decision not to remain in the Arctic for a second winter.

On the way south Nares had stopped at Cape Isabella, where Markham found the mail left there by the men of the *Pandora*; however due to deep snow he did not find the message to say that the main cache of mail would be found on Littleton Ø. Nares was extremely grateful to Young and the men of the *Pandora*:

The officers and men of the 'Alert' and 'Discovery' can scarcely feel sufficiently grateful to Sir Allen Young and his companions for their determined and persevering efforts to open communication with them during two seasons. Sacrificing so great a part of the short navigable season of 1875 and paying two visits to the Carey Islands on our account alone, when Sir Allen's purpose was to explore in a totally different direction, was stretching a friendly action to the utmost. Such consideration can only be fully appreciated by persons situated as we were.²⁸⁹

After *Pandora* lost sight of the government ships, on the 20th another storm broke, this one southwesterly and Young ran before it under just a close-reefed fore staysail. At one point the ship was pooped. i.e. a large wave overwhelmed her stern, doing some damage and even throwing both helmsmen from the wheel.²⁹⁰ The gale began to slacken after noon and Young gradually set more sail. It was not until the 28th, however, that fair weather returned, with smooth seas, sunshine and a temperature of 57°F (13.8°C). Bedding and clothing could be dried for the first time in weeks.

On the afternoon of the 29th the Skelligs, off southwestern Ireland, were sighted. Next day the ship rounded Mizen Head and Young went ashore at Crookhaven and telegraphed the Admiralty.²⁹¹ Running between Fastnet Rock and Cape Clear, by the evening of the 31st *Pandora* was passing between the Scilly Isles and Land's End and by 1 a.m. on 1 November was off the Lizard. Having called at Falmouth to take on 20 tons of coal the ship reached Cowes at 10 p.m. on the 1st and finally reached Portsmouth on 3 November.

Young and his officers and men were again given a very warm welcome. And once again Koolemans Beynen received a particularly great honour. He received an invitation via Sir Allen from the Prince of Wales to attend a levée (a public court reception) at Buckingham Palace. He was escorted to the event by the Dutch ambassador, Count Willem Peter Bylandt (Bijlandt).²⁹²

In recognition of his attempts to maintain contact with the Nares expedition, on 18 March 1877 Young was knighted by Queen Victoria.²⁹³ He had previously been made a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and a fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society.²⁹⁴ Later King Edward also made him a Commander of the Victorian Order.

Young maintained close links with Koolemans Beynen and in May 1878 he travelled to the Netherlands to be present at the start of the maiden voyage of the research vessel *Willem Barents*, for the building of which Koolemans Beynen had campaigned at length, and on board which he sailed as second-in-command.²⁹⁵ On that occasion Young was made an Officer of the Order of the Oaken Cross by King Willem III.²⁹⁶

²⁸⁸ Holland, *Arctic exploration*, p. 298.

²⁸⁹ Nares, *Narrative*, vol. 2, p. 175.

²⁹⁰ Young, *The two voyages*, p. 171; Becker, *Reise*, p. 51.

²⁹¹ Young, *The two voyages*; Becker, *Reise*, p. 51.

²⁹² Boissevain, *Story*, p. 96.

²⁹³ *The London Gazette*, 'Buckingham Palace', 18 March 1877.

²⁹⁴ Young, *Cruise of the Pandora*, p. ii, n. 1.

²⁹⁵ Markham, *Sir Allen Young*, p. 40.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

Also in 1878 Young sold *Pandora*. Selected by James Gordon Bennett to lead an expedition to the North Pole via Bering Strait, Captain George W. De Long spent the winter of 1875–6 in an extensive search for a suitable vessel. He spotted *Pandora* at Cowes but initially Young refused to sell. A year later, however he changed his mind and sold the ship to Bennett for \$6000.²⁹⁷ Later Young would have second thoughts and tried to buy the ship back, but Bennett refused to sell.²⁹⁸ Renamed *Jeannette*, the ship became beset in the arctic ice near Ostrov Vrangelya and was ultimately crushed and sank north of the Novosibirskiye Ostrova on 13 June 1881.²⁹⁹

As a senior member of the Royal Yacht Squadron, and as a keen sailor, Young probably felt incomplete without his own vessel. In May 1881 he bought a replacement for *Pandora*. Also originally a Philomel-class gunboat, HMS *Newport*, it had been launched from the Pembroke Dockyard in July 1867. Young renamed it *Pandora II* and, like her predecessor, he kept her at Cowes. It was also in 1881 that Queen Victoria made Young a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath.

Young's final arctic voyage

Soon after this Young headed north again, on his fourth and final arctic expedition. In June 1881 British explorer Benjamin Leigh Smith had sailed north, bound for Zemlya Frantsa Iosifa (Franz Josef Land) on board his private yacht, *Eira*, planning to continue the exploration of that archipelago which he had begun the previous year.³⁰⁰ When *Eira* did not return to Britain in the autumn, since there had been no plans for wintering in the Arctic, anxiety began to be expressed as to the fate of the ship and its crew. Invited to command a relief expedition Young chartered the Peterhead whaler, *Hope*. After repairs at Aberdeen, *Hope* headed north from Gravesend, reaching Hammerfest on 3 July 1882. There Young bought the sloop *Martha* to act as a tender to the *Hope*, and put to sea again on 8 July.³⁰¹ After spending two days coaling at Tromsø and making a brief stop at the telegraph station at Honningsvåg, Young headed north to Novaya Zemlya. His first call was at the settlement of Malye Karmakuly on the south island, and there left a depot of canned goods. When Lieutenant K. P. Andreyev, leader of the station of the First International Polar Year at Malye Karmakuly (one of two which Russia maintained), arrived at the station on board the steamer *Chizhov* he was handed a letter from Young, who had sailed on northwards on board *Hope* only three days earlier. In it he asked that Leigh Smith and his men be given every assistance and access to the depot if they happened to turn up there.³⁰²

Spotting a prominent cairn at the south side of the entrance to Matochkin Shar, the strait which bisects Novaya Zemlya, Young left a message in the cairn then continued northwards, planning to leave a further depot just east of Mys Sukhoy Nos, some 60 km further north. But before reaching that cape *Hope* struck a reef, unfortunately at high tide, and as the tide ebbed the ship began to pound on the rocks. Young tried lightening the ship by transferring some stores to the *Martha*, and also to Sir Henry Gore-Booth's ship *Kara*, which was also searching for crew of the *Eira*. At the next high tide on 27 July, using both sail and steam, Young managed to refloat his ship, but an examination revealed that the rudder post was badly damaged.³⁰³ Moving to a sheltered cove within Matochkin Shar, where the Dutch research vessel *Willem Barents* was also lying, and

²⁹⁷ Sides, *Kingdom of ice*, p. 86; Guttridge, *Icebound*, pp. 31–2.

²⁹⁸ De Long, *The voyage*, pp. 44–5.

²⁹⁹ De Long, *The voyage*, p. 45.

³⁰⁰ Credland, 'Benjamin Leigh Smith', p. 136; Capelotti, *Shipwreck*, p. 180.

³⁰¹ Credland, 'Benjamin Leigh Smith', p. 141; Capelotti, *Shipwreck*, p. 206.

³⁰² Barr, *The expeditions*, p. 202.

³⁰³ Credland, 'Benjamin Leigh Smith', p. 141; Capelotti, *Shipwreck*, p. 212.

trimming the *Hope* down by the head to bring the damaged rudder post mainly out of the water, Young and his crew set about emergency repairs, assisted by the *Willem Barents*'s carpenter.

On the morning of 3 August, *Willem Barents* departed but returned almost immediately, bringing with her Leigh Smith and his men who had just reached Matochkin Shar from Zemlya Frantsa Iosifa in four boats. Their ship *Eira* had been crushed by the ice and had sunk quite close to shore near Mys Flora on Ostrov Nortbruk on 21 August 1881 but Leigh Smith and his men had been able to salvage abundant supplies and equipment from the wreck before it sank and had spent a relatively comfortable winter in a hut on shore. They had started south by sledge and boat on 21 June 1882.³⁰⁴ Leigh Smith and his men now transferred to *Hope*, which started back south on 6 August, reaching Aberdeen on the 20th to a tumultuous welcome.³⁰⁵

Further seagoing career and later life

Young's next seagoing deployment was very different to his voyages on board *Pandora* or *Hope*. In 1885, in command of the hospital ship, *Stella* he took her to the Sudanese port of Suakin as part of Lieutenant-General Sir Gerald Graham's operations in support of Sir Garnet Wolseley's campaign to relieve Khartoum, whereby he defeated the Mahdi's supporter Osman Digna.³⁰⁶

Around 1890 Young sold *Pandora II* to the businessman Francis William Leyborne-Popham. He renamed her *Blencathra*, and under that name she made a voyage to the mouth of the Yenisey under the command of Captain Joseph Wiggins in 1893.³⁰⁷ Later, in 1912, she was purchased by Georgiy L'vovich Brusilov and renamed *Svataya Anna*. Brusilov was mounting an attempt on the Northeast passage, from west to east, but *Sv. Anna* became beset in the ice of the Kara Sea and drifted north. Only two members of a group who left the ship well to the north of Zemlya Frantsa Iosifa in the spring of 1914, ultimately survived. The final fate of the ship and those who remained on board, is unknown.³⁰⁸

Young did not buy another yacht but he maintained close ties with the Royal Yacht Squadron, with its headquarters at Cowes Castle, of which he was the oldest member. His London home (first at 1 St James's Street at the corner of Pall Mall, and later in Bruton Street), for decades extended a warm welcome to his numerous friends. Later still he moved to a hotel on Albemarle Street.³⁰⁹ A lifelong member of the Royal Geographical Society, he invariably attended its lectures on polar subjects. He was also a Younger Brother of Trinity House, this being the body responsible for Britain's lighthouses and aids to navigation. He was a close friend of several members of the Royal family, especially King Edward VII and, somewhat notoriously, is remembered for a dinner party which he held on 24 May 1877 when he arranged for the latter (then the Prince of Wales) to be seated next to his mistress Lillie Langtry and for her husband Edward to be seated at the other end of the table.³¹⁰

Sir Allen Young died after a long illness on 20 November 1915.³¹¹ The funeral was held at St. James's, Piccadilly on 25 November; present apart from a large cross-section of the British aristocracy, were Admiral Sir Henry Stephenson, who had commanded HMS *Discovery* during the Nares expedition, and Admiral Sir Lewis Beaumont, Senior Lieutenant on board the *Discovery*

³⁰⁴ Credland, 'Benjamin Leigh Smith', p. 140; Capelotti, *Shipwreck*, p. 206.

³⁰⁵ Credland, 'Benjamin Leigh Smith', p. 142; Capelotti, *Shipwreck*, p. 213.

³⁰⁶ Gambier-Parry, *Suakin*.

³⁰⁷ Johnson, *Life and voyages*, pp. 264–74; Stone, 'Joseph Wiggins', p. 408.

³⁰⁸ Al'banov, *South*.

³⁰⁹ Markham, 'Sir Allen Young', p. 40.

³¹⁰ Camp, *Royal mistresses*, p. 364.

³¹¹ *The Times*, 'Death'.

during that expedition.³¹² Queen Alexandra sent a wreath ‘In memory of our dear old friend, Sir Allen Young’.³¹³ Sir Allen Young is buried in Brookwood Cemetery, Surrey.

Conclusions

While he had not achieved either of his objectives on his voyages in the *Pandora* (a transit of the Northwest Passage or a search of King William Island for relics or documents from the Franklin expedition), Sir Allen Young did make a substantial contribution to the exploration of what are now the Canadian Arctic Islands. In 1859, operating from the *Fox*’s wintering site at Port Kennedy at the east end of Bellot Strait, he mapped both coasts of Prince of Wales Island to the points earlier reached from the north by Lieutenant Osborn (on the west side) and Lieutenant Browne (on the east side). Then, on his voyage in the *Pandora* in 1875, he sailed south for the first time along Peel Sound, from the point where McClintock had been turned back by ice in the *Fox* in August 1858³¹⁴, only 25 miles from Barrow Strait, to within sight of the west end of Bellot Strait.

With regard to the second objective of the *Pandora* voyages, that of operating a ‘mail service’ for Nares’s expedition it must be deemed a success. By finding Nares’s mail on the Carey Øer in August 1875, Young was able to reassure the Admiralty (and the British public) that HMS *Alert* and *Discovery* had safely negotiated the ice of notorious Melville Bugt, and had advanced further north. Young’s efforts in the following year, leaving messages for Nares at the Carey Øer, Cape Isabella and Littleton Ø were sincerely appreciated by Nares.

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³¹² *The Times*, ‘Funeral services’, p. 11.

³¹³ *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ McClintock, *The voyage*, p. 177.

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