

A Dundee Ship in Canada's Arctic: SS *Diana* and William Wakeham's Expedition of 1897

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SS *Diana* left Halifax at 1 PM on 3 June 1897 and set sail to the northeast. The next day the master turned the vessel north; after sailing for some days along the west coast of Newfoundland, *Diana* crossed the Strait of Belle Isle and proceeded up the Labrador coast to the Hudson Strait. The commander, Dr. William Wakeham, had been given a two-fold mission by the Canadian government.' The first was to examine navigation conditions in the Strait and to determine the months during which it was ice-free. The answer would provide possible solutions to a number of policy issues. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in 1885 had created a potential east-west economic axis, and Manitoba and the Northwest Territories were demanding a new railway to connect the CPR with Hudson's Bay. From Churchill, they wanted a shipping line directly to the Atlantic. But greater knowledge of conditions in Hudson's Bay and its entrance was necessary before the project could begin.

Wakeham's second task was to assert Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic land masses. But the meaning was shrouded in ambiguity: was the real intent to gain international recognition of Canada's authority over Arctic land or to assure control over the region's maritime passages? Today these two issues are separate, but it is less clear in the past. To complicate matters, in 1893 Wakeham had been asked by the government to be joint chair of a Canadian-American commission to adjudicate disputes over maritime boundaries. This previous experience suggests at the very least that Wakeham must have been aware of these issues when he sailed north.'

Yet all information points to the conclusion that Commander Wakeham was mandated quite simply to affirm Canadian rights over Arctic lands. This article will not only address this issue but also demonstrate the significance of Wakeham's assertion of Canadian sovereignty. While most studies of the Arctic tell us much about the great figures who travelled these waters, few actually discuss the personnel on the voyages or the vessel; I intend to do both. Thus, this article considers the main points of the voyage and relates the

circumstances surrounding the Canadian government's assertion of ownership over the Arctic lands visited by Wakeham.

The Commander and His Crew

Dr. William Wakeham had enjoyed success in his medical career before becoming a civil servant in the Canadian Department of Fisheries. After joining the government service, he gained an enviable reputation as Inspector of Fisheries in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and along the coast of Labrador. In this role he commanded the steamer *La Canadienne* on patrol off the east coast and took advantage of the opportunity to bring medical care to the isolated coastal populace. Duly mandated as a police commissioner, he made adjudicated disputes between fishermen and planters; distributed fishing permits; and maintained order by hiring, when necessary, a team of well-armed men. As a representative of the government, it was his job to assure that international treaties covering fishing activities in the Gulf were respected. It was while patrolling the Gulf that the government asked him to make his mission to the Arctic.'

The Ministry of Marine and Fisheries assigned seasoned personnel to assist Dr. Wakeham in his task. These men were chosen not only with the upcoming mission in mind but also for their experience in northern navigation. Few men in Canada had such experience because Canadian sailors most often sailed to Europe or South America. It thus became necessary to look elsewhere for the officers. As a result, the government turned to Newfoundland, British Columbia and other parts of the British Empire.

Captain James Joy of St. John's accepted the position of sailing master. He had made numerous voyages in northern waters on sealing vessels and had served as ice master on several ships similar to the Dundee vessels. Hunting expeditions aboard SS *Nimrod* had given him the expertise necessary to assist Wakeham in studying ice movements in the Hudson Strait.' The navigating officer on *Diana*, Captain William Henry Whiteley, was also a native of Newfoundland. He had served on sealing expeditions under Captain Samuel Blandford who, it seems, recommended him to the government. In the end, he was selected not only because of his sea-going background but also because, as owner of an established fishing business in Bonne Espérance, Labrador, he had a good deal of experience at capturing commercial marine species in northern waters.⁶

Diana's crew was chosen, like the officers, to meet the needs of the expedition. Most had experience in sailing in northern waters; had participated in whaling expeditions on the coast of Labrador; or had accompanied Captain Andrew Robertson Gordon on his excursions to Hudson Bay aboard *Neptune* or *Alert* in 1884-1885. Others had been crew members under Lieutenant Robert E. Peary on his voyages aboard *Hope* around Smith Sound between 1886 and 1895. Only one crew member was different: the second mate, John Ernest Stewart, was a Gaspesian who had served under Dr. Wakeham on *La Canadienne* and also under his father, Charles, captain of *John Stewart*, a seventy-three-ton whaler, the largest of its type in eastern Quebec.'

Two groups of scientists were also part of Dr. Wakeham's expedition. The first was directed by Dr. Albert Peter Low, a geologist at the beginning of what would be a brilliant career as an explorer in the Northwest Territories. As a member of the Canadian Geological Survey Department, his task, assisted by Dr. Andrew Halkett, was to record all the wildlife on the shores of Hudson's Bay and the Strait. Leading another group of scientists was Dr. Robert Bell, who was to study the geological particularities of the Strait and to chart the waters. He had already accompanied Commander Gordon on his expeditions on *Neptune* and *Alert* as geologist and medical officer; on those expeditions he had searched for traces of potentially marketable minerals and studied ice formation in the Strait! A representative of the Manitoba government also accompanied the expedition to look out for his province's commercial interests; Captain Edmund Burke joined in St. John's, Churchill or Hudson's Bay, but it is not clear precisely where.⁹ In total, forty-three individuals set sail aboard *Diana*, which carried provisions for fifty passengers for a seventeen-month voyage.¹⁰

Choice of Vessel

The crew members and the invited scientists on board SS *Diana* benefited greatly from having previously made the types of voyages now envisaged by the Dominion government. Their knowledge of the region and its navigation conditions contributed greatly to the expedition's choice of vessel. Canada did not own a craft capable of navigating in the kinds of ice fields that would be encountered in the north, and all that was available in the Québec merchant marine were ships like *La Canadienne* and the Gaspé whalers, which would surely perish in the harsh Arctic conditions. As with the choice of crew, it became necessary to look elsewhere for a vessel to take to the Arctic.

The government first turned to Nova Scotia, thinking perhaps that *Stanley*, a boat that carried the mails across the Cumberland Strait might fit the bill. In the end, this idea was rejected because the ship had a tendency to draw a little at the bow and had been built to handle only minimal ice conditions. Moreover, *Stanley* lacked the capacity to carry the amount of coal necessary for the voyage." Commander Wakeham and his superior, Admiral Markham of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, both believed that a whaler or sealing vessel would be more suitable. This prompted them to look toward Newfoundland, a British colony where sailing in ice was a challenge that the inhabitants had long since overcome. Since Wakeham already knew that he would have to enter the Hudson Strait very early in the season through heavy ice, it was imperative that he obtain a vessel that could handle it.

Four ships eventually were considered. The first was an 1829-ton, 350-horsepower merchant vessel, *Port Pirie*, owned by the Anglo-Australasian Steam Navigation Company of London. After reviewing the voyage requirements, however, even the owners admitted that their vessel was not sufficiently strong to steam through pack ice. But three wooden craft built by Alexander Stephen and Sons in Dundee, Scotland seemed more suitable. These were the whalers *Terra Nova*, *Esquimaux* and *Diana* that had served as sealers in the Arctic. *Esquimaux*, the oldest of the three, had been launched in 1865 and been used by the Dundee Seal and Whale Fishing Company of St. John's; in the end, its age weighed against it. *Terra*

Nova had been used in a similar capacity by both the William Stephen and Company of St. John's and the Dundee Seal and Whale Company. Built in 1884, it had some advantages over the other two vessels in that it had a carrying capacity of 466 tons. But it was apparently not available at the time, since Commander Wakeham gave no other reason for its elimination.¹²

Wakeham's final choice was *Diana* (*ex-Hector*), an auxiliary whaling steamer built in 1870 for Job Brothers and Co. of St. John's to navigate in thick ice. *Diana* was the latest addition to a fleet that already included two sealers, *Nimrod* and *Neptune*. Job Brothers was one of the largest employers in Newfoundland, and it had used *Diana* in the cod fishery, the seal hunt and for commerce with Europe and South America. After having worked the vessel in the Arctic for twenty years, the owners had returned it to the Dundee yards for refurbishment. Returning to St. John's in 1892, it was returned successfully to the seal hunt. It could not carry 275 tons and had a seventy-horsepower engine. *Diana* soon acquired the reputation as the most manoeuvrable and fastest of the Dundee ships. After much consideration, *Diana* was chosen to carry Wakeham and his crew to the north. Wakeham could not help but congratulate himself on the choice. Indeed, on 22 June 1897 he wrote that "the ship showed herself to be wonderfully handy, turning and twisting her way around the floes at full speed in a manner that was surprising for a vessel steaming at the rate of 8 1/2 knots."¹³

Mission Orders

Although Canada had received the rights to the Arctic Archipelago from Great Britain in 1880, it had done little to oversee the territory. The satisfaction over having complete rights, combined with a complacent attitude, meant that the country never really asserted its full authority. Indeed, the only decisive action occurred in October 1895, when the Northwest Territories were divided into four different administrative regions. Nevertheless, this action was never followed up by concrete land divisions.

It appears odd today that the Honourable Louis H. Davies, in his instructions to Wakeham on 23 April 1897, mentioned the mandate to affirm Canadian rights over the Arctic Archipelago last on the list of mission orders, almost as if the Ministry of Marine and Fisheries accorded only secondary importance to this aspect of the voyage. It is obvious that what we today call the Canadian North at the time held little interest for politicians.¹ This was suggested not only in the orders from Davies but also in actions of civil servants in the Colonial Office in London. Years earlier, while discussing the transfer of the Northern Territories to Canada, a British Official was heard to remark: "The object in annexing these unexplored territories to Canada...is to prevent the United States from claiming them and not from the likelihood of their proving of any value to Canada."

If Britain was aware of the American occupation of the Arctic, then the Canadian government must also have had an inkling. Yet four years passed before Captain Andrew Robertson Gordon was sent to study navigation of the Hudson Strait — and he did not even bother to assert ownership of the Northern lands. Indeed, it would be another eleven years

before William Wakeham was officially dispatched to plant the Union Jack on Northern soil. Despite the tardiness of the decision to send Wakeham to the north, his mandate could not have been clearer:

It will be your duty firmly and openly to declare and uphold jurisdiction in all these British territories you may visit of the Dominion of Canada, to plant the flag as to open notorious evidence to the natives and others of our claim to jurisdiction, and our determination to maintain and uphold it.¹⁶

The Minister's letter, although lacking any sense of urgency, did convey a firm message. One would think that Canada was beginning to awaken to the fact that explorers from other countries also visited the Arctic and that Canada should act immediately to confirm ownership.

Foreign Presence in the Arctic

Europeans and Americans had been visiting these lands regularly for some eighty years. The first record of a whaling expedition to this Northern region is to Cumberland Bay in about 1820 by a Scottish Captain, William Penny, who had commanded several whaling vessels to Baffin Island and Davis Strait. He was still involved in whaling in 1853, when he established the Arctic Aberdeen Company. In 1830, the Scottish accounted for eighty whaling vessels, of which a goodly portion patrolled Baffin Bay, Lancaster Sound and Barrow Strait.

The Americans had also been sending whaling vessels to the North since 1850. Ships from New Bedford regularly fished at the entrance to Hudson Strait, and Wakeham had personally met Captain O. Spicer of Groton, whose first trips to the Cumberland Strait dated from 1859, and Captain E.B. Fisher of East Plymouth, who had fished in both Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait without interruption since 1864. Others, like Captain Thomas McKenzie of New Bedford, followed close behind."

Along with these hunting expeditions, scientific voyages and explorations to the Arctic were increasingly popular. In the first "International Polar Year," 1882, eleven expeditions went to the Arctic, one of which was the unfortunate American expedition led by Adolphus W. Greely, who just barely survived the harsh conditions.¹⁸ In 1893 the Norwegian Fridjof Nansen tried to reach the North Pole by allowing his team to be carried by the ice floes. They tried for two years before giving up without having reached their goal. Hansen's partner, Otto Sverdrup, was preparing yet another attempt to reach the North Pole aboard *Fram* when Wakeham left Halifax. At the same time, an Italian, the Duke des Abruzzes, was organizing a voyage aboard *Stella Polare* which would take him to 86°34' in 1899.¹⁹

This enduring foreign presence eventually became a threat to Canadian rights, especially since permanent stations were being established. When the Archipelago was transferred to Canada in 1880, there were already numerous American and European

whaling stations along the shores of Baffin Bay. There were still stations at Marble Island, Whale Point, and Repulse Bay when *Diana* arrived. The Moravians also had a mission at Okak, on the Labrador coast, and Wakeham mentioned other significant stations further north on Baffin Island, one on the shores of Cumberland Strait at Kekerton and another on Black Island. Both belonged to Noble and Company of Aberdeen. An American company, the Williams Company of New London, Connecticut, had also operated there between 1859 and 1894, when it also closed its doors at Gummuite, near North Foreland, on Monumental Island.²⁰

As the foreign presence in the North became more permanent, doubts were cast on Canadian ownership. Indeed, a good number of whalers, even those who were not Americans, were under the impression that the Arctic islands belonged to the US. Reporting on his early contacts with Noble and Company in Kekerton, Wakeham wrote that there was an "external whaling establishment," and that "on making inquiries from the officer in charge, a man from Aberdeen, where the owner of the station resided, I discovered that he was possessed of the idea that Baffin's Land was under the jurisdiction of the United States. He had coincidentally come to hold this opinion because of the fact that United States citizens had for years been on undisturbed possession of sedentary whaling stations in Baffin Land."²¹ The manager's impression that this was American soil no doubt stemmed from the fact that his superiors had bought the station from the Williams Company of New Bedford, and that sovereignty had not been mentioned during the transaction.

Canada Affirms Its Rights Over Arctic Territory

All the information gathered by Commander Wakeham during his long voyage to the North began to awaken in him a stronger sense of urgency about the need to establish Canadian ownership of the Arctic Archipelago. As he later wrote, "In mind of this misconception as to the real ownership of this important territory, I seemed in my duty to openly and officially proclaim our sovereignty."²² It is obvious that he did not come to this conclusion immediately, since he waited until August to plant the Union Jack.

Meanwhile, *Diana* was facing difficult conditions in Arctic waters. Shortly after arriving at the entrance to the Hudson Strait on 22 June, *Diana* became stuck in ice, which hampered its progress for about ten days. The pressure on the hull was so strong that on 1 July Wakeham ordered the lifeboats prepared. On 4 July, the lower and main decks bent under the force and *Diana* began to take on water. The vessel twisted and cracked so much that the officers began to consider abandoning it, but on 10 July the ice retreated and the ship was freed. Aside from this single setback, the voyage was without incident. Wakeham soon busied himself studying the ice floes and sea currents and with unloading scientific equipment. In the weeks that followed, he travelled the length of the Hudson Strait twice and could easily have completed the second component of his mission that today holds so much value for Canada.

On 15 August *Diana* reached the station at Kekerton, where Wakeham discovered the Noble and Company whaling station that had been in operation for thirty-five years. The

station was directed by a Mr. Mutch who, being on a visit to his homeland, had left the place under the direction of a Mr. Milne.²³ More than 150 Inuit were employed at the station, where they were supplied with food, clothing and weapons for the length of their employment. Kekerton was perhaps the oldest and best-run of all the Arctic Archipelago stations of the time. And again the manager thought the territory was American. To counter this, Wakeham deemed it imperative that he take official possession of the territory at this location.²⁴

The ceremony was held on 17 August 1897 in the presence of *Diana's* officers, the manager of the Scottish post and the Inuit. The occasion was punctuated by a short discourse by Wakeham, after which he hoisted the Union Jack:

I hereby declare in the presence of all now assembled that I hoist the Union Jack as the open and notorious conduct that all this territory of Baffin's Land — with all the adjacent territories and islands — is now as it has always been since the time of the first discovery and occupation under the exclusive Sovereignty of Great Britain. God save the Queen.²⁵

Wakeham's predecessors had been concerned with matters such as reaching the North Pole, conducting scientific studies, or fulfilling personal goals. By planting the Union Jack, Wakeham gave the country jurisdiction and political authority over the Arctic islands, a territory of more than 500,000 square miles. But the government neglected to appoint an official representative or to establish a control station. Fortunately, a photograph of the ceremony lent credence to Canada's claim.

Wakeham's Place in the History of the Canadian Arctic

It seems that only Newfoundlanders paid attention to Wakeham's mission.²⁶ The governor, Sir Herbert Murray, officially received Wakeham in St. John's at the end of September 1897. Yet Newfoundland's acceptance of his claims was not the norm within Canada. There are several possible explanations for this. For a portion of the Canadian population, territorial disputes with the US over Alaska diverted attention from more abstract questions in the Arctic. As well, Klondike gold had captured attention more than the frozen regions of the North. And in the east, ongoing disagreements with the US about control over the natural riches of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence took precedence over vague issues of ownership of a distant archipelago. Finally, scientists seemed to have a higher regard for the numerous voyages of Andrew Robertson Gordon (1884, 1885, 1886) and Lieutenant Robert E. Peary (1891, 1895). It was not that Drs. Low and Bell did not accomplish much on their expedition, but the quantity of information they gathered was not as impressive as that collected by the others.²⁷

Elsewhere, foreigners did not take *Diana's* voyage seriously. Even in England, *The Mail* publicly ridiculed Wakeham's gesture. On 28 September, in response to such derision, the Commander wrote to his superior in Ottawa, Admiral Markham, about what he thought

were the true implications of his voyage. His letter clearly indicates the geographic area covered by his claim as well as the latitude that had been given by his superiors.

I was instructed to enquire into the extent to which trade has carried on in the territories North of Hudson Strait to aliens and others, and to firmly and openly proclaim our right to Jurisdiction in all the British Territories — The special steps necessary to proclaim our sovereignty was left to my own Judgment and discretion.²⁸

In response to the general indifference to Wakeham's work, the Canadian government sent more than half a dozen new expeditions to reaffirm sovereignty. These included the voyages of Dr. Albert Peter Low (1904, 1906) on *Neptune*; Major Moodie of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police in 1904 aboard *Arctic*; and of Captain Joseph-Elzéard Bernier aboard the same vessel in 1906-1907 and again in 1908-1909.²⁹

Conclusion

The country could not but congratulate itself for the accomplishments of Commander Wakeham and his successors when, in 1985, the US sent *Polar Sea* to the Arctic Archipelago without Ottawa's permission, declaring that, like the Suez and Panama canals, these waters were international.³⁰ This incident brought out the full import of *Diana's* voyage. The results of the 1897 expedition should be considered in relation to Canadian intentions regarding Baffin Island and the Arctic Archipelago. Despite the fact that his orders did not mention Canadian maritime rights explicitly, Wakeham's claim of sovereignty at least gained Canada incontestable control over the Northern Territories. The main shortcoming in Wakeham's actions is that he did not specifically assert Canadian authority over the channels and straits that gave access to the Pacific. From this perspective, *Diana's* voyage can be seen as part of a story whose final chapter is yet to be written.

These questions of Arctic sovereignty would continue to be debated long after *Diana* had gone to its final resting place under the icy Arctic waters. Following the Wakeham expedition, *Diana* returned to the seal hunt for Job Brothers under the command of Captain Alph Barbour. In 1915 the ship passed into the hands of James Baird Ltd. Finally, in 1922, during its fifty-second trip to the North, *Diana* "became jammed in the ice at the front and lost her tail shaft. She was abandoned on March 27 and sank while burning."³¹

There is no doubt that Wakeham was aware of the importance of what he had done at Kekerton. By asserting Canadian ownership over the Arctic territories, he had completed the work that John Cabot had begun 400 hundred years earlier. Yet Wakeham was not a man to call attention to himself. A friend, John Mason Clarke, once asked him to recount his life story for publication. Dr. Wakeham, who was already in his twilight years, merely responded that he "should not know where to begin or end," Clark, however, found "the end before the beginning" when William Wakeham died a few months later on 15 May 1915.³²

NOTES

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1. Some work has directly discussed Wakeham's expedition, while others have only alluded to it. See Mario Mimeault, "L'Arctique canadien: W. Wakeham précurseur de J-E. Bernier," *L'escale maritime* (Décembre 1985 janvier 1986), 45-48; Daniel Francis, "Staking Canada's Claim to the Arctic Islands," *Canadian Geographical Journal* (August-September 1977), 60-69; and Gordon W. Smith, "Canada's Arctic Archipelago — 100 Years of Canadian Jurisdiction," *North/Nord*, XXVII, No. 1 (Spring/Printemps 1980), 10-15; and No. 2 (Summer/Été 1980), 10-17 and 59.

2. Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870-1914* (Toronto, 1971), remains the only broad historical survey of the Canadian Arctic for the period examined in this paper. The question of Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic Archipelago from 1903 is discussed in Nathaniel French Caldwell, Jr., *Arctic Leverage: Canadian Sovereignty and Security* (Toronto, 1990); and Michel Frédéric, "La politique arctique des Etats-Unis et le cas de la souveraineté du Canada dans le Nord," *Etudes Internationales*, XIX, No. 4 (Décembre 1988), 673-691. A synthesis on northern exploration is R.L. Christie and P.R. Dawes, "Exploration géographique et géologique," in H.P. Trettin (red.), *Géologie de l'orogène innuitien et de la plate-forme de l'Arctique du Canada et du Groenland* (Ottawa, 1991), 7-26. A recent publication that covers scientific and exploratory voyages is Trevor H. Levere, *Science and the Canadian Arctic: A Century of Exploration, 1818-1918* (Boston, 1993). Finally, readers may wish to consult M.T. Greene, *Geology in the Nineteenth Century: Changing Views in a Changing World* (New York, 1982); and Morris Zaslow, *A Century*

of Canada's Arctic Islands, 1880-1980 (Ottawa, 1981).

3. Edward Prince, "Fishery Administration in Canada," *Transactions of the American Fisheries Society*, L (1920-1921), 177-178; and Mario Mimeault, "William Wakeham," *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, XIV (forthcoming).

4. Henry James Morgan, *Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1898), 1045-1046; and Ken Annett, "William Wakeham, M.D.C.M.," *SPEC* (Gaspé), 13 May 1981.

5. William Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf in the Steamship "Diana" under the Command of William Wakeham* (Ottawa, 1898), 4.

6. Cyril F. Poole (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's, 1994), V, 562; Henry Youmans Mott, *Newfoundland Men. A Collection of Biographical Sketches* (Concord, 1894), 105; and Shannon Ryan, "William Henry Whiteley," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XII, 1181-1182.

7. Wakeham, *Report*, 4 and 8; and Joseph-Elzéard Bernier, *Report of the Dominion of Canada Government Expedition to The Arctic Islands and Hudson Strait on Board the D.G.S. "Arctic"* (Ottawa, 1910), 19-20 (Gordon's expeditions are summarized on 324-326). The reader will find complementary information and even photos of the ships and their officers in Shannon Ryan with Martha Drake, *Seals and Sealers — A Pictorial History of the Newfoundland Seal Fishery* (St. John's, 1987), 20, 32 and 76. See also Morley K. Thomas, "Andrew Robertson Gordon," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XII, 415-416; and reports from Mrs. Dulcie Stewart, of Gaspé, (daughter-in-law of John Ernest Stewart), 1 September 1996.

8. Dr. Low explored the Ellesmere Island region aboard *Neptune* in 1903-1904; Drs. Bell and Halkett were also in this expedition. Duplicating Wakeham's expedition, A.P. Low took possession of the area for King Edward VII: Andrew Robert-

son Gordon, "Rapport de l'expédition du *Neptune* à la Baie d'Hudson en 1884," *Rapport du Commissaire de la Marine et des Pêcherie pour l'année 1884* (Ottawa, 1884), appendix 30, 189-235; William Wakeham, *Hudson Bay Expedition of 1897* (Ottawa, 1898), 80-83; and Bernier, *Report*, 20 and 324-326. A short report by Dr. Andrew Halkett discussing the animal species collected during the voyage aboard *Diana* is included in Wakeham, *Hudson Bay Expedition*, 80-83. See also Levere, *Science and the Canadian Arctic*, 356-361 and 371-377.

9. There is a doubt about the identity of this man. Albert Peter Low, *Report of the Dominion Government Expedition to the Northern Waters and Arctic Archipelago of the D.G.S. Neptune in 1903-04* (Ottawa, 1904), 285, wrote that a certain Mr. Fisher was the representative of the Manitoba government on Wakeham's voyage.

10. F. Gourdeau, "Expedition to Hudson Bay and Strait (sic) and Cumberland Sound," *Annual Report of the Marine and Fisheries Branch for the Year 1898* (Ottawa, 1899), 22-23; Wakeham, *Hudson Bay Expedition*, 4 and 78.

11. Wakeham, *Hudson Bay Expedition*, 1-2.

12. *Ibid.*, 2-3. Ryan with Drake, *Seals and Sealers*, 29 and 47, gives a brief history of this vessel, which saved Captain Robert Scott's *Discovery* in the Antarctic. The same ship was part of Scott's second expedition in 1910.

13. Ryan with Drake, *Seals and Sealers*, 15 and 70; Wakeham, *Hudson Bay Expedition*, 4, 5 and 10; "Job Brothers and Company Limited," *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, III, 111-112; J.K. Hiller, "Job, Thomas Bulley," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, X, 418. The reader will also find supplementary information about Job Brothers in Shannon Ryan, *Fish Out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade 1814-1914* (St. John's, 1986), 44-45, 51 and 65-69.

14. Zaslów, *Opening*, 252-253.

15. Cited in Ian McClymont, "Laurier et l'Arctique," *L'Archivist* (September-October 1988), 10; and Gordon W. Smith, "Sovereignty in

the North: The Canadian Aspect of An International Problem," in R. St.J. Macdonald, *The Arctic Frontier* (Toronto, 1966), 203.

16. National Archives of Canada (NAC), RG 42, Ministry of Marine and Fisheries, Vol. 336, file 13205, Louis H. Davies to William Wakeham, 23 April 1897. All records relating to the 1897 voyage of *Diana* are classified in RG 42, Vols. 48, 327 and 336. These files contain correspondence concerning all aspects of the voyage.

17. Although Wakeham's sources put Penny's first voyage in 1820, he would have been only eleven. According to Clive Holland, "William Penney, 1809-1892: Arctic Whaling Master," *Polar Record*, XV (1970), 25-43, Penny was born in 1809. See also Holland, "William Penny," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XII, 910-912; Daniel Francis, *Arctic Chase. A History of Whaling in Canada's North* (St. John's, 1984), 36-40; Wakeham, *Hudson Bay Expedition*, 74-75; and Ivan Sanderson, *Follow the Whale* (Toronto, 1956), 283.

18. Zaslów, *Opening*, 252; Willy Ley, *Les Pôles* (Paris, 1971), 96; and Levere, *Science and the Canadian Arctic*, 307-337.

19. Christie and Dawes, "Exploration," 11-14; Chantal Edel, "Le duc (Louis Amédée de Savoie) des Abruzzes met le cap sur le Pôle" in *Grands reportages*, No. 140 (Septembre 1993), 118-125; and L. Elias, *Les explorations polaires (Pôle nord et Pôle sud)* (Paris, 1930), 144-159, 163-166 and 167-170.

20. Wakeham, *Hudson Bay Expedition*, 74-76.

21. NAC, RG 42, William Wakeham to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 28 September 1897.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Bernier, *Report*, 52, states that his name was W.F. Milne.

24. Wakeham, *Hudson Bay Expedition*, 74-75.

25. NAC, RG 42, vol. 336, file 13, 205A, William Wakeham to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 28 September 1897. Wakeham reported the ceremony in terms similar to those used in this official report and ended his notation in an unusual manner: "Tuesday, 17th August. — Landed and hoisted the Union Jack in presence of the agent, a number of our own officers crew, and the Esquimaux, formally declaring in their presence that the flag was hoisted as an evidence that Baffin's Land with all the territories, island and dependancies adjacent to it were now, as they always had been since their first discovery and occupation, under the exclusive sovereignty of Great Britain" (Wakeham, *Hudson Bay Expedition*, 24).

26. Wakeham, *Hudson Bay Expedition*, 44.

27. Zaslow, *Opening*, 259-260, explains the lack of attention accorded the Wakeham expedition by the interest generated by the race to the Pole by Peary and the work of Hansen in the Arctic. See also Bemier, *Report*, 327-328. Other reports ignore this totally; see, for example, Low, *Report*; and Alfred Tremblay, *Cruise of the Mini Maud to the Arctic Seas and Hudson Bay 1910-11 and 1912-13* (Québec, 1921). The first author to relate Wakeham's gesture is A.E. Millward, *Southern Baffin Island* (Ottawa, 1930).

28. NAC, RG 42, vol. 336, file no. 13205A, Wakeham to the Minister, 28 September 1897.

29. Bernier, *Report*, 328-333.

30. Caldwell, *Arctic Leverage*, 57-58; and Thom as C. Pullen, "What Price Canadian Sovereignty?" *Proceedings*, No. 113 (September 1987), 71.

31. Ryan with Drake, *Seals and Sealers*, 15.

32. John Mason Clarke, *L'Île Percée. The Finial of the St-Lawrence or Gaspé Flaneries; Being a Blend of Reveries; of History and Science: of Description and Narrative; also a Signpost to the Traveler* (New Haven, 1923), 117.