

NOTES

Preface

- 1 Grolier Club, press release, October 2005, author's collection.
- 2 Stam and Stam, *Books on Ice*. I refer to items 2.5, 2.6, 10.10, 6.7, 7.7, 6.14.
- 3 *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News*. Five numbers were published: 31 Oct., 30 Nov., 31 Dec. 1850, 31 Jan. and 14 Mar. 1851.
- 4 *Illustrated Arctic News* 3 (31 Dec. 1850): 31.

Introduction

Epigraphs: George Simpson, "Fragment of a Manuscript Found by the People of Sirius, when they visited the Earth during their exploration of the Solar System," *South Polar Times* 3,2 (1911): 78; Gilman, *Letters Written Home* (2 Jan. 1858).

- 1 R. E. Priestley, "The Psychology of Exploration," 1, in Priestley Collection, Polar Papers, MS 1097/23.
- 2 De Long, *The Voyage of the Jeannette*, 2:456.
- 3 See the "private family circle" invoked in the *Port Foulke Weekly News* of the United States Arctic expedition, or "our own little circle" as defined within the *North Georgia Gazette*, and *Winter Chronicle* of William Edward Parry's first Arctic voyage (emphasis in original). *Port Foulke Weekly News* 1 (11 Nov. 1860), 1, New-York Historical Society; *New Georgia Gazette*, and *Winter Chronicle*, North Georgia Gazette Collection, GB/015/GB, MS 438/12, Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge.
- 4 Versions of this question have been raised by a number of scholars. See, for example, Chakrabarty, "The Climate of History"; Latour, "Agency at the Time of the Anthropocene"; Dimock, "*Gilgamesh's* Planetary Turn"; LeMenager, "The Humanities after the Anthropocene"; Ghosh, *The Great Derangement*; Baucom and Omelsky, "Knowledge in the Age of Climate Change"; Alaimo, "Sustainable This, Sustainable That"; and Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*.

- 5 Gitelman, *Always Already New*, 7. She clarifies that in this sense “structures include both technological forms and their associated protocols, and . . . communication is a cultural practice, a ritualized collocation of different people on the same mental map, sharing or engaged with popular ontologies of representation.”
- 6 David H. Stam and Deirdre C. Stam, Grolier Club press release, Oct. 2005, author’s collection.
- 7 “A 5°C Arctic in a 2°C World.”
- 8 Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, “Explorers’ Records Found in the Canadian Arctic Archipelago in 1960,” 28 Mar. 1961, MG24 H47, File 4, Library and Archives Canada/Bibliothèque et Archives Canada.
- 9 Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, “Explorers’ Records Found in the Canadian Arctic Archipelago in 1960,” appendices A–I, MG24 H47, vol. 1, File 5, Library and Archives Canada/Bibliothèque et Archives Canada.
- 10 Kane, *Arctic Explorations*, 1:228.
- 11 Leane and Miles, “The Poles as Planetary Places,” 271. As New Materialists such as Stacy Alaimo have observed, the environmental is not external to the human.
- 12 Gould, *Time’s Arrow, Time’s Cycle*, 3, is adapting a trope of embodiment similar to that used by John McPhee.
- 13 I elaborate on these ideas in my essay “Speaking Substances: Ice.”
- 14 Estrin, “Photographing Climate Change Refugees.” Indeed, at Ice3, a conference on Arctic art, literature, and science hosted by the Columbia University Society of Fellows, presenters noted with some chagrin that a substantial majority of us included the same now iconic image of a polar bear cub on a dissolving berg mentioned by Estrin. (I was among the guilty.)
- 15 Bradfield, “Polar Explorer Robert Falcon Scott (1912),” in *Approaching Ice*, 60.
- 16 “Police News,” *Adelie Mail and Cape Adare Times* 1911–12, n.p. [1910–13 Scott] MS 1506, EN, Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge. When Levick and Priestly were not documenting penguin shenanigans, they were writing comic poems about the odor of the gas lamp.
- 17 Russell et al., “Dr. George Murray Levick.”
- 18 The photographic negatives were taken by a member of the ill-fated Ross Sea Party, the supply wing of Shackleton’s 1914–17 Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition; they were located in Scott’s Cape Evans hut in 2013 by members of the New Zealand Antarctic Heritage Trust. “Ross Sea Party Photos,” Antarctic Heritage Trust, <https://www.nzaht.org/pages/ross-sea-party-photos>.
- 19 See “Shackleton’s Whisky,” Antarctic Heritage Trust, <https://www.nzaht.org/pages/shackletons-whisky>. I have secured one of the pricey reproductions and have saved it to toast this book’s publication.
- 20 “Levick’s Notebook,” Antarctic Heritage Trust, <https://www.nzaht.org/pages/levicks-notebook>.
- 21 Commenter “Sage-on-the-Hudson,” on Rhodi Lee, “100-Year-Old Notebook Found Encased in Antarctic Ice Is Part of Robert Scott’s Expedition Team,” *Tech Times*, 25 Oct. 2014, <http://www.techtimes.com/articles/18712/20141025/100>

- year-old-notebook-found-encased-in-antarctic-ice-is-part-of-robert-scotts-expedition-team.htm#disqus_thread.
- 22 Scott's hut, Cape Evans, Google Street View, <https://www.google.com/streetview/#antarctica/scotts-hut-cape-evans-on-ross-island>. Shackleton's hut on Cape Royds is also available: <https://www.google.com/streetview/#antarctica/shackletons-hut-cape-royds-on-ross-island>.
 - 23 Cohen, "The Emancipation of Boyhood." Emphases in original.
 - 24 Hayes, *The Open Polar Sea*, 177, 178–79.
 - 25 T. W. Edgeworth David, "The Ascent of Mount Erebus," in Shackleton, *Aurora Australis*, n.p.
 - 26 "Menu," British Arctic Expedition 1875–1876, MS 1479, D (Playbills, poems etc., 48 leaves), Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge.
 - 27 C. W. Emmerson, "The Arctic Twins," British Arctic Expedition 1875–1876, MS 1479, Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge.
 - 28 "King Henry V. (not by Shakespeare)," *South Polar Times* Contributions (unpublished), MS 1505/5, Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge.
 - 29 The project is entitled ISRU [In Situ Resource Utilization] Based Robotic Construction Technologies for Lunar and Martian Infrastructure. "Nasa Research," USC School of Architecture, <https://arch.usc.edu/topics/nasa-research>.
 - 30 LeMenager, "Climate Change and the Struggle for Genre," 221–22.
 - 31 Thoreau, *Walden*, 397.
 - 32 LeMenager, "Climate Change and the Struggle for Genre," 221–22.
 - 33 In a long passage in the conclusion to *Walden*, Thoreau refers to the polar voyages of Martin Frobisher, Charles Wilkes, Sir John Franklin, Elisha Kent Kane, and Henry Grinnell, as well as to the hollow earth theory of John Cleves Symmes. His claim is that "it is easier to sail many thousand miles through cold and storm and cannibals, in a government ship, with five hundred men and boys to assist one, than it is to explore the private sea, the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean of one's being alone" (577–78).
 - 34 A conversation with Lisa Swanstrom helped me develop these ideas, and I am grateful to her for her insights on ecomedia.
 - 35 An ecomedia studies interest group is a relatively recent addition to the Association for the Study of Literature and Environment, for example, and is engaged in the study of "non-print media as it applies to environmental discourse and action." ASLE 2011 Ecomedia Seminar, http://asle-seminar.ecomediastudies.org/?page_id=10. For especially strong examples of recent ecomedia studies work see Starosielski, *The Undersea Network*; Smith, *Eco-Sonic Media*; Peters, *The Marvelous Clouds*; see as well the media archaeology work of Parikka, *A Geology of Media* and *What Is Media Archaeology?*; Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media*; the Dead Media Project of writer Bruce Sterling at <http://www.deadmedia.org/>.
 - 36 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?*, 2–3.
 - 37 Gitelman, *Always Already New*, 4–5.
 - 38 Smith, *Eco-Sonic Media*, 5.

- 39 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?*, 5.
- 40 Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media*, 33.
- 41 Peters, *The Marvelous Clouds*, 2, 1.
- 42 Boes and Marshall, "Writing the Anthropocene," 64.
- 43 In arguing that polar ecomedia might help humans mediate the acceleration and effects of climate change, I have in mind Sean Cubitt's definition of mediation as "the effervescent commonality of human, technical, and natural processes." Cubitt clarifies, "Mediations are not communications (though all communications are mediated). Mediating does not require messages, nor even senders and receivers. . . . Mediation names the material processes connecting human and nonhuman events" (*Finite Media*, 3–4).
- 44 In specifying that I am speaking *from* a discipline rather than *to* a field I am invoking the call issued by Stephanie Foote and Stephanie LeMenager in their opening manifesto to the journal *Resilience* ("Editors' Column," 2).
- 45 Chakrabarty, "The Climate of History," 215.
- 46 Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*, 3, 2.
- 47 Menely and Taylor, introduction to *Anthropocene Reading*, 3, 5.
- 48 Baucom and Omelsky, "Knowledge in the Age of Climate Change," 2.
- 49 LeMenager, "Climate Change and the Struggle for Genre," 222, 220.
- 50 LeMenager, "The Environmental Humanities and Public Writing," 13.
- 51 Foote and LeMenager, "Editors' Column," 8.
- 52 His provocative call to arms creates what some reviewers have found to be an unsustainable distinction between what Ghosh in *The Great Derangement* calls "serious fiction" and the many writers of speculative fiction and other forms of genre writing that have engaged with climate change. Such writing has been called cli-fi, or climate fiction.
- 53 Foote, "The Stuff of Fiction"; Morton, *Hyperobjects*.
- 54 For a trenchant critique of the discourse of sustainability and its appropriation by corporate and neoliberal forces, see in particular Alaimo, "Sustainable This, Sustainable That": "We may well ask how it is that environmentalism as a social movement became so smoothly co-opted and institutionalized as sustainability" (559).
- 55 I have written further about oceanic studies in Blum, "The Prospect of Oceanic Studies" and "Introduction: Oceanic Studies." See also the Theories and Methodologies cluster on Oceanic Studies in *PMLA* 125,3 (2010): 657–736.
- 56 Steinberg, "Of Other Seas," 165.
- 57 Steinberg, "Of Other Seas," 157.
- 58 Starosielski, *The Undersea Network*, 6.
- 59 Warner, "Critique in the Anthropocene."
- 60 Starosielski, *The Undersea Network*, 5.
- 61 Peters, *The Marvelous Clouds*, 38.
- 62 Starosielski, *The Undersea Network*, 17.
- 63 See in particular Paul J. Crutzen's influential formulation of the term "Anthropocene" in "Geology of Mankind," 23, as well as his revised work in, for example,

Steffen et al., “Anthropocene.” The concept has been especially attractive to humanists; as Boes and Marshall note in their introduction to a special issue, “Writing the Anthropocene,” in the *Minnesota Review*, “The ability of the Anthropocene to lodge itself firmly within various cultural forms—from popular media to film, fiction, and television—has far outpaced its scientific accounting” (60). An earlier date for the onset of the Anthropocene, the year 1610, has been proposed by Simon A. Lewis and Mark A. Maslin, “Defining the Anthropocene,” which reflects the genocidal impact of European colonization of the Americas. See Dana Luciano’s meditation on this “Orbis hypothesis” in “The Inhuman Anthropocene.” In 2016 the Working Group on the “Anthropocene” of the Subcommittee on Quaternary Stratigraphy proposed to the International Commission on Stratigraphy that the Anthropocene be recognized as a formal geological epoch, succeeding the Holocene. While the subcommittee initially acknowledged that “the beginning of the ‘Anthropocene’ is most generally considered to be at *c.* 1800 CE, around the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in Europe (Crutzen’s original suggestion); other potential candidates for time boundaries have been suggested, at both earlier dates (within or even before the Holocene) or later (e.g. at the start of the nuclear age),” subsequent deliberation has fixed the “golden spike” of the Anthropocene at 1950, the nuclear age. Jan Zalasiewicz et al., “Working Group on the ‘Anthropocene.’”

- 64 Harper, “Franklin Discovery Strengthens Canada’s Arctic Sovereignty.”
- 65 Rignot et al., “Widespread, Rapid Grounding Line Retreat of Pine Island, Thwaites, Smith, and Kohler Glaciers.” An article in *Nature Geoscience* in March 2015 made similar claims for an immense glacier in East Antarctica: Greenbaum et al., “Ocean Access to a Cavity beneath Totten Glacier in East Antarctica.” See also Gillis, “Miles of Ice Collapsing into the Sea.”
- 66 Moskvitch, “Mysterious Siberian Crater Attributed to Methane.”
- 67 Boes and Marshall, “Writing the Anthropocene,” 62. See also the recent work of Latour, particularly “Agency in the Time of the Anthropocene”; Colebrook, *Death of the PostHuman*; and Timothy Morton’s recent work, particularly *Hyperobjects*, as well as work by Chakrabarty, Foote, LeMenager, Alaimo, Dimock, and Nixon.
- 68 Luciano, “The Inhuman Anthropocene.”
- 69 Alaimo, “Sustainable This, Sustainable That,” 562.
- 70 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 66.
- 71 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

1. Extreme Printing

Epigraphs: Samuel Taylor Coleridge, “Captain Parry” (1825), in *The Collected Works*, 1037; advertisement in *Queen’s Illuminated Magazine*, 1852, material printed on HMS *Assistance*, MS 1481/1, 1852–54, Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, University of Cambridge.

- 1 Nordenskjöld and Andersson, *Antarctica*, 290.
- 2 *Printing the "Arctic Eagle,"* Fiala-Ziegler Expedition, private collection, used with permission. My research has uncovered no other photographs of printing in action, although the illustrations in chapter 3 show the unattended press and type case used to print the book *Aurora Australis* during Shackleton's *Nimrod* expedition in Antarctica (1909). The act of printing is not otherwise sketched or illustrated, to the best of my searching.
- 3 The man on the top bunk is John Vedoe, assistant quartermaster, and the bearded sailor on the lower left bunk is Pierre Le Royer, dog caretaker, according to a note on the back of a copy of the photograph. The reclining man on the right is not identified. Anton M. Vedoe Papers, 1895–1963, MSS 233, Box 2, Folder 12, Stefansson Collection, Dartmouth College.
- 4 For more information on Golding presses, see "Golding Printing Presses," *Handset Press*, accessed 10 July 2016, <http://www.handsetpress.org/golding/>.
- 5 Fiala, "Christmas Near the North Pole," 25.
- 6 Of these newspapers, I have located copies of all except the *Ice-Blink*, *Gleaner*, *Minavilins*, and *Ostgrönländische Zeitung*. There is no trace of the *Ice-Blink* in any of the many archives that hold material related to Elisha Kent Kane and the Second Grinnell Expedition, and librarians and Kane historians have no knowledge of its location. The *Gleaner* and *Minavilins* were both suppressed before their expeditions returned home, and no copies seem to have survived. The *Ostgrönländische Zeitung* is mentioned in the journal of Carl Koldewey, a German polar explorer, who indicates that at least two manuscript editions were produced. The newspaper cannot be located today, and according to my correspondence with Reinhard Krause of the Alfred Wegener Institute for Polar and Marine Research in Germany, "a lot of papers of the expedition (owned by the geographical society in Bremen) were destroyed in a firestorm during WW 2 in the office of Herbert Abel at the Überseemuseum Bremen." Email correspondence with Reinhard A. Krause, 2 December, 2010.
- 7 "A Catalogue of the Library Established on Board H.M.S. Assistance, Captain Sir Edward Belcher, C.B., Commanding the Arctic Squadron in Search of Sir John Franklin and His Companions: Printed & Published on Board H.M.S. Assistance, Wellington Channel, Arctic regions, H. Briant, Printer, 1853," Arctic Pamphlets, 1852–54, courtesy Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers).
- 8 On the publisher John Murray's role in facilitating these publications in Britain, see Craciun, *Writing Arctic Disaster*; Keighren et al., *Travels into Print*; Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative*.
- 9 For more on sailors' literacy and literary culture, see Blum, *The View from the Masthead*.
- 10 *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News* 2 (30 Nov. 1850): 18.
- 11 Greeley, *Three Years of Arctic Service*, 1:162. In another example, the school established on the *Fox*, a Franklin search, was led by the ship's doctor (a common stand-in schoolmaster on polar voyages); according to Commander McClintock,

- the doctor “intends to make [the pupils] acquainted with the trade-winds and atmosphere. This subject affords an opportunity of explaining the uses of our thermometer, barometer, ozonometer, and electrometer, which they see us take much interest in. It is delightful to find a spirit of inquiry amongst them.” McClintock, *The Voyage of the “Fox” in Arctic Seas*, 61.
- 12 For more on British naval theatricals, see Isbell, “Illustrated Reviews of Naval Theatricals”; Isbell, “P(l)aying Off Old Ironsides and the Old Wagon”; Isbell, “When Ditchers and Jack Tars Collide”; Pearson, “No Joke in Petticoats”; O’Neill, “Theatre in the North”; Davis, “British Bravery, or Tars Triumphant.”
 - 13 *North Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle*, in Parry, *Journal of a Voyage*.
 - 14 Edward Sabine, “Advertisement” [appendix], *North Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle*, iii.
 - 15 Stam and Stam, “Bending Time.”
 - 16 Rudy, “Floating Worlds.” See also Rudy’s book *Imagined Homelands*, and Blum and Rudy, “First Person Nautical.”
 - 17 “Notice,” *R.M.S. City of Paris Gazette, Printed on Board* 12 (3 Nov. 1891).
 - 18 “Prospectus,” *Austral Chronicle. A Bi-Weekly Journal* 1.1 (1886).
 - 19 *Cunard Cruise News* 1 (26 Aug. 1933): 2.
 - 20 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 602–3.
 - 21 Cooper, *Sensus Communis*, 1.
 - 22 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 33.
 - 23 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 34, 36.
 - 24 Scholars of print culture such as Trish Loughran and Meredith McGill have described how paying closer attention to the operations of transnational and local spheres of circulation dismantles some elements of Anderson’s model and shores up others. Anderson presumes the simultaneity of newspaper reading among far-flung individuals, for example, although Loughran has argued persuasively that in the early United States such presumptions are not historically accurate. Rather than a networked national print culture, Loughran describes localized, fragmented communities of print that are more akin to what we see aboard polar ships. She writes, “If the newspaper denies, in its casual columnar form, the scatteredness of the spaces from which it collects its information, it nevertheless bears . . . the telltale traces of that scatteredness” (*The Republic in Print*, 11).
 - 25 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 12.
 - 26 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35.
 - 27 Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America*.
 - 28 *Umbria Express, and Atlantic Times* 14 (1 Oct. 1887): 4; E. Alsheimer, “Creeds,” *All Aboard: The Journal of R.M.S. “Transylvania”* 14.4 (1931): 14.
 - 29 *Bound Home or The Gold-Hunters’ Manual* (2 Mar. 1852).
 - 30 Quoted in Lewis, *Sea Routes to the Gold Fields*, 92.
 - 31 See Blum, *The View from the Masthead*.
 - 32 Elaine Hoag documents several examples of wartime shipboard printing during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in “Caxtons of the North,” 81–82.

- 33 Morillo, "Venesolanos que habeis seguido a Bolivar."
- 34 See Berkey, "Splendid Little Papers from the 'Splendid Little War'; Berkey, "Traces of the Confederacy." In World War I, the men of the British destroyer HMS *Blenheim* printed a paper called the *Tenedos Times* while stationed off the Aegean isle by that name; "the pressure of stirring events" cut short its publication in 1914. "Preface," *Tenedos Times: A Monthly Journal of the Mediterranean Destroyer Flotilla during the Early Part of the War*, [5].
- 35 Harris, *Personal Impressions*, 13.
- 36 Accountant General's Record Book, 1852, l. 467, 9 Feb. 1852, ADM 47/21, National Archives, London.
- 37 "Organ and printing press landed at Woolwich from the late Polar expedition to be repaired," Admiralty correspondence index for 1852, cut 68-5a, 25 Feb. [1852], ADM 12/558, National Archives, London.
- 38 Hoag, "Caxtons of the North," 85-88.
- 39 *Arctic Miscellanies*, xiii.
- 40 Maguire, *The Journal of Rochfort Maguire*, 106-7.
- 41 Rochfort Maguire's *Journal* mentions the illustrations in his explanation of the origin of the name of the paper *Weekly Guy*: "A weekly publication is likely to be undertaken by Doctor Simpson, but as it received its name and an accompanying set of illustrations, from a kind friend to all arctic adventurers at the Admiralty, its time has not yet come" (*The Journal of Rochfort Maguire*, 106-7). Hoag reports that these were Cruikshank images ("Shipboard Printing on the Franklin Search Expeditions," 28).
- 42 "The Rise and Progress of Arctic Printing," in *Arctic Miscellanies*, 246-47.
- 43 "The Rise and Progress of Arctic Printing," in *Arctic Miscellanies*, 247-48. Clements Markham confirms, "wood blocks were cut of the Royal arms and other adornments" by the sailors for the playbills, printed on silk (*The Lands of Silence*, 255).
- 44 *Queen's Illuminated Magazine*, 24 [40].
- 45 "A Catalogue of the Library Established on Board H.M.S. Assistance." I discuss the presence of Melville's two novels in "Melville in the Arctic," *Leviathan* 20.1 (March 2018): 74-84.
- 46 Belcher, *The Last of the Arctic Voyages*, 1:19.
- 47 Accountant General's Record Book, 1852, l. 1179, 5 Apr. 1852, ADM 47/21, National Archives, London.
- 48 Seitz, *Polar Diaries*, 1901-5, 12 June 1903, MSS 244.
- 49 "Arctic Eagle Printed in Barren Polar Land," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (10 Sept. 1905): 3.
- 50 An example of some "Fialisms," parenthetical comments in the original:
- (After being told that a large mass of dog feces was in the water bbl).—"Let it go! It is too blamed much trouble to have it cleaned!"
- (After fainting)—"Why, this is strange! Just before coming away, I won over four strong men, one after the other, at fencing."
- "And at the banquet the General said that the only main in Troop 'C' whom he would be afraid to meet in personal combat, was Anthony Fiala."

“I will fight any man, upon the return of the Exped., with any weapon, from a saber to a cannon.”

“I’ll fight you all! I’ll fight you all!—But not on this Exped.”

(Speaking of the “Glory Hole”)—“Oh, my! How comfortable you are here! Why, you’ve the finest quarters in the ship!”

(To each individual member of the field party)—“You are the only man who will receive \$50 per mo. All the others have signed for \$25.”

“Oh, my! Isn’t the atmospheric scenery glorious!”

“I am the only male member of the ‘Ladies Aid Society.’”

“Fialisms,” in Shorkley Papers, I-4, Stef MSS 207. For a lively, detailed account of this expedition, see Capelotti’s *The Greatest Show in the Arctic*; Capelotti finds Shorkley to be an “uninformed malcontent” (406).

51 *Port Foulke Weekly News* 1 (11 Nov. 1860): 1–2.

52 Koldewey, *The German Arctic Expedition*, 377–78.

53 *Arctic Miscellanies*, xiii–xviii.

54 The following is a transcription of the advertisement:

The ARCTIC Printing Office

Messrs. Giffard & Symons beg to inform the Public that they have obtained—at an immense cost & with infinite trouble—possession of the extensive premises lately occupied by Mr Clements Markham situated in Trap Lane within half a minutes walk of the foremost Quarter Deck Ladder, and easily accessible to all parts of the City.

They have fitted up their new establishment—*regardless of expense*—with all the *latest inventions* and *newest machinery* to enable them to carry on the Noble Art of Printing in a Style & with a Rapidity hitherto quite unattainable.

They therefore expect from the Public that support & assistance which it always gives to the *truly deserving*.

Charges moderate. No credit given. All work required to be executed to be paid for in advance.

N.B. Everything undertaken promptly and correctly executed.

H.M.S. Alert.

July. 28. th.

1875.

(“The Arctic Printing Office,” May, Sir William Henry, Admiral of the Fleet, 1849–1930, May/13/2, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London)

55 Markham, *The Great Frozen Sea*, 189–90.

56 “The Arctic Printing Office.”

57 In Warner’s terms, “A public is always in excess of its known social basis. It must be more than a list of one’s friends. It must include strangers” (*Publics and Counter-publics*, 74).

- 58 *Port Foulke Weekly News* 1 (11 Nov. 1860): 1.
- 59 Elizabeth Leane gives a great taste of the twentieth-century Antarctic papers in “The Polar Press.” Stephanie Pfirman, an Arctic environmental scientist at Barnard College and Columbia University, told me, “On our Arctic expeditions today we always have a newsletter, and it’s always kept private. What goes [on] in the Arctic stays in the Arctic.” Conversation with the author, 16 Apr. 2016.
- 60 Pierre Berton’s *Arctic Grail*, for example, devotes a half-sentence to Arctic newspapers in nearly seven hundred pages of its narrative of Northwest Passage and North Pole quests. Douglas Wamsley’s comprehensively researched biography *Polar Hayes* mentions the *Port Foulke Weekly News* in four sentences out of 571 pages, and the paper does not make the volume’s index. Francis Spufford’s well-known *I May Be Some Time* invokes the *South Polar Times* of Robert Falcon Scott a handful of times. Fergus Fleming’s popular history of early nineteenth-century British exploration, *Barrow’s Boys*, devotes a few sentences to Parry’s *North Georgia Gazette* (judging it “downright appalling” for the quality of its puns) but does not otherwise mention shipboard printing or periodicals. Adriana Craciun’s book on the relationship between Arctic exploration and British print culture, *Writing Arctic Disaster*, devotes two paragraphs to printing in the region. *The Coldest Crucible*, Michael Robinson’s history of American Arctic exploration, doesn’t refer to expeditionary winter pastimes at all. Benjamin Reiss notes a similar curiosity in the relative disregard of an asylum newspaper, the *Opal*, in medical commentary by the asylum’s officials (*Theaters of Madness*, 34).
- 61 See in particular Hoag, “Caxtons of the North,” and “Shipboard Printing on the Franklin Search Expeditions”; Stam and Stam, “Bending Time”; Stam, “The Lord’s Librarians”; Leane, *The Adelie Blizzard* and *Antarctica in Fiction*.
- 62 Hoag, “Caxtons of the North,” 82.
- 63 In a model of digitally mediated scholarly exchange, the Arctic scholars Russell Potter and Elaine Hoag take up a conversation in the comments on Wilkins’s blog post, in which Potter proposes a possible source for the balloon message: a Virginian who served as an officer on an American Franklin search ship in 1850, some of whose family members’ papers appear in the Virginia Historical Society collections. Katerine Wilkins, “Message from a Balloon: How Did It Come to the vhs?,” *Virginia Historical Society’s Blog*, 4 Mar. 2013, <https://vahistorical.wordpress.com/2013/03/04/message-from-a-balloon-how-did-it-come-to-the-vhs/>.
- 64 I have also taken advantage of digitized records, when available, as such resources are relatively scarce for this type of material. Most North American and British archives have not digitized their manuscript and ephemeral printed polar holdings as of this writing, with the exception of Franklin search artifacts, which the UK’s National Maritime Museum has made available in its digital collections. My resources for archival travels have not yet enabled me to travel to Australia or New Zealand, the launching points for many Antarctic missions, both of which have rich Antarctic holdings; antipodean libraries have digitized a number of Antarctic holdings, however.

- 65 I am grateful to Michael Winship for this suggestion. Hoag, however, notes that the Admiralty provided expeditionary ships with paper in a variety of colors; see her excellent bibliographic account in “Caxtons of the North,” 93–94.
- 66 I am grateful to Fritz Swanson of the University of Michigan’s Wolverine Press for showing me examples of hand-carved wood type and advising me how to identify print made from such type.
- 67 For especially sharp discussion on archival incompleteness and its ideological and research implications, see Gardner, *Black Print Unbound*. The librarians with whom I have worked throughout this project have been unfailingly superb and helpful. When polar materials have been uncatalogued or hard to locate, this has been due to changing research and cataloguing interests over time, library resource scarcity, or my own deficiencies, not those of any archivists or librarians with whom I have consulted.
- 68 Harris, *Personal Impressions*, 11.
- 69 *The Boys and Girls Favorite* 1 (1874): 2.
- 70 “Our Printers,” *West Philadelphia Hospital Register* 1.2 (1863): 7. Each contributor to the paper received five free copies; one copy was allotted to every five patients, and extras cost two cents for soldiers and three cents for nonsoldiers. A year’s subscription was one dollar, and four hundred copies of each number were printed for Reading Room use. “The Library and Reading Room,” *West Philadelphia Hospital Register* 1.1 (1863): 2.
- 71 “The Library and Reading Room,” *West Philadelphia Hospital Register* 1.1 (1863): 2. The library at the hospital grew rapidly by charitable donation. As this same article documents, its holdings were diverse: “The Library at the present time consists of about 625 bound volumes, and about 900 Magazines and other unbound literature. We make our appeal to the benevolent public, in every part of the country, to send us Books in any language. It should be remembered, that we have Soldiers of different nations in our armies. They too, are found in our Hospital.” By the fifth number of the *West Philadelphia Hospital Register* there were 1,142 bound volumes and 1,300 unbound claimed for the library.
- 72 *West Philadelphia Hospital Register* 1.2 (1863): 6.
- 73 Reiss, *Theaters of Madness*, 28.
- 74 Foucault, “Of Other Spaces.”
- 75 Cohen, “The Emancipation of Boyhood.” Emphases in original.
- 76 *Shells and Seaweed* had a healthy pool of exchanges established by just its second number, as it documented in an article entitled “The Amateur’s Department”:

Twenty-one papers, besides all the city papers, are regularly received.

Telephone,	Premier,
Amateur Scientist,	American Sphinx,
Langill’s Leisure,	Our Compliments,
Boys’ Favorite,	Lake Breezes,
Amateur Emblem,	Radiator,

Boys' Folio,	Boys' Doings,
New Century,	Northern Breezes,
Times of '84,	Wise and Otherwise,
Progressive Youth,	Asteroid,
Fact and Fancy,	Huffman Amateur,
Nugget,	all have our thanks.

("The Amateur's Department," *Shells and Seaweed* 2 [May 1884]: 2)

- 77 *Shells and Seaweed* 1 (Apr. 1884): 3.
- 78 *Letters Written during the Late Voyage of Discovery in the Western Arctic Sea*, 59.
- 79 Craciun, *Writing Arctic Disaster*, 6.
- 80 See Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative*; Potter, *Arctic Spectacles*.
- 81 *Arctic Miscellanies*, xiii–xviii.
- 82 On sailor literacy and cultures of reading, see Blum, *The View from the Masthead*.
- 83 Markham, *The Great Frozen Sea*, 191.
- 84 Markham, *The Great Frozen Sea*, 169.
- 85 *Arctic Miscellanies*, 204–5.
- 86 Osborn, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal*, 153–54.
- 87 *Arctic Miscellanies*, xiii–xviii.
- 88 Markham, *Life of Admiral Sir Leopold McClintock*, 113.
- 89 Documents Relating to Arctic Expeditions, 343, ADM 7/195, National Archives, London.
- 90 "Education Sheet, [for/from] Giffard and Symons, MS 1815/28, Ephemera Collection, British Arctic Expedition of 1875–76, Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, University of Cambridge.
- 91 Kane, *Arctic Explorations*, 1:145. Neither I nor the other polar researchers and archivists with whom I have consulted have located a copy of the *Ice-Blink*.
- 92 Maguire, *The Journal of Rochfort Maguire*, 122.
- 93 Fiala, "Christmas Near the North Pole," 25.
- 94 *Arctic Eagle* 1.1 (1903): 2.
- 95 Preface to *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News*.
- 96 "Preface," *Arctic Miscellanies*, xxiii.
- 97 "Preface," *Arctic Miscellanies*, xxiv.
- 98 *Arctic Moon* 1.1 (1881): 1.
- 99 Preface to *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News*.
- 100 The "Native Dance" was conciliatory; its object was "to restore that amicable feeling with which [our neighbors of Noo-wook] have until lately regarded us . . . and, avoiding any just cause of offence, to inspire them with confidence in our friendly disposition towards them; so that, having no injuries to avenge, they may be induced to treat with kindness any of our countrymen belonging to Sir John Franklin's party, or to the Ships in search of him, who may fall into their hands in a defenceless state." Box 4, Miscellaneous Printed Material Nov. 1844–20 Jan. 1875, undated, Simpson Papers.

- 101 Maguire, *The Journal of Rochfort Maguire*, 112.
- 102 Advertisement, *Queen's Illuminated Magazine*, Material printed on HMS *Assistance*, MS 1481/1, 1852–54, Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, University of Cambridge.
- 103 Kane, *Arctic Explorations*, 2:14.
- 104 Nares, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Polar Sea*, 1:191.
- 105 *Arctic Expedition, 1875–6*, 73. Writing of that same expedition, Albert Markham recalled:

The sun . . . took its final departure on the 11th of October. From this date darkness gradually settled upon us, reaching its greatest intensity on the 21st of December. The type of a leading article in the *Times* newspaper was taken by us as a test of the darkness. This was last read in the open air at mid-day on the 6th of November, and then only by a few with a great deal of difficulty. Many unsuccessful attempts were made on subsequent days. (*The Great Frozen Sea*, 203)

- 106 Moss, *Shores of the Polar Sea*, 45.
- 107 Nansen, *Farthest North*, 1:382.
- 108 Blake, *Arctic Experiences*, 257–58. Emphasis in original.
- 109 Nansen, *Farthest North*, 2:395.
- 110 *Arctic Miscellanies*, xviii.
- 111 Belcher, *The Last of the Arctic Voyages*, 1:188. Extreme weather could be an issue for passenger liners engaged in shipboard newspapers. The *Makura Journal* of the Canadian Australasian Line, en route to Sydney from Vancouver, offered an apology to readers of its fourth number for the paper's appearance: "It was with difficulty that it was printed at all, for the equatorial heat made the rollers of the press like jelly." The *Makura Journal* was edited and published by two passengers and was offered "free as the air of the Pacific Ocean." "With Apologies to The Boston Journal. En Route Vancouver to Sydney," 1.4 (1909): 1.
- 112 *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News* 1 (31 Oct. 1850): 4.
- 113 *The Blizzard* 1 (May 1902): 2. MS 859, Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, University of Cambridge.
- 114 *Arctic Miscellanies*, 204–5.
- 115 Greely, *Three Years of Arctic Service*, 1:180.
- 116 *Weekly Guy* 7 (17 Dec. 1852): 26–27.
- 117 "Editorial," *Port Foulke Weekly News* 1.3 (1860): 1. Hayes invokes the Biblical story from the Book of Daniel, in which mysterious writing appears on the wall of the Babylonian king Belshazzar's palace. Daniel interprets "MENE, MENE, TEKEL UPHARSIN" as a warning that the king's dynasty will fall.
- 118 Photographs scrapbook, Anton M. Vedoe Papers, 1895–1963, MSS 233, Box 3, Stefansson Collection, Dartmouth College.
- 119 Peary, *The North Pole*, 180.
- 120 Markham, *The Great Frozen Sea*, 208–9.

- 121 Stam, "The Lord's Librarians."
- 122 Peary, *The North Pole*, 179–80.
- 123 Nansen, *Farthest North*, 1:382.
- 124 For more on Arctic shipboard theatricals, see note 12.
- 125 The manuscript copy of the *North Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle* (which was entitled *New Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle* before the expedition learned that a northern land had already been named New Georgia), held in the Scott Polar Research Institute, includes the script of *The North West Passage or Voyage Finished*, which was not included in the version of the *North Georgia Gazette* that was printed upon the expedition's return to London in 1821. *New Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle*, MS 438/12, Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, University of Cambridge.
- 126 Here is a fuller plot summary of the *Pantomime of Zero*:

This talented and original piece was composed expressly for this theatre (Royal Arctic); and abounds in wit and humour. Turning all the dangers and inconveniences to which we are exposed in these inhospitable climates into evil spirits that are leagued against us, it supposes them continually watching every opportunity to surprise an unfortunate travelling party, till at length their power is destroyed by the appearance of the more puissant good spirits, Sun and Daylight. Then the metamorphosis takes place: the good spirits become Harlequin and Columbine, and frosty old Zero, who has all along been the leader of the evil spirits, is changed into First Clown; a bear, which had been for some time prowling about, was then fired at, and falling to pieces, discovers Pantaloon and Second Clown. Then commences the pantomime of fun and frolic, which was carried on with great spirit by the two Clowns and Pantaloon, while they were at intervals relieved by the graceful and elegant *pas de deux* of Harlequin and Columbine. Several songs, alluding to the Expedition, its purposes and position were also introduced. (*Arctic Miscellanies*, 204–5)

- 127 Markham, *The Great Frozen Sea*, 244.
- 128 British Arctic Expedition of 1875–76, MS 1479, Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, University of Cambridge.
- 129 Ship's surgeon Alexander Fisher notes of a performance of *The North West Passage: or, the Voyage Finished* that the temperature "was as low as 19° during the whole time; but the pleasure they derived from seeing a scene exhibiting their own character in so favourable a point of view, completely overcame any inconvenience they may have suffered from the state of the weather" (*A Journal of a Voyage of Discovery*, 165–66).
- 130 *Arctic Miscellanies*, 204–5.
- 131 *Port Foulke Weekly News* 1.1 (1860): 4–5.
- 132 Hayes, *The Open Polar Sea*, 184.

- 133 A descendent of the expedition's sailing master, Samuel Jarvis McCormick, has generously provided me with transcripts of his ancestor's diary, *An Abstract of a Journal in the Arctic Ocean during the Years of 1860 and 61* by F L Harris, *U.S. Navy*, as well as the diaries of Steward Francis L. Harris and Seaman Harvey Scott Heywood, also of the *United States*. McCormick's journal reveals his distrust of Dodge's competency, and Harris's journal in particular documents over and over Dodge's extreme intoxication (and the abuse of alcohol in general aboard ship). Here are some selections from Harris's diary: "The 2nd mate Dodge had been in the navy as an ordinary seaman and could boast of how many floggings he had for smuggling liquor and getting drunk, which he fully demonstrated by getting beastly drunk every opportunity, even stealing the liquor to carry out his purposes, as he was not possessed with any manly courage"; "Dodge was so badly intoxicated that he did not remember of having his supper"; "Dodge steals liquor and gets beastly intoxicated"; "Dodge feels that he has been neglected and swears revenge because he is not allowed free access to the liquor"; "Dodge gets gloriously drunk"; "All winds up in a drunken frolics. Dodge is number one on that list"; "At 2 am. Mr Dodge yells out at the top of his voice that he can not get rum enough to make him drunk"; "Dodge being to drunk [sic] to sleep attempts to pick a quarrel with some of the men." I am indebted to Thomas Walker for sharing these journals with me.
- 134 *Port Foulke Weekly News* 1.3 (1860): 8–9.
- 135 See Blum, *The View from the Masthead*; Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea*.

2. Arctic News

Epigraphs: Pynchon, *Mason and Dixon*, 123; Henry Dodge, "Literature," *Port Foulke Weekly News* 1.3 (1860): 9, New-York Historical Society.

- 1 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35.
- 2 Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative*; Craciun, *Writing Arctic Disaster*; Keighren et al., *Travels into Print*. See also Potter, *Arctic Spectacles*.
- 3 The original manuscript version was entitled *New Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle*, after the land that Parry named "New Georgia." Upon the expedition's return, however, Parry discovered that there already was a New Georgia, so the name of the land and of the gazette was changed in future iterations to "North Georgia." Henceforth all references to the paper were to the *North Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle*.

A note on sources: The *North Georgia Gazette* was printed as an appendix to Parry's journal of the voyage. When I quote from the printed version, I refer to the pagination in Parry's journal as well as the periodical's number. Elsewhere in this chapter I cite the manuscript version of the *New Georgia Gazette*, which contains material that is not printed in the North Georgia version in Parry's journal; when I refer to the manuscript version, I cite the newspaper's number, as there is no pagination in the manuscript version.

- 4 Parry, *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage*, 99.
- 5 *North Georgia Gazette*, vi.
- 6 A manuscript copy of the *New Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle*, MS 438/12, held at the Scott Polar Research Institute at the University of Cambridge identifies the anonymous contributors to the newspaper.
- 7 These categories were not necessarily trifling. The genre of the riddle, as David Shields has written, presumes an audience “something more than witless”; as such, riddles “could be considered the citizenship exam for membership in the republic of letters” (*Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America*, 162).
- 8 The few reviewers who commented on the *North Georgia Gazette* accepted this cue, noting that standard critical energies would be inappropriate. One review explained, “Though the volume before us has a claim beyond that of most, if not of all others, that we have ever perused, to be excepted from the severities, and even the justice of criticism; we may be permitted equally to admire and eulogize those compositions, which sprang into existence amidst the regions of eternal frost.” The only complaint of most reviewers was the high half-guinea price for the volume. Review of *North Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle*, *European Magazine, and London Review* 79 (June 1821): 541.
- 9 A manuscript edition of the newspaper that Parry later gave to his sister is preserved at the Scott Polar Research Institute. Parry’s copy was written in ink but has been corrected with penciled annotations (including a number of grammatical or minor stylistic emendations), presumably in his hand. The most visible editorial marks indicate the excision of a good number of letters, articles, and other pieces for the newspaper. In some examples individual paragraphs are crossed out; in most, the penciled hand strikes through whole contributions. In several instances the word “omit” has been written at the head of an entry. In all cases but one the omissions proposed in the manuscript paper were indeed left out of the printed version. *New Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle*, MS 438/12, Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, University of Cambridge.
- 10 This degree of rank-based exclusivity would be significantly smaller in the polar publications in the decades to come.
- 11 “A Journal of a Voyage of Discovery to the Arctic Regions, in his Majesty’s Ship Hecla and Griper, in the years 1819 and 1820,” *Gentleman’s Magazine* (May 1821): 99.
- 12 Fisher, *A Journal of a Voyage of Discovery*, 152.
- 13 “Literary Notices,” *Examiner* 14 (3 June 1821): 348. Cavell and Craciun note that competitive journalistic and publishing pressures affected the reviews of Parry’s narrative and of the *Chronicle* printing.
- 14 The play, *The Revolutionary Philanthropist* [sic], or *The Hecatomb of Haiti*, was composed aboard the prison ship by a French prisoner of war. Theatre bill for H.M. Prison ship “Crown,” 1807, Newspapers and Playbills, THP/1, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.
- 15 *Flight of the Plover* 1 (1 Mar. 1848): 1.

- 16 Hoag, "Caxtons of the North," 85–87. Hoag notes how scant and lacking in detail Admiralty records are in identifying precisely what models of presses were sent to the Arctic aboard the various search expeditions; mentions of "a small press" are the most specific the surviving records can be. None of the presses that traveled to the Arctic survives or has been identified to date; they may have been requisitioned for other uses. On the cairn messages left by the *Plover*, with their occasional address to the Inuit, see chapter 4.
- 17 The finding aid for the manuscript newspaper in Duke University's special collections describes this manuscript version as "the handwritten proofs of *The Flight of the Plover or North Pole Charivari*, the newsletter that Simpson printed while aboard the *Plover*," which would make it the first printed Arctic newspaper. I suspect that this finding aid is in error, however, as there are no other printed materials extant from this particular expedition, although much printed matter, including the printed newspaper *Weekly Guy*, has been collected from the *Plover*'s subsequent voyage in 1852 (which I imagine is the source of the finding aid's confusion). Guide to the John Simpson Papers.
- 18 *Flight of the Plover* I (1 Mar. 1848): 1.
- 19 Albert Hastings Markham notes that as of the month of June the Nares Expedition's press had been long dismantled for the season: "The return of the sledge travelers was celebrated, on the 29th of June, by the best dinner we could afford to put on the table. As our printing-press had long been dismantled, a written menu was given to myself and Aldrich as the leaders of the two extended sledge parties" (*The Great Frozen Sea*, 377).
- 20 *Flight of the Plover* I (1 Mar. 1848): 1–2.
- 21 Markham, *The Great Frozen Sea*, 326; Greeley, *Three Years of Arctic Service*, 2:201–2; "A Catalogue of the Library Established on Board H.M.S. *Assistance*, Captain Sir Edward Belcher, C.B., Commanding the Arctic Squadron in Search of Sir John Franklin and His Companions: Printed & Published on Board H.M.S. *Assistance*, Wellington Channel, Arctic regions, H. Briant, Printer, 1853," Arctic Pamphlets, 1852–54, courtesy Royal Geographical Society (with IBG), handwritten ships' newspaper (on blue paper) for HMS *Assistance*, "Aurora Borealis," Baffin Bay, June 1850, HRR/4/10, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.
- 22 According to the *OED*, the British expression "to take the piss," or to deride, does not come into use until the mid-twentieth century, but "piss on," or to show scorn, is in use beginning in the seventeenth century.
- 23 *Flight of the Plover* I (1 Mar. 1848): 1.
- 24 *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News* I (31 Oct. 1850): 1.
- 25 Regarding indigenous communication networks, Claudio Aporta, Michael Bravo, and Fraser Taylor have created an extraordinary digital atlas of Inuit Arctic trails: *Pan Inuit Trails*, <http://paninuittrails.org/>.
- 26 *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News* I (31 Oct. 1850): 5.
- 27 Markham, *The Great Frozen Sea*, 5.

- 28 *Arctic Expedition, 1875–6*, 464.
- 29 Markham, *The Great Frozen Sea*, 188–89.
- 30 Nansen, *Farthest North*, 1:277–80. A manuscript edition of the *Framsjaa* in the original Norwegian is located in the National Library of Norway.
- 31 *Queen's Illuminated Magazine* 1.1 (28 Oct. 1852): 2–3. Note: the bound copy in the British Library has inconsistent and often contradictory page numbering; in subsequent citations, I give both numbers where available.
- 32 Markham, *The Great Frozen Sea*, 188–89.
- 33 Craciun devotes attention to the collectivity of London-published official Arctic voyage accounts in *Writing Arctic Disaster*, chapter 2.
- 34 *Midnight Sun* 1.1 (1901): 2.
- 35 “Arctic Eagle Printed in Barren Polar Land,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (10 Sept. 1905): 3.
- 36 Rudy, “Floating Worlds.” See also Rudy’s book *Imagined Homelands*.
- 37 “Songs of the North,” *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News* 1 (31 Oct. 1850): 3.
- 38 “The Epilogue, at the Close of the Season, at the Royal Arctic Theatre,” MS 1482/1–3; D Playbills, 1851 [Printed in HMS *Assistance*], Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, University of Cambridge.
- 39 “Prologue, Spoken at the Re-Opening of the Arctic Theatre, on Thursday, 18th November, 1875,” Printed Programmes of Theatrical Entertainment, Museum Register 995, Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, University of Cambridge.
- 40 British Arctic Expedition of 1875–76.
- 41 Markham notebook, GB 15 British Arctic Expedition of 1875–76, MS 396/1; BJ, Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, University of Cambridge.
- 42 “Stray Shots,” *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News* 1 (31 Oct. 1850): 7.
- 43 See Rudy, “Floating Worlds” and *Imagined Homelands*.
- 44 “The Ravings,” *Arctic Eagle* 1.3 (1903): 4.
- 45 *Weekly Guy* 3 (19 Nov. 1852): 10–12.
- 46 Hirsch, *A Poet's Glossary*, 514.
- 47 Kenn Harper, a historian of the Canadian Arctic and of the Inuit, recommends the spelling “Qalasersuaq” in keeping with modern Greenlandic orthography. Email correspondence with Kenn Harper, 10 July 2018.
- 48 Murray, *Kalli, the Esquimaux Christian*, 15.
- 49 “Arctic Highlanders” was the descriptor given to the Inughuit or Greenlandic Inuit by the British Arctic explorer John Ross in 1818.
- 50 “From Erasmus York, of the Arctic Highlands, to the Editor of the Aurora Borealis,” *Arctic Miscellanies* 5 (Dec. 1850): 91–92.
- 51 *Queen's Illuminated Magazine*, MS 2 [28].
- 52 *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News*, 8.
- 53 “To the Editor of the Aurora Borealis,” *Arctic Miscellanies* 4 (Nov. 1850): 51.
- 54 “To the Editor of the Aurora Borealis,” *Arctic Miscellanies* 3 (Oct. 1850): 24.
- 55 *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News*, 10.
- 56 *Midnight Sun* 1.1 (1901): 1.
- 57 *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News*, 10.

58 “The State of the Country,” *Port Foulke Weekly News* 1.1 (1860): 3–4. The second mate Dodge writes:

Our domestic policy remains undisturbed. The provinces, and cities of our dominions are some of them in a flourishing conditions. Of others we have unhappily less encouraging information. The neighboring colony Etah has become ours by right of conquest, but upon taking possession of the capital, we found, to our mortification, that it was inhabited only by an old woman and boy,—both dead. They were immediately secured. . . .

We are living in harmony with the Bears. We are not disturbed by the Bulls (Wall St or otherwise.) A war has been successfully waged against the Reindeer, but they have beat a retreat, and an armistice alike honorable to both parties, has been declared. The foxes continue to despise our traps, on which account war will be declared. (3–4)

- 59 *Arctic Moon* 1.1 (1881): 3–4, Adolphus Greely Papers, 1876–1973, Stefansson Collection, Dartmouth College.
- 60 *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News*, 9.
- 61 *Queen’s Illuminated Magazine*, MS 25.
- 62 *Arctic Eagle* 1.3 (1903): 1.
- 63 *Queen’s Illuminated Magazine*, MS 8.
- 64 *Arctic Eagle* 1.3 (1903): 5.
- 65 See chapter 1, note 133 on Dodge’s habitual intoxication. He was a skilled writer for the *Port Foulke Weekly News* in any event.
- 66 “Wanted Immediately,” *Arctic Miscellanies* 5 (Dec. 1850): 129.
- 67 “Nuts for the Arctic Public,” *Arctic Miscellanies* 5 (Dec. 1850): 131.
- 68 “Thursday Pops” (10 Feb. 1876), Printed Programmes of Theatrical Entertainment, Museum Register 995, Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, University of Cambridge.
- 69 Markham, *The Life of Sir Clements R. Markham*, 122.
- 70 Belcher, *The Last of the Arctic Voyages*, 1:187.
- 71 *Our Lost Explorers*, 284; *The Arctic Moon*, Adolphus Greely Papers, II-20.1.
- 72 Royal Terror Theatre, 6 Aug. 1902, “Dishcover Minstrel Troupe” Programme, Stefansson Collection, Dartmouth College. For more on blackface minstrel performances in the polar regions, see Tomasz Filip Mossakowski, “‘The Sailors Dearly Love To Make Up’: Cross-Dressing and Blackface during Polar Exploration” (PhD diss., Kings College London, 2015).
- 73 *Arctic Eagle* 1.3 (1903): 2.
- 74 Ross, *A Voyage of Discovery*, 236–37.
- 75 *North Georgia Gazette* MS 438/12.
- 76 Entry, 11 Sept. 1861, in Heywood, *The Arctic Diary*. I am indebted to Thomas Walker for sharing these journals with me and for giving me permission to quote from them.
- 77 Peary had two children by Allakasingwah or Alaqaasinguaq: Samik or Saamik and Kale or Kaale. Matthew Henson’s son Anaukkaq eventually met his relatives

- at a reunion of American and Inuit Hensons in the United States shortly before he died in 1987 at the age of 80. The efforts of Allan Counter, who studied black explorers, helped bring Henson's achievements into wider attention. Email correspondence with Kenn Harper, 10 July 2018; see also Counter, *North Pole Promise*.
- 78 The primary target of Coleridge's poem, which was published in *News of Literature and Fashion* in 1825, is the publisher John Murray; a subsequent stanza describes bookmaking as the point of polar expeditions: "Captain Parry! Captain Parry! / Thy vocation stops not here: / Thou must dine with Mr. Murray / And a quarto must appear" ("Captain Parry," in *The Collected Works*, 1035–38). See also Cavell, "Making Books for Mr Murray," 61.
- 79 Arctic Exploration Letterbook, Elisha Kent Kane Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
- 80 *Queen's Illuminated Magazine*, MS 11 [15–16].
- 81 Markham, *The Arctic Navy List*, iv–v.
- 82 Markham, *The Arctic Navy List*, 4.
- 83 Roland Huntford's description of Markham's homosexuality has received the angriest response to date, which may be related to his sharp criticism of Markham's preference for man-hauling over the use of sled dogs, which Huntford judged outdated and disastrous. Huntford, *Scott and Amundsen*. Others have resorted to the long-standing historiographical canard of "no evidence"; see, for example, David Crane's book on Robert Falcon Scott, in which he concedes that Markham was attracted to men but concludes improbably that there is "not a shred of evidence" that he acted on his desires (*Scott of the Antarctic*, 62).
- 84 Henry P. Hartt to George Shorkley, 22 Mar. 1905, Box 1, Folder 8, Papers of George Shorkley, Stefansson Collection, Dartmouth College. P. J. Capelotti documents a chronic anal fissure from which Hartt suffered and suggests that its causes "ranged from the restricted diet, the more or less constant drinking, or from the homosexual activity Hartt would later hint at in his correspondence" (*The Greatest Show in the Arctic*, 422).
- 85 Quoted in Leane, *Antarctica in Fiction*, 99.
- 86 C. W. Emmerson, "The Arctic Twins," British Arctic Expedition of 1875–76, MS 1479.
- 87 Bradfield, "Against Solitude," in *Approaching Ice*.
- 88 [Herbert Ponting], "The Sleeping Bag," *South Polar Times* 3.1 (1911): 43.
- 89 Sex between men at sea can be a form of situational homosexuality, or the practice of homosexual acts when there is no opportunity for heterosexual practice, such as is found in the military, in boarding schools, and in prisons. As a naval saying summarizes homosexuality at sea, "It's only queer when you're tied to the pier."
- 90 *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News*, preface.
- 91 *Queen's Illuminated Magazine*, MS n.p.
- 92 *Queen's Illuminated Magazine*, MS 40.
- 93 "Nuts for the Arctic Public," *Arctic Miscellanies* 5 (Dec. 1850): 131.
- 94 *Weekly Guy* 6 (14 Jan. 1852): 42.

95 This is the full transcription provided by Nansen:

Up and down on a night so cold,
Kvirre virre vip, bom, bom,
Walk harpooner and kennelman bold,
Kvirre virre vip, bom, bom,
Our kennelman swings, I need hardly tell,
Kvirre virre vip, bom, bom,
The long, long lash you know so well,
Kvirre virre vip, bom, bom,
Our harpooner, he is a man of light,
Kvirre virre vip, bom, bom,
A burning lantern he grasps tight,
Kvirre virre vip, bom, bom,
They as they walk the time beguile,
Kvirre virre vip, bom, bom,
With tales of bears and all their wile,
Kvirre virre vip, bom, bom,

“Now suddenly a bear they see,
Kvirre virre vip, bom, bom,
Before whom all the dogs do flee,
Kvirre virre vip, bom, bom,
Kennelman, like a deer, runs fast,
Kvirre virre vip, bom, bom,
Harpooner slow comes in the last,
Kvirre virre vip, bom, bom,
and so on. (*Farthest North*, 304–6)

- 96 Anton M. Vedoe Papers, 1895–1963, MSS 233, Box 2, Folder 11, Stefansson Collection, Dartmouth College. The smelly shipmate was Eddie Coffin; the crew member with a “spongy and thin” pecker was likely the first mate, Edward Haven, who hailed from Lynn, Massachusetts.
- 97 Markham, *The Life of Sir Clements R. Markham*, 120–21. According to the *OED*, “manavilins” is nautical slang for odds and ends and usually refers to leftover scraps of food.
- 98 Hoag, “Caxtons of the North,” 111n69.
- 99 Markham, *The Life of Sir Clements R. Markham*, 122.
- 100 *Arctic Miscellanies* 3 (Oct. 1850): 23.
- 101 Koldewey, *The German Arctic Expedition of 1869–70*, 391.
- 102 *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News*, 21.
- 103 Maguire, *The Journal of Rochfort Maguire*, 305.
- 104 *Arctic Moon* 1.1 (1881): 4.
- 105 *Weekly Guy* 6 (17 Dec. 1852): 28.
- 106 *Weekly Guy* 10 (7 Jan. 1853): 40.

- 107 *Discovery News* (27 Nov. 1875): 1.
 108 *Discovery News* (6 Dec. 1875): 1.
 109 Henry Dodge, "The Grumbler," *Port Foulke Weekly News* 1.7 (1860).
 110 Dodge, "The Grumbler," *Port Foulke Weekly News* 1.7 (1860); Dodge, "The Grumbler," *Port Foulke Weekly News* 1.6 (1860).
 111 Dodge, "The Grumbler," *Port Foulke Weekly News* 1.6 (1860).
 112 *Port Foulke Weekly News* 1.1 (11 Nov. 1860).
 113 Hayes, *The Open Polar Sea*, 179–80.

3. Antarctic Imprints

Epigraph: [Edward Frederick Bage], "To the Editor," *Adelie Blizzard* 1.3 (1913): 90.

- 1 Murray and Marston, *Antarctic Days*, 15.
- 2 A comprehensive bibliography is kept at the website Antarctic Circle, coordinated by Robert B. Stephenson: <http://www.antarctic-circle.org/aurora.details.htm>.
- 3 While many scholars today observe a strict distinction between the North and South Polar regions, for important geological, political, and sociological reasons, some of the most prominent Western explorers of the long nineteenth century ventured to both ends of the earth (John Clark Ross, George Nares, Jean-Baptiste Charcot, Roald Amundsen, plus Edmund Hillary).
- 4 [Louis Bernacci], "When One Goes Forth a Voyaging, He Has a Tale to Tell—," *South Polar Times* 2.6 (1903): 21. "Poodle-faker" is British military slang for a young officer who devotes excessive attention to the social world of young ladies.
- 5 [Reginald Koettlitz], "Polar Plant Life," *South Polar Times* 1.1 (1902): 13–15.
- 6 "100 Year Old Fruitcake Found," Antarctic Heritage Trust, <https://www.nzaht.org/pages/100-year-old-fruit-cake-found-in-antarcticas-oldest-building#>.
- 7 Leane and Pharaoh, "Introduction," *Adelie Blizzard*, xii.
- 8 Superb bibliographic information on the book is available here: "Aurora Australis Production Details," Antarctic Circle, http://www.antarctic-circle.org/aurora_production.htm.
- 9 Murray and Marston, *Antarctic Days*, 106.
- 10 Shackleton, *The Heart of the Antarctic*, 131–32.
- 11 "Details on Copies of the *Aurora Australis*," Antarctic Circle, <http://www.antarctic-circle.org/aurora.details.htm>. The copies I have examined that contain stencils (not all I have seen do)—the "butter," "oatmeal," "pates," "fruit," and "stewed kidneys" editions—are held in the following institutions, respectively: Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge; Stefansson Collection, Dartmouth College; Columbia University; Huntington Library; John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.
- 12 "To Let," *Adelie Mail and Cape Adare Times* (1911–12): n.p.
- 13 "Mining Properties for Sale," *Adelie Blizzard* 1.4 (1913): 168.
- 14 Title page, *Adelie Blizzard* 1.1 (1913).

- 15 Gillis and Chang, “Scientists Warn of Rising Oceans from Polar Melt.” More recently climate scientists have updated their models to stipulate an even faster melting scenario than originally predicted. A summary of these findings appears in Gillis, “Climate Model Predicts West Antarctic Ice Sheet Could Melt Rapidly.”
- 16 Peggy Nelson, “About Me,” <https://eshackleton.com/about-me/>.
- 17 Comparing the tactics of Nordic to British expeditions has been a common theme in histories of Antarctic exploration, most notably in the 1912–13 “race to the pole” undertaken by the Norwegian Roald Amundsen and the Briton Robert Falcon Scott. Amundsen was the first to reach the Pole; Scott and his companions died. Amundsen skied to the South Pole, using sled dogs as both transportation and food; Scott and his team “man-hauled” their sledges, laden with rocks for scientific collection, and froze to death twelve miles from a supply depot. For the most Scott-critical account, see Huntford, *The Last Place on Earth*. For defenses of Scott’s tactics, see Fiennes, *Captain Scott*; Solomon, *The Coldest March*.
- 18 The quotations in this paragraph are taken from Ernest Shackleton, <http://twitter.com/EShackleton>, on the following dates: 1 March 2014, 11:00 a.m.; 14 May 2014, 1:00 p.m., 2:00 p.m., and 3:00 p.m.; 6 June 2011, 7:17 a.m.; 14 May 2014, 9:30 a.m., 10:00 a.m., and 12:00 p.m.
- 19 Hamilton, *America’s Sketchbook*, 27.
- 20 Aston, *Alone in Antarctica*, 183–84.
- 21 Shackleton, *South*, 211. The Shackleton phantom man is thought to be the source of the following moment in T. S. Eliot’s “The Waste Land”:

Who is the third who walks always beside you?
 When I count, there are only you and I together
 But when I look ahead up the white road
 There is always another one walking beside you
 Gliding wrapt in a brown mantle, hooded
 I do not know whether a man or a woman
 But who is that on the other side of you? (68)

- 22 Scott, *Scott’s Last Expedition*, 1:136.
- 23 Scott, *Scott’s Last Expedition*, 2:408.
- 24 Jacobson, “Desiring Natures.”
- 25 They are interested in books of travel, magazines, and nautical writing; other than Marryat and Dickens, he reports, novels are not much in favor. Scott, *The Voyage of the “Discovery,”* 297.
- 26 [Apsley Cherry-Garrard], “Editorial,” *South Polar Times* 3.1 (1911): 1.
- 27 Prospectus, *South Polar Times*, MS 366/16/34, ER.
- 28 Prospectus, *South Polar Times*.
- 29 Scott, *The Voyage of the “Discovery,”* 311.
- 30 Scott, *The Voyage of the “Discovery,”* 362.
- 31 Armitage, *Two Years in the Antarctic*, 88.
- 32 Scott, “Preface,” v–vi.

- 33 [Ernest Shackleton], "The South Polar Times," *South Polar Times* 1.1 (1902): 1.
- 34 The large Antarctic volcanoes Erebus and Terror were named after his ships by James Clark Ross in 1841 during his expedition to the southern continent; Ross sailed on the very ships *Erebus* and *Terror* that a decade later would be abandoned to the ice by Sir John Franklin's men in 1847 and recovered on the Arctic seafloor in 2014 and 2016.
- 35 [*South Polar Times*], Draft Editorial by Ernest Shackleton, 23 April 1902, MS 1537/2/51/17, Scott Polar Research Institute Archives, University of Cambridge. The strikethroughs are Shackleton's.
- 36 [*South Polar Times*], Draft Editorial by Ernest Shackleton.
- 37 Scott, "Preface," *South Polar Times*, vi. Emphasis added.
- 38 Sea Leopard [Arthur Lester Quartley], "South Pole Volunteers," *South Polar Times* 2.6 (1903): 14. The Arctic commander George Nares, it should be noted, had also missed the "outer world," the land of "home" and "friends" (Nares, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 2:175).
- 39 [Ernest Shackleton], Editorial, *South Polar Times* 1.2 (1902): 2.
- 40 Nordenskjöld and Andersson, *Antarctica or Two Years amongst the Ice of the South Pole*, 186.
- 41 "The Evolution of Women," *Adelie Blizzard* 1.1 (1913): 20.
- 42 Lisa Mastro and Jim Mastro, "Life in Antarctica," *Antarctica Online*, <http://www.antarcticaonline.com/culture/culture.htm>.
- 43 "Editorial: Marooned," *Adelie Blizzard* 1.1 (1913): 1.
- 44 M. P. Shiel's *The Purple Cloud* (1901) also has affinities with the genre. The notion of a hollow earth is one of the constitutive tenets of Mormonism; Joseph Smith believed that the Lost Israelites were located in a balmy land at the North Pole, beyond the reach of ice. In addition to Smith's writings, there are nineteenth-century Mormon hollow earth writings by LDS Elders, such as *The Inner World* (1886) by Frederick Culmer. Some late nineteenth-century explorers claimed the native inhabitants they encountered in northern Canada spoke Hebrew. For lively if uneven histories of hollow earth theories and fictions, see Standish, *Hollow Earth*, and Fitting, *Subterranean Worlds*. See also my "John Cleves Symmes and the Planetary Reach of Polar Exploration."
- 45 The circular in which Symmes first detailed his ideas appeared in U.S. newspapers in April 1818 and was addressed "TO ALL THE WORLD!" Symmes's language in his first brief manifesto relies more on the rhetoric of personal conviction than that of scientific theory or even scientific speculation. "I declare the earth is hollow," Symmes writes in the circular. "I pledge my life in support of this truth, and am ready to explore the hollow, if the world will support and aid me in the undertaking." The planned exploration should involve "one hundred brave companions, well equipped, [who will] start from Siberia in the fall season, with Reindeer and slays, on the ice of the frozen sea. . . . I engage we find warm and rich land, stocked with thrifty vegetables and animals if not men." Symmes, "Light Gives Light."
- 46 For a review of theories on this deathbed utterance, see Peebles, *The Afterlife of Edgar Allan Poe*.

- 47 Vilhjamur Stefansson, "The Hollow Earth," 17 March 1954, Unpublished Articles by Stefansson, Box 68, Folder 24, Stefansson Collection, Dartmouth College.
- 48 [Seaborn], *Symzonia*, vi.
- 49 John C. Symmes, Letter to Elisha Kent Kane, 20 Oct. 1857, Elisha Kent Kane Papers, Series I, MSS.B.K132, Box 10, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
- 50 De Mille, *A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder*, 9, 56.
- 51 Symmes, "Light Gives Light."
- 52 [Frank Wild], "Leaves from an Ancient Papyrus," *South Polar Times* 2.7 (1903): 32.
- 53 See, for example, the case of George Murray Levick's photographic notebook in the introduction.
- 54 [Frank Wild], "An Old Document," *South Polar Times* 1.4 (1902): 13.
- 55 [Wild], "Leaves from an Ancient Papyrus," 32.
- 56 [Frank Wild], "Hieroglyphic Record," *South Polar Times* 2.8 (1903): 28.
- 57 [Wild], "Hieroglyphic Record," 30. Wild would also produce "An Ancient Manuscript" in the book *Aurora Australis*, writing there under the pen name Wand Erer; that contribution was an epic tale of Shackleton's fundraising for the *Nimrod* voyage, written in the King James style.
- 58 [Thomas Griffith Taylor], "A Chapter on Antarctic History," *South Polar Times* 3.1 (1911): 8, 14–15.
- 59 [George Clarke Simpson], "Fragments of a Manuscript Found by the People of Sirius 8 When They Visited the Earth during the Exploration of the Solar System," *South Polar Times* 3.2 (1911): 75. Here is the full story (ellipses in original):

I know not why I write for there will be none to read; but the history of the human race since the dawn of civilisation has been written, and I feel impelled to set down the manner of the end. With this intent The great intellectual activity which had its dawn in the Victorian age was followed by a reaction resulting in a desire for nothing but luxury and self-indulgence human race had become almost uniform and there were no barbarian tribes to overrun and destroy the effeminate the pains of motherhood and the responsibilities of parentage only by the most stringent laws could the birthrate be kept even approximately equal to the deathrate, although the latter, by largely increased medical knowledge, was greatly reduced from what it had been previously. The personal habits large towns and solitary country resorts. Only in a few places were the sciences and arts cultivated, and the great libraries containing the results of the fervid striving after knowledge, which had been characteristic of the previous ages, were deserted and given over to oblivion and decay. The Science of medicine was the only one which continued to be pursued with vigour, and this was mainly with the object of reducing the deathrate. The love of truth for its own sake had departed.

. thousand students. Its large medical laboratory was a scene of the greatest excitement. After years of study and experiment, Professor Archibald B. Clarence discovered the Elixir of Life. He was a proud man

and the highest honours in the land were showered upon him liquid was of crystal clearness, but had the faintest fluorescent glow, which gave it exquisite colours when agitated it was the production of great extremes of temperature electric furnace liquid air the demand was beyond the supply. No sufficiently large source of energy with the requisite fall of temperature could be found remained the privilege of the few and these the ruling classes.

. volcanoes. The energy was sufficient, but the fall of temperature was just short of that required bookworm, loved to retire to his study with the geographical books of the twentieth century “The Voyage of the Discovery” “The Heart of the Antarctic” “The Conquest of the South Pole” Erebus”

The ice-bound shores of McMurdo Sound became the centre of the world. From it flowed the life-giving fluid which alone sustained the human race. Death was entirely banished, and the race once more became flourishing. The laws which had maintained the birthrate were no longer of vital importance and were gradually allowed to lapse so that within a few countries the birthrate again equalled the deathrate and both were nil! decrease in the number of blizzards, failure of the Ross Sea to freeze, absence of very low temperatures on the Barrier bitterly regretted their failure to keep Meteorological records records of the British Antarctic expedition were unearthed from the highest shelves of the lumber rooms of the libraries and were perused with avidity the great question of the day was, Does climate change? The greatest authority, the Physiographer of the Expedition 1910–12 was quoted. He took for granted that ice age succeeded tropical age, and tropical age succeeded ice age could be no doubt, the temperature was no longer sufficiently low to allow of the production of the Elixir I, the writer of this record, am the last of the race, and soon I must follow the companions who have lived with me through the many centuries since the Elixir was discovered. My dying thoughts are of the folly which neglected the teachings of the Scientists of the British Antarctic Expedition 1910–12. (75–78)

- 60 [Simpson], “Fragments of a Manuscript Found by the People of Sirius 8,” 76.
- 61 [Simpson], “Fragments of a Manuscript Found by the People of Sirius 8,” 76–78. Ellipses in original.
- 62 Another work of short fiction in the *S.P.T.* also imagines a southern continent of outsized creatures: “The Last of the Terrorcas” is a fantasy about a dragon-like killer whale fighting an immense flying insect. [Griffith Taylor], “The Last of the Terrorcas,” *South Polar Times IV*, 1912, MS 505/4, EN, Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge.
- 63 [Douglas Mawson], “Bathybia,” *Aurora Australis*, n.p.

- 64 “Illustrated Interviews de Reginald Koettlitz,” *South Polar Times* 2.7 (1903): 46–48.
- 65 [Michael Barne], “Observations,” *South Polar Times* 1.1 (1902): 22.
- 66 “Bioloveria,” *South Polar Times* 1.3 (1902): 27–28.
- 67 [Bage], “To the Editor,” 90.
- 68 “Calendar Rhymes,” *Adelie Blizzard* 1.3 (1913): 125.
- 69 [Apsley Cherry-Garrard], “Walt Whitman,” *South Polar Times IV*, 1912, MS 505/4, EN, Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge. I discuss this poem further in “First Person Nautical,” coauthored with Rudy.
- 70 “A Lament,” *Adelie Mail and Cape Adare Times* 1911–12 MS 1506, EN.
- 71 “Life in the Antarctic; or, The Protoplasmic Cycle,” *South Polar Times* 3.1 (1911): 4.
- 72 [Douglas Mawson], “‘Wireless’—the Realisation,” *Adelie Blizzard* 1.1 (1913): 16.
- 73 [Mawson], “‘Wireless’—the Realisation,” 16.
- 74 Mawson, Notebook 5, 1–6 April 1913, *Mawson’s Antarctic Diaries*, 187.
- 75 “Editorial: The Merry Month of May,” *Adelie Blizzard* 1.2 (1913): 29.
- 76 “The Commercial Resources of Antarctica IV: General,” *Adelie Blizzard* 1.5 (1913): 213.

4. Dead Letter Reckoning

Epigraph: Markham, *The Great Frozen Sea*, 251.

- 1 McClintock, *The Voyage of the “Fox” in Arctic Seas*, 283–84. Emphasis in original.
- 2 The writer continues:

The principal object of this custom is, that, by comparing the times and places of the throwing out and the picking up of the bottles, if found at sea, or immediately after they are driven ashore, a calculation may be made of the direction and the motion of the currents of the water by which the bottles have been conveyed along. A bottle of this kind, I am informed, was found on the north-west coast of Ireland, which had been thrown overboard in the former voyage to Baffin’s Bay. It had been ten months in the sea, and must have been carried by the currents upwards of a thousand miles in that time. The chance of conveying, by the same means, to all concerned, intelligence of the state of a ship, is, of itself, sufficient to engage those on board to its adoption. (*Letters Written during the Late Voyage of Discovery*, Saturday 22d, 6)

- 3 Parks Canada discovered the *Erebus* on a Canadian state-sponsored mission; her sister ship *Terror* was found by a private search team.
- 4 The full list of items found in the boat follows:

Five or six small books were found, all of them scriptural or devotional works, except the ‘Vicar of Wakefield.’ One little book, ‘Christian Melodies,’ bore an inscription upon the titlepage from the donor to G.G. (Graham Gore?) A small Bible contained numerous marginal notes, and whole

passages underlined. Besides these books, the covers of a New Testament and Prayerbook were found.

Amongst an amazing quantity of clothing there were seven or eight pairs of boots of various kinds—cloth winter boots, sea boots, heavy ankle boots, and strong shoes. I noted that there were silk handkerchiefs—black, white, and figured—towels, soap, sponge, toothbrush, and hair-combs; macintosh gun-cover, marked outside with paint A 12, and lined with black cloth. Besides these articles we found twine, nails, saws, files, bristles, wax-ends, sail-makers' palms, powder, bullets, shot, cartridges, wads, leather cartridge-case, knives—clasp and dinner ones—needle and thread cases, slow-match, several bayonet-scarbards cut down into knife-sheaths, two rolls of sheet-lead, and, in short, a quantity of articles of one description and another truly astonishing in variety, and such as, for the most part, modern sledge-travellers in these regions would consider a mere accumulation of dead weight, but slightly useful, and very likely to break down the strength of the sledge-crews. . . .

In the after-part of the boat we discovered eleven large spoons, eleven forks, and four teaspoons, all of silver; of these twenty-six pieces of plate, eight bore Sir John Franklin's crest, the remainder had the crests of initials of nine different officers, with the exception of a single fork which was not marked; of these nine officers, five belonged to the 'Erebus,' Gore, Le Vesconte, Fairholme, Couch, and Goodsir. Three others belonged to the 'Terror,'—Crozier, (a teaspoon only), Hornby, and Thomas. I do not know to whom the three articles with an owl engraved on them belonged, nor who was the owner of the unmarked fork, but of the owners of those we can identify, the majority belonged to the 'Erebus.' (McClintock, *Voyage of the "Fox" in Arctic Seas*, 295–97)

- 5 Craciun, *Writing Arctic Disaster*, 37.
- 6 McClintock, *Voyage of the "Fox" in Arctic Seas*, 287.
- 7 McClintock, *Voyage of the "Fox" in Arctic Seas*, 288.
- 8 McClintock, *Voyage of the "Fox" in Arctic Seas*, 303–4. Emphasis in original.
- 9 The news was heavily covered on both sides of the Atlantic; *Harper's Weekly*, for example, published a photoengraving of a facsimile of the cairn message on its cover on 29 October 1859, rather than leading with news of John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry (Potter, *Arctic Spectacles*, 153). My focus in this chapter, however, is not on the history of the broad search for the Franklin expedition, nor on the industry in theories about its disappearance, both of which have held sustaining interest for over 170 years, with scores of volumes written on their progressions.
- 10 ADM 7/190, National Archives, London. In a recent interview, ship captain Sean Bercaw, who has been launching messages in bottles ever since a childhood spent sailing around the world with his family, emphasized as well the open timeline for such ecomedia: "The cool thing about it, is it's not simply black and white: succeed or fail. Even if no one finds [the bottle] now, there is always that possibility.

- That hope always exists that some one may find it a hundred years later.” Brogan, “Messages in a Bottle Chart a Lifelong Romance with the Sea.”
- 11 Miscellaneous clippings found at Greely Headquarters, Fort Conger, 10 June 1909, M118.7: Notes, Clippings, Ephemera, and Realia, 1884–1985, n.d., Box 6, Folder 26, Donald Baxter MacMillan Collection, George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections and Archives, Bowdoin College Library.
 - 12 See also Steinberg’s smart reading of the drift of a container of Nike sneakers after it fell from a container ship in *The Social Construction of the Ocean*, 1–4.
 - 13 Kane, *Arctic Explorations*, 58. He left his mark throughout the region, in name and, suggestively, in specie: “I built a large cairn here, and placed within it a copper penny, on which was scratched the letter K; but, like many other such deposits, it never met the eyes for which it was intended” (207). On Kane’s Arctic inscriptions, see Craciun, *Writing Arctic Disaster*.
 - 14 McClintock, *Voyage of the “Fox” in Arctic Seas*, 176.
 - 15 *Arctic Expedition, 1875–6*, 476.
 - 16 Ross, *Voyage of Discovery and Research in the Southern and Antarctic Regions*, 233.
 - 17 ADM 7/190, National Archives, London.
 - 18 Antarctica was also the scene of the distribution of documentary forms, to a less extensive degree, but the fact of its continental mass—its more stable land and ice, its nonarchipelagic state—keeps my focus in this chapter on the Arctic messages. Just one example from the South, then: in James Clark Ross’s Antarctic venture in the early 1840s on the *Erebus* and *Terror*, the very ships targeted by Franklin searchers, he noted the messages left by previous expeditions:

Two painted boards, erected upon poles in a conspicuous spot, attracted our attention, and an officer was immediately sent to examine them. They proved to be records of the visits of the French expedition under D’Urville, and of one of the vessels of the American exploring expedition [commanded by Charles Wilkes]. The first, a white board with black letters, as follows:—“Les corvettes Françaises L’Astrolabe et la Zélée, parties de Hobart Town le 25 Février, 1840, mouillées ici le 11 Mars, et réparties le 20 du dit pour la New Zéland. Du 19 Janvier au 1 Février, 1840, découverte de la Terre Adélie et détermination du pole magnétique Austral!”

The second, a black board with white letters, stated,—“U.S. brig Porpoise, 73 days out from Sydney, New Holland, on her return from an exploring cruize along the antarctic circle, all well; arrived the 7th, and sailed again on the 10th March, for the ZBay of Islands, New Zealand.”

A paper was also found inclosed in a bottle, which had been so imperfectly corked that some water had got into and so obliterated some parts of the writing, that we had difficulty in deciphering it. Its purport was, that the Porpoise had touched here for water, and that during their cruize they had coasted along the Icy Barrier, and had touched here for water. (Ross, *Voyage of Discovery and Research in the Southern and Antarctic Regions*, 133–34)

- 19 In this sense I speak to conversations about blanks ongoing by others in material textual studies, most notably Lisa Gitelman and James Green and Peter Stallybrass.
- 20 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 25.
- 21 Green and Stallybrass, *Benjamin Franklin*, 89.
- 22 On the perceived blankness of Arctic spaces in the British imperial imagination, see in particular Carroll, *An Empire of Air and Water*; Hill, *White Horizon*.
- 23 Ross, *A Voyage of Discovery*, 236–37.
- 24 Parry, *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage*, xxviii.
- 25 Nares, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Polar Sea*, xviii. Here is a further example, from a Franklin search expedition's orders: "The various logs and private journals, with drawings, plans, etc., are to be sent to this office on the return of the Expedition" (Belcher, *The Last of the Arctic Voyages*, 5).
- 26 In Craciun's account, *Writing Arctic Disaster*, the Admiralty injunction was designed to ensure that the first narratives of the voyages appearing in print would have the official imprint of the Admiralty.
- 27 Nares, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Polar Sea*, xviii.
- 28 Precisely such a crisis of polar expedition printing within the metropole happened after the return of Parry's first expedition, when ship surgeon Alexander Fisher's journal was published so quickly that the Admiralty investigated to see if he had withheld copies of his private papers. As a review of his journal stated, he was "unjustly suspected of having kept a duplicate of his Journal, in order to forestall Capt. Parry's promised work" (*A Journal of a Voyage of Discovery to the Arctic Regions*, 442–43). Within the tradition of British polar missions, it was acceptable for other members of an expedition to publish narratives of their experiences eventually, but such accounts were expected to appear subsequent to the volume or volumes first appearing with the implied or explicit imprimatur of the Admiralty. "The Public are probably aware," one publisher wrote in a preface to a volume of letters written during an Arctic expedition, "that, agreeably to a regulation of the Admiralty, all Journals of Voyages of Discovery, kept by Officers or others, are required to be temporarily surrendered for the use of that Board: hence it has happened, that we have been unable until now to submit to our Readers full details" of the most recent voyage (*Letters Written during the Late Voyage of Discovery*, iii). See chapter 2 for further discussion of Parry's oversight of post-voyage publications; Craciun discusses this in "Writing the Disaster: Franklin and Frankenstein," particularly footnote 62, as well as in *Writing Arctic Disaster*.
- 29 Parry, *A Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage*, 3.
- 30 Ross, *A Voyage of Discovery*, 211.
- 31 One such message cast in a bottle reads as follows:

Thrown overboard from H. M. Ship North Star, lying at single anchor in Erebus and Terror Bay, Beechy Island, on the 25. of September 1852. Wind at the time light from North; a N.E. gale having just subsided. Ship not yet housed in; Ice not have made, although there is much soft sludge in the

bay, which is driven about constantly by wind and tide. Union Bay closed up with ice. Temperature of the air when this was thrown overboard 25.5. Sea 29. All well.

Should any one pick this up; please forward it to the following address.—
On H.M. Service.

—————

To the Secretary of the Admiralty

LONDON

Stating, in what Latitude & Longitude it was picked up; with the date, condition of the cask &c; in fact any particulars respecting the document.

P.S. Two bottles with a similar notice were thrown overboard at the same time.

Printed at Beechy Island.

Copy of HMS *North Star* message in a bottle thrown overboard, 25 Sept. 1852, ADM 7/195, National Archives, London

- 32 *Arctic Miscellanies*, 246.
- 33 Examples digested from proposals collected by the British Admiralty, ADM 7/608, National Archives, London.
- 34 Osborn, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal*, 172–73.
- 35 Osborn, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal*, 173.
- 36 Carter, *Searching for the Franklin Expedition*, 66–67.
- 37 Maguire, *The Journal of Rochfort Maguire*, 114.
- 38 Bequeathed by Colonel John Barrow, F.R.S., formerly Keeper of the Records of the Admiralty, Vol. IX (III. ff. 409): 1. “Captain [Richard] Collinson, C.B., H.M. Discovery Ship ‘Enterprize,’ 1850”; 15 Jan. 1850–5 June, 1875: 58, Add MS 35308, British Library.
- 39 I am not concerned in this discussion with the nineteenth-century transatlantic mail system by which one could send a letter from the United States to France, say, paying postage in both country of origin and destination as well as a separate “sea postage” to the carrier; these letters both originated from and were addressed to terrestrial recipients and used the ocean only as a medium for transport.
- 40 Lacan, “*The Purloined Letter*,” 205; Derrida, *The Post Card*, 444.
- 41 In *The Post Card*, Derrida sees no difference between the “Division of Dead letters” and what he would call the “division of living letters”; all remain in suspension (124).
- 42 Porter, *A Voyage in the South Seas*, 35
- 43 Porter, *A Voyage in the South Seas*, 35–36.
- 44 Porter, *A Voyage in the South Seas*, 50.
- 45 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 74.
- 46 Nevens, *Forty Years at Sea*, 225.
- 47 Fitz-Roy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages*, 490.

- 48 *Wanderings and Adventures of Reuben Delano*, 44–45.
 49 Melville, “The Encantadas,” 172.
 50 Porter, *A Voyage in the South Seas*, 39.
 51 Melville, “The Encantadas,” 168.
 52 Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 317.
 53 Whitecar, *Four Years in a Whaleship*, 127.
 54 Colton, *Deck and Port*, 69–70.
 55 Browne, *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise*, 478.
 56 *Life in a Man-of-War*, 230.
 57 Markham, *The Great Frozen Sea*, 221.
 58 Peary, *The North Pole*, 300.
 59 Belcher, *The Last of the Arctic Voyages*, 5.
 60 McClintock, *Voyage of the “Fox” in Arctic Seas*, 342–43.
 61 *Arctic Expedition, 1875–6*, 471.
 62 The order for the dispatch of mail to the Nares expedition was printed as a broadside:

POLAR EXPEDITION
 DESPATCH OF MAILS FOR

MAILS for the Polar Ships “Alert” and “Discovery” will be made up for conveyance from Portsmouth on or about the 25th May by the Steam Yacht “Pandora,” Captain Allen Young having kindly consented to convey letters for the officers and crews of the Polar Ships, to be deposited at the depots.

All letters should be sent through the Post Office prepaid the inland rate of postage, and addressed “Arctic Yacht Pandora, Portsmouth.”

It should be understood that these letters will be deposited at the depots on the chance of Captain Nares being able to communicate with the entrance of Smith’s Sound by means of a small sledge party in the autumn of the present year, and that there is, therefore, some uncertainty whether the letters will reach their destination.

It is requested that the friends of the officers and men of the Polar Expedition will make their letters as few and light as possible.

No letters containing articles of value should be sent.

No newspapers should be sent, as the Admiralty will send a sufficient supply.

By Command of the Postmaster-General

15th May 1876: Message with information about the dispatch of mails for the Polar Ships “Alert” and “Discovery,” 1 leaf, printed. Ephemera Collection, British Arctic Expedition of 1875–76, MS 1815/30, Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge.

- 63 Nares, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Polar Sea*, 175.

- 64 Robert McClure to his sister, 10 Apr. 1853, *The Arctic Dispatches*, Arctic Pamphlets 2 1852–53, Royal Geographical Society.
- 65 *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News* 1 (31 Oct. 1850): 1.
- 66 De Long, *The Voyage of the Jeannette*, 162–63.
- 67 On Edison's contributions to the *Jeannette* expedition, see Sides, *In the Kingdom of Ice*.
- 68 The telephone dream resonates with a late twentieth-century moment of environmental extremity and death: the disastrous 1996 climbing season on Mount Everest, in which a blizzard took eight lives in one day. Rob Hall, an experienced New Zealand mountaineer and guide, was trapped and died on the mountain; while he was unable to be reached for rescue, he did have the technology to communicate with Base Camp, which was able to patch his radio via satellite phone through to his wife in New Zealand in order to say a farewell (Krakauer, *Into Thin Air*).

5. Inuit Knowledge and Charles Francis Hall

Epigraph: Hall, *Arctic Researches and Life among the Esquimaux*, 41.

- 1 Excellent exceptions include Woodman, *Unravelling the Franklin Mystery*; Eber, *Encounters on the Passage*; Potter, *Finding Franklin*; and the work of Louie Kamookak, an Inuit historian who lived in Gjoa Haven.
- 2 Deposition of Adam Beck, 3 Mar. 1852, 202, ADM7/192, National Archives, London.
- 3 John Rae to Archibald Barclay, 1 Sept. 1854, in Rae, *John Rae's Arctic Correspondence*, 342.
- 4 Dickens, "The Lost Arctic Voyagers," 392.
- 5 Φίλοι Συμβουλευόμενοι [Friendly Consultants], *The Great Arctic Mystery*, 9.
- 6 Cruikshank cautions scholars, however, not to view TK as "static, timeless, and hermetically sealed" (*Do Glaciers Listen?*, 9–10).
- 7 Hall, *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition*, 33.
- 8 The foremost historian of Hall's adventures is Chauncey Loomis, whose biography *Weird and Tragic Shores* offers a richly detailed account of his life and of his death. Bruce Henderson's account of the *Polaris* expedition, *Fatal North*, also covers Hall extensively.
- 9 Journal of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, 3 Feb. 1854, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle. Perhaps a sense of similar receptions by white people over the course of his life is behind a plea with which Ipiirviq closes a letter written much later: "Pleas call haff wite man no Esquimaux Joe." Cited in Russell Potter, "A Letter from Ebierbing," *Visions of the North*, blog, <https://visionsnorth.blogspot.com/2017/12/a-letter-from-ebierbing.html>.
- 10 Hall, *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition*, 23–24.
- 11 Quoted in Loomis, *Weird and Tragic Shores*, 153.
- 12 Hall, *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition*, 23–24.

- 13 Loomis's exhumation of Hall's body in 1968 confirmed his death by arsenic poisoning.
- 14 The Smithsonian's Charles Francis Hall Collection covers only the years 1860–71, and yet consists of over 250 notebooks, in addition to hundreds of other letters, notes, scientific observations, and memoranda.
- 15 His biographer Loomis speculates that the death in 1857 of the best-known American Arctic explorer, Elisha Kent Kane, catalyzed his interest. Kane's body traveled on an extensive funeral train throughout the country (second only to Abraham Lincoln's), arriving in Hall's Cincinnati in March 1857. Loomis, *Weird and Tragic Shores*, 39–41.
- 16 Collection 702, Box 1, Folder 1, Diary, with Notes opening 1 Jan. 1860, Hall Collection.
- 17 Box 1, Folder 1, Diary, with Notes opening 1 Jan. 1860, Hall Collection.
- 18 Box 11, Folder 109, Newspaper clipping, n.d., Hall Collection.
- 19 Box 1, Folder 2, Journal, with preparations for the first expedition, Hall Collection.
- 20 Hall, *Arctic Researches*, 587. All future references to this edition will be cited parenthetically.
- 21 Box 1, Folder 1, Diary, 21 Feb. 1860, Hall Collection.
- 22 Box 1, Folder 1, Diary, 17 July 1860, Hall Collection.
- 23 Box 1, Folder 4, Journal for months preceding the first expedition, Hall Collection.
- 24 Box 4, Folder 46, Notes for lectures on the 1st expedition, 1863–64, Hall Collection. The etymological definition for "Eskimo" used by Hall was in long-standing use through the late twentieth century but has been challenged by Ives Goddard of the Smithsonian, who finds the term instead coming from an Algonkian language, Montagnais, and meaning "she who nets snowshoes." Goddard, *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 5, 6.
- 25 Box 4, Folder 46, Notes for lectures on the 1st expedition, 1863–64, Hall Collection.
- 26 The preface to the second narrative explains that the U.S. Navy had intended initially to produce a narrative only of the third, dramatic *Polaris* expedition but found they had a volume of material on the second voyage at hand: "Under the act of Congress approved June 23, 1874, the Navy Department purchased from his family, for the sum of \$15,000, the manuscripts of his several explorations, some of which were made use of by the late Admiral Davis in preparing for the Department the widely-appreciated 'Narrative of the North Polar Expedition [in the *Polaris*].' The larger number of the manuscripts, however, have been found to belong to the Second Expedition, and form the basis of the Narrative now prepared by the orders of the Department." Hall, *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition*, xi–xii.
- 27 Box 4, Folder 46, Notes for lectures on the 1st expedition, 1863–64, Hall Collection.
- 28 Hall, *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition*, 207.
- 29 Harper, "Burial at Sea."
- 30 Charles Francis Hall, 012 Journal, Vol. I, January 1860–July 1860, Hall Collection.
- 31 Box 1, Folder 14, Journal, Vol. III, August 1860–November 1860, Hall Collection.
- 32 Box 1, Folder 14, Journal, Vol. III, August 1860–November 1860, Hall Collection.

- 33 Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux*, 57.
- 34 Hall, *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition*, 289–90.
- 35 Horatio Austin, “Scheme of equipment for 2nd Arctic Expedition drawn up [?] 1850 to _____ drawn up for the Arctic on the return of the Expedition in 1851,” MCL 35 *Printed Papers*, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
- 36 Box 1, Folder 14, Journal, Volume III, August 1860–November 1860, 13 Sept. 1860, Hall Collection.
- 37 Hall, *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition*, 255–56.
- 38 Hallendy, *Tukiliit*, 60.
- 39 Quoted in Loomis, *Weird and Tragic Shores*, 155.
- 40 Hall, *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition*, 25.
- 41 In one example of destroyed journals, the narrative of a survivor of the *Polaris* trials reveals that an “expressive article was found” at a campsite of some of the separated crew, “namely, a log-book, out of which was torn all reference to the death of Captain Hall” (Blake, *Arctic Experiences*, 354).
- 42 “On his return he had presented to Mr. J. Ingersoll Bowditch the corrections of a number of typographical and other errors in ‘The Navigator,’ which were adopted in the subsequent editions, in regard to which corrections he had replied to an inquiry from Mr. G. W. Blunt by saying that ‘he had made them while working through Bowditch during a winter in the igloos’” (Hall, *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition*, 32).
- 43 Hall, *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition*, 148.

Conclusion

Epigraph: Carson, *The Sea around Us*, 7.

- 1 The grounding happened at the beginning of the expedition’s first leg; I was scheduled to join its second leg. Ed Struzik, a Canadian writer aboard the *Akademik Ioffe* for the project’s first leg, wrote a deeply sobering account of the ordeal and its implications; see Struzik, “In the Melting Arctic, a Harrowing Account from a Stranded Ship.”
- 2 In sharing the story of the 2017 postponement with a friend who is a scholar-sailor I learned that she and other experienced mariners had been concerned about the design and safety of the ship on which we had originally been set to sail. “You dodged a bullet,” she said, and assured me that the other vessel options for the postponed expedition were sound. The twice-delayed expedition is as of this writing scheduling a fall 2019 journey. Northwest Passage Project, <https://northwestpassageproject.org/>.
- 3 De Long, *The Voyage of the Jeannette*, 2:456.
- 4 Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 164; Poe, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*, 1179. The “shrou[d]” seen on the huge figure at the end of *Pym* in its “whiteness” also evokes the only burial garment or covering the sailor can expect: the sewed-up shroud of his white canvas hammock.

- 5 In the footage the claw of a robotic arm embeds the flag in the seabed. The video still that illustrated many media reports of the claim-staking shows a rounded camera lens, bounded by black, that composes the scene to afford a view of the North Pole as if a sphere seen from space. “It’s like putting a flag on the moon,” a Russian official proclaimed. The comparison is pointed: the submersible that planted the flag was named *Mir 1*, just as Russia’s now-decommissioned space station was named Mir, after the Russian word meaning “peace” or “world” (Parfitt, “Russia Plants Flag on North Pole Seabed”). I discuss the Russian flag planting at greater length in Blum, “John Cleves Symmes and the Planetary Reach of Polar Exploration.” Elizabeth DeLoughrey has found the polar and oceanic regions to be figuratively consistent with “extraterrestrial” spaces” (“Satellite Planetarity and the Ends of the Earth,” 260).
- 6 Carson, *The Sea around Us*, 3. Subsequent references will be noted parenthetically in the text.
- 7 In a similar vein, Stacy Alaimo writes, “The synchronic depth and breadth of the oceans present a kind of incomprehensible immensity that parallels the diachronic scale of anthropogenic effects. . . . To begin to glimpse the seas, one must descend, not transcend, be immersed in highly mediated environments that suggest the entanglements of knowledge, science, economics, and power” (*Exposed*, 161).
- 8 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, “Anarky,” in Menely and Taylor, *Anthropocene Reading*, 27, 34.
- 9 “A more potent marine transcorporeality would submerge the human within global networks of consumption, waste, and pollution, capturing the strange agencies of the ordinary stuff of our lives” (Alaimo, *Exposed*, 113).