

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

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3. “Rupert’s Land and North-Western Territory Order,” The Solon Law Archive.

CHAPTER ONE

1. In 1968, Hall’s frozen body was exhumed at Thank God Harbour. Samples of his tissue, hair, and nails were sent to the Centre of Forensic Sciences in Toronto. Tests determined that Hall had high levels of arsenic in his body at the time of his death, indicating that he died of arsenic poisoning.
2. E. Vale Blake and Captain George E. Tyson, *Arctic Experiences: Aboard the Doomed Polaris Expedition and Six Months Adrift on an Ice-Floe* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2002), 335 (hereafter referred to as Tyson).
3. *Ibid.*, 342.
4. *Ibid.*, 347.
5. “Departure of the Tigris,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1873.
6. Tyson, 353.

7. Ibid., 378.
8. "Sea Disasters," *Bay Roberts Guardian*, April 15, 1874.
9. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), John D. Craig Fonds, MG 30 B-57, "File Despatches 1874–1923," volume 1, "William Mintzer letter to George Crump, February 10, 1874" (hereafter referred to as "File Despatches 1874–1923").
10. Online calculator to compute the relative value of a U.S. dollar amount from 1874; www.measuringworth.com/uscompare.
11. LAC, "File Despatches 1874–1923," "Royal Hydrographer Report, April 20, 1874, Frederick John Evans."
12. W. Gillies Ross, "Whaling, Inuit, and the Arctic Islands," in *Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings*, eds. Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1989), 237.
13. LAC, "File Despatches 1874–1923," "A.W. Harvey letter to Undersecretary of State for the Colonies E.H. Knatchbull-Hugessen, 1st Baron Brabourne, January 3, 1874."
14. Ibid., January 15, 1874.
15. LAC, "File Despatches 1874–1923," "Curtis Lampson letter to Henry Holland, January 12, 1874."
16. LAC, "File Despatches 1874–1923," "Henry Holland letter to A.W. Harvey, January 16, 1874."
17. LAC, "File Despatches 1874–1923," "Royal Hydrographer Report, Frederick John Evans."
18. LAC, "File Despatches 1874–1923," "Henry Holland, April 25, 1874."
19. Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870–1914* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971), 251–53.
20. LAC, "File Despatches 1874–1923," "Lord Carnarvon letter to Lord Dufferin, April 30, 1874."
21. LAC, "File Despatches 1874–1923," "W.A. Himsworth letter to Lord Dufferin, October 9, 1874."
22. LAC, "File Despatches 1874–1923," "Lord Carnarvon letter to Lord Dufferin, January 6, 1875."
23. LAC, "File Despatches 1874–1923," "W.A. Himsworth letter to Lord Dufferin, April 30, 1875."

CHAPTER TWO

1. Captain Sir G.S. Nares, "Sailing Orders," *Narrative of A Voyage to the Polar Sea During 1875–76 in H.M. Ships "Alert" and "Discovery"* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1878), xxvii.
2. *Ibid.*, xi.
3. Captain Albert Hastings Markham, *The Great Frozen Sea* (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1880), 9; Pierre Berton, *The Arctic Grail: The Quest for The North West Passage and the North Pole, 1818–1909* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1988), 419. The community of Alert, Nunavut, established in 1950 as a weather station, was named after Nares' ship. It is the most northerly permanent settlement in the world.
4. The disease scurvy is caused by a deficiency of ascorbic acid or vitamin C. It is characterized by swollen, spongy, bleeding gums and dark bruise-like spots on the skin, mostly on the thighs and legs. If left untreated, the afflicted eventually dies. Raw meat, or meat minimally cooked, contains enough vitamin C to prevent scurvy, which is the reason the Inuit never suffered from it.
5. "Admiral Sir George Strong Nares KCB (1831–1915)," Nares Family Tree website, access November 22, 2009, www.nares.net/george_strong_nares_1831.htm.
6. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), John D. Craig Fonds, MG 30 B-57, "File Despatches 1874–1923," volume 1, "Edward Blake letter to Earl of Carnarvon, August 15, 1876" (hereafter referred to as "File Despatches 1874–1923").
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8. LAC, "File Despatches 1874–1923," "Edward Blake."
9. George Emory Tyson, *The Cruise of the Florence; or, extracts from the Journal of the Preliminary Arctic Expedition of 1877–'78* (Washington, DC: James J. Chapman, Publisher, 1879), 166.
10. Canada, House of Commons Debates (May 3, 1878), 2389 (Peter Mitchell).
11. LAC, "File Despatches 1874–1923," "Official correspondence between the British and Dominion governments: February 1878–April 1879."
12. Berton, *The Arctic Grail*, 216.
13. *Ibid.*

14. Melville was chief engineer on the *Thetis* and involved in the rescue of Greely from Cape Sabine.
15. *Dictionary of American Fighting Ships*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Naval History Division, 1968), s.v. "Jeannette"; Adolph A. Hoehling, *The Jeannette Expedition* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1967).
16. LAC, "File Despatches 1874–1923," "Imperial Order-in-Council, July 31, 1880."
17. LAC, RG 15, volume 2, "Memo to the Arctic Islands, 1921, Hensley Holmden."
18. *Ibid.*; William Barr, *The Expeditions of the First International Polar Year, 1882–83* (Calgary: Arctic Institute of North America, 2008); L.R. Newitt and E. Dawson, "Magnetic Observations at International Polar Year Stations in Canada," *Arctic* 37, no. 3 (September 1984): 255–62.
19. Cornelia Luedecke, "The First International Polar Year (1882–83): A Big Science Experiment with Small Science Equipment," *Proceedings of the International Commission on History of Meteorology* 1, no. 1 (2004). Calculating that a pound is now worth seventy-four times what it was in 1880.
20. Kenn Harper, "Henry Howgate: Life on the Lam," Taissumani column, *Nunatsiaq News*, October 19 and 26, 2007; "Henry W. Howgate Dead," obituary, *New York Times*, June 2, 1901.
21. Nancy Fogelson, *Arctic Exploration and International Relations 1900–1932* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1992), 18.
22. "The Story of the Expedition. Lieut. Greely's Course Northward and the Efforts to Succor Him," *New York Times*, July 18, 1884; Andrew C.A. Jampoler, "Disaster at Lady Franklin Bay," *Naval History Magazine* 24, no. 4 (August 2010).
23. "Gen. Hazen Mistake, Findings of the Proteus Court of Inquiry," *New York Times*, February 14, 1884.
24. W.F. Schley and J.R. Soley, *The Rescue of Greely* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885), 220–33.
25. Alden Todd, "Adolphus Washington Greely (1844–1935)," *Arctic* 38, no. 2 (June 1985): 150–51.
26. Barr, *The Expeditions of the First International Polar Year*. Russian seaman Piskov froze to death in the Lena Delta.

27. "The First International Polar Year 1881–1884: History," National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration website, accessed November 22, 2007, www.arctic.noaa.gov/aro/ipy-1/; Andrew C. Revkin, "First International Polar Year," *New York Times*, February 26, 2007.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Grant MacEwan, *The Battle for the Bay* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Book Service, 1975).
2. "Company History: The Hard Years —1880s," Portage Mutual Insurance website, accessed January 20, 2008, www.portagemutual.com/Company/History/Chapter01.aspx; "Manitoba Life and Times, Immigration and Settlement: 1870–1919," accessed January 17, 2008, *Manitobia: Digital Resources on Manitoba History*, manitobia.ca/cocoon/launch/en/themes/ias.
3. Canada, House of Commons Debates (February 11, 1884), 207 (John A. Macdonald).
4. Canada, "Report of the Committee of the House of Commons to Enquire into the Question of the Navigation of Hudson's Bay," in appendix to the *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. 18 (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1884).
5. Hudson Bay is referred to in House of Commons debates and Dominion government publications of the time as Hudson's Bay.
6. *Report of the Committee*.
7. Charles R. Tuttle, *Our North Land: A Full Account of the Canadian North-West and Hudson's Bay Route; Together with a Narrative of the Experiences of the Hudson's Bay Expedition of 1884* (Toronto, C. Blackett Robinson, 1885), 35.
8. A.P. Low, *Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands Aboard the D.G.S. Neptune, 1903–1904* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1906), 3–4.
9. William P. Anderson, "The Hudson-Bay Expedition of 1884," *Science* 5, no. 110 (March 13, 1885): 214.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Tuttle, *Our North Land*, 36.
12. Andrew R. Gordon, *Report of the Hudson Bay Expedition under the Command of Lieut. A.R. Gordon, R.N., 1884*, 3.

13. Ibid., 4.
14. Ibid.
15. Charles R. Tuttle, "Hudson's Bay Party," *Winnipeg Daily Times*, September 10, 1884.
16. Tuttle, *Our North Land*, 181.
17. Ibid., 57.
18. A fathom is six feet or 1.8 metres.
19. Tuttle, *Our North Land*, 70.
20. Gordon, *Report of the Hudson Bay Expedition*, 5.
21. Tuttle, *Our North Land*, 74–75.
22. Ibid., 100.
23. Ibid., 102.
24. Mansfield is called Mansel Island on most current maps.
25. Tuttle, *Our North Land*, 131.
26. Ibid., 157.
27. Ibid., 267.
28. Ibid., 466–67.
29. Gordon, *Report of the Hudson Bay Expedition*, 13.
30. Ibid., 14.
31. Ibid., 15.
32. Tuttle, *Our North Land*, 184.
33. Robert Bell, Appendix A to *Report of the Hudson Bay Expedition under the Command of Lieut. A.R. Gordon, R.N.*, 1884 by Andrew R. Gordon, 20.

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2. Winnipeg and Hudson's Bay Railway and Steamship Company Act, S.M. 1885, ch. 55.
3. Andrew R. Gordon, *Report of the Second Hudson's Bay Expedition under the Command of Lieut. A.R. Gordon R.N. 1885*, Ottawa: 3.
4. Ibid., 35.
5. Front page, *Ottawa Free Press*, April 11, 1881.
6. Gordon, *Report of the Second Hudson's Bay Expedition*, 53.

7. Robert Bell, "Summary Report of the Operations of the Geological Survey of Canada," submitted December 31, 1885, in *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior of 1885* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1886), 15–18.
8. Canada, House of Commons Debates (March 22, 1886), 266 (Arthur W. Ross).
9. *Ibid.* (George E. Foster).
10. Andrew R. Gordon, George Foster's sailing orders in *Report of the Hudson's Bay Expedition of 1886, Under the Command of Lieut. A.R. Gordon R.N.* (Ottawa: 1887), 4.
11. Captain Albert Hastings Markham, "Through Hudson's Strait and Bay: A Naval Officer's Holiday Trip," in *Good Words For 1888*, ed. Donald MacLeod (London: Isbister and Company, 1888), 27.
12. Captain Albert Hastings Markham (speech, Royal Geographical Society, London, June 11, 1888).
13. Andrew R. Gordon, *Report of the Hudson's Bay Expedition of 1886, Under the Command of Lieut. A.R. Gordon R.N.* (Ottawa: 1887), 7.
14. *Ibid.*, 9.
15. Markham, "Through Hudson's Strait and Bay," 190.
16. *Ibid.*, 191.
17. Gordon, *Report of the Hudson's Bay Expedition of 1886*, 10.
18. *Ibid.*, 17.
19. "Voyage of the *Alert*, Lieut. Gordon's Account of the Expedition," *Globe* (Toronto), October 11, 1886.
20. W.A. Ashe, "The Hudson Bay Route," *Science* 10, no. 223 (July 22, 1887): 47.
21. Gordon, *Report of the Hudson's Bay Expedition of 1886*, 90.
22. Morley K. Thomas, "A Brief History of Meteorological Services in Canada, Part 1: 1839–1930," *Atmosphere* 9, no. 1 (1971); Thomas E. Appleton, *Usque Ad Mare: A History of the Canadian Coast Guard and Marine Services* (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, Department of Transport, 1968), 160–62.

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3. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, s.v. William Carpenter Bompas, accessed February 2, 2011, www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?BioId=40693; "The Northern Missionaries: William Carpenter Bompas (1834–1906)," *Virtual Museum Canada*, accessed February 2, 2011, www.virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibitions/BishopStringer/english/mission-bompas.html.
4. William R. Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894–1925* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 2.
5. D.J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton, Volume One: The Young Napoleon, 1861–1900* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981), 163; Pierre Berton, *Klondike: The Last Great Gold Rush, 1896–1899* (Toronto: Anchor Canada, 1972), 96–99.
6. Berton, *Klondike*, 236–37; J.A. Bovey, "The Attitudes and Policies of the Federal Government Towards Canada's Northern Territories, 1870–1930" (MA history thesis, University of British Columbia, 1967), 15.
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8. Madden, "Alaska Boundary Dispute."
9. Madden, "Alaska Boundary Dispute"; Brown, "The Alaska Boundary," 281–322.
10. Morrison, *Showing the Flag*, 62.
11. Mario Mimeault, "A Dundee Ship in Canada's Arctic: SS *Diana* and William Wakeham's Expedition of 1897," *The Northern Mariner* 8, no. 3 (July 1998): 52.
12. Mimeault, "A Dundee Ship in Canada's Arctic," 51–61.
13. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 42, volume 338, file 13205A, "Orders appointing Wakeham commander of expedition, April 23, 1897, Louis Henry Davies."

14. Canada, House of Commons Debates (May 6, 1897), 1816 (Sir Louis Henry Davies).
15. LAC, "Orders appointing Wakeham commander of expedition."
16. "The Hudson Bay Expedition," *Globe* (Toronto), June 12, 1897.
17. Canada, House of Commons Debates (May 6, 1897), 1818 (Nicholas Davin).
18. "Biography of James Fisher (1840 to 1927)," Manitoba Historical Society website, last modified November 29, 2009, www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/fisher_j.shtml.
19. "The Hudson Bay Expedition," *Globe*.
20. William Wakeham, *Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf in the Steamship Diana Under the Command of William Wakeham, Marine and Fisheries Canada in the Year 1897* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1898), 8.
21. Wakeham, *Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf*, 13.
22. W. Gillies Ross, "Whaling, Inuit, and the Arctic Islands," in *Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings*, eds. Kenneth Coates and William R. Morrison (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1989), 239.
23. Dorothy Harley Eber, *When the Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1989), 9.
24. Janet Mancini Billson and Kyra Mancini, *Inuit Women: Their Powerful Spirit in a Century of Change* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 12.
25. Baleen is the prized whalebone found in the whale's mouth, which it uses to filter small ocean creatures from the seawater. It was used in southern society for horse whips, corset stays, and parasol ribs until it was replaced by plastics.
26. Mancini Billson and Mancini, *Inuit Women*, 12.
27. LAC, "Orders appointing Wakeham commander of expedition."
28. Wakeham, *Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf*, 24.
29. A.P. Low, *Report for the Geological Survey Department*, 8th Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, 3rd Session, Sessional Papers No. 13A, Vol. 2, 1898 (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1899), 83–91.
30. LAC, RG 42, volume 338, file 13205A, "Robert Bell letter to George Dawson, May 13, 1897."

31. Wakeham, *Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf*, 29.
32. *Ibid.*, 31.
33. *Ibid.*, 32.
34. "Hudson Bay Navigation," *Globe* (Toronto), April 23, 1898.
35. Wakeham, *Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf*, 78.
36. *Ibid.*, 69.

CHAPTER SIX

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2. *Ibid.*, 264–65.
3. *Ibid.*, 48.
4. *Ibid.*, 289.
5. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Laurier Papers, "J.E. Bernier letter to Wilfrid Laurier, March 5, 1898," microfiche reel C-754, 21279.
6. *Ibid.*, "Wilfrid Laurier letter to J.E. Bernier, April 1898."
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8. *Ibid.*, "Secretary to the Governor General letter to Bernier, March 20, 1901."
9. *Ibid.*, "Memo to Wilfrid Laurier from William Edwards, March 22, 1901."
10. Canada, House of Commons Debates (March 29, 1901), 1798 (F.D. Monk).
11. *Ibid.* (Wilfrid Laurier).
12. LAC, Laurier Papers, "J.E. Bernier letter and petition to Wilfrid Laurier, April 12, 1902," microfiche reel C-792, 64244–64251.
13. Canada, House of Commons Debates (May 1, 1902), 3952 (John Charlton).
14. Canada, House of Commons Debates (May 1, 1902), 3966–69.
15. Canada, House of Commons Debates (May 1, 1902), 3977 (Wilfrid Laurier).
16. *Ibid.*

17. Matthew A. Henson, *A Negro at the North Pole* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company Publishers, 1912), 12.
18. Robert Peary, letter to Arctic Club quoted in the *New York Times*, July 16, 1899.
19. Canada, House of Commons Debates (Friday, October 23, 1903) 14815 (Wilfrid Laurier).
20. Ibid.
21. Excerpt of Sir Leopold M'Clintock's speech, as printed in "Summary of Geological Results: Discussion," *The Geographical Journal* 22, no.1 (July 1903): 65.
22. Herschel is known as Qikiqtaruk, meaning "island," to the Inuvialuit of the Western Canadian Arctic. In 1987, the island was established as a nature preserve, and is now Herschel Island Qikiqtaruk Yukon Territorial Park.
23. "Herschel Island Territorial Park (Qikiqtaruk)" *Yukon's Territorial Parks*, accessed November 5, 2007, www.yukonweb.com/notebook/tparks.html.
24. William R. Morrison, *Showing the Flag, The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894–1925* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 71.
25. Ibid., 74–75; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, s.v. William Carpenter Bompas, accessed February 2, 2011, www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=40693; Herschel Island Qikiqtaruk Territorial Park, Yukon Government website, accessed November 5, 2007, <http://environmentyukon.gov.yk.ca/parksconservation/HerschelIslandQikiqtaruk.php>.
26. Morrison, *Showing the Flag*, 71.

CHAPTER SEVEN

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2. William R. Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894–1925* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 71.
3. Ibid., 80–83.

4. Christy Vodden, *No Stone Unturned: The First 150 Years of the Geological Survey of Canada* (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1992), 19. Low's 1895–96 surveys were also used to define the Quebec-Labrador border in 1927.
5. A.P. Low, *Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands Aboard the D.G.S. Neptune, 1903–1904* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1906), 3–4.
6. K. Ethel Borden, "Northward 1903–04," *Canadian Geographical Journal* 62, no. 1 (January 1961): 32–39.
7. "Ex-Supt. John Douglas Moodie," obituary, *R.C.M.P. Quarterly* 13 (January 1948).
8. The Bartletts of Brigus, Newfoundland, were famous for their involvement in Arctic expeditions. Both Sam and his brother John captained for Lieutenant Robert Peary's North Pole expeditions. John's son Robert Bartlett captained Peary's *Roosevelt* when Peary attained the North Pole. Captain Isaac Bartlett of Bay Roberts, a relative of the Brigus Bartletts, was the sealing captain of the *Tigress*, which rescued the *Polaris* members from the ice and went in search of the *Polaris* survivors.
9. Low, *Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands Aboard the D.G.S. Neptune*, 10.
10. *Ibid.*, 22.
11. The *Era* is the same ship that Mintzer commissioned in 1876 for his mining mission in Cumberland Sound. Captain Tyson also sailed on the whaler *Era* before his misadventure aboard the *Polaris*. It was also captained by Hudson Bay trader John O. Spicer.
12. W. Gillies Ross, ed., *An Arctic Whaling Diary: The Journal of Captain George Comer in Hudson Bay, 1903–1905* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 7–8 (hereafter referred to as *Comer*).
13. LAC, Dr. Lorrin Elijah Borden Papers, MG 30, C-52, typescript diary, volume 2, "September 25, 1903, Lorrin Borden," page 17.
14. J.D. Moodie, *Report of Superintendent J.D. Moodie on Service in Hudson Bay, Per SS. Neptune, 1903–04*, Sessional Papers No. 28A, 1905, 5.
15. Ross, *Comer*, journal entry October 8, 1904, 66.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Dr. Lorris Elijah Borden Papers, MG 30, C-52, typescript diary, volume 2, "November 7, 1903, Lorris Borden," page 40.
2. *Report of Superintendent J.D. Moodie on Service in Hudson Bay, Per SS Neptune, 1903-04*, Sessional Papers No. 28A, 1905, 9.
3. W. Gillies Ross, ed., *An Arctic Whaling Diary: The Journal of Captain George Comer in Hudson Bay, 1903-1905* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 75 (hereafter referred to as *Comer*).
4. *Report of Superintendent J.D. Moodie*, 12.
5. LAC, RCMP Fonds, RG 18-A, "Comptroller Correspondence" series 1874-1920, volume 293, "Unsigned memo, August 5, 1903."
6. LAC, Dr. Lorris Elijah Borden Papers, "November 14, 1903, Lorris Borden," page 44.
7. *Ibid.*
8. A.P. Low, *Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands Aboard the D.G.S. Neptune, 1903-1904* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1906), 29.
9. Ross, *Comer*, journal entry December 21, 1903, 83.
10. Dorothy Harley Eber, "A Feminine Focus on the Last Frontier," *Arctic Circle* (Spring 1994): 18.
11. W. Gillies Ross, "Whaling, Inuit, and the Arctic Islands," in *Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings*, eds. Kenneth Coates and William R. Morrison (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1989), 241.
12. LAC, Dr. Lorris Elijah Borden Papers, "January 29, 1904, Lorris Borden," page 65.
13. Ross, *Comer*, journal entry March 25, 1904, 103.
14. *Ibid.*, journal entry April 6, 1904, 108.
15. Ross, editor's note, *An Arctic Whaling Diary*, 116.
16. LAC, Dr. Lorris Elijah Borden Papers, "July 18, 1904, Lorris Borden," page 110.

CHAPTER NINE

1. Canada, House of Commons Debates (September 30, 1903), 12806-08 (John Charlton).
2. *Ibid.*, 12821-22 (Raymond Préfontaine).

3. Ibid., 12819 (Arthur W. Hackett).
4. Ibid., 12822 (Raymond Préfontaine).
5. Ryan Madden, "Alaska Boundary Dispute," in *Encyclopedia of the United States of America: Past and Present*, ed. Donald W. Whisenhunt (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1995); Nancy Fogelson, *Arctic Exploration & International Relations, 1900–1932* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1992), 55; J.A. Bovey, "The Attitudes and Policies of the Federal Government Towards Canada's Northern Territories, 1870–1930" (MA history thesis, University of British Columbia, 1967), 117; Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison, *Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1989), 113–48; Bruce Ricketts, "The BC-Alaska Boundary Dispute," *Mysteries of Canada*, accessed March 27, 2008, www.mysteriesofcanada.com/BC/bc_alaska_boundary_dispute.htm.
6. Aylesworth's strong contention of the resolution made him a Canadian hero, and he was voted MP for North York in 1905. In 1906, he was appointed minister of justice and attorney general for Canada.
7. William R. Morrison, "Eagle Over the Arctic," in *Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings*, eds. Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1989), 175.
8. Canada, House of Commons Debates (October 23, 1903), 14817 (Wilfrid Laurier).
9. Richard Diubaldo, *Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 5.
10. "Greenland and Newfoundland: How Would the Dominion Look with Them Added? Movement at Ottawa to Check the Aggressive Policy of the United States," *Globe* (Toronto), December 21, 1903.
11. D.J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton, Volume Two: A Lonely Eminence, 1901–1929* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 124–26.
12. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Department of the Interior, RG 15, volume 2, "Report Upon the Title of Canada to the Islands North of the Mainland of Canada, confidential document, January 23, 1904, W.F. King."
13. Alfred Wegener Institute for Polar and Marine Research website, accessed March 16, 2000, www.awi-bremerhaven.de/AWI/drygalski-e.html; "Erich von Drygalski," *South-Pole.com*, accessed March 16, 2000,

www.south-pole.com/p0000085.htm; “Erich von Drygalski — Gauss: German National Antarctic Expedition, 1901–03, *Cool Antarctica*, accessed February 29, 2008, www.coolantarctica.com/Antarctica%20fact%20file/History/antarctic_whos_who_gauss.htm.

14. “Capt. Bernier’s Cruise Will Plant the British Flag of Britain, Our Territory Coveted by Americans,” *Ottawa Citizen*, April 11, 1904.
15. LAC, Department of Marine and Fisheries, RG 42, “File *Arctic* crew 1904,” volume 105, “letters of application for employment aboard the *Arctic*, Hudson Bay and Mackenzie River Expedition.”
16. *Ibid.*, “Raymond Préfontaine memo to R.W. Scott, secretary of state, July 1, 1904.”
17. *Ibid.*, “Letter on behalf of seaman Aleck Mackenzie, July 22, 1904.”
18. A water line is painted around the ship to denote its calculated optimum level of water when loaded.
19. LAC, RG 42, volume 105, “Colonel F. Gourdeau letter to J. Gregory, July 6, 1904.”
20. *Ibid.*, “J. Gregory letter to Colonel F. Goudreau, July 14, 1904.”
21. *Ibid.*, “J. Gregory.”
22. LAC, RCMP Fonds, RG 42, volume 105, file 25447, “F. White memo to C. Sifton, July 6, 1904.”
23. Canada, House of Commons Debates (July 29, 1904), 7969 (Wilfrid Laurier).
24. LAC, Department of Marine and Fisheries, RG 42, volume 105, “Colonel F. Gourdeau memo to O.G.V. Spain, July 29, 1904.”
25. LAC, Dr. Lorris Elijah Borden Papers, MG 30, C-52, typescript diary, volume 2, “Tuesday, July 26, 1904, Lorris Borden,” page 113.
26. “Canada Annexes Territory,” *New York Times*, August 8, 1904.
27. LAC, RG 42, B-1, volume 105, file 25447, “Fred White memo to John Douglas Moodie, September 19, 1904.”
28. LAC, RCMP Fonds, RG 42, volume 105, file 25447, “Report of the committee of the Honourable Privy Council, approved by the Governor General on the 16th September, 1904.”
29. LAC, Department of Marine and Fisheries, RG 42, volume 105, file 25447, “Sailing orders to Bernier, September 12, 1904, Colonel F. Gourdeau.”
30. *Ibid.*, “Colonel F. Gourdeau telegram to J.E. Bernier, Sept. 13, 1903.”

31. "The Troubles of Captain Bernier," *Toronto Daily Star*, Tuesday, September 16, 1904.
32. A.P. Low, *Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands Aboard the D.G.S. Neptune, 1903-1904* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1906), 46.
33. Owen Beattie and John Geiger, *Frozen in Time: The Fate of the Franklin Expedition* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1992), 181, 244-48.
34. In 1984, anthropologist Owen Beattie opened the sailors' graves and found the men preserved in the permafrost. Subsequent autopsies suggested that the men died of lead poisoning, possibly from the solder used to seal the canned food.

CHAPTER TEN

1. Description compiled from Joseph E. Bernier, *Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Arctic Islands and the Hudson Strait on Board the C.G.S. "Arctic" 1906-1907* (Ottawa: C.H. Parmelee, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1909), 8; Thomas E. Appleton, *Usque Ad Mare: A History of the Canadian Coast Guard and Marine Services* (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, Department of Transport, 1968); Richard S. Finnie, "Farewell Voyages: Bernier and the Arctic," *The Beaver*, Summer 1974: 45; "Vessel for Capt. Bernier," *Globe* (Toronto), March 5, 1904.
2. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), MG 31, C6, "File Arctic 1974-78, 1923-27," volume 9, "T.E. Appleton letter to R.S. Finnie, November 19, 1974."
3. Robert A. Logan, "Staking Canada's Arctic Claim," *Sentinel*, November-December 1970: 54.
4. Fabien Vanasse, *Relation sommaire du voyage de l'Arctic à la baie d'Hudson, 1904-05* (Ottawa, 1905).
5. LAC, W.H. Grant Fonds, MG 30, B129, W.H. Grant's diary, volume 1, "Description of moving through ice, August 9 and 12, 1922."
6. Jim Burant, Mary Psutka, Joy Williams, and Claude Minotto, "To Photograph the Arctic Frontier, Part VI," *the archivist* 5, no. 1 (January-February 1978): 2.
7. A.P. Low, *Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands Aboard the D.G.S. Neptune, 1903-1904* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1906), 70.

8. Morris Zaslow, *Reading the Rocks: The Story of the Geological Survey of Canada, 1842–1972* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1975), 173–75.
9. W. Gillies Ross, ed., *An Arctic Whaling Diary: The Journal of Captain George Comer in Hudson Bay, 1903–1905* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 146 (hereafter referred to as *Comer*).
10. John D. Moodie, “Report of Superintendent J.D. Moodie on Service in Hudson Bay (Per SS *Arctic* 1904–05),” Sessional Paper No. 28, A. 1906, 10.
11. Ross, *Comer*, journal entry October 23, 1904, 148.
12. *Ibid.*, journal entry November 17, 1904, 154; B.S. Osbon, “Canadian Polar Expedition to be in Charge of Skilled Navigator Instead of Scientist,” *New York Times*, July 1, 1906.
13. Ross, *Comer*, journal entry, November 20, 1904, 155.
14. LAC, RCMP Fonds, vol. 302, file 747, “Moodie letter to White, June 30, 1905.”
15. Ross, *Comer*, journal entry January 26, 1905, 166.
16. LAC, RCMP Fonds, vol. 314, file 188, “Mail to and from Hudson Bay, via Fort Churchill 1904–05,” page 168.
17. Donny White, *In Search of Geraldine Moodie* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University Of Regina, 1998), 10.
18. Ross, *Comer*, journal entry March 8, 1905, 174.
19. White, *In Search of Geraldine Moodie*, 104.
20. Burant et al., “To Photograph the Arctic Frontier, Part VI,” 3; Dorothy Harley Eber, “A Feminine Focus on the Last Frontier,” *Arctic Circle*, Spring 1994.
21. Roald Amundsen letter to Bernier, May 22, 1905, in *Master Mariner and Arctic Explorer: A Narrative of Sixty Years at Sea from the Logs and Yarns of Captain J.E. Bernier F.R.G.S, F.R.E.S*, Joseph E. Bernier (Ottawa: Le Droit, 1939), 398.
22. Robert Knuckle, *In the Line of Duty: The Honour Role of the RCMP Since 1873* (Renfrew, ON: General Store Publishing, 1994), 84–85.
23. Vanasse, *Relation sommaire du voyage de l’Arctic à la baie d’Hudson*, 6–7; Benoit Robitaille, personal interview, May 27, 2003 (Quebec City, QC).

24. LAC, RCMP Fonds, RG 42, B-1, volume 105, file 25447, "Fred White, Comptroller of RNWMP, memo to John Douglas Moodie, September 9, 1904."

CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. Fridtjof Nansen letter to Bernier, September 10, 1904, in *Master Mariner and Arctic Explorer: A Narrative of Sixty Years at Sea from the Logs and Yarns of Captain J.E. Bernier F.R.G.S, F.R.E.S*, Joseph E. Bernier (Ottawa: Le Droit, 1939), 392.
2. Canada, House of Commons Debates (May 15, 1906), 3391 (Wilfrid Laurier).
3. Fifty-year-old Raymond Préfontaine died suddenly of a heart attack in December 1905 in Paris.
4. "Arctic" *Expedition: The Facts of It* pamphlet (Ottawa, 1906), 7.
5. *Ibid.*, 5.
6. Joseph E. Bernier, *Master Mariner and Arctic Explorer*, 307–08.
7. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 25, C-40, volume 2668, file 9057, "Amendment to 1904 *Fisheries Act*, July 13, 1906 (4 Edw.VII, c.13)."
8. William R. Morrison, "Eagle Over the Arctic," in *Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings*, eds. Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1989), 172–77.
9. LAC, John D. Craig Fonds, MG 30, B-57, volume 1, file 1903–1912, "F. Gourdeau, Deputy Minister, Department of Marine and Fisheries, cruise orders to J.E. Bernier, June 23, 1906."
10. *Ibid.*
11. Joseph E. Bernier, *Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Arctic Islands and the Hudson Strait on Board the C.G.S. "Arctic" 1906–07* (Ottawa: C.H. Parmalee, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1909), 10 (hereafter referred to as *Report 1906–07*).
12. Pond Inlet was referred to at the time and in Bernier's official report as Pond's Inlet.
13. Bernier, *Report 1906–07*, 12.
14. *Ibid.*, 14.
15. *Ibid.*, 19.
16. *Ibid.*, 23.

17. Ibid., 31.
18. LAC, John Alexander Simpson Fonds, MG 30, B-48, "Diary of Expedition Aboard the C.G.S. *Arctic*, 1906–07," December 18, 1906.
19. Ibid., December 25, 1906.
20. Ibid., January 3, 1907.
21. Bernier, *Report 1906–07*, 37.
22. LAC, "Diary of Expedition Aboard the C.G.S. *Arctic*," December 18, 1906.
23. A ship's oiler is in charge of overhauling, repairing, and maintaining the ship's engine and machinery.
24. Bernier, *Report 1906–07*, 40.
25. Ibid., 50.
26. T.C. Fairley, *Sverdrup's Arctic Adventures* (London: Longman's Green and Co. Ltd., 1959), 277.
27. Bernier, *Report 1906–07*, 52; LAC, "Diary of Expedition Aboard the C.G.S. *Arctic*," August 28, 1907.
28. Bernier, *Report 1906–07*, 70.

CHAPTER TWELVE

1. Canada, Senate Transcripts (February 20, 1907), 266 (Senator Pascal Poirier).
2. Ibid., 267.
3. R.A.J. Phillips, *Canada's North* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1967), 103.
4. D.J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton, Volume Two: A Lonely Eminence, 1901–1929* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 126.
5. Joseph E. Bernier, *Master Mariner and Arctic Explorer: A Narrative of Sixty Years at Sea from the Logs and Yarns of Captain J.E. Bernier F.R.G.S, F.R.E.S.* (Ottawa: Le Droit, 1939), 325.
6. Ibid., 326.
7. Joseph E. Bernier, *Cruise of the Arctic, Report on the Dominion of Canada Government Expedition to The Arctic Islands and the Hudson Strait on Board the D.G.S. "Arctic," 1908–09* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1910), 4 (hereafter referred to as *Report 1908–09*).
8. Ibid.; Bernier, *Cruise of the Arctic*, 15.
9. Ibid.; Bernier, *Cruise of the Arctic*, 31.

10. Fergus Fleming, *Barrow's Boys* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1998), 69.
11. Bernier, *Cruise of the Arctic*, 37.
12. Douglas Hodgson, personal interview, Natural Resources Canada, January 13, 2003; Fleming, *Barrow's Boys*, 70.
13. Bernier, *Master Mariner and Arctic Explorer*, 43.
14. Fleming, *Barrow's Boys*, 373.
15. Bernier, *Master Mariner and Arctic Explorer*, 92.
16. *Ibid.*, 107.
17. *Ibid.*, 114.
18. The sunken wreck of the *Investigator* was discovered at the bottom of Mercy Bay with sonar by Parks Canada archaeologists in July 2010.
19. Bernier, *Master Mariner and Arctic Explorer*, 343.
20. *Ibid.*, 196; "Fixed Seal to Islands," *Toronto Daily Star*, October 8, 1909.
21. Bernier, *Master Mariner and Arctic Explorer*, 343–44.
22. Transcript of the plaque in Bernier, *Report 1908–09*, 195.
23. Claude Vigneau, diary entry, July 1, 1909. Courtesy of Stéphane Cloutier.
24. Bernier, *Report 1908–09*, 273.
25. Harry P. Whitney, *Hunting With Eskimos* (Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1910), 442.
26. J.E. Bernier telegram to F. Cook, October 3, 1909, in *Captain J.E. Bernier's Contribution to Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic*, Yolande Dorion-Robitaille (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978), 67.
27. "Capt. Bernier's Story of Voyage," *Globe* (Toronto), October 6, 1908.
28. Joseph E. Bernier (Speech, Canadian Club, Ottawa, October 16, 1909).
29. Marjolaine Saint-Pierre, *Joseph-Elzéar Bernier: Capitaine et coureur des mers, 1852–1934* (Sillery, QC: Septentrion, 2004), 245.
30. "Musk Ox At Bronx Zoo," *New York Times*, November 18, 1909.
31. "Man from the Arctic. Captain Bernier and the North Pole. Address at Massey Hall," *Toronto Daily Star*, November 27, 1909.

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1. Wilfrid Laurier (Speech, Canadian Club of Ottawa, October 16, 1909).
2. Joseph E. Bernier, *Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to the Northern Waters and Arctic Archipelago of the D.G.S. "Arctic" in 1910*,

Under Command of J.E. Bernier (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1912, 2 (hereafter referred to as *Report 1910*).

3. Ibid.
4. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Edward Macdonald Fonds, MG 30, B-139, R5217-0-8-E, "Edward Macdonald diary entry, July 5, 1910," microfiche reel M5506.
5. Ibid., August 31, 1910.
6. Joseph E. Bernier, *Master Mariner and Arctic Explorer: A Narrative of Sixty Years at Sea from the Logs and Yarns of Captain J.E. Bernier F.R.G.S, F.R.E.S.* (Ottawa: Le Droit, 1939), 355.
7. LAC, "Edward Macdonald diary entry, September 2, 1910."
8. Brian MacDonald, *Summary of Transits of the Northwest Passage, 1903 to 2002* (Ottawa: Department of Fisheries and Oceans, 2003). Until recently, the transit of this Northwest Passage was possible only by submarine. The United States Coast Guard icebreaker *Northwind* was first to make this passage in 1954.
9. The small community of Arctic Bay (population 700) is now located at this spot.
10. LAC, "Edward Macdonald diary entry, July 27, 1911."
11. Ibid., April 28, 1911.
12. Ibid., January 15, 1911.
13. Ibid., January 16, 1911.
14. Ibid., April 18, 1911.
15. J.T.E. Lavoie, Appendix No. 2 to *Report 1910*, Bernier (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1912), 90.
16. Ibid., 105.
17. Gilberte Tremblay, *Bernier capitaine à 17 ans* (Ottawa: Lemeac, 1972), 111.
18. LAC, "Edward Macdonald diary entry, May 12, 1911."
19. Bernier, *Report 1910*, 64.
20. The strait was named in 1822 by Sir Edward Parry after his ships *Fury* and *Hecla*.
21. Bernier, *Report 1910*, 81.
22. Andrew Taylor, *Geographical Discovery and Exploration in the Queen Elizabeth Islands* (Ottawa: Geographical Branch, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, 1955), 119.

23. Marjolaine Saint-Pierre, *Joseph-Elzéar Bernier: Capitaine et coureur des mers* (Quebec: Septentrion, 2005), 236–38.
24. Canada, House of Commons Hansard (March 18, 1912), 5398–399 (Rodolphe Lemieux).
25. Saint-Pierre, *Joseph-Elzéar Bernier*, 247.
26. Shelagh D. Grant, *Arctic Justice: On Trial for Murder, Pond Inlet, 1923* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 39.
27. Yolande Dorion-Robitaille, *Captain J.E. Bernier's Contribution to Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic* (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978), 71.

AFTERWORD

1. Department of Naval Service, *Report on Hydrographic Surveys, Hudson Bay*, Sessional Paper No. 38, 2 George V., A. 1912, 34.
2. A.R. Gordon, *Report of the Hudson's Bay Expedition of 1886, Under the Command of Lieut. A.R. Gordon R.N., 1887*, 91.
3. Department of Naval Service, *Report on Hydrographic Surveys, Hudson Bay*, Sessional Paper No. 38, 3 George V., A. 1913, 43.
4. O.M. Meehan, *The Canadian Hydrographic Service from the Time of Its Inception in 1883 to the End of the Second World War*, Marine Science Branch EMR, Ottawa: 83.
5. Thomas E. Appleton, *Usque Ad Mare: A History of the Canadian Coast Guard and Marine Services* (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, Department of Transport, 1968), 116–21.
6. David Malaher, "Port Nelson and the Hudson Bay Railway," *Manitoba History* 8, Autumn 1984.
7. T.D. Regehr, "The Hudson Bay Railway," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed September 23, 2013, www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/hudson-bay-railway.
8. In 1977, 710,000 tonnes of prairie wheat was shipped from Churchill to ports around the globe, the largest volume of wheat ever exported. Since the turn of the twenty-first century, the yearly volume has ranged from 279,000 to 621,000 tonnes of grain shipped (*Winnipeg Free Press*, October 30, 2009).