

A Regional Guide to Books Published by The Hakluyt Society

THE ARCTIC

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Introduction

Since the sixteenth century European accounts of travel in the Arctic have been linked with the search for a northern sea route to the fabulous riches of the Orient. While the Spaniards, Portuguese and French searched for a gap in the massive continental outlines across the Atlantic discovered by the successors of Columbus, English and to a lesser extent Dutch and Danish seamen sailed far north in their attempts to find a navigable route. A few tried to push their way to the Pacific along the northern coastline of Asia but most probed the Arctic archipelago that blocked access through the waters that lay north of the American continent. By the seventeenth century the main features of the eastern fringe of this icebound region were named after the explorers whose efforts are recorded in the early volumes of the Hakluyt Society: Frobisher Bay, Davis Strait, Baffin Island and Baffin Bay, Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay, Foxe Basin, James Bay. Once those names stood like hopeful signposts on the map, pointing the way to the Pacific; but for all the endurance and bravery of the navigators there was no way through. In the eighteenth century after further abortive attempts to find a Northwest Passage through Hudson Bay, the search switched to the Pacific where British, Spanish, French and Russian expeditions explored the northwest coast of America in the hope of finding an ice-free route that would take them to the Atlantic. The work of these eighteenth-century expeditions is covered in the later Hakluyt Society volumes listed here.²

Ships searching for a northern passage were not the only European vessels in Arctic waters, for in most years they were far outnumbered by whalers. It has been estimated that between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries there were more than 29,000 whaling voyages to Spitsbergen, Davis Strait and Hudson Bay. 1777 saw the greatest loss of life in the Greenland whale fishery, when twenty-six whalers were crushed in the ice and more than three hundred men perished. Unfortunately, few of the journals of whaling masters survive – a selection of those that have appeared in Hakluyt Society volumes for the seventeenth century and the early nineteenth century. Accordingly, the accounts of Arctic voyages whose records have been published by the Society rely heavily, perhaps disproportionately, on the experiences of a relatively small number of discovery voyages whose officers struggled to describe the unimaginable conditions they faced. Often at a loss for words, they tried to explain their fear as icebergs the size of cathedrals loomed over their tiny wooden vessels. The shifts in the ice could be sudden and capricious: a clear channel one hour might be blocked by impassable ice the next. Nor was it the ice a few inches thick familiar to readers at home; it might be eight or ten feet thick, and when in thunderous, unstoppable motion could hurl floes on shore a half-mile beyond the high-water mark. As William Baffin wrote of one

¹ With help from William Barr and Ann Savours Shirley.

² All books reviewed in this Guide were published by the Hakluyt Society at London unless otherwise stated. Dates shown in brackets are those of the issue year, where these differ from the imprint or publication year.

moment, ‘unless the Lorde himself had been on our side we had shurely perished’. The unpredictable variation of the magnetic compass added to the difficulties of navigation, while fog and snow prevented for weeks at a time the taking of sun-sights to establish latitude. And always there was the cold, with temperatures so low that even in the summer sails and rigging froze solid. As one Hudson’s Bay Company captain complained: ‘When blocks are locks, and ropes are bolts, and sails can neither be taken in nor left out, is surely the last extremity.’

It was not. That came in the nineteenth century when ice-encased ships were trapped for years at a time, their crews displaying a stoic endurance almost beyond belief. The promised short cut between oceans became a nightmarish labyrinth in which ships and men disappeared without trace, and would-be rescuers had to be rescued themselves. After the disappearance of Sir John Franklin’s expedition the quest for a Northwest Passage turned into a despairing search for survivors, and it is grimly appropriate that the last two (chronologically) of the current Hakluyt Society volumes on the Arctic cover expeditions that were part of that search. Ironically, a nation that had previously regarded the search for the Northwest Passage as ‘an objective peculiarly British’ left the seamen of other countries to make the first transits of the passage.

Reference Works

Day, Alan, *Historical Dictionary of the Discovery and Exploration of the Northwest Passage*, Lanham, Md, 2006.

Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vols I–VII, 1000 to 1850, Toronto, 1966–1988.

Hayes, Derek, *Historical Atlas of the Arctic*, Vancouver, 2003.

Holland, Clive, *Arctic Exploration and Development c.500 BC to 1915*, New York and London, 1994.

Howgego, Raymond John, *Encyclopedia of Exploration to 1800*, Potts Point, NSW, 2003; *Encyclopedia of Exploration 1800 to 1850*, Potts Point, NSW, 2004; *Encyclopedia of Exploration 1850 to 1940: The Oceans, Islands and Polar Regions*, Potts Point, NSW, 2006.

Nuttall, Mark, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, 3 vols, New York and London, 2005.

1. The Earliest Voyages

***The Voyages of the Venetian Brothers, Nicolò and Antonio Zeno, to the Northern Seas in the XIVth Century...* Translated and edited with an introduction by Richard Henry Major, 1st series, 50, 1873.**

This is an unusual Hakluyt Society volume in more ways than one. The Introduction of a hundred pages is almost twice the length of the text, even though each page of the latter is split between the Italian original (first published in 1558) and an English translation. Secondly, the account, contained in letters allegedly exchanged between the Zeno brothers, Nicolò and Antonio, is regarded by most of today’s scholars as spurious. The account is not included in many recent reference works on exploration. If taken at face value it describes a voyage by Nicolò Zeno in about 1380 to a large island northwest of Iceland called Frisland (sometimes identified as the Faroe Islands). Joined by his brother, Antonio, he helped the local ruler to conquer a nearby island, Estland (sometimes identified as the Shetland Islands). While there, the brothers heard of another land to the west, Estotiland, whose people spoke

Latin. Some scholars have identified these as the Viking inhabitants of the Eastern Settlement in southern Greenland, whose disappearance has remained a subject of continuing interest and perplexity.

As editor, R. H. Major saw his main task as asserting the authenticity of the Zeno narrative. He took issue, in particular, with the criticisms of the Danish hydrographer, Admiral C. C. Zahrtmann, and concluded that the Zeno account was ‘a genuine and valuable narrative’. Few scholars would accept this today. The edition also includes a translation of Ivar Bardarson’s ‘Description of Greenland in the Fourteenth Century’, and a map of the supposed Zeno discoveries published along with the text in 1558 by a descendant of the brothers, Antonion Zeno.

Further Reading

Cooper, Robert L., *The Voyages of the Venetian Brothers Nicolò and Antonio Zeno to the Northern Seas in the XIVth Century*, Helensburgh, 2004.

Hobbs, W. H., ‘Zeno and the Cartography of Greenland’, *Imago Mundi*, VI, 1949, pp. 15 ff.

Howgego, Raymond John, ‘Zeno, Nicolò & Antonio’, *Encyclopedia of Exploration: Invented and Apocryphal Narratives of Travel*, Potts Point, NSW, pp. 495–6.

2. The Sixteenth Century

Narrative of Voyages towards the North-West in Search of a Passage to Cathay and India. 1496 to 1631. With selections from the early records of the Honourable East India Company and from MSS. in the British Museum. Edited by Thomas Randall, 1st series, 5, 1849.

The format of this volume does not follow that of other Hakluyt Society publications, at this time and later, which printed accounts of voyages and travels, as far as possible in full. Rather, it consists of the editor’s summaries of various voyages in search of a Northwest Passage, bolstered by textual extracts. The voyages are those of Sebastian Cabot (1496), Martin Frobisher (1576, 1577, 1578 and his projected voyage of 1581), John Davis (1585, 1586, 1587), George Weymouth (1602), John Knight (1606), Henry Hudson (1610), Thomas Button (1612), James Hall (1612), William Gibbons (1614), Robert Bylot and William Baffin (1615), William Hawkrige (1619), Luke Foxe (1631), Thomas James (1631–2). Also printed was Baffin’s letter of 1616 on the northwest passage to Sir John Wolstenholme. The main part of the volume is followed by an appendix consisting of a miscellany of notes and documents ranging from the crew list of Weymouth’s voyage of 1602 to observations on magnetic variation.

Many of the voyages briefly described in the volume have been subject to fuller documentary treatment in subsequent Hakluyt Society volumes: e.g. Frobisher (1/38; 3/6); Davis (1/59), Knight (1/56), Hudson (1/27), Baffin (1/63), Foxe (1/88), James (1/89).

The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher, in search of a Passage to Cathaia and India by the North-West, A.D. 1576–8, by Rear-Admiral Richard Collinson, 1st series, 38, 1867.

Martin Frobisher’s three northern voyages were among the most remarkable, and in the end controversial, of expeditions sent in search of the Northwest Passage. They were financed by

the Company of Cathay whose London agent was the cosmographer Michael Lok. The first expedition of 1576 consisted of two small barks and a tiny pinnace (soon lost), and sailed 150 miles into the present Frobisher Bay on the east coast of Baffin Island in the hope that it might be the entrance to the passage. Frobisher also brought back, almost casually, a lump of black rock that some assayers claimed to be gold-bearing. Encouraged by this, a second expedition of three vessels sailed in 1577 and brought back 200 tons of ore from Countess of Warwick Island (Kodlunarn Island) as well as a captive Inuk man (and awoman). The third voyage was, by contemporary standards, a huge affair, one of treasure-hunting rather than discovery, but it ended in disillusion and bankruptcy (see next entry below).

This edition takes as its centrepiece the narrative of Frobisher's three voyages by George Best, *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie for finding a Passage to Cathaya by the North-West* (1578). Best sailed on the second and third voyages, but not the first. Here his account is divided into three sections according to the voyage described, and these are accompanied by a large number of lists, memoirs and petitions taken from the State Papers of the period, about sixty in all. They include Frobisher's instructions, the costs of the voyages, fitting-out details, names of the investors and the sums they provided or owed, details of the assays of the ore, and the claims and complaints by Lok, finally blaming everything on Frobisher, 'a bankerot knave'. Among the more unusual papers is one (in Latin) by the surgeon Edward Dodding on the illness and death of the Inuk man kidnapped on Baffin Island. The edition also contains a brief first-hand account of the third voyage by Edward Selman, one of Lok's merchant associates.

The edition finishes with a catalogue of the relics of Frobisher's expeditions discovered on Kodlunarn Island in 1861 and 1862 by Charles Francis Hall, the first white man known to have visited the site since its abandonment in 1578. It also includes two facsimile maps from Best's book. Although crudely drawn, they both show, in different forms, a water communication between 'Frobisher's Straights' and the Pacific.

The edition has much valuable information about Frobisher's three voyages, but in terms of scholarly presentation it is far removed from what would later be considered the normal standard of Hakluyt Society editions. There is no historical Introduction, and the only annotations are a few on handwriting. It is therefore a volume to be used with caution, and with reference to later editions.

Further Reading

See next entry below.

The Third Voyage of Martin Frobisher to Baffin Island 1578. Edited by James McDermott, 3rd series, 6, 2001.

This edition contains considerable material not printed in Richard Collinson's 1867 edition of Frobisher's voyages (see Hakluyt Society 1/38 above). It includes the log of Christopher Hall, chief pilot on Frobisher's third voyage; Edward Fenton's full journal and a fragment of Charles Jackman's journal, both of the *Judith*; the narrative with marginalia of the merchant Edward Spelman; the indictment of Frobisher written by the treasurer Michael Lok; and extracts from the correspondence of the Spanish ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza. Also included are works printed in previous editions of Frobisher's voyages: George Best, *A true discourse* (1578) and Thomas Ellis, *A true report* (1578).

Taken together, these documents throw new light on the extraordinary exploring, colonising and mining venture to the Arctic that was Frobisher's third voyage. It involved fifteen ships, about a tenth of the country's entire merchant fleet, and if successful it would have led to the first English settlement in the New World, in one of the most desolate and inaccessible parts of the North Atlantic basin. Storms separated the fleet before it reached Frobisher Bay on the east coast of Baffin Island, and those ships that accompanied Frobisher sailed by mistake into an opening they called 'Mistaken Straits', but was later to be named after Henry Hudson. Once the fleet was reunited at Kodlunarn Island in Frobisher Bay, 1250 tons of ore – thought to be gold-bearing – were mined, but plans to leave a hundred men behind for the winter were abandoned. After the fleet returned home, assays of the ore showed that it contained only iron pyrites or 'fool's gold'. In exploration terms the main achievement of the voyage was the accidental discovery of Hudson Strait, which in later decades proved to be an entry point into the North American continent and was often assumed to be the entrance to the Northwest Passage.

Further Reading

Fitzhugh, William W. and Jacqueline S. Olin, *Archaeology of the Frobisher Voyages*, Washington, 1993.

McDermott, James, *Martin Frobisher: Elizabethan Privateer*, London, 2002.

Symonds, H. B., ed., *Meta Incognita: A Discourse of Discovery*, 2 vols., Hull, Que., 1999; twenty essays written in connection with the investigations carried out in the 1990s at the site of Frobisher's activities on Kodlunarn Island.

The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator. Edited, with an introduction and notes by Albert Hastings Markham, 1st series, 59a, 1880 (1878) and 59b, 1880.

The editorial Introduction has a summary of previous accounts of Davis and his voyages, and an explanatory note by C. H. Coote on the 'New Map' of the world, 1600, a facsimile of which is bound separately (59b). Davis, an experienced navigator, made three voyages in search of the Northwest Passage in the mid-1580s. The account of his first voyage in 1585 was written by John Janes, supercargo on the voyage. Davis's two ships reached the west coast of Greenland at Godhaab (now Nuuk) where they encountered their first Greenlanders (Kalallit). They then crossed the narrowest part of Davis Strait and explored the southern coast of Baffin Island before returning home. The next year Davis sailed again, and his account of the voyage is printed here. The ships again reached Gilbert Sound on the southeast coast of Baffin Island, but found their way north blocked by ice. Davis brought home a cargo of seal skins, and reported – not very helpfully – that the Northwest Passage 'must bee in one of foure places, or els not at all'. Also included is Henry Morgan's account of a subsidiary voyage by two of Davis's ships sent to investigate the passage between Greenland and Iceland.

For the third voyage in 1587 the account was written once more by Janes, but for the first time we have a conventional logbook (called 'traverse-book' here) kept by Davis in vertical columns in what was to become standard practice. Davis also noted magnetic variation. Sailing north up Davis Strait the navigator reached 72°12'N, the farthest north recorded by any European vessel at this time. On the way back Davis explored more of the east coast of Baffin Island and crossed 'the very great gulfe' of Hudson Strait. Despite

Davis's insistence that 'the passage is most probable, the execution easie' this was the last of his northern voyages.

The rest of the volume is taken up with accounts of Davis's later voyages as a pilot on English and Dutch ships trading in the Eastern Seas, where he was killed in 1605. But first he compiled two books which had great influence on his contemporaries, and which are printed here in full. The first is *The Seamans Secrets*, a practical guide to navigation which included a description of using his invention of the back-staff to determine latitude. The second is *The Worldes Hydrographical Description* which described his own experiences and those of other navigators in far northern regions.

Further Reading

Larnder, Margaret Montgomery, 'John Davis (Davys)', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, I, Toronto, 1966, pp. 251–2.

The Three Voyages of William Barents to the Arctic Regions, 1594, 1595, and 1596, by Gerrit de Veer. Second edition with an introduction by Laurens Koolemans Beynen, 1st series, 54, 1876.

This volume contains the Introduction to the first edition of the English translation of Barents' three voyages to the Barents Sea, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1853 (1/13) with an Introduction by Charles T. Beke. The main text, translated from the original Dutch narrative of 1598 by Gerrit de Veer, remains the same in both Hakluyt Society editions, [William Phillip], *The True and perfect Description of three Voyages, so strange and woonderfull, that the like hath neuer been heard of before* (London, 1609), but in the second edition a number of translation and typographical errors have been corrected. In his Introduction to this edition the editor was also able to take advantage of the fact that since the time of the first edition Novaya Zemlya had been circumnavigated, and the remains of the building in which Barents and his crew had wintered on his last voyage had been discovered. During the voyage of 1594 Barents charted for the first time the west coast of Novaya Zemlya, and reached its northern point before being blocked by ice. The next year a larger expedition of seven ships laden with trading goods in the hope of finding a northeast passage to China was also forced to turn back. On his third voyage of 1596 Barents sighted the coast of Spitsbergen before rounding the northern tip of Novaya Zemlya. In late August his ship was trapped by ice on the east coast of Novaya Zemlya and the crew forced to winter. The following June they made a 1500-mile voyage through icy seas in open boats to safety, but Barents died on the journey and was buried in Novaya Zemlya. De Veer described how the survivors arrived in Amsterdam in November 1597 'in the same clothes that we ware in Nova Zembla, with our caps furd with white foxes skins ... many men woundred to see us, as having esteemed us long before to have bin dead and rotten'. De Veer's account of the voyages, on at least two of which he sailed, has been described by Richard Vaughan as 'one of the most readable, lively and perceptive eye-witness accounts of Arctic exploration ever written'. In 1871 Barents's wintering quarters were discovered, and since then many relics of the expedition, including the remains of Barents's ship, have been found.

An appendix to this edition contains a memorandum in Latin to Gerard Mercator of 1581 on the Northeast Passage, an account of Henry Hudson's visit to Novaya Zemlya in

1608, and a fragment by Barents dated August 1595 taken from *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625).

Further Reading

Hacquebord, Louwrens, 'Barents, Willem', in Mark Nuttall, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, Vol. 1, New York and London, 2005, pp. 201–2.

Unwin, Raynar, *A Winter Away from Home: William Barents and the Northeast Passage*, London and New York, 1995.

Vaughan, Richard, *The Arctic: A History*, Stroud, Glos., 1994, pp. 59–64.

3. The Seventeenth Century

The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt., to the East Indies, with Abstracts of Journals of Voyages to the East Indies, during the Seventeenth Century, preserved in the India Office. And the Voyage of Captain John Knight (1606), to seek the North-West Passage. Edited by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 56, 1877.

The journal of Knight's voyage in search of a Northwest Passage is the only one in this edition of East India documents with relevance to the Arctic. The editor explains that 'the original manuscript was found in the India Office 'amongst a heap of waste paper, and was thus rescued from destruction.' Knight's ship, the *Hopewell*, reached the coast of Labrador near Nain in June 1606, where it was buffeted by 'mighty Ilands of Ice' and driven ashore. Knight's journal ends at this point. On 26 June Knight landed on a small island where he went ashore with three men, and were never seen again. The rest of the crew fended off a native attack, managed to refloat and repair the ship, and returned to England. The report of the voyage after Knight's disappearance was written by Oliver Browne, one of the ship's crew, and printed in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625).

Henry Hudson the Navigator: the Original Documents in which his Career is recorded. Collected, partly translated, and annotated, with an Introduction, by G. M. Asher, 1st series, 27, 1860.

This edition contains documents relating to all four of Henry Hudson's discovery voyages, of 1607, 1608, 1609, and 1610–11, mostly taken from the pages of Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625). His first voyage, in the service of the Muscovy Company, was an attempt to reach China by way of the North Pole. Hudson reached 80°N on the coast of Spitsbergen before turning back, as described in his log-book of the voyage, 'His Discoveries towards the North Pole'. Hudson's second voyage, also in the service of the Muscovy Company, was, in the words of his log-book, 'for finding a passage to the East Indies by way of the North-East', but reached no farther than Novaya Zemlya. Hudson's third voyage, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, also reached Novaya Zemlya before turning southwest and crossing the Atlantic to the eastern coast of North America. On all three voyages ice blocked attempts to find a short route to the East.

Hudson's fourth and last voyage, in search of a Northwest Passage, was financed by a group of English investors. His ship, the *Discovery*, passed through the strait soon to be named after him, and entered Hudson Bay. After the crew wintered in the southern part of the

bay (later James Bay) mutineers cast Hudson and eight others adrift in June 1611; their precise fate is unknown, but their deaths could have been only a matter of time. On the ship's homeward voyage four of the mutineers were killed during an attack by Inuit at the entrance of Hudson Strait. This edition contains part of Hudson's journal, covering only the early months of the voyage; the remainder of the journal was presumably destroyed by the mutineers. Other documents include a letter by Hudson in Iceland on the outward voyage and a note on the trial by Hudson during the voyage of a discontented crew member, Robert Juet. The most important document in this section is 'A Larger discourse' kept by one of the mutineers, Abacuk Pricket, which describes events on the latter part of the voyage; it is a dramatic but self-interested account. Also included in the volume is a facsimile of Hudson's chart of his discoveries, engraved by Hessel Gerritsz, which shows Hudson Strait and to the west 'Mare Magnum' or great sea. Later scholarship has found more detail on the trial of the mutineers after the *Discovery's* return to England, but otherwise add little to the main events of the voyage as set out in Asher's edition.

An appendix contains a number of miscellaneous documents, most of them not directly related to Hudson.

Further Reading

Abbe, Ernest C. and Gillis, Frank J., 'Henry Hudson and the early exploration and mapping of Hudson Bay, 1610–1631', in John Parker, ed., *Merchants and Scholars*, Minneapolis, 1965.

Mancall, Peter C., *Fatal Journey: the Final Expedition of Henry Hudson*, New York, 2009.

Neatby, L. H., 'Henry Hudson', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, I, 1000–1700, Toronto, 1966, pp. 374–9.

The Voyages of William Baffin, 1612–1622. Edited, with notes and introduction, by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 63, 1881 (1880).

Details of some of the most important Arctic voyages of the early seventeenth century are packed into this slim volume, while the Introduction also describes William Baffin's later service (1617–22) in the service of the East India Company and his death at Ormuz. The volume contains texts relating to the five Arctic voyages of Baffin, a seaman notable not only for his geographical discoveries but for his astronomical knowledge and his advances in navigational techniques.

The first voyage was in 1612, a whaling venture to Greenland, in which Baffin sailed as pilot in James Hall's ship the *Patience*. The early part of the voyage is narrated by John Gatonby, the latter by Baffin, who describes the Eskimos of the west coast of Greenland, and Hall's death at their hands. Baffin's notes include eight observations of magnetic variation, as well as observations of latitude and longitude, the latter 'somewhat difficult and troublesome'. The second voyage in 1613, to the whaling grounds of Spitsbergen (Svalbard), was in the service of the Muscovy Company. The accounts of the voyage by Baffin and the ship's master Robert Fotherby are printed here; Baffin's narrative contains observations of magnetic variation, while Fotherby's has a description of Greenland and of contemporary whaling methods. In 1614 the Muscovy Company fitted out an eleven-ship venture, including Baffin as chief pilot, to Spitsbergen, but although Baffin reached Hakluyt's Headland, the

northwestern point of Spitsbergen, ice handicapped the fleet's whaling and surveying operations.

1615 saw a change of both employer and direction for Baffin, who sailed for Hudson Bay in Hudson's old ship, the *Discovery* (master Robert Bylot), in the service of 'The Company for the Discovery of the North-West Passage'. Again, Baffin took regular observations for latitude, and observations for magnetic variation (twenty-seven of the latter). But the main importance of his voyage in astronomical terms was his taking of a lunar observation to calculate longitude – almost certainly the first time a lunar observation had been taken at sea. His journal describes how he passed through Hudson Strait and along the northeast coast of Southampton Island before being forced back by ice; a setback that led him to conclude that there was no Northwest Passage through Hudson Bay. The journal is supplemented by Baffin's chart (of which a facsimile is included here) of Hudson Strait and the eastern part of Hudson Bay which has details of Baffin's route and anchoring places, and the tides.

Baffin's fifth voyage in 1616 in the *Discovery* (master Robert Bylot again) was the most important Arctic venture of the period, for after negotiating Davis Strait Baffin discovered the great northern bay later to be named after him. At Smith Sound in Baffin Bay he reached latitude 78°N, the farthest north reached by ships in the Canadian Arctic until the nineteenth century, while in latitude 74°20'N on his return route down the west coast of Baffin Bay he passed the entrance of Lancaster Sound, found to be the entrance of the Northwest Passage more than two hundred years later. Unfortunately, Purchas printed (in 1625) only part of Baffin's journal and discarded his chart, a sad lack of recognition of Baffin's achievement that for long cast doubt on the reality of his discovery. What remains of his journal is printed here as 'A brief and true Relation or Journall' of the voyage, together with Baffin's instructions and a pessimistic letter from him to one of the projectors of the voyage, Sir John Wolstenholme, in which he wrote 'there is no passage nor hope of passage to the north of Davis Streights ... We ... finde it to be no other than a great bay.'

The volume also contains two memoirs by the mathematician and astronomer, Henry Briggs: 'Briefe Discourse of the probabilitie of a passage to the Westerne or South Sea', and 'Treatise of the North-west passage to the South Sea', together with Michael Lok's 'Notes' on the Strait of Anian and its claimed discovery by Juan de Fuca.

Further Reading

Pennington, L. E., ed., *The Purchas Handbook*, London, 1997, especially Vol. I, pp. 46, 297–8.

Waters, David W., *The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times*, London, 1958.

Danish Arctic Expeditions, 1605–1620. Book I. The Danish Expeditions to Greenland in 1605, 1606, and 1607, to which is added Captain James Hall's Expedition to Greenland in 1612. Edited by G. C. A. Gooch, 1st series, 96, 1897.

The main part of the volume contains accounts of Danish voyages to Greenland in 1605, 1606 and 1607, and an English voyage in 1612, on all of which James Hall of Hull served as pilot, preceded by an Introduction of 120 pages. The 1605 expedition of three ships was described by Hall in a letter to Christian IV of Denmark, and in a longer account later printed

by Purchas. It described how he reached the west coast of Greenland on 12 June and spent two weeks exploring the coast between latitudes 66°30'N and 69°N. His surveys were shown on four charts, all included here. A more general chart of his explorations, called the 'Stockholm Chart' is also included. Two Greenlanders were kidnapped on this expedition, and five on the next, in 1606. This expedition was disappointing, in that the silver ore thought to have been discovered in 1605 proved to be worthless *mica*, and no trace was found of the lost Norse colony. The 1607 expedition was even more disappointing, since storms prevented any landings. However, the voyages enabled Christian IV to claim sovereignty over Greenland. On his voyage of 1612 in English ships, described by the quartermaster, John Gatonbe, Hall was killed by Greenlanders, possibly in revenge for the earlier kidnappings.

Appendix A contains a detailed analysis by C. C. A. Gooch of the 'Stockholm Chart', so called because of its location in the Royal Library of Stockholm.

Appendix B contains a critical survey of the literature on 'Busse Island' by Miller Christy, described by him as 'one of the most perplexing of the many "Phantom Islands" of the Atlantic.'

Danish Arctic Expeditions, 1605–1620. Book II. The Expedition of Captain Jens Munk to Hudson's Bay in Search of a North-West Passage in 1619–20. Edited by C. C. A. Gooch, 1st series, 97, 1897.

An editorial introduction of more than 100 pages includes a biographical sketch of Munk before and after the voyage of 1619–20, a summary of earlier voyages in search of a Northwest Passage, observations on Munk's account, printed as *Navigatio Septentrionalis* (Copenhagen, 1624), and a list of crew members (including two Englishmen who served as mates).

Munk's book, printed here with annotations, describes a voyage that was notable less for its discoveries than for its appalling mortality rate. The wintering at Churchill River on the southwest coast of Hudson Bay saw after Christmas almost daily deaths among the crews of the two ships – most from scurvy, though dysentery and the intense cold also played a part. By the end of April 1620 only Munk and three others were able to move around, and their chief activity was burying the dead. In July Munk and his two remaining companions rigged the smaller of their two vessels, and in an extraordinary feat of endurance and navigation managed to sail across Hudson Bay, through Hudson Strait, and across the Atlantic, to reach Denmark in December 1620. Although abridged accounts of the Danish account appeared in other languages, there was no translation of the full narrative until this English version in 1897.

The most valuable part of the rest of the volume is an editorial survey, as long as the original account, of the differences between Munk's printed narrative and his manuscript account. There are also shorter sections on the relics of Munk's stay at Churchill and on his probable instructions, and a long analysis of Munk's map, reproduced here together with two woodcuts illustrating the winter at Churchill.

Further Reading

Hansen, Thorkild, *The Way to Hudson Bay: The Life and Times of Jens Munk*, New York, 1976.

Kenyon, W. A., ed., *The Journal of Jens Munk 1619–20*, Toronto, 1980.

***Early Dutch and English Voyages to Spitsbergen in the Seventeenth Century.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. Martin Conway, 2nd series, 11, 1904 (1902).**

The volume begins with a translation by Basil H. Soulsby of Hessel Gerritsz, *Histoire du Pays Nommé Spitsberghe* (Amsterdam, 1613). The short editorial introduction includes a facsimile of Gerritsz's map of Spitsbergen (Svalbard). The book describes Spitsbergen and its wild life, and concludes with a summary of the disputes between Dutch and English whalers. This is followed by a series of English affidavits on the 'Troubles at Spitsbergen in 1618', which includes a description of an attack by Dutch whalers on the ships of the Muscovy Company, 'tellinge them they would carrie them into Hollande and hange them'.

A translation by J. A. J. de Villers of Jacob Segersz, Van der Brugge, *Journal or Day-Book kept by Seven Sailors during their wintering on Spitsbergen* (Amsterdam, 1634) describes the fortunes and misfortunes of fourteen Dutch sailors left to winter on Jan Mayen and Spitsbergen. This followed the survival of Edward Pelham's group in 1630–31 (see *An Account of Spitsbergen & Greenland*, 1/18 below). The seven on Jan Mayen all died, the seven on Spitsbergen survived, and the book describes their ordeal during the winter months, faced with intense cold and attacks by polar bears (the latter shown in an illustration from the book). 'A Short Journal of Seven Other Seamen' who wintered in the following year describes how the relief expedition which reached Spitsbergen in 1635 found all seven had perished, either buried in coffins, or lying dead on the floor.

The final document is a description of the disputes between the whalers of the Muscovy Company and various interlopers. It includes a petition by the Muscovy Company against Yarmouth interlopers.

Further Reading

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Vaughan, Richard, *The Arctic: A History*, Stroud, Glos., 1994, especially chap. 4.

***The Voyages of Captain Luke Foxe of Hull, and Captain Thomas James of Bristol, in Search of a North-West Passage, in 1631–32.* Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by Miller Christy, 2 vols, 1st series, 88 and 89, 1894 (1893).**

This two-volume edition prints the published accounts by Luke Foxe, *North-West Foxe, or Fox from the North-West Passage* (London, 1635) and Thomas James, *The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captain Thomas James* (London, 1633), of their rival voyages to Hudson Bay in search of the Northwest Passage. Volume I has an Introduction of 231 pages, together with the first part of *North-West Foxe* which summarises earlier Arctic voyages from those of King Arthur [*sic*] to that of William Hawkridge in 1619. This has been described as 'perhaps the first history of Arctic exploration'. Volume II contains the second part of Foxe's book, describing his own voyage and the full text of James's book, together with an appendix to his book 'touching Longitude' by Henry Gellibrand. Both texts are supplemented by extensive editorial footnotes.

Foxe's expedition in the *Charles* lasted a single season, in which he sailed across Hudson Bay to its west coast at Roe's Welcome and then south to Port Nelson, near which he met James's ship, the *Henrietta Maria*. After a terse encounter with his rival captain Foxe

continued round Hudson Bay to its southern opening at James Bay and then north to Foxe Channel before returning home. His account of his voyage was published two years after James's book, and was a sanitised version intended to stress his smooth professional running of the voyage in contrast to his rival's hair-raising account. It needs to be read alongside Foxe's manuscript journal, which describes many disputes between him and his senior officers, and extracts from which were appended to this text by the editor, and also the journal of the unnamed master (British Library, Add. MS. 19,302).

James's voyage, as the title of his account indicates, was a far more desperate affair, and involved a wintering at Charlton Island in James Bay. Without known precedents to guide him, James decided to sink his ship and winter ashore. His account describes the harrowing ordeal of the crew, suffering from scurvy and extreme cold, but all save four survived. Barely seaworthy, the *Henrietta Maria* reached Bristol in October 1632. James's account of his voyage was published the next year, and was a compelling account of a northern winter. Many descriptions that later became commonplace in the narratives of Arctic explorers were set down for the first time. The book was reprinted, either in full or in abridged form, a dozen times in the eighteenth century, and some scholars have argued that it provided the inspiration for Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poem, 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner'. Foxe's book contained more navigational information, but it could not compare with James's account either in literary quality or popularity. Together, the voyages represented the last serious attempts to find a Northwest Passage until the eighteenth-century voyages.

This edition concludes with four appendices:

Appendix A: Depositions relating to Henry Hudson's voyage of 1610–11.

Appendix B: Prince Henry's instructions to Thomas Button, 1612.

Appendix C: Anonymous memoir, 'Motives Inducing a Project for the Discoverie of the North Pole Terrestriall', c.1610.

Appendix D: Royal charter to the Company of Merchants Discoverers of the North-West Passage, 26 July 1612.

Further Reading

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Kenyon, W. A., ed., *The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Capt. Thomas James*, Toronto, 1975.

Williams, Glyn, *Arctic Labyrinth: The Quest for the Northwest Passage*, London, 2009, chap. 4.

***The Voyage of Semen Dezhnev in 1648: Bering's Precursor: With selected documents.* [Edited] by Raymond H. Fisher, 2nd series, 159, 1981.**

This is an unusual Hakluyt Society volume in that there it contains no conventional narrative of Semen Dezhnev's voyage, either by its commander, who was an illiterate Siberian Cossack, or by any other member of his trading party which in 1648 sailed in small boats or koches from Russia's easternmost frontier at the Kolyma River along the northeast coast of Siberia in search of a route to the Anadyr River on the Pacific coast. In doing so, Dezhnev rounded the eastern tip of Asia. Without any journal or log of the voyage in existence, the

editor has published thirty-four documents of a later date, designed to give substance and credibility to an expedition whose achievement had been denied by some scholars who preferred to assign priority in discovering the separation of Asia and America to Vitus Bering's voyage of 1728. The key documents were collected and published in the mid-eighteenth century by Gerhard Friedrich Müller, a German scholar at the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences, who found in the archives at Yakutsk in eastern Siberia a series of petitions and reports relating to Dezhnev's voyage and related events. Many of the documents were fragmentary and inferential, and not all scholars accepted Müller's conclusion that Dezhnev had reached the strait later named after Bering. Here the editor publishes sources not known to Müller, mostly petitions (dictated by Dezhnev) which give more information about his trading and official activities.

The second half of the volume is devoted to the editor's reconstruction of the voyage of 1648, including what is known about Dezhnev's career before and after he sailed. The expedition consisted of seven koches (sturdy shallow-draught craft specially built for navigation in ice, as described and illustrated here), probably equipped only with simple compasses and sounding leads. Later petitions show that four or perhaps five of the boats were wrecked on the Arctic coast of Siberia and most if not all of their crews drowned or were killed on shore by the Chukchi or other natives. After passing through Bering Strait Dezhnev's koch was wrecked and he and his men trekked a hundred miles or so overland to the Anadyr River. This section includes a comprehensive examination of the most controversial part of Dezhnev's voyage, whether the 'great rocky nos' he describes was in fact the eastern tip of Asia (today's Cape Deshneva) or Cape Chukotsky farther south. The editor, while refuting the arguments of Frank A. Golder and others that Dezhnev never reached Bering Strait, concedes that he probably never realised the full implications of his momentous discovery, and he never made an attempt to repeat a voyage that had cost the lives of more than three-quarters of his men.

Further Reading

Fisher, Raymond H., *Bering's Voyages: Whither and Why*, Seattle and London, 1977.

Fisher, Raymond H., 'Dezhnev's Voyage of 1648 in the Light of Soviet Scholarship', *Terrae Incognitae*, 1, 1973, pp. 7–26.

Golder, Frank A., *Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641–1850*, Cleveland, 1914.

A Collection of Documents on Spitzbergen & Greenland ... Edited by Adam White, 1st series, 18, 1855 (1856).

This volume contains three accounts. The first is a translation from the German of Friedrich Martens's voyage to Spitsbergen (Svalbard) in 1671, published in English in 1694 as *Voyage to Spitzbergen* and included in *An Account of Several Late Voyages & Discoveries to the South and North*. It was the first description of Spitsbergen to be published, and included chapters on the voyage to and from Spitsbergen, the natural history of the region, and lengthy descriptions of Dutch whaling and walrus-hunting activities. It was not superseded until William Scoresby's *Account of the Arctic Regions* of 1820. An appendix contains additional material from the northern voyages of Constantine John Phipps (1773), F. W. Beechey (1818) and William Edward Parry (1826).

The second account is a new translation of Isaac de la Peyrère's *Histoire du Groenland*, written in 1646 and first published in English in 1663. The history includes a physical description of Greenland, its natural history, and what was known of its history. The author demonstrated the lack of knowledge of the geography of the region when he admitted that he was unable to determine whether 'Greenland is or is not part of the continent of Asia and of Tartary' (p. 236). Also included is 'Carte de Groenland' with explanatory notes. See also Hakluyt Society 1/96, 97.

The third account is of *Gods Power and Providence; Shewed, In the Miraculous Preservation and Deliverance of eight Englishmen, left by mischance in Greenland, Anno 1630, nine moneths and twelve days ... by Edward Pelham, one of eight men aforesaid* (London, 1631). The account is a classic survival narrative of the survival of a Muscovy Company venture during the extreme conditions of an Arctic winter, and can be compared with the account of Willem Barents' wintering in 1596–7 (see Hakluyt Society 1/54 above) and Thomas James's in 1631–2 (see Hakluyt Society 1/89 above). This edition includes a facsimile map of Greenland, with vignettes of the whale and walrus fisheries, compiled for the Muscovy Company and first published in *Purchas his pilgrims* (1625).

Further Reading

Vaughan, Richard, *The Arctic*, Stroud, 1994, pp. 87–8, 130–33.

4. The Eighteenth Century

Voyages to Hudson Bay in Search of a Northwest Passage, 1741–1747. Volume I: The Voyage of Christopher Middleton 1741–1742. Edited by William Barr and Glyndwr Williams, 2nd series, 177, 1994.

The voyage of Christopher Middleton in the bomb-vessel *Furnace* in search of a Northwest Passage marked the beginning of a new phase in Arctic exploration. The volume opens with documents illustrating the role of the Irish MP, Arthur Dobbs, in planning the voyage, the reluctance of the Hudson's Bay Company to participate, and the decision of the Admiralty to mount a discovery expedition under the command of the former HBC captain, Christopher Middleton. The main text prints Middleton's journal of the voyage, omitting only the outward and homeward bound passages to and from Hudson Bay. It includes details of the wintering, with many casualties, of the crews of the *Furnace* and the consort vessel *Discovery* (commanded by William Moor, another Company seaman) at the HBC post at Churchill, and Middleton's survey along the west coast of Hudson Bay in the summer of 1742. This section concludes with the text of Middleton's 'Account of the Extraordinary Degrees and Surprising Effects of Cold in Hudson's Bay, North Americas', a paper that won him the award of the Royal Society's Copley Gold Medal.

The final section of the volume contains the increasingly acrimonious correspondence between Middleton and Dobbs about the voyage, and long extracts from the pamphlets they published at the time. Included in the volume are the contrasting charts by Middleton and John Wigate of the expedition's surveys, together with a plan of the *Furnace*, and a later view of Fort Prince of Wales, Churchill.

Further Reading

Barr, William, 'From Wager Bay to the Hebrides: the Duties of an Eighteenth-Century Bomb Vessel', *The Musk-Ox*, No. 16, 1975, pp. 31–51.

Clarke, Desmond, *Arthur Dobbs Esquire 1689–1765*, London, 1958.

Williams, Glyn, *Voyages of Delusion: The Search for the Northwest Passage in the Age of Reason*, London, 2002, chaps 3 and 4.

Voyages in Search of a Northwest Passage 1741–1747. Volume II: The Voyage of William Moor and Francis Smith 1746–1747. Edited by William Barr and Glyndwr Williams, 2nd series, 181, 1995.

Undismayed by the failure of the Middleton expedition to find a Northwest Passage, Arthur Dobbs, with the help of a consortium of merchants and other investors, organised a privately-financed expedition to search for the passage. Commanded by William Moor and Francis Smith (both former HBC seamen), the *Dobbs-Galley* and *California* wintered at York Factory. The volume contains long extracts from the accounts of the voyage by Henry Ellis and the clerk of the *California* (T. S. Drage). Their books have the fullest description to date of the trade between ships negotiating Hudson Strait and the Southern Baffin Inuit. Once the expedition reached York Factory the accounts describe bitter disputes between Moor and Smith, which continued during their ineffective search for a passage along the west coast of Hudson Bay. The captains' reluctant host at York Factory, the HBC factor James Isham, found himself acting as a mediator, as shown by the extracts from his manuscript journal printed here. The return of the discovery ships was followed by an unsuccessful attempt by Dobbs to challenge the monopoly of the HBC on the grounds that it had obstructed the search for the Northwest Passage. The volume has extracts from the evidence given to the parliamentary committee of 1749 established to investigate the Company's monopoly as well as documents giving the HBC side of the controversy.

The volume includes charts of Hudson Bay representing the differing views of Dobbs, Ellis and Drage, also a chart of the York Factory region by Joseph Robson (a contemporary servant and later critic of the HBC) together with Isham's plan of York Factory, and a later view. Appendix I contains the full text of 'The Fonte Letter', an apocryphal account printed by Dobbs as evidence for a Northwest Passage. Appendix 2 compares the rival accounts of the voyage.

Further Reading

Adams, Percy G., 'The Case of Swaine versus Drage: An Eighteenth-Century Publishing Mystery Solved', in Heinz Bluhn, ed., *Essays in History and Literature*, Chicago, 1985, pp. 157–68.

Rich, E. E. and Johnson, A. M., eds., *James Isham's Observations on Hudsons Bay, 1743 and Notes and Observations on a Book entitled A Voyage to Hudsons Bay in the Dobbs Galley, 1749*, Toronto, Champlain Society, and London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1949.

Williams, Glyn, *Voyages of Delusion: The Search for the Northwest Passage in the Age of Reason*, London, 2002, chaps 5 and 6.

The Geography of Hudson's Bay: Being the Remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many Voyages to that Locality, between the Years 1727 and 1751. With an Appendix containing Extracts from the Log of Capt. Middleton on the Voyage for the Discovery of the North-West Passage in H.M.S. "Furnace" in 1741–2. Edited by John Barrow [jnr.], 1st series, 11, 1852 (1851).

William Coats was a ship's captain in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1727 to 1751. During his numerous supply voyages to the Company's posts in Hudson Bay his ship was twice wrecked, in 1727 and 1736, in the Hudson Strait region. Coats's main achievement came near the end of his long service when in 1749 and 1750 he charted 500 miles of the little-known east coast (the Eastmain) of Hudson Bay, and established at Richmond Fort the farthest north of the Company posts at this time. Unknown to the editor of this volume, Coats's career with the Company came to an abrupt and unhappy end when in November 1751 he was found guilty of illicit trade on his voyages to Hudson Bay, and dismissed. He died in January 1752, possibly by his own hand.

During his years in the Company's service Coats made extensive notes on Hudson Bay and its native peoples. The 'Geography' published here seems to have been written around 1750–51 since there are references in it to events of 1748–50. Full of navigational hints, it was compiled for the benefit of his two sons, who were warned to keep it secret unless they were mistreated by the Hudson's Bay Company, in which case it should 'be made publick for the use and benefit of mankind'. Its section on navigation put special emphasis on the prodigious tides and threatening masses of ice of Hudson Strait, and has vivid descriptions of the effects of cold on the ships' rigging even in the summer months – 'when blocks are locks, and ropes are bolts, and sails can neither be taken in or left out, is surely the last extremity'. The 'Geography' also describes the Company's Bayside posts and the inland Indians who traded at them, but for ethnologists its most valuable section is his description of the 'Usquemows' (Inuit) who traded with his ship as it passed through Hudson Strait. Coats's 'Geography' passed into the hand of the nineteenth-century Arctic explorer, Sir William Parry, who lent it to John Barrow, Jnr., for this edition. It was evidently not returned, for it remained in the archives of the Hakluyt Society until 2008, when it was acquired by the British Library.

An appendix contains extracts from Christopher Middleton's log of the *Furnace* 1741–2 in search of the Northwest Passage, together with a selection of his letters to the Admiralty, a summary of his voyage, and the text of his observations on 'The effects of cold; together with observations of the longitude, latitude, refraction of the atmosphere, and delineation of the magnetic needle, at Prince of Wales's Fort, Churchill River, in Hudson's Bay, North America'. See also Hakluyt Society 2/177 above.

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Williams, Glyndwr, 'William Coats', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, III, 1741 to 1770, Toronto, 1974, pp. 127–8.

***The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery: The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776–1780.* Edited by J. C. Beaglehole, 2 parts, Extra Series, 36a and 36b, Cambridge, 1967.**

Part 1 of this monumental edition (comprising a combined total of more than 1800 pages in both parts, including a 220-page Introduction) has as its centrepiece Cook's manuscript journal of his third voyage up to 17 January 1779, four weeks before his death on Hawai'i. It is significantly different from the published version edited by Canon John Douglas and published in 1784. The remainder of Cook's journal is missing, but the gaps in the narrative of the voyage are filled here by extracts from the journals of Captain Charles Clerke and Lieutenant James King. After Clerke's death off Kamchatka in August 1779 the journals of Lieutenant James Burney, Thomas Edgar, master of the *Discovery*, and able seaman George Gilbert complete the story of the voyage, although in abbreviated form. The discovery since the publication of Beaglehole's edition of James King's 'running journal' enables the story of the voyage from 22 August 1779 (at Kamchatka) to 12 April 1780 (arrival at the Cape of Good Hope) to be told in more detail – see next entry below.

Part 2 contains the personal journals of ship's surgeons William Anderson and David Samwell, together with long extracts from the journals of Clerke, Burney, Lieutenant John Williamson, Edgar and King. The edition concludes with a brief note by quartermaster Alexander Home on Cook as a dietician, a list of the ships' companies and a comprehensive calendar of documents relating to the voyage. Throughout the edition the journals are annotated with extensive footnotes.

The story of Cook's voyage to the North Pacific in search of the Northwest Passage is a mixture of achievement, disappointment and tragedy. During the summer of 1778 he coasted the shores of (modern) British Columbia and Alaska in search of an opening to the east until in August he reached Bering Strait, the first ships to do so since Bering's voyage fifty years earlier. Once through the strait Cook's ships were forced back by a massive wall of ice just north of latitude 70°N, and wintered in Hawai'i, where Cook was killed in February 1779. That summer the ships, commanded by Clerke, returned to Bering Strait, but again were confronted by what Clerke described as 'the amazing mass of ice ... an insurmountable barrier'. Although a failure in terms of its primary object, the voyage drew attention to the commercial possibilities of this remote region, and in particular to the trade in sea otter pelts. The 1780s and 1790s saw a series of voyages to the northwest coast during which the question of the Northwest Passage once more came to the fore. See, for example, the voyages of La Pérouse, Malaspina and Vancouver described below.

Further Reading

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Fisher, Robin and Johnston, Hugh, eds., *Captain James Cook and His Times*, Vancouver, 1979.

Nicandri, David and Barnett, James K. eds., *Arctic Ambitions: Captain Cook and the Northwest Passage*, Seattle, 2014.

The Charts & Coastal Views of Captain Cook's Voyages. Volume III: The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776–1780. Edited by Andrew David, Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith, Extra Series, 46, London, 1997.

An extensive Introduction of more than a hundred pages together with forty-six plates has analytical sections on the expedition's astronomical, survey and navigational instruments, the surveys and coastal views made on the voyage, the scientific results of the voyage, biographical entries on the surveyors, artists and draughtsmen, the use of colour and the publication of the charts and coastal views, and a descriptive inventory of the worldwide collections of charts and coastal views. It also has an essay on Russian charts of the North Pacific by Alexei V. Postnikov. The Introduction concludes with appendices on the Board of Longitude's instructions to William Bayly, the foreword to Bayly's journal, the instruments supplied to Cook and Bayly, James King's memorandum on his navigational and astronomical procedures, and a list of Board of Longitude papers for this and other discovery voyages.

The main part of the volume is a Descriptive Catalogue which contains the charts and coastal views of Cook's third voyage arranged in chronological order, accompanied by extensive editorial notes. Four of these sections contains maps and coastal views from the Arctic incursions of the ships: Nootka Sound to Cook Inlet (April to June 1778); Cook Inlet to Cape Newenham (June to July 1778); first penetration of the Bering and Chukchi Seas (July to October 1778); Avacha Bay and second penetration of the Bering and Chukchi Seas (April to August 1779). For many of the charts and coastal views the manuscript and printed versions are shown alongside each other so that a direct comparison can be made, making a total of more than two hundred illustrations in this section.

The edition concludes with James King's 'running journal' covering the voyage from 22 August 1779 (at Kamchatka) to 12 April 1780 (arrival at Cape Town).

The Journal of Jean-François de Galaup de La Pérouse 1785–1788. Translated and edited by John Dunmore, 2 vols, 2nd series, 179 & 180, 1994 & 1995.

The French naval expedition commanded by the Comte de La Pérouse reflected both the spirit of scientific enquiry of the Enlightenment, and the great-power rivalries of the period. Its contingent of fifteen scientists was the largest yet taken on a Pacific discovery voyage, intended to be the 'réplique française' to Cook's voyages. Among its instructions was an order to complete Cook's outline survey of the northwest coast of America, where French geographers hoped the entrance of a Northwest Passage might be found. The voyage ended in disaster with the loss of both ships and their crews in the South Pacific in early 1788.

An account of the voyage was published in 1797 by an army officer, M. L. A. Milet-Mureau, but it was a poor substitute for La Pérouse's own journal, sections of which had been sent back to France at various stages of the voyage, but which had then disappeared. In the late 1970s Catherine Gaziello discovered the journal in the Archives nationales in Paris; it was published (in its original French) in 1985; and for the first time in English in this edition. Here only that part of the voyage that took the expedition into northern waters will be considered.

In early July 1786 towards the end of the first year of his voyage La Pérouse arrived on the Alaskan coast, where he entered an inlet in latitude 58°52'N that had not been sighted

by Cook or by Spanish vessels on the coast. He named the inlet Port des Français (today's Lituya Bay), and sent boats to investigate two broad channels in the hope that they might lead to the Canadian lakes of the interior. The boat crews discovered that both channels ran into dead ends closed by ice, while back at the ships La Pérouse wrote that the Tlingit inhabitants of the sound were 'as rough and barbarous as their soil is stony and untilled'. To disappointment was added tragedy when two boats capsized near the entrance with the loss of all their crews – six officers and fifteen men. As the ships headed south La Pérouse wrote journal entries that reflected his irritation at a wasted season. The idea of a navigable Northwest Passage was as 'absurd' as those 'pious frauds' of a more credulous age.

The edition concludes with a lengthy Appendix I of ninety pages containing correspondence from La Pérouse and other officers to Charles Claret de Fleurieu, Minister of the Marine, together with Appendix II, containing the muster rolls of the two ships; Appendix III, a short essay on the death of Father Receveur at Botany Bay; and Appendix IV, a note on monuments erected to La Pérouse.

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Dunmore, John, *Where Fate Beckons: The Life of Jean-François de La Pérouse*, Fairbanks, Alaska, 2007.

Gaziello, Catherine, *L'Expédition de Lapérouse 1785–1788: réplique française aux voyages de Cook*, Paris, 1984.

***The Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie*. Edited by W. Kaye Lamb, Extra Series, 41, Cambridge, 1970.**

This edition contains all of Mackenzie's most important writings on the Canadian fur trade, including his journals for his voyages of 1789 (to the Arctic Ocean) and 1793 (to the Pacific coast) in the service of the North West Company. The first voyage had its origin in the assumption by another Nor'Wester, Peter Pond, that there was a river connection between Great Slave Lake and the Pacific Ocean. In the summer of 1789 Mackenzie and a party that included French-Canadian voyageurs and an experienced Chipewyan guide, 'English Chief', followed the river leading out of the western end of Great Slave Lake, only to find it turned north and after a thousand miles ended in the tidal waters of the Arctic Ocean. Although disappointed in the outcome of his journey, Mackenzie had established the location of a stretch of North America's Arctic coastline, well to the west of that reached by Samuel Hearne in 1771, and by way of the river named after him had opened a new access route to the northwest.

Mackenzie's journal of his hazardous journey, particularly valuable because of its notes on the botany and zoology of the Canadian Northwest, was printed in his *Voyages from Montreal ... to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans* of 1801, but this edition also includes material from his manuscript journal.

Further Reading

Gough, Barry, *First Across the Continent: Sir Alexander Mackenzie*, Norman, 1997.

***The Malaspina Expedition 1789–1794: Journal of the Voyage by Alejandro Malaspina. Volume II: Panama to the Philippines.* Edited by Andrew David, Felipe Fernández-Armesto, Carlos Novi and Glyndwr Williams, 3rd series, 11, 2003.**

Malaspina's voyage was an ambitious mission of survey of Spain's overseas territories which took an unexpected turn at Acapulco in March 1791 when he received instructions from Spain ordering him to sail north to the Alaskan coast to search for a passage between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans claimed to have been discovered in 1588 by Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado. Malaspina's journal describes how at the end of June 1791 he entered Yakutat Bay in latitude 59°15'N that resembled Ferrer Maldonado's description, but proved to be an icy dead-end. The journal has valuable descriptions and drawings of the Tlingit inhabitants of the bay, but yet another attempt to find a Northwest Passage had failed. Malaspina commented that readers in the twenty-first century would be astounded to see how seriously tales such as this had been taken in an age that called itself enlightened.

This edition is accompanied by a lengthy appendix on 'The Ferrer Maldonado fantasy'. This contains a new translation of the text of Ferrer Maldonado's 'Relation' of his supposed voyage, followed by memoirs and comments on the voyage by the French geographer, Jean-Nicolas Buache de la Neuville, the expedition's consort commander, José Bustamante y Guerra, Malaspina himself, and the Spanish scholar, Juan Bautista Muñoz.

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Kendrick, John, *Alejandro Malaspina – Portrait of a Visionary*, Montreal, 1991.

Olson, Wallace M., *Through Spanish Eyes: Spanish Voyages to Alaska, 1774–1792*, Auke, Alaska, 2002.

***George Vancouver, A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, 1791–1795, with an Introduction and Appendices.* Edited by W. Kaye Lamb, 4 vols, 2nd series, 163–66, 1974.**

This multi-volume edition of George Vancouver's voyage prints the journal he wrote for publication, with the help of his brother, John, after his return to England in 1795. It was published in 1798 in three volumes accompanied by a folio atlas of charts and views a few months after his death; Vancouver's original journal from the voyage seems not to have survived. The published journal is a comprehensive account of a voyage that aimed to complete Cook's partial survey of the northwest coast of America in 1778 in an attempt to settle, once and for all, the question of whether the various sounds and openings from the Strait of Juan de Fuca north to Cook Inlet in Alaska led to a Northwest Passage. Vancouver was also to carry out negotiations with the Spanish authorities at Nootka Sound, represented by Bodega y Quadra, to receive restitution of the land seized by Spain in 1789. Vancouver's main task occupied the three navigable seasons along the coasts of (modern) British Columbia and Alaska from 1792 to 1794, while the winter seasons were spent in Hawai'i. His journal gives full details of the expedition's painstaking survey work, carried out mainly in boats, often in atrocious weather conditions. It also gives details of the various peoples of the coast, Salish, Kwakiutl, Haida and Tlingit. The result of Vancouver's massive survey was charts that were in use throughout the following century, and a demonstration that the

supposed passages between the Pacific and the Atlantic attributed to navigators, real or fictitious, did not exist.

This edition is prefaced by Dr Lamb's book-length Introduction of almost three hundred pages, while the text of the journal is amplified by annotations that give extensive quotations from other journals kept during the voyage. Among these is the journal kept by Lieut. Peter Puget of the *Discovery*, and that written after the voyage for intended publication (which never materialised) by the naturalist Alexander Menzies. Other journals drawn on by the editor include those of Lieut. William Broughton (commander of the consort vessel, *Chatham*), Edward Bell (the frank private journal of the clerk of the *Chatham*), and ships' masters Thomas Manby and James Johnstone. The latter two are especially valuable because of the details they give of the boat surveying expeditions. The edition concludes with a series of appendices, the fullest of which contains a selection from Vancouver's correspondence and dispatches during the voyage. Others contain letters by Menzies, Joseph Whidbey and Manby, often critical of Vancouver, and a table listing the performance of the chronometers on the voyage.

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Naish, John M., *The Interwoven Lives of George Vancouver, Archibald Menzies, Joseph Whidbey, and Peter Puget*, Lewiston / Queenston / Lampeter, 1996.

5. The Nineteenth Century

***The Iceland Journal of Henry Holland (1810)*. Edited by Andrew Wawn, 2nd series, 168, Cambridge, 1987.**

At the age of twenty-two a young physician, Henry Holland (later to become physician to members of the royal family and other leading personalities of Victorian England) accompanied the celebrated mineralogist, Sir George Mackenzie, on a scientific expedition to Iceland. In the contemporary debate between Wernerian and Huttonian advocates on the origin of rocks, Mackenzie supported the Huttonian thesis, that rocks were igneous in origin, formed by the pressure of subterranean heat. In Iceland he hoped to find evidence for this thesis, and in 1810 he led his small party on three inland excursions from Reykjavík. On his return to England Mackenzie published his account of the expedition, *Travels in the island of Iceland during the summer of 1810* (Edinburgh, 1811), the first book on Iceland in English for almost forty years. Contrary to assumptions at the time, the editor of this volume shows that Mackenzie's book was 'massively though erratically dependent' on Henry Holland's manuscript journal. It is this journal that is published here, annotated with comprehensive editorial footnotes.

The journal has daily entries of the party's three journeys. For the most part, the members of the party procured enough horses or themselves and their baggage, but at times

they had to travel on foot – to the amazement of the local inhabitants. Whether on horse or on foot, the going was often difficult, across lava fields and in stormy summer weather. As Holland noted, Icelanders did not calculate the length of journeys by linear measurements but by the time a journey took – a predictably uncertain process. Holland's journal is a mix of the personal, the scientific and the commercial. He was full of praise for the hospitality of the Icelanders met on the way; made careful notes on the sulphur and hot springs that they observed (including the great Geysir of Haukadalur), and noted the adverse effects on the island's economy caused by the Napoleonic Wars.

This edition contains several appendices: a log of the weather encountered on the three journeys; a list of the parishes of Iceland; an essay on 'The Present State of Literature, Education &c in Iceland'; an essay on 'The Commercial State of Iceland', with several tables; and an editorial glossary of the geological terms used by Holland. It also includes twenty-six of Holland's field drawings and maps.

Further Reading

Holland, Henry, *Recollections of past life*, London, 1872.

Mackenzie, Sir George S., *Travels in the island of Iceland, during the summer of the year 1810*, Edinburgh, 1811; revised edition, Edinburgh, 1842.

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The Arctic Whaling Journals of William Scoresby the Younger. Volume I: The Voyages of 1811, 1812 and 1813; Volume 2: The Voyages of 1814, 1815 and 1816; Volume 3: The Voyages of 1817, 1818 and 1820. Edited by C. Ian Jackson, 3rd series, 12, 20 & 21, 2003, 2008, 2009.

The first volume of a three-volume set of the younger Scoresby's whaling journals has a lengthy editorial introduction describing his personal and family history before it turns to Whitby and its whaling industry in the early nineteenth century. After making nine voyages to the Greenland Sea at a very early age, Scoresby took his first command (from his father, William Scoresby the Elder) of a whaler in 1810 at the age of twenty-one. His journals for nine of the next ten years, printed in this and succeeding volumes, are kept at the Whitby Museum, a rare collection for the survival rate among whalers' journals was low. As Daines Barrington pointed out in 1775, journals were kept for a while after the ships' return so that the government bounty or subsidy could be claimed, but 'if the ship's journal was not wanted by the owners in a year or two (which seldom happens) it is afterwards considered as waste paper.' Scoresby's journals are of special interest because they form a prelude to his classic two-volume work published in 1820, *An Account of the Arctic Regions, with a History and Description of the Northern Whale Fishery*. Their value here is increased by the fact that the account of each voyage is preceded by modern line maps showing the route of Scoresby's vessel, and by the generous provision of illustrations from his printed and manuscript writings

The journals for 1811 and 1812 show that Scoresby was already a competent navigator, able to determine longitude by lunar distances. He was showing interest in matters that would later loom large in his *Account of the Arctic Regions*, making regular weather observations, taking temperature soundings at depth, and paying attention to the impact on navigation of magnetic variation. But as his editor points out, Scoresby's journals at this time

were primarily those of a whaling captain, and that of 1813, when he took command of the newly-built ship *Esk*, has more information than the previous two on the details of whaling in the Greenland Sea.

The three journals printed in the second volume of this edition describe the exceptionally profitable voyage of 1814, when Scoresby's account is supplemented by the journal kept by Charles Steward, 'a young Gentlemen of promising talents'; the relatively unsuccessful voyage of 1815; and the near-catastrophic voyage of 1816 when the *Esk* was so severely damaged by ice that Scoresby considered the desperate expedient of inverting the ship in order to repair her. His journals reveal his strong religious sentiments. He subsidized the sale of Bibles to his crew, and accompanied the task of fothering the *Esk* after her clash with ice with a journal entry that read: 'I know that in fothering the Almighty could easily direct my hand in the application of a bundle of oakum.' In a different direction he became increasingly involved in scientific research while on his voyages, measuring the salinity of sea water and its temperature at different depths, observing the formation of ice in its different forms, and continuing his observations on magnetic variation. This volume concludes with an appendix by George Huxtable on 'Scoresby's Navigation'.

The third volume prints Scoresby's journals of 1817, 1818 and 1820, followed by an appendix by Fred M. Walker on 'The Building of Arctic Whalers'. The voyage of 1817 was notably unsuccessful, even though Scoresby ventured into unfamiliar waters in search of whales. The voyage was also marred by differences with the crew and with the ship's Whitby owners, and more seriously with his father. The 1820 voyage was made in a new ship, the *Baffin*, and with new owners, from Liverpool. Despite mutinous behaviour by some of the crew, the voyage was successful in terms of whales caught, but as the editor remarks, 'More was happening to Scoresby between the voyages than during them': the break with his father, the move from Whitby, and an increasing commitment to a future as a minister of religion. In terms of Arctic matters, the period was marked by Scoresby's intervention in the efforts by the Navy and the Royal Society to renew the search for the Northwest Passage. Historians have portrayed this episode as a calculated rebuff by John Barrow, Second Secretary of the Admiralty, to Scoresby because of his non-naval background; here the editor sees Barrow's behaviour in more measured terms. Scoresby was near the end of his career as a whaling captain, but his reputation was secured by the publication in 1820 of his *Account of the Arctic Regions*, described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as 'the foundation stone of Arctic science'.

Further Reading

Jackson, Gordon, *The British Whaling Trade*, London, 1978.

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To the Pacific and Arctic with Beechey. The Journal of Lieutenant George Peard of H.M.S. 'Blossom' 1825–8. Edited by Barry M. Gough, 2nd series, 143, Cambridge, 1973.

The voyage of Captain Frederick Beechey in the sloop *Blossom* was part of a continuing effort by the Admiralty in the decades after the Napoleonic Wars to discover the Northwest Passage. Beechey had orders to sail to the North Pacific, pass through Bering Strait, and then turn east along the Arctic shores of the American continent to Kotzebue Bay, where it was hoped that he would meet boats under the command of Captain John Franklin which were to

descend the Mackenzie River to the coast and then head west. The journal kept by George Peard, first lieutenant of the *Blossom*, describes the sloop's voyage around Cape Horn and north across the Pacific to Kotzebue Bay in Russian America, reached in July 1826. There was no sign of Franklin's boats at this appointed rendezvous, so Beechey sent the master, Thomas Elson, in the sloop's barge along the coast to the east of Icy Cape in search of the missing party. Peard's journal includes Elson's log-book record of his voyage, during which he surveyed 126 miles of uncharted coast although threatened by difficult ice conditions and confronted by Inuit who were occasionally helpful but often hostile. At his farthest east at the cape which Beechey named Point Barrow (after the Second Secretary to the Admiralty) Elson turned back, not knowing that five days later Franklin would reach his farthest west at Return Reef, less than 150 miles away. A second attempt by Beechey in 1827 was even less successful. The sloop got only as far as Kotzebue Bay and although the barge reached Icy Cape it was wrecked with the loss of three crew. Again, there was no sign of Franklin, who by this time had returned to England. Peard's journal, which forms a useful supplement to Beechey's published account of the expedition, continues for the *Blossom*'s return voyage as far as Coquimbo on the coast of Chile. As on the outward run it includes details about the various ports of call, although none as fascinating as the information about the *Bounty* mutiny that he obtained in an interview with John Adams when the *Blossom* called at Pitcairn Island in December 1825.

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The Journal of Rochfort Maguire 1852–1854. Two years at Point Barrow, Alaska, aboard H.M.S. Plover in the search for Sir John Franklin. Edited by John Bockstoce, 2 vols, 2nd series, 169 & 170, 1988.

One of the lesser-known aspects of the Royal Navy's massive search effort to find Sir John Franklin's lost ships, the *Erebus* and *Terror*, was the stationing of the bark HMS *Plover* in the Bering Strait region. There from her arrival in 1848 to her departure for a San Francisco ship breaker in 1854 she acted as a depot ship for vessels sailing east into the Arctic in search of Franklin. This edition's Introduction describes her crew's activities in her first four years on station and their relations with the local Eskimos and other native peoples before in the summer of 1852 Commander Rochfort Maguire arrived to take command. Accompanying him was ship's surgeon, Dr John Simpson, who had served in the *Plover* during her first three winters in the Arctic, and was fluent in Inupiaq, the language of the Eskimos of northwestern Alaska. The greater part of the two volumes is then taken up by Maguire's journal on winter station at Point Barrow. There he was to watch for any sign of the two naval vessels, *Investigator* (Captain Robert M'Clure) and *Enterprise* (Captain Richard Collinson), not sighted since they entered the western Arctic in search of Franklin in 1850 and 1851 respectively.

Away from such official duties, the main interest of the journal is as a record of the first sustained contact between European outsiders and the Eskimos of the Point Barrow region, numbering about 300 in all. Maguire, advised by Simpson, was a sympathetic observer. He developed an especially good relationship with one particular Eskimo,

‘Erksinra’, who thirty years after the *Plover*’s departure still remembered ‘Magwa’. Maguire’s journal has much information about the lifestyle of the local Eskimos, and records in detail his growing familiarity with them. The steady improvement in relations after early tension ensured a supply of venison for the crew which helped to ward off the attacks of scurvy which were a recurrent worry to Maguire.

The edition’s appendices contain the reports of six boat and sledge survey excursions along the coast between 1849 and 1853 by parties which, it was hoped, might meet the *Investigator* or *Enterprise*, or even Franklin’s ships. A final appendix of fifty pages contains Dr Simpson’s ‘Observations on the Western Esquimaux’, describing their appearance, behaviour, dwellings, and annual routine. Simpson was modest about his work – ‘we could never wholly divest ourselves of the feeling that that we were looked upon them as foreigners, if not intruders, who were more feared than trusted’ – but, in the editor’s words, his manuscript has remained the basis for all subsequent ethnographical work in the region.

Further Reading

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Searching for Franklin: The Land Arctic Searching Expedition 1855. Edited by William Barr, 3rd series, 1, 1999.

Among the final searches for Sir John Franklin’s lost ships, one whose importance has often been overlooked was that by a small Hudson’s Bay Company canoe party, led by Chief Factor James Anderson and Chief Trader James Stewart. Following Inuit information brought to London by John Rae in 1855, they were sent the next year to look for relics of Franklin’s men near the outlet of Back’s Great Fish River. This edition contains 137 documents, most from the archives of the Hudson’s Bay Company. They are arranged in chapters with introductory sections, and they tell the story of an expedition that for all its misadventures brought back vital information on the location of the tragedy that overtook the last survivors of the Franklin expedition.

A major handicap to the expedition was that the Inuit interpreter expected to join the party at Fort Chipewyan failed to arrive, so when after a hair-raising descent of the rapids and ice-choked sections of the Great Fish River Anderson and Stewart encountered Inuit families near its mouth on the mainland coast of North America they could only communicate by sign language. After a hazardous crossing to Montreal Island in Chantrey Inlet the party found numerous other items, and signs that a boat had been cut up there. The Inuit had numerous items from the lost expedition – among them oars, poles, tools, and parts of snow-shoes, but no human remains and ‘not a scrap of paper of any description’. As Anderson explained in a letter to a disappointed Lady Jane Franklin, ‘any book or document left unprotected would be destroyed by the perpetual rains and winds in this region – wolves would have destroyed any leather-covered book.’ Thanks especially to the skills of their Iroquoian canoe-men the party survived both the descent and the return journey of the Great Fish River, although at times – as Stewart put it – ‘one stroke of a paddle was between us and death’.

In Britain there was some disappointment, generally unjustified, that the party had not done more; but its discovery of Franklin relics as far south as Montreal Island provided an invaluable guide for Francis McClintock's voyage in the *Fox* that four years later found the key remains of the Franklin expedition.

Further Reading

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