

Bending Time: The Function of Periodicals in Nineteenth-Century Polar Naval Expeditions

David H. Stam and Deirdre C. Stam

When we think about the role of Victorian periodicals in the lives of their readers, we can easily envision a bespectacled middle-class family settling down beside the fire on a winter's afternoon in a cozy living room opening the latest issue of *Household Words*, *Punch*, or *The Illustrated London News*, with expressions of pleasant expectation on ruddy faces. We might also imagine a portly gentleman, comfortably seated in the wood-paneled library of his club, with gouty foot resting on a low ottoman, sleepily scanning the columns of his favorite magazine for mention of friends and familiar haunts of his youthful travels.

For these readers periodicals demarked the regular passage of time—a concern that in nineteenth-century Britain was a dominant aspect of daily life—and encouraged reflection upon what had occurred during the past quarter, or fortnight, and what would come to pass until the next issue arrived.¹ Especially in mid-century, periodicals and newspapers were meant in part to reinforce the readers' sense of belonging to a regulated, logical, and consistent Empire.² Like clockwork, the newspaper or magazine, with predictable sections of news and anecdotes, births and deaths, crime and mayhem, was produced, delivered, and read by ever-growing numbers of Britishers. Newspapers and periodicals reinforced shared civic values and brought a sense of order to the daily comings and goings of British life.

Regular and timely appearance characterized nineteenth-century periodicals for most readers, but that was not the case for a subset of Victorians, the officers and men of the Royal Navy and the nineteenth-century polar travelers who brought and read plenty of newspapers and magazines, however outdated, on their voyages, and who in some cases produced their own newsheets and periodicals while isolated on expeditions to high latitudes. Especially when over-wintering, explorers of the frozen regions essentially lost touch with the rhythm of daily Victorian life. Rather than let their men give in to the ennui and despair

of this dislocation, expedition leaders attempted to create artificial versions of life at home. Along with theatrical performances, musical evenings, sports, and games, periodicals played a major part in this process, both on shipboard and ashore. Their subject matter and tone were familiar and reminiscent of home, and their association with the regular passage of time, even when read sporadically, helped to bend the seemingly timeless phases of many of these voyages. Periodicals shortened periods of boredom, gave rhythm to undifferentiated stretches of darkness, and reduced the sense of distance from home ports.

The very notion of bending time is a modern one, reflecting our current world view (incorporating a popular version of Einsteinian perceptions) rather than the assumptions of constant time that characterized the world view of our Victorian ancestors.³ The Victorian periodical assumed a constant regularity, but in fact the published periodical's function of marking the passage of time in society could be fulfilled even when its appearance and its consumption occurred in an elastic and relative time frame.

During the period of the British Empire between the end of the Napoleonic wars and the end of World War I, British periodical coverage of exploration was extensive. Not only the tropical terrain of savannah and deserts received regular coverage, but also the British successes and failures in the high Arctic intrigued a wide audience in mid-century Britain. Late in the century the inhospitable exoticism of Antarctica also began to excite the British imagination. Although published in an earlier century and sited in the far south, Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, first published in 1798, most clearly prefigured the polar "sublime":

And thro' the drifts the snowy clifts
Did send a dismal sheen;
Ne shapes of men nor beasts we ken—
The Ice was all between.
The Ice was here, the Ice was there,
The Ice was all around:
It crack'd and growl'd, and roar'd and howl'd,
Like noises in a swound!⁴

Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) drew further attention to the Arctic with its letters from explorer Robert Walton on his voyage of discovery towards the North Pole. More pointedly, a running series of anonymous articles in the *Quarterly Review* by John Barrow, the Admiralty's prime mover in polar exploration from 1817 until his death in 1848, kept political and intellectual interest in the Arctic at a restless pitch. Only the Crimean War (1853–56) diminished the focus on polar exploration and then only to be revived in 1859 by the startling discovery of the fate of Sir John Franklin.

While the heroism of polar exploration was celebrated in official circles, it is ironic that the most widely reported tales popularizing the best-known and most admired explorers were actually calamities that stemmed in large part from incompetence on the part of planners and polar pioneers.⁵ The element of blame is largely absent from popular, second-hand accounts of polar adventures; more commonly in the popular press there is an interpretative overlay of admiration for the plucky survivors (or victims) of adventurous mishaps. Typical is physician and writer Henry Morley's contribution to Dickens's *Household Words* (Saturday, November 12, 1853, p. 241): "The history of Arctic enterprise is stainless as the Arctic snows, clean to the core as an ice mountain."⁶ Dickens himself in 1854 in *Household Words* defended that stainless core in expressing his outrage at allegations that John Franklin's men could have been cannibals, allegations based as he saw it on the gossip of indigenous savages besmirching the stainless reputation of British heroes.

Typically, periodicals of the day in both Britain and Canada exaggerated, in propagandistic mode, the excitement of Imperial adventure, while the reality in high latitudes and elsewhere consisted of long periods of excruciating boredom when spirits might be bolstered by engagement in familiar, and in some cases invented, traditions of home and family.⁷ For the British the penetration of the polar regions was motivated by a variety of factors: First, to find a trade route to China through a Northwest Passage via Greenland and northern Canada, starting with the end of the Napoleonic wars in the period from 1818 to 1840; the renewed search for the passage with the calamitous expedition

of Sir John Franklin in 1845 and his party's disappearance by 1848; and the attempts to find Sir John and his men with the so-called Franklin Search, which included over 40 separate expeditions between 1847 when concern began and 1859 when firm evidence of the fate of Franklin was established. Secondly, geographic discovery, with or without commercial implications, was a strong motivation, abetted by financial rewards offered by the British government for finding the Northwest Passage or the North Pole, or for finding out what happened to Franklin and his expedition. Thirdly, there was the incentive to find additional whaling territories to supply the Victorian essentials of fine lamp oil and corset stays and to expand the fur trade, which the Hudson's Bay Company had been developing since 1670. And finally, scientific interest in the polar regions reflected the mania for natural science that dominated much of Victorian life and thought, from Sir John Richardson earlier in the century to Charles Darwin, Robert Hooker, and Scotsman Robert Speirs Bruce towards the end. Many expeditions represented a combination of these objectives, their common threads being nationalism, imperialism, patriotism, and profit, as when the search for Franklin gradually morphed into a search for the North Pole. For the leaders of these expeditions, there was the additional promise of personal fortune, fame, and a step up the ladder of class-conscious British society. At the very least for British naval officers it meant release from peacetime half pay and the promise of adventure and even danger.

Whatever the motivations of sponsors and leaders of polar expeditions, the experience of the officers and men who served on these expeditions was essentially the same from one ship to another, or one onshore hut to another tent, or one shore party to another, or even from one sledge journey to another. However exciting the expedition sounded to its backers and organizers, the daily experience, especially during the winter months when parties were locked in the dark prison of the polar night, produced personal tensions, boredom, gloom, filth in the fore-castle, problems with diet and digestion including frequent cases of scurvy, mind-numbing cold, and not infrequent deaths. Many personal diaries and journals attest that time hung heavily.

In this harsh milieu periodicals played a part in the experience of polar explorers in at least two ways. First, and most commonly, expedition members read and reread available periodicals constantly, even compulsively, to counteract boredom while reconnecting with their distant life at home in British society. Secondly, many expeditions produced their own periodicals on board and at base camps for immediate distribution and, in some cases, for later consumption by friends and family at home. In a few cases, the publication of handsome facsimiles of these periodicals helped pay for present or future expeditions.⁸ Here we have space for only a few examples, but examples of periodical reading and publishing on polar journeys abound from throughout the period.

We begin with a pillar of Victorian society, Sir John Franklin, whose attempts to find the Northwest Passage on three important expeditions by both land (1819–22 and 1825–27) and sea (1845–48) all ended disastrously. Franklin clearly appreciated the reading culture of his day. In January 1825, he wrote that, along with letters received from the fort at Great Slave Lake, much else was retrieved for the expedition’s entertainment: “Beside the more interesting private communications, our friends had been kind enough to forward piles of newspapers, and several periodical publications. The ‘Quarterly Review,’ the ‘Edinburgh Philosophical Journal,’ and a series of the ‘Literary Gazette,’ and the ‘Mechanics Magazine,’ were spread upon the table, and afforded us the most agreeable amusement, as well as never-failing topics for conversation....”⁹ On Franklin’s last voyage of 1845, his two ships, HMS *Terror* and HMS *Erebus*, had combined libraries of 3,000 volumes or more, including geographical journals and “bound copies of Punch magazine,” not to mention the personal books of most officers and some men. Franklin’s ships were beset in the ice off King William Island by 1847, and his crew of 128 officers and men were all dead by 1849. Efforts starting in 1847 to find survivors, and to continue Franklin’s search for a Northwest Passage, began an intense period of northern investigation, including almost forty expeditions and many more ships as part of the Franklin Search, but also adding immensely to the geographic knowledge of the North, much of it, including the

realization of the Northwest Passage, chronicled in contemporary British periodicals,.

A more practical-minded example comes from the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) with its forts and trading posts (known as factories). Scattered about the North American subarctic, these settlements provided more stable environments than expeditions as such, but where availability of reading material was equally imperative. How did the material get there? Michael Payne has described the process for HBC's annual deliveries:

The library was kept at a central location, Fort Vancouver, but included subscribers from small subsidiary posts who sent for material they wanted and returned it when convenient. Once a year subscribers met to order books, magazines, and newspapers for the following year. The order was sent by canoe to York [Factory] and then on to London, where the company secretary placed the order with London book dealers. The following year the material was shipped back to Fort Vancouver, and the account of the "Columbia [District] Library" was debited. The idea proved to be popular. It spread first to the Mackenzie District in the 1840s and then in the 1850s to York and Moose Factories.¹⁰

Another example comes from the world of whaling. Reporting in 1850, Henry Cheever notes that whale physiology is "well described in parts of a sailor's yarn that I have found in a loose number of the *Sailor's Magazine* [from the American Seaman's Friend Society], of which most excellent periodical we have several on board." While at South Georgia, he had access to plenty of books and magazines, but notes enigmatically that "these luxuries can be galling at times."¹¹

What about the reading experience itself? W. Parker Snow, a clerk aboard the *Prince Albert* at the early stages of the Franklin Search, explained in 1851 his purpose in having brought periodicals aboard. After describing the process of drying out newspapers that had been accidentally soaked on deck, he noted that

I have often, myself, when at sea, felt the greatest delight from perusing a journal, however old it might be; and I was convinced

that during the long winter sojourn that we anticipated, many, if not all of those I now brought with me, would prove most acceptable. I had, too, weekly papers for the past four or five years, and these, I thought would be gladly perused by those who had been so long absent from their native land, should we be fortunate enough to fall in with them. Our worthy friend “Punch,” and the “Illustrated London News,” would come in most amusingly to us when we had nought else to do, during the long dark nights.¹²

Far to the West at roughly the same time, Rochfort Maguire’s HMS *Plover* was patiently waiting for Franklin in the Northern Pacific, keeping sanity through its periodical *Weekly Guy*, with its rather obvious pun on Guy Fawkes. McGuire recorded considerable activity in his journal entry for October 21, 1852:

Mr. Jago has been arranging our Printing press, and getting a place established for it in the cabin. Doctor Simpson has also been examining a parcel received from Mr Barrow at the Admiralty¹³—Containing illustrated books to be issued in winter quarters, beginning the 5th of Nov[embe]r continuing weekly for three months. They consist of humerous [*sic*] sketches, such as the comic history of Guy Fawkes, by Cruickshanks & others—Doctor S. purposes issuing a small weekly paper, to accompany each of the illustrations, and to be included in one, under the title (as agreed upon before leaving London) of the—”Weekly Guy”—As our Printing arrangements are on a very small scale, the paper must be in proportion, and the Editor purposes devoting its pages to articles not requiring much labour, from either the contributor or printer—such as puns, jokes, riddles & short humorous articles, adapted to the dullest capacitie, a few copies are to be kept for the Kind originator, who has shown much kindness in everything connected with the Plover.¹⁴

Maguire amplifies his enthusiasm a few weeks later:

We had a number of our old acquaintance of last year in the “Weekly Guy” published today, by way of letting us know that he is still alive, though in some way superceded this year by the generosity of Mr Barrow who has sent a Number of papers &

periodicals sufficient for a good, separate supply every week, from Nov[embe]r to April—His idea on this subject is I think a happy one, by his wish the papers [e]tc or weeks supply are first placed on the cabin table, from whence they go to the Gun Room, and then to the lower deck, so that people almost from the force of habit will take them up & perhaps obtain information & news of which they had been previously ignorant. But of our old friend the Guy I feel sorry that the means at the disposal of the Editor, are not in any way, either mechanically or literary, adequate to ensure Keeping up the publication with spirit—however, we are promised an occasional number when anything of unusual importance takes place.¹⁵

Exemplifying the asynchronous nature of polar expeditionary reading of periodicals are the activities of the stalwart reformer Agnes Weston (1840–1918), who initiated English Sailor’s Rest institutions to provide succor and Christian nurture to seamen, removed from the temptations of the waterfront. At the request of a sailor, Weston produced in advance thirty-six *Monthly Letters*, in effect a serial publication consisting exclusively of sermons, for the famous Nares expedition of 1875–76, to be divided between the ships *Alert* and *Discovery*. The *Letters* were distributed the first of each month during the eighteen months of the expedition, with many issues left for subsequent distribution throughout the fleet after the sudden conclusion of the expedition. Years later a sailor reported to Weston “how we used to look forward to your letters during the long dark winter, and I am so glad to tell you through them I learned to know and love the Lord Jesus Christ, and I’ve had sunshine in my heart ever since.” Weston also published her own periodical, *Afloat and Ashore*, again for the spiritual well-being of sailors.¹⁶

Reliance on periodical literature of the time was not restricted to British voyages, and Victorian periodical culture was widespread among European and American explorers. Karl Koldewey, leader of the German Arctic expedition of 1869–70, produced his own shipboard periodical, the *East Greenland Gazette*, while wintering aboard the *Germania* off the east coast of Greenland on November 14, 1869:

The next day, the first really quiet Sunday, brought a slight interruption to the monotony of our daily life. The first number of the “East Greenland Gazette” appeared.

We thought that on this point too we ought to follow the example of our predecessors, although our prevailing state of mind had as yet in no way required such cheering and refreshing. Materials for the publication of such a number every fourteen days could never be wanting. Unfortunately, a small printing press, given by the printing-house at Bremerhaven, had not followed us on board. In order, therefore, to have two copies, one for the cabin and one for the fore-castle, we had to take the trouble to write it. Already on the 10th had appeared “Invitation to assist in the publication.” Dr. Pansch was appointed editor, and a locked box was hung up, in which every one dropped his contribution anonymously.

At last, on Sunday at noon, the first number appeared “with a supplement,” sixteen pages in the whole. It contained all sorts of fun, some poems, “official proclamations,” and an address to the men by the doctor.¹⁷

Focusing on reading rather than publishing is the example of men aboard the Antarctic voyage of the *Belgica* in 1897–99 with a diverse crew of nineteen from five different nations, including its Belgian leader Adrien de Gerlache, Norwegian Roald Amundsen as first mate, and American adventurer Frederick Cook as surgeon. In his account of the expedition, Cook noted that the ship had a very complete library:

In addition to serious literature, we have other books and magazines of a lighter character. But these float about, from the laboratory to the cabin, and then to the fore-castle, always in the hands of those whose spirits need elevating. Weeklies with unusually good pictures, such as half tones of beautiful women, theatric or opera scenes are reserved and served after dinner as a kind of entertainment.

These cheery words should be set against Dr. Cook’s more contemplative description of the atmosphere aboard ship:

The curtain of blackness which has fallen over the outer world of icy desolation has also descended upon the inner world of our souls. Around the tables, in the laboratory, and in the fore-castle, men are sitting about sad and dejected, lost in dreams of melancholy.¹⁸

Another continental case in point comes from the noted French explorer, Jean Charcot, who has this report from his voyage aboard the *Pourquoi pas?* from 1908 to 1910:

I have recently turned out from a locker complete files of the *Matin* and the *Figaro* for two years before our departure, kindly presented to us by their Editors. Every day I put on the ward-room table the numbers corresponding to the present date, and personally I have never read the papers so attentively or thoroughly. If I must confess it, the news, now so ancient, the scandals, the affaires, interest me just as much as if I had never heard of them. I had forgotten them nearly all and I await the next day's issue with impatience. I am now much better acquainted with my country's politics and the world's happenings in 1907 than I have ever been, and probably than I shall ever be again.¹⁹

Not all ships and crews were well supplied with periodicals, depending on such vagaries as insufficient funding, the interests of the captain (e.g., his concerns about literacy), the indeterminate length of many voyages, loss of supplies, and damage during the expedition. When periodicals were in short supply, they were appreciated all the more. A few illustrations follow.

In August 1872, George Tyson and nineteen others (including nine Inuit) were separated from his ship of the Charles Francis Hall *Polaris* expedition in Greenland. The ice floe on which they were abandoned drifted for nine months and over 1,300 miles before breaking apart. Only after a few days in crowded boats was the desperate group rescued by a Newfoundland sealer on April 30, 1873. None died, but the deprivation of print brought this *cri de coeur* in Tyson's journal:

Jan 29 [1873]. Oh it is depressing in the extreme to sit crouched up all day, with nothing to do but try and keep from freezing! Sitting long at a time in a chair is irksome enough, but it is far more

wearisome when there is no proper place to sit. No books either, no Bible, no Prayer-book, no magazines or newspapers—not even a *Harper's Weekly*—was saved by any one, though there are almost always more or less of them to be found in a ship's company where there are any reading men. Newspapers I have learned to do without to a great extent . . . but some sort of reading I always had before. *It is now one hundred and seven days since I have seen printed words!* What a treat a bundle of old newspapers would be! All the world over, I suppose some people are wasting and destroying what would make others feel rich indeed.²⁰

On the Adolphus Greeley expedition of 1882–84 during the first International Polar Year, David Brainard (one of the few survivors of the expedition) wrote in his diary, “A lemon was issued to each of us this morning in lieu of lime-juice. The scraps of newspapers in which the lemons were wrapped have been removed and carefully dried for future reading. It will be a rare treat to receive news again from the civilized world. We have already learned from scraps that [President] Garfield died and [Chester] Arthur is President.”²¹ Four days later, on October 25, 1883, Brainard records in his diary: “The first of a series of very pleasant entertainments took place to-night. The scraps of newspapers taken from the lemons were read aloud for fifteen minutes by Rice [the photographer who died on the return journey] just after dinner. This will be repeated every night until all are read.”²²

Another example: On a three-year trip to the Arctic from 1894 to 1897, Frederick Jackson wrote, “We can't stand up to stretch ourselves, and even when lying down the three of us do not have much spare room. We spent the day smoking and reading a two-year-old-newspaper, even the advertisements receiving close attention. We almost know some of them by heart. The gale continued throughout the day with unabated violence. . . . Photographs in color would add immensely to the value of the expedition in so many ways. . . . I hope some one may think of it next year.”²³

Yet another example: Having spent 1901–04 in Antarctica, Norwegian Otto Nordenskjöld published this account: “We had brought with us a number of old newspapers, which, it is true, were read and re-

read until their contents were known almost by heart; but in spite of this it appeared to us almost as if these chronicles were something outside and foreign to us, nor did we often speak to each other about such subjects.”²⁴

We cannot end this quick review of high-latitude periodical reading without a few quotations from Antarctic explorer and English hero Robert Falcon Scott, who died in 1912 while returning from the South Pole, as did his associate, Dr. Edward Wilson, and three others. From Scott’s *Voyage of Discovery*, 1901 to 1904: “Reading on the mess-deck is of a very desultory character . . . old magazines seem to go the round many times and become much thumbed.” And on a sledging journey in 1903, Scott reported rereading an issue of the *Illustrated London News* from a year before. Scott’s successful competitor for primacy at the South Pole, Roald Amundson, writing in 1908, notes that after he and his companions successfully navigated the Northeast Passage, the first to do so, they met with a ship that had some old newspapers aboard: “Old! Yes to you! To us, they were absolutely fresh!”²⁵

Our last example is from the celebrated Ernest Shackleton whose brilliant leadership saved the men of the *Endurance* during 1914 to 1916. While stranded on Elephant Island for almost six months, awaiting Shackleton’s return with a ship to save them, twenty-two men had the most limited of reading matter: a few volumes of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, a polar narrative, and a penny cookbook. No known periodicals accompanied the men after the sinking of *Endurance*, though there was some serial reading aloud of the *Britannica*.

Shackleton, however, provides a useful transition from the reading of periodicals to their production in that he was responsible for the most famous examples of printing in the Antarctic. In addition to the first book printed in Antarctica, *Aurora Australis* (1907), Shackleton oversaw and contributed to the *South Polar Times*, first published on Scott’s expedition to Antarctica on the *Discovery*, and again on Scott’s fatal *Terra Nova* expedition of 1911–14. Shackleton was also a contributor to the *Antarctic Petrel*, printed during his *Nimrod* expedition of 1907–09.

While the list of examples of shipboard newspapers is long (see Appendix), the circumstances and motivations are remarkably uniform from one expedition to another, and from one nationality to another. This was the case since the beginning of the tradition under the direction of William Parry in 1819–20 with the *North Georgia Gazette*, and *Winter Chronicle* (circulated in manuscript aboard the ships *Hecla* and *Griper* and ashore at Winter Harbour, but promptly printed in London on the expedition's return, with two editions in 1821) (fig. 1). Parry initiated ship-board production of newspapers, literacy classes, and the production of theatricals, noting that “the want of employment [was] one of the worst evils that was likely to befall us.”²⁶ The explicit reasons for producing periodicals on board ship and at base camps were primarily to fill that vacuum. Some of these reasons address the issue of time: to relieve the tedium of long periods away from home (in Elijah Kent Kane's words, to cheat “monotonous solitude”²⁷); to engage the energies of men with too much time on their hands; to give occupation for the creators and amusement to the consumers of these periodicals during the dark night, etc. Other reasons for producing these periodicals have temporal implications as well: subsequently to amuse friends at home with domestic editions in print or facsimile (e.g., *North Georgia Gazette*, and *Winter Chronicle*, the *Illustrated Arctic News*, and *South Polar Times*); to provide amusement to men and officers on board (again the *North Georgia Gazette* and the *Plover* newsletter).²⁸ The range of subjects and tone suggests that the publications functioned, too, as a way for crew members to vent their frustrations without overstepping the bounds of ship or party discipline.

The forms of these periodicals closely reflected those of periodical publishing at home, for example, the *Illustrated London News* and *Punch*. Typically they contained satire, advertisements (for ladies in one case), letters to the editor, sports, gossip, observations of nature (e.g., sighting of a gull), poetry (from doggerel to serious verse), and reviews—sometimes of the previous issue of the periodical itself. The form—both text and layout—connects the reader to the familiar and homely even when the context, for purposes of entertainment, burlesques those publications.

In most cases the prose is pseudo-formal, tongue-in-cheek, and often satiric, much in the manner of the contemporaneous magazines at home (e.g., *Punch*). This archly irreverent tone characterized the publications in both private ventures and naval expeditions. In truth the support of almost all such large-scale enterprises represented a mixture of private and public monies and sponsorship. Apart from the imposition of some aspects of naval discipline aboard official vessels, the daily experience of officers and crew when wintering over in high latitudes was quite similar in both official and privately sponsored expeditions. The runs of shipboard periodicals were short, written and produced almost exclusively during polar winter nights. Very few appeared with any regularity even within their short lives. The reasons given for diminished production of these periodicals included lack of paper and ink or other supplies, the inability of men to work together, novelty worn thin, and hurt feelings from jokes gone bad. Often enough, enthusiasm waned for these enterprises among the producers if not the readers, reflecting the growing lassitude encountered on lengthy expeditions.²⁹

How do expedition periodicals “bend time”? The term “bend” in the question is a reference to Albert Einstein’s theory of relativity, published in 1915, just at the end of the period that interests us here.³⁰ In the Einsteinian view, space and time are not constants as Newtonian physics would have it, but are susceptible to bending, according to the momentum of the viewer in relation to the thing observed. The very question—about bending time—is a modern one, reflecting our current world view rather than that of our Victorian forebears. Our use here of the term bending time is, of course, more metaphorical than technical. By using it we mean to suggest that the perception of time in Victorian home ports differed from the perception of time when away from the familiar structure of British society, though they were equally valid. The Victorian periodical assumed a constant regularity, but an important function of the published periodical, to mark the passage of time in society, could be fulfilled even when its appearance and its consumption occurred in an elastic and relative time frame.

Temporal irregularity characterizes shipboard and other expeditionary publications, in contrast to Victorian periodicals at home.

Their popularity on expeditions closely paralleled the enthusiasm that Victorian society felt for its own periodicals, whose news was fresh and arrival predictable. However eccentric in both timing and content, periodicals on expeditions served at least one of the functions of their Victorian counterparts at home, that is, to unify their readers through the presentation of the familiar and comforting assumptions of the Victorian world view, even in face of an inhospitable and unpredictable environment that dramatically contradicted the image of order and controllability manifest in the periodicals read and produced on the home front.

Syracuse University
Long Island University

¹ Mark W. Turner, "Time, Periodicals, and Literary Studies," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 39, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 311.

² Mark Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850–1950* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

³ Alan Lightman, "Relativity and the Cosmos," NOVA website, September 9, 1997, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/einstein/relativity/>

⁴ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Collected Works. Poetical Works I*, ed. J. C. C. Mays (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 376.

⁵ Constance Lindsay Skinner, "The Literature of Polar Exploration," *The English Journal* 18, no. 10 (December 1929): 793.

⁶ Quoted in Francis Spufford, *I May be Some Time: Ice and the English Imagination* (New York: Picador, 1997), 101. Spufford speculates that the heroic images of expedition accounts were designed specifically to appeal to women readers (pp. 101–102) and that the virtues extolled were those that were encouraged in women: endurance, perseverance, and resignation.

⁷ Janice Cavell, "Arctic Exploration in Canadian Print Culture, 1890–1930," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 44, no. 2 (July 2006): 8; Jeffrey

Auerbach, "Imperial Boredom," *Common Knowledge* 11, no. 2 (April 2005): 303–05.

⁸ Elizabeth Leane, "The Adelie Blizzard: The Australasian Antarctic Expedition's Neglected Newspaper," *Polar Record* 41, no. 1 (2005): 11–20.

⁹ Sir John Franklin, *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827* (London: John Murray, 1828; facsimile ed., New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 67–68.

¹⁰ Michael Payne, *The Most Respectable Place in the Territory: Everyday Life in Hudson's Bay Company Service, York Factory, 1788 to 1870* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks Service, 1989), 74.

¹¹ Cheever, Henry Theodore, *The Whale and His Captors, or, The Whaleman's Adventures, and the Whale Biography, as Gathered on the Homeward Cruise of the "Commodore Preble"* (New York: Harper, 1850; reprint, Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1991), 79.

¹² W. Parker Snow, *Voyage of the Prince Albert in Search of Sir John Franklin: A Narrative of Every-day Life in the Arctic Seas* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851), 41–42.

¹³ Son of John Barrow and head of the Records Office of the Admiralty (1808–1898). Note: father and son were both named John.

¹⁴ Rochfort Maguire, *The Journal of Rochfort Maguire, 1852–1854: Two Years at Point Barrow, Alaska, Aboard HMS Plover in the Search for Sir John Franklin*, ed. John R. Bockstoce, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), 110–11.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 305.

¹⁶ Agnes Weston, *My Life Among the Bluejackets* (London: James Nisbet, 1911).

¹⁷ Koldewey, Karl Christian. *The German Arctic Expedition of 1869–70, and Narrative of the Wreck of the "Hansa" in the Ice* (London: Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1874).

¹⁸ Quoted in Paul Simpson-Housley, *Antarctica, Exploration, Perception and Metaphor* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 101.

¹⁹ Charcot, Jean Baptiste August, *The Voyage of the “Pourquoi-pas ?”* [The Why Not?]: *The Journal of the Second French South Polar Expedition, 1908–1910* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1978). [First published in French in 1910.]

²⁰ George Emory Tyson. *Arctic Experiences: Containing Capt. George E. Tyson’s Wonderful Drift on the Ice-floe: A History of the Polaris Expedition, the Cruise of the Tigress, and Rescue of the Polar Survivors* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1874), 257.

²¹ David L. Brainard. *Six Came Back: The Arctic Adventures of David L. Brainard* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1940), 190–91.

²² Quoted in A. W. Greeley, *International Polar Expedition: Report on the Proceedings of the United States Expedition to Lady Franklin Bay, Grinnell Land* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office), 461.

²³ Frederick G. Jackson, *A Thousand Days in the Arctic* (New York: Harper, 1899), 482.

²⁴ Otto Nordenskjöld and Johann G. Andersson *Antarctica, or Two Years Amongst the Ice of the South Pole* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1905), 186.

²⁵ Roald Amundsen, *Roald Amundsen’s “The North-West Passage”: Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship “Gjøa” 1903–08*, vol 1 (New York: Dutton, 1908), 129.

²⁶ Elizabeth Leane, see *supra*, p. 12.

²⁷ Elisha Kent Kane, *Arctic Explorations: The Second Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Childs & Peterson, 1856), 145.

²⁸ Elaine Hoag, “Caxtons of the North: Mid-Nineteenth Century Arctic Shipboard Printing,” *Book History* 4 (2001): 81–114.

²⁹ Hal Vogel, “The Rise and Set of the *Arctic Moon*,” *Polar Record* 27, no. 160 (1991): 46.

Appendix

Polar Shipboard and Base Periodicals: A Provisional List

The following entries consist of the inclusive dates, the periodical title, the primary officer in charge, and notes.

1819–20 *North Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle*

William Parry

Biweekly. Parry's ships were the *Hecla* and the *Griper*. The original was distributed in manuscript. The printed version was published in London by John Murray in 1821; the second edition came out in the same year.

1850–51 *Illustrated Arctic News*

Horatio Austin

Printed version published as *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News: Published on Board H.M.S. Resolute, Captn. Horatio T. Austin*, from the manuscript original. London: Ackermann, March 15, 1852. Five issues are included in the facsimile.

1850–51 *Aurora Borealis* (HMS *Assistance*) <why ships mentioned in some cases and not in others?> [*Some were printed ashore, though there would still be a commanding officer.*].

Erasmus Ommaney

Monthly publication, with five issues distributed in manuscript, though there was a small press aboard the ship. Selected contributions were printed in London in 1852 under the title *Arctic Miscellanies: A Souvenir of the Late Polar Search*. London: Colburn and Co., 1852. Albert Markham was aboard *Assistance* and was also involved in the *Minavilins*, a more covert paper on the *Assistance* which, like its *Resolute* counterpart, *The Gleaner*, was confiscated and suppressed altogether.

1852 *North Pole Charivari* (HMS *North Star*)

The *North Star* was a supply ship for the Belcher expedition of 1852–54, in search of Franklin. Its small press mainly produced printed messages for bottle distribution, but also printed some issues of this periodical as well.

1854 *Queen's Illuminated Magazine and North Cornwall Gazette*

Edward Belcher

Manuscript newspaper distributed aboard HMS *Assistance*. The ship's press had too little type and was considered too small to do this work.

1852–54 *Weekly Guy* (HMS *Plover*)

Rochfort Maguire

Plover was the tender for Collinson's *Enterprise*, and successfully printed fifteen four-page issues of the *Weekly Guy*, the first and one of the best periodicals printed aboard any admiralty ship.

1853–55 *The Ice-Blink*

Edward J. De Haven

Paper for the first Grinnell 1850–51 American expedition aboard *Advance*, in which Elisha Kent Kane served as ship's surgeon.

1860–61 *Port Foulke Weekly News*

Isaac Hayes

Weekly during the winter, probably produced ashore. Hayes's ship was the *United States*.

1869 *East Greenland Gazette*

Karl Koldewey

Two issues produced in manuscript while ashore in northeast Greenland. Koldewey's German Exploring Expedition of 1869–70 in search of an open polar sea included two ships, one of which, the *Hansa*, sank, and its men drifted on an ice floe and then in small boats till they reached southern Greenland. Koldewey's *Germania* went on to explore the northeast coast of Greenland where this short-lived periodical was produced.

1875 *Monthly Letters*

Agnes Weston

Monthly tracts, printed ashore in advance for distribution monthly on the Nares Expedition (1875–76).

1882–84 *Arctic Moon* (Fort Conger)

Adolphus Greeley

Semimonthly paper of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition, produced by hectograph, but it survived for only two months or four issues. Though it was well received, the editors lost interest.

1893–96 *Framjee*

Fridtjof Nansen

Newspaper produced weekly aboard *Fram* during Nansen's drift towards the North Pole.

1902 *South Polar Times*

Robert Falcon Scott/Ernest Shackleton

Five monthly issues were produced in typescript in 1902 (Vol. I), edited by Ernest Shackleton and illustrated by Dr. Edward Wilson. When Shackleton was invalided home in March 1903, the editorship was assumed by Louis Bernacci, who produced five more issues from April to August 1903 (Vol. II). These two volumes were published in facsimile by Smith, Elder in 1907, with a preface by Scott. Apsley Cherry-Garrard resumed the tradition on Scott's second voyage, with five issues from April to August 1911, published as Volume III in facsimile in 1914. There is a fourth volume in typescript original at the Scott Polar Research Institute, privately printed in facsimile in 2007 by the Erebus and Terror Press.

1902 *The Blizzard*

Robert Falcon Scott

Intended as an alternative publication to the *South Polar Times*, only two copies of the single hectographed issue are known, both at the Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge, UK, and both dated May 1, 1902.

1904 *Arctic Eagle*

Anthony Fiala

Hand-printed newspaper from Camp Abruzzi, Franz Josef Land, Ziegler-Fiala Expedition. One untraced copy is thought to exist at the Explorers Club but is unlocated. It is noted as Vol. I, No. 4, December 26, 1904.

1907–09 *Antarctic Petrel*

Ernest Shackleton

Periodical for the *Nimrod* expedition, which also produced *Aurora Australis*. Shackleton wrote for the publication.

1911–12 *Adelie Mail*

R. E. Priestley

Incorporated with the *Cape Adare Times*, the newspaper of the Northern Party of the second Scott expedition (1910–13), at Cape Adare, South Victoria Land, 1911–12.

1912 *Adelie Blizzard*

Douglas Mawson

The monthly magazine of Mawson's Australasian Antarctic expedition.

1922 *Expedition Topics*