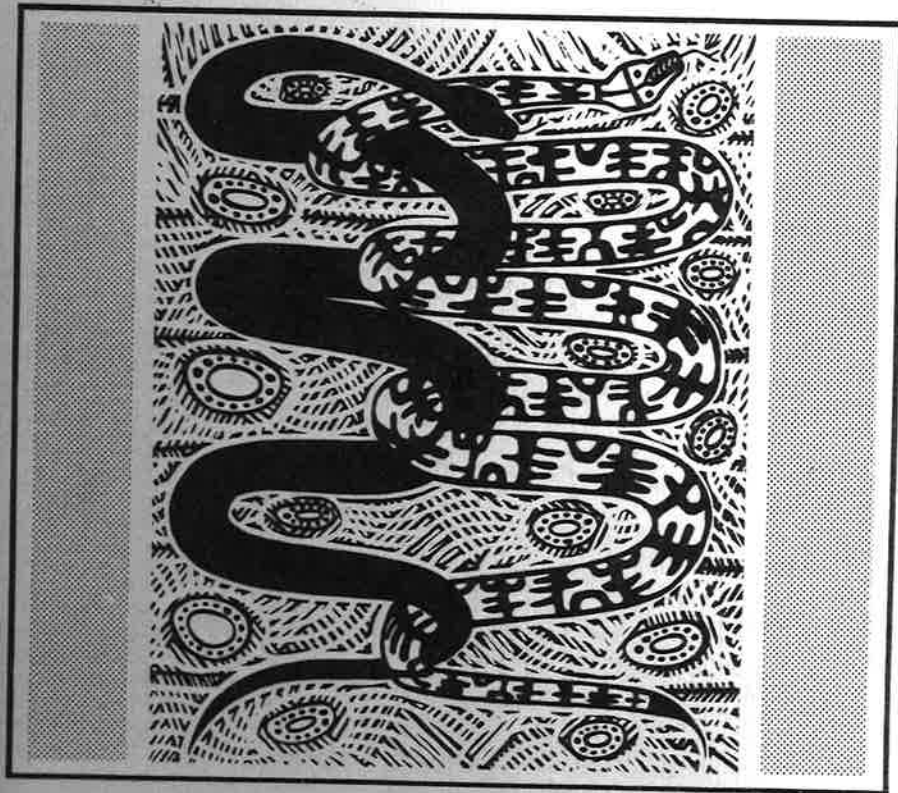


australian ~ canadian studies

- a journal for the humanities & the social sciences -



vol. 6, no. 2
1989

table of contents

Editorial		1
Feature Articles		
Dorothy Seaton	Colonising Discourses: the Land in Australian and Western Canadian Exploration Narratives	3
Jack Warwick	Re-reading the Origins in Quebec	15
Richard Davis	Vision and Revision: John Franklin's Arctic Landscapes	23
Diana Brydon	The Dream of Tory Origins: Inventing Canadian Beginnings	35
Helen Tiffin	Not Wanted on the Voyage: Textual Imperialism and Post-colonial Resistance	47
Paul Bartrop	Indifference of the Heart: Canada, Australia and the Evian Conference of 1938	57
Robert J. Jackson	Canadian Government and Politics in Comparative Perspective: An Overview	75
John Dargavel	Conceding to Capital: Resource Regimes in the Forests of British Columbia and Tasmania	93
Review Essays		
Doug Owram	Family Traditions	109
Brian Edwards	Border Work in a Canadian Context	114
Taking Issue		
Malcolm Alexander	The Importance of Non-scientific Approaches to Comparative Studies	119
In Review		125
Notes on Contributors		145
Call for Papers ACSANZ '90		147

Vision and Revision: John Franklin's Arctic Landscapes¹

richard c. davis

Most Canadians know Sir John Franklin as the nineteenth-century British explorer whose entire expedition was lost in the search for a Northwest Passage through the Arctic.² Franklin might be better known in Australia for his role in Matthew Flinders' coastal survey of Australia early in the same century, or for his governorship of Van Diemen's Land.³

In most minds, Franklin's disastrous final voyage, begun in 1845, has eclipsed his two overland explorations along the arctic coast of North America. Unlike the Admiralty survey of Australia's perimeters, Franklin's 1819-22 and 1825-27 explorations of the Arctic shoreline were conducted from canoes and small boats working from the shore, both expeditions having first made year-long crossings of the continent on foot and by canoe en route to the Arctic Ocean. Not only were these overland expeditions of immense geographical import at the time, but Franklin made numerous written responses to them, most of which have survived. Because of their subject matter, these records have been viewed largely as historical and geographical documents.

In this paper, however, I wish to consider these responses from a literary perspective and to think of Franklin as an author. Like biography or travel literature, exploration writing involves an imaginative process that attempts to recreate for the reader an experience using the medium of words; maintaining an awareness of audience is a rhetorical element that Franklin exploits to great advantage in communicating his experience. As an explorer, Franklin was no more than competent - his detractors would deny him even this - and his skills in geography surpassed his aptitude for writing. But no matter how unremarkable his writing may be, Franklin must pause at the top of the page, as must any writer, to consider the rhetorical strategies that will best appeal to his audience.

The three separate accounts he wrote of his second land expedition, the 1825-27 coastal survey between the mouth of the Coppermine River and Return Reef,⁴ best illustrate Franklin's literary manipulations. In accordance with British Admiralty requirements, Franklin recorded his experiences in a daily journal, which I am currently editing for the Champlain Society.⁵ A second holograph account of that journey is also extant, evidently a fair copy of the journal, although substantial cutting has reduced the two-volume field journal to a single volume, suggesting that a legible copy of the field journal was not Franklin's only objective in preparing this draft (The Scott Polar Research Institute, MS 248/

280/3).⁶ A third account by Franklin also exists, the only one ever to have been printed. Published in 1928 by John Murray of London, *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea* conveys Franklin's experiences to a popular audience with an appetite for travel writing and an exotic interest in the far reaches of the Empire.⁷ The subtle differences between these accounts lend insight into how Franklin manipulated his writing to suit the rhetorical strategies required for different readerships.

As Franklin's accounts shift from official journal to public narrative, they undergo minor but significant transitions. One can easily imagine the different potential of a diarist's record of events as they transpire and a narrative account of those same events written from the perspective of hindsight. Similarly, one can conceive of the different interests of official Government or Admiralty readers, on the one hand, and those of a popular lay readership on the other. One audience is primarily concerned with empirically verifiable data; the other wants verbal recreations of the new lands and the people who inhabit them. Most changes from the journal to the narrative arise from this latter desire to accommodate the different interests of such distinct audiences rather than from an effort to capitalise on the more comprehensive perspective of the narrative genre.

Yet even in this matter of audience Franklin's literary manipulation is heavily muted. A cursory comparison, for example, would suggest that the narrative differs from the journal only in that it deletes some of the early stages of the journey and some of the meteorological and astronomical tables. Closer examination proves otherwise, and by considering these subtle changes and what has brought them about, we can better understand Franklin, his culture, and the relationship between journal and narrative. In a previous paper (Davis, 1987), I have written about how the intended reader affects Franklin's attitudes toward native people in these same accounts. Here, I wish to look at how audience alters his presentation of the lands through which he travelled.

But before examining the changed image of the land in Franklin's journal and his revised public narrative, we need to consider not the differences between the accounts but their close parallels. For only by comprehending the overwhelming similarity of these two texts can we begin to assess the delicate variations that set them apart. One explanation for their similarity is that the narrative - which in reality is a conscious reconstruction of past events - is cast in the form of a daily journal; consequently, even though Franklin knows the outcome of events as he narrates what transpires each day, he generally holds back such information from the reader in keeping with the journal format he had chosen for his narrative.⁸ It is important we recognise, however, that the published narrative - by virtue of its after-the-fact composition and its address to a lay audience - is conceptually distinct from the journal, even though it has been clothed in the generic form of a journal.

A second reason for the great similitude - and one more germane to our interest in audience - is that Franklin composed large segments of the journal knowing that he would later want to submit a revised draft of it for publication as

a narrative. Franklin makes several direct addresses to 'the Reader' in the journal, indicating that he was certainly not writing a private diary.⁹ In fact, he once excuses himself from a detailed account of events at Great Bear Lake because 'the ordinary and uniform occurrences of a winters [sic] residence would prove anything but amusing or instructive to the general Reader' [my emphasis]: clear evidence that the Admiralty alone was not the exclusive focus of Franklin's address in the journal (The Scott Polar Research Institute, MS 248/280/1, p.267). Elsewhere in the journal he even creates a brief exchange of dialogue as he indulges in an anecdote about a steamboat passenger's inquisitive nature (MS 248/280/1, pp.32-33). The resulting caricature of the 'Yankee', a familiar item in contemporary British and Canadian travel books, brings to mind passages from Susanna Moodie's (1852) *Roughing It in the Bush*¹⁰ or Anna Jameson's (1838) *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*¹¹ sooner than it does an Admiralty report. These instances in which the hand of the travel writer can be seen in the obligatory record make clear that parts of Franklin's journal were conceived as being more than an official report to the Admiralty. The Admiralty, it seems, would have to enjoy or ignore these sections designed to be more entertaining than instructive.

Franklin would have had good reason for bearing his future audience in mind as he made his official observations. He had published his very successful public account of the first land expedition only slightly more than a year before he started the record of his next journey.¹² Consequently, the processes of editorial revision and the need to rewrite passages for a lay audience would have been quite fresh in his mind.

Extant correspondence between Franklin and John Murray, who published the narratives of both land expeditions, supports this notion. Only one month before Franklin weighed anchor at Liverpool and set sail for North America on 16 February 1825, he had written to Murray concerning further royalties for a new edition that sales had demanded of his first land expedition narrative (Franklin to Murray, 12 January 1825).¹³ The very next day, Franklin acknowledged the receipt of 200 guineas in payment for the rights to the new edition (Franklin to Murray, 13 January 1825). Hence, not only had Franklin recently profited from the sale of the first edition, but immediately before his departure on an entirely new venture, he received a bonus - as it were - because his first narrative had proved so popular. It would be hard to imagine Franklin starting a new journal without being acutely aware both of the considerable advantages to be gained from a popular account and of the efforts in revision that could be saved if the future need for a popular version were kept in mind from the beginning of the journey. In fact, in one of the letters, Franklin explicitly links the popular success of the first narrative and his ambitions for a subsequent one when he writes: 'I hope to bring you home another narrative, though of what, neither you nor I can yet venture to guess [Franklin to Murray, 12 January 1825]'.

Returning to London upon completing the expedition, Franklin writes to Murray that he is 'now ready to commence the publication of... [his]...

Narrative', and requests an interview to settle contractual agreements before 'the work is put to the press [Franklin to Murray, 24 October 1827]'. The date of this correspondence is of special relevance, for it was penned less than one month after Franklin dropped anchor at Liverpool on 26 September 1827, having been on his journey for over two and a half years. Clearly, if Franklin says of the narrative that it is 'now ready to commence publication', and speaks of getting the work to press, he does not have months of revision in mind. Samuel Hearne's *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort* was not published until 1795, over two decades after the journey it describes was completed. Alexander Mackenzie's *Voyages from Montreal* did not reach the public until 1801, although the explorations recounted were made in 1789 and 1791-92. David Thompson struggled for years to forge a narrative out of his voluminous journals, dying in poverty before completing the task. But such was not Franklin's style. His narratives from both the 1819-22 and 1825-27 expeditions were published in the year after his return to England. Significantly, that same letter expressing readiness to commence publication also remarks that 'Mr Barrow is anxious the publication should be got out as soon as it can'. John Barrow, himself one of John Murray's authors, was the influential Second Secretary of the Admiralty, and every step of Franklin's naval career suggests that he was always anxious to meet the wishes of his superior officers. Both Franklin and the Admiralty were keen to give the public an account of the expeditions, an ardour not shared by the fur companies that employed Hearne, Mackenzie and Thompson.

It seems, though, that neither the Admiralty's encouragement nor Franklin's enthusiasm to market another best-seller could bring about any publishing miracles, because nearly three months had passed after Franklin was 'ready to commence publication' before an agreement was finally struck to sell the copyright for £1200 (the same amount, incidentally, that Franklin earned annually as Governor of Van Diemen's Land) (Franklin to Murray, 23 January 1828). And in the same letter acknowledging that agreement, Franklin now says that only the 'first and second chapters are ready for the press'. These new circumstances suggest an unexpected delay for a work that three months previously had wanted only contractual arrangements before it was 'put to the press'.

Other correspondence shows that Franklin and Murray were still at work on the narrative over seven months after Franklin's initial enthusiastic letter (Franklin to Murray, 28 May 1828). One possible cause of the delay might have been that Murray told Franklin to condense the lengthy section describing his travels through the familiar lands east of Methye Portage, for both the journal and the fair copy devote nearly 100 pages each to that segment of the journey. From the numerous descriptions of scenic vistas and the many uses of stock landscape vocabulary such as 'picturesque' and 'pretty' in this section, one assumes that Franklin had intended it to be a part of the published narrative. But the actual narrative condenses all this into less than four pages of the introductory chapter. If Murray made such an editorial decision, the situation was amicably resolved,

for correspondence from the 1830s attests to a cordial relationship between the two men. One such letter makes an interesting aside here. On 20 August 1836, Franklin, busy with preparations for his departure to Van Diemen's Land, wrote to Murray, thanking him for books sent as parting gifts and requesting him to forward 'any news that would be interesting to us in a strange and distant land [Franklin to Murray, 20 August 1836]'.¹⁴

The notion that publication was delayed by unexpected revision is only conjecture. Of far greater solidity, however, is the substantial evidence in both journal and correspondence that Franklin made many of the official journal entries with his mind alert to the requirements of a public narrative.

Tidy and sharp distinctions between journal and narrative, then, become blurred. The journal form is used in the final narrative, while the audience of the narrative is on the author's mind as he writes the journal. Only in theory can the two texts be so easily separated.

Yet in spite of these factors that contrive to blend the separate texts into a single homogeneous account, careful observation can detect Franklin's editorial hand at work after the journal was completed. It is especially interesting to consider how Franklin's perceptions and presentation of this other 'strange and distant land' in which he travelled are affected by the audience he addresses.

In simple terms, as one moves from the journal to the narrative, one finds Franklin's representation of the new land shifting from a context of empirical measurement and scientific objectivity to one of conventional landscape aesthetics. Robert Stacey (1988, p.147) defines 'landscapes' as 'pictorial constructs rendered according both to the laws of perspective and topographical draughtsmanship and in response to the impulses of the imagination', and Franklin's narrative addresses a readership who had for nearly a century been well-practised at finding picturesque landscapes while touring both Great Britain and the Continent. In the journal, Franklin employs such instruments as the thermometer, the compass, and the Linnaean system to measure and classify the objective world around him; in the narrative, he uses the techniques and conventions of the landscape artist to describe the scenery that meets his eye. This transformation from objective to subjective, from scientific to aesthetic, is brought about by one of two methods. Either the narrative account creates a unified pictorial image of the setting, where the journal had only classified and measured its individual parts, or the narrative takes up the same devices used for utilitarian perception in the journal, but transforms them in the narrative to serve an aesthetic function.

As an example of the first and more frequent method, consider a passage in which Franklin describes the site selected near Great Bear Lake on which to build a wintering establishment. Selected by Peter Warren Dease, a Hudson Bay Company employee seconded to the expedition, the location of Fort Franklin was picked for the excellent fishing nearby and for the derelict buildings of an abandoned fur-trade post already on the site, a potential source of useful timber (MS 248/280/1, p.264). Because the previous residents had felled all the trees

for a considerable distance, Franklin records in his journal that the site had a 'very naked appearance [MS 248/280/1, p.265]'. Evidently, Dease considered the advantages of good fishing and the promise of building materials to outweigh the trouble of rafting additional timber to the site. The journal leaves no question why this particular location was selected: the utility of securing food and building supplies.

In the narrative, the site of Fort Franklin ceases to be only a list of measured distances, an intersection of parallels of latitude and longitude promising sustenance for the winter and materials for construction. Instead, it takes on a distinctive character, a personality as place. No longer a mere draughtsman's blueprint of the fort, the narrative's created image is of a comfortable habitation standing in its place amid the natural landscape. According to the conventions of contemporary landscape painting, especially those practised by Claude Lorraine, the individual parts are composed into a balanced whole, and the result is a 'pretty prospect' constructed with a foreground of lake, an elevated middle ground marking man's happy industry in Nature, and a rising background that closes the distant view. The scale, as in all picturesque landscapes, is moderate and accessible to humans.

These buildings were placed on a dry sandy bank, about eighty yards from the lake, and twenty-five feet above it; at the distance of half a mile in our rear, the ground rose to the height of one hundred and fifty feet, and continued in an even ridge, on which, though the timber had been felled, we found plenty of small trees for fuel. This ridge bounded our view to the north; and to the west, though confined to less than two miles, the prospect was pretty, from its embracing a small lake, and the mouth of a narrow stream that flowed in at its head [Franklin, 1971, p.52].

Significantly, although the narrative elsewhere acknowledges the need to travel some distance from the fort to cut timber, this description omits the journal's reference to the 'very naked appearance' of that ridge. Here, the ridge not only gracefully frames the created scene, but provides generous fuel to warm the men's homes and to cook their food. Characteristically, the journal's pragmatic observation that a ridge had been cleared of trees has been dropped in order to accommodate the picturesque image Franklin wishes to convey to his new audience, who themselves had a penchant for viewing parcels of terrain as though they had been organised according to the principles of landscape aesthetics.¹⁹ The mechanical delineation of distance and altitude still remains, provided it does not interfere with the balance of the created scene, but it has been worked into an aesthetic pattern familiar to Franklin's popular audience.

Here, then, is the most frequent method by which Franklin transforms pragmatic data about landforms into conventional images of landscape. Essentially, he reorganises the isolated scientific observations into a unified and well-proportioned picture.

His other technique of moving from a scientific to an aesthetic context occurs less often. Instead of superimposing the conventional patterns of landscape perception onto isolated field data collected for scientific study, this other method involves making use of the same perceptual devices in the narrative as were used

in the journal, but retooling them to serve an aesthetic rather than a utilitarian function.

Perhaps the best illustration of the explorer's navigational tools being transformed to suit the landscape artist's needs lies in the accounts of reaching salt water for the first time. In the journal, Franklin tells of landing on an island just beyond the mouth of the Mackenzie River, a region of North America never before penetrated by Europeans:

After five hours hard pulling we got under the lee of the island, and when about 3 miles from it had the indescribable pleasure of finding the water to be brackish on the outside of a line of strong ripple that marked its junction with the fresh water.

Its colour became greener and its taste more disagreeable [sic] as we approached the island, and close to its shores the water was decidedly salt. It will be imagined that on landing just as the sun was setting we hastened to the highest part of the island to gain the view at this best time for discovering distant objects. We were delighted by a perfectly open Sea in whatever way we looked - without a particle of ice - and no apparent obstruction either to the navigation of the ships or our progress [MS 248/280/1, pp.233-34].

As would anyone desirous of orienting himself amid an unknown topography, Franklin climbs to the nearest elevation. From that eminence, visibility is greatly increased by the softer light of sunset, eliminating the midday glare that hides distant objects in an excess of light. The elevation and the special light enable him to discern that the sea is free of ice. Thus Franklin has used the elevated perspective and the indirect light of sunset as tools to aid his exploration of the coast. As well, his delight on looking out onto an open sea is a function of his navigational ambitions, not his aesthetic sensibility, because the ice-free sea augurs well for his coastal journey and for Captain Parry's anticipated arrival from the east.¹⁶ We have isolated, then, three elements: the improved visibility from an elevated perspective, the improved visibility at sunset, and Franklin's delight at discovering an unobstructed passage for future navigation. We can consider the first two of these elements as devices or techniques of navigation; the third is not properly a 'device', but involves an emotional response generated by what the observer sees. Here, Franklin's delight is a direct result of his pragmatic navigational interests.

Bearing these three elements in mind, let us read the almost parallel account in the narrative:

The sun was setting as the boat touched the beach, and we hastened to the most elevated part of the island, about two hundred and fifty feet high, to look around; and never was a prospect more gratifying than that which lay open to us. The Rocky Mountains were seen from S.W. to W. 1/2 N.; and from the latter point, round by the north, the sea appeared in all its majesty, entirely free from ice, and without any visible obstruction to its navigation. Many seals, and black and white whales were sporting on its waves; and the whole scene was calculated to excite in our minds the most flattering expectations as to our own success, and that of our friends in the *Hecla* and *Fury*. There were two groups of islands at no great distance; to the one bearing south-east I had the pleasure of affixing the name of... Mr Kendall, and to that bearing north-east the name of Pelly was given [Franklin, 1971, pp.35-36].

The same three elements are present, but here they serve the realm of landscape art as well as that of exploration. The high ground sought out in the journal for purposes of orientation in an unknown region has become the conventional elevated perspective from which the viewer of picturesque landscape is supposed to take in the 'prospect' or 'scene'. I.S. MacLaren's (1985) 'The Aesthetic Mapping of Nature in the Second Franklin Expedition' is an instructive and useful essay that attends to the way contemporary landscape aesthetics shaped the officers' perception of the northern landscape during the 1825-27 survey. In the essay, MacLaren explains that the passage quoted above demonstrates Franklin's familiarity with the convention of appreciating natural landscape from an elevated perspective. When Franklin climbs to the summit of the island, MacLaren maintains, he does so in order to gain the ideal perspective for viewing the landscape below. MacLaren goes on to write that Franklin keeps 'his back to the scene... then turn[s] to have the sunset view burst upon his eyes [1985, p.46]'. The implication is that Franklin avoids looking at the scene until he has reached the best viewing station, then turns suddenly to take in the landscape that nature has composed. This reading of Franklin's remark that he climbed the eminence 'to look around' gives emphasis to the importance of an elevated viewing stage in the picturesque landscapes of Franklin's day.

And it is a delightful coincidence that the party arrives at what MacLaren calls 'the landscape enthusiast's favourite time of day in which to take views of nature - sunset [1985, p.46]'. Tellingly, the passage from the narrative drops the journal's reference to sunset being 'the best time for discovering distant objects'. Franklin the navigator has moved aside here, making room for Franklin the landscape artist, the exotic traveller who creates verbal images of picturesque vistas for British readers whose own Grand Tours will never reach such distant latitudes. Sunset here provides not increased visibility for navigation, but the softened light conducive to an appreciation of a delicately textured natural landscape. It would seem, then, that Franklin's own perception of landscape was not so much forged by the prevailing aesthetics of the day, as MacLaren has concluded, but that Franklin's subsequent response was reshaped in accordance with the landscape aesthetics familiar to his lay audience. Significantly, MacLaren's entirely reasonable conjectures have been based on Franklin's published narrative. Only when we look at the actual field journal are we able to understand that much of Franklin's aesthetic response to landscape was created for his audience, rather than being a cultural condition of his own perception.

I isolated a third element in these parallel descriptions of reaching the sea: Franklin's response to what he witnesses and what stimulates that response. In the journal, Franklin's response is one of delight, a delight inspired by the discovery of an ice-free sea that promises him success in his exploratory endeavours. But the response has undergone a subtle change in the narrative. First, Franklin is no longer merely 'delighted'. He is now moved strongly by the scene, assuring the reader that 'never was a prospect more gratifying than that which lay open to us'. Second, and of considerably greater importance than this

more emphatic avowal of the scene's impact, the source or stimulus of his pleasure has changed. The Admiralty might be satisfied with favourable prospects for further navigation, but Franklin gives the audience of the narrative something more. Through his revisions, that new audience experiences what amounts to an aesthetic apprehension of landscape. The sea, which was first only 'perfectly open', now lies before the viewer 'in all its majesty'. No longer only a place for nautical travel, this majestic sea has become the subject of a panoramic landscape - or seascape rather - framed by the *coulisses* of the Rocky Mountains on the left and islands on the right, its middleground animated by seals and whales. The penultimate sentence pulls all the parts together to create a 'whole... calculated to excite in our minds the most flattering expectations as to our own success', just as any successful work of art will excite the mind of the viewer. Thus, the pragmatic devices of the navigator have been retooled to serve the landscape artist, resulting in a composed scene, an aesthetic vista that had earlier been only part of the surveyor's chart.

Revision of official journal into popular narrative has not, as we have seen, been characterised by obvious and major manipulations of the text, the distinctions between the two accounts often being blurred and nebulous. But close scrutiny of Franklin's editorial hand reveals that he moves away from a scientific report that assesses the components of the northern topography and geology, and toward a pictorial construct that renders the New World in a context familiar to a British audience fond of - to use Christopher Hussey's words - 'viewing... nature as if it were an infinite series of more or less well composed subjects for painting [1967, p.1]'.

Notes

1. I wish to acknowledge the generous support provided me by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, The Calgary Institute for the Humanities, and The Arctic Institute of North America. Without their assistance, the research on which this paper is based could not have been conducted.
2. In 1845, Franklin led an expedition of 129 men in two ships, HMS *Erebus* and *Terror*, to explore the final unknown section of a Northwest Passage through the North American Arctic. Thinking King William Island was peninsular, Franklin attempted to pass to its westward, and both ships were locked in the ice. Franklin himself died aboard ship in 1847. In 1848, still frozen in, the ships were abandoned, and the remaining 105 men struggled toward the mainland, a journey none of them survived. Many years passed and many search expeditions sailed to the Arctic before these details about the fate of Franklin were determined.
3. Franklin served aboard HMS *Investigator* under his relative Matthew Flinders from 1801 to 1804 during the coastal survey of Australia. He was posted to Van Diemen's Land from 1837 to 1843, where he had as a guest James Clark Ross, who was on his way to the Antarctic in command of the bomb vessels HMS *Erebus* and *Terror*. Franklin would later command these same ships on his fatal trip to the Arctic.

4. Franklin's route took him from New York, through Lakes Simcoe, Huron, Superior and Winnipeg, and over the height of land into the Churchill River system. From the Churchill, he crossed the Methye Portage, and descended the Athabasca, Slave and Mackenzie Rivers to Bear Lake River. Franklin and some of the party continued down the Mackenzie to its mouth that same summer, while others built a wintering establishment on the shores of Great Bear Lake. In the following spring, the entire party descended the Mackenzie to its mouth. One party, led by the surgeon-naturalist Dr John Richardson, turned east to survey the coast as far as the Coppermine River. Franklin led a party to the west as far as Return Reef, at which point they turned back to Fort Franklin on Great Bear Lake before returning to England in the following year.
5. The entire project involves an annotated critical edition of Franklin's journals and correspondence arising from his two land expeditions to the Arctic, 1819-22 and 1825-27. Clive Holland of The Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge, is co-editor of these two volumes of Franklin documents.
6. This MS and others mentioned in the text are from The Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England.
7. Franklin (1828). For convenience, all subsequent page references to this work will be made to the widely available reprint edition published by M.G. Hurtig Ltd. of Edmonton in 1971.
8. For example, Franklin withholds the information that a boat from Beechey's ship, HMS *Blossom*, was within 160 miles of his party when he decided to turn back. At the time of composing the narrative, of course, Franklin knew how near the *Blossom*'s boat had come two years previously, but he does not pass this information on to the reader until several pages after he has justified the decision to turn back. See *Narrative*, pp. 160-65.
9. See, for example, MS 248/280/1, p. 267 on two occasions; and MS 248/280/2, p.31. Page numbers are Franklin's own.
10. See in particular the first chapter, 'A visit to Grosse Isle'.
11. *Winter Studies and Roughing It in the Bush*, along with Moodie (1853) and William 'Tiger' Dunlop (1832), constitute an important genre of nineteenth-century Canadian writing to which Franklin's exploration narrative bears numerous similarities.
12. The narrative of his 1819-22 expedition was published late in 1823. Franklin left England on his 1825-27 expedition on 16 February 1825.
13. All letters from Franklin to John Murray are from the John Murray Archives, London, England. I wish to thank I.S. MacLaren of the Department of English, University of Alberta, for having brought the relevant correspondence in the Murray Archives to my attention, and for having provided me with a partial transcription of the material.
14. Other correspondence makes clear that no serious conflict arose between Franklin and Murray if such revision were demanded, for Murray sought Lady Franklin's opinion on a travel book about Crete (Franklin to Murray, 3 April 1836) and Murray's son urged Franklin to use his influence to secure a post for his cousin aboard the 26-gun corvette *Rainbow*, which Franklin commanded in the Mediterranean at the time (Franklin to John Murray, Jr., 15 September 1830).

15. Useful discussions of landscape art during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be found in Hussey (1967 [1927]); Barrell (1972); and Templeman (1939). Specific treatments of landscape perception can be found in numerous essays: see Davis (1987, pp.140-56); MacLaren (1984, pp.57-92) and MacLaren (1985, pp.39-57); Stacey (1988, pp. 147-94). Also note Belyea (1988) unpublished paper.
16. Captain William Edward Parry sailed from London in 1824, in the hope of reaching the north coast of America by sea through Prince Regent Inlet. Delayed by bad weather and ice, the expedition returned to England in July 1825, six months after Franklin had left for his ancillary explorations.

References

- Barrell, J. 1972 *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place, 1730-1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Belyea, B. 'Captain Franklin in Search of the Picturesque'. Unpublished paper read at Rupert's Land Research Centre Churchill Colloquium, Churchill, Manitoba, June. 1988.
- Davis, R.C. 1987 'Fluid landscape/static land: the traveller's vision', *Essays on Canadian Writing*, No. 34 (Spring).
- Davis, R.C. (forthcoming) 'Thrice-Told Tales: the Exploration Writing of John Franklin'. Paper read at The Nordic Association for Canadian Studies Conference, University of Lund, Lund, Sweden, August, 1987.
- Dunlop, W. 1832 *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada for the Benefit of Emigrants: By a Backwoodsman*. London: John Murray.
- Franklin, J. 1971 [1828] *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827*. Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd. [London: John Murray].
- Hussey, C. 1967 [1927] *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View*. London: Frank Cass and Company.
- Jameson, A.B. 1838 *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*. London: Saunders & Ottley.
- MacLaren, I.S. 1984 'Retaining captaincy of the soul: response to nature in the first Franklin expedition', *Essays on Canadian Writing*, No. 28 (Spring).
- MacLaren, I.S. 1985 'The aesthetic mapping of nature in the second Franklin expedition', *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Spring).
- Moodie, S. 1852 'A visit to Grosse Isle' in *Roughing It in the Bush: or Forest Life in Canada*. London: Richard Bentley.
- Moodie, S. 1953 *Life in the Clearing Versus the Bush*. London: Richard Bentley.
- Stacey, R. 1988 'From "Icy Picture" to "Extensive Prospect": the panorama of Rupert's Land and the far north in the artist's eye, 1770-1870' in R.C. Davis (Ed.) *Rupert's Land - A Cultural Tapestry*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Templeman, W.D. 1939 *The Life and Work of William Gilpin*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.