

## Inuit Tales of *Terror*: The location of Franklin's missing ship

The discovery of the wreck of the Franklin expedition vessel *HMS Erebus* in September 2014 garnered world-wide attention and well-deserved praise for the skill and perseverance of the Parks Canada-led team that discovered it. It was universally attested that the preserved nineteenth-century traditions of the Inuit inhabitants of the area were essential in the discovery, providing through their remembrances the search area in which the wreck was eventually located.

This summer the same team will return to the arctic in continuing pursuit of Franklin's other ship - *HMS Terror*. Surprisingly, very little consideration is being given to the clues embedded in the same traditional narratives as to the location of that second vessel. This article attempts to investigate the reasons for this, and re-evaluates the Inuit testimony for any clues that could lead to the discovery of this second significant shipwreck.

The Inuit testimony concerning the wreck of *HMS Erebus* was, if not entirely straightforward, fairly consistent. Two known geographical features were repeatedly mentioned in relation to that shipwreck, Grant Point and O'Reilly Island, in an area west of the Adelaide Peninsula called "Utjulik." As these two points were approximately twenty five kilometers apart this still left a very large and daunting area in which to search, and it was only after decades of painstaking effort by a succession of teams that the prize was attained. As it turned out the wreck was found almost halfway between the two points. Perhaps even more impressive is that the details of the wreck, lying upright, in shallow water, and almost intact, are totally in accord with the Inuit descriptions given.

In contrast the geographical clues as to the location of *HMS Terror* are almost non-existent. The Inuit testimony collected in the nineteenth century consistently remembered two shipwrecks, the one at Utjulik, the other vaguely referred to as lying generally to the west of King William Island, an island larger than Jamaica. It is clear that any case setting out a search area based on testimony will not rely on specific geographical clues but must be entirely circumstantial, based on a chain of reasoning from testimony concerning other aspects of the Franklin tragedy.



Fig. 1 Franklin Area showing abandonment position and possible wreck locations. Erebus was found in 2014 just south of the indicated "Woodman's search area". Royal Canadian Geographical Society

Clues that could lead to the location of the *Terror* are largely embedded in stories of visits made by various Inuit hunters to Franklin's ships. Most historians either doubt that these visits occurred, or conclude that they refer to the period before the known abandonment of April 1848, when the ships were still together off the northwest shore of King William Island.

These reconstructions rely heavily on the only documentary evidence recovered from the Franklin expedition itself – a short note known as the "Victory Point record." That note stated that "H.M. ships 'Terror' and 'Erebus' were deserted on the 22nd April, 5 leagues N.N.W. of this" but made no mention of any contact with Inuit before that date. The note itself, an unplanned addendum to an earlier record, could easily be forgiven for omitting such details, however there are other reasons to doubt that a native visit to the ships before that time occurred.

This is seemingly reinforced by the consideration, evident to Sir Leopold McClintock the 1859 the discoverer of that record, that "no part of the coast between Cape Felix and Cape Crozier has been visited by Esquimaux since the fatal march of the lost crews ... none of the cairns or numerous articles strewed about - which would be invaluable to the natives - or even drift-wood we noticed, had been touched by them."<sup>1</sup>

This too was confirmed by Inuit testimony that explicitly stated that they had no idea that the Franklin expedition had left relics on the northwest coast until told of it by the natives of Bellot Strait, who themselves learned of it when McClintock's exploring parties returned to his ship.<sup>2</sup> The Victory Point record also indicated that the entire 105 surviving crew abandoned the vessels, presumably intact. Most

<sup>1</sup> McClintock, *The Voyage of the "Fox" (1859)*, p 276-7.

<sup>2</sup> Hall Collection Book B – p 132-3.

historians conclude that no-one returned and that all succumbed within a few months on a futile death-march towards the south. Therefore it is concluded that the two abandoned ships would have been left to the mercy of the moving ice, and indeed the modern search for the *Terror* has concentrated on the known ice-drift patterns from the known location of the abandonment off the northwest coast of King William Island to the area, over two hundred kilometers to the south, where the *Erebus* was found.

But voluminous Inuit testimony casts doubt on this standard scenario. Inuit stories of their discovery of the *Erebus*, which have so far proven to be entirely in accord with what has been found, are consistent in affirming that that ship was manned when first seen. There were tracks of Franklin's men in the surrounding snow, and at least one crewman was found dead in the ship when it was penetrated by a hunting party before sinking. Evidence of living crew still living aboard is one of the primary goals, along with further possible documentation, of the continuing effort to explore and analyze the wreck of the *Erebus*.

Considering the verified accuracy of other traditions concerning the Utjulik wreck the presence of living crew when it arrived in the south must be taken seriously. This single consideration places in doubt the contention that the other ship, the *Terror*, must lie on the normal drift-path from the 1848 abandonment position. Should human remains be found aboard the *Erebus*, as indicated in the Inuit testimony, there would be irrefutable evidence confirming a re-manning of the ships by at least a portion of the crew. This allows consideration that traditions of visits to manned ships by Inuit hunters could post-date the 1848 abandonment, and have occurred elsewhere.

In fact there was testimony that emerged from the arctic long before the Victory Point record was discovered that indicated that Franklin's two ships were not only intact, but still manned, in 1849. That year the Master of the whaler *Chieftain* was visited by an Inuk hunter who indicated that two ships had been "frozen up for four years ... [he] and some companions had been on board ... the previous spring and they were safe."<sup>3</sup>

This would be consistent with other Inuit testimony that implied that their contact with the Franklin expedition post-dated 1848. When referring to native visits to the manned ships it was recalled that "the two winters the two ships were [beset] were very cold. The Innuits never knew such very cold weather - there was no summer between the two winters,"<sup>4</sup> while another tale spoke of visits during "the first summer and first winter," a phrase that also implied a long interaction. Two "winters" of contact before the ships were finally abandoned, i.e.: 1848-9 and 1849-50, would imply that a second attempt at abandonment took place in 1850, and that too was seemingly confirmed in 1854 when John Rae, the first to learn the location of the disaster and to return some Franklin relics to England, was told that a party of hunters had met retreating Franklin crew "four winters ago."

All of these considerations set a new timeline, one asserting that the ships were at least partially remanned after an abortive 1848 abandonment, and either drifted or were taken to some other location where the Inuit hunters found them in 1849.

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3 Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Accounts and Papers (1850) vol. 35, no. 107.

4 Nourse, Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition etc., p 589.

The investigator who collected most of the relevant testimony was Charles Francis Hall, who spent five years between 1864 and 1869 living with the Inuit and recording their tales of Kodlunak (European) visitors. He heard many accounts of native visits to explorer's ships, and it is true that it is often difficult to determine which expedition is being referred to. Most of the encounters have understandable similarities - the explorers came in similar ships, used similar technology, and their commanders were even given common nicknames – Toolooah and Aglooka – by the Inuit. In many cases incidents can be confidently attributed to the correct expedition through internal details or comparison with the explorer's own accounts, but in others one must look for diagnostic details.

Hall was informed by a hunter named Neewikeetoo that he “as well as other Innuits visited the ship or ships & saw the Koblunas aboard ... Most of the Innuits in that part of the country & neighbourhood visited the ship or ships & afterwards moved far from there. After this one Inuit went alone to the ship or ships. This was before the ship or ships was crushed in the ice.”<sup>5</sup>

Neewikeetoo also showed Hall a watch recovered from a Franklin encampment. He said that “he took the watch off the dead body of a Kob-lu-na ... This was on a large island not very far from Neitch-il-le. The Kob-lu-nas & the boat came from a ship that was crushed in the ice. Before hard times came upon the Kob-lu-nas the Innuits saw the ship or ships.”<sup>6</sup>

On Apr. 13th, 1866 Hall was told by Nood-loo-ong about one Inuk in particular who would often “tell long interesting stories about the ships he had seen ... & of the white people aboard ... This Innuits name Kok-lee-ar-nung ... Kok-lee-ar-nung & many other Innuits saw Aglooka (Crozier) & many other whites while on board the ship or ships.” The recurring seeming confusion within the stories as to whether there were one or more ships will be explained shortly, and will itself prove to be a valuable clue.

Nood-loo-ong affirmed that “Kok-er-ling-arn however did see Aglooka & many other Koblunas on board of the ship many times.” Kokleearngnun was himself repeatedly interviewed by Hall, and provided the most detailed accounts of a visit to this ship. As proof of his verisimilitude he “showed two spoons which had been given to him by Ag-loo-ka (Crozier), one of them having the initials F.R.M.C. [Francis Rawdon Moira Crozier] stamped upon it.” The eminent historian R.J. Cyriax, convinced that the visit described could not have been to the *Erebus* and *Terror*, rather tortuously attempted to sidestep this tangible link between Kokleearngnun and Franklin's ships by concluding that his possession of a spoon “which had unquestionably belonged to Crozier, and his statement that 'Aglooka' had given it to him, do not prove that 'Aglooka' was Crozier, nor that 'Aglooka' in person had given him the spoon. Hall found relics of the lost expedition widely distributed among the Eskimos, and Kokleearngnun, who was blind, may have confused the spoon with another given him by someone else.”<sup>7</sup>

According to the native recollections the interaction with the crews had been prolonged as the Inuit “had their tupiks on the ice alongside of him during the spring and summer” and there had been a large

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5 Hall Collection 58915-N (#7) - PRIVATE JOURNAL - Nov 19, 1865 - Apr 3, 1866, p 351-52.

6 Ibid.

7 Cyriax, “Captain Hall and the So-Called Survivors of the Franklin Expedition,” p 181.

joint caribou hunt “killing so many that they made a line across the whole bay.”<sup>8</sup> It must be admitted that Hall himself had doubts about this testimony. He remarked that “after hearing the story of old Kokleearngnun ... I believed they had visited many times Sir John Franklin's ships while beset in the ice near King William's Land and there met him, Crozier and all their Company. It took something like three days while encamped on the ice ... to find out the fact that all the old man and wife had told me was of Captain and Commander Ross.”<sup>9</sup>

This disregards many of the details of Kokleearngnun's story – the Rosses had only one ship, never conducted a joint hunt, and their interaction with the Inuit as described in their own narratives was brief and confined to one year. It is also counterindicated by the detail that Kokleearngnun himself specifically stated that there were “three ships in all - that is one they know about not far from Ook-kee-bee-jee-lua (Pelly Bay) just beyond Cape Barens [Ross' *Victory*] & beyond the westward of Neit-tee-lik, [two more] near Ookgoo-lik.”

In addition detailed testimony concerning aspects of the ships (*Victory* had paddlewheels, Franklin's ships had propellers), physical descriptions of the commanders (Crozier was bald, Ross had a full head of hair) etc. amply reveal that the Inuit witnesses were not confused as to which expedition was being spoken of. That Kokleearngnun knew of the various expeditions and was referring respectively to Ross' *Victory* and Franklin's *Erebus* and *Terror* seems beyond question, even though Hall may have later been told third-hand mixed versions of visits to white men incorporating elements of both Ross and Franklin.<sup>10</sup>

Another remembrance of the visits to the ships in the ice gives another diagnostic detail – the detail of its demise. Kokleearngnun told Hall of the destruction of one of the two ships “the old man and his wife agreed in saying that the ship ... was overwhelmed with heavy ice in the spring of the year. While the ice was slowly crushing it, the men all worked for their lives in getting out provisions; but, before they could save much, the ice turned the vessel down on its side, crushing the masts and breaking a hole in her bottom and so overwhelming her that she sank at once, and had never been seen again. Several men at work in her could not get out in time, and were carried down with her and drowned.”<sup>11</sup>

This event is unknown in the journals of any arctic expedition, and if it indeed occurred, as the wealth of detail and corroboration attest, it must come from the one expedition for which we have no records – Franklin's. Cyriax clearly recognized the difficulties presented by this, reluctantly admitting that “some of the officers and men may have returned to the ships after the 1848 attempt to reach the Great Fish River,” and “a catastrophe like the one described by Kokleearngnun may have taken place afterwards,” although he nevertheless concluded that “nothing in his statement warrants so free an interpretation.”<sup>12</sup>

This opinion disregards the fact that Sir Leopold McClintock, who never met Kokleearngnun, had been informed ten years before Hall by Inuit at Bellot Strait that “two ships had been seen by the natives of

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8 Nourse, Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition etc., p 255-6.

9 Hall Collection, Fieldnotes, 12 July 1866, p 24.

10 Nourse, Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition etc., p 256.

11 Nourse, p 256-7.

12 Cyriax, “Captain Hall and the So-Called Survivors of the Franklin Expedition,” p 181.

King William's Land," and that one of these "was seen to sink in deep water." Another hunter added the helpful detail that the ship "had been crushed by the ice out in the sea west of King William's Island." He informed McClintock's interpreter Petersen that "he was not one of those who were eye-witnesses of it" tacitly implying that other Inuit were.<sup>13</sup> These remembrances may explain why testimony is often uncertain, usually when told by third parties, as to the number of ships. It seems evident that there were traditions of both one ship being visited and of two, a possible reason why Ross' solitary *Victory* is sometimes invoked, but it may be that what we are indeed hearing are stories of visits to the Franklin ships both before and after the sinking of the *Terror*.

It follows that the dramatic crushing and sinking of the *Terror* (for it is now known that the *Erebus* sank upright, gently and intact) that was reported to McClintock must post-date the 1848 abandonment, as it surely would have been indicated in the Victory Point record. This not only partially validates the 1849 account of a visit to Franklin's two ships, but is in accord with many other Inuit stories about visits to the Franklin expedition before they met their ultimate fate.

The destruction of the *Terror* by being crushed in the ice and quickly destroyed was not only described by various Inuit witnesses, it was also described by the survivors of Franklin's expedition themselves. A party of Franklin's men were encountered on the march by four Inuit families who were hunting for seal. The stories told of this encounter, relayed at different times by almost every person involved, are so consistent that they are regularly mentioned in every history of the expedition and believed to be a true account. Although usually attributed to the 1848 march, the details almost universally contradict the idea of a single 1848 retreat from the ships. One of the more dramatic of these involves the description by the leader of the retreating contingent of a dramatic sinking "[he] made a motion to the northward & spoke the word oo-me-en, making them to understand there were 2 ships in that direction; which had, as they supposed, been crushed in the ice. As [he] pointed to the N., drawing his hand & arm from that direction he slowly moved his body in a falling direction and all at once dropped his head side ways into his hand, at the same time making a kind of combination of whirring, buzzing & wind blowing noise. This the pantomimic representation of ships being crushed in the ice."<sup>14</sup>

Again traditional historians were skeptical of the Inuit story of the crushed ship. Cyriax, an honest scholar who struggled with his bias against the oral traditions remarked "the officers commanding the main body are most unlikely to have known what happened to the ships since their departure from them" which is, of course, true if they left the ships beset far out in the ice as attested for the 1848 abandonment. Cyriax continued that "it thus seems evident that if the natives did conclude, in consequence of what the white men tried to explain, that a ship had sunk, they misunderstood what their informants tried to describe. I admit that more than one attempt to escape may have been made and that Eskimos may have met white men after a ship had sunk, but there is no evidence for such an occurrence."<sup>15</sup>

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13 McClintock, *The Voyage of the "Fox" (1859)*, p 227.

14 Hall Collection, *Fieldnotes*, book no. 38.

15 Royal Geographical Society, *Cyriax Papers 1(a)*, p 13-14.

Cyriax's contention here is that there is no physical evidence that supports multiple attempts at abandonment, however as shown above there is ample evidence in the Inuit testimony. One other curious detail of the Inuit remembrances practically clinches the argument as to which ships were the actual source of the above stories.

The white commander of the visited ships was known as "Aglooka" (strider) to the Inuit. This was a common, and widely-bestowed, native nickname for a European commander. We know that during the Parry sojourn at Igloolik in 1822 midshipman Crozier, who would later be Franklin's second in command and Captain of the *Terror*, had exchanged names with a small boy named Aglooka. Over forty years later Hall interviewed the adult Aglooka who was now known as "Crozier." Although suggestive the fact that Crozier was known as Aglooka (Ross, in comparison, was consistently called Toolooah – Raven), the nickname given to the commander of the visited ships is not conclusive.

What does seem conclusive is that Hall's informants "knew of "Cro-zhar," who had been an "Esh-emit-to-nar (mate or some officer not so great as captain on Parry's ship)." They were also aware that the "same man, Crozier, who was at Igloo-lik when Parry and Lyon were there, was Esh-e-mu-ta (meaning captain in this case, the literal chief) of the two ships lost in the ice at Neitchille."<sup>16</sup> If Inuit never visited Franklin's ships how could they know this? It seems that this accurate thumbnail biographical sketch could only have come from Crozier himself! The fact that the natives knew that Crozier had served with both Parry and Franklin is remarkable enough; the fact that they learned this from Crozier's own lips, while he served as "eshemuta" of the two ships in the ice, is, remarkable.

One old woman spoke of her nephew who "had seen Eg-loo-ka who was Esh-e-mut-ta (Chief or Captain) before - one year before on board of his ship ... Her nephew went to this ship on the ice in company of many other Innuits. After this visit to this ship, the Neitch-il-lee Innuits believed that the ship had gone away - gone home to the Kob-lu-na country; but the first they heard was that a great many Kob-lu-nas had frozen & starved to death."<sup>17</sup>

That Crozier was in command does not in itself preclude the possibility of a pre-1848 visit to the ships for one of the definitive facts contained in the Victory Point record informs us that he had assumed command of the expedition after Franklin's death on June 11<sup>th</sup> 1847. Again we then must deal with the fact that the Inuit did not know of the presence of the ships on the northwest coast, where, as Cyriax remarked, "had any Eskimos visited the ships near that coast before the retreat to the Great Fish River ... they would almost certainly have returned to the north-west coast during the next few years to see whether the white men had left behind anything worth taking away."<sup>18</sup>

This consideration is a powerful clue as to when and where the Inuit believed the ships first came to their land. After Franklin's last men succumbed the Inuit found a trail of skeletons and campsites leading along the southern shore of King William Island. As they followed this trail to the west they came across a significant location in modern Erebus Bay where they found two boats on shore and the cannibalized

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16 Nourse, p 588-90.

17 Hall Collection Notebook 58914-N (#6)

18 Cyriax, p 180.

remains of some of Franklin's unfortunate crew. In modern times this has been called the "boat place." And then they stopped looking.

Why did the Inuit not continue to the north, where a wealth of Franklin relics awaited them? Perhaps the clue lies in another story, told by the old woman Ookbarloo, about the sinking of the second ship. Ookbarloo confirmed that "nearly the whole of one side of the vessel had been crushed in by the heavy ice that was about it," and she thought that this was why "the Kob-lu-nas had left it and gone to the land and lived in tents."<sup>19</sup>

Living ashore in tents would have been a sensible course of action after one of the ships had been destroyed. The *Erebus* and *Terror* were not large vessels, barely over 30m long, and would have been uncomfortably cramped for two crews. Once the *Terror* was wrecked it would be sensible, at least during the short summer season, to take any surviving material salvaged from her, including her boats, and establish a camp ashore at the nearest point of land.

Another Inuit story, relayed by the whaler Peter Bayne, spoke of just such an encampment. He heard that "during the first summer," many of Franklin's men had come ashore, and that they "caught seals like the natives, and shot geese and ducks of which there was a great number; that there was one big tent and some small ones; and many men camped there."<sup>20</sup>

Bayne's mention of a "first summer," echoes Kokleearngnun's tale of a "first summer and first winter" and again implies a longer interaction between the natives and explorers than is attested by Ross. His informants told of visits "during the spring and summer of the first year, and the summer of the second year, the two ships were fast in the ice." Bayne's informant confided that "he had not gone out to the ships but other natives had, and had camped alongside for several days."<sup>21</sup>

Bayne described the location of the camp to have been "about a fourth of a mile back from the beach, and about the same distance south of where the ship's boats usually landed." This last detail is another clue, for there is no possibility that ship's boats would have been used to communicate between the shore and the *Erebus* and *Terror* in 1846-8, when they were twenty five kilometers offshore and beset in heavy ice. The implication from the use of boats is that the ships were close to shore with at least some open water around them.

Again this is not definitive, although there was a camp at Erebus Bay, and two boats (on sledges) had been left onshore there, the Bayne story, which he himself located at Victory Point (perhaps the only named point he was aware of) is only suggestive. We need a story to associate the ships, the tents ashore, and the boat place together. And luckily we have it.

We remember that Neewikeetoo recalled that many Inuit, as a group, visited the "ship or ships & saw the Koblunas aboard" and that "after this one Innuit went alone to the ship or ships."<sup>22</sup> This story of a

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19 Nourse, p 592-3.

20 Burwash, Canada's Western Arctic, p 112.

21 Burwash, p 115.

22 Hall Collection 58915-N (#7) - PRIVATE JOURNAL - Nov 19, 1865 - Apr 3, 1866, p 351-52.



solitary visit by a native is echoed in the famous story of the "Black Men." Hall was informed that "Kok-er-ling-arn [presumably Kokleeargnun] is the Innuite who went aboard Aglooka's (Crozier's) ship & saw the black men come out of a hole forward. Aglooka seeing that he (Kok-er-ling-arn) was very much frightened spoke to a man by him who cried out to the black men when they all disappeared where they came from."<sup>23</sup>

A longer version of this story is given in full:

"Bye & bye he [the hunter] went again to the ship all alone with his dogs & sledge. He went on deck, & a great many men - black men - came right up out of the hatchway & the first thing he (the Innuite) knew, he couldn't get away. These men who were then all around him, had black faces, black hands, black clothes on - were black all over! They had little black noses, only so big: [the old lady here put her hand on the bridge of her nose showing that the noses were not more than half the length & size of common ones] & this Innuite was very much alarmed because he could not get away from these black men but especially was he frightened when they made three great noises [three rounds of cheers as Too-koo-li-too thinks these great noises were]. When three great noises were made, the Esh-e-mut-ta (Captain) came up out of the Cabin & put a stop to it, when all the black men went down the same way they had come up. This Innuite believed these men belonged down among the coals & that they lived there. Then the Captain took this Innuite down with him into his Cabin & made him many presents, for he (the Innuite) had been frightened so. Before the Captain took him down into his Cabin he told this Innuite to take a look over to the land, the Captain pointing out to him the exact spot where was a big Tupik (tent). The Captain asked him if he saw the tent, & the Innuite told him he did. Then the Captain told him that black men, such as he had just seen, lived there, & that neither he (this Innuite) nor any of his people must ever go there. After the Innuite had received the presents that the Captain made him, he left the ship & went home; & he would never go to the ship again because of the frightful looking black men that lived there down in the Coal hole."<sup>24</sup>

It goes without saying that there is nothing in the journals of Ross or Parry that could relate to this very singular and extraordinary event. After years of consideration the scholar Russell Potter makes a convincing argument that this visit took place during celebrations for Guy Fawkes Day.<sup>25</sup> What concerns us here are the elements of a visit to the ship (by this time there was only one), the association with a clearly-visible tent onshore where some of the crew lived, and the warning of danger there.

This last detail is perhaps the most telling. Some historians conclude that the officer was warning the hunter about the undisciplined men ashore, and based on his recent fright the officer might have been using that as motivation, but it could be that the warning was specifically against the tent site. If so, the most likely motive would be to warn the hunter against interfering with the expedition's store of gunpowder. It was normal for arctic expeditions, for obvious safety reasons, to land their gunpowder ashore if at all possible. Ross had done this at Felix Harbour, and Parry had similarly cached the powder

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23 Hall Collection #58916-N (a) #8, Booklet Apr. 9th - 14th

24 Hall Collection, journal dated "Dec 6 1864-May 12 1865," book 6, 281-3.

25 <http://visionsnorth.blogspot.com/> Sunday, September 23, 2012 Arctic Blackface

from the wrecked *Fury* at Fury Beach, later instructing Ross to destroy it lest it harm any unsuspecting natives.<sup>26</sup>

In 1854 John Rae had been told about “an abundant store of ammunition, as the Gunpowder was emptied by the Natives in a heap on the ground out of the kegs or cases containing it and a quantity of shot and ball was found below high water mark.”<sup>27</sup> In 1859 Gilder laconically noted that “some shot, bullets and wire cartridges” were found near the boat in Erebus Bay, and his companion Klutschak considered that among the articles found “the most striking” were “some pieces of sacking in which bullets and shot, as well as some percussion caps, were tied up.”<sup>28</sup>

The first discoverer of the “boat place” at Erebus Bay was a native named Pooyetta and his memories were detailed. He told Hall that “a keg of powder found at the Boat & much of its contents emptied on the ground, a gun or 2 found there. The nature and use of these things not known to Innuits till they saw Dr. Rae in 1854 at Pelly Bay. Poo-yet-ta had seen guns of Agloo-ka at Neitchille but didn't know the nature of the black sand stuff (powder). An igloo was blown to atoms by a little son of Poo-yet-ta & another lad who were afterward playing with the powder canister having some of the black stuff in it. They dropped some fire into the canister through the vent or opening - their faces awfully burned & blackened with the explosion - no one killed - Igloo completely demolished.”<sup>29</sup>

And so the clues, admittedly circumstantial, pile up. The Inuit visited two ships, commanded by “Crozar” and saw one of them cast on its side and crushed. The crews at least partially moved ashore to a tent camp near where boats usually landed, whose main tent could be seen from the deck of a ship. There was gunpowder and ammunition found here, and one hunter was actually warned by an officer to avoid the place, unfortunately a warning that wasn't entirely followed. Thinking that this was where the expedition had first come to their territory the Inuit stopped searching for Franklin relics once they reached this encampment at Erebus Bay.

The clear implication is that the *Terror* lies, with a crushed side, in the waters of Erebus Bay, within sight of the boat place. As shown in Fig. 2 this is slightly to the east of the area already surveyed by the Parks Canada team, who intend to continue their 2016 survey northwards towards the 1848 abandonment position, based on the normal ice drift. Despite the major role played by Inuit testimony in their 2014 discovery of the *Erebus*, and the fact that almost every detail of that discovery accords with the traditions, the stories retold above do not factor in their search plans.

In 2014 the first physical clue that led to the ultimate discovery of the *Erebus* was found on a small islet by a party led by Nunavut archaeologist Dr. Doug Stenton. He also made a short detour to the boat place at Erebus Bay to again scour the site for more artifacts left by Crozier's men. As he stood on the shore there he might have unknowingly been closer to the wreck of the *Terror* than he realized.

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26 Sir John Ross, *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a Northwest Passage*, 111, 194.

27 Rae, “Sir John Franklin and his Crews,” 16-17.

28 Gilder, *Schwatka's Search*, 156; Barr, *Overland to Starvation Cove*, 94.

29 Hall Collection, *Fieldnotes*, book no. 31.

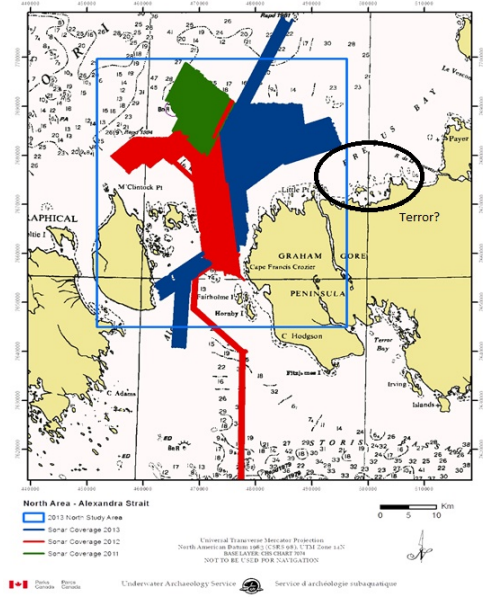


Fig. 2 Area surveyed by Parks Canada teams from 2011-13. Suggested search area is in black oval.

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