

**SHIPWRECK AT CAPE FLORA:
THE EXPEDITIONS OF BENJAMIN LEIGH SMITH,
ENGLAND'S FORGOTTEN ARCTIC EXPLORER**
P.J. Capelotti

ISBN 978-1-55238-712-2

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence.

This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU MAY:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU MAY NOT:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank Charlotte Moore, whose fine sense of family history has enabled her to see the enduring value in preserving the letters and images of her singular assortment of ancestors, including her great-great uncle, the explorer Benjamin Leigh Smith. Her own intensely interesting *Hancox*, a history of her family and her family home, along with her transcriptions of the Leigh Smith portions of the General's diary and her welcome to me when I visited Hancox in July of 2009, September of 2010, and again in June of 2012, allowed me a view of the private Leigh Smith that lay beneath or alongside the reluctant public figure of the explorer.

This research was supported by generous help from several sources at my college at Penn State. These included a Research Development Grant, a Faculty Travel Grant, the Associate Dean's Research and Development Fund, a Faculty Summer Fellowship, and the Anthropology Fund. At Penn State Abington, I wish to thank especially the remarkable Dr. Peter P. Johnstone, now of the University of North Texas, as well as my exemplary Division Heads, Dr. James F. Smith and Dr. Gary Calore, as well as Dr. Samir Ouzomgi, Dr. Norah Shultz, Dr. Hannah Klieger, the late Mr. George Simon, our excellent library staff, especially Ms. Jeannette Ullrich, and our computer folks, most especially Mr. Joe Varghese. At Scott Polar Research Institute, the author thanks Dr. Julian Dowdeswell, Dr. Beau Riffenburgh, Ms. Naomi Boneham, and Ms. Heather Lane. Magnus Forsberg, my colleague and boon companion on a 2006 voyage to the North Pole that explored Cape Flora en route, was an immeasurable help with both Arctic wildlife (in particular with discussions of bird life on Møffen and elsewhere in Svalbard) and translations from Swedish. My colleague and friend Dr. Huw Lewis-Jones traveled with me on my first visit to Hancox and Scalands – and appropriately slapped me for not knowing, before our visit, that Nightingale Sound was named for Florence Nightingale and that she was Leigh Smith's cousin. Many thanks to both Huw and to his great lady, Kari Herbert. Additional thanks go to Jan Turner and the staff of the Foyle Reading Room of the Royal Geographic Society; to Isobel Cassidy at Henry Gore-Booth's estate Lissadell; to

Robert Prys-Jones of the Bird Group, Department of Zoology, National History Museum at Tring; to the historian Arthur Credland, to William Barr, and to the anonymous reviewers for the University of Calgary Press whose insights were greatly and gratefully appreciated. As always, my debts to Dr. Susan Barr of Riksantikvaren in Oslo are too large to ever be repaid. Finally, to my family: C.L. and Jeremy and Jenny and my mother, I owe everything.

NOTES

PROLOGUE: *TWILIGHT*

- 1 Letter from Benjamin Leigh Smith (BLS) to Amy Leigh Smith, June 9, 1871, Hancox Archive.
- 2 Anonymous, "Arctic discovery," *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* 35, no. 919 (1873): 741–42.
- 3 Charlotte Moore, *Hancox: A House and a Family* (London: Penguin, 2010), 99.
- 4 Norman Moore examination of Benjamin Leigh Smith, December 24, 1909, Hancox Archive, 2.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 4.
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 *Ibid.*, Continuation: 4.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 *Ibid.*, Continuation: 7.
- 11 *The Times*, Dec. 27, 1882, 3.
- 12 John C. Wells, *The Gateway to Polynia: A Voyage to Spitzbergen from the journal of John C. Wells*. (London: Henry S. King, 1873), 53.
- 13 *The Times*, op. cit.

1: BENJAMIN LEIGH SMITH AND HIS TIMES, 1828–71

- 1 Constantine John Phipps, *A Voyage towards the North Pole*. (London: J. Nourse, 1774), 11.
- 2 Daines Barrington, *The Probability of Reaching the North Pole Discussed*. (London: C. Heydinger, 1775), 4.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 20.
- 4 Phipps, *Voyage towards the North Pole*, 27. Every time he uses the device he kindly mentions that he is using 'Lord Charles Cavendish's thermometer'; one could almost suspect Phipps had an investment in it.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 35–36.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 38.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 41.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 53.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 185.
- 10 Moore, *Hancox*, 17.
- 11 Jenny Handley and Hazel Lake, *Progress by Persuasion: The Life of William Smith, 1756–1835*. (Hazel Lake, 2007), 3.
- 12 Moore, *Hancox*, 17.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 18.

- 14 Handley and Lake, *Progress by Persuasion*, 3.
- 15 Ibid., 24.
- 16 Fergus Fleming, *Barrow's Boys*. (London: Granta Books, 1998), 12.
- 17 William Edward Parry, *Narrative of an Attempt to Reach the North Pole*. (London: John Murray, 1828), x.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid., 12.
- 20 Ibid., 20.
- 21 Ibid., 50.
- 22 Ibid., 52–53.
- 23 Ibid., 60.
- 24 Ibid., 103.
- 25 *The Times*, June 14, 1838, 5.
- 26 Handley and Lake, *Progress by Persuasion*, 378.
- 27 Moore, *Hancox*, 18.
- 28 Ibid., 19.
- 29 Brochure, “School for Girls and Boys at Portman Hall,” Hancox Archive.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Letter from Barbara Leigh Smith to BLS, Dec. 7, 1852, Hancox Archive.
- 32 A.G.E. Jones, “Benjamin Leigh Smith: Arctic Yachtsman,” *The Musk-Ox* 16 (1975): 24–31, 24.
- 33 Helena Wojtczak, *Women of Victorian Hastings, 1830–1870*. (Hastings: Hastings Press, 2002), 22.
- 34 Letter from Barbara Leigh Smith to BLS, Dec. 7, 1852, Hancox Archive.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Leigh Smith maintained his interest in the Franklin search throughout his life. An extensive bundle of notes located in the archives of the Royal Geographic

Society in London was sent to Leigh Smith by his old captain Alex Fairweather on board *Diana* in November of 1883. These contain records, reports and lists of stores left at Beechey Island by Franklin searchers Edward Belcher, Leopold McClintock, and Allen Young in the years 1851–58, along with a report on the state of the Beechey Island depot by Allen Young while exploring on board *Pandora* in the summer of 1875. Fairweather had come across them while laying at the floe edge near Prince Regent Inlet on board the steamer *Terra Nova* in the summer of 1883. Inuit on sledges appeared and Fairweather stopped them when he noted that their clothing and supplies matched the cache of supplies he knew to exist at Beechey Island. The natives also had a cylinder with records contained in it, which Fairweather reports they were about to use as wadding for their guns. Fairweather sent the records to Leigh Smith asking him if he would forward them to the correct authorities in London. See: Alex Fairweather to Benjamin Leigh Smith, RGS/A2A/LMS/S/20, 1854–75.

- 37 My children and I spent several rainy hours tracking and eventually locating the Kane family crypt in the Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia. My son Jeremy memorialized the event in a short film that can be seen at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bksB0aA7_2k&feature=share&list=UU9-uLp4bZm-j1RNe0RyxV5eg
- 38 Elisha Kent Kane, *Arctic Explorations*. (Philadelphia: Childs & Peterson, 1856), 37.
- 39 Frederick Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava,

- Letters from High Latitudes*. (London: John Murray, 1857), 24–25.
- 40 Ibid., 43.
- 41 Ibid., 53.
- 42 Ibid., 56.
- 43 Ibid., 59.
- 44 Ibid., 66.
- 45 Ibid., 113.
- 46 Ibid., 159.
- 47 Ibid., 160.
- 48 My colleague Dr. Susan Barr attempted to relocate these artifacts during extensive ethnological explorations of the island but they had long since vanished. See: Susan Barr, *Jan Mayen Land*, 222.
- 49 Dufferin, *Letters from High Latitudes*, 302.
- 50 James Lamont, *Seasons with the Sea-horses: Sporting Adventures in the Northern Seas*. (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1861), dedication page.
- 51 Anonymous, "Obituary: Sir James Lamont." *Geographical Journal* 42, no. 3 (Sept. 1913): 301–2.
- 52 Lamont, *Seasons with the Sea-horses*, 273–74.
- 53 Charles Darwin to James Lamont, Feb. 25, 1861, Darwin Correspondence Database, <http://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/entry-3071>, accessed June 19, 2012.
- 54 Lamont, *Seasons with the Sea-horses*, 13.
- 55 Ibid., 28.
- 56 Ibid., 129.
- 57 Ibid., 170.
- 58 Ibid., 181.
- 59 Ibid., 192.
- 60 Ibid., 198–99.
- 61 Ibid., 272; italics from the original text.
- 62 James Lamont, *Yachting in the Arctic Seas*. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876), 4.
- 63 Ibid., 5.
- 64 Ibid., 6.
- 65 Ibid., 13.
- 66 Ibid., 231.
- 67 Norsk Polarinstitut, *The Place Names of Svalbard*. (Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitut, 1991 [Skrifter Nr. 80 and 112; Ny-Trykk], 451.
- 68 Lamont, *Yachting in the Arctic Seas*, 296.
- 69 Ibid., 371.
- 70 Charlotte Moore, personal communication, Aug. 17, 2010.
- 71 Moore, *Hancox*, 21.
- 72 Ibid., 16.
- 73 Ludlow diary, April 12, 1863, Hancox Archive.
- 74 Ibid., July 9, 1869.
- 75 Ibid., April 28, 1871.
- 2: EXPEDITION ONE: SVALBARD, 1871
- 1 Expedition One: Svalbard, 1871
Benjamin Leigh Smith, *Journal of the Schooner Sampson* ([1871], unpublished). Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, Gen 76–77. This 'journal' is a typescript of an undated, unnumbered, unpublished logbook from the 1871 voyage of *Sampson*. Furthermore, there is some confusion over the name of the vessel in which Leigh Smith first journeyed to the Arctic. Jones (1975) uses *Samson*, while others (Credland 1980; Cromack and Riffenburg 2000) employ *Sampson*. The cover of this typescript journal uses *Samson*, which is then penciled over with *Sampson*, and *Sampson* is

then used throughout the remainder of the typescript. It is so used here.

- 2 August Petermann, "Geographie und Erforschung der Polar-Regionen, Nr. 58: Die Englisch-Norwegischen Entdeckungen im Nordosten von Spitzbergen, Nordfahrten von Smyth, Ulve, Torkildsen, 19. Juni–27 Sept. 1871." *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann*, 18. Band: 101–106. (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1872), 101.
- 3 Benjamin Leigh Smith, *Journal*, May 19, 1871.
- 4 Ibid., May 24, 1871.
- 5 Ibid., May 27, 1871.
- 6 Ibid., May 28, 1871.
- 7 Ibid., May 29, 1871.
- 8 Ibid., May 30, 1871.
- 9 Ibid., June 3, 1871.
- 10 Ibid., June 4, 1871.
- 11 See, for example, August Petermann, "Geographie und Erforschung der Polar-Regionen, Nr. 59: Gillis-Land, König Karl-Land und das Seeboden-Relief um Spitzbergen, nach dem Standpunkte der Kenntniss im Jahre 1872." *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann*, 18. Band: 111–112. (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1872). See also: August Petermann, "Smyth' & Ulve's Reise im Nordosten von Spitzbergen und ihre Aufnahmen im Nord-Ost-Lande, Aug. & Sept, 1871." *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann*, 18. Band: Tafel 6. (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1872).
- 12 David Thomas Murphy, *German Exploration of the Polar World, A History, 1870–1940*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 29.
- 13 Norsk Polarinstitut, *Place Names*, 152–53.
- 14 Ibid., 242–43.
- 15 Benjamin Leigh Smith, *Journal*, June 8, 1871.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Cited in Susan Barr, "The History of Western Activity in Franz Josef Land," in: *Franz Josef Land*, ed. Susan Barr (Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitut, 1872), 61. See also: W.J.A. Grant, "Cruise of the Yacht *Eira*, and Discovery of New Lands in the Far North," *The Leisure Hour*. (London, 1881): 213–20.
- 18 Benjamin Leigh Smith, *Journal*, June 15, 1871.
- 19 Ibid., June 21, 1871.
- 20 Ibid., June 25, 1871.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid., July 6, 1871.
- 23 John Murray and Johan Hjort, *The Depths of the Ocean*. (London: Macmillan, 1912 (reprinted in 1965 by J. Cramer, Weinheim, Germany), 11.
- 24 This almost certainly was a Miller-Casella pressure-protected thermometer, introduced by the British Hydrographic Office in 1869 (see: Anita McConnell, *No Sea Too Deep: The History of Oceanographic Instruments*. (Bristol: Adam Hilger, 1982), 97–98), and testifies to Leigh Smith's employment of the latest in oceanographic recording technology.

- 25 Benjamin Leigh Smith, *Journal*, July 12, 1871.
- 26 Ibid., July 13, 1871.
- 27 Ibid., July 16, 1871.
- 28 Ibid., July 17, 1871.
- 29 Ibid., July 18, 1871. These were most likely the ruins of the Dutch whaling station on Ytre Norskøya, dating from 1617, which contain the remains of train-oil boilers and about 180 graves (Susan Barr, personal communication, July 9, 2005). And the most likely point Leigh Smith ascended was the same as that used by Lamont, the hill above the blubber cookeries called Utkiken.
- 30 Ibid., July 21, 1871.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid. The yellow flower was either mountain avens (*Dryas octopetala*) or the Svalbard poppy (*Papaver dahlianum*). Leigh Smith probably also observed carpets of purple saxifrage (*Saxifraga oppositifolia*) (see, for example, Vidar Hisdal *Svalbard: Nature and History*. (Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitut, 1998], 70–77).
- 33 Ibid., July 27, 1871.
- 34 Ibid., July 28, 1871.
- 35 Ibid., July 29, 1871. This was most likely Sørfjellet (596 m/1,955' high), a precipice that stands astride three major glaciers.
- 36 Ibid. This spectacular view would take in the north-south lying Åsgårdfonna; the Valhallfonna that runs into Hinlopenstretet; and Dunérbreen that runs north toward Sorgfjorden.
- 37 Ibid., July 30, 1871.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid., July 31, 1871.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 See: Norsk Polarinstitut, *Place Names*, 418. See also: Vilhelm Carlheim-Gyllensköld, *På Åttionde Breddgraden*. (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1900), 46.
- 42 Benjamin Leigh Smith, *Journal*, August 6, 1871.
- 43 For a discussion of this confusion, which endured for decades, see Norsk Polarinstitut, *Place Names*, 242–43.
- 44 Benjamin Leigh Smith, *Journal*, August 9, 1871.
- 45 Murphy, *German Exploration*, 27–31.
- 46 Benjamin Leigh Smith, *Journal*, August 12, 1871.
- 47 Norsk Polarinstitut, *Place Names*, 475.
- 48 Benjamin Leigh Smith, *Journal*, August 19, 1871.
- 49 Norsk Polarinstitut, *Place Names*, 445. Neither Leigh Smith nor *Sampson* is mentioned in this note; neither is Leigh Smith cited in the comprehensive list of expeditions to Svalbard from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries (see: Norsk Polarinstitut, *Place Names*, 530–34), his place taken by a brief mention of Ulve. On the other side of the ledger, nowhere in Leigh Smith's journal does he mention Captain Ulve by name, evidence of a possible clash between the two?
- 50 Benjamin Leigh Smith, *Journal*, September 1, 1871.
- 51 See: Petermann, "Geographie und Erforschung der Polar-Regionen, Nr. 58," "Geographie und Erforschung der Polar-Regionen, Nr. 59," "Smyth' & Ulve's Reise im Nordosten von Spitzbergen," and "Originalkarte zur übersicht der Reisen von Smyth, Ulve, Torkildsen, 1871." *Mittheilungen aus Justus Pertbes'*

Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann, 18. Band: Tafel 5 (Gotha: Justus Perthes).

- 52 See: Norsk Polarinstitut, *Place Names*, 82, 142, 378.
- 53 Benjamin Leigh Smith, *Journal*, September 6, 1871.
- 54 Evidently, Mohn and/or Petermann decided against this nomenclature because the only substantial island in this area is Raschøya, and it was named not for *Sampson* but for a Norwegian zoologist named Halvor Heyerdahl Rasch (see Petermann, "Geographie und Erforschung der Polar-Regionen, Nr. 58," 106).
- 55 Benjamin Leigh Smith, *Journal*, September 9, 1871.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Ibid., September 14, 1871.
- 58 Ibid., September 20, 1871.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Ibid., September 27, 1871.
- 61 See, for example, Joanna Gyory, Arthur J. Mariano, and Edward H. Ryan, "The Spitsbergen Current," *Ocean Surface Currents*. <http://oceancurrents.rsmas.miami.edu/atlantic/spitsbergen.html>, accessed August 2005.

3: EXPEDITION TWO: JAN MAYEN AND SVALBARD, 1872

- 1 Ludlow diary, September 26, 1871, Hancox Archive.
- 2 Ibid., November 23, 1871.
- 3 Ibid., December 24, 1871.
- 4 Ibid., May 4, 1872.
- 5 H. C. Chermiside, "Recent Explorations in the Spitsbergen Seas by Leigh Smith," (unpublished manuscript, [1873]). Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, MS Gen 77.
- 6 Anonymous, "Arctic Exploration," *The Sussex Advertiser*, September 3, 1872.
- 7 Wells *The Gateway to Polynia*, 57.
- 8 Ibid., 58.
- 9 Clive Holland, ed., *Farthest North: A History of North Polar Exploration in Eye-Witness Accounts*. (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1994), 29–30.
- 10 Wells, *Polynia*, 2.
- 11 Ibid., 67.
- 12 Ibid., 73.
- 13 Chermiside, "Recent Explorations," puts the date at June 5th.
- 14 Wells, *Polynia*, 94.
- 15 Ibid., 95.
- 16 William Scoresby, *An Account of the Arctic Regions*. (Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1820), 6.
- 17 Wells, *Polynia*, 96.
- 18 Chermiside, "Recent Explorations," puts the date at June 6th.
- 19 Wells, *Polynia*, 97. These were possibly the Vogt and Berna craters explored by Georg Berna and Carl Vogt in 1861. Wordie ("An Expedition to Jan Mayen Island," *Geographical Journal* 59, no. 3 [1922]: 185) made the case that Scoresby originally explored Vogt Crater, and that Scoresby's name for it – Esk Crater (Eskkrateret) – should have priority. But Wordie also confuses Leigh Smith's visit to the island, writing that it came after that of the Austrian-Hungarian IGY expedition, rather than ten years before it.
- 20 Wells, *Polynia*, 98. This was either the Palffy Crater (Palffykrateret) of the Austro-Hungarians, or the unnamed

- “old and much-eroded crater” noted by Wordie (“Expedition to Jan Mayen Island”: 187) in 1921 at an elevation of 610 m/2,000’ in a wide dry valley between the Vogt (Eskkrateret) and Berna (Bernakrateret) craters.
- 21 Wells, *Polynia*, 162 [approximately £5.70 or \$11.50 in 2007].
 - 22 Ibid., 155.
 - 23 Ibid., 188.
 - 24 Ibid., 190.
 - 25 Ibid., 191.
 - 26 Ibid.
 - 27 Ibid., 186.
 - 28 Ibid., 196.
 - 29 Such a find of a Terek sandpiper “would still today be regarded as a first-class rarity to Svalbard” (Magnus Forsberg, personal communication, October 12, 2007) and this – along with Wells’s later claim to have found snow-geese in Svalbard – is not considered credible.
 - 30 The entire archipelago is rising steadily due to the removal of the weight of ice sheet that covered it during the Pleistocene (see, for example, W. Blake, Jr., “Radiocarbon dating of raised beaches in Nordaustlandet, Spitsbergen,” In: G.O. Raasch, ed. *Geology of the Arctic*. [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961], 133–45; see also: I.U. Olsson and W. Blake, Jr., “Problems of radiocarbon dating of raised beaches, based on experience in Spitsbergen.” *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift* 18 [1962]: 47–64).
 - 31 Wells, *Polynia*, 204.
 - 32 Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick or The Whale*. (New York: Penguin 1851 [1992]), 491.
 - 33 Ibid., 496.
 - 34 Arthur Credland, personal communication, Oct. 1, 2007.
 - 35 Arthur Credland, “Foreword,” in Nicholas Redman, *Whales’ Bones of the British Isles*. (England: Redman Publishing, 2004).
 - 36 Wells called it Albert Dirke’s Bay – it is actually named after a Dutch whaling skipper Aldert Dirksz (see: Norsk Polarinstitut, *Place Names*, 112).
 - 37 Wells, *Polynia*, 216–17.
 - 38 Ibid.
 - 39 Ibid., 218.
 - 40 This is perhaps the hut at Elvetangen on the west side of Wijdefjorden about five miles from Dirksbukta and designated as an important cultural monument by Norwegian authorities (see: Sysselmannen på Svalbard 2000, 74).
 - 41 Wells, *Polynia*, 227.
 - 42 Ibid., 303.
 - 43 Alexander Leslie, *The Arctic Voyages of Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, 1858–1879*. (London: Macmillan, 1879), 190.
 - 44 George Kish, *North-east Passage: Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, his life and times*. (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1973), 101.
 - 45 Leslie, *Arctic Voyages*, 190.
 - 46 Wells, *Polynia*, 304–5.
 - 47 Ibid., 324.
- 4: EXPEDITION THREE: SVALBARD, 1873
- 1 Ludlow Diary, October 3, 1872, Hancox Archive.
 - 2 Ibid., October 26, 1872.
 - 3 Ibid., April 12, 1873.
 - 4 Chermiside, “Recent Explorations”.

- 5 Anonymous, *Memoir to Illustrate the Origin and Foundation of the Pollock Medal*. (Woolwich: Boddy and Co. 1875).
- 6 Anthony Bruce, *The Purchase System in the British Army, 1660–1871*. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1980).
- 7 Paul D. Wilson, “Chermside, Sir Herbert Charles (1850–1929).” *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 7. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979), 631–32.
- 8 See: Petermann, “Geographie und Erforschung der Polar-Regionen, Nr. 58,” “Geographie und Erforschung der Polar-Regionen, Nr. 59,” “Smyth’ & Ulve’s Reise im Nordosten von Spitzbergen,” and “Originalkarte zur übersicht der Reisen von Smyth, Ulve, Torkildsen, 1871”; see also P.J. Capelotti, “Benjamin Leigh Smith’s first Arctic expedition, Svalbard, 1871,” *Polar Record* 42, no. 220 (2006): 1–14.
- 9 Wells, *The Gateway to Polynia*; see also P.J. Capelotti, “Benjamin Leigh Smith’s second Arctic expedition: Svalbard and Jan Mayen Land, 1872,” *Polar Record* 44, no. 3 (2008): 255–64.
- 10 See: Chermside, “Recent Explorations.” See also: Henry C. Rawlinson, “First Meeting, 10th November, 1874: Opening Address,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 19, no. 1 (1874), 5.
- 11 H. C. Chermside, *Journal on board of the SS Diana*. SPRI (Scott Polar Research Institute Archives), MS 300/4/1. All quotes from this unnumbered journal are from herein cited by their volume and entry date.
- 12 These letters are stored at the Royal Geographic Society Foyle Reading Room, record group RGS/A2A/LMS/P/30.
- 13 Norsk Polarinstitutt, *Place Names*, 111.
- 14 See: “Obituary: Sir James Lamont,” *Geographic Journal* 42, no. 3 (1913): 301–2; see also Chermside, “Recent Explorations”, 6.
- 15 Chermside, *Journal*, May 10.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 R.E. Potter to his father, May 12, 1873, RGS/A2A/LMS/30.
- 19 Chermside, *Journal*, May 12.
- 20 Ibid., May 23.
- 21 Ibid., May 26. At the time of this expedition, the ‘blue ensign’ flag was authorized to be flown by British vessels engaged in public service or commanded by an officer of the Royal Naval Reserve.
- 22 Ibid., May 31.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid., June 7.
- 25 William Walker, “Log book of the yacht *Sampson*, kept by Capt. William Walker, 29 April–5 October 1873.” SPRI MS 300/3 SL, June 21, 1873.
- 26 Chermside, *Journal*, June 13.
- 27 Chermside, “Recent Explorations,” 8.
- 28 Chermside, *Journal*, June 13.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 R.E. Potter to his father, June 13, 1873, RGS/A2A/LMS/P/30.
- 31 Benjamin Leigh Smith, “To the Editor of the Times,” *The Times* (27538): col E, Nov. 19, 1872.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 *New York Times*, “The Spitzbergen Drama,” August 3, 1873, 5.

- 34 Kish, *North-east Passage*, 111–12.
- 35 August Wijkander, “Letter,” June 22, 1873. This was published in a Stockholm newspaper on July 18, 1873. From “Translated excerpts from newspapers re: 1872–1873 Swedish expedition.” SPRI MS 301/36/1-2.
- 36 P. M. Krusenstjerna, “Letter published in the *Official Gazette of Sweden*, July 28, 1873.” From “Translated excerpts from newspapers re: 1872–1873 Swedish expedition.” SPRI MS 301/36/1-2.
- 37 Anonymous, “Private letter written on board *Polhem* at Mossel Bay, June 19, 1873, and published in Stockholm newspapers, July 21, 1873.” From “Translated excerpts from newspapers re: 1872–1873 Swedish expedition.” SPRI MS 301/36/1-2.
- 38 Alexander Leslie, *Arctic Voyages*, 406.
- 39 Chermiside, *Journal*, June 13.
- 40 Ibid., June 14.
- 41 Alfred E. Eaton to Barbara Bodichon, Shrove Tuesday 1873, SPRI MS 300/9 D.
- 42 R.E. Potter to his father, June 13, 1873, RGS/A2A/LMS/P/30.
- 43 Chermiside, *Journal*, June 22.
- 44 Ibid., June 28.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ibid., June 29.
- 47 Walker, “Log book of the yacht *Sampson*,” June 20, 1873.
- 48 Chermiside, *Journal*, July 2.
- 49 Ibid., July 6.
- 50 George Kish, “Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld (1832–1901): Polar Explorer and Historian of Cartography.” *Geographical Journal* 134, no. 4 (1968): 487–500.
- 51 See: “Mr. Leigh Smith’s Arctic Expedition,” *The Times*, August 26, 1873, 12.
- 52 Norsk Polarinstitut, *Place Names*, 140.
- 53 Chermiside, *Journal*, July 11.
- 54 Norsk Polarinstitut, *Place Names*, 277.
- 55 Chermiside, *Journal*, July 14.
- 56 F. C. Mack, Letter to Leigh Smith, February 3, 1876, SPRI MS 301/17/1-3.
- 57 Chermiside, *Journal*, July 15.
- 58 Ibid., July 21.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Ibid., July 27.
- 61 Ibid., July 28.
- 62 Ibid., July 29.
- 63 Ibid., August 4.
- 64 Ibid., August 5.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid., August 10.
- 67 See, for example, the description of harbor whaling by British whalers in the 1660s by Martin Conway, *No Man’s Land: A History of Spitsbergen from its Discovery in 1596 to the Beginning of Scientific Exploration of the Country*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), 205. Chermiside’s estimate of a death date of 100 years earlier seems to be confirmed by later geological research. Using an uplift rate of approximately 1 cm per year, posited for a Russian hunting hut in Nordaustlandet (see: Olsson and Blake, “Problems of radiocarbon dating of raised beaches,” 16), Chermiside’s whale skeletons, resting between six and ten feet above sea level in 1873, would have died or been killed between 182 and 304 years earlier, or at some point between the

years 1569 and 1691, an acceptable range that brackets the discovery and shore-based exploitation of Greenland whales around Svalbard and its transition into pelagic whaling. The greater the annual uplift, such as the 2.99 cm per year reported by Alfred Jahn ("The Raised Shore Lines and Beaches in Hornsund and the Problem of Postglacial Vertical Movements of Spitsbergen," *Polish Geographical Review* 31, Supplement (1959): 157) from Hornsund in southern Svalbard, the more recent the death of the whales. Jahn's Hornsund data applied to Augustabukta would produce a death range of 1764 to 1807, with a median year of 1786 – and very close to Chermside's supposition. Of course, the beach matrix itself is not an absolute dating of the whale since, as Blake ("Radiocarbon dating of raised beaches in Nordaustlandet, Spitsbergen," 137) points out, such whales did not necessarily die right at the shore. Blake's radiocarbon dating of whalebone fragments found at an elevation of 7.8 m asl (25.59') produced dates of more than 6,000 BP (ibid., 141). A host of other factors, from storm surge to human agency, could also factor into the timing, location, and elevation of the remains. The only certainties are that the higher the whale's elevation and/or the slower the rate of uplift, the more likely such skeletons predate human activity on Svalbard.

- 68 Chermside, *Journal*, August 10.
- 69 Ibid., August 29.
- 70 Norsk Polarinstitut, *Place Names*, 96. See also: F.R. Kjellman, *Svenska Polarexpedition År 1872 + 1873 under ledning af A.E. Nordenskiöld*. (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt + Söner, 1875).
- 71 Chermside, "Recent Explorations," 19.
- 72 Ibid., 21.
- 73 Ibid., 22.
- 74 Ibid., 23.
- 75 Ibid., 23–24.
- 76 Chermside, *Journal*, August 10. This is a very similar description to that in Leslie's expeditionary biography of Nordenskiöld, wherein Leslie describes Nordenskiöld's landing on August 5, 1861, at Phippsøya, "several isolated mountains about 1,800 feet high, connected by a low land covered with driftwood and fragments of ships" together with remains of whale skeletons found lying high above the present level of the sea both on the east side of Parryøya and on the promontory of Martensøya (see: Leslie, *Arctic Voyages*, 79).
- 77 Walker, "Log book of the yacht *Sampson*," October 5, 1873, SPRI MS 300/3 SL.
- 78 C.V. Owen, "Chermside, Sir Herbert Charles (1850–1929)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32390>, accessed 6 July 2009.
- 79 Wilson "Chermside, Sir Herbert Charles (1850–1929)," 631–32.
- 80 Norsk Polarinstitut, *Place Names*, 96.
- 81 R.E. Potter to his father, September 30, 1873, RGS/A2A/LMS/P/30.
- 82 R. Collinson, "Referee report by R. Collinson," Nov. 12, 1874, RGS/A2A/JMS/17/76.

5: THE AWAKENING TO A NEW LIFE,
1874–1879

- 1 Ludlow diary, September 29, 1873, Hancox Archive.
- 2 Moore, *Hancox*, 50–51.
- 3 Ludlow diary, December 2, 1874.
- 4 Swedish Legation in London. Letter to Leigh Smith, May 6, 1874, SPRI MS 301/35.
- 5 Anonymous, “Arctic Exploration,” *Edinburgh Review*, 141, no. 288 (1875), 447–81.
- 6 Ludlow diary, April 28, 1875.
- 7 Chauncey C. Loomis, *Weird and Tragic Shores*. (New York: Knopf, 1971).
- 8 Julius Payer, *New Lands within the Arctic Circle*. (New York: D. Appleton, 1877), 174.
- 9 See, for example, Susan Barr “Norwegian use of the polar oceans as occupational arenas and exploration routes,” *Polar Record* 37, no. 201 (2001), 99–110.
- 10 See: E. Tammiksaar, et al., “Hypothesis versus Fact: August Petermann and Polar Research,” *Arctic* 52, no. 3 (1999): 237–44.
- 11 Kane, *Arctic Explorations*, 305.
- 12 Payer, *New Lands within the Arctic Circle*, 49–50.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 54.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 56.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 *Ibid.*, 59.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 77.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 123.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 136.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 175.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 181.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 182.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 289.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 312.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 314.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 339.
- 27 Admiralty Arctic Committee *Papers and Correspondence relating to the Equipment and Fitting Out of the Arctic Expedition of 1875*. (London: HMSO, 1875), A2.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 5–6.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 12.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 14.
- 32 Lamont, *Yachting in the Arctic Seas*, v.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 91.
- 34 Fleming, *Barrow’s Boys*, 374.
- 35 Lamont, *Yachting in the Arctic Seas*, 92.
- 36 David Gray to Leigh Smith, September 23, 1876, SPRI MS 301/13/2.
- 37 Letter to Leigh Smith, June 28, 1876, SPRI MS 301/9/1.
- 38 Ludlow diary, June 10, 1876.
- 39 *Ibid.*, July 3, 1876.
- 40 David Gray to Leigh Smith, January 19, 1877, SPRI MS 301/13/2.
- 41 Ludlow diary, April 15, 1878.
- 42 *Ibid.*, August 9, 1878.
- 43 *Ibid.*, March 3, 1879.
- 44 *Ibid.*, September 16, 1879.
- 45 *Ibid.*, November 9, 1879.
- 46 *Ibid.*, November 24, 1879.
- 47 *Ibid.*, December 31, 1879.

6: EXPEDITION FOUR: FRANZ JOSEF LAND, 1880

- 1 C. R. Markham, "The Voyage of the 'Eira' and Mr. Leigh Smith's Arctic Discoveries in 1880." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society* 3, no. 3 (March 1881):130.
- 2 Alex R. Buchan, "SS *Windward* – whaler and Arctic exploration ship," *Polar Record* 24, no. 151 (1988): 213.
- 3 Ibid., 214.
- 4 The origins of the name *Eira* have been lost. It could refer to the Gaelic spelling for Ireland, but this seems an unlikely connection for Leigh Smith. An interesting and plausible notion comes from an article in *Aftenposten* (Susan Barr, personal communication, June 7, 2012) about the Norwegian river Eira, and its fame as the favorite salmon-fishing place for English lords in the nineteenth century, though there is no direct evidence of Leigh Smith visiting the river (see: Hans Kristian Krogh-Hanssen, "Lakselordenes gjemmedest," *Aftenposten*, June 6, 2012, Reise, 8). My colleague Magnus Forsberg suggests a Welsh version of the Linnaean nomenclature for the Snow Goose: Snow Goose *Anser caerulescens* (Linnaeus, 1758), in Welsh: Gwydd yr Eira. This idea is supported by an amusing note written by Mabel to Amy in 1880: "Uncle Ben sent me a LINE the other day – REALLY a line – 'The name is to be the *Wild Goose*' – we suppose this is serious – if so he is bound to find the Pole when he attempts it next or the amount of criticism which will be the result will be simply awful." Letter from Mabel Leigh Smith to Amy Leigh Smith, February 20, 1880, Hancox Archive.
- 5 Basil Lubbock, *The Arctic Whalers*. (Glasgow, 1937), 412.
- 6 Conversions carried out using the National Archives (UK) currency converter at: <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/>
- 7 William Baxter to Leigh Smith, April 1, 1881, SPRI MS 301/3/1-31.
- 8 Ludlow diary, May 4, 1880.
- 9 Ibid., May 9, 1880.
- 10 Ibid., May 27, 1880
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid., May 31, 1880.
- 13 Ibid., June 12, 1880.
- 14 Moore, *Hancox*, 144.
- 15 Grant, "Cruise of the Yacht *Eira*, 213.
- 16 Ibid., 213.
- 17 Ibid., 215.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 See: C. R. Markham, "W.W. May," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society* 7, no. 3 (March 1896), 324.
- 20 Markham, "The Voyage of the 'Eira' and Mr. Leigh Smith's Arctic Discoveries in 1880," 131.
- 21 Ibid., 143.
- 22 See: *The Times*, "Mr. Leigh Smith's Arctic Expedition," October 19, 1880, 10; see also: Moore, *Hancox*, 152.
- 23 A margin note written by George Nares in Clements Markham's original article explains that "It was named Bell Island from the shape of a hill on it." See: Sir George Nares, "Referee report," 11, RGS/A2A/JMS/17/104.
- 24 W.J.A. Grant, "Cruise of the Yacht *Eira*, and Discovery of New Lands in the Far North," *The Leisure Hour* (an illustrated

- magazine for home reading), (London, 1881), 218.
- 25 Markham, "The Voyage of the 'Eira' and Mr. Leigh Smith's Arctic Discoveries in 1880," 133.
 - 26 It is probable that all of these place names were a post-expedition collaboration between Leigh Smith and Markham, with Leigh Smith providing the names of favored relatives, or colleagues and scientists who had either been with him in 1880 or on one of his earlier expeditions, with Markham (and Sir George Nares) adding in particularly influential individuals in geographical circles in England or as a small reward to the museum curators who identified the collections returned by the expedition. An example of the latter is the waterway on the eastern side of Bruce Island that was named Miers Channel, for Edward J. Miers (1851–1930), curator of the crustacean collection at the Natural History Museum, a young biologist who would describe the marine invertebrates Leigh Smith delivered to the Natural History Museum in London after the expedition.
 - 27 A margin note written by George Nares in Clements Markham's original article explains: "The channel was named after Captain *De Bruyne*, the leader of the Dutch Expedition of 1879; and the large island received the name of *Northbrook*, in honor of the late President of our Society, and present First Lord of the Admiralty [italics in original]." See: Nares, "Referee report," 13, RGS/A2A/JMS/17/104.
 - 28 Markham, "The Voyage of the 'Eira' and Mr. Leigh Smith's Arctic Discoveries in 1880," 134.
 - 29 Ibid., 144.
 - 30 A margin note written by Sir George Nares in Clements Markham's original article explains that it was "now called Cape Grant." See: Nares, "Referee report," 17, RGS/A2A/JMS/17/104.
 - 31 A margin note written by Sir George Nares in Clements Markham's original article explains that it was "named Cape Crowther after the mate of the *Eira*." See: Nares, "Referee report," 17, RGS/A2A/JMS/17/104.
 - 32 Ibid., 17.
 - 33 Ibid. An expedition to search for the wreck of the *Eira*, as well as survey other areas of historical and scientific interest in Franz Josef Land, has been proposed by the explorer Milko Vuille. See: <http://acarsa.com/>.
 - 34 *The Times*, "Mr. Leigh Smith's Arctic Expedition," October 19, 1880, 10.
 - 35 Markham, "The Voyage of the 'Eira' and Mr. Leigh Smith's Arctic Discoveries in 1880," 145.
 - 36 C. R. Markham to Bates, September 26, 1880, RGS/A2A/CB6/15-31.
 - 37 Ibid.
 - 38 *The Times*, "Mr. Leigh Smith's Arctic Expedition," October 19, 1880, p. 10.
 - 39 Markham, "The Voyage of the 'Eira' and Mr. Leigh Smith's Arctic Discoveries in 1880," 139.
 - 40 Clements Markham, "Memorandum on Future Polar Discovery," October 11, 1880, RGS/A2A/RGS/CB6/15-31.
 - 41 Ludlow diary, October 17, 1880.
 - 42 *The Times*, "Mr. Leigh Smith's Arctic Expedition," October 19, 1880, p. 10.
 - 43 A. H. Markham to Benjamin Leigh Smith, Nov. 7, 1880, SPRI MS 301/18 D.

- 44 Nares, "Referee report," Jan. 19, 1881, RGS/A2A/JMS/17/104).
 - 45 C. R. Markham to Benjamin Leigh Smith, Nov. 17, 1880, SPRI MS 301/19/1 D.
 - 46 Ibid.
 - 47 C. R. Markham to Benjamin Leigh Smith, April 11, 1881, SPRI MS 301/19/3 D.
 - 12 Ludlow diary, April 2, 1881, Hancox Archive.
 - 13 W.J.A. Grant to Benjamin Leigh Smith, February 24, 1881, SPRI MS 301/12/3 D.
 - 14 Ibid.
 - 15 *The Times*, May 24, 1881, p. 10.
 - 16 William Lofley to Benjamin Leigh Smith, Nov. 16, 1880, SPRI <MS #?>.
 - 17 William Lofley to Benjamin Leigh Smith, Nov. 22, 1880, SPRI <MS #?>.
 - 18 William Lofley to Benjamin Leigh Smith, April 11, 1881, SPRI MS 301/16/1-16.
 - 19 T. Cromack and B. Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account of Benjamin Leigh Smith's second expedition to Franz Josef Land in *Eira*." *Polar Record* 36, no. 199 (2000): 305–16.
 - 20 Ibid., 308.
 - 21 Ludlow diary, June 6, 1881.
 - 22 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account," 308.
 - 23 A later chart of Franz Josef Land produced after the Jackson expedition names the bay between capes Lofley and Ludlow 'Weyprecht Bay.' The deeper bay between Cape Ludlow and Cape Neale to the southeast was later named Cambridge Bay, and it is possible that Leigh Smith was the one who named it after his alma mater, or asked Frederick Jackson to do so after his expedition fifteen years later. This 'bay' would eventually be revealed as Cambridge Sound, separating Alexandra Island to the northwest with Prince George Island to the southeast.
 - 24 "Notes on animals & birds, 1881–82," SPRI MS 301/33.
- 7: EXPEDITION FIVE: FRANZ JOSEF LAND, 1881–1882
- 1 Markham, "The Voyage of the 'Eira' and Mr. Leigh Smith's Arctic Discoveries in 1880," 146.
 - 2 Ibid., 146.
 - 3 Ibid., 147.
 - 4 Ibid., 150.
 - 5 A. H. Markham to Benjamin Leigh Smight, Nov. 7, 1880. SPRI MS 301/18 D.
 - 6 C. R. Markham, "The Voyage of the 'Eira' and Mr. Leigh Smith's Arctic Discoveries in 1880," 150.
 - 7 William Baxter to Benjamin Leigh Smith, Oct. 18, 1880, SPRI MS 301/3/1-31.
 - 8 William Baxter to Benjamin Leigh Smith, Nov. 6, 1880, SPRI MS 301/3/1-31.
 - 9 William Baxter to Benjamin Leigh Smith, Jan. 12, 1881, SPRI MS 301/3/1-31.
 - 10 William Baxter to Benjamin Leigh Smith, Dec. 16, 1880, SPRI MS 301/3/1-31.
 - 11 William Baxter to Benjamin Leigh Smith, Jan. 10, 1881, SPRI MS 301/3/1-31.

- 25 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account," 309.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Log of *Eira*, 1881–1882, SPRI MS 300/6 SL.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account," 309.
- 31 Ibid., 310.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 C. R. Markham, "Second Voyage of the *Eira* to Franz Josef Land," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society* 5, no. 4 (April 1883), 206.
- 34 Moore, *Hancox*, 153.
- 35 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account," 310.
- 36 Benjamin Leigh Smith. 1881–82. "Notes and draft account, 1881–82," SPRI MS 301/32 BJ.
- 37 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account," 310.
- 38 See: "Stores save from *Eira*, 1881," SPRI 301/34 D.
- 39 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account," 310.
- 40 Ibid., 311.
- 41 Benjamin Leigh Smith. 1881–82. "Notes and draft account, 1881–82," SPRI MS 301/32 BJ.
- 42 See: Benjamin Leigh Smith, "Diary," 1881, SPRI MS 301/2 BJ.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account," 311.
- 45 Log of *Eira* after the shipwreck, SPRI MS 300/5–6 SL.
- 46 Ludlow diary, September 29, 1881.
- 47 Ibid., October 11, 1881.
- 48 Ibid., November 4, 1881.
- 49 Giæver to Gore-Booth, November 26, 1881, Hancox Archive; see also LTR from A.E. Nordenskiöld to Sir Allen Young, May 13, 1882, RGS/CB7/65.
- 50 Ludlow diary, November 28, 1881.
- 51 Ibid., December 1, 1881.
- 52 Log of *Eira* after the shipwreck, SPRI MS 300/5–6 SL.
- 53 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account," 312.
- 54 Ibid., 310.
- 55 Log of *Eira* after the shipwreck, SPRI MS 300/5–6 SL.
- 56 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account," 312.
- 57 Log of *Eira* after the shipwreck, SPRI MS 300/5–6 SL.
- 58 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account," 312.
- 59 Log of *Eira* after the shipwreck, SPRI MS 300/5–6 SL.
- 60 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account," 313.
- 61 Log of *Eira* after the shipwreck, SPRI MS 300/5–6 SL.
- 62 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "Robertson's account," 313.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Log of *Eira* after the shipwreck, SPRI MS 300/5–6 SL.
- 66 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account," 314.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Ludlow diary, February 15, 1882.

- 69 *The Times*, June 1, 1882, 10.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 *The Times*, June 1, 1882, 10.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Ludlow diary, June 19, 1882.
- 74 Log of *Eira* after the shipwreck, SPRI MS 300/5-6 SL.
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Cromack and Riffenburgh, "William Robertson's account," 314.
- 80 Ibid., 315.
- 81 Ibid., 316.
- 82 *The Times*, August 22, 1882, 4.
- 83 See: Nares, "Referee report," RGS/A2A/JMS/17/107.
- 84 *The Times*, August 22, 1882, 4.
- 12 See: B. Leigh Smith, "Referee report," RGS/A2A/JMS/15/95.
- 13 Arthur G. Credland, "Benjamin Leigh Smith: A Forgotten Pioneer," *Polar Record* 20, no. 125 (1980): 131; A.G.E. Jones, "Benjamin Leigh Smith: Arctic Yachtsman," *The Musk-Ox* 16 (1975): 24-31.
- 14 Murray and Hjort, *The Depths of the Ocean*, 11.
- 15 Petermann, "Geographie und Erforschung der Polar-Regionen, Nr. 58, 105.
- 16 Jonathan M. Karpoff, "Public versus Private Initiative in Arctic exploration: the Effects of Incentives and Organizational Structures." Independent Institute Working Paper 23 (2000): 2.
- 17 Benjamin Leigh Smith to H.R. Hill, written from Scalands, November 6, 1892, SPRI MS100/60/3.
- 18 Benjamin Leigh Smith to H.R. Hill, Chateau Clerant, March 9, 1893, SPRI MS100/60/3.
- 19 Even the simple wooden plank on his grave disappeared for a time before it was recently rediscovered near the church where he is buried in Brightling. His descendants placed a replacement marker on the centenary of his death in 2013.
- 20 Benjamin Leigh Smith to H. R. Hill, Chateau Clerant, March 9, 1893, SPRI MS100/60/3.
- 21 Benjamin Leigh Smith to Amy Moore, July 26, 1899, Hancox Archive.

8: BENJAMIN LEIGH SMITH AND HIS TIMES, 1883-1913

- 1 Milicent Ludlow diary, August 21, 1882, Hancox Archive.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 *The Times*, August 21, 1882, 7.
- 4 Moore, *Hancox*, 155.
- 5 Ibid., 130.
- 6 *The Times*, January 19, 1883, 3.
- 7 *The Times*, February 13, 1883, 6.
- 8 *The Times*, April 4, 1883, 5.
- 9 *The Times*, June 20, 1883, 7.
- 10 Moore, *Hancox*, 178.
- 11 Norman Moore, "Benjamin Leigh Smith," June 10, 1887, Hancox Archive.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: CREW OF *EIRA* DURING THE 1881–82 EXPEDITION, FROM *THE TIMES*, AUGUST 22, 1882.

Benjamin Leigh Smith, commander
W. H. Neale, M.B.B.S., medical officer
William Lofley, ice master
J. Crowther, first mate
T. Fenton, second mate
G. Byers, harpooner
A. Valentine, harpooner
C. Marshall, harpooner
J. Harvey, boatswain
W. Masson, cook
J. Johnson, carpenter
J. M'Millan, A.B.
R. Crooks, A.B.
D. Milne, A.B.
G. Alexander, A.B.
A. Robertson, A.B.
D. Walker, A.B.
A. Gray, A.B.
J. Allan, A.B.
J. Gill, steward
T. Clarke, cook's mate
William Robertson, chief engineer
G. Pert, second engineer
J. Thompson, blacksmith
William Laing, fireman

APPENDIX 2: *NOTES ON ANIMALS & BIRDS 1881-82* [LIKELY WRITTEN BY W.H. NEALE], SPRI MS 301/33

On July 25th, 1881, we reached Gray Bay at Cape Grant + Cape Crowther there are large loomerics; a short distance up the bay on the W side many rotgies had their young among the basaltic columns of the lofty cliffs.

Other birds seen were:

Snowbird
Mobley
Boatswain
Arctic tern
Dovekies
Eider duck
Burgomeister
Kittiwake
Sandling
Brent goose
Snowy owl
Falcon

On E side near head of Gray Bay there were a good number of snow birds and dovekies [indistinct], but too high up for one to obtain the eggs. At C Stephen there was a large loomery & at C Forbes there were a few looms, a good number of rotges & dovekies & some snow birds.

At Bell Is the same species of birds were seen and on the S side there was a large loomery and nests of Kittiwakes, Dovekies, Rotges, snowbirds & burgomeisters. Rain geese & brent geese were seen & [indistinct] on the cliffs 700 ft high but no nests were seen.

At C Flora there was a very large loomery, and also many Rotges, Dovekies, Kittiwakes, & snowbirds. In the low land several snow buntings & [indistinct] were seen, no nests were found. The looms lay their

eggs on the bare rocks & the dovekeys & rotges lay them in the crevices of the rocks. The kittiwake makes a nest of [indistinct] and moss. The snow bird makes a rudimentary nest of moss & feathers, but of no definite shape. Each species seen occupies a separate part of the cliff.

The rotgees & dovekeys left about the first week in Sep. Looms were very scarce after Sep. 10th. On Sept 22nd journal says a few Burgomeisters, Snow birds, molloys, kittiwakes, Eider Duck & Brent geese seen but getting very scarce.

On Oct 13 3 or 4 snow birds & occasionally a Burgomeister or molloy seen hovering around the meat outside house. On Oct. 28 whilst killing some walrus, 2 snow birds, 2 or 3 molloys, & Burgomeisters were seen and remained for 2 or 3 days eating the refuse of the carcass.

On Feb. 8 a snowy owl was seen, the first bird to arrive. On Feb. 18th 2 or 3 flocks of dovekeys were seen flying to the NW and on the 20th there were a great number seen in the water. March 9th the first loom was seen but it was not until the end of March that they began to settle on the rocks and then they would only stop on the cliffs for a few hours & go away for 4 or 5 days. We were not able to get up the hill and shoot any until the 16th of April.

APPENDIX 3: *STORES SAVED FROM EIRA 1881* [LIKELY RECORDED BY W. H. NEALE], SPRI MS 301/34; D

* Stores marked thus were saved for the boat journey. Also 16 gallons of rum, 12 lbs of tea and 50 tins of milk; about 800 lbs of cooked walrus meat added to the above, completed our stock of provisions for the boat journey.

Corn beef 516*
Libby cooked beef 856 lbs*
Compressed mutton 50 lbs*
Salt meat 1 ½ casks
Cooked meats in 2 lb tins 180 lbs*
Chicken in 1 lb tins 13 lbs*
Ox tongues in 2 lb tins 20 lbs*
Soup & boulli in 6 lb tins 570 lbs*
110 two lb tins of soup 220 lbs*
Ox tongues 23*

Spirits
Rum 75 gallons
Whiskey 18 bottles
Gin 12 bottles
Sherry 18 bottles
Champagne 72 bottles
Beer 60 bottles
Brandy 12 bottles

Milk 200 tins
Cocoa milk 60 tins*
Coffee & milk*
Van Houtens Cocoa 6 lbs

Cabin biscuits 80 lbs

Flour 6 casks

Tea 80 lbs

Sugar 1 cask

Molasses ½ cask

Tapioca 14 lbs

Cornflour 14 lbs

Vegetables, etc

Carrots & potatoes in 6 lb tins 2268 lbs

Carrots in 4 lb tins 160 lbs

Turnips in 2 lb tins 96 lbs

Dutch vegetables in 10 lb tins 360 lbs

Goward's dried potatoes 194 lbs

One lb tins of vegetables such as peas, beans, brussel sprouts, apricots,
macedonie [sic] 200 lbs

Apples in 2 lb tins 50 lbs

Prunes 40 lbs

Jams in 1 lb tins 90 lbs

Morris compressed vegetables 24 tins

Kopps consolidated soups (each box containing 144 tins) 2 boxes

Pickles 15 bottles

[Knorr's?] sauces 18 bottles

**APPENDIX 4: *SUPPLIES LOADED ONTO THE
FOUR ESCAPE BOATS, JUNE 1882, FROM THE “LOG
OF EIRA AFTER THE SHIPWRECK, 28 NOV 1881–31
MARCH 1882,” SPRI MS 300/5-6 SL***

NO. 1 WHALE BOAT

Corned beef

3–14 lbs

5–7 lbs

31–2 lbs

Libby

10–6 lbs

13–4 lbs

Compressed mutton

2–6 lbs

1–4 lbs

Total 267 lbs

Ave: 38 and 1/7 lbs.

26 Soups Boulli

24 small soups

1 chicken

21 two lbs meat

3 one lb meat

2 tongues

Total: 256 lbs

Ave: 36 and 2/7 lbs.

NO 2. WHALE BOAT

Corned beef

3–14 lbs

6–7 lbs

15-2 lbs
Libby
9-6 lbs
11-4 lbs
Compressed mutton
2-6 lbs
Total 224 lbs
Ave: 37 and 1/3 lbs.

23 Soups Boulli
23 small soups
4 chickens
18 two lbs meat
Total: 224 lbs
Ave: 37 and 1/3 lbs.

NOS. 3 & 4 WALRUS BOATS

Corned beef
4-14 lbs
4-7 lbs
15-2 lbs
Libby
9-6 lbs
11-4 lbs
Compressed mutton
1-6 lbs
Total 218 lbs
Ave: 36 and 1/3 lbs.

23 Soups Boulli
23 small soups
4 chickens
18 two lbs meat
4 tongues
Total: 232 lbs
Ave: 38 and 2/3 lbs.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Admiralty Arctic Committee. *Papers and Correspondence relating to the Equipment and Fitting Out of the Arctic Expedition of 1875*. London: HMSO, 1875.
- Anonymous. "Arctic Exploration." *Sussex Advertiser*, September 3, 1872.
- . "Arctic Exploration." *Edinburgh Review* 141, no. 288 (1875): 447–81.
- . "Arctic discovery." *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 35, no. 919 (1873): 741–42.
- . *Memoir to Illustrate the Origin and Foundation of the Pollock Medal*. Woolwich: Boddy and Co., 1875.
- . "Obituary: Sir James Lamont." *Geographical Journal* 42, no. 3 (1913): 301–2.
- . "Private letter written on board *Polhem* at Mossel Bay, June 19, 1873, and published in Stockholm newspapers, July 21, 1873." From "Translated excerpts from newspapers re: 1872–1873 Swedish expedition." Cambridge: Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, 1873, MS 301/36/1-2.
- Baldwin, Evelyn B. *The Search for the North Pole*. Chicago: privately printed, 1896.
- Barr, Susan. "The History of Western Activity in Franz Josef Land," In: *Franz Josef Land*, ed. Susan Barr. Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitutt, 1995.
- . *Jan Mayen*. Oslo: Norsk polarinstitutt, 1991.
- . "Norwegian use of the polar oceans as occupational arenas and exploration routes." *Polar Record* 37, no. 201 (2001): 99–110.
- Barrington, Daines. *The probability of reaching the North Pole discussed*. London: C. Heydinger, 1775.
- Berton, Pierre. *The Arctic Grail*. New York: Viking, 1988.
- Blake, W. Jr. "Radiocarbon dating of raised beaches in Nordaustlandet, Spitsbergen." In: G.O. Raasch, ed. *Geology of the Arctic*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961, 133–45.
- Bruce, Anthony. *The Purchase System in the British Army, 1660–1871*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1980.
- Buchan, Alex R. "SS *Windward* – whaler and Arctic exploration ship." *Polar Record* 24, no. 151 (1988): 213–22.
- Capelotti, P.J. "Benjamin Leigh Smith's first Arctic expedition, Svalbard, 1871." *Polar Record* 42, no. 220 (2006): 1–14.

- . “Benjamin Leigh Smith’s second Arctic expedition: Svalbard and Jan Mayen Land, 1872.” *Polar Record* 44, no. 3 (2008): 255–64.
- . “Benjamin Leigh Smith’s third Arctic expedition: Svalbard, 1873.” *Polar Record* 46, no. 4 (2010): 359–71.
- Capelotti, P.J., editor. *The Franz Josef Land Archipelago: E.B. Baldwin’s Journal of the Wellman Expedition to Franz Josef Land, 1898–1899*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland Publishers, 2004.
- Carlheim-Gyllensköld, V. *På Åttionde Breddgraden*. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1900.
- Chermside, H. C. *Journal on board of the SS Diana*. 3 vols., 1873. Cambridge: Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, MS 300/4/1.
- . “Recent Explorations in the Spitsbergen Seas by Leigh Smith” (unpublished manuscript, n.d. [1873]). Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, MS Gen 77.
- Conway, William Martin. *No Man’s Land: A History of Spitsbergen from its Discovery in 1596 to the beginning of Scientific Exploration of the Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906.
- Credland, Arthur G. “Benjamin Leigh Smith: A Forgotten Pioneer.” *Polar Record* 20, no. 125 (1980): 127–45.
- . “Foreword.” In: Nicholas Redman, *Whale’ Bones of the British Isles*. England: Redman Publishing, 2004.
- Cromack, T., and B. Riffenburgh. “William Robertson’s account of Benjamin Leigh Smith’s second expedition to Franz Josef Land in *Eira*.” *Polar Record* 36, no. 199 (2000): 305–16.
- Dahle, Kolbein. *Kulturminneplan for Svalbard 2000–2010*. Sysselmannens rapportserie Nr. 2/2000. Longyearbyen: Sysselmannen for Svalbard, 2000.
- Dufferin, and Ava, F., Marquis of. 1857. *Letters from High Latitudes*. London: John Murray.
- Eaton, Richard E. “Mr. Leigh Smith’s Arctic Expedition.” *The Times*, August 26, 1873, p. 12.
- Fleming, Fergus. *Barrow’s Boys*. London: Granta Books, 1998.
- Forsius, Henrik. “Medical Problems Connected with Wintering in the Arctic during A.E. Nordenskiöld’s Expeditions in 1872–73 and 1878–79.” *Arctic Medical History* 52 (1993): 131–36.
- Grant, W.J.A. “Cruise of the Yacht *Eira*, and Discovery of New Lands in the Far North.” *The Leisure Hour* (an illustrated magazine for home reading), London, 1881, 213–20.
- Gyory, Joanna, Arthur J. Mariano, and Edward H. Ryan. “The Spitsbergen Current.” Ocean Surface Currents. <http://oceancurrents.rsmas.miami.edu/atlantic/spitsbergen.html> (August 2005).
- Handley, Jenny, and Hazel Lake. *Progress by Persuasion: The Life of William Smith, 1756–1835*. Hazel Lake, 2007.

- Hisdal, Vidar. *Svalbard: Nature and History*. Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitut, 1998.
- Holland, Clive, editor. 1994. *Farthest North: A History of North Polar Exploration in Eye-Witness Accounts*. New York: Carroll & Graf.
- Horn, Gunnar. *Franz Josef Land: Natural History, Discovery, Exploration, and Hunting*. Oslo: NSIU Skrifter 29, 1930.
- Jahn, Alfred. "The Raised Shore Lines and Beaches in Hornsund and the Problem of Postglacial Vertical Movements of Spitsbergen." *Polish Geographical Review* 31, Supplement, 1959.
- James, Dermot. *The Gore-Booths of Lissadell*. Dublin: Woodfield Press, 2004.
- Jones, A.G.E. "Benjamin Leigh Smith: Arctic Yachtsman." *The Musk-Ox* 16 (1975): 24–31.
- Kane, Elisha Kent. *Arctic Explorations*. Philadelphia: Childs & Peterson, 1856.
- Karpoft, Jonathan M. "Public versus Private Initiative in Arctic Exploration: The Effects of Incentives and Organizational Structures." *Independent Institute Working Paper Nr. 23* (2000). http://www.independent.org/pdf/working_papers/23_arctic.pdf.
- Kish, George. "Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld (1832–1901): Polar Explorer and Historian of Cartography." *Geographical Journal* 134, no. 4 (1968): 487–500.
- . *North-east Passage: Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, His Life and Times*. Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1973.
- Kjellman, F.R. *Svenska Polarexpedition År 1872 + 1873 under ledning af A.E. Nordenskiöld*. Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1875.
- Krogh-Hansen, Hans Kristian. "Lakselordenes gjemmede." *Aftenposten*, June 6, 2012, Reise, 8.
- Krusenstjerna, P.M. "Letter published in the *Official Gazette of Sweden*, July 28, 1873." From "Translated excerpts from newspapers re: 1872–1873 Swedish expedition." Cambridge: Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, MS 301/36/1–2.
- Lamont, James. *Seasons with the Sea Horses*. London: Hurst & Blackett, 1861.
- . *Yachting in the Arctic Seas*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1876.
- Leigh Smith, Benjamin. "To the Editor of the Times." *The Times* (27538): col E, Nov. 19, 1872.
- . *Journal of the Schooner Sampson* (unpublished, [1871]). Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, Gen 76–77.
- Leslie, Alexander. 1879. *The Arctic Voyages of Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, 1858–1879*. London: Macmillan.
- Loomis, Chauncey C. 1971. *Weird and Tragic Shores*. New York: Knopf.
- Lubbock, Basil. *The Arctic Whalers*. Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson, 1937.
- Markham, C. R. "Second Voyage of the *Eira* to Franz Josef Land," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society* 5, no. 4, (April 1883).
- . *The Threshold of the Unknown Regions*. London: Samson Low, 1875.

- Markham, C. R. "The Voyage of the 'Eira' and Mr. Leigh Smith's Arctic Discoveries in 1880." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society*, 3 no. 3 (March 1881).
- . "W. W. May." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society*, 7, no. 3 (March 1896).
- McConnell, Anita. *No Sea Too Deep: The History of Oceanographic Instruments*. Bristol: Adam Hilger., 1982.
- Melville, Herman. *Moby-Dick; or, The Whale*. New York: Penguin, 1851 [1992].
- Moore, Charlotte. *Hancox: A House and a Family*. London: Penguin, 2010.
- Murphy, David Thomas. *German Exploration of the Polar World, A History, 1870–1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.
- Murray, John, and Johan Hjort. *The Depths of the Ocean*. London: Macmillan, 1912. (Reprinted in 1965 by J. Cramer, Weinheim, Germany.)
- Nordenskiöld, Adolf Erik. "Redogörelse för den Svenska Polarexpeditionen år 1872–73." *Kgl. Vetenskaps, Akad.* 2, no. 18 (1875).
- Norsk Polarinstitut. *The Place Names of Svalbard*. Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitut, 1991. Skrifter Nr. 80 and 112; Ny-Trykk.
- Nugent, Frank. *Seek the Frozen Lands: Irish Polar Explorers, 1740–1922*. Cork: Collins Press, 2004.
- Olsson, I.U., and W. Blake, Jr. "Problems of radiocarbon dating of raised beaches, based on experience in Spitsbergen." *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift* 18 (1962): 47–64.
- Owen, C.V. "Chermside, Sir Herbert Charles (1850–1929)." In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32390>, accessed 6 July 2009.
- Parry, William Edward. *Narrative of an Attempt to Reach the North Pole*. London: John Murray, 1828.
- Payer, Julius. *New Lands within the Arctic Circle*. New York: D. Appleton, 1876.
- Petermann, August. "Geographie und Erforschung der Polar-Regionen, Nr. 58: Die Englisch-Norwegischen Entdeckungen im Nordosten von Spitzbergen, Nordfahrten von Smyth, Ulve, Torkildsen, 19. Juni–27. Sept. 1871." *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann*, 18. Band: 101–6. Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1872.
- . "Geographie und Erforschung der Polar-Regionen, Nr. 59: Gillis-Land, König Karl-Land und das Seeboden-Relief um Spitzbergen, nach dem Standpunkte der Kenntniss im Jahre 1872." *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann*, 18. Band: 111–12. Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1872.
- . "Originalkarte zur Übersicht der Reisen von Smyth, Ulve, Torkildsen, 1871." *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann*, 18. Band: Tafel 5. Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1872.

- . “Smyth’ & Ulve’s Reise im Nordosten von Spitzbergen und ihre Aufnahmen im Nord-Ost-Lande, Aug. & Sept, 1871.” *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes’ Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann*, 18. Band: Tafel 6. Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1872.
- Phipps, Constantine John. *A Voyage towards the North Pole*. London: J. Nourse, 1774.
- Rawlinson, Henry C. “First Meeting, 10th November, 1874: Opening Address,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 19, no. 1 (1874): 1–17.
- Ritter, Jürgen, and Ulrich Schacht. *Von Spitzbergen nach Franz-Josef-Land*. Dortmund: Harenberg Kommunikation, 1993.
- Scoresby, William. *An Account of the Arctic Regions*. Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1820.
- Slupetzky, Heinz. “A History of the Austrian Discovery of Franz Josef Land: The Austro-Hungarian Tegetthoff Expedition, 1872–1874.” In: *Franz Josef Land*, ed. Susan Barr. Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitut, 1995.
- “The Spitzbergen Drama.” *New York Times*, August 3, 1873.
- Tammiksaar, E., with N.G. Sukhova and I.R. Stone. “Hypothesis versus Fact: August Petermann and Polar Research,” *Arctic* 52, no. 3 (1999): 237–44.
- Walker, William. “Log book of the yacht *Sampson*, kept by Capt. William Walker, 29 April–5 October 1873.” Cambridge: Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, MS 300/3.
- Wells, John C. *The Gateway to Polynia: A Voyage to Spitzbergen from the Journal of John C. Wells*. London: Henry S. King, 1873.
- Wijkander, August. “Letter.” June 22, 1873 (published in a Stockholm newspaper on July 18, 1873). From “Translated excerpts from newspapers re: 1872–1873 Swedish expedition.” Cambridge: Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, MS 301/36/1–2.
- Wilson, Paul D. “Chermside, Sir Herbert Charles (1850–1929).” In: *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 7, 631–32. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979.
- Wojtczak, Helena. *Women of Victorian Hastings, 1830–1870*. Hastings: Hastings Press, 2002.
- Wordie, J.M. “An Expedition to Jan Mayen Island,” *Geographical Journal* 59, no. 3 (1922): 180–94.

INDEX

A

Albert I of Monaco, 226
Alexandra of Denmark, Princess of Wales, 164
Amsterdam Island (Amsterdamøya), 4, 14, 59,
61, 84, 155
Amundsen, Roald, xix, xxvii
Andrée, Salomon A., 14, 55, 229, 231

B

Baldwin, Evelyn Briggs, xix
Banks, Joseph, 4
Baring, Thomas, 1st Earl of Northbrook, 164,
204
Barrington, Daines, 4–5, 79
Barrow, John, 8, 11
Baxter, William, 153, 165, 179, 195, 208–9
correspondence with Leigh Smith, 176–77
Bear Island (Bjørnøya), 56, 75, 131
Beattie, Owen, 2
Bell Island, 162
Bennett, James Gordon, 147, 196
Bodichon, Barbara, xi, xxv, 19, 21, 24, 25, 27, 46,
107, 123, 204
sketches by, 21–22, 23, 77
Bodichon, Eugene, 27
Brochøya, 69, 224
Bruce, Henry, 1st Baron of Aberdare, 163, 173,
196
Buchan, David, 11, 14
Buss, Jane, 19

C

Cambridge, University, xx, 3
Girton College, 19

Jesus College (Leigh Smith alma mater), 19,
22, 25, 191
Capes
Crowther, 181
Fligely, 139, 140
Flora, 162, 164, 182, 183, 186–203, 209, 214,
225, 228
Leigh Smith, 70, 97
Lofley, 166, 180, 181, 226
Ludlow, 165–66, 180
Carlsen, Elling, 134
Charcot, Jean-Baptiste, xix
Chermside, Herbert, 78, 97–120, 171, 225
describes dredging operations, 114–15
Chermsideøya, 111, 113, 117, 120
Cloven Cliff (Klovningen), 6
Coal Haven (Kolhamna), 43
Coape, Frances (wife of William Smith), 10–11
Collinson, Richard, 120
Cook, Frederick, xix, xxi
Cook, James, 3
Cousteau, Jacques-Yves, 226
Crowther, John, 165

D

Danes Island (Danskøya), 4, 59, 61, 231
Darwin, Charles, xxii, 27, 34, 35, 40, 160
David Island, 167, 181
De Bruyne, A., 156, 164, 166
DeLong, George Washington, 147–48
Dowdeswell, Julian, 227
Doyle, Arthur Conan, 155, 156
Dufferin (Frederick Hamilton-Temple-
Blackwood), 29–34, 47–48, 58

E

Eaton, Alfred Edwin, 100, 107, 112, 120, 164
Edge Island (Edgeøya), 45, 75
Eira Harbour, 162, 165, 173–74, 175–76, 179, 181, 227
 construction of Eira Lodge, 179, 182
English Bay (Engelskbukta), 32
Engvall, Axel W., 107
Essen (*Eira* engineer), 165, 176, 179
Etheridge, Robert, 160, 171, 174

F

Fair Haven (Svalbard), 6, 44, 92
Fairweather, Alex, 108
Fleming, Fergus, 11, 146
Flora Cottage, 187, 217
 plan of, 188
Forbes, Alexander, 226
Foster, Henry, 16, 18
Foynoya, 70, 224
Franklin, John, 2, 11, 12, 14, 27–29, 124, 125, 143
Franz Josef Land, xxiv, xxvii, 136–45, 151–71
 discovery, 126, 136–37
 Eira's expeditions to, 151–71, 175–206
 exploration of, 137–45,

G

Galton, Francis, 203
Gillis (Giles, Gillies) Land, 39, 43, 45, 54, 58, 65, 66, 67, 73, 74, 100, 131, 134, 205, 224
 mystery of location, 54–55, 130
Ginevra Bay (Ginevrabotnen), 40, 168
Glottenham (Leigh Smith estate), 123, 124, 153, 218, 219, 227–28
Gore-Booth, Henry, 156, 171, 195, 196, 204, 211–12
Grant, W.J.A., 56, 154, 159–70, 177
Gratton, “Uncle Joe”, 45, 48, 162
Gray, David, xxvii, 86, 101–2, 148–49, 150, 152, 155, 156, 167, 176, 195, 217–18
 refit of *Eira*, 178–79
Gray, John, 155, 156, 167
Gray Bay, 167, 181, 226
Greely, Adolphus, 190
Greenland, 8, 149, 154–55
Green Harbor (Grønforden), 59, 94, 119
Grinnell, Henry, 27
 polar expeditions, 27–29, 128, 129
Günther, Albert, 162, 164

H

Hakluyt's Headland (Hakluythovden), 14, 45, 59, 61, 63, 103
Hall, Charles F., 2, 125–26, 138, 143
Hayes, Isaac Israel, 139
Hecla Cove (Heclahamna), 18, 110, 115
Hedenström, Matvey, 129
Hinlopen Strait (Hinlopenstretet), 16, 45, 63–67, 73, 113, 116
Hooker, Joseph D., 160
Hope Island (Hopen), 131, 134, 168

I

Iceland, 31
Isaksen, Isak, 195

J

Jackson, Frederick, 181, 228, 229
Jackson-Harmsworth expedition, 152, 181
Jan Mayen Island, 31, 32, 82–83, 154
Jesus College. *See* Cambridge University
Johansen, Hjalmar, 229

K

Kane, Elisha Kent, 27–29, 39, 79, 125, 129, 139, 142, 178
Karpoff, Jonathon, 226
Kjeldsen, Johan, 55, 133, 135
Koldewey, Karl, 66, 126–27, 138
Kong Karls Land, 55, 65, 66, 97, 116–17, 133, 168
Krisch, Otto, 138
Krusenstjerna, P.M. von, 107

L

Lamont, James, 34, 37, 47–48, 58, 61, 97, 144, 145–47
 belief in natural selection, 40
 criticizes Dufferin, 36
 expeditions to Svalbard, 35–45, 51–75
Leffingwell, Ernest de Koven, xix
Leighbreen (Svalbard), 70
Leigh Smith, Amy, xix–xx, xxii–xxiii, 46, 218, 229
Leigh Smith, Anne (Nannie), 19, 46, 204, 217
Leigh Smith, Benjamin, xviii, xxviii, 33, 45, 47–49, 131–34, 148–50, 156, 157, 217–32

birth of, 18, 19
 cab injuries, 149–50
 control of family, xxii–xxiii, 218–19
 decorations, xxi, 177–78
 dementia, xvii
 expeditions to Franz Josef Land, 153–71,
 175–206, 225–26
 expeditions to Svalbard, 51–75, 78–95,
 97–119, 224–25
 family relations, 19, 24, 218
 formative years, 1–3, 22
 and Franklin expedition, 2–3, 124–25
 furthest north of, 71–72, 224
 illegitimacy of, 24–25
 inability to document expeditions, xxi,
 219–20
 inheritances, 22, 24, 26, 34
 at Jesus College, 22, 26
 ocean temperatures controversy, 78, 224–25
 reluctance to appear in public, 177
 and sinking of *Eira*, 184–86
 wealth of, xi, 22
 writings at Cape Flora, 189–92
 Leigh Smith, Benjamin Valentine, 221
 Leigh Smith, Isabella (Bella), 19, 21, 46, 123, 162
 Leigh Smith, Mabel, 123, 149, 154, 218
 Leigh Smith, Millicent, 217, 218, 220
 Leigh Smith, Philip, 221
 Leigh Smith, Willy, xix, 19, 21, 46, 153, 197
 Lerwick, 81–82, 101, 154, 169
 Lewis-Jones, Huw, 230
 Little Table Island (Vesle Tavleøya), 15, 18
 Livesay, William, 42
 Lofley, William (captain of *Eira*), 154, 159, 166,
 176, 178, 179
 sinking of *Eira*, 183
 Longden, Anne (mother of Leigh Smith), 19, 21
 Loomis, Chauncey, 126
 Low Island (Lågøya), 15, 16, 67, 114
 Ludlow, John, xxv, 46, 77, 97, 123, 124, 149,
 165–66, 180, 194–95, 197, 204
 death, 218
 diary of, 46–48, 177
 Lutwidge, Skeffington, 4, 6, 12, 13
 Lyell, Charles, 34

M

Mabel Island, 162, 182
 Mack, Frederick Christian, 112–13
 Magdalena Bay (Magdalenafjorden), 5, 45, 110,
 119, 155
 Markham, Albert, 145, 156, 171, 175, 176
 Markham, Clements, xxvii, 138, 142–43, 145,
 151, 152, 158, 163, 164, 168, 194, 196,
 214, 225
 accepts medal on behalf of Leigh Smith, 178
 praises Leigh Smith, xxvii, 169–70
 reads Franz Josef Land paper, 171, 175
 Martens Island (Martensøya), 119
 Mawson, Douglas, xix
 May, Walter W., 158
 May Island, 158–59, 160, 162
 McClintock, Leopold, 2, 138, 178, 196, 220
 McClure, Robert, 125, 178
 Miers, Edward, J., 170
 Mikkelsen, Ejnar, xix
 Moffen Island, 6, 44, 73, 81, 88–90, 115–16
 whale skeleton on, 88, 89
 Mohn, Henrik, 70
 Moore, Charlotte, xxiii, 10, 20, 24, 220, 230
 Moore, Norman, xxii–xxix, 46, 218
 competency examination of Leigh Smith,
 xxii–xxix
 poem about Leigh Smith, 220–21
 Mussel Bay (Mosselbukta), 26, 94, 103–8, 110,
 206

N

Nansen, Fridtjof, 87, 171, 175–76, 227
 Nares, George, 145, 171, 173, 220
 Neale, William, xxiv, xxv, 154, 156, 159, 160–70,
 175, 193, 198, 214, 220
 Nelson, Horatio, 3, 7–8
 Nelson Island (Nelsonøya), 8, 108
 Nightingale, Florence, 11, 27, 149, 162, 217
 Nightingale, William, 11
 Nightingale Sound, 25, 162, 164
 Nordaustlandet, 45, 65, 75, 79, 86, 110, 117, 166,
 224
 Nordenskiöld, Adolf Erik, xxi, xxii, 26, 81,
 92–95, 100, 110–11, 117, 119, 138, 148,
 178, 205, 225
 rescue by Leigh Smith, 103–7
 Northwest Passage, 1, 2, 8, 11

Norway islands (Norskøyane), 6
Novaya Zemlya, 42–43, 45, 130, 134, 135, 142,
156, 165, 180, 195, 205–6, 209–13

O

Ommanney, Erasmus, 174–75

P

Parry, William Edward, 1, 11–12, 40
polar expedition of, 12–18, 143
Parry Island (Parryøya), 71, 108, 119
Payer, Julius, 54–55, 74, 126, 131–34, 156, 178,
205
exploration of Franz Josef Land, 134–45
Peary, Robert, xix, xxi, 28
Peterhead, Scotland, 13, 47, 144, 150, 151–53,
155, 167, 169, 176, 180, 182, 186, 201, 228
Peter Head (Franz Josef Land), 164
Petermann, August, 43, 54, 138, 147, 178, 224
open polar sea theory of, 127–31
Petermann Land, 139, 140
Phipps, Constantine, 3, 12, 14, 15
polar expedition of, 5–8, 143
Phipps Island (Phippsøya), 8, 71, 110, 119
Potter, Richard, 99, 100, 102, 108, 114, 120
Priestly, Joseph, 10

R

Rae, John, 2
Rawlinson, Henry, 143
Robertson, William (*Eira* engineer), 179–80,
183–84, 186, 187, 193, 197, 210–11, 217
journal of Franz Josef Land expedition, 179,
181, 189–212
Ross, James Clark, 15, 18
Ross, John, 1, 2, 11–12
Ross Island (Rossoya), 15, 16, 18, 71, 86, 224
Royal Geographic Society (London), xxvii, 173,
174, 175, 176, 196, 214, 217
awards Leigh Smith the Patron's Medal, 178
Saturday Review, xxii

S

Scalands (Leigh Smith estate), 153
Scoresby, William, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15
Scott, Robert Falcon, xix, xxi
Sellers, Charlotte, xx, xxiv, 220–21

Seven Islands (Sjuøyane), 4, 12, 13, 18, 93, 108,
110, 119

Shackleton, Ernest, xix, xxi, 176
Smeerenburgfjorden, 14, 61, 155
Smith, Benjamin (father of Leigh Smith), 11, 18
conflict with Leigh Smith, 24–25
death of, 33, 46
families of, 19–21
known as 'The Pater,' 19, 24

Smith, Flora, 162
Smith, Martha (Adams) (great-grandmother of
Leigh Smith), 9
Smith, Samuel (great-grandfather of Leigh
Smith), 9, 34
Smith, Valentine, 162, 194–95, 196–97, 203
Smith, William (grandfather of Leigh Smith),
8–11, 18, 20
religion of, 9
Sorgfjorden, 63, 64
Stephenson, Henry, 145
Strindberg, Nils, 14
Svalbard (Spitsbergen), xxi, 1, 4, 26, 51–73,
77–95
Dufferin visit, 32–33
Parry expedition, 12–18
Phipps expedition, 5–8

T

Table Island (Tavleøya), 71, 72, 109
Teplitz Bay, 139
The Times (London), xxix, 19, 105, 154, 169, 170,
204, 217, 219–220
Thousand Islands (Tusenøyane), 35
Tromsø, Norway, xix, 42, 45, 51–54, 56, 74–75,
130–31, 133–34

U

Ulve, Erik Andreas, 51, 65, 67, 74

V

vessels:
Active, 13, 151
Advance, 128
Advance (*Eira* small boat), 203
Alert, 145, 147
Alexander, 11
Alpheus, 13

Anna Louisa, 36–42
Beagle, 34
Calypso, 226
Carcass, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Diana, 42–45, 44, 97–119, 123, 146, 150
Discovery, 145
Dobhran, 154
Dorothea, 11, 14
Dreadnought, 145
Eagle (Örnen), 14
Eclipse, 86, 101–2, 149, 155
Eira, xxix, 120, 153–71, 176–86, 217, 219, 226, 228
Endeavour, 13
Enterprise, 13
Erebus, 2, 128, 160
Flora (Eira small boat), 203
Foam, 31–33
Fox, 138, 196
Fram, 171, 228
Fury, 12
Germania, 127, 129–30
Ginevra, 35–42
Gjøa, 226
Gladan, 92, 103–4, 106, 107–8
Gleam, 47
Griper, 12
Grönland, 127, 129
Hansa, 127
Hecla, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 63, 64
Hope, 155, 205–6, 211–12, 217–18
Investigator, 125
Isabella, 11
Isbjørn, 54, 74, 130–34, 136, 142, 156
James Caird, 176
Jeannette (Pandora), 147–48, 182, 196, 197, 217
Kara, 205–6, 211–12
Martha, 206, 212
Nightingale (Eira small boat), 203
Nordstjerne, 168
Norsel Jack, 90
Norvegen, 149
Onkel Adam, 92, 103–4, 106, 107–8
Phoenix (Eira small boat), 203
Polaris, 125–26, 143
Polhem, 92, 103–4, 107–8, 111

Princess Alice, 226
Proven, 195
Racehorse, 4, 5
Ramah, 226
Reine Hortense, 31
Rescue, 128
Resolution, 7, 8
Rodgers, 148
Sampson, 36, 48, 51–75, 78–95, 97, 99–119, 130, 150, 231
Sophie, 53
Tegetthoff, 126, 134–42, 168
Terror, 2, 128, 160
Trent, 11
Tromsø, 54
Vega, 148
Willem Barents, 155, 205, 211, 212
Windward, 152–53
Vestfjorden, 72, 73
Victoria, HM, xx, xxi, xxii, xxix, 217
Vogelsang Island (Fuglesangen), 6, 14, 61

W

Walden Island (Waldenøya), 7, 15, 16, 18, 72, 108
Walker, William, 98, 99, 110, 119
Wallace, Alfred Russel, 35
Wellman, Walter, xix, 61, 229, 231
Wells, John C., xxvii, 78–95, 129, 225
Weyprecht, Karl, 54–55, 74, 126, 127, 131–34, 156, 178
White Island (Kvitøya), 55
Wijdefjorden, 91, 103, 113
Wijkander, August, 106
Wilczek, Johann Nepomuk, 135, 142
Wilczek Island, 137, 138, 168
Wilczek Land, 138
Woodfjorden, 6
Wrangell, Ferdinand, 129

Y

Young, Allen, 196, 213, 217–18
 rescue of Leigh Smith, 204, 211–12

Z

Zichy Land, 138, 140

THE FIRST COMPREHENSIVE BIOGRAPHY OF ENGLAND'S MOST RECLUSIVE EXPLORER.

Benjamin Leigh Smith discovered and named dozens of islands in the Arctic but published no account of his pioneering explorations. He refused public accolades and sent stand-ins to deliver the results of his work to scientific societies. He once told his brother-in-law that if Queen Victoria herself asked to see his Arctic photographs, he would send his expedition photographer around to the palace with them.

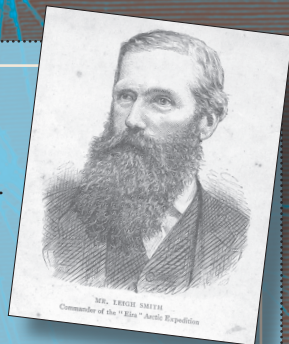
Yet Leigh Smith was a man whose doughty leadership was so successful that the veteran Arctic whaling captain David Gray was moved to call him the very model of "quiet, cool, thoroughbred English pluck." The Royal Geographic Society's Clements Markham referred to him as a polar explorer of the first rank.

Leigh Smith's first expedition, to the Arctic archipelago of Svalbard, resulted in thirty-three new place names and included the discovery of twenty-two new islands. He defined the northeast limits of Svalbard at what is now known as Cape Leigh Smith. His 1873 voyage to Svalbard came to the rescue of the more experienced Swedish explorer A. E. Nordenskiöld and in the process won Leigh Smith the Royal Swedish Order of the Polar Star (which was finally sent to him through the mail when he would not appear for it personally).

But it is his spectacularly successful reconnaissance of Franz Josef Land in 1880 on board his private research vessel *Eira* for which Leigh Smith is justly famed. In just two weeks in August, 1880, Leigh Smith defined the southern coast of Franz Josef Land, charting 110 nautical miles along a previously unknown Arctic coastline. His escape from the Arctic in 1882 – after *Eira* sank off Franz Josef Land – rivals the small boat voyages of Ernest Shackleton and Fridtjof Nansen.

Traveling to the Arctic islands that Leigh Smith explored and crisscrossing England to uncover unpublished journals, diaries, and photographs, archaeologist and writer P. J. Capelotti details Leigh Smith's five major Arctic expeditions and places them within the context of the great polar explorations in the nineteenth century.

P. J. CAPELOTTI is associate professor of anthropology at Penn State University, Abington College. He is the author of more than a dozen books and his research has taken him several times to Svalbard and Franz Josef Land and twice to the North Pole. The U.S. Coast Guard decorated him with the Arctic Service Medal and twice with the Meritorious Service Medal.



Making a difference.
Making you think.

www.uofcpress.com