

**SPACE IN POLAR EXPLORATION:
SHIPS AND ICE REALMS IN ANGLO-AMERICAN FICTION,
1818–1851**

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Introduction

When outsiders first explored the Arctic, they were looking for something else: wealth, a northwest passage, knowledge, glory. They found violent conditions, contoured alien space. They failed to enter the landscape. They wanted through it, or to endure it, or back out. Of those who wintered over, many died. Others came, geographers; searching for place, looking for limits – and in their random wake a skein of patterns formed between the old worlds and the new, and as they named the landscape, measured it, marked it on maps, they brought it into line. Naming gave significance to their efforts, conferred meaning on the Arctic, made of barriers boundaries (rooted in fear), and of boundaries, barriers (rooted in ignorance). None had much interest in the Arctic itself. They were more concerned with north, how make it relative and absolute. How to relate it to where they came from; how to get over it (Moss, *Enduring Dreams* 17-8).

This study is situated within the fields of Anglo-American nineteenth-century literature, eighteenth-century aesthetic theory, contemporary literary scholarship on space, and human geography. It focuses on the representation of the polar regions *and* ships in exploration literature (travelogues and selected novels) in 1818-1851. It is a result of my long-standing research interest in the interaction between a natural site and human agents. I have been particularly interested in the twofold character of this interaction, that is, how these two elements transform one another on physical and imagined levels in the process of it. The polar regions and ships present a compelling instance of such interaction in a literary narrative and, in particular, in a ‘mobile’ travel narrative. What is compelling to me is that these two elements are complex spaces which interact in an intricate fashion in exploratory literature. The complexity of these two spaces is in their dual nature.

Like every other ‘real’ space, the polar regions and ships are both physical and imagined spaces. They are physical sites which are imbued with certain social values and associations. What sets them apart from the rest, however, is a deep-rooted divergence between how they are imagined by the general public and how they are actually experienced by humans. In the Western imagination, the polar regions are still predominantly perceived as these ‘pure,’ ‘empty’ and stateless spaces that exist outside the realms of the political and the social. In actuality, they are natural sites that are marked by competing national claims over their territories and resources. As will be shown in this study, such antithetical perception of polar spaces was created in the nineteenth century, and this creation continues to influence the representation of these spaces today. In turn, ships also incorporate this duality in their representation. They are often associated with travel and adventure in distant lands and some sort of getaway from the constraints of a given society. In reality, they are spaces that are

meticulously (socially and spatially) organised and carefully regimented by the established social order on board. In regard to polar exploration of the period, ships were used as the main tool in sea expeditions. Despite this, the spatial examination of ships has been neglected within the context of exploration literature in the period (both in travelogues and selected novels). In fact, to my knowledge, the detailed study of the space of the ship in narratives of this literature has not been covered by any research to date. Thereby, one of the main aims of this project has been to fill this research gap in literary studies.

The corpus of primary literature examined in this study consists of *Frankenstein, or, The Modern Prometheus* (1818/1831) by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley; *Tales of a Voyager to the Arctic Ocean* (1826) and *Tales of a Voyager to the Arctic Ocean. Second Series* (1829) by Robert Pearse Gillies; *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym. Of Nantucket* (1838) by Edgar Allan Poe; and *Peter the Whaler: His Early Life, and Adventures in the Arctic Regions* (1851) by William Henry Giles Kingston. Shelley's and Poe's novels are canonical texts of British and American literature which are central to the field of Anglo-American Romanticism. In turn, Gillies's and Kingston's novels are much less known and underresearched British novels. In this study, the examination of these relatively neglected works of fiction puts a new spin on the literary criticism of Shelley's and Poe's canonical texts. In the study, this body of primary literature is investigated together for the first time.

All the primary texts address contemporary polar exploration in their narratives. There is a discernible chronology in these primary texts' description of polar exploration in reference to coeval exploratory voyages. First, Shelley's novel picks up the Northwest Passage exploration at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Second, Gillies's novels directly deal with British Arctic exploration in the 1820s. Third, Poe's work can be regarded as an answer to the popularity of the American South Seas' exploration in the 1830s. And finally, Kingston employs the Arctic as an untamed natural space in response to the popularity of polar exploratory travel accounts; and briefly discusses the intensive international search for the lost Franklin expedition in the late 1840s and the early 1850s in the narrative. All the novels' readings in this study are situated within a condensed historical framework on Anglo-American polar exploration in the first half of the nineteenth century. For this reason, this introduction is structured as follows: it starts with a historical overview of Anglo-American polar exploration in the period as a context for the primary works, proceeds then with the preliminary discussion of the theoretical framework employed in the examination of the polar regions and ships in this study, and finishes with a brief synopsis of the chapters presented in this monograph.

Anglo-American Polar Exploration in 1818-1851¹

British Arctic Exploration and the Search for the Northwest Passage

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed a resurgence of avid interest in the exploration of the Arctic among the British Navy. There were several reasons, both economic and political, for this. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, there was an abundance of navy officers in the Admiralty. They were eager to resume their duties on the ships “now standing idle in dock and to prove themselves worthy of promotion” (Moss 12). Further Arctic exploration was also economically advantageous in the eye of the government. It offered great potential for a new market to sell and distribute British merchandise and a new source of raw materials for its production (ibid.). The British Navy’s interest in Arctic exploration was likewise driven by political reasons. They wished to bolster their presence in the Canadian Arctic to impede the increasing influence of the Russians in trade in Alaska and their exploration of the region. For example, in 1816, Otto von Kotzebue, an officer and navigator of the Imperial Russian Navy, in his expedition in search of a Northeast passage, crossed the Bering Strait, charted the Alaskan coast, discovered an arm of the Chukchi Sea in the western part of Alaska and named it Kotzebue Sound (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 163). The chief proponent of contemporary British Arctic exploration was John Barrow, the Second Secretary to the Admiralty from 1804 to 1845, who used his important position to assist the launch of several high-profile expeditions. For this reason, he has been considered “the father of Arctic exploration” (Fleming 11). In fact, he was a dreamer whose ambition was to fill such coeval blanks on the atlas as the North Pole, Antarctica, and a Northwest Passage (Fleming 9). And he wanted to achieve this ambition under the British flag.

From 1818 to 1845, Britain was primarily invested in discovering and mapping out the Northwest Passage – an alternative sea route to Asia from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean through the Canadian Archipelago. The discovery of such passage promised great economic advantages and national fame that instigated the Parliament to change their reward policy in regard to Arctic discoveries. The individual monetary rewards of £20,000 for the first successful voyage through the Northwest Passage and of £5,000 to any ship owner or commander who “shall first approach within one degree of the Northern Pole;” enacted in 1776, were substituted in 1818 by a number of rewards for those “who shall first have accomplished certain proportions of the said passage or approach” (Scoresby 52). Beyond the

¹ This periodisation is arbitrary and coincides with the first publications of Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* (1818) and W.H. G. Kingston’s *Peter the Whaler* (1851).

economic agenda, the discovery of the passage was candidly promoted as a matter of national duty for the British. Barrow, for instance, in his *A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions* (1818) emphasises that such discovery “has always been considered as an object peculiarly British” and that “[i]t never failed to excite a most lively interest among all conditions of men” (364). Hence the discovery of the passage was advocated as an important endeavour in the establishment of British national identity. This exemplifies that nationalism and British Arctic exploration (and geographic exploration on the whole) were closely intertwined. The discovery of the passage was also promoted as an ultimate test of masculinity. Furthermore, for Barrow, whether the Northwest enterprise was successful or not, it was still essential for “improvement in the hydrography and the geography of the arctic regions,” “many important and interesting observations on the atmospherical, magnetical, and electrical phenomena,” and advancement in “the science of meteorology” and natural history (378). Barrow even went to assert further that Britain’s involvement in the discovery of the Northwest Passage was the endeavour that “may be truly characterised as one of the most liberal and disinterested that was ever undertaken, and every way worthy of a great, prosperous and enlightened nation” (ibid.). Barrow thus depicts the search for the passage as an *apolitical* undertaking that is carried out by the British purely in the name of science and mankind. Despite its clear economic and political agenda, the discovery of the passage was advocated as something that is beyond and outside those categories.

In 1817, upon his return from the whaling expedition near Greenland, William Scoresby Jr, a British Arctic expert and whaler, reported the extraordinary and puzzling natural phenomenon he had seen there – the extensive melting of the ice fields in the area (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 161).² Approximately twenty nine thousand square kilometres of ice had broken loose from the polar cap and were steadily floating southwards to the Atlantic (ibid.). The area off the east coast of Greenland at 74° of northern latitude was finally free of ice and hence open for navigation. This was reported to Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society, who inquired Scoresby about the details.³ In response to Banks’s inquiry, Scoresby wrote that, if the command of an exploratory expedition were bestowed upon him, “the mystery

² Scoresby played an essential role in polar exploration of the period. Unlike Barrington and Barrow, he had extensive *practical* knowledge of the Arctic that he had acquired during his frequent whaling expeditions (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 161). See also Tom and Cordelia Stamp’s *William Scoresby: Arctic Scientist* (1976) and Constance Martin’s “William Scoresby Jr (1789-1857) and the Open Polar Sea – Myth and Reality” (1988).

³ Scoresby became Banks’s main expert on the Arctic and a key member of his international scientific network (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 161). He regularly visited Banks and exchanged letters with him. See also Tom and Cordelia Stamp’s *William Scoresby: Arctic Scientist* (1976): pp. 31-4; and Harold B. Carter’s *Sir Joseph Banks, 1743-1820* (1988): pp. 505-12.

attached to the existence of a north west passage might have been resolved” (Stamp and Stamp 66). The Royal Navy did not give Scoresby the command of the expedition. However, they accepted his proposal for the exploratory expedition that would take advantage of the unprecedented melting of the ice fields off the coast of Greenland. As a result, in 1818, the same year in which the first edition of Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* was published, two major expeditions to the Arctic, comprised of four ice-strengthened vessels, were launched by the Royal Navy’s Admiralty.

The first expedition was led by Commander John Ross and Lieutenant William Parry in HMS *Isabella* and *Alexander*. It was set out to probe for the Northwest Passage. The second expedition was led by Captain David Buchan and Lieutenant John Franklin in HMS *Dorothea* and *Trent*. It was tasked with finding a passage to the North Pole north of Spitsbergen. Ross’s expedition concluded when he turned back upon reaching Lancaster Sound thinking that he had seen a range of mountains blocking it (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 163). Ross named the range the Croker Mountains after John Wilson Croker, the first secretary to the Admiralty. Several officers of his crew, including William Parry and Edward Sabine, protested Ross’s decision to return. They saw no mountain range and thought that the open sea at the Sound might lead them to the long-desired passage (Moss 13). Lancaster Sound, as it would be proved only several years later, was the real entrance to the Northwest Passage (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 163). A year after Ross’s return, his account of the voyage, *A Voyage of Discovery* (1819), was published which brought attention to the disagreement between him and his officers on the existence of the Croker Mountains. In the aftermath of this, Ross lost his reputation and was openly ridiculed by Barrow and others for his mistake in judgment.⁴ Nevertheless, the voyage brought a substantial contribution to the natural history of the Arctic, astronomy, hydrography, and terrestrial magnetism. For his part, Buchan reached Spitsbergen in June and, instead of an open sea, encountered “impenetrable pack ice” there (Fleming 53). His progress was ceased by the ice at 80° of northern latitude. He was eventually forced to abort the expedition after the *Dorothea* was seriously damaged by the storm.⁵ Both expeditions

⁴ Barrow’s continuous grudge against Ross’s failure was, for example, expressed in his *Voyages of Discovery and Research within the Arctic Regions* (1846) in which he explicitly ridiculed Ross and all his exploratory achievements criticising even his claiming of the land around Lancaster Sound. He calls the claiming “worthless” since the land is “a barren, uninhabited country, covered in ice and snow, the only subjects of His Majesty, in this portion of his newly-acquired dominion, consisting of half-starved bears, deer, foxes, white hares, and such other creatures as are commonly met with in these regions of the globe” (50).

⁵ Neither Buchan nor Franklin published their journals. Frederic William Beechey, who accompanied Buchan’s expedition on HMS *Trent* under Lieutenant John Franklin, published his account of the voyage in *A Voyage of Discovery Towards the North Pole* (1843). Hence his account remains the main published source for Buchan’s voyage. It contains substantial observations on magnetic and hydrographic properties of the area at Spitsbergen.

were unsuccessful in their goals. Ross failed to find and traverse the Northwest Passage while Buchan failed to locate a sea route to the North Pole through Spitsbergen. In spite of this, they “marked the start of a period of intense Arctic activity with varied fortunes for much of the nineteenth century” (David xvii).

The 1820s was a period of the most intense Arctic activity by the British. William Parry played the most important role in this activity as he commanded three major expeditions in search of the Northwest passage in this period.⁶ The preparations for the first expedition started shortly after Ross’s return to Britain. The disagreement between Ross and his officers on the existence of the Croker Mountains led to the rumour that the former invented the mountains solely because he was scared and needed a valid excuse to return (Moss 13). In order to resolve the dispute, the Admiralty made a decision to launch another expedition. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Parry, a young and determined naval officer, who sailed on 11 May 1819. Two ships, the *Hecla* and the *Griper*, were given to him. Parry was tasked with heading straight to Lancaster Sound and traversing the Northwest Passage. In the case the Sound is blocked by ice or the mountains, he was ordered to attempt the entry at Smith or Jones Sound (Fleming 63). He “was not to bother with mapping coastlines, or making scientific observations” (ibid.). Parry reached Lancaster Sound without any significant hurdles. Upon reaching and passing the point at which Ross turned back, Parry’s party did not see the Croker Mountains thus proving the fact they had not been there in the first place. This discovery brought great excitement and relief to Parry since it proved once and for all that he and his supporters were right all along in the dispute with Ross; and indicated that the Northwest Passage did exist and was potentially navigable.

On 4 September 1819, Parry’s party attained the meridian of 110 west from Greenwich, “the official definition of the Northwest Passage” (Moss 13). In doing this, they attained the first monetary reward of £5,000 decreed by the Parliament to “His Majesty’s subjects” who “might succeed in penetrating thus far to the westward within the Arctic Circle” (Parry, *Journal of a Voyage* 72). They sailed through Lancaster Sound but were eventually forced to overwinter

⁶ Parry’s journals of all the three expeditions were subsequently published by John Murray, the official publisher of the Admiralty: *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific* (1821); *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific* (1824); and *Journal of a Third Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific* (1826). All the three journals contain lengthy appendixes, that is, extensive records of the scientific observations and materials on the natural history of the Arctic. In addition to these three expeditions, Parry also commanded an expedition in 1827 that attempted to reach the North Pole through the polar ice cap north of Spitsbergen. He managed to reach 82° 45’ of northern latitude, the highest latitude ever achieved by anyone for the next half of a century, but was forced to turn back. His account of this attempt was published a year later in *Narrative of an Attempt to Reach the North Pole* (1828).

at Melville Island. Since the following summer the weather did not improve and the ice was as thick as in the previous year, Parry reluctantly turned back home in September 1820 (Moss 13). In terms of its achievements, this was Parry's most successful Arctic expedition. He won the first Parliamentary monetary reward, mapped more than one thousand and six hundred kilometres of the coastline around Lancaster Sound, discovered and named several inlets and straits, and proved the existence of a potential Northwest Passage. All of this was accomplished with the loss of only one man and no significant damage to the ships. Parry's *second* voyage for the discovery of the passage commenced soon after in 1821. Two ships, the *Hecla* and *Fury*, were prepared by the Admiralty for this expedition. Parry was given the command of the *Fury*, while the old *Hecla* (used in the previous expedition) was entrusted to George Lyon, his second-in-command. Parry received nearly the same orders as before except for "the point of entry which, this time, was to be the uncharted seas north of Hudson Bay" (Fleming 109). The change in the point of entry was based on Barrow's hypothesis that Repulse Bay there did not exist and might be an entrance to the passage. If that was not the case, Parry was asked to try an alternative point of entry at Foxe Basin (*ibid.*). Parry's party reached Repulse Bay but could not find any passage. They then spent the first winter at Winter Island. In August 1822, Parry encountered a narrow frozen passage located between Baffin Island to the north and the Melville Peninsula to the south that he named Fury and Hecla Strait after the two ships.

Parry looked for any possible opening at the Strait but the ice there was impenetrable. He pessimistically wrote on the matter in his journal: "[W]hatever the last summer's navigation had added to our geographical knowledge of the eastern coast of America, and its adjacent lands, very little had in reality been effected in furtherance of the North-West Passage" (*Journal of a Second Voyage* 372). He then proceeded to emphasise the impracticability and impossibility of the whole endeavour: "Even the actual discovery of the desired outlet into the Polar Sea, had been of no practical benefit in the prosecution of our enterprise; for we had only discovered this channel to find it impassable, and to see the barriers of nature impenetrably closed against us, to the utmost limit of the navigable season" (*Journal of a Second Voyage* 372-3). As was the case with many polar explorers before and after, the ice proved to be an undefeatable nemesis for Parry who decided to spend another winter hoping to try his luck with Fury and Hecla Strait next season. The following summer the ice broke apart, but an increasing number of the crew started to show the symptoms of scurvy. Parry ultimately turned southward in August 1823 and battling his way through the ice arrived at Lerwick in the Shetland Islands in October that year (Fleming 122). Overall, the expedition was, as Parry surmised it in his journal, "a matter of extreme disappointment" (*Journal of a Second Voyage* xvii). Despite the

extensive scientific observations on such matters as magnetism, meteorology, and the Inuit, very little was achieved in the quest for the discovery of the Northwest Passage. Parry's third and final attempt at traversing the passage in 1824-1825 on HMS *Hecla* and *Fury* was even less successful. It concluded with the wreck of the *Fury* by the ice and the desertion of the ship's provisions on the beach in Prince Regent Inlet "where they supplied distressed explorers for decades to come" (Moss 13). Parry ended up moving everyone from the *Fury* to the *Hecla* and sailing back home.

Apart from these expeditions by ship in the 1820s, the Admiralty similarly organised several overland expeditions in the Canadian Arctic. The main goal of these expeditions was the exploration of the northern rivers with an assumption that these rivers would eventually lead to an open polar sea (Moss 14). These expeditions relied heavily on the expertise of local Native American guides and the cooperation with the Hudson's Bay Company (ibid.). John Franklin was a central figure in this overland exploration of the Canadian Arctic. He commanded two major overland expeditions in this period. The first expedition, or also known as the Coppermine expedition, in 1819-1822, was utterly disastrous for Franklin and his men. However, precisely for this reason, Franklin became a national hero whose fame even outshone that of Parry's among the public. He became known as "the man who ate his boots" in the popular imagination (Fleming 123). Franklin was originally tasked with mapping Canada's northern coastline on his way to the Arctic Ocean along the Great Slave Lake and the Coppermine River in an attempt to eventually catch up with Parry's ships. Franklin was a Navy officer and had no previous experience with overland exploration. He also had zero hunting skills and was not physically fit enough for the exertion required for such an undertaking. His officers brought some supplies with them such as flour and chocolate but the main provision was to be provided by the Hudson's Bay Company (Lanone 123). Nevertheless, the expedition took place during the highly intense competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company (ibid.). Hence the promised provision was only partially delivered to Franklin.

In spite of the severe shortage of supplies, Franklin refused to give up and persisted in continuing his journey northward. His party gradually dwindled and the entire expedition concluded with murder, starvation, insanity, depravity, and cannibalism (Moss 15). Only Franklin and a few of his men managed to survive by eating lichen, rotten skins of deer, and the leather of their own boots (ibid.). The expedition was simply catastrophic in its outcomes and achievements. Although Franklin traversed several thousand kilometres on land and water, he lost eleven out of his nineteen men and mapped merely a small fraction of the coastline that

was already known. Despite this, his account of the journey, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (1823), became an instant bestseller upon its publication mainly because of the sensationalist nature of the events depicted there. Franklin was not deemed responsible for his exploratory failure back in Britain. Instead, he was proclaimed as a national hero by the public. Contrary to the disastrous first one, Franklin's second overland expedition, which was also known as the Mackenzie River expedition, in 1825-1827, was a considerable exploratory success.⁷ The expedition's goal was to explore the coastline between the mouths of the Mackenzie and Coppermine rivers and the Bering Strait. Franklin managed to chart more than a thousand and five hundred kilometres of new coastline in the aftermath of the expedition. Ironically enough, "this well-planned and properly executed expedition" is less known and mainly remembered because Franklin was leaving his first wife, Eleanor Porden, "in the final stages of tuberculosis" (Moss 15). Porden, an English poet and feminist, was an ill match for Franklin, a conservative Evangelical gentleman (ibid.). She passed away a few days after Franklin's departure.

John Ross's second voyage in search of the Northwest Passage, 1829-1833, was the most significant British Arctic expedition in the 1830s. After the blunder with the Croker Mountains at Lancaster Sound, Ross desperately wished to redeem his reputation and to prove himself once more. As he was blacklisted by the Admiralty and Barrow, in particular, he raised the money for the expedition from Felix Booth, a wealthy gin distiller and merchant (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 165).⁸ In 1829, Ross departed in the *Victory*, a side-wheel paddle steamer, for Prince Regent Inlet where Parry had previously lost the *Fury* and abandoned its provision on the beach. He was the first to use a vessel with a steam engine for Arctic exploration. He was accompanied by four officers including his nephew James Clark Ross and nineteen men. The experimental steam engine broke several times on the way and caused so much trouble that Ross was forced to dismantle and abandon it on the shore during the first winter (Fleming 283). The *Victory* ended up being hemmed in by ice in Victoria Harbour (Nunavut) for three years. Ross and his men spent three winters in the Arctic before they managed to escape; and everyone back home considered them to be long dead (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 165). The biggest

⁷ Franklin's account of the expedition was published under the title of *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (1828). In this narrative, Franklin himself highlights the stark contrast between his first and second expeditions: "It was impossible not to be struck with the difference between our present complete state of equipment and that on which we had embarked on our former disastrous voyage. Instead of a frail bark canoe, and a scanty supply of food, we were now about to commence the sea voyage in excellent boats, stored with three months' provision" (93-4).

⁸ Ross named several geographical locations he discovered in the Canadian Arctic in honour of his benefactor such as the Gulf of Boothia and the Boothia Peninsula.

achievement of the expedition was the discovery of the North Magnetic Pole on 1 June 1831 by James Clark Ross and his party making them the first Europeans to do so.⁹ Upon reaching the Magnetic Pole, James Clark Ross expressed his utter disappointment with how ordinary that spot appeared to the observer: “But Nature had here erected no monument to denote the spot which she had chosen as the centre of one of her great and dark powers” (Ross, *Narrative of a Second Voyage* 555).¹⁰ He, however, emphasises the importance of physical and symbolic claiming of the spot of nature’s “great and dark powers” for the British nation: “[I]t was then, that amidst mutual congratulations, we fixed the British flag on the spot, and took possession of the North Magnetic Pole and its adjoining territory, in the name of Great Britain and King William the Fourth” (Ross, *Narrative of a Second Voyage* 557). As in the case of earlier and later expeditions, the geographic discovery here becomes a self-congratulatory celebration of one nation. The expedition ultimately took the lives of three men. Ross and his men were eventually rescued in Prince Regent Inlet by the ship *Isabella* (that Ross had commanded back in 1819) (Fleming 303). In the aftermath of the expedition, Ross’s wishes came true as he was greatly rewarded and knighted for his efforts. The impressive survival in the Arctic for four years and the exploratory and scientific achievements made him a hero among the public. Ross also established a good relationship with the Inuit during his voyage. He published his lengthy scientific and ethnological observations in his *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage* (1835).

Earlier in 1828, the British Parliament had called off the rewards decreed for traversing the Northwest Passage and progressing towards the North Pole, realising that wherever the passage was located, it “was not going to transform the national economy and that Arctic exploration involved immense expenditure and high death rates for no practical gain” (Moss 16). In short, the quest for the Northwest Passage was no longer worth the trouble and immense resources it required. This led to the lengthy suspension (for almost twenty years) of official navy expeditions in the Arctic. During this period, in the 1830s, British Arctic exploration primarily revolved around the exploratory ventures of George Back, Peter Dease, and Thomas Simpson, the Hudson’s Bay Company overlanders, in northern Canada. In 1833-1835, George Back led the successful land expedition to the mouth of the Great Fish River and along the shores of the Arctic Ocean. He initially volunteered for this in an attempt to find and rescue

⁹ The North Magnetic Pole essentially presented “the point of maximum vertical dip” in magnetic readings (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 165).

¹⁰ James Clark Ross hence creates a sharp contrast between the plain natural landscape and the ‘mysterious’ magnetic properties of the Magnetic Pole (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 165). After his return, he also published a scientific paper about his discovery titled “On the Position of the North Magnetic Pole” (1834).

John Ross and his men. After Ross's safe return to Britain, he continued the exploration of the unknown Great Fish River and charted the Arctic coastline westwards.¹¹ For his achievements, Back was hailed as a hero back home and awarded the gold medal from the Royal Geographical Society. In 1837-1839, Peter Dease and Thomas Simpson led another successful expedition in the Canadian Arctic. They set out to chart the blanks still remaining after the previous expeditions in search of the Northwest Passage. The expedition was organised and financed by the Hudson's Bay Company. In the aftermath of it, Dease and Simpson successfully mapped large parts of the Canadian Arctic coastline achieving in two years more than "Barrow had in the past twenty" (Fleming 328).¹² The men of the Hudson's Bay Company were delighted that such a "towering achievement" had overshadowed "the bumbling British navy" (ibid.). In addition to a pension of £100, Simpson was likewise awarded the gold medal from the Royal Geographical Society for his achievement. Unfortunately, he died under suspicious circumstances before he could claim his awards.

Franklin's lost expedition concluded the era of 'heroic' British Arctic exploration. It was "John Barrow's swan-song to the Arctic and the Northwest Passage" to which he had devoted his entire career as the Second Secretary to the Admiralty (Moss 18). Franklin was set out to traverse the final uncharted section of the Northwest Passage. He departed from England in 1845 on board two ships, HMS *Erebus* and HMS *Terror*. Franklin's party was last seen by the Europeans on 28 July 1845 in a whaling vessel in Baffin Bay. The Admiralty dispatched the first search party in 1848 solely because of the insistent demands from Lady Franklin and the public. By 1851, the international search for Franklin and his men only intensified. Numerous search parties, state and privately funded, British and American, on water and land, such as the ones led by Kellet, Moore, Richardson, John Ross, Rae, Collinson, McClure, Austin, Ommaney, Osborn, and James Ross were launched, but to no avail. John Rae, a Hudson's Bay employee, was the first explorer who found substantial evidence about Franklin's fate in 1854. He interviewed a group of the local Inuit at Repulse Bay who told him that Franklin's men had died from starvation and hypothermia after resorting to cannibalism. The Inuit sold Rae some of the items from the expedition as evidence. When Rae's report about this became known, the Victorian public (particularly Lady Jane Franklin and persons close to her), outraged and appalled, refused to believe it. On the whole, Franklin's lost expedition had an important

¹¹ Back published his scientific observations on the region's meteorology, magnetism, zoology, geology, entomology, and Aurora Borealis as appendixes to his *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River, and along the Shores of the Arctic Ocean* (1836).

¹² Simpson's account of the expedition was published in *Narrative of Discoveries on the North Coast of America* (1843).

historical and cultural impact on contemporary polar exploration and the public opinion on it. It brought British Arctic exploration to a halt until the mid 1870s and altered the public perception of it as a worthy endeavour all together. Numerous search parties charted thousands of kilometres of the Canadian Arctic coastline. However, very little had been achieved “at the cost of many lives and many ships” (Fleming 418). The mystery of Franklin’s lost expedition ultimately continued to remain just that, a *mystery*, that would haunt the Victorian imagination and literature for a long time (and continued to haunt the popular imagination for over one hundred fifty years to come). The ghost of Franklin would serve as an ultimate reminder about the futility of man’s efforts in the encounter with the hostile nature of the polar regions.

Anglo-American Antarctic Exploration and the Mystery of the Southern Continent¹³

It is hard to consider the history of Anglo-American Antarctic exploration in the first half of the nineteenth century without mentioning James Cook’s earlier contribution to it. Cook’s second voyage of discovery, 1772-1775, was, among other things, a journey towards the Geographic South Pole. It was a governmental British expedition that was set out to circumnavigate the southern hemisphere as far southward as possible in an attempt to prove or disprove the existence of the Great Southern Land, or Terra Australis, a hypothetical continent that supposedly served as a counter-weight to the Arctic landmass. Cook departed for the Antarctic in July 1772 on board the ships *Resolution* and *Adventure*. During the winters of 1773, 1774 and 1775, he circumnavigated Antarctica spending the summers exploring the islands in the South Pacific (Moss 9). On 17 January 1773, Cook and his men crossed the Antarctic Circle for the first time in history.¹⁴ Their progress was soon halted by such an immense ice field that it was not “at all prudent to persevere in getting farther to the South” (Cook 43). On 30 January 1774, Cook attained southern latitude 71°10’ and western longitude 106°54’, the furthest southern latitude ever obtained by any man for the following fifty years. Not wishing to be imprisoned in ice, Cook decided not to proceed any further: “I will not say it was impossible any where to get farther to the South; but attempting it would have been a dangerous and rash enterprise, and what, I believe, no man in my situation would have thought of” (Cook 268). Regarding the existence of Terra Australis, he surmised that the ice “extended quite to the pole, or perhaps joined to some land, to which it had been fixed from the earliest

¹³ The history of Anglo-American Antarctic exploration is analysed in more detail in chapter 4 of this thesis.

¹⁴ Cook’s account of the second voyage was published as *A Voyage Towards the South Pole, and Round the World* (1776).

time” (ibid.). In other words, he proved the fact that the Great Southern Land could only exist beyond the Antarctic Circle, in the frigid southern polar region.

By 1818, the existence of the southern continent was yet to be definitely proven by any explorer. Contrary to the intense exploration of the Arctic in the 1820s, the British Admiralty did not pay much attention to the Antarctic region in this period. Neither did the American Parliament. Hence there were no official British or American voyages of discovery in the Antarctic region during this time. Nevertheless, numerous British and American vessels frequented the region hunting seals there. The most notable British Antarctic expedition at the time was undertaken by James Weddell, a Scottish sailor and seal hunter, in 1822-1824. It was Weddell’s third voyage in the region the main objective of which was hunting for seals. Weddell sailed in two vessels, the *Jane* and *Beaufoy*, together with Matthew Brisbane. They had no luck with seals and finding land between the South Shetlands and the South Orkneys. They subsequently turned southward in an attempt to find a better place for sealing.

Weddell emphasised the unusually mild climate and the curious absence of ice in his progress southwards: “*Not a particle of ice of any description was to be seen.* The evening was mild and serene, and had it not been for the reflection that probably we should have obstacles to contend with in our passage northward, through the ice, our situation might have been envied” (36; original emphasis).¹⁵ In such favourable conditions, on 20 February 1823, Weddell reached southern latitude 74°15’ and western longitude 34°16’45’’, the furthest southern latitude ever achieved by any explorer at the time. This meant that he had beaten Cook’s record by three degrees in the conquest of the southern polar region.¹⁶ The fact that Weddell did not encounter any land or field ice (apart from some icebergs at a distance) in his voyage southwards enabled him to theorise that there was an open polar sea and no continent at the South Pole. Such hypothesis potentially disproved the existence of Terra Australis but

¹⁵ Weddell’s narrative of the voyage was first published under the title *A Voyage Towards the South Pole* in 1825. Weddell justified the lack of ‘real’ scientific observations in his account by the absence of proper instruments for such undertaking: “I was well aware that the making of scientific observations in this unfrequented part of the globe was a very desirable object, and consequently the more lamented my not being well supplied with the instruments with which ships fitted out for discovery are generally provided” (37).

¹⁶ Weddell very much highlights this achievement in his narrative: “If, therefore, no land exist to the south of the latitude at which I arrived, *viz.* seventy-four degrees, fifty minutes, – being three degrees and five minutes, or 214 geographical miles farther south than Captain Cook, or any preceding navigator reached, how is it possible that the South Pole should not be more attainable than the North, about which we know there lies a great deal of land?” (41; original emphasis). He openly celebrates such achievement with the crew after his decision to turn back in order to cheer them up: “Our colours were hoisted, and a gun was fired, and both crews gave three cheers. These indulgences, with an allowance of grog, dispelled their gloom, and infused a hope that fortune might yet be favourable” (44).

strongly suggested the perfect navigability and hence attainability of the South Pole for other prospective explorers.

In the 1830s and the early 1840s, both Britain and the United States (together with France) set their sights on the exploration of the southern polar region.¹⁷ The Antarctic region temporarily turned into an arena of zealous international exploration. There were two significant Antarctic expeditions undertaken by the British during this period. The first one was John Biscoe's Southern Ocean expedition in 1830-1833. The voyage was privately funded by the whaling company Samuel Enderby & Sons that entrusted Biscoe the command of the brig *Tula* and the cutter *Lively*. Shortly after crossing the Antarctic Circle, on 24 January 1831, Biscoe spotted a range of the mountains towering across the sea ice at a distance. He correctly deduced that the mountains were part of land, a continent, and named it Enderby Land after his patrons.¹⁸ He could not approach the discovered land closer than fifty kilometres. For the remainder of the winter, he stayed in the same area mapping the coastline. The following winter he returned to the Antarctic and, in February 1832, discovered Adelaide Island and the Biscoe Islands off the western coast of the Antarctic Peninsula. He continued to chart the coastline in the discovered area and ended up being the third person in history to officially circumnavigate the Antarctic continent (after Cook and Bellingshausen).

The second expedition was carried out by James Clark Ross in 1839-1843 on HMS *Erebus* and *Terror*. It was an official scientific voyage of discovery commissioned by the Admiralty.¹⁹ The main objective of the voyage was the discovery of the South Magnetic Pole. The expedition took extensive magnetic readings with the help of "superior scientific instrumentation" (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 166). It also recorded lengthy and substantial observations on the botany and zoology of the southern polar region.²⁰ Ross discovered and charted large parts of the unknown coastline in the area that would later be named the Ross Sea and the Ross Ice Shelf, the largest ice shelf in Antarctica. He could not penetrate the Ice Shelf

¹⁷ In 1837-1840, France launched the Antarctic expedition led by Dumont D'Urville on the ships *Astrolabe* and *Zélée*, one of the objectives of which was to sail as far south as possible in the area of the Weddell Sea. The expedition was also organised as part of international collaboration on the study of terrestrial magnetism (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 166).

¹⁸ Biscoe's voyage narrative was not entirely published until 1901 in George Murray's edited volume *Antarctic Manual*, but the official report-summary was presented by Messrs. Enderby to the Royal Geographical Society on 11 February 1833 (Cumpston 175).

¹⁹ See further M.J. Ross's *Polar Pioneers: John Ross and James Clark Ross* (1994): pp. 215-54; G.E. Fogg's *A History of Antarctic Science* (1992): pp. 73-93; and Alan Gurney's *The Race to the White Continent* (2000): pp. 203-69.

²⁰ Ross's account of the voyage and scientific observations were published in *A Voyage of Discovery and Research in the Southern and Antarctic Regions* (1847). Ross was also accompanied by the young botanist Joseph Dalton Hooker who would publish four detailed volumes on the botany of the southern polar region under the collective title *Flora Antarctica* (1843-1859).

but he highlighted the sheer magnitude of its natural grandeur beyond which nothing could be seen: “What was beyond it we could not imagine; for being much higher than our mast-head, we could not see any thing except the summit of a lofty range of mountains extending to the southward as far as seventy-ninth degree of latitude” (*Voyage of Discovery* 1: 218). He would also discover two volcanoes that he would name Mount Erebus and Mount Terror after the two ships. He was not able to reach the Magnetic Pole because his path to it was blocked by a massive icy and mountainous land that he would name Victoria Land in honour of the Queen (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 166). After a month of unsuccessful attempts to find the way to the Magnetic Pole through Victoria Land, Ross was forced to admit defeat to his exploratory ambition: “[F]ew can understand the deep feelings of regret with which I felt myself compelled to abandon the perhaps too ambitious hope I had so long cherished of being permitted to plant the flag of my country on both magnetic poles of our globe” (*Voyage of Discovery* 1: 247). Despite the failure to claim the Magnetic Pole for the nation, Ross did manage to infer its apparent geographic location closer to 76° of southern latitude disproving Gauss’s predicted position of it at 66° of southern latitude and 146° of eastern longitude (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 166).²¹ The Ross expedition was the last official British Antarctic expedition in the first half of the nineteenth century. It greatly contributed not only to the study of terrestrial magnetism and Antarctic hydrography, zoology, and botany, but also provided proof of the existence of the southern continent.

The United States also got involved in Antarctic exploration during this period which resulted in the launch of the South Seas’ expedition (also known as the U.S. Exploring Expedition) led by Charles Wilkes in 1838-1842. The expedition had been vigorously advocated by nautical explorers Jeremiah N. Reynolds and William Lewis Maury from the late 1820s. However, it got delayed several times because of the conflicts in the administration. The expedition’s narrative was subsequently published in five lengthy volumes under the title *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* (1845) which were accompanied by eleven volumes of scientific appendixes. The Wilkes Expedition was the first of its kind that was directly approved by the American Congress. It was also very large in its scope since it consisted of seven USS ships and nearly three hundred fifty crew members. This fact made it

²¹ In the 1830s, Gauss’s theory of terrestrial magnetism was getting increasingly more popular. Gauss theorised that geomagnetism was a phenomenon that “should be limited to the surface of the earth which functioned as an indeterminate collection of magnets randomly disposed” (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 166). See also John Cawood’s “Terrestrial Magnetism and the Development of International Collaboration in the Early Nineteenth Century” (1977); and “The Magnetic Crusade: Science and Politics in Early Victorian England” (1979); and J.G. O’Hara’s “Gauss and the Royal Society: The Reception of his Ideas on Magnetism in Britain (1832-1842)” (1983).

important to properly record all the observations from the expedition. Wilkes highlights this in his introduction to the first volume of the voyage narrative: “The Expedition, a narrative of the operations of which is now laid before the public, was the first, and is still the only one fitted out by national munificence for scientific object, that has left our shores” (xiii). The extensive scientific observations and the numerous zoological, botanical, and geological samples acquired during the expedition greatly contributed to the development of scientific network in the United States and the eventual establishment of the Smithsonian Institution in 1846.

After almost a decade of delays, in 1838, the year in which Edgar Allan Poe’s novel *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* was initially published, the Wilkes Expedition, the first U.S. governmental polar expedition, finally sailed. The 1830s was a period in the United States that was marked by “the exuberance for exploration voyages and voyage accounts” incensed “by the desire to compete with British naval exploration and the global reaches of British empire” (Gitelman 350). Poe’s novel *Pym* was produced in the period of time that was gripped with American patriotic enthusiasm about exploratory voyages that contributed to the formulation of American national identity. In a similar vein with Britain, beyond expected economic gains, polar exploration became an object of national competition and an instrument of reaffirming national identity for the Americans. At the same time, the expedition was poorly equipped and badly organised. The ships were not sufficiently reinforced to withhold heavy pack ice and were not able to sail together (Viola 18). There were also multiple tensions among the crew on board during the voyage, in particular, between Wilkes and his officers and between the seamen and the scientists (Viola 14). Wilkes explored Antarctica “between the 100th and 160th meridians,” but was “prevented from landing on the continent by the pack ice surrounding it” (Fleming 342). Once again the ice proved to be undefeatable.²² In spite of this, he discovered and mapped the continental margin of more than two thousand and four hundred kilometres.²³ He hence provided another considerable evidence (together with Ross and D’Urville) that Antarctica was in fact a continent all along.

²² Regarding this, one of the sailors, Ezra Green, remarked in his toast: “[T]o the *Barrier of ice* which so obstinately prevented our landing upon our newly discovered Continent” (Stanton 175; original emphasis). The surgeon Silas Holmes similarly highlighted the accomplishment of their duty and the impenetrability of the icy barrier in front of them: “We have coasted along the field ice from 165° E. to 100° E. and have found *one solid, unbroken, impenetrable barrier of ice;*” and added, “if anything *could have been done*, I have no hesitation in saying that *we should have done it*” (Stanton 177; original emphasis).

²³ See William Ragan Stanton’s *The Great United States Exploring Expedition of 1838–1842* (1975): pp. 169–185.

‘Uncolonisable’ and ‘Unrepresentable’ Polar Spaces²⁴

By the 1850s, in spite of British and American efforts, the Arctic, to a lesser extent, and the Antarctic, to a greater extent, remained unexplored in their entirety. The Geographic North and South Poles were not reached, and although the Northwest Passage was discovered and traversed in 1854 by Robert McClure by ship and sledge, it was not crossed entirely by ship until the early twentieth century. Anglo-American exploratory ambitions in the polar regions were ultimately thwarted by the agency of polar ice. This fact together with the ‘mysterious’ disappearance of the well-equipped and supplied Franklin expedition showed the utmost futility of polar exploration to the public. It demonstrated that polar ice was in fact undefeatable and the Arctic and Antarctic regions were ‘uncolonisable’ for (Western) men. At the same time, the British and American avid exploratory interest in the polar regions in the first half of the nineteenth century, made the presence of these spaces prominent in the contemporary literary scene of these countries. Beyond political topicality, the Poles and polar regions, unknown, hostile, and sublime, were employed by coeval writers as an important literary space that enabled them to put their characters’ physical and imaginary limits to the test and subsequently to negotiate such ethical questions as science, race, nation, and nature. Furthermore, the geographical remoteness of the Arctic and Antarctic allowed writers to address not only the exploration of these regions at the time, but also to examine the relationship between man and nature, nature and science, and nation and nationalism in a narrative setting that was realistic and yet far removed from the existing socio-political reality. In other words, the polar regions provided contemporary writers with a ‘safe’ and ‘pure’ literary space to negotiate various social, political, and ethical concerns.

Polar spaces depicted in the examined works of Shelley, Gillies, Poe, and Kingston encompass sublime natural sites. The *polar sublime* was an established and popular aesthetic model in which the Arctic and Antarctic regions were portrayed in literature and art during the Romantic and Victorian periods. This model was primarily based on Edmund Burke’s theory of the sublime outlined in his treatise *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757/1759). Burke was not the originator of the theory, but he was the first to turn it into a proper aesthetic category and systematically contrast this category

²⁴ Siobhan Carroll in her *An Empire of Air and Water: Uncolonizable Space in the British Imagination* (2015) similarly uses the term ‘uncolonizable’ in reference to such geographical sites as the Arctic which, in her argument, constitute “the uncolonizable spaces of imperial imagination, planetary spaces over which the metropole aims to extend its power but that recalcitrates their conversion into national property” (6).

with that of the beautiful.²⁵ In Burkean aesthetics, when confronted with the sublime, man is overwhelmed by the experience of seemingly two conflicting emotions, terror and delight (Burke 36). The experience of the sublime is therefore that of delightful terror. In other words, man takes delight in their own self-preservation in the face of potential danger or threat. The hostile nature of polar spaces represented this potential danger to the explorer. This study pays particular attention to the comprehensive examination of the natural characteristics of ice that produce the polar sublime in the primary literature. In these texts, the sublimity of the polar regions was predominantly generated by such natural properties of ice as its dynamic power, magnitude, vastness, depth, and magnificence. It was also produced by the inherent ‘blankness’ of ice (Wilson 143). The ‘blankness’ of ice incorporated the sublimity of the unknown. The Arctic and Antarctic (including the Poles) were yet to be completely explored. For this reason, they were unknown natural spaces which presented imaginary ‘blank’ canvases for the contemporary public to project their values and associations on. Thus, the polar regions embody spaces which are simultaneously experienced and imagined by the characters in the investigated novels.

In addition to Burkean aesthetics, the examination of polar spaces in this study is also based on Immanuel Kant’s theory of the sublime outlined in his “Analytic of the Sublime” (1790). There are two aspects in Kantian aesthetics of the sublime which particularly pertain to the representation of the polar regions in the primary texts. First, it is Kantian distinction between the dynamically sublime (nature as *power*) and the mathematically sublime (nature as *magnitude*). Due to its dynamic nature, polar ice encompasses the properties of both types of Kantian sublime. On the one hand, it possesses the power to endanger and dominate the characters in the primary texts. On the other hand, the sheer magnitude of icebergs and floes depicted in the novels both mesmerise and terrify the narrators. Second, it is Kantian emphasis on the observer’s perception of “the inadequacy of the imagination” in their initial encounter with the natural sublime (112). The sublimity of the polar regions pushed the limits of the observer’s imagination and made them realise its inadequacy. Such realisation was the source of the sublime experience for the observer. In the examined primary texts, the narrators’ encounter with the polar sublime pushes not only the limits of their imagination, but also the limits of their language. In this instance, the narrators underline the difficulty of fully and

²⁵ Such critics as Tom Furniss in his *Edmund Burke’s Aesthetic Ideology* (1993) and Philip Shaw in his *The Sublime* (2005) have tried to look for connections between Burke’s *Enquiry* (1757/1759) and his later writings such as *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). In contrast, Paddy Bullard openly calls into question this connection in his *Edmund Burke and the Art of Rhetoric* (2011): p. 79. See also Robert Doran’s *The Theory of the Sublime* (2015): pp. 141-69.

sufficiently conveying their encounters with the polar sublime in a written account. Similarly, polar explorers of the period often stressed that writing and drawing were insufficient media in the representation of the Arctic and Antarctic sublime.²⁶ Hence the polar regions were not only ‘uncolonisable’ spaces, but also ‘unrepresentable’ ones. The polar sublime was also produced by the peculiar visual and acoustic phenomena such as the Aurora Borealis, “sun dogs,” mirages, optical illusions, and the thundering intensity of a sound in the seemingly deathly silence of the frozen landscapes. The polar regions were full of contrasts between the light and the darkness and between the eerie stillness and the roaring sound. All these contrasts were sharply registered by the observer and contributed to the sublimity of the polar regions. They likewise compounded the ‘proper’ representation of the polar regions in language (in a written narrative and a drawing).

In both Burkean and Kantian aesthetics, a safe distance between the observer and a sublime object constitutes one of the key conditions in the production of the sublime. If Burke highlights the necessity of a safe distance in a more literal sense, then Kant underscores the importance of that distance in a more conceptual sense.²⁷ The experience of the sublime accordingly presupposes a certain degree of physical abstraction from the danger or threat it presents to the observer. In the absence of a safe distance, the polar regions embody *absolute spaces* which endanger and dominate the explorer. Aside from Burkean and Kantian aesthetics of the sublime, the examination of the polar regions in this work is also built upon Henri Lefebvre’s conception of absolute space outlined in his *The Production of Space* (1974/1991). To my knowledge, the conception of absolute space has not been applied in the examination of the polar regions in literary studies to date. In Lefebvre’s understanding, absolute (natural) space is a pre-historic and pre-social space which is never complete and ceases to exist as soon as it becomes regarded in isolation (Lefebvre 16). It is a space which existed when nature prevailed over human beings who later organised settlements and started to populate its space (Boer 87). In my application of the concept, absolute (natural) space is neither a pure point of departure towards a social space nor a void receptacle for social practice. It is rather a site of nature permeated with social symbolisms that can prevail over humans in two capacities. First, it dominates humans because it presents a direct danger or threat to them. Second, it can govern humans’ lives when they become dependent on it for their survival. The polar regions as

²⁶ In this respect, see the section “The Grandeur of the Polar Sublime and the Inadequacy of the Imagination and Language” in chapter 1; and the section “The Sublime Beauty and Unrepresentability of the Arctic” in chapter 3 of this thesis.

²⁷ See the section “The Importance of Distance for the Polar Sublime” in chapter 1 of this thesis.

absolute spaces represent the agency of nature that physically dominates and imperils the explorer. They thus encompass natural spaces which physically resist human colonisation but acquire ideological significance through social symbolisms ascribed to them. The concepts of the sublime and absolute space essentially correspond to the two sides of polar spaces, that is, as a potentially threatening natural space and as a physically threatening one.²⁸

Part I of this monograph incorporates the examination of the representation of polar spaces in the narratives of exploratory travelogues and selected novels through the lens of the eighteenth-century aesthetic theory and contemporary literary scholarship on space. Chapter 1 focuses on the representation of polar spaces in exploratory narratives of the period. It examines this representation within the theoretical framework of the polar sublime and absolute space. Chapter 2 investigates the portrayal of the Arctic in *Frankenstein* as a sublime, absolute, and geo-imaginary space. Such space produces a realist narrative setting for Victor's and the Creature's supernatural tales and simultaneously subverts Walton's imaginary speculations and exploratory ambitions regarding that space. Chapter 3, in turn, looks at the depiction of the Arctic in *Tales* in which it is characterised by the multifaceted sublimity and agency of polar ice in the narrative. Such representation of the Arctic overwhelms the narrator's senses and pushes the limits of his imagination and language to the test. For its part, chapter 4 considers the description of the southern polar region in *Pym* as a sublime and absolute space which, like a dark abyss, devours Pym, Peters, and Nu-Nu into its entrails. Poe's novel presents a unique

²⁸ Such differentiation between the two sides of polar spaces echoes in some way Eric Wilson's analysis of Western representations of ice from ancient times to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Wilson emphasises the role of science of ice in opening up new poetics and new repertoires of metaphors to Romantic writers. In tracing the spiritual history and anatomy of ice, Wilson distinguishes the exoteric and esoteric ways of seeing ice. The exoteric perspective considers ice as "a deathly coldness to be transcended, raw material to be converted into commodity, or static matter to be reduced to law" (Wilson 3). This perspective constitutes a negative or neutral way of depicting ice. Conversely, the esoteric view, shared with Romantic authors, focuses on ice as a mystery, an internal depth, and an individual experience. Unlike the exoteric perspective, the esoteric view is positive in essence and depicts "icescapes as revelations of an abysmal origin, marriages of opposites, mergings of microcosm and macrocosm" (ibid.). Wilson further classifies three key forms of ice representations in the West: crystals as a microcosm, glaciers as a mesocosm, and the poles as a macrocosm. The poles presuppose a macrocosm because they embody vast unknown territories of the Arctic and Antarctic to be investigated by scientists and explorers. The exoteric and esoteric ways of perceiving ice coincide correspondingly with seeing it as something material, visible, and social, and as something mysterious, imagined, and individual. The beginning of the nineteenth century was marked by the turn from the exoteric view of ice to the esoteric one. Wilson's analysis of the spiritual history of ice is original and compelling, and the esoteric mode of perception (mysterious, imagined, and individual) can be regarded as the sublime view of ice. I agree with Wilson's assertion that Romantic writers were among the first ones "to embrace ice" as a fact and symbol (5). However, I disagree with his claim that for Romantic authors, ice was a *positive* (not neutral or negative) metaphor because it was seen "as a unique manifestation of the principal of *life*" (ibid.; original emphasis). This esoteric (sublime) view of ice is neither positive nor negative, it is ambivalent in essence. This ambivalence lies in the complex nature of the sublime experience in Burkean aesthetics. In this respect, the sublime incorporates a complex pleasure, that is, a relative pleasure 'delight' mixed with pain, terror *and* awe, and it is therefore positive and negative at the same time (Burke 34).

type of the polar sublime in which ice is conspicuously absent beyond 78°30' of southern latitude. In fact, Pym compellingly erases the presence of ice beyond 74° of southern latitude from his history of Antarctic exploration as well seemingly suggesting the navigability and attainability of the South Pole for contemporary explorers. Finally, chapter 5 inspects the representation of the Arctic in *Peter the Whaler* as an absolute space that dominates the characters not only through its power, but also through the characters' dependence on it to survive. Peter continuously rejects the sublimity of polar ice, but eventually turns to its aesthetic in order to properly convey his encounter with the dynamic power of floes in the narrative.

Social Heterotologies of Ship Spaces

The ship constituted an emblem and integral part of geographical expansion, imperialism, and colonialism in the first half of the nineteenth century. It played (and, to some extent, continues to do so) a vital role in enabling the movement of knowledge, merchandise, and people around the globe. Despite this, the ship itself remains “an elusive, often invisible, and largely forgotten space” in geographical and maritime literature (Hasty and Peters 660). For the most part, this is also the case with regard to the spatial analysis of ships in literary studies.²⁹ The ship was also a recognisable element of contemporary polar exploration. It embodied a self-contained space that provided protection to men against the hostile nature of the polar regions, and was employed by them as a tool of exploration.³⁰ Overall, the ship presents a complex space that constantly oscillates between the inner and outer, between the mobile and immobile, between place and non-place, and between here and there. It is an extremely heterogeneous space that is capable of representing other objects and spaces. Each representation does not completely substitute another but all them co-exist together in their multiplicity within that space. Although the ship is able to represent various objects and spaces, it still retains its distinctness from them. It is the heterotopian nature of the ship which makes that space distinct from other spaces. Michel Foucault in his essay “Of Other Spaces” (1984) categorises the ship as “the heterotopia par excellence,” as “a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea,” as “the great

²⁹ The most notable exception here is Cesare Casarino's monograph *Modernity at Sea: Melville, Marx, Conrad in Crisis* (2002).

³⁰ Anyaa Anim-Addo, William Hasty, and Kimberley Peters in “The Mobilities of Ships and Shipped Mobilities” (2014), for instance, argue that the ship should not be simply understood as a contained space, but as “part of a wider global fabric or *meshwork* of movements; of ties and knots forging places, times and experiences” (342; original emphasis).

instrument of economic development,” and as “the greatest reserve of the imagination” (9). Heterotopian spaces are distinctly ‘different’ from other spaces. They are counter-sites, ‘other’ spaces which represent and reflect, contest and undermine every other space.

As a heterotopian space, the ship is characterised by the paradox of representation captured by Casarino in his analysis of nineteenth-century sea narratives. The ship ceaselessly moves between two modes of being, that is, being a floating ‘fragment’ and an autonomous entity, being fragmentary and incomplete, and being entirely monadic and autarchic (Casarino 20). This presupposes that there are two opposing but never separate spaces between which the ship constantly oscillates and occupies them both concurrently. The ship is always incomplete because it is only a ‘fragment’ of the existing socio-political reality that it mirrors and represents. At the same time, the ship is a self-contained complete entity, an autonomous miniature ‘island’ that is ruled by its own social codes of behaviour and is capable of unsettling and subverting social structures of other spaces. This paradox of representation is what makes the space of the ship not only “the heterotopia par excellence,” but also “the heterotopia of heterotopia” (Casarino 27). This paradox is similarly at the heart of the conception of heterotopia and its production on the whole. Heterotopias are realised in relationship and contrast to other spaces and yet they are simultaneously autonomous spaces in their own right. The ship essentially constitutes “what all other heterotopias are only virtually, what the space of heterotopia strives to be” (Casarino 27), that is, in Foucault’s words once again: “a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea” (9). If heterotopias are ‘different,’ distinct sites, which are outside of all places, but concurrently bearing a special relationship with all other kinds of spaces, then the heterotopia of the ship possesses an additional quality, that is, it bears a distinctive relationship with all other heterotopias.

The space of the ship was characterised by the extreme compartmentalisation of its physical space, a strict social hierarchy, and the rigid division of labour. It therefore embodied a “heterotopia of compensation,” a space that was more rational and carefully organised than any other space (Foucault 8). It was also a space that was continuously produced by inner social relations (of people on board) and outer social relations (of the existing socio-political reality). Hence it was not merely a heterotopian space, but also a social one. In addition to Foucault’s concept of heterotopia, this study also employs Lefebvre’s concept of social space and its production in the examination of ships in the primary literature. In Lefebvre’s conception, “[s]ocial space is a (social) product” (26). Social space thus incorporates a concrete, material product to be employed by people. Every society appropriates space in its own way; and space

as a social product accordingly shapes humans' lives in the sense that it presupposes them to follow certain conducts of behaviour. In this context, space is not a mere frame for the human body, but it is rather a material creation of a social reality. Lefebvre conceptualises a "trialectics of spatiality" comprised of three 'moments,' that is, 'spatial practice' (perceived space), 'representations of space' (conceived space), and 'representational spaces' (lived space). All the three 'moments' of this trialectics are not separate kinds of spaces but are different sides of the same entity. The third 'moment' is the one that conceptually intersects with Foucault's notion of heterotopia. Representational spaces are spaces directly *lived* by their inhabitants and users. They are spaces which are "vitaly filled with politics and ideology, with the real and the imagined intertwined, and with capitalism, racism, patriarchy, and other material spatial practices that concretize the social relations of production, reproduction, exploitation, domination, and subjection" (Soja, *Thirdspace* 68). They are the "dominated spaces," the "spaces of the peripheries," the "margins and the marginalized," the "chosen spaces for struggle, liberation, emancipation" (ibid.). They are thus spaces which possess the potential for social resistance against power relations that operate there. Like heterotopias, they are spaces which are capable of reflecting and representing, undermining and contesting the dominant societal structures of other spaces. It can be even said that heterotopias are representational spaces that vanish when the social relations which produced them disappear (Cenzatti 76). In spite of all the similarities, the two concepts are not just different names for the same category. For Lefebvre, space is an active agent of social action while Foucault's heterotopia is a broader conception because it is capable of juxtaposing within its space several sites which are in themselves incompatible.

Part II of this study accordingly focuses on the representation of ships in the primary literature within the bounds of Foucault's and Lefebvre's spatial theory. Chapter 6 examines in depth the theoretical conception of the ship as a socio-heterotopian space in literature of polar exploration of the period. In particular, it considers the socio-political implications of such conception of the ship in reference to the nationalist rhetoric of polar exploration at the time. Chapter 7 looks at the depiction of the frozen ship in *Frankenstein* as a socio-heterotopian space that stands in stark contrast to the 'empty' Arctic in the narrative. The frozen ship provides narrative time and space for Victor's and the Creature's stories and concurrently facilitates the subversion of Walton's exploratory ambitions in the Arctic. In turn, chapter 8 investigates social heterotopologies of the space of the *Leviathan* in *Tales*. The *Leviathan* presents a socio-heterotopian space that represents and reflects, contests and undermines the dominant societal structures of other spaces in the narrative including contemporary attitudes

to Arctic exploration. Chapter 9 deals with the portrayal of two ships, the *Grampus* and the *Jane Guy*, in *Pym*. Both ships embody socio-heterotopian spaces which mirror and simultaneously contest other spaces in the narrative. The *Grampus* is characterised by its extreme circumscription of inner material space while the *Jane Guy* both represents and undermines the U.S. nationalist rhetoric in regard to the coeval exploration of the South Seas. Finally, chapter 10 concentrates on the representations of three ships, the *Black Swan*, the *Pocahuntas*, and the *Shetland Maid*, in *Peter the Whaler*. All the three vessels encompass socio-heterotopian spaces in the narrative which are marked by the potential for social resistance against power relations which operate within these spaces.

PART I ICE

Chapter 1: The Representation of Polar Spaces in Arctic and Antarctic Exploration

The Aesthetics of the Polar Sublime

William Scoresby, a scientist, a clergyman, and one of the most famous British Arctic explorers of the early nineteenth century, describes the swift movement of ice fields in the polar seas in his *An Account of Arctic Regions* (1820) in the following manner:

The occasional rapid motion of [ice] fields, with the strange effects produced by such immense bodies on any opposing substance, is one of the most striking objects the polar seas present, and is certainly the most terrific. [...] The view of those stupendous effects in *safety*, exhibits a picture sublimely grand; but where there is danger of being overwhelmed, terror and dismay must be the predominant feelings (247-8; emphasis in the original).

In the passage, Scoresby exemplifies the nature of the polar sublime and its aesthetic in the narrative. To experience the sublime is to be overwhelmed by two seemingly conflicting emotions, terror and delight, at the same time. The sublime constitutes a potential danger that terrifies its observer and simultaneously delights them because it cannot physically harm them. Hence the sublime is essentially the experience of joy over one's self-preservation. The sublime is concurrently an experience, a phenomenon, and a quality of an object. The most essential condition in the production of the sublime is a safe distance between an observer and a sublime object. Scoresby accordingly emphasises that he observes the sublimity of polar ice "in safety." The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the resurgence of Arctic and Antarctic exploration by the British and Americans in particular. Polar ice was the main obstacle that thwarted the national ambitions of these exploratory projects. It is therefore not surprising that it often represents a potential danger that both terrifies and awes the narrator in literature of polar exploration of the period. The passage from Scoresby's account is one of such instances of the polar sublime. In this chapter, the term 'polar sublime' primarily indicates the sublimity of the polar regions in regard to the natural properties of ice there. Wilson argues that the sublimity of frozen landscapes is generated by the innate 'blankness' of ice (143). In this regard, the High Arctic and Antarctic were not merely unknown spaces, but they were also 'blank' canvases that were employed as "environments overwritten with a range of geographical specific values and associations" (Duffy 103). The blankness of polar ice, however, is not the only property that generates the sublime. The magnitude and dynamic power of polar ice likewise produce the sublime.

Theoretical discussion of the sublime reached its peak in the eighteenth century, while aesthetics gradually transformed into an independent discipline. The two major theories of the sublime were formulated in the second half of the eighteenth century by Edmund Burke in his *Enquiry* (1757/1759) and Immanuel Kant in his third *Critique* (1790). These two works are not only regarded to be one of the most important theories of the sublime, but also foundational texts on modern philosophy and aesthetics. For the most part, the discussion of the polar sublime and its aesthetics will be based on these two works in this chapter. The sublime is an essential concept of modern thought that is extensively employed in philosophy, aesthetics, cultural studies, literary studies, and other disciplines. The depiction of the polar sublime (and the sublime in general) in literature is often closely associated with Romanticism. The popularity of the polar regions in Romantic literature can be evidenced by such canonical works as Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poem "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" (1798) and Mary Shelley's novel *Frankenstein* (1818/1831).

The two works address respectively contemporary Antarctic and Arctic exploration in their narratives. They "exploit the current vogue for the sublime" that was discussed by Burke in 1757 (Kitson vii). The polar regions constitute the key narrative setting in these works. Such strong interest in these spaces among Romantic authors can be explained by the fact that the Poles exhibited "the otherness of sublime nature" for them (*ibid.*). It can also be explained by the popularity of the genre of polar literature as a whole.³¹ In this respect, Romantic texts that portray the polar sublime, so to speak, respond to "the current vogue" for polar travelogues. Coleridge's and Shelley's works are such texts. It is still not entirely known which sources were precisely used by the authors of these works but a number of early modern exploratory accounts by Martin Frobisher, Henry Hudson, Thomas James, and George Shelvocke and more contemporary accounts by James Cook, Daines Barrington, and Constantine John Phipps could have been an inspiration for them (*ibid.*).³²

³¹ John Dewey in his *Art as Experience* (1934) points out that the difference between aesthetics and science is merely in "emphasis" that the two place on "the interaction of the live creature with his surroundings" (15). Benjamin Morgan argues that such thinking challenges the notion that "nineteenth-century tropes of the sublime constitute the most relevant formal analytic for the popular genre of the Arctic voyage narrative;" and reveals the idea that the interactions between human bodies and hostile landscapes is "biological and relatively permanent rather than historically specific to Romanticism or Victorian culture" (2). In other words, the polar sublime is not just an aesthetic category that is bound to a specific period in the past, but an integral part of human nature. The polar sublime is not just bound to Romantic period, but it definitely transformed into a recognisable trope during that period. Romantic period hence embodied, what Duffy defines, "the history of the reimagining of the polar sublime" caused by the resurgence of polar exploration in the eighteenth century (103).

³² It has also been argued that there are many parallels between Coleridge's poem and Cook's voyage to the South Pole in 1772-1775. See, for instance, Bernard Smith's "Coleridge's Ancient Mariner and Cook's Second Voyage" (1956). As for *Frankenstein*, Walton's voyage to the Arctic is more recently seen as a response to the early nineteenth-century fascination with the Poles and various ideas of what could be located there. In this regard, see

In Burkean aesthetics, the sublime is a complex pleasure that is neither positive nor pure in essence. Instead, it is a “relative pleasure” called “delight” that is mixed with pain (Burke 34). Burke outlines several characteristics that contribute to the creation of a sublime effect. In particular, these are ‘vastness,’ ‘obscurity,’ ‘power,’ ‘infinity,’ ‘privation,’ and ‘magnificence.’ All these characteristics are capable of generating terror among men. Terror thus plays the key role in the production of the sublime. It is both a source of the sublime and the most powerful emotion man can experience because it always entails fear, or “an apprehension of pain or death” (Burke 53). The sublime, in turn, is “the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling” because it is based on terror and directly linked to one’s self-preservation (Burke 36). The polar regions are spaces that incorporate the characteristics that produce the sublime. They are therefore sublime spaces in essence. Polar ice is the epitome of the natural sublime. It is an integral constituent of the Poles that primarily generates their sublimity. Polar ice enables an observer to experience terror because it presents a physical threat to them. The encounter with the polar sublime generally entails a potential danger to one’s life. Cook eloquently depicts this potential danger of the polar sublime in his journal’s entry on 24 January 1773:

[G]reat as these dangers [drifting polar ice] are, they are now become so very familiar to us that the apprehensions they cause are never of long duration and are in some measure compensated by the very curious and romantick Views many of these Islands [of ice] exhibit and which are greatly heightned by the foaming and dashing of the waves against them and into several holes and caverns which are formed in the most of them, in short the whole exhibits a View which can only be discribed by the pencil of an able painter and at once fills the mind with admiration and horror, the first is occasioned by the beautifullniss of the Picture and the latter by the danger attending it, for was a ship to fall aboard one of these large pieces of ice she would be dashed to pieces in a moment (Cook, *The Journals* 171-2).

Although Cook underscores the aesthetic beauty of the polar landscape, he is still apprehensive of the danger that the drifting ice can present to the ship. There is only a short distance between the ship and its possible destruction by the ice. The phrase “admiration and horror” acutely captures the common way in which the polar sublime was portrayed in the late eighteenth-century British aesthetics (Duffy 113). Similar aesthetic of the polar sublime was adopted in the British Romantic period. Coleridge, for instance, seemingly echoes Cook’s “Antarctic sublime” in “The Ancient Mariner” (Duffy 123). But he puts more emphasis on horror: “The Ice was all around: /It crack’d and growl’d, and roar’d and howl’d – /Like noises in a swound” (lines 58-60; p. 12). The polar sublime turned into a recognisable trope in literature and culture

Spufford’s *I May Be Some Time* (1996), Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein; or the Modern Prometheus. The 1818 Text*. Ed. Marilyn Butler (1993), and Miranda Seymour’s *Mary Shelley* (2000).

of the period. The strong interest in the polar sublime in that period was largely caused by British exploration of the Poles in the eighteenth century and its subsequent resurgence from 1818 onwards.

The aesthetic of the polar sublime likewise persisted in the Victorian period. Romantic works like “The Ancient Mariner” and *Frankenstein* influenced the manner in which polar spaces were imagined in Victorian literature. In particular, Coleridge’s poem remained popular throughout the nineteenth century and was often cited by newspapers, magazines, exploratory travelogues, and even by Mary Shelley herself in *Frankenstein* (Loomis 98). The continued fascination of the Victorian and coeval American public with the Poles was facilitated by a period of active polar exploration. From 1818 to 1845 a number of governmental expeditions were sent to the Arctic and Antarctic by the Royal Navy while the South Seas’ expedition was launched by the U.S. Congress in 1838. The ultimate goals of these expeditions were either to locate the Northwest Passage and/or to discover and explore the geographical Poles. They were ultimately unsuccessful in achieving these goals but exploratory narratives positioned these failures as truly heroic attempts of man to defeat the hostile nature of the polar regions. Such British explorers as John Ross, James Clark Ross, William Parry, George Back, and John Franklin became a household name and were hailed as national heroes by the public.³³ In their travelogues, they reported on the aspects of botany, hydrography, geology, astronomy, and other sciences encountered in the Arctic and Antarctic. This knowledge was generally reported in a seemingly objective and rational manner. In other words, most of these travelogues reject the polar sublime in their narratives, that is, they forgo using the aesthetic of the sublime in the depiction of the polar regions. Such rejection notwithstanding, it only contributed to the sublimity of polar spaces in Romantic and Victorian literature.

Parry’s *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage* (1821) constitutes one of the earliest and most enduring examples of such travelogues. Parry rejects the sublimity of the Arctic in his narrative, but still conjures it in his portrayal of the gloomy polar landscape in winter:

³³ Lord Byron, for instance, refers to William Parry’s Arctic expedition (1820-1821) in his satirical poem “The Vision of Judgment” (1822): “Aurora borealis spread its fringes /O’er the North Pole; the same seen, when ice-bound, /By Captain Parry’s crews in ‘Melville’s Sound’” (lines 214-6). Lord Tennyson, in turn, wrote the following lines on John Franklin’s cenotaph in Westminster Abbey:

Not here: the white North has thy bones; and thou,
 Heroic Sailor Soul,
 Art passing on thine happier voyage now
 Toward no earthly pole (“Monument to Sir John Franklin in Westminster Abbey” 3).

When viewed from the summit of the neighbouring hills, on one of those calm and clear days, which not unfrequently occurred during the winter, the scene was such as to induce contemplations, which had, perhaps, more of melancholy than of any other feeling. Not an object was to be seen on which the eye could rest with pleasure, unless when directed to the spot where the ships lay, and where our little colony was planted. The smoke which there issued from the several fires, affording a certain indication of the presence of man, gave a partial cheerfulness to this part of the prospect, and the sound of voices which, during the cold weather, could be heard at a much greater distance than usual, served now and then to break the silence which reigned around the landscape of a cultivated country; it was the death-like stillness of the most dreary desolation, and the total absence of animated existence (124-5).

Parry's narrative is "unromantic" in essence but it enables to create "a popular image of the Arctic that was very romantic indeed" (Loomis 101). The Arctic here embodies a motionless and eerily quiet space of nature that runs counter to the established colony of man there. The "unromantic" manner in which the Arctic is portrayed by Parry only highlights how alien and infinitely vast its landscape is. The gloominess of the polar region induces only melancholy in the explorer. It strips all his intense feelings away. The crew's presence nearby is the only source of reprieve from melancholy that the explorer can find in the Arctic. Parry seeks to escape the loneliness and stillness of the polar landscape through the presence of his fellow companions. This fact suggests that Parry is "no Romantic searcher after the Sublime" (Loomis 102). At the same time, he inadvertently underscores "the death-like stillness of the most dreary desolation" that leavens the Arctic in winter. The eerie stillness of the polar region seemingly numbs all the senses of those who perceive it for a prolonged period of time. It exhibits the underlying terror and dormant power of the Arctic that threatens to consume anything living in its presence. In doing this, it emphasises the sublimity of the polar landscape. Thus, although Parry rejects the aesthetic of the polar sublime, he still conjures a sublime image of the Arctic in his narrative. This image constitutes a prominent representation of the polar sublime in literature of the period. A similar representation of the polar region, for instance, is adopted in Poe's novel *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (1838). In *Pym*, the South Pole is a strange space that is primarily characterised by the unnatural stillness, silence, and limitless vastness of its landscape.

The 'Blankness' of the Polar Sublime

The 'blankness' of polar ice was one of the characteristics that incorporated the sublimity of the Poles for the public in the first half of the nineteenth century. The polar regions continuously resisted human exploration and colonisation. Polar ice was pretty much the ultimate natural

barrier that shattered national exploratory ambitions of such countries as the UK and US there. Such resistance emphasises the dominance of polar nature over man. This very power of polar nature encompassed a source of its sublimity. Each failed expedition seemingly made the polar regions even more captivating in the Romantic and Victorian imagination. The Poles continued to be unmapped spaces of the world. This fact only further stimulated the imagination of the contemporary public. There were various theories of what might be found at the Poles varying from classical and medieval myths about the Hyperboreans and Antichthones to more recent seventeen- and eighteen-century Hollow Earth and open polar sea theories. In this instance, people speculated that there, among other things, might be an open sea, a paradisiacal land, an undiscovered civilisation, or a black hole resembling a whirlpool at the Poles. All these theories were considered rather seriously at the time until they were completely proven false in the late nineteenth century. They were also addressed in the narratives of coeval Anglo-American fiction. *Frankenstein*, for example, features Walton imagining a distant paradise at the North Pole, while *Pym*'s protagonist is confronted with a limitless dark cataract that gradually sucks him in at the South Pole. The fact that the Poles remained unexplored and frustratingly blank spaces made them sublime. The Poles embodied "the macrocosm" that was "more threatening and more sublime than crystals or glaciers" precisely because it ultimately resisted exploratory projects of man (Wilson 143). In this regard, the sublimity of the Poles was that of the unknown. The polar sublime challenged both the body and the mind of the explorer. It not only pushed the physical limits of man, but also the limits of their imagination.

The blankness of the polar sublime is two-fold in its function. It is simultaneously subversive and creative. It resists colonisation and therefore subverts exploratory ambitions of man. On the other hand, it provides a blank canvas for the public of the period to project their own imaginings on. In regard to fiction of the period, it similarly provides a fruitful and, what is more important, *distant* literary space to envisage and negotiate such important ethical questions as science, nation, gender, race, and so on.³⁴ The geographical remoteness of the polar regions made them 'pure' in the public eye, that is, far removed from the political and economic contexts prevalent at the time in the UK and the US. In fact, this 'purity' of the Poles was promoted as such by Barrow and Reynolds, the main proponents of coeval polar exploration in

³⁴ By the term 'distant space' is meant the geographical remoteness of the polar regions from ordinary people in the UK and the US. Such distance enabled to create, what Hill calls, a "pure" space "conceived as being separate from not only from [*sic*] the problematic political, racial, and economic relations of empire, but from potential class conflict at home" (4-5). Hill states that, in literature of the period, the Arctic represented "a landscape on which assertions and critiques of nation and empire could unroll at a literal "safe distance"" (5). Hill discusses the relationship solely between the Arctic and British Empire in the long nineteenth century, but the notion of a literal "safe distance" is also applicable to coeval literature on the Antarctic.

the UK and the US respectively.³⁵ Such perception of the Arctic and Antarctic still largely prevails even today. The blankness of the Poles thus produced both the polar sublime and a literary space for the contemporary public. The failure to discover the Poles, despite continuous efforts to do so, only reinforced their sublimity in the English and American imagination. It similarly underscored the futility of the whole endeavour in the first place. Cook acutely expresses this futility in his travelogue, *A Voyage towards the South Pole and Round the World* (1777): “Lands doomed by Nature to perpetual frigidness; never to feel the warmth of the sun’s rays; whose horrible and savage aspect I have not words to describe. Such are the lands we have discovered; what then may we expect those to be, which lie still farther to the South?” (243). Hence the discovery of the real polar sublime was “the discovery of absence” and “the discovery of the *inhuman*” (Duffy 104; original emphasis).

The disappearance of Franklin’s expedition in 1848, well equipped and supplied, had a significant cultural and historical impact. It suspended the exploration of the Antarctic and led to the extensive exploration of the Canadian Arctic from 1849 to 1859 in the aftermath of which thousands of miles of the territory was mapped on land and by sea. It also shifted the public perception of the polar regions. The polar sublime came to be associated with grimness and hopelessness. The new image of the polar sublime was evidently captured in Edwin Landseer’s painting “Man Proposes, God Disposes” (1864) that had been inspired by the search for Franklin’s lost expedition. By the mid-century the polar sublime came to represent “the cold vastness and indifferent powers of the inorganic cosmos” (Loomis 104). From the discovery of absence and the inhuman, the polar sublime became the discovery of indifference and absolute might of nature. The blankness of polar ice accordingly transformed into the cold emptiness that was silent, lifeless, and utterly indifferent to the plight of the explorers.³⁶

³⁵ John Barrow, the Second Secretary to the Admiralty, was the main promoter of British Arctic exploration of the period and was called “the father of Arctic exploration” (Fleming 11). Barrow emphasises that Arctic exploration was “one of the most liberal and disinterested” enterprises ever undertaken “having for its primary object that of the advancement of science, for its own sake, without any selfish or interested views” (378-9). Jeremiah Reynolds, in turn, was the main advocate for the United States Exploring Expedition (1838-1842) in the South Seas at the Congress. In addition to potential economic and national gains, Reynolds also stresses to the Congress the importance of Antarctic exploration for the advancement of science alone: ““What advantage has Great Britain derived from her endeavours to find a northwest passage, and what does she still promise herself in the prosecution of a design which, even if accomplished, can never lead to any practical benefit in carrying on the commerce of the world?” We answer that the question, *cui bono?* should never be put in affairs of this kind. Scientific research ought not to be thus weighed. Its utility cannot be computed in advance, but becomes apparent when the results are made known. This is an immutable law of nature, and applies to all matters of science or invention, as well as to the progress of geographical discovery” (22-3).

³⁶ In actuality, the polar regions were certainly not ‘empty’ or ‘lifeless.’ The explorers of the period often reported on the fauna and flora and the Inuit of the polar regions but the perception of these spaces as ‘empty’ and ‘lifeless’ was rather prevalent in the contemporary public imagination.

The Dynamic Power of the Polar Sublime

The dynamic power of polar ice constitutes another important source of its sublimity. Power is a key element in the production of terror and subsequently the sublime. Burke underscores the role of power in generating the sublime: “I know of nothing sublime which is not some modification of power” (59). Anything that creates the sublime possesses power over man since it commonly entails a potential promise of either pain or death. This potential threat in an encounter with power encompasses an object of terror for man. Notwithstanding, power needs to be superior to man so as to inflict terror and generate the sublime. Burke therefore makes a distinction between power that dominates man and mere strength. Only the former kind of power that towers above man and is uncontrollable to them can be a source of the sublime. Polar ice possesses and exhibits such power to the explorer. In polar waters, ice embodies a most compelling instance of the natural sublime since it is utterly *dynamic* in its essence. It can freeze, melt, or crumble apart. It can likewise be rough or smooth, passive or active, miniscule or gigantic in its properties. Polar ice incorporates the dynamic power of nature that is essentially the source of the sublime it produces. This power is an integral constituent of its sublimity since it is able to invoke terror in man. Scoresby exemplifies this very fact in his depiction of polar ice as “a picture sublimely grand” at the beginning of the chapter. There the ice is the representation of the natural sublime. The rapid movement of the large floes in close proximity to the ship represents a force of nature, its domineering power. The potential danger of being dominated by such power incites fear mixed with wonder in the explorer.

Seasons play an essential role in the dynamic power of polar ice. In winter, ice freezes making it hard or nearly impossible for ships to move further. In summer, conversely, ice starts to gradually melt and break apart moving rapidly around and threatening to shipwreck vessels. The two seasons are two different sides of the dynamic power of ice, the dominating power of nature that utterly resists exploratory projects of man. The two seasons are also two distinct sides of the polar sublime, that is, a darkly precarious side and a dazzling white one. The polar regions were spaces in which the contrast between the light and the darkness was sharply registered by the observer. During a year they presented sites that were either blindingly radiant and white at one point or misty, obscure, and strangely dark at another. They were similarly sites that were marked by peculiar visual phenomena such as the Aurora Borealis, “sun dogs,” mirages and optical illusions. All these phenomena were meticulously described by the polar

explorers of the period.³⁷ The explorers likewise underlined how strangely the sounds were perceived in the polar regions. For the most part, nearly deathly silence seemed to hover over polar spaces. In such silence, the sound of a floe cracking or a the cry of a distant bird were felt much more intensely (Loomis 102). All these visual and acoustic phenomena were mostly created by polar ice. They all contributed to the generating of a sublime effect on the observer's senses in the Arctic and Antarctic. The dynamic power of polar ice, in turn, encompassed its utter sublimity. The terror of ice floes was in their "dual nature" as they "could pierce or crush the stoutest ship" and concurrently were "also ghostly and protean, appearing and disappearing in a matter of hours" (ibid.).

This "dual nature" represents what Kant calls "the dynamically sublime," that is, the manifestation of nature as a might which arouses fear in the observer (119). And this 'might' conditions the observer to realise their own "physical impotence" in the confrontation with the natural sublime (Kant 120). The power of reason, however, makes the observer superior to nature when their self-preservation is realised since it enables them to place all natural objects under a certain category. Such feeling of superiority prevents the observer from being inferior to the dynamically sublime despite the fact that they succumb to the dominance of nature. In other words, man is inferior in body to the dynamically sublime, but they are superior to it in their imagination.³⁸ Polar ice was the dynamically sublime that dominated the explorers physically. Notwithstanding, the explorers repeatedly attempted to subjugate it in their imagination. They projected their exploratory ambitions on it. The dynamically sublime of polar ice therefore became an absolute obstacle to be overcome by the explorer, a testament of their masculinity. John Ross illustrates this in his *A Voyage of Discovery* (1819): "[W]e endeavoured, by every exertion, to work towards the entrance of the channel, but had no sooner attained our object, than the ice again closed in upon us, and nothing was to be done unless by setting the crews to saw through the floes; but [...] every effort was, for a long while, rendered fruitless, as it closed again as fast as it was sawed" (62). And here, like in every other polar expedition of the period, the dynamically sublime of ice was an ultimate winner in the encounter with the explorer.

³⁷ For example, Parry describes the Aurora Borealis at length in his *Journal of a Third Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage* (1826) as a phenomenon that is characterised by "streams of light resembling brightly-illuminated vapour or smoke" which "appeared to be increasingly issuing, increasing in breadth as they proceeded, and darting with inconceivable velocity, such as the eye could scarcely keep pace with" (149). Scoresby, for his part, depicts atmospheric phenomena in the Arctic, dependent on reflection and refraction in his *An Account of the Arctic Regions* (1820): vol.1, pp. 383-94.

³⁸ In Kantian aesthetics, the source of the dynamically sublime is not in nature, or an object of nature, but in one's mind (121-3).

The Grandeur of the Polar Sublime and the Inadequacy of the Imagination and Language

Polar ice similarly incorporates the sublimity of vastness and magnificence. The polar sublime, in this instance, exhibits the ultimate grandeur of nature. Vastness and magnificence are another two qualities of an object that are capable of making man experience the sublime. In Burkean conception, these two properties are closely associated with the ideas of grandeur, magnitude, and infinity which can overwhelm the senses of the observer and create a sublime experience for them. Vastness is identified by Burke as “greatness of dimension, vastness of extent, or quantity” (66). An object that is overwhelmingly large in terms of height, length, or depth can be a source of the sublime. The sublimity, in this case, is caused by the fact that when man observes an object of great dimensions, they realize how insignificantly small they are in comparison to it. Polar ice incorporates this sublimity of vastness for the observer. It can be overwhelmingly large in its dimensions whether it is its depth, height, or length. An encounter with the polar sublime is therefore a confrontation with man’s physical insignificance.

Magnificence, in turn, is an intrinsic property in things which makes them utterly grand among others. It is the grandeur of an object, created by its multitude and chaotic disorder. Notwithstanding, the disorder of sublime magnificence needs to be turned towards the idea of infinity. It needs to “produce an appearance of infinity” similar to that of the starry sky or some fireworks (Burke 71). In Kantian aesthetics, the idea of infinity is more prominent in the production of the sublime. Kant defines the sublime as “a liking for the expansion of the imagination itself” (105). In this respect, the true source of the sublime is in the mind of the observer. The sublime is created in the course of the conflict between the observer’s reason and their imagination. The imagination “strives to progress toward infinity” while the reason “demands absolute totality as a real idea” (Kant 106). The imagination is unable to provide that idea to the observer’s mind. The experience of the sublime accordingly pushes the limits of the observer’s imagination and enables them to realise the inadequacy of that imagination. The realisation of this inadequacy is what produces a sublime effect on the observer. Hence to encounter the polar sublime is also to be confronted with the inadequacy of the imagination.

Kant makes a distinction between the dynamically sublime and the mathematically sublime. The latter encompasses the sublimity of vastness and magnificence since it is that “*in comparison with which everything else is small*” (105; original emphasis). The dynamically sublime is the sublimity of nature as power while the mathematically sublime is the sublimity of magnitude. The polar sublime embodies both these types and displays them either

simultaneously (icebergs) or separately (floes). The mathematical sublimity of polar ice is in its *absolute* magnitude for the observer. Contemporary travelogues commonly reject the sublimity of ice in the polar regions, that is, they use only factual language in its depiction. At the same time, they do stress the sheer magnitude of polar ice they encounter. Parry, for instance, does this in his *Journal of a Third Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage* (1826): “During our subsequent progress to the north, we also met with some [of ice] of enormous dimensions, several of the floes, to which we applied our hawsers and the power of the improved capstan, being at their margin more than twenty feet above the level of the sea; and over some of these we could not see from the mast-head” (40-1). The magnitude of polar ice here underscores the struggle of man against the hostile nature of the Arctic in which the former continuously attempts to overcome the latter so as to appropriate it for themselves.

Icebergs constitute an emblematic example of the mathematically and dynamically sublime in polar waters since they display both absolute magnitude and power to the observer. John Ross captures this dual sublimity of icebergs in his *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage* (1835):

Who more than I has admired the glaciers of the extreme north; who more has loved to contemplate the icebergs sailing from the Pole before the tide of the gale, floating along the ocean, though calm and through storm, like castles and towers and mountains, gorgeous in colouring, and magnificent, if often capricious, in form; and have I too not sought amid the crashing and the splitting and the thundering roarings of a sea of moving mountains, for the sublime, and felt that nature could do no more? In all this there has been beauty, horror, danger, every thing that could excite; they would have excited a poet even to the verge of madness (603).

Ross and his crew became famous for spending four entire years, 1829-1833, in the Arctic, a feat deemed impossible before for the Europeans, and were thought to have long perished there by the public. His nephew, James Clark Ross, and his men also became the first Europeans to reach the North Magnetic Pole in this expedition. Ross expresses his utter frustration and resentment of ice at length after the prolonged stay in the polar region. He, for example, states that “the sight of ice was a plague, a vexation, a torment, an evil, a matter of despair,” and that he and his men hated its sight, because they “hated its effects; and every thing that belonged to it, every idea associated with it was hateful” (601). In the passage above, Ross acknowledges the sublimity of polar ice that he comes to despise over the four winters in the Arctic. The grandeur of polar ice turns into a sight of routine and misery due to the continued exposure of the explorers to it. In this regard, the polar sublime fails to astonish Ross and his men. Astonishment is essential for the production of the sublime in Burkean aesthetics. It is “[t]he passion caused by the great and sublime in *nature*, when those causes operate most powerfully”;

“that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror” (53; original emphasis). It is a complex passion generated by an encounter with the grandeur of nature. It is the highest degree of “delightful horror” the object of which is self-preservation, one of the most intense passions experienced by man.³⁹ The sight of polar ice and icebergs, in particular, generally brings utter astonishment to the observer. For Ross, it generates an opposite effect. The grandeur of polar ice fails to astonish Ross and his men precisely because it has turned into the everyday for them in the course of their lengthy stay in the Arctic.

Ross underlines another important aspect of the polar sublime in his passage, that is, the inadequacy of language in an encounter with it. The polar sublime challenges not only the limits of man’s imagination, but also the limits of their language. Ross compares the icebergs to “castles,” “mountains,” and “towers” so as to capture fully the grandeur of the polar sublime. These comparisons present recognisable material, man-made, and found in nature objects that are seemingly used by the explorer to wholly convey his experience of the polar sublime in his narrative. Ross is certainly not the only explorer who does this. For his part, Scoresby somewhat echoes Ross in his narrative when he likens the polar ice he sees to a work of art: “One mass resembled a colossal human figure, reclining in the position of the Theseus of the Elgin collection. The profile of the head was really striking; the eye, the forehead, and the mouth, surmounted by mustaches, were distinctly marked” (*Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale-Fishery* 84). Ross and Scoresby needed to turn to familiar objects to represent the grandeur of the polar sublime in written language. Such necessity indicates the explorers’ struggle to *fully* express the aesthetic of the polar sublime in their written narratives. This perceived inadequacy can be observed not only in polar travelogues of the period, but as well in coeval images of the Arctic and Antarctic. Most images of polar spaces at the time were the result of the “limitations of art and photography” and “the technical and stylistic limitations of amateur artists” (David 32). Due to these limitations, the explorers could not fully represent the ‘otherness’ of the polar regions, their dazzling brilliance and magnificence, and hence their

³⁹ It is thus the superior effect of the sublime, while admiration, reverence, and respect are the inferior effects. Here Burke essentially outlines a hierarchy of passions caused by the sublime in which astonishment stands at the top, and below admiration (also referred to as awe), reverence, and respect are located. This hierarchy will be later reversed by Kant in his third *Critique*. The hierarchy stands in opposition to positive pleasure derived from the beautiful. Burke hence primarily focuses not merely on aesthetic judgment, but on the relationship between various properties associated with the ideas of the beautiful and the sublime and the passions these properties produce. For this reason, Burkean aesthetics of the beautiful and the sublime can be perceived as “sensationalist” (Doran 144). In regard to this, Samuel Holt Monk in *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-century England* (1960), for instance, argues that Burke “removes the perception of the beautiful and the sublime from the realm of judgment, where the French neo-classicists had sought it, as well as from the realm of sentiment, where some of his immediate predecessors had found it” (98).

grandeur as a whole. Ross shows this again in his earlier travelogue *A Voyage of Discovery* (1819) in which he describes the brilliance of icebergs in the Arctic: “It is hardly possible to imagine any thing more exquisite than the variety of tints which these icebergs display; by night as by day they glitter with a vividness of colour beyond the power of art to represent” (1: 23). They could only capture a fraction of that grandeur. The polar sublime is therefore characterised by the inadequacy of representation in written language and imagery. Such inadequate representation of the polar sublime is further characterised by the desire of man to possess it for themselves. The very fact that such explorers as Ross and Scoresby compare the grandeur of polar ice to various recognisable material objects unveils their implicit want to colonise it and leave their mark on it.

The Polar Sublime as a “Selfish Pleasure”⁴⁰

The experience of the sublime embodies a complex pleasure that is individual and subjective in essence. In this respect, Spufford rightly defines the sublime as a “selfish pleasure” since its view “made one look inwards, as well as outwards” (19). In Burkean thought, the sublime is essentially a self-absorbed and self-reflective pleasure because it is based on the passions of self-preservation. It runs counter to the beautiful that is based on love and the passions of a society. The beautiful and the sublime respectively belong to the aesthetic categories of a society and an individual. The differentiation between the two categories lies at the heart of the distinction between the beautiful and the sublime.⁴¹ Hence there is an explicit connection between the aesthetic of the sublime and human individualism.⁴² An encounter with the natural sublime underlines the idea that man turns his sensory perception from the outward nature towards the inward of oneself. The grandeur of nature can overwhelm the observer’s mind but this whole experience is exclusively *private* in nature. The observer can contemplate that grandeur in the privacy of their mind. The sublime is thus an individual and private pleasure

⁴⁰ From Francis Spufford’s *I May Be Some Time: Ice and the English Imagination* (1996): p. 19.

⁴¹ Some critics interpret this Burkean distinction as the differentiation between the mentality of war heroes, who strive to defeat their fear in the face of potential death, and the mentality of a mercantile middle-class society, who care only about economic profit and gain (Doran 163). For instance, Furniss in his *Edmund Burke’s Aesthetic Ideology* (1993) sees Burke’s theory of the sublime as “a contribution to the hegemonic struggle of the rising middle class in the first half of the eighteenth century” (i). Clery, in turn, in her book article “The Pleasure of Terror” (1996) similarly argues that “[t]he sublime operates in opposition to pleasure, as an antidote for the corrupting effects of a commercial society” (180). In this sense, Burke’s concept of the sublime can be interpreted as a critique of the mercantile nature of a bourgeois society.

⁴² Spufford emphasises this connection in regard to the importance of distance for the production of Burkean sublime characterising that distance as the one “between souls in civil society, separated by divergent interests and individual wants” (31). The distance between the sublime and the observer can thus be considered not only in a physical sense, but also in a metaphorical one.

while the beautiful possesses a more universal quality since it is pure and independent in essence, and its purpose is to bring the observer positive pleasure.⁴³

The polar sublime is a “selfish pleasure” in the sense that it is a self-absorbed and self-reflective experience for the observer. The natural properties of polar ice such as its blankness, dynamic power, and magnitude produce the sublime. This sublimity, however, can only be experienced by the observer who can be entirely absorbed by the experience and is able to reflect on it. The polar sublime highlights the subjectivity of the observer’s experience. Not everyone is capable of experiencing the sublime. There is accordingly a certain level of subjective exceptionalism when it comes to the experience of the sublime. It is asserted by Burke in his distinction between the passions belonging to a society and the ones belonging to an individual (37-8). It is even more directly exhibited by Kant in his discussion of the dynamically sublime in which he distinguishes between the ‘civilised’ and the ‘uncivilised’ in aesthetic judgment.⁴⁴ In short, the (polar) sublime is essentially an experience for the ‘noble’ persons who are able to completely focus on it and not pay attention to anything else at that moment. The polar sublime enables the observer to imagine their personal confrontation with its grandeur and power. It thus encompasses, what Doran calls in the discussion of Burkean and Kantian sublime, “a virtual heroism” for the explorer (163, 200). The encounter with the polar sublime was therefore commonly seen as a romantic quest for the British explorer of the period. In this encounter, the explorer came to be seen as a “Romantic hero, partaking of the sublimity against which he matched himself” (Duffy 105). Such perception was especially enduring among the British public and somewhat persisted until the early twentieth century.

The Importance of Distance for the Polar Sublime

The “virtual heroism” of the polar sublime exhibits another vital aspect of its production, that is, the importance of distance in this process. There is a dichotomy between passivity and activity in the relationship between a sublime object and its viewer. At the heart of this dichotomy is the idea of a safe distance between the sublime and the observer. The necessity of a safe distance embodies an essential, if not the most important, aspect in generating the

⁴³ The aspect of universal quality of the beautiful (and beauty) is extensively incorporated and discussed by Kant in his third *Critique* in which he asserts that a judgment of something as beautiful encompasses that which requires universally subjective validity to it (57-60).

⁴⁴ “For what is it that is an object of the highest admiration even to the savage? It is a person who is not terrified, not afraid, and hence does not yield to danger but promptly sets to work with vigor and full deliberation. Even in a fully civilised society there remains the superior esteem for the warrior, except that we demand more of him: that he also demonstrate all the virtues of peace – gentleness, sympathy, and even appropriate care for his own person – precisely because they reveal to us that his mind cannot be subdued by danger” (121).

sublime. This aspect is most notably emphasised by Burke in his initial section on the sublime: “When danger or pain press *too nearly*, they are incapable of giving any delight, and are simply terrible; *but at certain distances*, and with certain modifications, they may be, and they are delightful, as we every day experience” (36-7; emphasis added). It is only possible to experience the sublime at a safe distance from it. For his part, Kant emphasises the importance of “a safe place” for the production of the sublime (120). A safe distance is implied here but more attention is paid to a location of the observer. If Burke underscores the importance of literal distance in the production of the sublime, then Kant highlights the importance of conceptual one in it. The idea of “a safe place” is arguably less ambiguous than that of a safe distance. Notwithstanding, both Burke and Kant underscore the essentiality of safety for the observer in an encounter with the sublime. The polar sublime always posits a certain danger to the observer. In the absence of a safe distance, in close proximity, they would merely focus on preserving their life and escaping that danger. Scoresby stresses the fact that the dynamic power of the polar sublime can present “a picture sublimely grand” to some observer when it is done “in *safety*” (247; original emphasis). He similarly, however, observes that this power can be too overwhelming for someone to experience its sublimity. Instead, that observer would be left with the perception of only “terror and dismay” in the face of that astounding power (248). Scoresby’s observation displays the overpowering nature of the polar sublime to the observer.

A safe distance is also extremely important for the distinction between “a potentially threatening nature” and “a nature conceived as *exclusively* threatening” (Claviez 140; original emphasis).⁴⁵ At a safe distance, the polar sublime embodies a threat that is potentially dangerous to man, while at no distance (or in very close proximity) it is perceived by man as only threatening. In both cases, the hostile nature of the polar regions presents a threat to the observer. The extent of that threat is determined by distance between the two. Solely in the first case, that nature is regarded as the sublime by the observer. Although a safe distance is vital for generating the sublime, its conception is rather problematic when it comes to its actual experience. The problem lies in the quantitative ambiguity of that distance. How near or how far must a sublime object be from the observer for them to experience its sublimity? The answer to this question is never exactly articulated by Burke in his treatise. This fact is a cause of

⁴⁵ Thomas Claviez considers the distinction between these two kinds of nature as the basis of “the positive power of the sublime” (140). In particular, he comments that “[i]t is the harmlessness of dreadful nature at a distance – that which we are “in no Danger of” – that not only provides the positive power of the sublime; this harmlessness makes the frightful appearance of the dreadful disappear. Neither in ‘real’ nature nor in nature aesthetically represented is the terror really *there*; it is always already overcome by the observer’s safe distance to it” (ibid.; original emphasis).

confusion, a matter of various interpretations, and an object of criticism and even ridicule for the commentators of the *Enquiry*.⁴⁶ Despite this, Burke's idea of distance is something "more than an Irish joke" (Spufford 31). The idea can be understood in a literal and a figurative way. In its most literal understanding, distance can be regarded in its 'spatial' sense, that is, a physical space between a sublime object and the observer. In this sense, the exact calculation of such distance remains essential. However, merely physical interpretation of distance is likewise rather limited and fails to take into account Burke's theory of the sublime in its entirety. The reason for this is in the fact that Burke considers the sublime as a sensation caused not only by properties of physical objects, but also by depictions and representations of these properties in objects.

The two-fold understanding of distance underlines an undercurrent discrepancy between the actual (the sensational) and the virtual (the representational) in Burkean aesthetics of the sublime. Therefore, Burke's idea of a safe distance can be regarded not only in its physical sense, but also in its metaphorical one when it comes to the sublime as representation. In the latter case, it can be construed as an aesthetic category.⁴⁷ Here the term 'aesthetic distance' is understood as a mental relationship between an observer and a sublime object that presupposes a certain level of detachment from it. This partial detachment from a sublime object occurs due

⁴⁶ In the latest instance, Richard Payne Knight in his *An Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805) criticises Burke for confusing *distance* with *degree* which constitutes "a stout instance of confusion even with every allowance that can be made for the ardour of youth an Hibernian philosopher of five and twenty" (376). Knight was a major sceptic of Burke's philosophy of the sublime in general: "This notion of pain and terror being the cause of the sublime, appears, indeed, to me, to be, in every respect, so strange and unphilosophical, that were it not for the great name, under which it has been imposed on the world, I should feel shame in seriously controverting it" (374). Instead, Knight explicitly favours and defends the account of the sublime conceptualized by Longinus in which the focus is on the sublimity of a human character (the idea of high-mindedness). Knight comments on the confusion between distance and degree in reference to Burke's section on taste and smell. Hence there is a discrepancy between the actual and the virtual experience of taste and smell here. Knight points to this discrepancy and further argues that even if distance is to be substituted with particular degrees of danger, it will not salvage Burke's theory of the sublime because fear can be in no way a constituent of the sublime: "Fear [...], which is humiliating depressive in one degree, must be proportionally so in another; and consequently, in every degree, the opposite of the sublime" (377).

⁴⁷ The conception of "aesthetic distance" was coined by Edward Bullough in his article "'Psychical Distance' as a Factor and as an Aesthetic Principle" (1912) in which it was essentially conceived as a psychological category, a certain mental outlook that an observer adopts towards a particular object. In this sense, distance has a positive and a negative aspect: "It [distance] has a *negative*, inhibitory aspect – the cutting-out of the practical side of things and of our practical attitude to them – a *positive* side – the elaboration of the experience on the new basis created by the inhibitory action of Distance" (Bullough, "Aesthetics" 95; original emphasis). For his part, Paul Crowther observes in his discussion of Burkean sublime the following: "This is not to claim that viewing from a safe distance is a necessary condition for experiencing the sublime; rather it is to assert that when horrifying phenomena are encountered at a distance, the distance between us and the object will tend to facilitate our viewing it as a spectacle for contemplation alone. [...] The image *qua* image, in other words, can distance us from the full impact of actual horror, even as it reproduces it. If developed, then, Burke's safety clause amounts only to an insight as to how, psychologically speaking, distance from a horrifying event – be the distance actual or (as in the case of representation) metaphorical – will tend to facilitate our responding to that event in terms of the sublime" (123; original emphasis).

to the fact that distance “momentarily invests the object with the character of representation rather than that of real physical existence” (Crowther 123). At a safe distance, whether actual or metaphorical, a sublime object always presupposes a particular degree of physical abstraction. In other words, to experience the sublime in safety is to experience its representation in one’s mind. In the presence of a safe distance, the polar sublime embodies a *virtual* danger to the observer, that is, a certain representation of that danger for them. The two-fold idea of distance, physical and metaphorical, likewise emphasises another aspect of the polar sublime which is the remoteness of the Arctic and Antarctic. In the Romantic and early Victorian period, the polar regions were distant and largely ‘blank’ spaces in the Western popular imagination. Such remoteness in a certain way made them sublime for the coeval public. Polar spaces were not merely physical spaces of nature, but also imagined ones. The polar sublime hence presented a representation of an actual danger to the observer and that of an imaginary one to the contemporary public. A safe distance enabled the sublimity of that representation.

Absolute Spaces of Polar Ice

In the absence of a safe distance, polar ice embodies an absolute space of nature that dominates man. An observer of the polar sublime therefore turns into an actor dominated by the agency of nature. In literature of polar exploration, ice consistently represents the key obstacle which stands in the way of explorers and their progress in the Arctic and Antarctic. Ice became the mighty arch-nemesis of polar explorers that they needed to overpower to achieve their exploratory goals such as the discovery of the Northwest Passage, or the attainment of the Poles. Despite multiple exploratory attempts, ice ended up being the ultimate winner in most of these polar ‘battles’ in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ In this instance, the most disastrous exploratory attempt of the period was the lost expedition of Captain John Franklin that departed from England in 1845. Over one hundred men together with Franklin perished in that expedition. Here polar ice gains authority over the explorer and subsequently turns out to be authoritative in its power (Spufford 37). This very fact highlights an inherent imbalance in power between polar ice and the explorer in which the former presents a domineering force of nature over the latter. In short, polar ice as an absolute space always dominates the explorer.

⁴⁸ The Northwest Passage was first circumnavigated by boat and sledge in 1854 by an Irish Arctic explorer Robert McClure whose discovery of the Passage was described in *The Discovery of the North-West Passage* (1856).

An absolute space is a natural space that remains as such until it is colonised by man. When this natural space is colonised by them, it becomes historical and relativized (Dear 51). An absolute space is thus a starting point in the social production of space. Nevertheless, to consider nature as such is rather problematic since one can argue that completely natural or “original state of affairs” are “nowhere to be found” (Lefebvre 190). Hence an absolute space is a ‘pure’ state of nature before it was filled with a social existence by man. The polar regions of the period embodied such ‘pure’ spaces of nature that were yet to be fully colonised by ‘civilised’ man. In actuality, the Arctic was already colonised long time ago by the Inuit. Absolute space can be accordingly seen as an empty receptacle that was later laden with social relations. In Lefebvre’s understanding, ‘empty space’ presents “a mental and a social void which facilitates the socialization of a not-yet-social realm” as another “representation of space” (ibid.). In this study, absolute space is neither a ‘pure’ point of departure towards a social space nor a void frame for the social practice. Instead, it is a site of nature laden with social symbolisms that can prevail over man in two capacities. First, it can dominate man because it represents a physical danger to them. Secondly, it can govern man’s life when the latter needs to rely on it to preserve their life. Polar ice presents an actual threat to man in close proximity. That is the manifestation of the agency of polar nature. Despite that ever-present threat, the explorer often needs to rely on polar ice to survive and progress further in his voyage. In this respect, floes and icebergs were frequently employed by the explorers as a shield to protect their vessel from smaller ice fragments and as an anchor to secure it in stormy weather. Polar ice was also often used by the explorer as a source of fresh water in the region.

Social symbolisms that leaven absolute space play an important role in Lefebvre’s conception of space. Lefebvre argues that space, no matter if it is natural or social, practical or symbolic, only comes into existence when it is populated by a higher reality. The higher reality refers to myths that exist in societies, both Western and Oriental, which are made real in and with the help of religio-political space (Lefebvre 34). An example of such myths can be a belief that light is associated with truth, life, or something inherently good. The polar regions are also laden with these myths. They are, for instance, commonly regarded as ‘pure’ and ‘blank’ spaces in the popular Western imagination. Such myths are social symbolisms that societies often imbue polar spaces with. The absolute has no place in absolute space since it would be then considered as a “non-place” (Lefebvre 35). In stating this, Lefebvre seemingly asserts that natural space (and any space in general for that matter) ceases to exist as a place as soon as it becomes to be considered in isolation. Absolute space is therefore never complete and does not offer a ‘clarifying’ image of itself. Lefebvre’s conception of space possesses a history that is

enabled by the application of Marxist mode of production to spatial practice. Such method focuses on the production of goods and supplies in regard to nature and the existent mode of production (Boer 82). Space can thus be historically divided into various periods. For Lefebvre, absolute space incorporates a space of nature that existed during the earliest modes of production. It existed during tribal and kinship societies when the cultural dominants were magic and mythic narratives and kinship (Boer 87). In such societies, nature prevailed over humans who organised settlements and only started to continuously populate its space. As Boer puts it here, “[w]hether hunting for game, engaged in limited agriculture, or even in the first farming settlements, absolute space *dominates*” (88; emphasis added). Absolute space accordingly embodies a ‘pre-colonised’ space of nature that towers above man in every mode of production. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the polar regions constituted these absolute spaces that were characterised by such dominance of nature. The Antarctic was yet to be fully explored and colonised. The indigenous settlements in the Arctic presented societies with the earliest modes of production such as fishing and hunting which were dominated by the hostile nature of the region.

Absolute space consisted of parts of nature located in sites that “were chosen for their intrinsic qualities (cave, mountaintop, spring, river), but whose very consecration ended up stripping them of their natural characteristics and uniqueness” (Lefebvre 48). When people assign certain religious meanings to a space of nature it loses its special traits and turns into a site inhabited by ideological significance. As the colonisation of nature progressed further, absolute space soon became populated by political forces that transformed it into a political domain through a “symbolic mediation” (ibid.). As a result, it became political and religious in character. The political and the religious are not necessarily overlapping categories here. What unites the two categories, however, is an existing ideology that underlines them. Hence absolute space is ideological in essence. This ideology is attributed to that space by people who inhabit it. In the Romantic and Victorian periods, absolute spaces of the polar regions were replete with religio-political ideology. That ideology was ascribed to these spaces not only by the indigenous people who lived there, but also by people who lived outside those spaces. The Inuit and other indigenous people of the North imbued the Arctic with their own religious ideology such as animism and shamanism. Polar spaces were also rather prominent in the Western imagination. The West attributed their own religious and political ideology to those ‘blank’ spaces. One can mention such ideologies as Hyperborea, Ultima Thule, Terra Australis Incognita, and the Hollow Earth in this instance. This study solely focuses on absolute spaces of the Arctic and

Antarctic in the Western imagination and their representation in the selected Anglo-American novels of the period that will be covered in the subsequent chapters.

Language is similarly essential for the production of natural space. Absolute space, “religious and political in character,” encompassed “a product of the bonds of consanguinity, soil and language, but out of it evolved a space which was relativized and *historical*” (Lefebvre 48; original emphasis). The unity of kinship, land, and language produces absolute space. Language plays a substantial role in social practice. As a sign system, it possesses a certain symbolic value. People employ language when they ascribe myths to various sites of nature. These myths, in turn, imbue natural spaces with special characteristics that affect the way these spaces are perceived by man. They also often end up giving names to particular geographic locations. The polar regions are such geographic locations the names of which have a mythic origin. The Arctic derives from the Greek word ‘arktos’ that means ‘bear.’⁴⁹ The name refers to Ursa Major and Ursa Minor constellations which stand for the great bear and the little bear respectively. The constellations are seen in the northern hemisphere and point towards the Northern Star, or Polaris. The mythology of the name is deeply rooted in Greco-Roman, Hindu, Judeo-Christian, and East Asian traditions. For its part, the name ‘Antarctica’ means ‘no bears are all mythical’ that comes from a Roman variant of the Greek word ‘antarktike.’⁵⁰ The name also means the opposite of the Arctic and was used to depict places that ran counter to the North. Language hence actively participates in the production of natural spaces. The development of absolute space into a relativized and historical one presupposes the constant transformation of natural space by man.

Lefebvre emphasises the word “historical” in the continuous transformation of absolute space by man. This suggests that natural space acquires a history through this process of transformation. Natural space gradually vanishes in the course of its social production. Nevertheless, Lefebvre rebuffs the assumption that absolute space vanishes completely in this process. Absolute space survives “as the bedrock of historical space and the basis of representational spaces (religious, magical and political symbolisms)” (Lefebvre 48). Each historical space was constructed at the site of nature. For this reason, natural space is an important constituent of representational spaces and is laden with ideological symbolisms. Absolute space is religious and political in essence. It likewise encompasses “an antagonism between *full* and *empty*” (Lefebvre 49). In this understanding, “the emptiness of a natural space”

⁴⁹ From Rotich Victor’s “What Are The Origins Of The Names Arctic And Antarctica?” *World Atlas*. [blog post]. 24 April 2018. Accessed: 26 February 2020. www.worldatlas.com

⁵⁰ *ibid*.

was forcibly taken away by man from nature to construct political spaces in their stead (ibid.). In doing this, man proclaimed their authority over that emptiness and employed it for themselves. Man filled that emptiness with their representational spaces as “the forces of history smashed naturalness forever and upon its ruins established the space of accumulation (the accumulation of all wealth and resources: knowledge technology, money, precious objects, works of art and symbols)” (ibid.). Natural space is suppressed by man in the course of its colonisation. Notwithstanding, historical forces neither abate the importance of absolute space nor demolish it entirely. Nature seemingly loses its uniqueness as it is turned into a social commodity to be used and consumed by man, but it is hardly ever empty.

The polar regions were not empty in reality, but they were so in the Western imagination at the time. The hostile nature of the Arctic and Antarctic resisted complete colonisation by man. They therefore remained absolute spaces of nature for man. The British and American polar explorers of the period failed to colonise these spaces physically, but they put a claim on what I define the *imagined emptiness* of those spaces. They filled that emptiness with their own ideology. They took away that emptiness to construct their own ideological spaces in their stead. Although these ideological spaces were imaginary in character, they had a profound impact on how these spaces were perceived by the public in the UK and US. In this instance, the polar regions were largely regarded as peculiar, beautiful, hostile, and ultimately ‘pure’ spaces that confronted man’s body and their imagination. They were spaces that were reimagined by the Western public (and by the British, in particular) as “a theatre of the tragic-heroic defeat of hubristic aspiration” (Duffy 105). Absolute spaces of the polar regions thus represented not only an antagonism between the full and the empty, but also that between the physical and the imagined. The very remoteness and harsh nature of the polar regions made these spaces prominent in the Western imagination of the period. In short, the physical ‘emptiness’ of the polar regions was translated into the imagined one by the contemporary public.

For Lefebvre, absolute space represents the space of religion that mediates between spoken and written language, between the prohibited and the prescribed, between the full and the empty, and between accessible and inaccessible spaces (163). The latest aspect particularly pertains to the polar regions of the period. Polar spaces mediated between accessible and inaccessible natural spaces. Some Arctic and Antarctic territories were circumnavigated by coeval explorers, but some portions of those territories remained yet unattainable to them. The geographical Poles, the Northwest passage, and most of Antarctica were yet to be attained by explorers at the time. Absolute space here occupies an in-between position among various spaces and ideas. While some natural spaces were extracted from nature to be filled to the brim

with symbolisms and beings, others were preserved empty and locked away in order to signify a surpassing reality which was at once present and not (*ibid.*). Hence there is a division between the spaces of nature saturated with animate objects and symbolisms and those which aim to present a transcendental reality. This division suggests that nature invokes a certain nostalgia among those who seek to envision it in all its pristine glory before any man set their foot there. That is why some natural spaces were preserved ‘empty’ and locked away to reflect primal nature that was both there and not there; while others were actively employed by man and therefore laden with symbolisms. In this respect, there is an inherent paradox in the perception of absolute space. Man desires to simultaneously claim the emptiness of a natural space for themselves and preserve that emptiness in its most primal and primitive essence. This paradoxical desire similarly persists in the manner in which the polar regions were conceived in contemporary literature. The narratives of coeval polar travelogues are commonly replete with national exploratory ambitions, that is, the explorer’s desire to claim unmapped polar territories for their country. These ambitions are perfectly captured by Jeremiah Reynolds, one of the main proponents of the U.S. Exploring Expedition in the South Seas, in his *Address* (1838) to the Congress:

What man can do, they have always felt ready to attempt, – what man has done, it is their character to feel able to do, – whether it be to grapple with an enemy on the deep, or to pursue their gigantic game under the burning line, with an intelligence and ardour that insure success, or pushing their adventurous barks into the high southern latitudes, to circle the globe within the Antarctic circle, and attain the Pole itself; – yea, to cast anchor on that point where all the meridians terminate, where our eagle and star-spangled banner may be unfurled and planted, and left to wave on the axis of the earth itself! – where, amid, the novelty, grandeur, and sublimity of the scene, the vessels, instead of sweeping a vast circuit by the diurnal movements of the earth, would simply turn round once in twenty-four hours! (99).

Reynolds advocates for the necessity of the U.S. governmental expedition to the South Seas first by praising the high competence of American seamen and then by focusing on the potential glory that the expedition can bring to the country. In the passage, the South Pole becomes the focal point of national exploratory ambitions in the South Seas. It embodies man’s desire to claim this unmapped spot of the globe and leave their mark on it. It is that ‘empty’ space of nature for man that is yet to be filled with man’s presence. The attainment of the South Pole by the Americans would bring ultimate glory to the nation. Reynolds demonstrates here that exploratory ambitions are often closely intertwined with one’s nationalism. In this case, it is American nationalism. The South Pole serves as a natural space the imagined emptiness of which is claimed for the American nation to be laden with their ideology. That emptiness is

used to construct a new ideological space for the Americans. In doing this, Reynolds highlights the importance of the expedition for reaffirming American national identity. The desire to monopolise the imagined emptiness of the polar regions is similarly reflected in fictional literary works of the period. Among such works is the poem “The Arctic Expeditions” (1818) by Eleanor Anne Porden, a British poet who would become John Franklin’s first wife. There Porden depicts the Arctic as a pristine space of nature that is to be claimed by the heroic British explorers:

Then on! undaunted heroes, bravely roam,
 Your toils, your perils, shall endear your home,
 And furnish tales for many a winter night,
 While wondering Britons list with strange delight,
 Or tell with patriot pride and grateful soul,
 Lo! these the men who dared explore the Pole,
 On icy seas the lion flag unfurl’d,
 And found new pathways to the Western World (lines 184-91; p. 22).

Similar to Reynolds, Porden employs the North Pole as a natural space that reaffirms British national identity. Here the British explorers are seemingly destined to be the ones to attain the Pole and discover the Northwest Passage. To achieve these exploratory ambitions is to bring utmost glory to the nation. Once again exploratory ambitions are translated into the representation of one’s nationalism in the narrative. At the same time, Porden’s depiction of Arctic exploration offers a more gendered reading of the interaction between the British explorers and the polar region. Although the Arctic is presented as male in the poem, the manly explorers are to penetrate that ‘virginal’ space “with the help of the magnet’s feminine attractive powers” (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 168). In this respect, the claiming of the imagined emptiness of the polar region represents an ultimate test of masculine worth. Reynolds and Porden constitute examples of man’s desire to claim that emptiness for themselves in order to produce a new ideological space there. Notwithstanding, absolute spaces of the polar regions also display man’s longing for a space of primal, ‘untouched’ nature. This desire is somewhat exemplified in the novel *Frankenstein* in which Walton, Victor, and the Creature are confronted by such space of nature. In his polar pursuit, Walton seeks to find an unmapped paradisiacal land “surpassing in wonders and in beauty every region hitherto discovered on the habitable globe” (Shelley 7). Thus, man’s desire to both monopolise primal nature and preserve it incorporates a paradox in the perception of absolute space. The representation of polar spaces in literary works of the period mirrors this paradox in their narratives.

Lefebvre's conception of absolute space presents yet another internal paradox in its representation. Every society colonises natural space and, in doing this, ascribes a new role to it which can be 'cosmic,' 'sacred,' 'divine,' and so on. This role, however, continues to be regarded as part of nature, and the sacred and the mysterious character of a space is also attributed to the forces of nature despite the fact that "it is the exercise of political power therein which has in fact wrenched the area from its natural context, and even though its new meaning is entirely predicated on that action" (Lefebvre 234). This paradox of absolute space seemingly lies not only in the disparity between nature and its assigned role, but also in the interaction between a society and a space of nature. Since a society attributes "political power" to absolute space, then that space can no longer be regarded as merely 'absolute.' In this regard, it transforms into a social space. Nevertheless, absolute space does not cease to exist entirely in this transformation. Instead, a space of nature embodies both an absolute space and a social space. It occupies a middle ground between the realm of nature and that of social relations. As Lefebvre puts it here, "absolute space is therefore a highly activated space, receptacle for, and stimulant to, both social energies and natural forces" (236). Absolute space thus cannot exist purely as a space of nature because as soon as a society attributes a specific role (religious, political, magical, etc.) to that space, it becomes social in essence. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the polar regions presented absolute spaces of nature that dominated the explorers physically. In spite of this, these spaces were attributed a specific ideological role in the British and American imagination. They became spaces that were used to reaffirm national identity of the British and Americans. The imagined emptiness of these spaces was socially produced by these two countries. It was filled with their nationalist ideology and accordingly became a social product. In their coeval representation, the polar regions became receptacles for both absolute and social spaces.

The paradox of representation indicates the fact that absolute spaces are both material and imagined in character. Absolute space essentially "has no place because it embodies *all* places, and has a strictly symbolic existence" (ibid.; original emphasis). It does not possess a specific location, but exists seemingly everywhere and nowhere. As absolute space exists in a symbolic dimension, it possesses an imagined and social existence (Lefebvre 251). Therefore, absolute space exists at once in a physical and imagined capacity. In a physical capacity, it incorporates the material reality of a natural site while, in an imagined one, it encompasses symbolisms of that site. The two capacities of absolute space are interconnected through social relations. Social practice similarly alters absolute space on two levels, physical and imagined. Humans change the natural environment physically as they progressively colonise nature and concurrently

transform it on the imagined level by assigning a specific symbolic value to it. Polar spaces of the period were simultaneously experienced and imagined by man. The explorers were confronted by the hostile, alien, and sublime nature of the polar regions that endangered them physically. Their representation of those spaces affected the manner in which they were perceived in the Western imagination of the period. They attributed certain symbolisms to those spaces and hence produced them on the imagined level. The polar regions came to represent symbolically spaces that were ‘pure,’ ‘empty,’ primal, and sublime. They came to symbolise spaces of the explorers’ heroic feats, struggles, and ultimate defeats. They came to be seen as natural spaces that were symbolically replete with one’s nationalism and masculinity.

On the whole, Lefebvre discusses the concept of absolute space in regard to such sacred and cursed places as temples, monuments of religious worship, palaces and so on. Almost all these places are socially constructed at the sites of nature. The actual spaces of nature are not specifically examined by Lefebvre. Sacred and cursed places governed everything which “was situated, perceived and interpreted” in the societies under scrutiny (240). Consequently, absolute space cannot be fathomed “in terms of sites and signs” since “it is indeed a space, at once and indistinguishably mental and social, which *comprehends* the entire existence of the group concerned” (ibid.; original emphasis). Absolute space embodies a space that is both mental and social, physical and imagined which discerns the whole life of a certain social group. The latest aspect of absolute space, the comprehension of a social group, is somewhat subverted when it is applied to the polar regions of the period. Although polar exploration was closely linked to British and American nationalism, the Arctic and Antarctic were still largely considered as ‘pure’ and apolitical spaces by the contemporary public. They were, for instance, promoted as such by Barrow and Reynolds. Such perception of polar spaces broadly persists even today among the general public. For example, the modern Antarctic is still regarded in the public imagination as “a continent free of international strife, national occupation, and economic development for corporate profit” (Glasberg xxv). This very fact shows that the production of the imagined emptiness of the polar regions at the time has had an enduring effect on how these spaces are predominantly perceived at present.

The conception of absolute space demonstrates how natural spaces are socially produced on physical and imagined levels but still retain their agency. It further shows how ever-encompassing the symbolism of the natural environment is to man. Notwithstanding, it is too suggestive and weak in comparison to Lefebvre’s other conceptions of space such as abstract space and contradictory space (Boer 89). Moreover, Lefebvre is rather dubious first in substituting Marxist history of modes of production with a spatial history and then in dividing

that history into periods by applying an essential space to a particular mode of production (Shields 170). The conception of absolute space is likewise far too limited as nearly all the examples provided by Lefebvre are based on the cities in Greece, Italy, or France. In other words, it is “far too shot through with European, especially French, conceptions of the primitive and prehistoric” (Boer 89). Nonetheless, particularly in this study, the application of the concept enables to see how the polar regions physically resisted Western colonisation and, despite this, still acquired an imagined social significance in the public perception. That social significance had a profound impact on the manner in which polar spaces were and still are perceived today.

The concepts of the sublime and absolute space incorporate the two ways in which the polar regions were represented in literature of Arctic and Antarctic exploration in the first half of the nineteenth century. The two concepts essentially represent two sides of the same coin, i.e. polar ice. The main difference between the two lies in the presence or absence of safe distance between polar ice and the observer, that is, whether the natural element is perceived as a potential danger or as an entirely threatening one. Polar ice possesses such characteristics as dynamic power, vastness, and magnificence. At a safe distance, these characteristics enable the experience of the sublime that requires a certain degree of physical abstraction from the observer. Such experience is therefore self-reflective and self-absorbed, and individual and subjective in essence. It ultimately challenges the explorer’s mind and body. It puts the limits of his body, imagination, and language to the test. Conversely, in close proximity, or in the absence of safe distance, the ‘sublime’ characteristics of polar ice represent the agency of nature that dominates the explorer. This agency is the manifestation of the domineering power of polar ice that continuously thwarted exploratory projects of man in this period. It therefore made polar spaces absolute in nature. Both concepts, to a lesser or a greater extent, underline the domineering power of polar ice. The experience of the polar sublime is an encounter with a virtual threat that such power presents while absolute spaces of polar ice present a physical confrontation with it. Both concepts similarly emphasise man’s inherent desire to possess and colonise the hostile nature of the polar regions. In both cases, this desire is primarily exhibited on an imagined level. The explorer’s encounter with the polar sublime was seen in the popular British and American imagination as an instance of “virtual heroism,” that is, as an imagined heroic confrontation with the grandeur and power of ice. In turn, absolute spaces of polar ice dominated the explorer physically. The imagined emptiness of these spaces, however, was filled with ideological significance and accordingly socially produced by the public. Hence the two concepts also highlight the aspects of emptiness and blankness in the representation of the polar

regions at the time. Thereby, the polar regions of the period represented spaces that were both experienced and imagined by narrators of contemporary literature of exploration. These spaces performed a double function, a subversive and creative one, in these narratives. They physically subverted the British and American exploratory ambitions and their national self-congratulatory myths regarding these regions. Concurrently, the British and the Americans employed these spaces as imaginary blank canvases so as to negotiate their national identity and project their nationalist hubris on.

Chapter 2: The Sublime, Absolute, and “Geo-Imaginary” Arctic in *Frankenstein*⁵¹

Frankenstein is a canonical text of British Romantic literature that is most likely set in the 1790s and among other things deals with the British search for the North Pole and the Northwest Passage. The novel incorporates a complex narrative structure in which the diegesis essentially incorporates a story within a story. Robert Walton’s frame narrative, which depicts his polar voyage of discovery, brackets Victor Frankenstein’s story, the main part of the novel. Victor’s story, in turn, includes the Creature’s narrative. Such complex narrative structure sets the novel apart from other texts of British Romantic fiction. Richard Dunn, for instance, argues that the novel’s intricate narrative structure produces narrative distance which “dramatizes the failure of human community and implicitly challenges the reductive inclusiveness of more conventional fictional forms” (408). Walton’s epistolary polar frame narrative contributes to the novel’s textual cohesion as it begins and concludes the entire story. Walton’s ship is blocked by ice in the polar region which prevents him from proceeding further in his voyage; and precisely for this reason, provides a narrative setting for the novel. In other words, in this complex narrative structure, the ship, isolated by ice, generates the series of subordinated narratives.

The North Pole as a Paradisiacal Space

The Arctic that Walton embraces in the novel is sublime in its nature. In the opening scene of the novel, Walton pictures it in his imagination as “the region of beauty and delight” (7).⁵² He refuses to accept the ‘real’ Arctic region encountered and described by contemporary polar explorers: “I try in vain to be persuaded that the pole is the seat of frost and desolation” (7). The employment of the words “beauty and delight” implicitly refers to the sublime properties of the Pole as an imagined space. At first glance, Walton’s expression seems to be rather paradoxical as it encompasses two opposing categories. However, such depiction of the Pole is deliberate since it reflects Walton’s “adherence to the notion of a literal polar paradise” (Spufford 58). Indeed, Walton’s imagination conjures the Pole as a paradisiacal space in which

⁵¹ The phrase “geo-imaginary” is adopted from Adriana Craciun’s “Writing the Disaster: Franklin and *Frankenstein*” (2011): p. 435.

⁵² From here onwards, the citations are taken from the following novel’s edition: Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft. *Frankenstein, or, The Modern Prometheus* (Second Norton Critical Edition). Ed. J. Paul Hunter. New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011.

“snow and frost are banished”, there is “a calm sea”, and there exists “a land surpassing in wonders and in beauty every region hitherto discovered on the habitable globe”; and “[i]ts productions and features may be without example, as the phenomena of the heavenly bodies undoubtedly are in those undiscovered solitudes” (7). Walton does not make a distinction between the North Magnetic Pole, the Geographic North Pole, and the Geomagnetic North Pole. Instead, he seemingly conflates them all into one fixed category, the North Pole. Such belief in the fixity of the Poles characterises the manner in which cartography and navigation were perceived by the contemporary public and continues to do so today. Polar travel subverts this belief and the entire systems on which cartography and navigation are based on (Moss 2). For Walton, the North Pole is a fixed site located at the axis of the world. It is a geographic space that is yet to be discovered and claimed by any man. This very fact makes that space sublime in Walton’s imagination. The North Pole hence embodies the sublimity of the unknown in *Frankenstein*.

The unknown character of the Pole similarly makes it an absolute space in the novel, i.e. a natural space that resists man’s colonisation and dominates them physically. In this regard, the Pole presents an ‘empty’ space of nature that is yet to be laden with any man’s presence for Walton. As an absolute space, the Pole represents an inherent paradox in its perception in the narrative. The paradox is in Walton’s simultaneous desire to monopolise the emptiness of the Pole and preserve it for himself. Walton ascribes his own fantasies to this imagined emptiness of the Pole that underline his exploratory ambitions to claim that space for his nation and himself. In doing this, he constructs his own ideological space in its stead that is based on existing myths about the Poles. Walton conceives the Pole as “a country of eternal light” in which “the sun is for ever visible; its broad disk skirting the horizon, and diffusing a perpetual splendour” (7). Walton’s emphasis on “eternal light” and the perpetually visible sun reinforces the paradisiacal imaginary of the Pole. It echoes “those paradisiacal myths about the North Pole that can be traced back to classical literature and that dominated Western imagination ever since” (Beck 25). The epithets of eternal light and permanently visible sun seemingly reiterate Milton’s prelapsarian fantasy in *Paradise Lost*. In this interpretation, the similarities between Walton and Frankenstein become more prominent because they unveil the fact that, in their explorations

they are both driven by the same kind of irrational prelapsarian (Miltonic) fantasy and by the same kind of absolutist utopian desire: to start afresh from a point in time before the Fall, to find a shortcut out of history, and thus to become benefactors of mankind. Frankenstein plans to do this through a parody of the creation of man. Walton (after failing to create a permanent Paradise

of his own by literary means) by propelling himself straight back into the white space of prelapsarian innocence (Beck 28-9).

Mary Shelley was familiar with Milton's text and most likely used the work as a source in Walton's portrayal of the Pole as "a country of eternal light."⁵³ The comparison of Walton's paradisiacal polar fantasy with Milton's prelapsarian one is therefore highly plausible. Walton attributes Western and classical myths to the imagined emptiness of the Pole leavening that space of nature with a higher symbolic reality. The Pole becomes an imagined space of nature that is filled with ideological significance for him. Walton not only desires to claim the imagined emptiness of the Pole, but also to return to a prelapsarian space of nature. The latter underscores his urge to preserve the emptiness of the Pole in its most primal and pristine. In this instance, Griffin investigates the symbolic use of fire and ice in the novel as two opposing natural forces and contemplates their representation in the Romantic tradition. Griffin asserts that Walton's paradisiacal vision of the Pole shows that he is not interested in "the pure idea of ice and snow" and he "dreams instead of an impossible conjunction of hot and cold, a paradise at the heart of polar snows" (54). Walton's polar dream thus seems to be imaginative and paradoxical as it disregards "the pure idea of ice and snow" and the idea of the Pole as "the seat of frost and desolation"; and instead transforms the 'real' Pole into a paradisiacal space.

However, Walton's paradisiacal polar fantasy is not merely based on myths. Hindle argues that the depiction of the Pole as "a country of eternal light" was stimulated by Humphry Davy's theory of electricity as "condensed light, given off at the poles as auroras" and reflected Walton's thinking as a combination of myth and science (31). Walton certainly combines mythic and scientific elements in his imagining of the Pole. The 'paradisiacal' elements are only partly mythical since Walton directly refers to the findings of contemporary theories of terrestrial magnetism in the novel: "I may there discover the wondrous power which attracts the needle; and may regulate a thousand celestial observations, that require this voyage to render their seeming eccentricities consistent for ever" (7). In regard to contemporary theories of terrestrial magnetism, Mary Shelley, for instance, was certainly aware of such theories and was most likely inspired by Adam Walker's lectures on astronomy, electricity and magnetism and Erasmus Darwin's ideas on magnetic theory (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 170). The novel does not refer to these two sources directly. Instead, Walton's magnetic science is an unspecific and ambiguous category that clearly mirrors Frankenstein's science of electro-chemistry. Walton's

⁵³ Milton's *Paradise Lost* was among the books on the Shelleys' reading lists for 1815 and 1816, and was read by the Shelleys in November 1816, around the time when Mary was writing *Frankenstein*. See "The Shelleys' Reading List" in *The Journals of Mary Shelley, 1814-1844* (eds.) Paula R. Feldman and Diana Scott-Kilvert, vol. 2: p. 631.

ultimate ambition is to discover the Northwest Passage and the unattainable North Pole that plays a substantial role in magnetic variation and dip. In the first letter to his sister Margaret, he attempts to convey the utter importance of such an endeavour to her:

[Y]ou cannot contest the inestimable benefit which I shall confer on all mankind to the last generation, by discovering a passage near the pole to those countries, to reach which at present so many months are requisite; or by ascertaining the secret of the magnet, which, if all possible, can only be effected by an undertaking such as mine (8).

Walton's reference to magnetic science as "the wondrous power which attracts the needle" and "the secret of the magnet" can be interpreted as the feminine power and secret that captivates and urges the masculine science to discover their hidden depths (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 170). From this perspective, Mary Shelley employs the science of terrestrial magnetism as what Mellor calls her "feminist critique of modern science" in which the male scientist seeks to command and rule over a female nature (287). This gender distinction presents a compelling perspective on the twofold relationship between science and nature in the novel. Notwithstanding, what particularly pertains in Mellor's argument to the representation of the Arctic sublime and absolute polar space in the novel is the implicit urge of man to dominate and control the yet undiscovered Pole. The unknown and mysterious Pole bears the promise of great scientific benefits and national prestige. Walton unequivocally expresses this urge in his very first letter to Margaret: "I shall satiate my ardent curiosity with the sight of a part of the world never before visited, and may tread a land never before imprinted by the foot of man" (7). In this instance, the Pole is imagined by Walton as the 'pristine' land that needs to be claimed by man's presence. Walton claims that imagined emptiness of the Pole so as to produce his own ideological space there that is filled with his personal and national exploratory ambitions. The space of the Pole hence acquires a social significance in the narrative. It becomes an absolute space of nature that is social in essence. It turns into an imagined space that mediates between the realm of nature and that of social relations. This significance affects the way Walton perceives that space. He seeks to locate his own self in that imagined paradisiacal space. For him, the Pole becomes the ultimate representation of his dreams and ambitions in life.

Whether Mary Shelley relied on Milton or Davy in the description of Walton's polar fantasy, the epithets of perpetual light and forever visible sun underscore the image of the Pole as a paradisiacal space. Walton imagines his polar paradise in safety as he is about to depart for the Arctic from St. Petersburg. The paradisiacal image of the Pole reinforces its imaginary and sublime characteristics. It is facilitated by a safe distance between Walton and the Pole. The remoteness and inaccessibility of the Pole provide Walton with physical abstraction from its

hostile nature. The Pole only represents a virtual and distant danger to him. At a safe distance from the harsh nature of the Arctic, Walton becomes a virtual hero of his own polar fantasy. In this fantasy, he courageously overcomes all the potential threats and turns into a hero-explorer whose discovery would make his name “a niche in the temple where the names of Homer and Shakespeare are consecrated” (8). The safe distance between Walton and the Pole accordingly contributes to the sublimity of the latter’s representation. It enables him to conceive the Pole as a paradisiacal space in the first place. Walton’s polar fantasy similarly reveals his paradoxical desire to both claim the imagined emptiness of the Pole for himself and the nation and preserve it in its prelapsarian state. This desire highlights the portrayal of the Pole as an absolute space in the narrative. For Walton, the Pole constitutes “a pure book-learnt construction of the imagination” and “a space cleared on the map for him to fill with daydreams of discovery” (Spufford 58-9). Walton did not receive formal education and was mostly self-educated at home: “I am self-educated: for the first fourteen years of my life I ran wild on a common, and read nothing but our uncle Thomas’s books of voyages” (10). Walton’s paradisiacal polar fantasy is not just a product of his imagination. It is based on the voyages of discovery he has vigorously read, in particular, “the accounts of the various voyages which have been made in the prospect of arriving at the North Pacific Ocean through the seas which surround the pole” (8). The much coveted Pole constitutes an imagined space for Walton to which he refers to as “a Paradise of my own creation” (8). The imagined emptiness of the Pole is socially produced by Walton to create a paradisiacal space that combines both mythical and scientific elements and that mediates his personal goals and ambitions.

The Sublimity of the Geo-Imaginary Arctic

The North Pole in Walton’s fantasies ultimately presents a geo-imaginary space that is an assembled product of exploratory polar travelogues. Here the term ‘geo-imaginary space’ does not necessarily indicate a completely fantastic geographical region. Instead, it should be understood as an imagined topographic space, i.e. an actual geographical space that is conceived in one’s imagination based on existing scientific knowledge. The Pole that Walton conceives is not just a product of his imagination, but also a product of coeval theories regarding the Poles. Although Walton’s polar fantasy seemingly rejects the hostile nature of the Arctic, it also confirms his belief in the existence of the open polar sea at the North Pole. The open polar sea theory was a belief in the idea that a temperate sea could be located at the pole beyond the Arctic ice pack. The theory was arguably first conceived by the English merchant Robert

Thorne in the early sixteenth century as an alternative route for spice trade (Wright 339). In the 1770s it gained an influential advocate in the person of Daines Barrington, the Vice President of the British Royal Society.⁵⁴ Barrington's recommendations played an essential role in assisting the launch of Constantine John Phipps's expedition towards the North Pole in 1773.⁵⁵ The theory was also revitalised in the mid-nineteenth century with the international search for Franklin's lost expedition. The most influential nineteenth-century advocates of the theory were the German geographer August Petermann, the American oceanographer Matthew Fontaine Maury, and the American Arctic explorers Elisha Kent Kane and Isaac Israel Hayes (Wright 341).⁵⁶ These advocates "refurbished some of the speculative arguments dating from Barrington, Plancius, and even Thorne, and drew heavily upon the treasury of facts and hypotheses to which exploration was contributing a new quota every year" (ibid.). Both these advocates and Walton therefore attribute their own speculations to the imagined emptiness of the Pole. All these speculations essentially attest to the idea that the Pole is ultimately attainable for explorers and can be colonised by them. In this respect, Walton's paradisiacal Pole is a space of speculative geography that oscillates between fact and fiction.

Barrington advocates the absence of ice in the far North and the subsequent navigability of the sea there based on the assumption that whales and other fish require open waters and that

⁵⁴ The familiarity of Walton and *Frankenstein* with the open polar sea theory in the manner it was advocated by Barrington is also supported by the contemporary negative review of the novel by John Croker in the *Quarterly Review* (January 1818): "[H]e [Frankenstein] resolves to fly to the most inaccessible point of the earth; and, as our Review had not yet enlightened mankind upon the real state of the North Pole, he directs his course thither as a sure place of solitude and security; Frankenstein, who probably had read Mr. Daines Barrington and Colonel Beaufoy on the subject, was not discouraged, and follows him with redoubled vigour, the monster flying on a sledge drawn by dogs" (217).

⁵⁵ Phipps published an account of his expedition under the title *A Voyage towards the North Pole* (1774) that could have been one of the sources for Walton's polar voyage in *Frankenstein*. Walton's polar fantasy could also have been inspired by Barrington's *The Possibility of Approaching the North Pole Asserted* (1775). Phipps fails to reach the North Pole and prove the existence of an open polar sea there. Consequently, he concludes the following in his journal introduction: "A Voyage of a few months to an inhabited extremity of the world, the great object of which was to ascertain a very interesting point in geography, cannot be supported to afford much matter for the gratification of mere curiosity" (14-5). In spite of the failure of Phipps's expedition, Barrington still insisted on the probability of the open polar sea theory highlighting any dubious observations in its favour and dismissing any against it: "If the ice therefore extends from the North latitude 80 $\frac{1}{2}$ ° to the Pole, all the intermediate space is denied to Spitzbergen whales, as well perhaps as other fish. And is that glorious luminary, the sun, to shine in vain for half the year upon ten degrees of latitude round each of the Poles, without contributing either to animal life or vegetation? for neither can take place upon this dreary expanse of ice (Barrington in Beaufoy 50).

⁵⁶ Hayes's account *The Open Polar Sea: A Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery towards the North Pole* (1867) serves as evidence of the popularity of the theory in the late nineteenth century as well. For example, the contemporary reviewer of the account in the journal *The Yale Courant* enthusiastically writes in regard to this: "[H]e [Hayes] has shown that men can live in high latitudes without scurvy, discontent, or scarcity of food; that a colony might be formed, whence the coasts might be explored on sledges; that in the event of such a colony being formed, a very good chance is offered of getting a steam vessel through Kennedy Channel into the waters beyond, and finally, that the open Polar Sea exists. To this effect a quiet and deep-settled conviction fills his mind, and to one who follows the story of the march upon the excellent maps conveniently arranged in this volume, the conviction grows almost as certain" (228).

if the sun shines at the Poles for six months, then animals and plants most likely exist there. Barrington likewise employs numerous doubtful observations and testimonies made by other captains who claim to have reached even further than the northern latitude that Phipps was able to arrive at. He engages in the construction of the “probability” of reaching the North Pole by British explorers through the open sea (Richard 299). This ‘probability’ does not necessarily entail the feasibility of such exploratory project since it presents a dubious – but rather convincing – collection of observations and testimonies supporting the theory of the ice-free sea at the Pole. Barrington hence “indulges in probabilism, a continued belief in the open polar sea based on supportive anecdotes rather than on the disappointments of Phipps’s crew” (ibid.). The open sea theory was evidently theoretical that only deemed the likelihood of the navigability of the far North probable. The probability of this theory was not supported by any empirical evidence and, in fact, was disproven by the factual observations of Phipps’s crew (ibid.). On the one hand, Barrington’s construction of the ‘probability’ clearly calls into question the reliability of testimonies and evidence within the framework of polar exploration of the period. Richard refers to this as “the problem of evaluating evidence, witnesses, and testimonies that plagued historians of polar exploration” (ibid.). On the other hand, such construction shows that the framework of contemporary polar exploration embodied an intersection of fact and fiction in which empirical evidence and dubious testimonies were closely intertwined. In Barrington’s case, these dubious testimonies, or “supportive anecdotes,” were pushed to the forefront in order to prove the likelihood of the open polar sea theory. Within such framework of fact and fiction, like Barrington, Walton disregards empirical experience of previous and coeval polar explorers in order to demonstrate the probability of success of his expedition to the North Pole.

The sublimity of the unknown stimulates Walton’s imagination about the Pole. To claim this space for himself is Walton’s ambition in life that stands superior to the material riches of the world: “I preferred glory to every excitement that wealth placed in my path” (9). In order to achieve this ambition, Walton is fully prepared to overcome all the prospective dangers and hardships of the polar undertaking by having his body accustomed to sailors’ labour and having voluntarily endured “cold, famine, thirst, and want of sleep” (8). Despite the potential dangers and hardships, Walton is not terrified of his impending polar expedition, but, conversely, delighted over its prospect: “I feel my heart glow with an enthusiasm which *elevates me to heaven*; for nothing contributes so much to tranquillize the mind as a steady purpose, – a point on which the soul may fix its intellectual eye” (ibid.; emphasis added). Walton’s use of the phrase “elevates me to heaven” indicates the aesthetic of the sublime. In Burkean aesthetics,

the sublime elevates the observer's senses and makes them extraordinary while, in Kantian aesthetics, the sublime elevates the observer's mind and makes it realise its own sublimity in the face of a sublime object or phenomenon. Walton's polar fantasy heightens his mind and uplifts his spirits. He is thrilled about the upcoming voyage to the North. Hence not only the Pole that Walton constructs in his imagination is sublime, but the whole forthcoming polar enterprise is likewise sublime for him.

The aspect of emptiness and blankness plays a substantial role in Walton's construction of the geo-imaginary Pole. Beck underlines this aspect by referring to it as "the white space of prelapsarian innocence" (29). Spufford, in turn, indicates it by calling Walton's polar fantasy "a space cleared on the map for him to fill with daydreams of discovery" (59). The emptiness and blankness of the Pole made it a sublime space in the public imagination of the period. The Geographic North Pole remained unexplored in the first half of the nineteenth century. This very fact stimulated public speculations and aesthetic imagination about that natural space. Polar spaces were therefore employed by coeval writers as blank canvases to be laden with their ideas about nation, colonialism, identity, and so on. Furthermore, they were geographically removed from other British colonies. Precisely for this reason, the Arctic, white and empty, enabled British writers to debate national identity without being directly involved in discursive colonial questions (Hill 6). It therefore was "a space that could provide a counter to the troubling moral questions raised by domestic economic reliance on slavery and other forms of colonial exploitation, an ultimate space of white masculine self-reliance" (ibid.). In other words, the spatial remove of the Arctic provided English authors not only with a factual literary space, but also with a certain level of abstraction from pressing moral concerns.

The Arctic region was, so to speak, a safe buffer zone for literature of the period. Regarding American ideology on contemporary polar exploration, Bloom, for example, claims that unlike the colonial territories of Africa, Australia, or South America, the North Pole "was literally empty" and this fact paradoxically "literalized the colonial fantasy of a tabula rasa where people, history and culture vanish" and "gave polar exploration *an aesthetic dimension* that allowed the discovery of the North Pole to appear above political and commercial concerns" (2; emphasis added).⁵⁷ There is indeed another inherent paradox in the perception of

⁵⁷ In actuality, the Arctic region was not really 'empty' since it was inhabited by the Inuit, but they were either pushed to the sidelines of literature or conspicuously absent from the framework of polar exploration in the period. As Bloom rightly asserts, "[t]he process of erasure characteristic of colonial texts, however, does reappear in the narratives of polar exploration and discovery, reducing the vital participation of Inuit men and women to subordinate "narrative bearers" imagined as either "primitive" or "unspoiled" figures" (3). The Inuit are markedly absent from *Frankenstein* as well which augments the perception of the Arctic as an 'empty' space at the time.

the Poles in the literary and national imaginary of the period. Polar exploratory projects clearly possessed economic and political agenda for Britain and America. Despite this, they were posited as being ‘pure’ and ‘blank,’ as being beyond the obvious economic and political concerns regarding these spaces. This ‘pure’ and ‘blank’ imaginary of the Poles enabled these spaces to accumulate the “aesthetic dimension” of the polar sublime. Walton’s polar fantasy similarly exemplifies this paradox. Walton openly desires to claim the Pole to gain national and personal prestige, but insists that he seeks to do so only because of “the inestimable benefit” his discovery will bring to “all mankind” (8). Hence it is perhaps not surprising that the story of *Frankenstein* is set in the Arctic. Such setting imbues the story with imaginary and sublime character but keeps it within the bounds of fictional realism. The geo-imaginary space of the Pole thus enables Walton to ‘safely’ and ‘purely’ mediate his attitude towards such troubling moral questions as the role and significance of science and nature and national and personal identity in the novel.

The Egotistical Nature of Walton’s Polar Pursuit

The aesthetics of the polar sublime is reinforced by the emphasis on the individual character of Walton’s undertaking throughout the Arctic frame narrative in the novel. This individual character is accentuated by the consistent use of the pronoun ‘I’ in his letters: “*I* may there discover the wondrous power”; “the inestimable benefit which *I* shall confer on all mankind”; “*I* feel my heart glow with an enthusiasm”; “*I* resolved on my present undertaking”; “*I* am about to proceed on a long and difficult voyage”; and so on and so forth (7-9; emphasis added). Individualism evidently constitutes one of the key characteristics of British Romantic literature and British Romanticism in general.⁵⁸ What is interesting, however, is that the individual character of Walton’s polar quest runs counter to how polar exploration was often posited in exploratory travelogues of the period. For instance, the British Arctic explorer William Parry narrates the approach of drifting ice in polar waters in Dennett’s selected volume *The Voyages and Travels of Captains Ross, Parry, Franklin, and Mr. Belzoni* (1838) in the following manner:

⁵⁸ British Romantic individualism was commonly associated with the engagement of single individuals with sublime natural landscapes. Tim Fulford underlines this in his analysis of landscape in Wordsworth: “From Wordsworth’s landscapes of the self grew Shelley’s and Byron’s iconoclastic scenes of individualism” (16). For his part, the human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan also stresses this in his *Romantic Geography* (2013): “Romanticism inclines toward extremes in feeling, imagining, and thinking. It seeks not so much the pretty or the classically beautiful as the sublime with its admixture of the enchanting and the horrifying, the heights and the depths. Pushing polarized values to their limit is, however, a luxury of advanced society or civilization in which people, enjoying a large measure of economic security, value the individual – even the eccentric individual” (6).

We could always perceive when *we* were approaching the ice, long before *we* saw it, by a bright appearance near the horizon, which the pilots called the blink of the ice. [...] During the time that *we* were fast amongst the Seven Islands, *we* had frequent opportunities of observing the irresistible force of the large bodies of floating ice (15; emphasis added).

The manner in which Parry depicts his polar voyage is clearly distinct from Walton's Arctic frame narrative. Parry's use of the pronoun 'we' underlines the 'communal' tone of the exploratory narration. This by no means conveys the fact that polar exploratory accounts never employed the first-person narration. Conversely, the first-person narration was often used in non-fictional polar travelogues. For instance, the British Arctic explorer John Ross describes the meeting with two Danish officials, the governor and clergyman of Hoisteinborg district, during the voyage thusly: "I informed them of the nature and object of *our* enterprise, and requested permission to purchase such provisions and stores, with spars or whatever else might be needful and suitable to us" (*Narrative of a Second Voyage* 62-3; emphasis added). Ross is a first-person narrator of the Arctic voyage he embarks on but he refers to it as "*our* enterprise." In contrast, Walton is also a first-person narrator in the novel but he persistently refers to his forthcoming Arctic expedition as "*my* undertaking," "an undertaking such as *mine*," and "*my* present undertaking" (7-8; emphasis added). This fact makes the individual nature of Walton's polar enterprise much more prominent in comparison to contemporary polar travel accounts.

On the whole, such differentiation in the depiction of polar exploration between the novel and polar travelogues possesses two essential implications regarding the nature of exploratory projects of the period. First, it signals that the narratives of polar travelogues evidently contributed to the reinforcement of the sense of national identity in Britain. Whether polar expeditions of the period were successful or not, they were presented as heroic narratives in which explorers were equated with national heroes engaged in a continuous 'battle' with the hostile environments of the polar regions largely perceived as the lands of "frost and desolation."⁵⁹ Upon their return, polar explorers were met with social prestige and acceptance. The social triumph, in turn, "contributed to the imaginative visibility of exploration" (Spufford 52). Hence the published heroic narratives and the social success of explorers not only made polar spaces visible to the public, but also constructed the way in which these spaces were perceived in the national imaginary.

The second implication concerns the novel's emphasis on the individual nature of Walton's polar pursuit. By doing this, *Frankenstein* ultimately seems to convey the idea that

⁵⁹ In this instance, Duffy argues that the polar sublime was remediated "not as a locus of triumphant possession, but as the theatre of heroic failure" (134).

his polar enterprise is self-centered and egotistical in essence and it is therefore doomed to fail from the start. Walton seemingly puts “his own quixotic ambitions before the interests of a scientific or national community” (Carroll 51). Walton’s “own quixotic ambitions” constitute the driving force behind not only his polar enterprise, but likewise how the space of the Pole is constructed in his imagination. In this sense, Walton’s self-centered undertaking resembles and parallels Frankenstein’s egotistical pursuit of science. Such interpretation accentuates the underlying criticism of such selfish pursuits by Mary Shelley. In this respect, Richard asserts that Walton’s Arctic frame narrative embodies an “improbable romance” that “disregarded the testimony of failed voyagers and the odds against the possibility of an open polar sea” (296). Richard further argues that the Arctic frame narrative criticises the merging of polar exploration with imagination; and that this criticism emanates from John Barrow’s dubious promotion of contemporary polar enterprise despite its continuous failures in the *Quarterly Review* (1817) and *Chronological History* (1818) as “the enticing romance of a centuries long national quest” (302). Richard’s characterisation of Walton’s and Britain’s polar enterprise as “the romance” is compelling since it bolsters the improbable and imaginary nature of both ventures. The novel’s Arctic frame narrative criticises the egotistical nature of such pursuits as Walton’s polar enterprise. However, I disagree with Richard’s argument that Walton’s frame narrative necessarily criticises the blending of polar exploration with imagination. Walton is able to blend the two categories together precisely due to the blankness and emptiness of the Pole.

The egotistical nature of Walton’s polar pursuit is further underlined by the fact that no scientific data is ever collected by Walton in the course of his voyage. The collection of scientific data on e.g. meteorology, natural history, and magnetic oscillations was essential for polar exploratory projects of the period. Walton is certainly aware and excited about the prospective scientific benefits of his polar undertaking such as the discovery of “the wondrous power which attracts the needle,” but neither he nor his crew is actively involved in the scientific data recording or observation. Walton’s failure to collect any data is “a notable omission in an era in which scientific observations from polar voyages often appeared before the public in the form of letters to the women they had left at home” (Carroll 51). Scientific observations from polar expeditions were indeed frequently found in letters to explorers’ families. For example, William Parry in his letter from 25 July 1819 to his parents enthusiastically communicates his observations:

Since I wrote that paper, the variation of the compass has increased to 89°!! – so that the North Pole of the needle now points nearly due *West!* The *Dip* of the needle is about 84°40’. As the needle is supposed to direct itself constantly to the Magnetic Pole, it follows that this pole must

now be West from us, and as the dip is not far from 90°, it follows also that it must be placed somewhere not very far from us in that direction. The greatest variation observed by Baffin here 200 years ago (and the greatest, as he says, in the world) was 56°, so that an amazing increase has taken place during that interval (Parry in Levere 65; original emphasis).

Walton's lapse in actual recording of scientific data during his voyage undoubtedly presents "a notable omission" within the framework of contemporary polar exploration. Despite continuous failures to traverse the Northwest Passage by ship and reach the North Pole, British explorers did collect plenty of scientific data on the regions' astronomy, magnetism, and natural history in the course of these polar voyages. The ships in polar expeditions were often equipped with the latest professional instruments for collecting scientific data. Frequently scientists were likewise enlisted on board as official crew members and tasked to accompany these polar expeditions as scientific observers and assistants. Among such scientists one can mention Edward Sabine, an esteemed Irish astronomer, geophysicist, and ornithologist, who would later become the President of the Royal Society. Sabine, for instance, participated in the Arctic expedition on board the ship *Hecla* in search of the Northwest Passage in 1819 under the command of William Parry. In the instructions issued to Parry prior to this expedition, the Admiralty underlines the utmost significance of scientific observations during the voyage:

You are to make use of every means in your power to collect and preserve such specimens of the animal, mineral and vegetable kingdoms, as you can conveniently stow on board the ships; and of the larger animals you are to cause accurate drawings to be made, to accompany and elucidate the descriptions of them: in this, as well as in every other part of your scientific duty, we trust that you will receive material assistance from Captain Sabine (Dennett 26).

Scientific observations were indeed essential for empirical sciences of the period. They likewise embodied an integral part of contemporary polar travelogues. However, the emphasis on the importance of empirical data in polar expeditions had another underlying agenda. Such emphasis ultimately diverted the public's attention from the failure of polar expeditions to reach the North Pole and navigate the Northwest Passage. In other words, the records of scientific data were employed by explorers as a means of justifying the continued failed attempts to reach the ultimate objectives of polar exploration. The narratives of these attempts were not only constructed by explorers as heroic narratives in the national polar quest, but they were also posited as the records of extremely important empirical data, i.e. successful data records in the ultimately unsuccessful geographic narratives of discovery. In this instance, Duffy defines such rhetoric strategy of contemporary polar travel accounts as the narrative construction of "heroic failures" (119). Such strategy constitutes a central theme of Romantic depiction of the polar sublime as "the encounter with a vast, inhuman emptiness which rendered void all the previous

attempts to imagine it” (ibid.). The frigid hostility of the Arctic region continuously defeated British exploratory ambitions there. Such rhetoric strategy contributed to the formation of a paradoxical narrative construction of heroic defeats in which exploratory attempts were celebrated — and failures were remediated as a sort of triumphal success. One of the first explorers who employed and successfully promoted this strategy was James Cook who described his failure to achieve the South Pole and explore the mythical Terra Australis Incognita in 1775 in the following way:

[T]he greatest part of this southern continent (supposing there is one) must lie within the polar circle, where the sea is so pestered with ice that the land is thereby inaccessible. The risque one runs in exploring a coast, in these unknown and icy seas, is so very great, that I can be bold enough to say that no man will ever venture farther than I have done; and that the lands which may lie to the South will never be explored. Thick fogs, snow storms, intense cold, and every other thing that can render navigation dangerous, must be encountered; and these difficulties re greatly heightened, by the inexpressibly horrid aspect of the country; a country doomed by Nature never once to feel the warmth of the sun’s rays, but to lie buried in everlasting snow and ice. The ports which may be on the coast, are, in a manner, wholly filled up with frozen snow of a vast thickness; but if any should be so far open as to invite a ship into it she would run a risque of being fixed there for ever, or of coming out in an ice island (231).

Cook’s voyage to the South Pole is a failure in terms of the objectives of discovery, but this failure is depicted in a hubristic manner. Such depiction of a “heroic failure” constructs a triumphal narrative in which a hero-explorer is defeated by the nature’s might, but retains his glory. Cook locates the reason behind his heroic failure in the human limits as the hostile conditions of the Antarctic go beyond the physical capabilities of man. He essentially emphasises that the South Pole is physically impossible to conquer for any man and implies that his accomplishment constitutes the limits of all men and thus deserves recognition in its own right. Cook likewise accentuates the extreme hostility of the Antarctic natural environment that is ‘doomed’ by nature itself to “lie buried in everlasting snow and ice.” He thus constructs the image of the polar region as “the seat of frost and desolation” that Walton is reluctant to believe in. Such image opposed the extant contemporary belief in the existence of a paradisiacal continent in the South Pole and transformed the Antarctic into “a vision of an icy, inhuman wasteland” (Duffy 116). For his part, Cook’s legacy reconfigured the way in which Romantic writers engaged with polar spaces on the whole. Even before the publication of Coleridge’s “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner” and Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein*, “polar space had come to represent the limit of both empire and human experience” (Hill 3).

Thus, Walton's polar frame narrative accentuates the individual character of his pursuit. Such accentuation, in turn, underscores its sublimity. Like Walton's polar enterprise, the sublime embodies a complex pleasure that is individual in character. In this regard, Spufford calls the sublime "a selfish pleasure" since its view "made one look inwards, as well as outwards" (19). In other words, the sublime is marked by the subjectivity of experience. It is a self-reflective and self-absorbed pleasure in Burkean aesthetics that is based on the passions of self-preservation whereas the beautiful rests on love and the passions belonging to a society. The beautiful and the sublime belong respectively to the aesthetic categories of a society and an individual. Hence there is an inherent connection between the sublime and human individualism. For Walton, a polar voyage constitutes this "selfish pleasure" as he ascribes his own ambitions and dreams to the imagined emptiness of the Pole. He therefore uses the outward nature of the polar region to reflect on his own self. Walton's polar fantasy is an exclusively private experience. The sublimity of the unknown overwhelms his mind but he contemplates that sublimity in the privacy of it. Walton's geo-imaginary Pole is inspired by the works of poetry written by "those poets, whose effusions entranced" his soul, and "lifted it to heaven" (8). Once again here Walton employs the metaphor of the elevation to heaven in his imagining of the Pole that entails the aesthetics of the sublime. The poetry that inspires Walton's polar fantasy constitutes his self-absorbed and self-reflective pleasure that he indulges in prior to his voyage to the North: "I also became a poet, and for one year lived in a Paradise of my own creation" (ibid.). Walton becomes a poet of his own polar enterprise, and the space of the Pole that he envisions presents a poetic construction of his imagination that is individual and subjective in character. This poetic view eclipses the 'real' Arctic of "frost and desolation" encountered by contemporary explorers. It ultimately turns into an emblem of a lost paradise for Walton the conquest of which will make him a hero of his time and immortalise his name – an object of his youthful dream and ambition.

Walton's "Polar Romance" and the Inadequacy of Language in the Arctic Imaginary

Walton's polar enterprise becomes an egotistical quest of self-delusion that can be seen as a romantic quest, or what Jessica Richard calls "polar romance" (302). The romantic aspect of Walton's prospective voyage is further accentuated by his perceived loneliness in his quest. Walton is enthusiastic about his upcoming journey to the North, but he desperately craves companionship in his undertaking: "[W]hen I am glowing with the enthusiasm of success, there

will be none to participate my joy; if I am assailed by disappointment, no one will endeavour to sustain in dejection” (10). Walton hence longs for an intimate spiritual connection with another individual. His ardent thirst for new knowledge primarily urged by the inadequacy of his education is not enough to satiate his need in having a close confidant:

Now I am twenty-eight, and am in reality more illiterate than many school-boys of fifteen. It is true that I have thought more, and that my day dreams are more extended and magnificent; but they want (as the painters call it) *keeping*; and I greatly need a friend who would have sense enough not to despise me as romantic, and affection enough for me to endeavour to regulate my mind (10; original emphasis).

Walton’s desire for a companionship of a close friend paints him in a rather romantic light that can be interpreted in two ways. First, Walton can be regarded as a typical character in a romance, impressionable and sensitive. Second, Walton’s longing for a close confidant suggests that he is a person who is easily affected by his own imagination. In both interpretations, there is an implicit emphasis on the power of imagination. Walton’s imagination stimulates his enthusiasm and leads him on in his polar enterprise. Walton himself inadvertently admits his romantic nature to his sister: “You may deem me romantic, my dear sister, but I bitterly feel the want of a friend” (10). Walton’s romantic character is likewise reinforced by his depiction of an ideal friend who would not detest him for being romantic and who would organise his mind. In other words, Walton seeks for a compassionate and levelheaded confidant whose rationale runs counter to his own, and who would be able to keep his romantic nature under control. Walton’s romantic nature thus underlines the imaginary character of his polar pursuit.

Walton is utterly overwhelmed by his feelings but he is unable to express his experiences fully in his writing: “I shall commit my thoughts to paper, it is true; but that is a poor medium for the communication of feeling” (10). In the aftermath of most contemporary exploratory expeditions, explorers produced and later published written accounts of their voyages. These exploratory accounts embodied most essential testimony and proof of explorers’ accomplishments. Narratives of discovery likewise testified explorers’ commitment to their enterprises. Like other explorers, Walton is aware that he needs to ‘commit’ his thoughts and experiences to paper. Walton’s admission that text constitutes “a poor medium for the communication of feeling” clearly demonstrates that his experiences cannot be fully expressed on paper. If Kant underscores the “inadequacy of the imagination” in his aesthetics of the sublime, Walton indicates the inadequacy of language in capturing the entirety of his polar testimony.⁶⁰ The inadequacy of text as a medium of communication displays the predominance

⁶⁰ See Kant’s *Critique of Judgment*. Trans. Werner Pluhar. (1987): p. 106.

of imagination over language in the expression of feelings and experiences. Such discrepancy between imagination and language reinforces the romantic nature of Walton's polar undertaking since it underlies his impressionable character and elevates the prevalence of his sensory experience. The sublime experience heightens the observer's senses to the highest degree and consequently stimulates their aesthetic imagination. Therefore, the predominance of imagination and sensory experience augments the sublimity of Walton's forthcoming polar expedition and his imagining of the Arctic.

At the same time, the romantic nature of Walton's polar pursuit once again highlights the individual character of such an undertaking in terms of his perceived loneliness and isolation. Walton's polar enterprise makes him realise how lonely and isolated he is in his quest and ambition. The novel thus depicts "the yearning for deep communication that the romantic imagination held necessarily antecedent to any meaningful human community" (Dunn 409). Walton's strong desire for a close confidant exemplifies this "yearning for deep communication" – most important aspect of a human community in the romantic imagination – that is never fulfilled. The voyage to the North hence performs the function of disillusionment in the novel since it uncovers Walton's solitude and alienation. Walton is ultimately lonely in his pursuit as he fails to establish a meaningful connection with anyone else. In this instance, Dunn rightly comments that all the three narrators, Walton, Frankenstein and the Creature, "remain half-strangers to one another" and that "at no juncture is there the communicative interchange that could sustain friendship and provide a basis for an optimistic social commentary" (417). In this interpretation, *Frankenstein* essentially underscores the failure of communication and of human community. Like Victor's scientific pursuit or the Creature's pursuit of social acceptance, Walton's polar quest is entirely self-absorbed in essence, and that hinders him from establishing "deep communication" with another individual and subsequently maintaining friendship with them. In turn, such solitary and self-absorbed nature of Walton's polar pursuit highlights its sublime nature.

Walton further underlines the inadequacy of language in the depiction of his feelings as he is about to embark on the voyage to the North: "I cannot describe to you my sensations on the near prospect of my undertaking. It is impossible to communicate to you a conception of the trembling sensation, half pleasurable and half fearful, with which I am preparing to depart" (12). Walton's portrayal of his extreme excitement about the impending voyage evidently invokes the aesthetics of the sublime. The phrase "the trembling sensation" indicates how acutely agitated Walton's emotions are and demonstrates the perception of the highest degree of emotion by him. This "trembling sensation" is likewise "half pleasurable and half fearful"

which entails the idea of a complex pleasure that is at the heart of the sublime experience. Walton is both delighted and terrified about the imminent prospect of his polar voyage. Thus, his forthcoming polar expedition is sublime in nature. However, not only the prospective polar undertaking is sublime for Walton, but also his imagining of the Arctic region is overtly sublime: “I am going to unexplored regions, to “the land of mist and snow;” but I shall kill no albatross, therefore do not be alarmed for my safety” (12). Walton’s refers to the Arctic as “unexplored regions” and “the land of mist and snow.” The first expression “unexplored regions” accentuates Walton’s ambition to claim the blank space of the Arctic that remains undiscovered. Such ambition incorporates “a kind of writing” in which the Arctic is “a blank page on which to inscribe a narrative” (Hill 59). Like the open polar sea theory promoted by Barrington, the notion of the empty Arctic is itself a fictional construction. Walton wants to employ the Arctic as an imagined empty space on which he will write his own “polar romance.” Walton’s second expression “the land of mist and snow” contains the explicit reference to the poem “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner” (1798) by Coleridge in which the mariner kills an albatross and brings a curse on himself and his crew members. The poem also addresses polar exploration and portrays a voyage to the South Pole. The novel’s reference to Coleridge’s poem presents “a fitting tribute” since “Shelley grants it [the poem] as much power over the explorer’s imagination as the factual narratives by which Walton has been inspired” (Fulford, Lee and Kitson (171). Hence Walton’s reference to Coleridge’s poem emphasises the fact that the Arctic in his imagination embodies a construction in which fact and fiction are not merely intertwined but also are given equal power. Furthermore, the depiction of the Arctic as “the land of mist and snow” presents this natural space as a site of mystery and obscurity. Such portrayal of the Arctic accentuates the sublimity of its space for Walton as such properties of a natural site produce the sublime. They concurrently signal potential threat or danger and stimulate man’s aesthetic imagination about that site.

There is another compelling aspect in Walton’s use of Coleridge’s poem in the description of his upcoming departure to the North. Walton promises not to kill an albatross, and such promise, in his opinion, should warrant him safety in his polar expedition. Killing an albatross, a general sign of good luck, in the poem is employed as a metaphorical symbol of a curse or a sin to be atoned for. Walton’s promise hence demonstrates his confidence in the success of his polar pursuit. Walton assumes that the real danger that can hinder him in his voyage to the Pole lies in some potential ‘curse’ that could be caused by his or his crew’s moral transgression. Walton’s confidence in his undertaking is emphasised further when he writes in the conclusion to his second letter to his sister Margaret: “Shall I meet you again, after having traversed

immense seas, returned by the most southern cape of Africa or America?” (12). In his imagination, Walton already triumphantly locates the Pole, crosses the Northwest Passage and subsequently reaches the shores of either southern Africa or America. Following Kantian aesthetics, Walton’s mind realises its own superiority over the sublime imaginary Arctic. Walton refuses to ponder actual dangers of the ice-bound Arctic: “I dare not to expect such success, yet I cannot bear to look on the reverse of the picture” (ibid.). He is determined to achieve success in his undertaking, and the idea of a failure for him is not an option. In his reasoning, he is aware of the dangers of his undertaking as he dares “not to expect such success,” but his imagination enables him to mentally achieve his most coveted goal, that is, obtaining the unexplored and sublime Pole. The actual danger of the Arctic for explorers was not the threat of killing an innocent albatross and being doomed to repent for it. The real danger of this natural space was much more mundane than that. In actuality, it was the hostile nature of polar ice that hindered exploratory projects of the period and presented the main obstacle to be overcome by contemporary explorers. Hence Walton’s worry about possible killing of a metaphoric albatross in his voyage reinforces the imaginary and romantic nature of Walton’s forthcoming polar journey. Furthermore, such nature underscores the power of the imagination in the construction of polar spaces in the Romantic imaginary.

The ‘Real’ Arctic as a Sublime and Absolute Space

Walton and his shipmates experience the danger of polar ice not long after they embark on their voyage to the North from the city of Archangel in Russia. As their voyage commences, Walton and his crew are initially unperturbed by the first sighting of polar ice: “My men are bold, and apparently firm of purpose; nor do the floating sheets of ice that continually pass us, indicating the dangers of the region towards which we are advancing, appear to dismay them” (12). The ice floes that the characters pass in their voyage only “indicate the dangers” of the Arctic but do not directly imperil them yet. There is still a relatively safe distance between the characters and polar ice that provides the former with a certain level of physical abstraction from the dangers that the latter presents. This situation is reversed approximately a month later when they advance further to the North. The distance between Walton’s vessel and polar ice diminishes and almost entirely disappears as the characters on board are practically trapped by the natural element. Despite the precarious situation, Walton is still seemingly optimistic about his enterprise: “[W]e were nearly surrounded by ice, which closed in the ship on all sides, scarcely leaving her the sea room in which she floated. Our situation was somewhat dangerous,

especially as we were compassed round by a very thick fog” (13). The actual Arctic that Walton encounters represents a sublime natural space. The looming danger of ice slowly enclosing the vessel in its clutches below and “a very thick fog” surrounding the ship above encompasses a scenery of the Arctic sublime. The polar ice endangers the ship while the thick fog obscures and mystifies the scene.

The sublimity of the scenery is bolstered further by Walton’s description of the surrounding Arctic space: “About two o’clock the mist cleared away, and we beheld, stretched out in every direction, vast and irregular plains of ice, which seemed to have no end” (13). From being obscure and mysterious the scenery gradually transforms into a vast, irregular and infinite natural space. Like properties of obscurity and mystery, the characteristics of vastness and infinity in nature enable the experience of the sublime. Thus, the Arctic depicted by Walton at the beginning of his fourth letter to his sister embodies a sublime space. Such sublime space functions as a ‘proper’ setting for the first appearance of the Creature who also presents an astonishing sight to Walton and his crew members:

We perceived a low carriage, fixed on a sledge and drawn by dogs, pass on towards the north at the distance of half a mile: a being which had the shape of man, but apparently of gigantic stature, sat in the sledge, and guided the dogs. We watched the rapid progress of the traveller with our telescopes, until he was lost among the distant inequalities of the ice (13).

Surrounded by the sublime scenery, Walton and his shipmates spot the Creature at a half-mile distance from the ship. The sighting of the Creature completely astonishes the characters. This experience is not solely caused by the “gigantic stature” of the Creature. Conversely, the mere presence of someone in the Arctic space incorporates an astonishing sighting. Walton and his crew are thus utterly surprised to see the Creature passing the irregular and vast planes of ice and disappearing from their view behind the white horizon: “This appearance excited our unqualified wonder. We were, as we believed, many hundreds miles from any land; but this apparition seemed to denote that it was not, in reality, so distant as we had supposed” (13). The astonishment experienced by the characters upon seeing the Creature “many hundreds miles from any land” constitutes the highest degree of emotion capable of producing the sublime in the observer in Burkean aesthetics.⁶¹ Such “unqualified wonder” in the face of potential human presence once again underscores the aspect of emptiness that is characteristic of the contemporary imaginary of the Arctic space. The space of the Arctic was considered to be empty, pure and blank by the general public. This rhetoric (which persists today as well) was,

⁶¹ Burke essentially outlines a hierarchy of passions caused by the sublime in which astonishment stands on the top, while admiration (also referred to as awe), reverence, and respect stand below. This hierarchy in the production of the sublime will be reversed by Kant in his third *Critique*. See also chapter 1 of this thesis. .

to a large extent, constructed by coeval narratives of polar exploratory voyages in which the Arctic was represented in this manner. The aspect of emptiness as an integral part of the polar sublime in the public imaginary of the period exemplifies “the ongoing, ‘Romantic’ attempt to remediate the emptiness that had been found in the polar regions; in essence, the attempt to reclaim that emptiness for the imagination” (Duffy 105). This remediation of polar emptiness similarly pertains to Mary Shelley’s employment of the Arctic frame narrative. The sublime Arctic that Walton encounters in the novel subverts the prevailing notion about this space as being ‘empty’ by the presence of the Creature and Frankenstein there. Furthermore, the use of the ‘empty’ Arctic as a setting for the novel’s frame narrative indicates its equivalent to “a kind of blank canvas upon which the European imagination could project sublime territories and beings” (Duffy 125). The empty and sublime Arctic space indeed presents a fitting setting for the appearance of the Creature and for the seemingly unimaginable events which take place there afterwards.

Instead of discovering the paradisiacal polar space of his imagination, Walton encounters the hostile nature of the Arctic space that thwarts his discovery of the Pole and the Northwest Passage. In place of “a country of eternal light,” he experiences the polar space the sublimity of which is constituted by the emptiness, blankness, and hostility of its environment. The emptiness and blankness of the eternally frigid Arctic is filled by the presence of Frankenstein and the Creature and ultimately reconfigured by their supernatural narratives. The hostile environment of the polar space, in turn, embodies the agency of nature that essentially hinders Walton’s exploratory project. In this respect, the Arctic that Walton encounters similarly represents an absolute space, that is, a natural space that dominates man and resists complete colonisation by them. The dominating power of polar ice immures Walton’s ship and prevents it from reaching the much coveted Pole. Contemporary British Arctic expeditions met the same fate as they were likewise defeated by polar ice. Hence Hill rightly compares British polar exploration in that period to “an ice-bound Arctic exploration ship: immobile, surrounded by hostile, uncaring forces, and shockingly vulnerable” (15). Concurrently, apart from ultimately foiling Walton’s polar undertaking, the dominating power of the Arctic space performs an imaginative function in the novel. It traps Walton’s ship within its confines and thereby produces narrative time and space for the entire novel. For instance, in his analysis of fire and ice in the novel, Griffin argues that ice acquires “its imaginative meaning” in “its essential fixity and uniformity” and in its opposition to fire that is formless and fluid (49-50). Griffin’s analysis of the novel is compelling but rather inaccurate when it is specifically applied to polar ice. It is not “essential fixity and uniformity” of polar ice, but its *dynamic* power that possesses an

imaginative potential in the production of meaning in the novel since it creates narrative space and time for Frankenstein's and the Creature's narratives. The dynamic power of polar ice is likewise the source of the sublime it produces as it enables Walton's crew to experience terror in the face of their probable death.

Being "immured in ice" and threatened with mutiny by his crew members, Walton reluctantly agrees to go back southward "if the vessel should be freed" (154). Subsequently, Walton overtly despairs over the failure of his ambition to locate the Pole and traverse the Northwest Passage: "It is past; I am returning to England. I have lost my hopes of utility and glory" (155). At the end of the novel, the polar ice that imprisons the progress of Walton's ship eventually breaks and sets the vessel free to go back to the south, back to Britain:

[T]he ice began to move, and roarings like thunder were heard at a distance, as the islands split and cracked in every direction. We were in the most imminent peril; but, as we could only remain passive, my chief attention was occupied by my unfortunate guest [Frankenstein], whose illness increased in such a degree, that he was entirely confined to his bed. The ice cracked behind us, and was driven with force towards the north; a breeze sprung from the west, and on the 11th the passage towards the south became perfectly free. When the sailors saw this, and that their return to their native country was apparently assured, a shout of tumultuous joy broke from them, loud and long-continued (156).

The depiction of the ice breaking in this passage demonstrates the dynamic power of this natural element. Such demonstration presents the aesthetics of the natural sublime. The experience of the natural sublime is invoked by the vision of the forceful movement of the ice and a loud noise accompanying it in close proximity to Walton's vessel. There is a clear emphasis here on the blaring sound at a distance in the description of the polar sublime. In particular, the passage underscores the sublimity of the loud sound produced by the movement of ice explicitly through the use of the phrase "roarings like thunder" and implicitly through such verbs as "split" and "crack." The sailors' "tumultuous joy" over their own self-preservation is likewise expressed through a "loud and long-continued" shout. At the same time, there is no safe distance between the characters and the polar ice that is required for the production of the sublime. In the absence of that distance, the polar ice turns from "a potentially threatening nature" into "a nature conceived as *exclusively* threatening" to the characters (Claviez 140; original emphasis). The natural power of the polar sublime over the characters on board in the novel is accentuated by the helplessness of the men who "could only remain passive" facing this "most imminent peril." Such emphasis indicates the exertion of the agency of polar ice over the explorers who are pushed into the role of passive agents in their confrontation with it. It also once again

exemplifies the utter dominance of the polar region. In this regard, the Arctic constitutes not only a sublime space of nature, but as well an absolute one.

Instead of recording his account of the voyage, his own polar testimony, Walton writes down the narratives of Frankenstein's and the Creature's stories. These supernatural narratives exceed Walton's limits of imagination: "I have listened to the strangest tale that ever imagination formed" (151). For Walton, it is essential to be an accurate recorder of Frankenstein's "strangest tale." Walton "eagerly adopts the duties of an author" since "he has acquired an even better story to tell – Victor Frankenstein's" (Levy 705). This fact is emphasised several times in the novel as when, for example, Walton states just before the beginning of Frankenstein's story narrative: "I have resolved every night [...] to record, as nearly in his [Frankenstein's] own words, what he has related during the day. If I should be engaged, I will at least make notes. This manuscript will doubtless afford you the greatest pleasure" (18). Towards the end of the novel, Walton again expresses his ardent interest in the 'authentic' preservation of Frankenstein's narrative. Frankenstein himself is actively involved in the recording of his story by Walton: "Frankenstein discovered that I made notes concerning his history: he asked to see them, and then himself corrected and augmented them in many places; but principally in giving the life and spirit to the conversations he held with his enemy" (151). Thus, Frankenstein's "strangest tale" becomes Walton's polar testimony that is even more fantastic than the paradisiacal Pole of his imagination.

Walton "apparently intends to publish" his narrative (Craciun, "Writing the Disaster" 434). In this instance, his "polar narrative" constitutes "not one of disaster averted by his reluctant submission to the will of his crew," but "one that seeks out disaster in the Arctic and finds it" (Craciun, "Writing the Disaster" 433-4). Walton indeed encounters "disaster" in the Arctic as his exploratory ambition is ultimately not achieved. The paradisiacal Arctic of Walton's fantasy, "the region of beauty and delight," remains to be an imagined space, a subjective construction of his imagination. The actual Arctic that Walton encounters in his voyage is precisely "the seat of frost and desolation" that he refused to believe in. The frigid hostility of this absolute space thwarts Walton in his quest of locating the coveted Pole and traversing the Northwest Passage. The natural agency of the polar region hence subverts Walton's exploratory ambitions. Similar disastrous fate awaited most contemporary polar expeditions carried out by British explorers. *Frankenstein* thus critiques polar exploration 'fever' that gripped Britain in that period. Such fascination of the coeval public with the Poles can be partly explained by the fact that these natural sites still remained largely unexplored and unknown. This 'unknownness' stimulated the Romantic imagination and speculations about

these places. Such function of the Poles echoes the eighteenth-century aesthetics of the natural sublime as established by Burke and Kant in their emphasis on the obscurity of the sublime nature and “the inadequacy of the imagination” respectively when directly confronted with it. At the same time, Shelley’s decision to locate her story in the Arctic is deliberate. The sublime and absolute space of the Arctic performs an imaginative and subversive function in the novel. On the one hand, it creates ‘fitting’ narrative time and space for the supernatural tales recounted by Frankenstein and the Creature. On the other hand, it subverts the imaginary speculations about this natural space that Walton holds on to and thereby addresses the danger of pursuing such egoistical and romantic enterprises as contemporary polar expeditions.

Chapter 3: The Multifaceted Sublimity and Agency of Polar Ice in *Tales of a Voyager to the Arctic Ocean*

Robert Pearse Gillies was a Scottish-born poet and writer, the founder and first editor of the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, and one of the earliest contributors to *Blackwood's Magazine*. He was a friend of Walter Scott and William Wordsworth. Gillies was particularly praised by contemporary literary biographers and writers for his translations of German and Danish drama for *Blackwood's Magazine* under the titles *Horae Germanicae* and *Horae Danicae* from 1820 to 1826.⁶² His novels *Tales of a Voyager to the Arctic Ocean* and *Tales of a Voyager to the Arctic Ocean. Second Series* were published in 1826 and 1829 respectively. Each of the two novels consisted of three volumes. Gillies was not an explorer and never traversed the polar regions. Despite this, the first three volumes were published anonymously and were initially thought to have been written by one of the members of Parry's expedition to the Arctic in 1819-1820 (Carroll 59). Such belief strongly indicates that Gillies must have had extensive knowledge of polar literature of the period.⁶³ It also testifies to the realistic nature of the Arctic voyage in his novels and their great resemblance to coeval polar travelogues produced by such explorers as Ross, Parry, Franklin, Lyon, and Scoresby. This very fact is also indicated by the contemporary reception of the novels.

Several contemporary reviewers of the novels praise them for their realistic depiction of the Arctic voyage, for their accuracy and satisfactory amount of details on that voyage. The newspaper advertisement in *Morning Chronicle* in March 1829 promotes the continuation of the first novel as "original and striking fiction" and "true depiction of the geography and natural history of a wonderful and unfrequented part of the globe where every object is a marvel and a mystery" (1.3.20). In turn, the reviewer in *La Belle Assemblée* compliments the author on the provision of "much curious and interesting information on the scenery, natural history, &c., of the Arctic Ocean, the manners, feelings and superstitions of the whale fishers, &c." (126). Another reviewer in *Monthly Review* similarly commends the second novel for "[t]he bare

⁶² See "Gillies, R. P. Esq." in anonymously published *A Biographical Dictionary of the Living Authors of Great Britain and Ireland* (1816): p. 129; "R.P. Gillies, Esq." in George Byrom Whittaker's *A New Biographical Dictionary, of 3000 Cotemporary Public Characters, British and Foreign, of All Ranks and Professions* (1825): vol. 2, p. 221-2; Ralston Inglis's "Gillies, R.P." in *The Dramatic Writers of Scotland* (1868): p. 46; and Frederic Boase's "Gillies, Robert Pierce" in *Modern English Biography* (1892): vol. 1, p. 1150.

⁶³ Some of the most likely sources for the Arctic frame narrative in *Tales* could have been *An Account of the Arctic Regions* (1820), one of the best-selling and most authoritative texts on the Arctic of the period, and *Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale-Fishery* (1823) by William Scoresby, Jr. Gillies's narrator references the latter work in the depiction of the sea storm at the end of the second novel and mentions William Scoresby, Sr. and Jr. several times throughout the diegesis of *Tales*.

record also, if sufficiently minute, of the circumstances of a voyage, is one of the most interesting productions we can read, and calls our more of the genuine feelings of sympathy and curiosity, than almost any fictitious narrative” (611). However, despite the ‘realness’ of the Arctic voyage, commended by many contemporaries, some reviewers did criticise it for its lack of ‘vraisemblance’ and apparent contradictions throughout the diegesis. One of the critics in *Monthly Review*, for instance, observes a lack of “the total absence of *vraisemblance* throughout the work” to “the ponderous tomes” of Ross, Parry, etc.; a lack of “the want of probability in the incidents at sea,” and a presence of “the obvious inconsistencies which appear in the delineation of the nautical character” make them believe that “these said ‘*Arctic Tales*’ were concocted in the latitude of London” and present just another “imaginary excursion” in literature (15; original emphasis). Contrary to this review and as will be shown later in this chapter, the novels’ voyage narrative did resemble contemporary “ponderous tomes” of other Arctic explorers in many ways even if they had been written in London by a non-explorer. The improbabilities found in the diegesis constitute the aesthetics of Romantic poetics that enables it to avoid the ‘dryness’ of simply cataloguing everything. The novels’ tension between ‘fictionality’ and ‘non-fictionality,’ their concurrent avoidance of scientific details and emphasis on their importance, is deliberately constructed by the author. Such tension allows Gillies to address contemporary British exploration in the Arctic and imbue its narrative with an aesthetic dimension. In other words, *Tales* is a *literary* response to Britain’s exploratory projects in the ‘blank’ and ‘empty’ space of the Arctic.

Contrary to *Frankenstein*, there is no controversy or ambiguity regarding the time setting of Gillies’s novels. The novels are set in 1822 and address contemporary British Arctic exploration. They portray the narrator’s six-month (from April to September) fictional voyage on board the whaling vessel *Leviathan* to the Arctic along the Shetland Islands, Norway and Greenland. The idea of the Arctic voyage was first proposed to the narrator by his close friend William who had been assigned to be the surgeon on board the *Leviathan*. Similar to Walton and Pym, the narrator’s family express their reluctance and disapproval of the upcoming voyage. By the fervent persuasion and some doctor’s advice that “the motion of a ship and sea air” would be beneficial for his health, the narrator manages to convince his family to let him go on a voyage to Greenland with William (1: 5).⁶⁴ In a similar vein with Walton and Pym, the

⁶⁴ Here and elsewhere in this study, Robert Pearse Gillies’s *Tales a Voyager to the Arctic Ocean*. 3 vols. London: Henry Colburn, 1826 corresponds to volumes 1, 2, and 3; and *Tales of a Voyager to the Arctic Ocean. Second Series*. 3 vols. London: Henry Colburn, 1829, in turn, corresponds to volumes 4, 5, and 6 in the quotations (i.e. a number before a colon is a volume number and a number after a colon is a page number).

narrator's desire to go on a voyage is fuelled and romanticised by various travel texts he has read before: "[F]rom a passion for travelling, which I had early imbibed by reading, and had strengthened by the same means since I became sickly, I had conceived a great desire to make a voyage to any part of the globe" (1: 5). However, unlike Walton, the narrator desires to go on a voyage "to any part of the globe" and his voyage to the Arctic is 'accidental' and not deliberately undertaken. The narrator is initially not enthusiastic about the prospect of the polar voyage and refers to the Arctic as "the infernal regions" (1: 7). This notwithstanding, the more he thinks about the Arctic voyage, the more enticing it becomes in his imagination. The narrator hence starts conceiving the Arctic as the "realm of desolate grandeur" instead (1: 9).

The narrative structure of *Tales* presents the frame cycle with interpolated narratives. The characters on board the *Leviathan* establish a routine in which each individual needs to share a story with the others when his turn comes. The *Leviathan* is occasionally visited by the crew members of other vessels stationed nearby, and they likewise share their stories with the members of the former. Consequently, the Arctic voyage constitutes the frame narrative (primary level) that is interpolated by various tales (second level narratives). Like in *Frankenstein*, the frame narrative contributes to the textual cohesion of the novels as it enables the author to link different stories into one whole. The Arctic frame narrative similarly imitates contemporary exploratory travelogues in its content and narration, while the embedded stories are predominantly gothic tales.⁶⁵ The narrator emulates travel accounts of the period in their linear and chronological narration of events and journal-like entries and observations; and in their use of Latin names for species and exploratory topoi such as depictions of Arctic species, hunting, and whaling. The novels' decentred and serial narrative structure embodies a significant feature of Romantic poetics. This subversion of narrative authority, in turn, contradicts the desire to dominate nature which is inherent in exploratory travel. Therefore, the narrative and the content of the novels are in tension here.

Tales are told by an autodiegetic narrator who never fully introduces himself. Gillies's narrator resembles Poe's protagonist Arthur Gordon Pym in his background and appearance. He comes from a well-to-do middle-class family and is the only apparent heir of the family fortune. He is the only surviving male child of a well-off London merchant. He is a sickly-looking young man "with a pale countenance, and a languid and inactive temperament" with

⁶⁵ Despite this, the tales do differ somewhat in theme and genre throughout the novels' narrative. For example, the story "The Nikkur Holl" (vol.1 pp. 154-241) is a gothic tale with elements of terror and the supernatural that takes place on the Shetland Islands; while the story "The Charioteer" is a romantic adventure story set in London (vol.1, pp. 53-95).

studious inclinations and sedentary occupations (1: 4). The narrator overtly expresses his desire to remain anonymous and not to be associated with any real contemporary persons. He thus deliberately conceals some personal details about himself and other characters in his narrative as he is not really “certain that it would be agreeable to some of them to be brought before the public” and he accordingly considers himself “bound in honour to take precautions for concealment” (1: 3). It can be argued that the narrator’s desire for anonymity embodies a narratological tool for the author to make his novels and the events in them appear to be more ‘real.’ In several instances, such narratological tool mirrors Poe’s novel with its emphasis on the non-fictionality of its account as the author’s attempt to construct a polar hoax. Gillies could have used the anonymous narrator so as to create a similar polar hoax. Although a named narrator could have produced a greater ‘reality effect,’ anonymity is arguably as effective in constructing such effect in Gillies’s novels. *Tales* are not just recounted by the anonymous narrator, they were also published anonymously at first. Maybe that is the reason (or part of the reason) why the first novel was initially thought to have been written by a member of Parry’s Arctic expedition.

This chapter will look at the representation of polar ice in the novels’ Arctic frame narrative through the lens of the aesthetics of the sublime and conception of absolute space. It will conclude with the novels’ positioning in relation to polar literature of the period. There are numerous depictions of icebergs, floes and ice regions in the diegesis of the two novels. Polar ice is described at length by the narrator as majestic and awe-inspiring. At the same time, it presents a constant threat that repeatedly endangers the safety of the characters on board the *Leviathan*. Polar ice thus represents a multifaceted space that is put in contrast to the space of the ship and the characters on board in the novels. It is concurrently imagined and real, sublime and beautiful, static and dynamic, bleak and radiant, and desolate and populated. It constitutes a sublime *and* absolute space. *Polar ice as an absolute space* is a space of nature that dominates the characters in the novels. It ultimately presents the agency of nature. It similarly embodies the imagined emptiness of the Arctic and the Pole that the characters ascribe their meanings to. The polar sublime described in the novels stimulates the narrator’s imagination about the “hyperborean realm” (6: 44). It can be essentially divided into the following three main modes in the narrative, that is, an imagined sublime space, a space of sublime beauty, and a darkly precarious sublime space. *The polar region as an imagined sublime space* encompasses the narrator’s image of the Arctic that he projects before embarking on his voyage there. Such image is a product of the narrator’s imagination constructed by past and contemporary polar travelogues that he has read before. It likewise embodies an imagined space of the Pole that the

characters on board the *Leviathan* speculate on and jest about during their voyage. In turn, *the polar region of sublime beauty* represents a picturesque, hyperbolic depiction of the Arctic as the “marble paradise” in which “the dazzling splendour” of icy architecture is compared to the finest works of man’s art (2: 201; 4: 9). *The darkly precarious sublime space* incorporates the description of the Arctic as the “grim and desolate region” (2: 16). It incorporates the danger of polar ice, its dynamic power, vastness and multitude in the narrative. All the three modes of the polar sublime underscore the pre-eminence of individual imagination and the natural grandeur in the encounter between man and nature. Such emphasis in a literary work constitutes a most essential characteristic of Romantic poetics. However, if *Frankenstein* overtly critiques self-absorbed romantic pursuits such as science or geographic exploration, *Tales* implicitly reaffirm British exploratory ambitions in the Arctic, but not without some contradictions throughout the diegesis.

The Arctic as an Imagined Sublime and Absolute Space

Before embarking on his voyage to the Arctic, the narrator conceives that region as the “realm of desolate grandeur” (1: 9). The adjective ‘desolate’ echoes the depiction of the Arctic as “the seat of frost and desolation” that Walton refused to accept in his imagination of the Pole (Shelley 7) and as “the seat of desolation, void of light,” the hell-like place, in Milton’s *Paradise Lost* (I: 181). The word ‘grandeur,’ in turn, emphasises the sublimity of the desolate Arctic. Unlike Walton, the narrator embraces the desolation of the ‘real’ Arctic found in coeval polar travelogues and concurrently underlines its sublimity in his imagining of that region. He has never seen the polar region before and has very limited knowledge about it, but he already perceives that region as a sublime space. The prospect of a voyage there spurs on his imagination:

This was a temptation which, though of a cool description, set my imagination on fire. I had heard and read of the wonders of the frozen ocean, and the icebound regions of Spitzbergen, and although I then knew comparatively nothing about it, I decorated every scene in that distant clime with the most peculiar imagery, and my ideas became so excited, that nothing but accompanying my friend would satisfy me (1: 8).

From a safe distance, physical and figurative, the Arctic is perceived by the narrator as an imagined sublime space. He hardly knows anything about that space but his imagination imbues it “with the most peculiar imagery.” This space is distant for the narrator not only in a physical, geographical sense, but also in a figurative sense since he lacks any profound knowledge about it. The prospective voyage to this imagined space delights and heightens the

narrator's excitement to the highest degree of emotion that is associated with the experience of the sublime. The passage similarly indicates the popular contemporary perception of the Arctic as a 'blank' space that needs to be 'filled' with one's imagination. The narrator paints the 'blank' canvas of the Arctic "with the most peculiar imagery" in his imagination. For him, the Arctic embodies an imagined space that is full of "the wonders of the frozen ocean" and "the most peculiar imagery" of his imagination. It is likewise a 'desolate' region encountered in contemporary polar accounts. The Arctic consequently presents an imagined sublime space the prospect of seeing and experiencing of which utterly delights the narrator.

At the same time, the narrator participates in the social production of the imagined emptiness of the Arctic. He assigns his own meanings to that emptiness. He claims that emptiness in order to construct his own ideological space there. This makes the imagined space of the Arctic not merely sublime, but also absolute, that is, a dominating space of nature which is yet to be colonised by man. The narrator is completely enraptured by his upcoming Arctic voyage and refers to it as "the scene of a pleasurable excursion" and an object of "the ardour of curiosity that burns in the bosom of the youthful adventurer" (1: 12). In doing this, he accentuates the potential 'wonders' and not dangers of the impending voyage. Such accentuation somewhat echoes Walton's selfish polar pursuit in which he refused to accept the Pole as "the seat of frost and desolation" and imagined it to be the paradisiacal region of eternal light instead. However, if Walton dreams about the discovery of the North Pole and the Northwest Passage (and claiming these 'pristine' and 'blank' spaces for himself), Gillies's narrator is more concerned with recording his observations on paper in his voyage: "I had determined to bring back delineations of every object I might encounter, which was worthy the stroke of the pencil" (1: 13).

The narrator's prospective voyage to the Arctic is not exploratory. It is commercial as it primarily focuses on the whale fishery in that region. Although the narrator lacks any specific exploratory ambitions such as the discovery of the North Pole or the Northwest Passage in the preparation for the voyage, he still exhibits nationalist hubris in regard to contemporary British exploration in the Arctic. In this regard, he echoes Barrow, the main proponent of British polar exploration of the period. In his *A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions* (1818), Barrow underscores the preeminent and predestined position of the nation in the exploration of the Arctic "as an object peculiarly British" (364). The narrator similarly concludes that despite its dangers and material expenses, geographic exploration encompasses a "spirit of enterprise" that "has always belonged" to the British (1: 18). He therefore attributes nationalist hubris to the imagined space of the Arctic. He claims the imagined emptiness of

that space so as to produce an ideological space in its stead that mirrors the nationalist rhetoric of coeval British Arctic exploration. He underscores the eminent position of the British in exploration of the globe and reaffirms its essential function in the establishment of the national identity. He is completely elated over the prospect of the Arctic voyage and ardently wishes to follow the exploratory pursuits of his fellow compatriots to the point he “could have sacrificed everything to the desire of quitting the common track of domestic existence” (ibid.). The imminence of the polar voyage fills him “with a buoyancy of spirit” which he has never experienced before (1: 19). Apart from ‘happiness,’ a ‘buoyancy’ signifies “the ability to float” or “the condition of increasing or staying at a high level” (CED). It therefore indicates the idea of being elevated that is an essential characteristic of the aesthetic of the sublime. The distant Arctic hence presents an imagined sublime and absolute space for the narrator.

The unknown and unexplored Pole with its ‘mystic’ magnetic powers likewise embodies an imagined sublime and absolute space for the characters on board the *Leviathan*. As the whaling vessel goes further north and crosses the Arctic circle, they in their alcohol-induced state perceive at one point that the ship seemingly keeps “revolving in so strange a manner” (2:80). When they inquired the captain about the matter, he decided to inform them as a prank that “the ship was bearing down upon the North Pole, and that the great loadstone, of which it was composed, caused by its attraction the rotatory motion of the ship” (ibid.). The magnetic powers attributed to the North Pole produce an image of it as a giant magnet pulling the vessel towards it and making it rotate. The captain’s portrayal of the Pole made in jest causes other characters to create similar imagined assumptions about that space. Andrew, the chief harpooner, challenges the proposed assumption and mockingly suggests that they are all “in the vortex of a whirlpool, which, like the terrible maelstrom on the coast of Norway, would mostly likely suck her [the ship] down into its tempestuous entrails, unless prompt means were taken to get her clear” (2: 81). Consequently, the crew begin to entertain themselves with different speculations about the nature of the rotatory movement of the ship and the nature of the North Pole as a magnet and in what manner this affects the vessel.

The imaginings about the Pole become more absurd with each crew member’s proposition. For instance, a member of the ‘boatswain’ boldly declares that their ship is “on the back of a large whale” that is “spinning round on purpose to sink her” (ibid.). The ludicrous assumptions about the Pole continue to be “a groundwork on which to build fresh jests” for the seamen on board to such a great degree that some of the inebriated individuals become convinced that “a tall dark object, rising from amidst a patch of ice near the horizon” is “the axis of the world, to which they” are being pulled towards “by its attractive power” (2: 92). The

characters, in turn, find themselves “in most seriocomic deliberation, upon the consequences of running foul of the Pole” (2: 93). In reality, the ship is moving towards a large body of ice that can potentially immure the vessel, or make it “beset” there for a lengthy period of time and, as a consequence, entirely disrupt the fishing expedition. The characters’ speculations about the Pole are absurd and a source of entertainment, but most of them are based on contemporary knowledge of terrestrial magnetism.

The Pole being “the axis of the world,” having the “attractive power” and potentially the same magnetic properties as “the great loadstone” were all part of coeval study of geomagnetism. The theories and hypotheses of the science of terrestrial magnetism were employed as a prominent metaphor in Romantic literary works of the period such as Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* or the writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 149).⁶⁶ *Tales* is another instance of such Romantic works. The unexplored Pole encompassed a ‘blank’ space that instigated various speculations about its nature and appearance among the public. Although jokingly, the *Leviathan*’s sailors are similarly engaged in the production of polar assumptions built upon scientific suppositions from the study of terrestrial magnetism. The sailors attribute these assumptions to the imagined emptiness of the Pole as an absolute space. The Pole, unknown and distant, encompassed a dominating space of nature that resisted man’s colonisation. The characters’ assumptions claim the imagined emptiness of that space so as to construct their own ideological space there. The constructed spaces are ideological because they, to some extent, reflect certain beliefs or ideas the contemporary public had about the Pole. The characters’ imaginings about the Pole similarly indicate the sublimity of the unknown regarding it. All the suggested images of that space underscore its potential threat to the ship and the characters’ lives on board. Whether that imagined space is presented as the giant

⁶⁶ For example, the poet Eleanor Anne Porden, John Franklin’s first wife, in her poem “The Arctic Expeditions” (1818) likewise uses existing knowledge of the science of terrestrial magnetism as she writes about the Pole shortly before John Ross’s first Arctic expedition:

Star of the Pole! inspire the arduous lay.
 And thou, unseen Directress! – Power unknown!
 Shrined darkling on thine adamant throne,
 Who lov’st, like Virtue, still to shrink from view
 And bless a world, yet shun the glory due;
 While yet they seek thee o’er a trackless main,
 Guide of their course! Befriend their poet’s strain (8).

In her lengthy endnote to the passage Porden demonstrates substantial knowledge of coeval theories and hypotheses of terrestrial magnetism as she succinctly summarises all the findings and elaborates on them. In particular, she focuses on the potential existence of four Poles with magnetic powers: “Some philosophers have thought it probable that the earth may have four magnetic poles, two of inferior attraction to the others, an arrangement which would explain many of the anomalies of magnetic variation; but it wants the beautiful simplicity observable in astronomical revolutions. Such a number of poles, however, is often found in the loadstone, and may be produced in artificial magnets” (26-7).

magnet, “the vortex of a whirlpool,” or even a huge whale, it is always a looming hazardous presence for the characters that threatens to suck them in with no return. The looming threat of the imagined Pole embodies its sublimity. The characters transform the danger of the polar sublime into a form of entertainment for themselves. The Pole thus represents an imagined space for the characters that is both sublime and absolute in nature.

The Sublime Beauty and Unrepresentability of the Arctic

When the narrator sees polar ice for the first time, he emphasises its natural grandeur. The vision of the ice presents a picture of the natural sublime:

I ran upon deck in my shirt, and beheld, not as I had expected, a rare bird or a fish, but a piece of ice, floating past the vessel. This was the first which we met; but, during the morning, fragments of every size and shape encountered our view. Their colours were white, when not covered by the sea, but where they sunk beneath the water, they reflected its hues of green and blue, varying by position, and presenting occasionally tints of the richest splendour. From rugged and craggy figures, they appeared to be fast melting, although the coldness of the weather seemed more capable of increasing than diminishing their bulk. Many of them, from the action of the waves, had acquired grotesque and singular shapes, which, as they came alongside in groups upon the billows, afforded a thousand fanciful resemblances to the imagination. Those of the smallest size might be likened to chessmen, put in agitation by supernatural agency, or to the heads of a promiscuous multitude seen journeying along behind a bank or hedge, which concealed the rest of their bodies; while the larger masses seemed to be the riches of a sculptor’s gallery, borne on a flood of quicksilver; a mingled fleet of statues, busts, pillars, capitals, tombs, and arches, formed of the purest marble (2: 4-5).

The narrator depicts the polar ice as the embodiment of nature’s sublime beauty in the passage. The polar ice encompasses the properties of the sublime outlined by Burke such as having the colour shades of “the richest splendour” and “rugged and craggy” and “grotesque and singular” shapes. These “grotesque and singular shapes” of the polar sublime incite the narrator’s imagination as they prompt him to find numerous familiar images in his mind to compare them to. The smallest fragments of the ice are compared to chess figures randomly agitated by “supernatural agency,” while the larger bodies are likened to “a mingled fleet” of marble works of art such as “statues, busts, pillars, capitals, tombs, and arches.” The comparisons that the narrator makes demonstrate the implicit perception of the ice as a product of man’s work. By likening the ice to common objects of human art, the narrator attempts to present the polar sublime as something that can be familiar and recognisable to the reader and easily imagined by them. On the one hand, the comparison to works of art underscores the aesthetic beauty of

the ice to the observer. On the other hand, it signifies the narrator's inherent desire to capture and possess the untamed nature of polar ice through the application of familiar imagery of human art to it.

The sublime beauty of the Arctic is characterised by the romantic subjectivity of the narrator's perception. There is a marked divergence in the vision of the Arctic between the narrator and the sailors on board the *Leviathan*. Only the narrator is capable of perceiving the sublime beauty of the Arctic. This divergence is highlighted several times throughout the diegesis. When the *Leviathan* is threatened to be immured by ice, the narrator is not concerned about the dangers of such a situation. Instead, he entirely focuses on the "beautiful and enchanted" appearance of the ship that is "encased in a splendid sheet of ice" as if "she had been immersed in a petrifying lake, whose waters had congealed around her," or as if "she had been dipped in a vast cauldron of melted glass, which had clung to her, and grown solid as she was withdrawn" (2: 120-1). The "beautiful and enchanted" view of the ship is only enjoyed by the narrator and his friend William: "[T]here were none but my friend William and myself who seemed to enjoy the fairy and fantastic appearance of our good ship, arrayed in ice and snow. The sailors, clothed in their huge pea-jackets and camlet trowsers, [...] paced their watches impatiently, amidst the wreathing sleet that whirled around them, smoking their pipes in rueful silence" (2: 121).

Contrary to the narrator and William's delight over the fairy-like sight that surrounds them, the sailors get restless on board the ice-bound ship as their fishing expedition is in danger of being suspended indefinitely. The narrator asserts such divergence in the aesthetic perception of the Arctic another time when he admires its sublime beauty although the ship has just received several heavy blows in the collision with the floes: "So splendidly white was the ice, and so beautifully blue was the sea, that I thought not of the intricate phalanx of fragments which composed the 'loose pack,' otherwise than as a glorious sight, till Mr Ridgway told me we "ran a foul chance of being beset" (2: 306).). Unlike the narrator, Mr Ridgway, the first mate, does not see sublime beauty in the surrounding scenery as he is alarmed about "being beset" in ice. He explains to the narrator the dangerous consequences for the entire crew in being ice-bound such as the inability to continue whale-fishing, "which, to men who live upon what they get in that way, is of importance;" and accordingly being "put upon short allowance" in order to save up the provision in unfavourable weather conditions (2: 306-7). This contrast in the perception of the sublime beauty of the Arctic between the narrator and the sailors emphasises the former's individual subjectivity and romantic perspective on the Arctic voyage that runs counter to the latter's more pragmatic and worldly outlook.

The narrator exemplifies the sublime beauty of the Arctic at length when he illustrates the brilliance of the sunset there with its “sparkling gems of diamond and sapphire” shining “from the countless icy pinnacles and grotts” where everything in sight “is filled with gorgeous excess of heavenly magnificence” (2: 96). This illustration nearly reiterates the one made by Ross in his *A Voyage of Discovery* (1819): “[T]he reflections of light on the icebergs were peculiarly splendid, the emerald, sapphire, and orange, being the prevailing colours” (100). In one instance during the voyage, Gillies’s narrator has an opportunity to see “the grandeur of arctic nature” from “a bird’s eye view,” the top of the ship’s mast, as the vessel strives “to get through the numerous and narrow “lanes,” which intersected the barriers of threatening ice rocks” (2: 101). The narrator is completely mesmerised by the view and likens man’s desire to conquer the untamed nature of the Arctic to “the noble daring of the human mind” and his desire to claim that space to that of “a lover of the savage goddess” and “a being of mortal mould” (ibid.). The narrator therefore asserts the sublime beauty of the Arctic and man’s inherent desire to possess it. He once again accentuates this desire in the manner he describes the grandeur of the ice around the ship:

The gale had driven the pack ice into large islands, filled with rocks and pyramids, and ‘hummocks,’ or smaller icy hillocks. These elevations have a peculiarly beautiful effect at the horizon, especially when gleaming, as they did to-day, in the rays of a brilliant sun. The ruins of Palmyra, or of Thebes, with all their marble columns, and their long arcades, seemed risen from ocean, and the palaces of ivory, and cities of alabaster, of the eastern and northern minstrels, appeared no longer the dreams of imagination (2: 108-9).

In the passage, the narrator compares the grandeur of the ice to the ruins of the great ancient civilizations of Palmyra and Thebes, “with all their marble columns” and “their long arcades,” and the ivory palaces and alabaster cities “of the eastern and northern minstrels.” All the drawn comparisons underline the elevation of the icy grandeur above its observer. The narrator no longer beholds this grandeur from “a bird’s eye view,” he observes it from below, standing on the ship’s deck. From this point, the sublime splendour of the ice towers over the *Leviathan* and therefore manifests the superiority of nature over man. However, this icy grandeur still indicates the innate desire of man to seize and control nature. All the comparisons employed by the narrator encompass the grandeur of *man’s* work. It is as if the narrator hints at the idea that the magnificence of nature is determined by how adequately or inadequately it can compare to a product of man’s labour. At the same time, the narrator states that the analogies he draws in his description of the natural grandeur appear to be “no longer the dreams of imagination.” The ruins of the ancient civilisations of Palmyra and Thebes, with their grand columns and arcades, ivory palaces and alabaster cities, can offer only a glimpse of their former glory and splendour

to the observer's imagination. The grandeur of polar ice enables the narrator to fully perceive in actuality what has existed merely in his imagination before.

The fact that the narrator compares the grandeur of ice to that of the ancient civilisations is rather compelling. It suggests that the narrator struggles to adequately represent that grandeur in language. The ruins of Palmyra and Thebes can only give a portion of their former grandeur to the observer who needs to activate their imagination in order to envision the full picture of it. Only language is not enough to represent the sublime beauty of polar ice. It needs to go hand in hand with the observer's imagination. The narrator asserts this in his further description of the Arctic grandeur: “[I]f they [the inhabitants of the more southern world] could convert their dingy seas into floods of fluid sapphire, and cover them with their proudest works of architecture, hewn from pure Parian stone, they would not succeed in rivalling this realm of splendour and magnificence, unless they could make the lord of day look down from his skies” (2: 109). The sublime beauty of the Arctic therefore challenges the limits of the narrator's imagination *and* language in the narrative. For the narrator, the Arctic is a region of unparalleled beauty that surpasses any other warmer geographic regions of the globe. It is precisely the presence of polar ice and its “splendour and magnificence” that constitutes an integral and most essential part of this beauty. The vision of this beauty cannot bore the narrator or cease to bring him utmost delight throughout the voyage: “I was never weary, never content, with gazing on the endless multitude of shapes and attitudes in which the ice presented itself; nor can I hope to impress on the mind of the reader the feeling of delight which yet remains in my breast from the hour I beheld them” (ibid.). In this manner, the narrator highlights the dynamic nature of polar ice that displays itself in various forms and “attitudes” to him. Such nature constitutes its sublimity as it never fails to astonish him and make him experience the “feeling of delight.” This delight is so exceptional that he finds his narrative to be inadequate to fully express it.

The narrator laments the inadequacy of language in the representation of the polar sublime. In particular, he laments the inadequacy of a written narrative in expressing “the reminiscences of sublime and beautiful objects, which dwell in the recesses of his [the dreamer's] memory like distant lights and shadows among rocks and woodland scenery, richly and softly blending themselves with his own ideas, yet inimitable by the verbal colouring with which he strives to represent them” (4: 5-6). In this instance, the narrator emphasises the superiority of real experience of the sublime and the beautiful over their verbal and textual representation. Any description of the polar sublime pales in comparison with its actual experience. The narrator hence underlines the inherent unrepresentability of the polar sublime in language. This idea can be similarly observed in coeval polar travel accounts. For example,

John Ross, one of the most renowned polar explorers of the period, narrates the encounter with the polar sublime in his *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage* (1835) in the following manner:

[W]e could not but feel astonishment, as well as gratitude, at our having escaped here without material damage. For readers, it is unfortunate that no description can convey an idea of a scene of this nature: and, as to the pencil, it cannot represent motion, or noise. And to those who have not seen a northern ocean in winter – who have not seen it, I should say it, in a winter's storm – the term ice, exciting but the recollection of what they only know at rest, in an inland lake or canal, conveys no ideas of what it is the fate of an arctic navigator to witness and to feel. But let them remember that ice is stone; a floating rock in the stream, a promontory or an island when aground, not less solid than if it were a land of granite. Then let them imagine, if they can, these mountains of crystal hurled through a narrow strait by a rapid tide; meeting, as mountains in motion would meet, with the noise of thunder, breaking from each other's precipices huge fragments, or rending each other asunder, till, losing their former equilibrium, they fall over headlong, lifting the sea around in breakers, and whirling it in eddies; while the flatter fields of ice, forced against these masses, or against the rocks, by the wind and the stream, rise out of the sea till they fall back on themselves, adding to the indescribable commotion and noise which attend these occurrences (152).

Ross expresses his utter astonishment and relief over the preservation of the ship in its brush with massive bodies of ice. The rapid movement of the gigantic floes near the vessel is depicted in an exemplary manner of the polar sublime. Ross emphasises that neither a language nor a drawing can fully represent the sublimity of polar ice. The only way one can perceive the polar sublime without actually seeing it for oneself is through one's imagination. And Ross implicitly suggests that not everyone is capable of envisaging the natural grandeur of polar ice. Due to the perceived inadequacy of written language in fully conveying his experiences, Gillies's narrator turns to representing the Arctic landscape in his drawings. Sketches, or plates, of the scenery were commonly included in contemporary polar travelogues. For example, the travel accounts of such polar explorers of the period as Parry, Ross, and Scoresby all contain various plates of icy landscapes in their binders.⁶⁷ Although the narrator depicts several sketches of the polar scenery that he makes throughout the novels, the sketches do not accompany the actual travel narrative. The most compelling instance of such sketches is presented in the following excerpt in which the narrator portrays the Arctic scenery around the ice-bound vessel:

⁶⁷ E.g. The plate "Travelling among Hummocks of Ice" in Parry's *Narrative of an Attempt to Reach the North Pole* (1828), the plate "Representation of the Ship Esk of Whitby, Damaged by Ice and Almost Full of Water. (During an Attempt to Invert Her Position and Bring the Keel to the Surface of the Sea for Repairing the Damage)" in Scoresby's *An Account of the Arctic Regions* (1820), or the plate "Victoria Harbour" in Ross's *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage* (1835).

[A]lthough I cannot hope to excite by words the same conceptions of the splendour and gorgeousness of an Arctic landscape, which the reality would produce, I shall endeavour to furnish a slight sketch of the crystal realm which formed itself around the ship in which I sailed, with all the loveliness, though with little of the gentleness, of a fairy creation; and if the imagination of the reader can fill up my outline with brilliant imagery, such as might be afforded by a marble strewn with diamonds, and illuminated with dark blue and emerald tints, deepening in profuse variety within its alabaster caverns, he will obtain a glimpse, however, faint, of those regions where Nature loves to mock at all her other works, and, with the mimic fantasy of a child, builds frail resemblances of her solid labours (4: 6).

Despite the fact that the *Leviathan* is immured by ice, the narrator advocates the sublime beauty of the Arctic landscape “the splendour and gorgeousness” of which cannot be conveyed by words alone. The narrator attempts to capture that beauty of “the crystal realm” in his sketch but the drawing requires, like in Ross’s narrative, the reader’s imagination to imbue it with “brilliant imagery.” The narrator’s emphasis on drawing sketches of the surrounding icy grandeur suggests the implied supremacy of a visual (painting) medium over a written one in the accuracy of conveying the traveller’s experiences. However, his narrative depiction of the polar scenery is replete with brilliant colours that cannot be transferred to his drawing. Such contrast between ‘colourful’ narratives and ‘plain’ drawn images pertained to the way the Arctic was represented by contemporary polar explorers. The profusion of colour in the description of the polar landscape was frequently encountered in exploratory narratives of the period. Conversely, the sketches which accompanied these published narratives were either in black and white or in pale water colour palette. The discrepancy between the textual and visual images of the Arctic can be explained by “the technological limitations inherent in the colouring of the engravings which were printed in the travel narratives, which caused these sombre, rather colourless, landscapes to be repeated for a wider audience” (David 139).

The narrator underlines not only the failure of words and sketches to fully represent the sublime beauty of the Arctic, but also accentuates the limitations of one’s imagination in ultimately conceiving it. He compares “a long irregular line of massive icy ruins” visible on the horizon to the “imaginary buildings, the dazzling splendour” of which was “more like the effect of enchantment than of reality” (4: 9). The beauty of the icy architecture surrounding the ship is so “dazzling” that it seems surreal to the narrator. He perceives the Arctic as a sublime space of *unimaginable* beauty “where cloudless skies and water clothed with alabaster, where jewelled pinnacles and crystal grotts, combine with the phantasmagorical powers of multiplied refraction to amaze and delight the beholder” (ibid.). Only by means of vivid imagination, the reader, who has never seen the Arctic, can envision a mere ‘glimpse’ of its beauty. In order to

envisage this ‘glimpse’ of “the sublime mysteries of Arctic scenery,” the reader needs to imagine a natural site that is full of sheer contrasts, that is, of “the thousand nameless effects of light and shade, of proximity and distance, of motion and rest, all striking upon the senses at once, in combination with objects the most magnificent and strange” (4: 9-10). The narrator underscores the multifaceted sublimity of the Arctic, both grand and strange, the experience of which instantly overwhelms human senses. The “sublime mysteries of Arctic scenery” present an enjoyment that requires the “capacity of imagination” if one desires to attain a mere vestige of them (4: 10). Following the Kantian notion of aesthetic judgment, the polar sublime puts the observer’s limits of the imagination to the test (114). Kant defines “the feeling of the sublime” as “a feeling of displeasure that arises from the imagination’s inadequacy, in an aesthetic estimation of magnitude” (114-5). In Kantian understanding, the observer comprehends the “imagination’s inadequacy” in their encounter with the magnitude of the natural sublime. However, the perceived inadequacy of the imagination enables them to realise the sublimity of their own mind when confronted with nature’s magnitude.

Kant discusses this inadequacy of the imagination in his conception of the mathematically sublime. He outlines the mathematically sublime as something that is “absolutely large” and “large beyond all comparison” (103). Gillies’s narrator reverberates this notion of the sublime in his portrayal of the distant icy mountain through a telescope: : “My mind felt as if mounting with gigantic strides from pinnacle to pinnacle, to scale the barriers of another world; [...] when I believed I had gained the ultimate verge of vision, an airy minaret gleamed still far beyond my fancied limit, which, though in perspective size a mere flake of snow against the sky, might be in reality a huge avalanche [...] [on] an arctic Mont Blanc” (2: 113-4). The narrator grapples with fully comprehending the magnitude of “an arctic Mont Blanc.” The comparison to Mont Blanc, the highest mountain in the Alps, depicted by such Romantic writers as Coleridge, Byron and the Shelleys, reaffirms the aesthetics of the sublime in the narrator’s perception of polar ice. The sheer magnitude of the mountain is beyond comparison and exceeds the capacity of his limited vision. The limitations of a telescope similarly distort the actual size of the observed “Mont Blanc.” Furthermore, in Kantian aesthetics, the mathematically sublime, unlike the beautiful, presupposes not “a liking of an object,” but instead, “a liking for the expansion of the imagination itself” (105). The polar sublime not only tests and uncovers the limits of the observer’s imagination, but also enables them to enjoy its expansion. This is precisely what the narrator emphasises straight after he describes the Arctic ‘Mont Blanc:’

What, then, were the wonders which might lie between me and this speck of distant world! What the caverns, the lakes, the glaciers, the people, and the monsters! I was lost in a dream of

speculation and desire, as I gazed long and lingeringly over this expanse of regions unexplored, and I turned from it to the familiar things around me with contempt and mortified ambition (2: 114).

There is a tangible distance between the narrator and the yet-unexplored region of the Arctic in the passage. The distant and unexplored High Arctic embodies a sublime space for the narrator that is full of imaginary wonders and possibilities. The sublimity of the unknown Arctic bolsters the narrator's imagination about that space and moves it beyond the vision of his immediate surroundings. Like Walton, the narrator is lost in the fervour of his imaginary speculations about the unexplored region. He expresses his ambition to explore and see for himself that 'blank' region, the ambition that similarly gripped coeval polar explorers. In this regard, the High Arctic embodies an absolute space, an uncolonized and dominating space of nature. The narrator desires to claim the imagined emptiness of that space so as to construct his own ideological space in its stead, a space full of wonders and limitless possibilities. He participates in the social production of that imagined emptiness as he attributes his own speculations and imaginings to that 'blank' space.

The view of the ice likewise performs a creative function in the narrative. It activates and expands the narrator's imagination. The narrator further emphasises this function when he wonders over what urges the British seamen to abandon their native land with all the comfort it could offer and go on a polar voyage instead. According to the narrator, the reason lies precisely in the ability of one's imagination to transform the hyperborean realms into "ten thousand pleasing forms" and fill these "realms of ice and water" with "images of every kind most grateful to itself" (5: 292). In other words, the reason lies in the emptiness and blankness of the polar regions. Those seamen who embark on a voyage there can claim the emptiness and blankness of those spaces for themselves and fill them with their own ideology and imaginary. They can ultimately produce their own ideological space there. They can paint those 'blank' canvases with their own imagination however they please. The sublime beauty of the Arctic enables the imagination to combine at the same time "the offices of sculptor, painter, and architect" as it is capable of carving out "statues from living alabaster," sketching "fairy landscapes," building "marble palaces and temples" like "the distant visions of the founder of an empire," wielding "the magician's wand" and calling up "from the mystic world of nameless forms which haunt this fairy region," and grouping "a thousand imps of fancy" in "strange assemblages of things which seem to live, and yet are semblances of no things living" (5: 292-3). Such beauty can only be likened to a work of art, or a work of fiction. It stimulates the observer's imagination and appeals to the British to explore it.

The sublime beauty of the Arctic is characterised by the utter tranquillity and stillness of its landscape. Such characterisation is accentuated several times in the narrative. For instance, the narrator highlights it when he describes the landscape prior to the start of the crew's hunting for a whale: "The sun shone brilliantly, though not warmly, for it was near midnight; the blocks of ice lay in slumber on their liquid bed, glittering and gleaming with jewelled splendour; beauty, peace, and harmony, dwelt on the surface of the pure calm ocean" (2: 199). The peacefulness of the scenery is abruptly interrupted by the *Leviathan's* sailors: "[A]s if by a sudden impulse of the demon of discord, the boat's crew dashed their ready oars into the water, and by a long and strong pull brought the stem of their little vessel on the back of the whale" (ibid.). The narrator thus creates the contrast between the tranquillity and stillness of the Arctic landscape and the violent and noisy nature of the whale hunt. The contrast is further intensified in the narrative by the greater emphasis on the tremendous noise produced by the whalers: "[T]hey burst forth into such a tremendous shout of "a fall! A fall! A fall!" as "made the welkin roar," and awoke a thousand echoes in icy caves and crystal grotts, where they had been frozen up in deep lethargy for ages" (2: 200). The slumber of the Arctic landscape, "the still and beautiful scenery of that marble paradise," is suddenly interrupted by the sailors who are likened to "a troop of demons broken loose into the Elysian fields" (2: 201). By creating this opposition between peacefulness and violence, the narrator covertly critiques the relationship between nature and man in which the latter disrupts the lethargic beauty of the former.

The narrator observes a similar opposition between polar ice and fauna. In this instance, he underlines the contrast between a black stealthy whale and static white ice: "[T]he strange contrast of the deep black extremity of the monster to the bright white hue of the ice, while its swift motion is equally at variance with the still repose of the scene, gives us the same sublime and indistinct ideas of some unearthly being, as if we beheld its evolutions performed amongst the clouds" (4: 234). The "strange contrast" between the ice and the whale produces a sublime image in the narrator's eyes. He observes a similar contrast in the scene in which his tranquil admiration of the Arctic is interrupted by the sudden appearance of a huge polar bear with two cubs which gives him "a qualm about the region of the heart" (4: 39). The narrator hence shows that the tranquil beauty of the Arctic is in fact illusory and contains lots of potential dangers lurking underneath it. Later in the description of the encounter with the polar bear, he states that the common assumption about the Arctic as the site "synonymous with desolation and lifelessness" is likewise illusory since it is subverted by the "harmless and happy gaiety of

beings which are regarded among the most ferocious of beasts of prey” (4: 43).⁶⁸ On the one hand, the emphasis on the tranquillity and stillness of the Arctic landscape demonstrates its opposition to humans and fauna. On the other hand, it shows that this assumption is illusory. The sublime beauty of the Arctic is likewise illusory as it can easily represent ‘the calm before the storm’ to the observer. The Arctic is a space of nature that is utterly dynamic in essence. The sublime beauty of that space is merely one side of it, just one facet of its sublimity.

The Darkly Precarious Polar Sublime and the Romantic Subjectivity of Experience

As the darkly precarious sublime, polar ice essentially presents the dynamic power of nature that endangers the characters on board the *Leviathan*. As such, it is repeatedly personified by the narrator. Its approach is equated with “troops charging over an immense field of hillocks, rising and falling with the waves, appearing and vanishing in every direction” (2: 9). Apart from the dynamic power, the narrator also emphasises the unruly nature, vastness, and multitude of the darkly precarious sublime. In the scene when the *Leviathan* is threatened by the onslaught of ice, “a dense mist” envelops the characters aboard “in a partial obscurity” (2: 8). The entire scene is thus marked by the sublimity of its imagery. The depiction of mist obscuring the ship surrounded by vast bodies of floating ice echoes the similar sublime depictions of the polar region by Coleridge in the poem “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner” as “the land of mist and snow” (3) and by Shelley in *Frankenstein* as being “nearly surrounded by ice” and “compassed round by a very thick fog” (13). The vision of ice ‘troops’ represents a sensory, visual and aural, experience for the narrator: “There was *much both of the sublime and beautiful*, as well to the ear as to the eye, in the apparent approach and retreat of huge masses of ice” (2: 9; emphasis added). The narrator characterises the violent movement of large floes as being *both* the sublime and the beautiful. Such characterisation contradicts Burkean and Kantian polarised distinction between the two aesthetic categories. This very fact demonstrates that the polar sublime can challenge and erase the boundaries between established aesthetic categories. In other words, it can subvert fixed classifications and notions of the aesthetic experience.

Although the narrator insists on the presence of both the sublime and the beautiful in the unruly movement of polar ice, the way he further describes the scene is entirely sublime in nature:

⁶⁸ In this respect, the narrator explicitly disapproves of imprisoning and displaying polar bears for entertainment: “How different appeared these bears, running at large upon fields of ice, and rejoicing in the full exercise of their vigorous limbs, to the drooping and restless prisoners that drag out a wretched existence in a menagerie!” (ibid.).

At first, they [huge masses of ice] are heard buffeting with the billows, whilst wrapped in mist, though close before the vessel. Suddenly they appear upon the sight, like giant spectres, gliding over the blue, foam-crested hills ocean's fancied regions, sinking their white heads to the surface, and again mounting upon a broad swell of water, bared even to their very bases. It is then that their gaunt and craggy figures, armed at all points with gleaming spikes, and tusks of sparry lustre, dripping with spray, and crowned with wreaths of vapour, seem, like sea-monsters risen from the deep, to leap into the air. For a time they are stationary, as if stretched at full length to gaze about for enemies; the waves break and froth among their feet, and the wind whirls the rising mist around their summits. The water appears to sink from beneath them, and in an instant they plunge deep into its bosom, wallowing in its angry surges, and are again shrouded behind the haze. Sometimes a slender pillar supports a broad slab, like a vast table, or an enormous fungus floating on the sea, and the strange image reels along, revolving with the waves, and sinking to their level, perhaps again to rise; but often a heavy billow rushes up beneath the platform, the table dives and disappears, but the basement that supported it starts above the surface, and presents some new chimera in shape and motion to the eye (2: 9-10).

The narrator uses several similes to portray the dynamic power of polar ice a short distance away from the *Leviathan*. The polar ice is again personified here as it is compared to “giant spectres” and “sea-monsters risen from the deep” that are infused with human emotions (“wallowing in its angry surges”) and actions (“sinking their white heads”) as they plunge and surge under and over the sea surface. For the narrator, the polar ice becomes alive – a living matter that is utterly sublime both to the ear and to the eye. In this encounter with the polar sublime, the ship is similar to a prey that is being toyed with. Such personification of the polar ice highlights the perceived threat from its omnipotent nature and therefore underlines its sublimity. This threat is reinforced through the narrator's employment of such phrases as “their gaunt and craggy figures, armed at all points with gleaming spikes, and tusks of sparry lustre” and further comparisons to “a vast table” and “an enormous fungus floating on the sea.” The narrator concludes the descriptive passage by asserting that it “presents some new chimera in shape and motion to the eye.” This assertion repeatedly underlines the function of the polar sublime in the activation of the observer's imagination. Each new movement the ice masses brings forth new images to the narrator's imagination.

The emphasis on nature's grandeur and imagination in the passage constitutes a romantic conceptualisation of polar ice. In this conception, the experience of the polar sublime embodies an individual and complex pleasure for the narrator in which imagination plays an essential role. Although the narrator depicts the dynamic power of polar ice as being the sublime *and* the beautiful in equal measure, the entire depiction is sublime in the scene. Putting the collapse of established categories in the encounter with the polar sublime aside, the singular focus on the

sublimity of polar ice is augmented straight after the passage when the narrator observes: “However grand and delightful such objects were to me, they must have been less agreeable to the captain, who was continually engaged in steering the ship clear of these moving rocks, which might send it back to Shetland, or to the bottom, if they came in contact with it. Such accidents have been fatal to many vessels” (2: 10). The captain, unlike the narrator, does not perceive the natural grandeur in the spectacle around the ship. As the person in charge of the crew and the vessel, he is only concerned with practical issues such as plain preservation and material success of the voyage. This underlines the romantic perception of the ice by the narrator in which the polar sublime embodies an individual, egotistical pleasure. Such nature of the polar sublime puts it in opposition to the beautiful with its focus on the universal and societal. In Kantian aesthetics, the beautiful requires universal subjective validity, that is, a taste of sense is something individual but the beauty of an object or a phenomenon needs to be potentially acknowledged and liked by everybody who beholds it (55-7). In Burkean aesthetics, the beautiful, in turn, encompasses a category that is part of a given society (37). In other words, the sublime as an aesthetic category presupposes certain subjective exceptionalism.

The subjective exceptionalism in the experience of the sublime is directly addressed by the narrator when he describes the danger of navigating the ship among large bodies of polar ice:

There can be no danger more great, no difficulty more perplexing, than that of commanding the motions of a vessel among a crowd of giant rocks of ice, all driving and whirling each other around, in blind and unintelligible tumult. To him who can abstract his attention from personal hazard, the sight is supremely grand; and to those who regard it as the prospect of approaching destruction, it must be deeply awful; but to the man who feels the weight of responsibility for the lives and fortune of many of his fellow creatures, attached to the solicitude which naturally arises in his bosom for his own safety, the state of anxiety and consternation into which he is brought must be painfully acute (3: 74).

The narrator underlines the key condition in the production of the sublime, that is, the existence of a safe distance between a sublime object and the observer. In this case, however, he points out the importance of only mental abstraction, or mental distance, from the danger of polar ice. The distance is not physical since the danger of imminent distraction by giant bodies of the ice is upon the characters on board the *Leviathan*. Here the polar ice presents the sublime nature that is exclusively threatening to the characters on board. There is no physical abstraction between the observer and such nature. The narrator asserts that only a person who is capable of mentally abstracting themselves from the direct threat to their own preservation can experience the sublime in the encounter with the dynamic power of polar ice. But for an individual who is

only concerned with their own preservation such mental distance does not exist and they consequently would only experience unadulterated terror in the face of the polar sublime. The narrator thereby divides people into two categories, i.e. those who can admire the natural grandeur of the darkly precarious polar sublime and those who cannot. He concurrently outlines a third category epitomised by the captain. He underscores the captain's huge responsibility in navigating the ship safely through giant floes. The captain does not perceive anything "supremely grand" in the movement of the polar ice around the vessel since his main concern is everyone's preservation. As in the instance with the narrator's and the captain's opposite visions of the ice and its dynamic power, not everyone is hence capable of experiencing the polar sublime. The polar sublime that the narrator describes in the novels and that spurs on his imagination presents a romanticised vision of the Arctic that is subjective and individual in nature. Such vision is ultimately marked by the narrator's romantic subjectivity in the perception of polar ice and the Arctic on the whole.

The darkly precarious sublime represents the Arctic as "the grim and desolate region" that runs counter to its sublime beauty described at length by the narrator. In *Tales*, the Arctic is a natural space in which the narrator is acutely aware of the absence or presence of light there. In one instance, he indicates that awareness by opposing two faces of the Arctic, dark and light, in the narrative. He presents at once the sublimely beautiful, brilliant, illuminated by the sun Arctic, the "wide world of gorgeous fiction, which, stretched out before the eye, mocking the sober reason with its vivid imagery, and tempting the sceptic to doubt the justness of his own misgivings;" and the sublimely gloomy Arctic covered in darkness and thick mist in which "all is shadow, fog, blank ice, and bleak-faced water" (5: 293). The latter Arctic that is "half hid in mist and shade" produces sublimely strange images in the narrator's imagination, that is, "a grim, mis-shapen chimera, a rude block of dusky marble, roughly chiselled into a wild emblem of savage superstition, or the colossal statue of a fabled monster, hewn from a mountain's side" (5: 294). In stark contrast, the polar ice in this bleak Arctic encompasses a dynamic, violent and dangerous natural element that can potentially either imprison or shipwreck the vessel. The narrator depicts the unruly movement of floes around the *Leviathan* as an epitome of the natural sublime:

The sound is hideous – appalling – inexpressibly dreadful – but the sight of these huge masses, whirling round, like solid clouds upon a fluid sky, deforming and overwhelming each other in blind wantonness of destruction, is sublimely, though perilously, grand. Never can man feel himself so much a mere speck in the face of creation, as when he beholds its savage features convulsed with wrath and violence. He shrinks into himself, to find that he is a powerless passive being, exposed to the irresistible fury of contending elements; that nature, who smiled a goddess,

now grins a fiend; and that the slightest touch of her finger, the smallest turn of an angry iceberg, can annihilate his earthly existence (3: 2-3).

The dynamic power of polar ice incorporates the source of its sublimity. It is the manifestation of the agency of polar ice that dominates the characters on board. In this respect, the Arctic similarly exemplifies an absolute space in the narrative, that is, a dominating space of nature that resists man's colonisation. The passage likewise underlines the narrator's sensory experience in the encounter with the polar sublime through its emphasis on horrible sound and magnitude of the ice bodies. In doing this, it shows that the Arctic is a natural space in which not only the presence or absence of light is sharply perceived by the observer, but also the presence or absence of sound. The Arctic is therefore a space that is characterised by the distinctness of light and sound perception that contributes to the production of the sublime effect on the observer. Moreover, the darkly precarious sublime depicted in the passage accentuates the utter powerlessness of man who experiences it. The narrator draws a parallel between man, God's creation, and nature, God's creation and might. As so often in Romantic poetics, the nature here is represented as female to the whims of which the seamen on board the *Leviathan* are exposed to. The narrator again and again persists in the portrayal of the grandeur of polar ice and its dynamic power throughout the diegesis despite the threat it presents to his and others' lives. Such grandeur exhibits the quintessential depiction of the natural sublime by Burke and that of the mathematically *and* the dynamically sublime by Kant. This fact indicates the multifaceted and dynamic character of the polar sublime in *Tales*. The narrator likens the "sublimity and terror of the conflict" between polar ice and the *Leviathan* to a grand battlefield (2: 99). This battlefield is full of torturous suspense the likes of which the wanderer experiences "while he trembles upon the margin of a precipice on which he has lost himself, in doubt and darkness hears a loosened avalanche rolling and thundering from cliff to cliff above his head" (5: 316). Hence the dynamic power of polar ice is both the ultimate source of its sublimity and the representation of its agency in the narrative.

As regards the darkly precarious sublime, polar ice finally presents a unique "source of the sublime that to be found only in these regions of grandeur and peculiar beauty" (4: 31). This type of the sublime is generated by the "awful depth" of polar ice in the Arctic ocean. The "awful depth" represents a reversed image of a cliff, the "obscure recesses" of which the eye investigates until it "reaches a spot faintly perceptible through the deepening fluid, and remains for a time fixed in wondering contemplation; but, as it gazes intently on the distant object, an indistinct speck attracts its notice, plunged still deeper in the vast chasms of liquid gloom over which the beholder floats, and the mind becomes wrapped in feelings inexpressible by words"

(*ibid.*). It hence produces the Kantian mathematically sublime since it demonstrates the idea of nature's infinity and nature's being deep beyond any comparison. The narrator who observes this particular sublime struggles to fully conceive the extent of its depth presented to him. The experience of the sublime here is intensified "by the irregularly refractive and reflective qualities of the medium [the ocean's surface] through which it is seen" (*ibid.*). The refractive and reflective qualities of ice and water surface make it difficult to correctly estimate the distance between the observer and the natural element to the point that "all beyond appears a wide chasm of ethereal blue, chequered with fleecy clouds, the counterpart of the heavens above" (4: 32).

Only upon closer inspection, when the observer leans closer to the water surface, he can behold "nothing but the sparry side of the floe sinking into the blue obscurity of the ocean, till only its prominent reefs are visible, like mighty ruined columns and shattered pyramids, half hidden among the ooze" (*ibid.*). The water surface thereby functions as a distorted mirror through which the narrator can observe a reversed and limited picture of icy cliffs. Despite its perceived grandeur, the awful depth of polar ice possesses a potential danger in the narrator's eyes. That danger is expressed by his deep fear "to disappear from the face of the ice, and find himself buried for ever beneath its vast expanse" (4: 222). Every time the narrator finds himself sinking down into a deep icy rift, he is entirely seized by the dreadful idea that he is going to that place from which he "should never more return" (*ibid.*). The unique sublime produced by polar ice thus presents a potential dark abyss that threatens to swallow the observer into its awful depth. If hidden fissures in polar ice embody the possible danger of sinking and dying for humans in the novel, for seals, they represent the opposite, that is, an ability to enjoy the sunshine and go back to the sea and vice versa. Similarly, large "holes of water, resembling small lakes or ponds," sometimes found amidst the fields of ice are employed by whales in order to "avoid the machinations of mankind" (4: 223). Hence the polar sublime of awful depth additionally demonstrates a divergence in its perception between man and fauna.

Tales and the Representation of Coeval Arctic Exploration

In the introduction to the first novel, the narrator observes that remembering "past dangers" brings more pleasure to the one who has experienced them than any possible past "joy" can (1: 1). Although he remarks that this phenomenon cannot be simply explained in the narrative, the "past dangers" of the Arctic bring only delight to him. The narrator asserts that the dangers constitute an essential part of his narrative, but he experiences more pleasure from the

remembrance of past joys during his voyage. Such assertion compellingly subverts the established narrative rhetoric of contemporary polar accounts. What made these accounts popular among the public was the heroic portrayal of the explorer's suffering from extreme cold, famine, and the threat of being perpetually ice-bound in his struggle against the harsh nature of the polar regions. For instance, John Franklin's land expedition in the northern coast of Canada in search of the Northwest Passage in the years 1819-1822 was utterly disastrous. Franklin was accompanied by George Back, a midshipman, and John Richardson, the doctor, naturalist and second in command. In the aftermath of this expedition, Franklin lost eleven out of nineteen men and managed to chart only a small part of the coastline. Despite this, he was hailed as a hero back in England, and his *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (1823) became a sensation upon its publication. It presented "an epic of pain and estrangement" (Lanone 124). The sensationalism of the narrative was largely due to its portrayal of "suffering, cannibalism, and murder" (Carroll 60). The popularity of such accounts created narrative expectations about books on polar exploration in which voyages to the 'desolate' regions were presented as being full of unimaginable horrors, sufferings, and dangers. Thereby, by focusing more on the 'pleasures' of the voyage and not its "past dangers," Gillies's narrator subverts the narrative expectations about contemporary polar travelogues.

In the same instance, Richardson in his letter to Back on 9 June 1821 draws a parallel between his group of people, "the motley group of which we were composed," and "Chaucer's Pilgrims" (xxix). Lanone argues that such comparison implicitly depicted Franklin's journey in the Canadian Arctic as "a sacred pilgrimage" in which Chaucer's pilgrims "told very prosaic tales, too" (124). Gillies' novels with their narrative structure can be compared to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* as well. The Arctic voyage, the frame narrative, embodies a likewise 'pilgrimage' during which the characters tell "prosaic tales" to one another. But, unlike Chaucer's characters or Franklin, Gillies's polar pilgrimage does not possess an end-goal other than a voyage itself and what it brings along. Contrary to Walton or Franklin (or polar explorers in general), the *Leviathan's* crew are not concerned with locating the Northwest Passage or the North Pole since their primary goal is whale-fishing. This fact suggests that the novels supersede the coeval conception of the North "as a grail, as a test... and as a place to find not the Other but the self" (Grace 43). Although Gillies's narrator lacks any concrete exploratory ambitions in his forthcoming voyage, he still intends to do what Walton failed to accomplish in his actual one, i.e. recording of scientific observations in his narrative and collecting Arctic fauna. Within the framework of contemporary Arctic exploration, an expedition was 'validated' if it was produced in writing and subsequently published as a work of important scientific data.

Thus, the failures of polar expeditions of the period to locate the Poles and traverse the Northwest Passage were instead posited as essential advancements in empirical knowledge.⁶⁹

The multifaceted image of the Arctic therefore performs a creative and subversive role in *Tales*. It both recreates and undermines coeval attitudes to British Arctic exploration. At the heart of this exploration was the idea of conquering nature for the nation, science, and/or oneself. Despite the fact that the narrator intends to collect data and fauna in his Arctic voyage, there are certain contradictions in his recording of the observations throughout the diegesis. The importance of a written account of a voyage is indicated by him in the introduction to the first novel when he refers to his narrative and its potential reader: “It is, indeed, a hope that others may share with me in this recreation of the memory which induces me to obtrude my private memoirs upon the public; and if the little anecdotes and details, connected with the situations in which I have been placed, should afford any amusement to the reader, they will in my eye become doubly valuable” (1: 2). The production of a written narrative of the voyage is important to the narrator because it enables him to record his experiences and share the memory of them with the reader. At the same time, he refers to his narrative as a source of mere “amusement to the reader.” This suggests that he deliberately attempts to construct his account to be not scientifically ‘serious’ in its content. Towards the end of the voyage, he explicitly admits that his narrative has “avoided scientific details” and “considered the picturesque outlines of the objects” that caught his eye “as all that was necessary” in his sketches (6: 311). The narrator justifies this omission (“scientific details” were essential for contemporary geographic exploration) by the admission that his journal was not intended for publication and was originally more intended for amusement of his close friends only. Although the narrator is determined to record his observations, he does not treat them ‘seriously’ and does not wish to publish them. This very fact subverts the attitudes to polar exploration found in coeval travelogues.

The apparent ‘not seriousness’ of the voyage account performs a creative function in the narrative. It enables the narrator to be selective with his material, that is, to focus on things which pertain to his personal interests and skip things which seem unimportant to him. For instance, in his depiction of the instruments employed in the whale-fishery, the narrator concludes: “Mine is more a display of my own enjoyments, and of the social and domestic economy of the nursery of British seamen, than an official account of their transactions, and I

⁶⁹ Duffy defines such rhetoric of contemporary polar accounts as the narrative construction of “heroic failures” (119).

shall assume the privilege of passing by, or noticing, as much of the ‘matter of business’ as suits my purpose” (1: 250). He posits himself here as the sole ‘master’ of his own narrative who can decide what to include and what not. On the one hand, the narrator’s selectiveness emphasises the individual and subjective nature of his polar account. On the other hand, it highlights the distinction of his narrative from “a dry catalogue” of non-fictional prose on the same topic (ibid.). In other words, the narrator’s lack of “scientific details” and subjective selectiveness of the content not only put his work in contrast to non-fictional exploratory accounts, but also accentuates the aesthetic and literary value of its content.

Concurrently, the narrator does admit the importance of polar voyages for science. He not only records his voyage and his observations, but also unofficially performs the duty of a natural historian on board. He diligently collects various species of fauna and researches a wide variety of polar ice: “I spend my hours of exercise in increasing the number of my specimens of the living productions of this climate, and in investigating the combinations of ice which lay leaped and strewn around us, in every imaginary position” (4: 204-5). In his voyage narrative, he thus follows in footsteps of other contemporary explorers, “those fortunate travellers who take possession, for the first time, of a new object of natural history, in the name of their legitimate sovereign, Science” (4: 266). The narrator desires to possess the nature of the Arctic region for the sake of science. However, the subversion of narrative authority, enabled by the novels’ serial and decentred narrative structure, contradicts this desire. Such contradiction shows that the novels’ narrative and content are in tension here. The narrator emphasises the scientific ‘not seriousness’ and subjective fictionality of his narrative and simultaneously accentuates the importance of science. This constitutes another contradiction in the manner the narrator’s observations are presented in *Tales*, that is, a contradiction within the content of the Arctic frame narrative of the novels.

In this respect, Carroll observes that the interpolation of factual and fictional in Gillies’s novels exemplifies “the degree to which distinctions between fact and fiction could collapse in discussions of polar space” (59). Carroll strictly focuses on the strain between the Arctic frame narrative as being factual and interpolated gothic tales as being fictional in the novels. Notwithstanding, this tension between the two categories similarly occurs throughout the Arctic frame narrative. As the novels repeatedly demonstrate, the space of the Arctic is indeed capable of erasing boundaries between fact and fiction and of generally subverting fixed meanings and categories in the narrative. However, the tension between factual and fictional in the novels is intentionally produced by the author. Such tension indicates that the novels attempt to validate the content of its Arctic narrative within the framework of geographic exploration of the period

and likewise retain its distinct literary and aesthetic dimension. *Tales* thus represent a *literary* response to coeval British Arctic exploration that both reproduce and subvert the attitudes of that framework. In this regard, the Arctic narrative setting provides the novels with an important literary space in which fact and fiction are closely intertwined and fixed categories and meanings are constantly undermined.

In the introduction to the first novel, the narrator undermines the importance of “past dangers” in the recollection of his voyage: “[A]lthough I feel greater interest in recounting such parts of my narrative as were associated with danger, I must confess, that I dwell with much fondness on circumstances which were attended only with pleasure” (1: 1-2). In fact, he repeatedly downplays the dangers and sufferings in the encounter with the polar sublime in his account. He openly admits his initial scepticism towards severe weather conditions in the Arctic portrayed in contemporary polar travelogues: “I now feel more inclined to give credence to the recital of arctic voyagers, from Barentz downwards, than I hitherto allowed; and my messmates, whom I had taunted, by saying that they had made the coast of Norway instead of Spitzbergen, now returned my jests with interest” (2: 122-3). Even though the extreme coldness of the Arctic is stressed in polar exploratory accounts and is asserted by the experienced sailors on the *Leviathan*, the narrator’s incredulity is so palpable that he mocks his “messmates” in regard to that. He abandons his scepticism only after he witnesses for himself the effect of this extreme cold on the provision and fluids aboard: “Hot water, left in a saucepan close at the foot of the stove, was found frozen; and in a little closet or locker, contiguous to the fire-place, fluids very quickly changed into solid bodies” (2: 122).

In some way, the narrator’s scepticism parallels Walton’s initial refusal to accept the frosty and desolate Arctic depicted in contemporary travelogues. It likewise reinforces the narrator’s idealised view of the Arctic region and his strong attachment to his subjective polar imaginings. The narrator also understates the dangers and sufferings experienced in the Arctic when he is pleased that the *Leviathan* is eventually ‘beset’ in ice: “To me being beset was an event of much contentment, since I had greatly desired to remain for some time stationary near a floe, and a more complete mode of gratifying my inclination could not have occurred” (3: 84). Being ice-bound does not alarm the narrator in the slightest as it merely presents a new exciting opportunity for him to explore the large floe surrounding the vessel. In another instance, when the crew are forced to cut down their daily food provision due to the them being immured by ice, he accentuates how significantly his health has improved in the course of the voyage: “[M]y invalidated condition had changed manifestly to a state bordering on perfect health, and my powers of exertion, whether at the table or the oar, were little inferior to those of an able-bodied

bargeman of the most worshipful companies of London. I had grown plump (and, of course, handsome)” (4: 16).

The narrator attributes this tendency to understate the dangers and sufferings of a polar voyage to being a typical feature of the seamen’s rhetoric. This occurs in the aftermath of retelling of the anecdote about an old Greenlander who was on the ship that was frozen because the vessel “staid too late among the ice” (2: 131). According to the story, the old man is the only one who survives in the Arctic expedition while the rest either die one by one out of starvation or extreme cold on board the frozen ship or they drown in the ocean because of fatigue. The captain and other sailors immediately question the ‘authenticity’ of the old Greenlander’s tale recounted by Captain B. For his part, Captain M., “a shrewd and intelligent man,” asserts that those sailors who survive the perils at sea are reluctant to relate their ordeals in detail to others unless it is “to their immediate companions, over a glass of grog” (2: 135-6). The narrator explicitly supports this assertion suggesting the idea that the works of Romantic fiction about such hazardous adventures at sea embody the products of a writer’s imagination whereas ‘real’ accounts of such adventures are rarely made public. The ‘authenticity’ of the tale was called into question precisely because it contained a detailed account of all the dangers and sufferings that had taken place in the course of the Arctic voyage. In this respect, Gillies’s novels correspond to the “rhetoric of duty” that was commonly employed in the narratives of coeval polar travelogues (Lanone 125). In accordance with this “rhetoric of duty,” polar accounts downplayed the dangers and sufferings of explorers by deliberately glossing over the details in their depiction. Such rhetoric reflected the attitude that “England expected her men to do their duty quietly” which was of the essence in polar exploration of the period (Lanone 124). Gillies’s narrator hence repeatedly adheres to such rhetoric of coeval polar travelogues in his account.

In *Tales*, the narrator depicts at length polar ice in the manner of the emblematic natural sublime. The polar sublime, in turn, is marked by its multifaceted nature in the novels. It performs a creative and subversive function in the narrative. It activates the narrator’s imagination about the distant and unexplored High Arctic and elevates it above nature to the hyperbolic realm of the imaginary. The multifaceted polar sublime renders the narrator’s language and imagination inadequate to fully represent it within the diegesis. The narrator employs the imagery of man’s art work and familiar geographic locations in his depiction of the polar sublime to signal man’s desire to claim and possess the Arctic nature. At the same time, he implicitly criticises man’s violent interference into the tranquillity and stillness of the Arctic landscape that subverts man’s exploratory ambitions there. He persistently asserts that

the sublime beauty of icy grandeur outshines anything that man could have possibly seen or created. However, he subverts this assertion when he claims upon his return from the Arctic that he “felt more delight in gazing at the ruins of a tower” than he “had experienced in surveying the splendid fabrics of Arctic creation” since “*those* were indeed magnificent, but *that* was the work of man” (6: 306; original emphasis). Hence at the end of the second novel “the work of man” becomes more magnificent than the Arctic nature. The perceived superiority of man’s work suggests the predominance of human labour over nature that is at the heart of geographic exploration and nature’s exploitation. The narrator ultimately defines polar spaces as “those waste and desolate regions of the globe, which, like unfinished portions of the creation, exhibit the rude materials of Nature’s mighty architecture heaped up in wild disorder” in which “the rough elements, yet untaught to know their places, are seen confounded and scattered among each other” (4: 3). The moral duty of a British explorer to put this “wild disorder” in order and to teach these confounded and scattered “rough elements” of nature their proper place. The narrator perceives the polar explorer as a hero who, “daring the stern dangers which forbid his presence, delights to search into the secrets of his Maker, and strives to unfold the mysteries of his labours” (4: 4). Thus, he justifies the necessity of contemporary British polar exploration so that “to increase the intellectual riches of mankind” (ibid.). Polar exploration of the period was similarly promoted by Britain not as a political endeavour, but as an essential project in the name of science. The narrator is not deterred by the destruction of “a portion of the fearless beings” who brave polar spaces as “their loss excites no murmur” (ibid.). Despite the perils and human losses, the space of the Arctic is still beautiful in its ‘bareness’ and its experience for the narrator that can never be exchanged for any material riches of the world. Such perception of the Arctic underlines its paradoxical representation as an absolute space, dominating space of nature. In this representation, the narrator desires to *both* claim the imagined emptiness of that space for himself and retain it in its ‘pristine’ bareness.

Chapter 4: The Geo-Imaginary South Pole in *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*

Edgar Allan Poe's only novel, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket*, was first published in July 1838 by Harper & Brothers, just a month prior to the departure of the United States Exploring Expedition to the South Seas led by Charles Wilkes. Poe first started working on the novel in late 1836. He originally planned to publish a collection of his short stories with Harper & Brothers but was turned down and advised to produce one connected story of book length (Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe* 250-2). The publishers explained that contemporary readers desired something long and simple and that Poe's stories were "a dish" that was "too refined for them to banquet on" (Thomas and Jackson 193). Another reason was that the stories were not original as they had already been published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* where Poe was employed as an editor at the time. The publishers hence suggested to Poe "to lower himself a little to the ordinary comprehension of the generality of readers, and prepare a series of original Tales, or a single work" (ibid.). It is very probable that the initial conception of the novel came to Poe after he had received for review both Washington Irving's history book *Astoria: Or, Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains* (1836) and Jeremiah N. Reynolds's *Address, On the Subject of a Surveying and Exploring Expedition to the Pacific Ocean and South Seas* (1836) to the Congress (Ridgely and Haverstick 64). Poe thus turned to a topic of coeval public interest, that is, the South Seas' exploration.

The first two installments of the novel appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in January and February 1837.⁷⁰ However, Poe was dismissed from his position at the journal while the first installments were being published there and subsequently had to relocate to New York. It is most likely that Poe intended to publish his novel coinciding with the launch of the governmental South Seas' expedition advocated by nautical explorers Reynolds and Maury.

⁷⁰ Ridgely and Haverstick in their 1966 study outline five main stages of Poe's composition of *Pym* which are generally accepted by critics. These are as follows: 1) the first two installments written in late 1836 and published in early 1837 in the *Southern Literary Messenger*; 2) the material from the end of the *Messenger* text until the end of Chapter IX written in April-May 1837; 3) Chapters X through XV most likely put together in late 1837 and early 1838; 4) Chapter XVI to the conclusion, omitting chapter XXIII and the final "Note," written in March-May 1838; and 5) Chapter XXIII and the final "Note," added to the novel text in July 1838 (64). The most notable exception that offers a relatively new model of composition of *Pym* is suggested by Alexander Hammond in his article "The Composition of *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*: Notes Toward a Re-examination" (1978) in which five different items of evidence are presented that indicate that it is not clear that the novel contains several distinct narratives and that they, in turn, disrupt the narrative's unity. Like Ridgely and Haverstick, Hammond regards the novel as an overall "failure," a "hoax," and a patchwork affair," but he views it as a completed work with an unexpected ending that fully keeps "with the patterns of deception and inversion in the book as a whole" that are "designed to frustrate expectation" (19).

But the expedition was postponed several times due to conflicts in the administration. These facts together with the bank panic of 1837 suspended the composition and publication of the novel for more than a year while Poe “languished in poverty” (Kennedy 15). When *Pym* was finally published in July 1838, it came out without Poe’s name on the book cover. The novel appeared to have been written by Arthur Gordon Pym himself as a genuine account of his voyage to the South Seas. Poe employs the “Preface” to his novel to explain the previous publication of the first two installments in the *Southern Literary Messenger* under his name. There Pym states that he gave his permission to ‘Mr. Poe,’ an editor of the *Messenger*, to publish the “narrative of the earlier portion” of his adventures “*under the garb of fiction*” (3; original emphasis).⁷¹ The original subtitle of the novel that appears on the title page is lengthy and descriptive:

Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym. Of Nantucket. Comprising the Details of a Mutiny and Atrocious Butchery on Board the American Brig Grampus, on Her Way to the South Seas, in the Month of June, 1827. With an Account of the Recapture of the Vessel by the Survivors; Their Shipwreck and Subsequent Horrible Sufferings from Famine; Their Deliverance by Means of the British Schooner Jane Guy; the Brief Cruise of this Latter Vessel in the Antarctic Ocean; Her Capture, and the Massacre of Her Crew among a Group of Islands in the Eighty-Fourth Parallel of Southern Latitude; Together with the Incredible Adventures and Discoveries Still Farther South to which that Distressing Calamity Gave Rise (iii).⁷²

The title alone suggests the sensational nature of the novel narrative that appeals “to the popular taste for adventure, disaster, violence, the prurient, and the exotic” (Harvey 31). It hence served a marketing purpose for the book’s sales.⁷³ It likewise resembled many contemporary sea narratives in its sensational and descriptive nature. For instance, *Pym*’s title in many ways

⁷¹ From here onwards in this chapter the novel’s quotations will be taken from the following edition: Poe, Edgar Allan. *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym. Of Nantucket, and Related Tales* (Oxford World’s Classics). Ed. J. Gerald Kennedy. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008.

⁷² From the first edition of *Pym*: Poe, Edgar Allan. *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym. Of Nantucket*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 62 Cliff-St, 1838.

⁷³ The long and descriptive title was important as it provided a synopsis of the novel to potential readers and more essentially reviewers. The first contemporary reviews of *Pym* were solely based on the title’s synopsis of the book and not the text itself. For example, a review of the novel that appears in the *Daily Whig* of New York, a popular and widely circulated newspaper, on 31 July 1838 is based only on the title: “The Messrs. Harpers have published a duodecimo volume of the most exciting character, under the following title – from which the reader will be able to judge somewhat of the nature of the work: [the title is provided]” (Pollin, “Pym’s Narrative” 9). It is evident that the author of this review might not even have read the book, or most probably at best skimmed through it, like the author of this earliest review of *Pym* that was published on 30 July in the *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, a daily broadsheet newspaper with one of the largest circulations in the city: “The Messr. Harpers have just published a duodecimo volume under the following title: [the title is provided]. There is certainly an array of horrors set forth in the title; but the volume is highly interesting in the story, well written, and to the lovers of marvelous fiction will be quite a treasure” (ibid.).

echoes that of the most famous contemporary sea narratives, Captain Benjamin Morrell's, which was ghostwritten by Samuel Woodworth and published by Harper & Brothers in 1832:

A Narrative of Four Voyages, to the South Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean, Chinese Sea, Ethiopic and Southern Atlantic Ocean, Indian and Antarctic Ocean. From the Year 1822 to 1831. Comprising Critical Surveys of Coasts and Islands, with Sailing Directions. And an Account of Some New and Valuable Discoveries, Including the Massacre Islands, Where Thirteen of the Author's Crew were Massacred and Eaten by Cannibals. To which is Prefixed a Brief Sketch of the Author's Early Life.

Poe borrowed extensively from Morrell's *Four Voyages* in the composition of his novel. The authenticity of Morrell's account in several instances is questionable or downright fictitious.⁷⁴ However, most polar travelogues of the period possessed a long and descriptive title, and Poe's novel imitates these narratives in this aspect.⁷⁵ It is rather compelling to note that the lines in *Pym*'s title were organised in such a way as to have a shape of "an approaching ship under sail" (Harvey 31). Even the form of the title's text thus acquires the shape of the key instrument of contemporary exploration. Not only the title's content but its layout similarly indicates the most essential theme of the book, that is, a sea voyage. It is widely believed therefore that Poe, in desperate need of money, conceived *Pym* as an attempt "to cash in as effortlessly as possible on a contemporary vogue in travel literature" (Carringer 506). Whether that was Poe's main intention or not, the novel demonstrates the author's considerable knowledge in the topic of the South Seas' exploration.

Furthermore, the fact that *Pym*'s publication nearly coincides with the departure of the first U.S. governmental expedition to the Antarctic shows the novel's acute topicality. Antarctic exploration was not merely a geographic exploration for the Americans. It was much more of "a symbolic act" that was perceived as "an exploration of origins, an exploration of national character, an exploration of self, of future personal and national dreams" (Lenz xxviii). In other words, the upcoming expedition to the Antarctic performed an important function in the establishment of American national identity. In the aftermath of the expedition, the enthusiasm over Antarctic exploration declined among the Americans. This suggests that the expedition constituted "a cultural turning point, a transitional moment in the formation and reformation of American attitudes toward exploration" (Lenz xxix). *Pym* reflects this transitional moment in

⁷⁴ For more information see the section on the history of Antarctic exploration in *Pym*.

⁷⁵ For instance, James Weddell's travelogue of his voyage in search of a southern continent, Antarctic, in 1822-1824 is published under the following title in 1825: *A Voyage Towards the South Pole, Performed in the Years 1822-24. Containing an Examination of the Antarctic Sea, to the Seventy-Fourth Degree of Latitude: and a Visit to Tierra del Fuego, With a Particular Account of the Inhabitants. To Which is Added, Much Useful Information on the Coasting Navigation of Cape Horn, and the Adjacent Lands, With Charts of Harbours, &c.*

its narrative as it concurrently displays the narrator's enthusiasm and ambition in Antarctic exploration and forewarns the reader about the dangers of such an endeavour. The novel hence does pick up on a coeval 'polar vogue,' but, as it will be demonstrated later in this chapter, it subverts what Lenz calls "the self-congratulatory myth embodied by the expedition" (xxviii). *Pym* illustrates that such national myth can potentially turn into self-delusion. The novel's subversiveness, in turn, problematises the framework of polar exploration and makes its genre appear to be uncertain.

For a lengthy period of time, until the 1970s, it was widely believed that *Pym* was condemned and largely ignored by coeval reviewing newspapers and magazines.⁷⁶ It was also believed that the novel was mostly accepted as being a 'real' account of the voyage to the South Seas.⁷⁷ These misconceptions were a result of a few repeated errors made by James A. Harrison, George Woodberry, and Killis Campbell in 1902, 1909, and 1941 respectively on the topic of the contemporary reception of the novel (Pollin, "Poe's Narrative" 37). The close examination of coeval reviews of *Pym* in magazines, newspapers, and periodicals supersedes these misconceptions. There are in total twenty two American reviews and announcements and six reviews in British periodicals.⁷⁸ Most contemporary reviews of the novel were published in the magazines that were "unavailable in any one library" (ibid.). It is interesting to note that British reviewers were mainly more positive and well-substantiated in their appraisal of the novel. Quite similar to the reception of the book in the United States, the unfavourable reviews were written by those who regarded the novel as a 'hoax.' On the contrary, when the novel was accepted as a work of sensational literature, it was assessed more benignly.⁷⁹ This chapter will

⁷⁶ Killis Campbell in his book *The Mind of Poe and Other Studies* (1933) lists only three largely negative reviews and bases this assumption on them (49). Sidney Kaplan, in turn, states that the novel was almost "totally ignored by the reviewers" (vii) and cites only one unfavourable review in the "Introduction" to *Pym* (1960).

⁷⁷ Regarding the acceptance of *Pym* as an 'authentic' voyage narrative by contemporary readers and reviewers see, for example, Arthur Hobson Quinn's *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography* (1941), the standard biography of Poe to date, in which Quinn bases this opinion solely on Burton's extremely negative review and states that this was the proof that "the story was treated as a narrative of real events" (264). See also James Albert Harrison's edited collection of *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (1902), volume I, in which it is argued that the narrative's realism was so compelling that "it was taken for genuine" both in the U.S. and Britain (133). See also George E. Woodberry's *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe: Personal and Literary* (1909), volume I, in which it is stated that the English "country public" were said "to have been hoaxed" by the novel (193).

⁷⁸ Most known American and British reviews of *Pym* to date are furnished in the following sources: Burton Pollin's articles "Poe's Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym and the Contemporary Reviewers" (1974), "Three Early Notices of *Pym* and the Snowden Connection" (1975), and "Pym's Narrative in the American Newspapers: More Uncollected Notices" (1978); and Ian Walker's *Edgar Allan Poe: The Critical Heritage* (1986).

⁷⁹ For example, the highly esteemed *New Monthly Magazine* of London in their review of *Pym* in November 1838 compare it to *Robinson Crusoe* in which verisimilitude is substituted by 'wonders' (Pollin, "Poe's Narrative" 49). The ultimate 'wonder' of the novel is Pym's voyage to "the eighty-fourth degree of south latitude" and what he sees there even though the southern latitude beyond the seventy-fourth degree achieved by James Weddell, a British sailor and navigator, in 1823 remained a 'blank' geographical space at the time. Pym's adventures in the eighty-fourth degree of southern latitude were perceived by contemporary British reviewers as an imaginary

only focus on the two British reviews of *Pym* that are the most compelling and pertain best to the subject of the South Seas' exploration and the depiction of the Antarctic region in the narrative.

The first and most essential review that touches upon the depiction of the Antarctic region in *Pym* was published anonymously in the London *Atlas*, a folio-sized and three-columned journal, on 20 October 1838. The review generally regards Poe's novel negatively as a failed attempt at a hoax focusing on "the leading incidents of the story" in which Poe's "tendency for the marvellous" has "so ridiculously overdone the recital, that the volume cannot impose upon anybody" (Walker 101). The novel is perceived as a literary work that escapes definitive characterisation. This fact is reinforced by the reviewer's assertion that "[t]here are many statements in the book that might be true, and others that could not be true, and the result is that we doubt the *vraisemblable* [*sic*]," because the reader's "faith is shaken by the impossible" (Pollin, "Poe's Narrative" 51; original emphasis). The geographical and zoological details provided by Pym are deemed to be "communications of no great novelty" (*ibid.*). Weddell's account of his voyage towards the South Pole and his attainment of the seventy fourth degree of southern latitude serve as evidence that Pym's voyage to the eighty-fourth southern latitude is a "pure invention" (*ibid.*). Pym's discovery of the carcass of some strange white and scarlet land animal is similarly a "pure invention." The reviewer refers to the abrupt ending of the novel in which Pym and Peters are left "drifting in the 84' parallel" as "somewhat after the fashion of the monster in *Frankenstein*" (Walker 102). The *Atlas* review is the first and only one to draw a parallel between *Pym* and *Frankenstein* in the manner they end. Both Poe and Shelley conclude their novel narratives with the scene in which their characters, Pym and the Creature, disappear into the void of the sublime polar landscape.

In his conclusion, the *Atlas* reviewer attempts to elucidate the abrupt ending of the novel: "[H]aving brought his [Poe's] narrative to a point of extravagant peril – a canoe drifting amongst the ice islands of the South Seas – he [Poe] did not know how to bring himself home in safety, and so stopped all at once" (Pollin, "Poe's Narrative" 51). The reviewer's comment about the novel's "point of extravagant peril" in which a canoe is left adrift "amongst the ice islands of the South Seas" in the eighty-fourth parallel of southern latitude is rather inaccurate. On the contrary, Pym specifically states that ice completely disappears after the discovery of

voyage. This instance is underscored by another reviewer in *The Monthly Review*, a London journal, in October 1838. There *Pym* is grouped with other "Transatlantic works of an *imaginary character* and of the novel class" and chosen among other such works for its "greater degree of originality, boldness, and skill" (*ibid.*; emphasis added).

Bennett's Islet in the eighty-second parallel: "No ice whatever was to be seen; *nor did I ever see one particle of this after leaving the parallel of Bennett's Islet*" (171; original emphasis). The reviewer then concludes the appraisal of the novel by expressing their dismay over the "fertile invention" of *Pym*: "Could he [Pym] not get on the back of an albatross, and compel the bird to carry him back to Nantucket? Daniel Rourke, Esq. thus visited the moon on the back of an eagle. It is superfluous to add that we hold the entire narrative to be a mere fiction" (Pollin, "Poe's Narrative" 51-2). Pym's voyage towards the South Pole is hence regarded by the reviewer as purely imaginary the plausibility of which can only be compared to a voyage to the moon "on the back of an eagle."

The second review of *Pym* that needs to be looked at in this chapter is the unsigned one that was published in the London *Spectator* on 27 October 1838. The *Spectator* of London was one of the longest running periodicals with the most distinguished reviewers appointed to it such as Thomas Carlyle and Leigh Hunt. The *Spectator's* anonymous review constitutes probably the most essential and sensible coeval discussion of the novel. The review opens up with the paragraph that focuses on the final episode of the novel in which Pym and Peters are heading towards the South Pole:

When we say that Mr. Pym, of Nantucket, proceeded as far as the eighty-fourth degree of Southern latitude, and abruptly breaks off his narrative whilst in full tilt for the South Pole, with a steady wind and a rapid current in his favour, carrying him through a hot and milky-looking ocean, with surrounding wonders of various kinds, the reader will see at once that the work is an American fiction. But, although without any very definite purpose, it is a fiction of no mean skill; displaying much power, much nautical knowledge, and a Defoe-like appearance of reality. Its ease, simplicity, and natural effects, remind one of Marryat (Pollin, "Poe's Narrative" 53).

What the reviewer finds improbable is not Pym's advancement to the eighty-fourth degree of southern latitude, his encounter of various marvels there or even "a hot and milky-looking ocean." Instead, what the reviewer finds improbable is the fact that Pym stops his narrative "whilst in full tilt for the South Pole" with a favourable wind and current. Pym has already reached the furthest southern point than any man before him. Nothing obstructs him in his path towards one of the most coveted exploratory goals of the period, that is, the attainment of the South Pole. Even ice, the main deterrent of coeval polar exploration, that stopped Cook and Biscoe in their searches for a southern continent, does not prevent Pym from reaching the South Pole. Such improbability enables the reviewer to identify it as "an American fiction." Any polar explorer of the period would not pass over the opportunity to record in detail a discovery like that. By omitting this part, the key narrative part in any travelogue, *Pym* essentially subverts the reading expectations associated with contemporary polar exploration. Acute British interest

and investment in polar exploration of the period generated the subsequent publication of numerous accounts on the topic. Pym disregards the provided opportunity and terminates his narrative before unveiling the polar ‘mystery.’ Pym’s narrative thus concludes with a space that remains as frustratingly ‘blank’ as the geographic space beyond the seventy-fourth degree of southern latitude at the time. The reviewer suggests that such a thing can only occur in “American fiction” and *not* in British polar travelogues of the period.

With regard to the polar part of the narrative, the *Spectator* reviewer observes that Pym and Peters “proceed further South than any previous navigator has yet succeeded in reaching, and discover a group of islands, where the natives are black, and the productions, mineral, animal, and vegetable, differ from those in the Temperate and Arctic circles” (ibid.). The reviewer thus merely points out to the distinctness of mineral, vegetation, and animal life found on the islands beyond the Antarctic Circle and not to their ‘lack of novelty’ or fictiveness. The abrupt cessation of the narrative is attributed to Poe probably being “at a loss how to go on” (ibid.). The reviewer likewise implicitly splits the narrative into two parts, i.e. the early portion of the novel that “is not physically impossible, and that is all” and the second part of the narrative the discoveries of which “are clearly fable” (ibid.).⁸⁰ Once again there is an emphasis on the imaginary character of Pym’s polar voyage. Both parts of the novel are considered by the reviewer to be “told with great appearance of truth, and with a hearty confidence in the writer’s belief, which gives them much of the air of reality” (ibid.). Contrary to some previous reviews, Poe is commended for his “nautical and geographical knowledge” and “fancy” (Pollin, “Poe’s Narrative” 54). The reviewer thus regards *Pym* as a literary work in which fact and fiction are tightly intertwined.

The contemporary reception of *Pym* demonstrates that the novel did receive considerable critical attention at the time of its publication. The overall reception was not entirely castigating but rather expressed a mixed reaction from the reviewers. All the coeval reviewers generally regard *Pym* in four different ways: a travel fiction of verisimilitude, a sensational literary work, an apparent factual travel narrative or an imaginary travel fiction. In the first instance, the novel is compared to such works as Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* and is criticised for its failure to adhere to the literary principles of vraisemblance. In the second instance, *Pym* is commonly praised for exciting adventures and wonders depicted in the narrative. In turn, those who treated the

⁸⁰ L. Moffitt Cecil in his article “The Two Narratives of Arthur Gordon Pym” (1963), for instance, similarly argues that there is no unity in *Pym* since it is comprised of two distinct story narratives. The first story constitutes the initial two-thirds of the book retelling Pym’s adventures on board the *Grampus*. The second part contains Pym’s voyage to the Antarctic aboard the *Jane Guy*. The latter part is “independent and complete within itself,” “a brilliant fantasy, one of Poe’s better arabesques” (233-4).

novel as a factual travel account, or a supposedly factual one, severely criticised it for the lack of authenticity and subsequently labelled it as a mere ‘hoax.’ Finally, those who viewed *Pym* as an imaginary travel account, likened it to such works as Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* or the tales of Sindbad the Sailor. However, as a fantastic voyage narrative, the novel was still denounced for its failure to follow the established literary models. Such variegated perception shows that *Pym* challenged the reviewers in the negotiation of its literary genre. Interestingly enough, no matter how the novel was perceived, Pym’s voyage towards the South Pole was generally regarded as an imaginary and fantastic one.

Taking into account *Pym*’s contemporary reception in its entirety, there is one thing that is prominent in all the reviews, that is, “the ambivalence, hesitancy, and equivocation that predominates some, and is evident in most” (Harvey 38). Apart from those who positively comment on the sensational nature of *Pym* or only focus on its title, all the reviewers express their fundamental confusion when they attempt to appraise the novel’s literary value, its authenticity or underlying message. Poe’s novel resembled several popular works of travel literature of the period but it did not conform to their established models. It constituted a narrative of the multifaceted and mixed ‘signals’ that could not be definitely categorised. This fundamental confusion over the novel’s literary ‘worth’ is succinctly articulated by the reviewer in the New York *Star* newspaper published on 10 October 1838: “What are we to think of it? There is a deal of ingenius [*sic*] mystification about the author’s trip, which everyone must unravel according to his own fancy” (Pollin, “Pym’s Narrative” 10). Upon its publication, *Pym* was not commercially successful (Kennedy 11). However, it remained a popular read as evidenced from the fact that it never went out of print since its initial publication. For instance, one can find the editions of *Pym* printed for the years 1856, 1859, 1861, 1862, 1898 (two editions), and 1899 only in England, not counting the collected volumes (Pollin, “Poe’s Narrative” 54). Despite the initial critical attention, *Pym* fell into obscurity among literary critics shortly after its publication. Only from the 1950s, the novel has experienced the resurgence of attention from literary critics and subsequently has been turned into a novel of American canon.

***Pym* as a Polar Hoax?**

Pym constitutes a literary work that compellingly combines factual and fictional elements in its narrative. Outwardly it is a “realistic version” of such fictional travel narratives as Coleridge’s poem *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* in which a south polar landscape is employed as an

untamed natural space that puts the limits of the narrators to the test (Wilson 192). It appears to be a ‘real’ travel account that ostensibly imitates contemporary exploratory narratives and concurrently subverts their established models in many ways. It emulates coeval literature of exploration in the use of literary topoi commonly found in such texts: journal-like entries, footnotes, nautical and geographical details, descriptions of flora and fauna, etc. Poe borrows extensively from fictional and non-fictional sources: Morrell, Reynolds, Porter,⁸¹ R. Thomas (A.M.),⁸² Duncan,⁸³ Seaborn,⁸⁴ and possibly others. For the second part of the novel, that depicts Pym’s voyage in the South Seas and the south polar region, Poe chiefly uses the material taken from Morrell’s *Four Voyages* and Reynolds’s *Address*. Most details about flora and fauna in the South Seas are based on Morrell’s account while the outline of the history of south polar exploration relies heavily both on Morrell and Reynolds. *Pym* hence demonstrates Poe’s considerable familiarity with the history and subject of polar exploration. He was aware of Kerguelen’s and Cook’s expeditions to the South Seas in the late eighteenth century. Poe was likewise familiar with contemporary polar accounts such as Scoresby’s *Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale-Fishery* that was published in 1823 and was “one of a very few actual accounts of arctic exploration” that were available to Poe before the publication of the first three instalments of *Pym* in the *Southern Literary Messenger* (Dameron 35). This fact testifies to Poe’s ample knowledge about polar regions.

At the time, the existence of the southern continent, Antarctica, was yet to be definitively proven by explorers. Besides, such speculative theories as Symmes’s Hollow Earth and the *terra incognita australis* still persisted and gained even more interest in America prior to the Wilkes’s expedition to the South Seas. The Hollow Earth theory advocated the existence of vortex-like holes at the Poles which were linked together via an interior conduit. Reynolds, one

⁸¹ Jane Porter’s novel *Sir Edward’s Narrative of His Shipwreck, and Consequent Discovery of Certain Islands in the Caribbean Sea: With a Detail of Many Extraordinary and Highly Interesting Events in His Life, from the year 1733 to 1749, as Written in His Own Diary* (1831) was a popular novel both in England and America in the 1830s that was taken as a ‘real’ travel account by its early readers. For more information about Porter’s novel as a source for *Pym* see Randel Helms’ article “Another Source for Poe’s *Arthur Gordon Pym*” (1970).

⁸² R. Thomas, A.M., *An Authentic Account of the Most Remarkable Events: Containing the Lives of the most Noted Pirates and Piracies. Also, the most Remarkable Shipwrecks, Fires, Famines, Calamities, Providential Deliverances, and Lamentable Disasters on the Seas, in most parts of the World* (1836). See Keith Huntress’ article “Another Source for Poe’s *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*” (1944).

⁸³ Archibald Duncan’s *The Mariner’s Chronicle; Being a Collection of the Most Interesting Narratives of Shipwrecks, Fires, Famines, And other Calamities incident to A Life of Maritime Enterprise; With authentic Particulars of the extraordinary Adventures and Sufferings of the Crews, their Reception and Treatment on distant Shores; and a concise Description of the Country, Customs, and Manners of the Survivors* (1806). See D.M. McKeithan’s article “Two Sources of Poe’s *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*” (1933).

⁸⁴ Captain Adam Seaborn’s utopian novel *Symzonia: Voyage of Discovery* that was published anonymously in 1820 and was apparently either written by Captain John Cleve Symmes or strongly influenced by his Hollow Earth theory. See J.O. Bailey’s article “Sources for Poe’s *Arthur Gordon Pym*, “Hans Pfaal,” and Other Pieces” (1942).

of the key campaigners for the governmental south polar expedition, was a well-known proponent of the theory who gave several public lectures on the topic. Poe, who enthusiastically reviewed Reynolds' *Address* in the January 1837 issue of the *Messenger*, – in which the first instalment of *Pym* was published – was similarly interested in the topic. The *terra incognita australis*, in turn, constituted a belief in the existence of a hypothetical continent in the Southern Hemisphere that balanced the Arctic landmass in the Northern Hemisphere. The hypothetical continent often featured in fiction of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that described imaginary voyages.⁸⁵ The continent was often depicted in such works as a paradisiacal and utopian space. Both theories presented some of the ways in which the 'blank' space of the south polar region was imagined by the contemporary public. To a certain degree, both theories similarly impacted the manner in which the South Pole is portrayed in *Pym*.

It is widely believed that Poe's main incentive in writing the novel was to create a hoax by imbuing his story "with the air of veracity" (Quinn, "Poe's Imaginary Voyage" 563). In the course of its composition, Poe apparently intended to publish *Pym* as a hoax, "purporting it to be the actual account of a polar expedition or, failing that, at least as a satire of the current vogue for such books" (Hutchisson 24).⁸⁶ Poe indeed employs his knowledge about polar exploration to imbue his story with apparent 'veracity.' However, when it comes to defining *Pym* as a mere polar hoax such definition seems to be not that simple. Poe is well-known for his use of hoaxing in his works. For instance, in the June 1835 issue of the *Messenger*, three years before the publication of *Pym*, Poe had published his short story "The Unparalleled Adventures of One Hans Pfaall" that was intended to be a hoax.⁸⁷ The story depicts a nineteen-day voyage to the moon undertaken by Hans Pfaall by means of a newly invented balloon in which he reaches the moon but retains most information associated with the surface and its inhabitants. "Hans Pfaall" partly addresses polar exploration of the period and describes the vision of "the northern Pole itself" that is perceived as "the limit of human discovery" towards which a continuous ice sheet extends and terminates at after "becoming *not a little concave*" (88-9; original emphasis). The imaginary North Pole is "sharply defined" and its "dusky hue" is "at all times darker than any other spot upon the visible hemisphere" and occasionally deepens "into the most absolute blackness" (89). Such depiction of the North Pole evidently

⁸⁵ For instance, in such fictions as Henry Neville's *The Isle of Pines, or, A Late Discovery of a Fourth Island near Terra Australis Incognita*, by Henry Cornelius van Sloetten (1668) and Thomas Killigrew's *Miscellanea Aurea: The Fortunate Shipwreck, or a Description of New Athens in Terra Australis Incognita* (1720).

⁸⁶ See also the history of *Pym*'s composition in Ridgely and Haverstick's study "Chartless Voyage: The Many Narratives of *Arthur Gordon Pym*" (1966).

⁸⁷ Later, in 1844, Poe publishes a similar story in *The Sun*, a New York newspaper, under the title "The Balloon-Hoax."

substantiates Symmes's Hollow Earth theory. In *Pym*, as it will be shown in this chapter, Poe seemingly mirrors Symmes's conception of the Poles and then subverts it.

The 'veracity' elements in the novel that imitate coeval literature of exploration are not used to simply deceive the reader into believing that the story is 'real.' Poe's polar hoaxing in the novel is much more intricate. It constitutes not a simple hoax, but a literary one. Thompson, in his discussion of Poe's propensity for hoaxing in his works, outlines the distinction between the two categories. A hoax is normally understood as "an attempt to deceive others about the truth or reality of an event," whereas a literary hoax "attempts to persuade the reader not merely of the reality of false events but of the false literary intentions of circumstances" (8). A literary hoax therefore constitutes a 'deceit' that functions on two different levels. On the surface, it is an obvious hoax that the reader promptly identifies. At the same time, by seemingly inviting the reader to recognise this hoax, a literary work undermines its effect by means of "a self-referential satire" (Rosenzweig 145). The latter function of the hoax can be overlooked if *Pym* is only regarded as an attempt to deceive the reader. A literary hoax is essentially, what Rosenzweig calls in his analysis of *Pym*, a "double level of hoaxing" (ibid.). The development of such hoaxing can already be observed from the beginning of the novel. In the story's "Preface," Pym conspicuously undercuts his authority as a narrator when he attempts to clarify his initial reluctance to publish his account: "One consideration which deterred me was that, having kept no journal during a greater portion of the time [...], I feared I should not be able to write, from mere memory, a statement so minute and connected as to have the *appearance* of that truth it would really possess" (2: original emphasis). Unlike most coeval explorers, Pym did not keep a journal narrative of his observations and experiences. He thus positions himself as an unreliable narrator of events in the depiction of which he needs to count on his memory alone. Such undermining of narrative authority occurs several times throughout the diegesis. For example, Pym similarly cannot "pretend to strict accuracy" in his dates when he narrates his voyage to the South Pole (172). The dates provided in the journal-like entries as Peters and Pym are slowly progressing further south are "given principally with a view to perspicuity of narration" (ibid.). The narrator insists on his own "veracity" and concurrently puts emphasis on the presence of "*appearance*," "*the garb of fiction*," "*ruse*," and "*exposé*" in the story (2-3; original emphasis). This creates an ironic outlook on the relationship between the two categories. By drawing attention to the distinction between the 'truth' and what *appears* to be the truth in the narrative, he explicitly undercuts the credibility of his own account. Such subversion of narrative authority undermines the framework of coeval exploration at the heart of which is the desire to colonise and possess nature. The novel accordingly constitutes "a

meditation on hoaxing” as it negotiates “the relationship between appearance and reality” (Wilson 193). The line between what is true and what appears to be true is hence frequently blurred in the narrative.

On the surface, the textual digressions on the South Seas’ flora and fauna, nautical and geographical details complement the novel’s ‘veracity.’ They contribute to what Lilly calls the novel’s “poetics of realism” (38). Most of these digressions are not original and, fully or with some minute changes, are taken mainly from Morrell’s account. The digressions compound the complexity of the novel. They often appear to be extraneous to the story and seemingly disrupt its narrative ‘flow.’ In this instance, Spengemann disregards the digressions in the novel as mere “passages of largely inconsequential realism” (149). Gitelman, on the contrary, conceives them to be part of what constitutes “the success of the novel as a fictional comment on the varied and popular literature of exploration” (354). Gitelman argues that certain geographic sites normally contained typical depictions of particular sights. For example, the sea slug, a sea cucumber, was a characteristic topos for exploratory accounts that described Malaysia while tortoises were a topos for travelogues on the Galapagos. It was thus expected of exploratory accounts about certain locations to include these topoi in their narratives. These topoi were not “permanent” fixtures of such texts, but they were “recognizable conventions” in exploration and its literature, and “Poe uses them as such” (ibid.). Gitelman is right in her assessment of *Pym*’s textual digressions as common exploratory topoi found in coeval travel literature. However, not all these textual digressions are entirely ‘factual’ and only seem to be such.

Hutchisson in his article on the digressions in *Pym* argues that their odd placing in the narrative suggests that Poe was “trying to fool his audience in some way” (24). In this view, the exploratory topoi in the novel are another constituent of Poe’s apparent hoaxing. Hutchisson examines the following five digressions in the novel: the information on how to properly organise stowage on board in chapter VI, the nautical move “lying to,” or “laying to” in chapter VII, the depiction of the “Gallipagos tortoise” in chapter XII, the inspection of the Kerguelen Islands in chapters XIV and XV, and the cooking method of *biche de mer*, a kind of mollusk, in chapter XX (24-5). All these digressions in the narrative are not only disruptive and peculiar, but also are “egregiously wrong” (25). They contain some mistakes which are so obvious and common that they appear to be deliberate. For instance, the first two digressions are “errant nonsense” and refer to “the manipulation of verisimilitude and fantasy,” “the deliberate obfuscation of fact and fiction” (25-9). The digressions are thus regarded as being “consonant with the overall satirical or hoaxing character of the novel” (ibid.). Hutchisson’s analysis of the novel’s digressions as being only superficially ‘factual’ and deliberately erroneous is quite

convincing. It likewise reinforces the understanding of *Pym* as a literary work that negotiates the relationship between fact and fiction, reality and fantasy. Notwithstanding, it is rather narrow of Hutchisson to consider the inclusion of the digressions in the narrative merely as part of an elaborate satire or hoax. The digressions are recognisable exploratory topoi that are employed creatively and subversively in the novel. They enable the narrative to imitate popular literature of exploration and concurrently undermine its framework. The insertion of exploratory topoi in *Pym* imbues the story with ‘factual’ veracity. The erroneous nature of these topoi undermines the novel’s veracity but concurrently illustrates the creative function of literature in mediating the distinction between ‘reality’ and its semblance in the narrative.

Pym’s History of Antarctic Exploration and the Erasure of Polar Ice

The polar ‘angle’ of the story is overtly mentioned by Pym for the first time in chapter XVI after he and Peters are eventually saved and picked by the *Jane Guy* in the aftermath of the *Grampus*’s shipwreck. They then accompany Captain Guy in his voyage to the South Seas. According to Pym, Captain Guy’s original plan was to sail “up along the western coast of Patagonia,” but then he decided to proceed southward in search of “some small islands said to lie about the parallel of 60° S., longitude 41°20’ W” (120). Should he not find these islands and “should the season prove favourable, to push towards the pole” (ibid.). The polar voyage constitutes the last one third of the story’s narrative. Davidson argues that Poe’s main intention in writing the polar account was “to capitalize on the popular interest in Antarctica during the 1830s” (159). Levin similarly asserts that Poe’s novel “derives its imaginative impetus” from Reynolds’s *Address*, “a project for discovering the South Pole and claiming the Antarctic continent on behalf of the United States” (109). The contemporary public interest in Antarctica was indeed at its peak preceding the Wilkes’s expedition to the South Seas. Poe enthusiastically receives Reynolds’s *Address* in the review published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in which he advocates for the necessity of the South Seas’ expedition for the nation as a whole by highlighting all the potential economic, scientific, and political benefits such expedition can bring to the state: “[O]ur condition is prosperous beyond example, our treasury is overflowing, a special national expedition could accomplish every thing desired, the expense of it will be comparatively little, the whole scientific world approve it, the people demand it, and thus there is a multiplicity of good reasons why it should immediately set on foot” (69). In this instance, “exploration is a direct expression of nationalism” since it “affirms national success and confirms the American values of optimism and progressivism” (Lenz 18). Hence for both Poe

and Reynolds, as well as for the coeval public, exploration and nationalism were closely intertwined.

The fact that Pym directly mentions polar exploration this late in the narrative enables some critics to believe that it was not meant to be part of the story in the first place. Cecil, for instance, focusing on some biographical and source evidence, regards the polar voyage as a separate narrative that was added to the rest of the story, the main narrative; and argues that Poe's 'true' hoaxing is in merging the two distinct narratives into one whole and disguising it as one novel narrative for the reader. Cecil views "a second story of polar exploration" as being "independent and complete within itself," as "a brilliant fantasy," and "one of Poe's better arabesques" (233-4). In turn, Quinn insists on the story's unity through the "motif of deception," but somewhat similarly characterises the whole novel as "a truly imaginary voyage" ("Poe's Imaginary Voyage" 579). Contemporary reviewers of the novel likewise focused on the imaginary and even fantastic quality of Pym's voyage to the South Pole; and such quality is what precisely makes the voyage entirely improbable and the whole account a mere 'hoax' despite the narrative's attempt at 'veracity.' However, *Pym's* polar account is not entirely imaginary in essence. Instead, Poe employs his considerable knowledge of the South Seas' exploration to produce a geo-imaginary polar space that somewhat mirrors and distorts the polar regions found in coeval travelogues. Polar space thus performs a creative and subversive function in the narrative.

Captain Guy's decision to sail towards the South Pole induces Pym to briefly recount the history of Antarctic exploration mainly based on the "imaginative impetus" from Reynolds and Morrell. This section will focus on the detailed analysis of Pym's history and the sources he had employed to narrate it for two main reasons. First, Pym's history of Antarctic exploration is compelling in its process of erasure of polar ice. In his history, Pym erases the existence of ice beyond a certain latitude in the southern polar region. Second, many critics have commented on the peculiar mildness of the weather and the absence of ice in the novel's portrayal of the southern polar region.⁸⁸ They have also underlined the fact that Pym's history is primarily based on and heavily borrows from Reynolds's and Morrell's accounts; and that its main goal (at least on the surface) was to promote American exploration in the South Seas.⁸⁹ However, no one, to my knowledge, has examined Pym's history in detail and directly compared it with the used

⁸⁸ See, for instance, Kennedy's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym and the Abyss of Interpretation* (1995): pp. 52-56; and Spufford's *I May Be Some Time* (1996): pp. 74-8.

⁸⁹ See, for example, Harvey's *The Critical History of Edgar Allan Poe's The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym: A Dialogue with Unreason* (1998): pp. 110-2; and McKeithan's "Two Sources of Poe's *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*" (1933).

primary sources. As will be shown in this section, such examination uncovers interesting details about the function of Pym's history in the narrative. Pym focuses on such explorers as Cook, Kreutzenstern and Lisiausky, Weddell, Morrell, and Biscoe. His history "of the very few attempts at reaching the southern pole" is very selective and almost entirely parallels the one depicted in Reynolds's *Address* (120). Like Reynolds, Pym specifically singles out the exploratory accounts by Weddell and Morrell because they all report the compelling phenomenon, that is, "of a paradoxical mildness of temperature beyond a certain southern latitude, with an attendant clearing of the polar seas" (Kennedy 55-6). As a result, polar ice, the main obstacle of coeval exploratory projects, becomes conspicuously *absent* "beyond a certain southern latitude."

Pym starts his account with the description of Cook's two attempts to reach the South Pole. In the first attempt, Cook crosses the Antarctic circle in January 1773 but his progress is arrested by the "immense field" of various kinds of ice such as "high hills," "loose or broken pieces packed close together" and "field-ice" to the extent that he "could see no end to it" in latitude 67°15' South (Cook 42). In the second attempt, Cook progresses further south and reaches latitude 71°10', longitude 106°54' West. Once again he is stopped in his track by the immense body of "field-ice": "Ninety-seven ice-fields were distinctly seen within the field, besides those on the outside; many of them very large, and looking like a ridge of mountains, rising one above another till they were lost in the clouds. The outer, or northern edge of this immense field, was composed of loose or broken ice close packed together; so that it was not possible for any thing to enter it" (Cook 267). In both attempts, Cook's progress towards the South Pole is blocked by a vast and impenetrable wall of polar ice. He correctly surmises that there must be some land "to the South behind this ice" with which "it must be wholly covered" (268).

For Cook, attempting to proceed further south, beyond this icy barrier, "would have been a dangerous and rash enterprise": "It was, indeed, *my* opinion, as well as the opinion of most on board, that this ice extended quite to the pole, or perhaps joined to some land, to which it had been fixed from the earliest time" (268; original emphasis). Reynolds subsequently emphasises that this assumption is based on Cook's individual assessment: "It was Captain Cook's opinion, that this mighty mass of crystallization extended to the Pole; or was joined to some land southward, to which it had been affixed from earliest time" (92). Pym extensively quotes from Reynolds regarding the significance of Cook's exploratory accomplishment in the South Seas:

We are not surprised that Cook was unable to go beyond 71°10', but we are astonished that he did attain that point on the meridian of 106°54' west longitude. Palmer's Land lies south of the Shetland latitude 64°, and tends to the southward and westward, further than any navigator has yet penetrated. Cook was standing for this land when his progress was arrested by the ice; which, we apprehend, must always be the case *in that point*, and *so early in the season as the 6th of January*; – and we should not be surprised if a portion of the icy mountains described was attached to the main body of Palmer's Land, or to some other detached portions of land lying further to the southward and westward (Reynolds 92-3; emphasis added).

Reynolds does acknowledge Cook's incredible achievement in reaching latitude 71°10' but questions his assumption that ice extends to the South Pole. In his view, ice is impenetrable only "in that point" and that "early in the season," implying that it might not be the case *elsewhere* and *later* in the season. He regards the immense body of ice that prevented Cook from proceeding further south as part of Palmer's Land or some land "further to the southward and westward." For Reynolds (as well as for Pym) there is no ice at the South Pole, or rather it is never produced there. Reynolds emphasises this point in his discussion of Arctic exploration and the search for the Northwest Passage: "[W]e do not believe, and our personal experience must here strengthen our assertion, that ice is ever formed in the main ocean, at a distance from land. *No, not at the Pole itself!*" (89; original emphasis). To support such belief, both Reynolds and Pym (who copies the former) subsequently focus only on the exploratory accounts that directly report or hint at this absence of ice in the South. Hence, after Cook, ice either completely vanishes or simply becomes insignificant beyond a certain southern latitude in Reynolds's and Pym's history of Antarctic exploration.

Ice is notably absent in the exploratory account of Kruzenstern and Lisiansky in which Kruzenstern after reaching latitude 59°58' "speaks of whales being in great abundance, but does not mention having seen any ice" (Reynolds 93). The absence of ice is reported by Kruzenstern in March which is later in the season than Cook's encounter with the giant ice-field in January. Regarding the possible explanation of this phenomenon, Pym again relies on Reynolds in his story: "Mr. Reynolds observes that, if Kruzenstern had arrived where he did earlier in the season, he must have encountered ice; – it was March when he reached the latitude specified" (122). Reynolds's main argument is that polar ice essentially extends southward until a certain point, geographical latitude, beyond which there is no ice and the sea is open for navigation. He bases this argument on the exploratory observations of Weddell who bears a testimony to the paradoxical near absence of ice and mildness of temperature beyond a particular geographical latitude. Prior to Wilkes's, 1838-1842, and Ross's, 1839-1843, expeditions to the

Antarctic, Weddell remained the only explorer who managed to reach latitude 74°15' in 1822, the furthest southern latitude known to have been reached by any man. Weddell's testimony is "decidedly at variance with the opinion of Captain Cook, respecting the extent of impenetrable ice to the South Pole" (Reynolds 93). Weddell emphasises in his exploratory account that upon reaching latitude 72°, "*not a particle of ice of any description was to be seen,*" the wind was "light and easterly," the overall weather was "pleasant," and "nothing like land was to be seen" (36-7; original emphasis). Upon fairly easily reaching latitude 74°15', Weddell observes that only "three ice islands were in sight from the deck" with "a great number of penguins roosted" on one of them (37).

Contrary to Cook and other polar explorers, ice is not an impediment for Weddell in his attempt to reach the Pole. What stops Weddell in his progress is "the wind blowing fresh at south" and the consideration of "the lateness of the season" and the long journey back through "1000 miles of sea strewed with ice islands, with long nights, and probably attended with fogs" (ibid.). Weddell several times highlights the fact that in the latitude of 74°15' south he "found a sea perfectly clear of field ice" while in the latitude of 61°30' he "was beset in heavy packed ice" (40-1). Reynolds calls these observations "the extraordinary facts" and enthusiastically underscores that "*not a single particle was to be seen*" after latitude 72°28'; and "that, in the unprecedentedly high latitude of 74°15', *no fields, and only three islands of ice were visible*" (94; original emphasis). Pym, in turn, nearly in verbatim echoes Reynolds in regard to Weddell's voyage but puts more emphasis on the prevalence of ice *before* and its near absence *after* 72°28': "[A]lthough he [Weddell] was frequently hemmed in by ice *before* reaching the seventy-second parallel, yet, upon attaining it, not a particle was to be discovered, and that, upon arriving at the latitude of 74°15', no fields and only three islands of ice, were visible" (122-3; original emphasis). Weddell likewise underscores the vast difference between reaching the seventy-first parallel, achieved by Cook, and the seventy-fourth parallel, achieved by himself:

If, therefore, no land exist to the south of the latitude at which I arrived, *viz.* seventy-four degrees, fifteen minutes, – being three degrees and five minutes, or 214 geographical miles farther south than Captain Cook, or any preceding navigator reached, how is it possible that the South Pole should not be more attainable than the North, about which we know there lies a great deal of land? (41).

In doing this, Weddell demonstrates how significant his own exploratory accomplishment is and that, contrary to Cook's opinion, the South Pole is as 'attainable' as the North Pole. Weddell's "extraordinary facts" thus play an important role in supporting Reynolds's argument

regarding the navigability of the southern polar region beyond a certain geographic latitude, the argument that Pym seemingly adopts as well. However, in his account, Weddell ultimately comes to a conclusion that no land exists beyond the seventy-third parallel and that “the antarctic polar sea maybe found less icy than imagined, and a clear field of discovery, even to the South Pole, may therefore be anticipated” (43). This is the point where Reynolds’s and Pym’s opinions are at variance with one another. Reynolds is in assent with Weddell regarding his conclusion: “Weddell, discourages the idea of land existing in the polar regions of the south, and the facts he has given us are calculated to strengthen such a supposition” (94). Pym, on the contrary, is fairly perplexed with Weddell’s surmise: “It is somewhat remarkable that, although vast flocks of birds were seen, and other usual indications of land, and although, south of the Shetlands, unknown coasts were observed from the masthead tending southwardly, Weddell discourages the idea of land existing in the polar regions of the south” (123). The variance between Reynolds and Pym regarding the existence of land at the Pole reflects two distinct ways in which the unexplored southern polar region was imagined by the contemporaries. In this regard, Reynolds’s agreement with Weddell implicitly indicates his belief in the Hollow Earth theory while Pym’s overt scepticism appears to support a belief in *both* terra incognita australis and Hollow Earth theories. In his imagining of the southern polar region, Pym seemingly combines these two theories as evidenced by his belief in the existence of the southern continent with the paradoxically mild climate *and* absence of ice at the Pole.

To put more emphasis on the notable absence of ice at the Pole, Pym goes further than Reynolds and turns to Morrell’s account for this. It can be said that Pym is “Morrell’s debtor” in many ways when it comes to the portrayal of his journey to the South Seas (McKeithan 135). But it is especially so in the absence of ice from Pym’s history of Antarctic exploration and subsequently from the depiction of the southern polar region beyond the eighty-second parallel. Morrell’s account is skipped by Reynolds but inserted by Pym. Pym refers to two passages from Morrell’s narrative both of which underscore the mildness of temperature and near absence of ice beyond the sixty-fifth parallel, the latitude that nearly equates with the Antarctic circle. In the first passage, Morrell observes in the entry on 1 February 1823:

The wind soon freshened to an eleven-knot breeze, and we embraced this opportunity of making up to the west; being however convinced that the farther we went south, beyond latitude sixty-four degrees, the less ice was to be apprehended, we steered a little to the southward, until we crossed the Antarctic circle and were in latitude 69°15’S. In this latitude there was *no field ice*, and very few ice islands in sight (Poe, *Pym* 123; original emphasis).

Like Morrell, Pym puts emphasis on the absence of field ice beyond the sixty-ninth parallel. In his travelogue, Morrell likewise highlights the phrase “*we crossed the antarctic circle*” (65). It is not surprising that Morrell underscores his crossing of the Antarctic circle since that would make him the first known American sea captain to ever accomplish that. Morrell similarly claims to have travelled beyond the seventieth parallel of southern latitude. However, these exploratory achievements of Morrell’s were not substantiated, and his ghost-written *A Narrative of Four Voyages* is considered to be a semi-fictional exploratory account. Morrell follows a similar route as Weddell in his voyage. He also repeats Weddell’s observation about the near absence of ice and open water at the South Pole, but his account is published seven years after Weddell’s. This makes some geographers such as Paul Simpson-Housley to believe that Morrell might have copied Weddell in this instance (57). This might also explain the reason why Reynolds excludes Morrell from his history of Antarctic exploration.

Pym is interested not in Morrell’s exploratory achievements, but in his observations regarding the peculiar mildness of temperature and near absence of ice in the southern polar region. Such interest is apparent in the second passage from Morrell’s travelogue that Pym employs in his narrative: “The sea was now entirely free of field ice, and there were not more than a dozen ice islands in sight. At the same time the temperature of the air and water was at least thirteen degrees (more mild) than we had ever found in between the parallels of sixty and sixty-two south” (123). Morrell asserts that he would have been able, “without the least doubt, to penetrate as far as the eighty-fifth degree of south latitude” provided he had enough fuel and provision and was equipped with the necessary mathematical and nautical instruments, and the aid of “scientific gentlemen” (67). For Pym, it is important to note that it is not ice that is a deterrent in Morrell’s polar voyage, but a ‘human factor.’ The south polar region beyond the seventieth parallel constitutes a vast open space of nature for Morrell that ‘begs’ to be explored: “The way was open before me, clear and unobstructed; the temperature of the air and water mild; the weather pleasant; the wind fair” (ibid.). Morrell is an overt believer in the absence of not only field ice but also land at the Pole. He presumes that field ice cannot be produced “in deep water, or on a rough sea” and therefore “the antarctic seas must be much less obstructed by ice than is generally supposed; and that *a clear sea is open for voyages of discovery, even to the south pole*” (69; original emphasis). He thus encourages the feasibility of Antarctic exploration and the discovery of the South Pole. Such encouragement is specifically aimed at the U.S. government. Morrell proclaims that an appeal should be urgently made to the government regarding the launch of an exploring expedition to the Antarctic seas. In his view,

the United States is the only country that is ‘worthy’ of discovering and exploring the ‘blank’ south polar region:

To the only free nation on earth should belong the glory of exploring a spot of the globe which is the *ne plus ultra* of latitude, where all the degrees of longitude are merged into a single point, and where the sun appears to revolve in a horizontal circle. But this splendid hope has since been lost in the gloom of disappointment! The vassals of some petty despot may one day place this precious jewel of discovery in the diadem of their royal master. Would to heaven it might be set among the stars of our national banner! (67-8; original emphasis).

The South Pole transforms here from a mere geographical location into an imagined one. It essentially becomes an imagined space that represents national dreams and ambitions. It hence represents an absolute space, that is, a dominating space of nature that resists man’s colonisation. Morrell and Pym desire to claim the imagined emptiness of that space so as to produce their own ideological space in its stead. For Morrell, that ideological space is foremost replete with American nationalism. He highlights the urgency in claiming the South Pole for the United States ahead of any nation, especially Britain. Reynolds similarly echoes this urgency but puts even more emphasis on the significant role of the national identity in the southern polar enterprise. For him, only American seamen who are “hardy and adventurous,” unsurpassed in their “enterprise, courage, and perseverance” are capable of attaining the Pole, that is, “to cast anchor on that point where all the meridians terminate, where our eagle and star-spangled banner may be unfurled and planted, and left to wave on the axis of the earth itself;” and “where, amid the novelty, grandeur, and sublimity of the scene, the vessels, instead of sweeping a cast circuit by the diurnal movements of the earth, would simply turn round once in twenty-four hours!” (99). Both Morrell and Reynolds therefore participate in the social production of the imagined emptiness of the South Pole as they ascribe nationalist rhetoric to that absolute space. This very fact affects the manner in which that space is perceived in the public imagination. Attaining the Pole and claiming it for the nation constitutes a ‘duty’ for the Americans in such rhetoric. In this respect, the Pole turns into a symbol of American nationalism.

Reynolds constructs the rhetoric of American nationalism in sharp contrast with that of the British. This contrast becomes particularly apparent in the discussion of Biscoe’s Antarctic voyage.⁹⁰ Biscoe was a British sea captain who circumnavigated Antarctica in 1831-1832.⁹¹ His

⁹⁰ Reynolds misspells Biscoe’s name as “Briscoe” (pp. 94-5); and therefore Pym uses the same (mis-)spelling as Reynolds in his account (p. 124).

⁹¹ Biscoe’s voyage, 1831-1832, points to the chronological inconsistency of the novel. *Pym* was published in 1838, but Pym’s voyage takes place in June 1827 – March 1828. This inconsistency can be regarded as evidence that Poe originally envisioned a sequel (or maybe sequels) to *Pym* in which the protagonist’s voyage would span

voyage narrative was not entirely published until 1901 (in the edited volume *Antarctic Manual*), but the official report-summary was presented by Messrs. Enderby to the Royal Geographical Society on 11 February 1833 (Cumpston 175). Reynolds and Pym focus on the two discoveries made and subsequently reported by Biscoe. First, Biscoe reports about “clearly discovered through the snow, the black peaks of a range of mountains running E.S.E.” (Reynolds 94 and Pym 124). Biscoe correctly surmises that they are part of land, a continent, which he subsequently names Enderby Land after Messrs. Enderby, whale-ship owners and merchants from London, his patrons. He could not approach the discovered land closer than thirty miles and was eventually forced to turn back and return northward to Van Diemen for winter. It is compelling to note here that Reynolds’s and Pym’s accounts regarding the reason why Biscoe was forced to turn back slightly differ. Reynolds asserts that Biscoe was unable to approach Enderby Land due to “the state of the weather and the ice” compounded by the sickness of the ship’s crew (94-5). Pym, on the other hand, states that Biscoe was not able to approach the land “nearer than within ten leagues, owing to the boisterous state of the weather” (124). Unlike Reynolds, Pym deliberately erases the presence of ice from Biscoe’s polar voyage. The erasure of ice makes its absence in the novel narrative meaningful as it suggests that Pym goes even further than Reynolds in underlining the navigability of the southern polar region. Notwithstanding, both Reynolds and Pym undermine the credibility of Biscoe’s surmise regarding the discovery of the southern continent by stressing the fact that the British explorer could only see the land “clearly discovered through the snow” (the lack of proper vision) and that he could not approach the land closer than thirty miles.

Second, in February 1832, upon his return to the southern polar waters, Biscoe sights an island near the land discovered by him in the previous year and names it Adelaide Island after the queen of England. Reynolds openly challenges this discovery: “The main land, taken possession of in the name of his sovereign, was visited fifteen years ago by our own sealers, and taken possession of (at least some fur) in the name of *our sovereign, the people*” (95; original emphasis). He essentially questions if Biscoe’s discoveries are actually ‘discoveries’ in the first place since there is nothing ‘new’ about them as they have already been claimed by the United States. Reynolds expresses his outrage over the fact that the island was named by Biscoe after the English sovereign: “[A] true record shall be made up of the past discoveries in this portion of the South Seas, the name of Adelaide’s island must be changed; and the wreath

several years and would conclude with his return home just before the launch of the Wilkes Expedition in 1838. See also here Dameron’s “Pym’s Polar Episode: Conclusion or Beginning?” (1992).

of crystal gems, intended for the brows of majesty, will be found to belong to one of Nature's pretty little queens, of whom we have so many on this side of the Atlantic!" (ibid.). It is quite ironic that Reynolds calls for a 'true record' of the discoveries in the South Seas in which the English history should be overwritten with that of the Americans; and yet, Reynolds himself overwrites, or rather re-writes, the history of Antarctic exploration to promote his vision of the southern polar region and its exploration by the United States.

In the report communicated to the Royal Geographical Society, Messrs. Enderby, in contrast, characterise Biscoe's voyage as being an "interesting" one that "has added one more to the many examples previously set by British seamen of patient and intrepid perseverance amidst the most discouraging difficulties; and the exertions used have not been without a certain reward" (112). Once again, nationalism goes hand in hand with polar exploration here. Messrs. Enderby's report frames the rhetoric of (British) nationalism that is very similar to the one constructed by Reynolds in his *Address*. Based on Biscoe's "two distinct discoveries," the report concludes that "the existence of a great Southern Land" is very probable, and can possibly be made "subservient to the prosperity" of the nation's fisheries (ibid.). Reynolds, conversely, forthrightly disagrees with this conclusion: "[I]n the correctness of these conclusions we by no means concur; nor do the discoveries of Biscoe warrant any inference. It was within these limits that Weddell proceeded south, on a meridian to the east of Georgia, Sandwich Land, and the South Orkney and Shetland Islands. Nor were his last discoveries new" (95). Reynolds is a firm believer in the absence of land at the Pole; and hence he wholeheartedly embraces Weddell's discoveries and discards the ones reported by Biscoe. Pym is Reynolds's supporter in this instance: "My own experience will be found to testify most directly to the falsity of the conclusion arrived at by the Society [the Royal Geographical Society]" (125). Pym claims that his voyage to the South Seas constitutes the proof Reynolds is right in his inference regarding the southern polar region and the Royal Geographical Society is wrong in their conclusions. Like Reynolds, Pym emphasises the vastness of the southern hemisphere that is yet to be discovered by any man, i.e. "nearly three hundred degrees of longitude in which the Antarctic circle had not been crossed at all," "a wide field" for discovery (125). He desires to claim that 'blank' space of nature for himself in his voyage on board the *Jane Guy*.

Thus, the history of Antarctic exploration presented by Reynolds and Pym is inherently selective. The depicted exploratory attempts that have been undertaken in the Antarctic are carefully selected by Reynolds and Pym to serve a certain purpose. That purpose is to demonstrate the feasibility of Antarctic exploration and the navigability of the southern polar region to the contemporary public and thus promote the launch of the governmental exploring

expedition to the South Seas. Both Reynolds and Pym re-write the history of Antarctic exploration. They accordingly construct their own, slightly different, versions of this history in order to serve this purpose. These versions of the history implicitly demonstrate particular ways in which the unexplored southern polar region was imagined by the contemporary public. The slight differences in Reynolds's and Pym's accounts can be explained by, on the one hand, Reynolds's belief in the Hollow Earth theory and Pym's (Poe's) belief (or maybe strong interest) in both Hollow Earth and *terra incognita australis* theories; and, on the other hand, by the fact that Pym essentially surpasses Reynolds in his re-writing of the history of Antarctic exploration. Pym nearly erases the presence of ice beyond a certain southern latitude and hence goes further than Reynolds in stressing the navigability of the southern polar region. In a way, his history of Antarctic exploration can be read as "a propagandistic tract encouraging scientific exploration of the South Seas" (Kennedy 54). On the surface, Pym is indeed a faithful follower of Reynolds's nationalist fervour. However, this fervour is subverted in the course of Pym's voyage to the South Pole. Pym's polar voyage ultimately illustrates the dangers that such an enterprise can potentially bring. It also shows that national hubris of polar exploration is self-destructive in nature, and can only lead to self-delusion.

The Imaginative Geography of *Pym* and the Absence of Ice at the South Pole⁹²

At the time of *Pym*'s publication, Antarctica largely remained an unexplored region, and its existence was still to be definitively confirmed by explorers. Despite this, contemporary reviewers considered Pym's voyage to the South Pole to be completely improbable, fantastic, and imaginary.⁹³ Many critics such as Quinn,⁹⁴ Cecil,⁹⁵ Ridgely and Haverstick,⁹⁶

⁹² I do not use the term "imaginative geography" in the sense it was coined by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1979). There it denotes a cultural construct, the way in which the perception of certain places is created by the dominant authority, in particular, the perception of the Orient by the West; and how this perception through its reproduction and circulation helps maintain a sense of authority (54-57; 67-71).

⁹³ See the contemporary reception of *Pym* in Burton Pollin's articles "Poe's *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* and the Contemporary Reviewers" (1974), "Three Early Notices of *Pym* and the Snowden Connection" (1975), and "Pym's *Narrative* in the American Newspapers: More Uncollected Notices" (1978); and Ian Walker's *Edgar Allan Poe: The Critical Heritage* (1986).

⁹⁴ See Patrick Quinn's article "Poe's Imaginary Voyage" (1952).

⁹⁵ See Moffitt L. Cecil's article "The Two Narratives of Arthur Gordon Pym" (1963).

⁹⁶ See J. V. Ridgely and Iola S. Haverstick's article "Chartless Voyage: The Many Narratives of *Arthur Gordon Pym*" (1966).

Moldenhauer,⁹⁷ Lee,⁹⁸ Hussey,⁹⁹ and Jones¹⁰⁰ likewise support this view. In this respect, the southern polar region, unknown and sublime, functions as an imaginary setting. It constitutes an imagined space of nature that ultimately transcends Pym's knowledge and experience. Pyne argues that the function of the Antarctic setting in literary works is to represent nature at "its purest and most sublime" (167). Poe employs the genre of travel literature for the purpose of "revealing what reason cannot explain and geography cannot assimilate" (Pyne 165). Antarctica hence encompasses a space of an imaginative geography in *Pym* that puts the narrator's physical and imaginary limits to the test. The term 'imaginative geography' indicates here a 'creative' geography, not necessarily 'false,' a kind of geography that is based on actual contemporary knowledge of the subject but imaginatively appropriated in the novel to negotiate the relationship between reality and fantasy, reason and unreason, and exploration and nationalism.

Pym uses journal-like entries to narrate his initial progress towards the South Pole on board the *Jane Guy*. After being briefly imprisoned by the ice, the ship crosses the Antarctic circle reaching latitude 69° 10' S. and longitude 42° 20' W. Pym emphasises here the near absence of ice beyond this geographical point: "Very little ice was to be seen to the southward, although large fields of it lay behind us" (126). He hence conjures an image of the Antarctic region that is characterised by its mild climate and lack of ice. This image evidently substantiates the Hollow Earth theory advocated by Symmes and his follower Reynolds at the time. It also substantiates the image of the Antarctic region that was reported in the accounts of Weddell and Morrell. In this image, ice presents an obstacle that is to be overcome only until a certain southern latitude. Throughout his journal entries, Pym constantly refers to geographical latitude and longitude they reach in their course southward. Geographical coordinates encompass incorporeal milestones that the *Jane Guy* reaches one by one on the way. They likewise function as references that reinforce the integration of the novel's imaginative geography of the polar region within the real-world-geography (Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu 50). On 10 January 1828, the ship, pushing on boldly, attains latitude 78°30', the farthest southern latitude known to have ever been reached by any explorer to date. At this latitude, the characters on board encounter a massive body of ice and hostile polar climate for the last time in the narrative: "[N]othing was to be seen in the direction of the pole but one apparently

⁹⁷ See Joseph J. Moldenhauer's article "Imagination and Perversity in *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*" (1971).

⁹⁸ See Grace Farrell Lee's article "The Quest of Arthur Gordon Pym" (1972).

⁹⁹ See John P. Hussey's article "'Mr. Pym' and 'Mr. Poe': The Two Narratives of *Arthur Gordon Pym*" (1974).

¹⁰⁰ See Darryl Jones's article "Ultima Thule: Arthur Gordon Pym, the Polar Imaginary, and the Hollow Earth" (2010).

limitless floe, backed by absolute mountains of ragged ice, one precipice of which arose frowningly above the other” (127). After reaching the west extremity of the floe and weathering it, the *Jane Guy* arrives at “an open sea without a particle of ice” (ibid.). At this juncture, Pym enters the world of imaginative geography, that is, the geo-imaginary region which is yet to be explored and seen by man. The climate gets progressively milder as the temperature grows higher. Pym becomes more and more convinced that the South Pole is an attainable goal for man. The ship effortlessly reaches latitude 81°21’, longitude 42°W, the geographical point occupied by the Antarctic continent in actuality. No land is, however, seen in sight by the characters at this point.

The South Pole pulls the ship towards it with its current and wind as the weather continues to be mild and pleasant. This “constant tendency to the southward” causes “some degree of speculation, and even of alarm, in different quarters of the schooner” (130). The polar region that Pym encounters in his voyage is not merely imaginary. It is also not just a representation of Symmes’s Hollow Earth theory, that is, one of the ways in which that space was imagined by the contemporary public. Instead, it simultaneously employs the characteristics of the polar region found in coeval travelogues and defamiliarizes them in order to re-imagine that space in the narrative. The *Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale-Fishery* (1823), written by William Scoresby, Jr., constitutes one of such travelogues.¹⁰¹ There are several similarities between Pym and Scoresby in the depiction of some natural phenomena encountered in the polar region. These similarities locate Pym’s polar narrative within “the bounds of narrative realism” and contribute to the novel’s overall “careful verisimilitude” (Dameron 33, 35). Dameron outlines four polar ‘miracles’ that Poe seemingly borrows from Scoresby’s journal and uses in his novel. This chapter will further focus on the two most notable examples of these polar ‘miracles’ that are found both in *Pym* and Scoresby’s *Journal*. These are the portrayals of peculiar water on Tsalal and ash-like substance falling from the sky at the end of the novel as Peters and Pym head towards the South Pole on the boat.

Instead of the southern continent, the *Jane Guy* comes across a strangely black island named Tsalal. The water that Pym sees on Tsalal constitutes part of the island’s bizarre and alien nature, i.e. “the first definite link in that vast chain of apparent miracles” that he encounters

¹⁰¹ Scoresby’s journal was one of the few actual polar travelogues that was available to Poe before the publication of the first instalment of *Pym* in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in early 1837. Poe himself refers to Scoresby twice while working as an editor in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, i.e. in the December 1835 issue (p.49) in regard to the article on John Ross’s *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage* (1835) in the number 124 of *The Edinburgh Review*; and in the January 1836 issue (p. 127) in his short review of *Robinson Crusoe*.

in the polar region (136). Pym describes it as something that resembles in consistency “a thick infusion of gum-arabic in common water” which, having no particular colour, presents to the observer “every possible shade of purple, like the hues of a changeable silk” (ibid.). He goes on to describe his experience with this peculiar water in more detail:

Upon collecting a basinful, and allowing it to settle thoroughly, we perceived that the whole mass of liquid was made up of a number of distinct veins, each of a distinct hue; that these veins did not commingle; and that their cohesion was perfect in regard to their own particles among themselves, and imperfect in regard to neighbouring veins. Upon passing the blade of a knife athwart the veins, the water closed over it immediately, as with as, and also, in withdrawing it, all traces of the passage of the knife were instantly obliterated. If, however, the blade was passed down accurately between the two veins, a perfect separation was effected, which the power of cohesion did not immediately rectify (ibid.).

In comparison, Scoresby portrays the “remarkable water” near Greenland in the following manner:

During this day’s sailing, we passed through several veins or patches of a remarkable brown-coloured, or sometimes yellowish-green coloured, water, presenting a striking contrast to the blue sea around them. These patches ran in various directions, generally forming long streaks or veins, extending as far as the eye could discern the peculiar colour. [...] The separation of the two qualities of water, the ordinary blue and the brown, was generally well defined. [...] Whenever the ship passed through any of this peculiar water, the patch or streak was divided and did not again unite (351, 354).

Scoresby examines the “remarkable water” under the microscope and surmises that its peculiar colouring is due to the traces of animalcules. The water on Tsalal is akin in its nature to Scoresby’s “remarkable water.” It possesses similar patches or veins of vivid colour that are clearly separated and sharply defined. It is, however, defamiliarized in the novel. It is presented as an element of the island’s peculiar nature and its colour is altered from brown and yellow-green to purple and its shades. There is also more emphasis on the disconnected character of the water veins or patches so much so that their union becomes nearly impossible. Unlike Scoresby, Pym offers no scientific explanation to the water phenomenon on the island. The peculiar water on Tsalal accordingly transforms from an actual natural phenomenon in the polar region into an improbable and fantastic marvel in the novel. Many contemporary reviewers of *Pym* underscore this aspect.¹⁰² They cite the passage depicting the strange “gum-arabic” water

¹⁰² For instance, see William Burton’s review published in the *Burton’s Gentleman’s Magazine* in September 1838; the unsigned review published in *The Monthly Review*, a London journal, as part of the composite article under the title “Novels of the Month” in October 1838; the anonymous review published in the *London Atlas* on 20 October 1838; and the unsigned review published in the *Spectator* of London on 27 October 1838.

on the island as definitive proof that Pym's voyage to the South Pole is completely imaginary and a hoax.

The second phenomenon that could have been possibly adopted from Scoresby is the ash-like substance falling from the sky as the current at the Pole draws the boat with Peters, Pym, and Nu-Nu in it further southward after their escape from Tsalal. Pym describes it as a "fine white powder, resembling ashes – but certainly not such" – that continuously falls from the sky and melts upon touching the water surface (173). Scoresby, in turn, observes a similar atmospheric phenomenon in the Arctic: "The fog which produced this beautiful appearance, came in showers of varying density. The particles were so small as to be quite invisible to the eye; and as no dampness was perceptible, the particles must have been extremely minute" (77). As the particles in the shower are very minute, the phenomenon would closely resemble Pym's "white powder" eerily descending from the sky. Such resemblance is another instance that demonstrates the geo-imaginary character of the polar region in the novel. Thus, contrary to many critics and contemporary reviewers, Pym's polar episode is not entirely fantastic, imaginary, or improbable. Instead, it generates a new representation of polar space by imaginatively reproducing unusual natural phenomena found in that space and reported in such travel accounts as Scoresby's. Dameron argues that the abrupt ending of the novel and its parallels with Scoresby's journal serve as evidence that the verisimilitude of the narrative is not compromised in the description of the polar region; and that Poe ultimately envisaged a sequel for Pym (33). Whether the latter is true or not, it is important to consider the geo-imaginary aspect in the description of polar space in the novel. In this regard, the South Pole presents a product of imaginative geography in which ice is conspicuously absent. It is something beyond a mere imaginary construct. It is a combination of fiction and non-fiction, of reality and fantasy, and of reason and imagination. For this reason, it challenges and frustrates these binary oppositions in the narrative.

The South Pole as a Sublime and Absolute Space

In *Pym*, the Antarctic region ultimately presents a sublime space. The array of black-white contrasts play an essential role in the production of its sublimity. These contrasts start when the mate, Peters, and Pym manage to successfully kill a giant polar bear. The dead bear's wool is "perfectly white" (128). The characters on board soon come across a small island that is named Bennet's Islet by Captain Guy after his partner and co-owner of the schooner. The islet from the northward is "seen projecting into the sea and bearing a strong resemblance to corded bales

of cotton” (ibid.). The colour white generally prevails until the *Jane Guy* encounters Tsalal. There the black colour takes over creating a sharp contrast with the white one before. On Tsalal, almost everything is curiously black: from vegetation to the natives’ teeth. In fact, the colour white is a taboo on the island as the natives recoil from it in horror. This fact becomes clear early on in the narrative but Pym remains clueless about it until the very end. The characters essentially enter the world of ‘black’ after passing the space that is full of ‘white.’ Various symbolic interpretations of this black-white contrast have been made by critics.¹⁰³ In addition, Carringer and Ljungquist commented on the functional employment of such contrast in the narrative. Carringer interprets it as the contrast between land and circumscription (blackness), on the one hand, and movement in space, spaciousness, limitless space, and “a kind of maternal tranquillity” (whiteness), on the other hand (514). Ljungquist, in turn, reads the novel as “an exercise in the aesthetic of the sublime” and sees the contrast as part of its production in it (75). Ljungquist’s reading of the novel is compelling but it is located within the framework of so-called ‘Romantic Titanism,’ one of the popular themes in the early nineteenth century. This chapter similarly focuses on the aesthetic of the sublime in the depiction of the polar region in the narrative but through the lens of spatial theory.

After Pym and Peters escape Tsalal, the ‘black’ world, on the boat (taking one of the natives, Nu-Nu, hostage), they enter the space that is completely white. The water becomes remarkably warm and undergoes “a rapid change, being no longer transparent, but of a milky consistency and hue” (172-3). A grey vapour is seen rising above the horizon while an ash-like white powder starts falling from the sky on the canoe and on the water surface around. As the canoe moves further southward, the ashy white powder starts to fall ceaselessly and “in vast quantities” (174). The vapour to the southward likewise massively expands and assumes the shape of “a limitless cataract, rolling silently into the sea from some immense and far-distant rampart in the heaven” (ibid.). The characters hence move from somewhat white space to black one and then to entirely white space. For one thing, this movement in space indicates the characters’ transition from limitless space to limited one and then back to limitless one. And for another, this black-white contrast enables the production of the polar sublime in the narrative.

¹⁰³ A number of *Pym*’s critics have commented on the black-white contrast and its significance in the novel. For example, Levin (1960) reads it as an allegoric manifestation of coeval racial anxieties in the U.S. (120-1); Cecil (1963) reads the novel’s “radical colour scheme” as an “extraordinary feature of Poe’s imaginary polar world” (238); Lee (1972) interprets it as “an imaginative portrayal” of Tsalal as Hell (29); Spufford (1996) regards it as “a Virginian fantasy of race-war and racial degradation” (75); and Jones (2010) construes it as part of the polar quest in which it signifies “a desire to return to a prelapsarian state, the rediscovery of the lost Eden” (63).

In *Pym*, the polar sublime is a rather different one. It presents, what Spufford figuratively calls, a hole “with teeth” (76). Such expression seemingly invokes an image of the mythic monster Charybdis from Homer’s epic poem *The Iliad*. The “limitless cataract,” like a gigantic curtain, obscures the entire horizon and emits no sound. It constitutes a limitless, silent, and eerie presence that looms at the horizon. It is a giant vortex that threatens to swallow the canoe with Pym, Peters, and catatonic Nu-Nu in it. The characters are within a soundless white space at a somewhat safe distance from it but they are continuously pulled towards it. The white ashy substance obscures the characters’ vision but they are still inevitably drawn towards the limitless cataract: “The summit of the cataract was utterly lost in the dimness and the distance. Yet we were evidently approaching it with a hideous velocity. At intervals there were visible in it wide, yawning, but momentary rents, and from out these rents, within which was a chaos of flitting and indistinct images, there came rushing and mighty, but soundless winds” (174). In the last two entries, the whiteness of polar space is steadily swallowed by a darkness that hovers above the characters and materially increases. The “sullen darkness” is only relieved “by the glare of the water thrown back from the white curtain” before the characters and numerous “gigantic and pallidly white birds” ceaselessly flying from beyond the curtain (ibid.). The black-white contrast once again emerges in the narrative but this time the two colours are slowly merging into one dark whole. The dead silence of the scene is only interrupted by the scream of the gigantic pallid birds “Tekeli-li!” It is a scream that has been usually uttered by the natives of Tsalal upon encountering objects of white colour. The scream accordingly reinforces the sublimity of the final polar scene.

The polarising colour scheme and unnerving general silence of the South Pole contribute to the production of the sublime in the novel. They, however, create a distinct kind of the polar sublime in which ice does not feature. This polar sublime does not overwhelm the characters’ visual and hearing senses through the characteristics of ice such as its bright colour(s), sound, immense size, and dynamic power. Instead, the characters’ senses are overwhelmed through their overexposure to the soundless and monochrome nature of the South Pole. The Pole presents a sublime space that, so to speak, takes away the characters’ senses or better gradually numbs them. It is evident in Pym’s observation of his companions’ state of being in the narrative as they are drawn further southward: “Peter spoke little, and I knew not what to think of his apathy. Nu-Nu breathed, and no more” (ibid.). Such numbness of senses presents a danger to the characters’ self-preservation. It thus unveils the key function of the polar sublime in *Pym*, that is, the embodiment of a looming threat the material presence of which increasingly grows. The South Pole is an endless cataract that gradually turns into a “hole with teeth” that eventually

devours the characters. Pym's narrative cryptically ends with the following passage: "And now we rushed into the embraces of the cataract, where a chasm threw itself open to receive us. But there arose in our pathway a shrouded human figure, very far larger in its proportions than any dweller among men. And the hue of the skin of the figure was of the perfect whiteness of the snow" (175). There have been many different readings of the novel's ending by critics with a particular emphasis on the interpretation of the mysterious and giant "shrouded human figure" in it.¹⁰⁴ This chapter focuses not on the possible representation of this figure, but on the significance and function of such abrupt ending within the aesthetic of the polar sublime.

The polar sublime essentially encompasses the threat of the unknown in the novel. Eakin compellingly asserts that Pym's narrative promises "a symbolic transfer of final knowledge" in its finale but abruptly leaves the reader and the narrator hanging just before that revelation (14). The promise of "final knowledge" is subverted by the novel's sudden ending. The polar space beyond the eighty-fourth parallel of southern latitude remains an uncharted and void geographic area, the same as it was to the contemporary explorer. Such ending performs a double function in the narrative. On the one hand, it represents the frustration of 'blankness' of the period in regard to the space at and of the South Pole. In the finale, the characters are enveloped by the sublime polar cataract, that is, a space "where fiction reaches the edge of fact" (Gitelman 352). In this instance, the South Pole is also a space that reaches the limit of language. The polar sublime thus encompasses not only the threat of the unknown, but also that of the unrepresentable. On the other hand, the abrupt ending just before the final revelation contributes to the sublimity of the polar region in the novel. It has left a profound and lasting impact on the popular imagination. Jules Verne, for example, wrote a direct sequel to *Pym* titled *An Antarctic Mystery* (1897). Furthermore, the British explorer Robert Falcon Scott, who led the ill-fated Antarctic expedition that reached the geographic South Pole only after Roald Amundsen, bitterly refers to Poe's novel in his journal's entry on 18 January 1912: "Jules Verne was right. Poe was right. There is something at the South Pole. It is a Norwegian flag" (Spufford 331).

¹⁰⁴ The "shrouded human figure" at the very end of the novel, for instance, has been interpreted by the critics as "a God who exists *only* outside space and time, a God revealed to man only in death or in the poet's vision" (Hussey 25; original emphasis); as "Pym's own projected image" (Jang 368); as the ship's figurehead representing Poe's longing for his dead mother and brother (Kopley, "The Hidden Journey" 44), as the coming of Christ (Kopley, "The Very Profound Under-Current" 153); as a titanic figure of final knowledge beyond time and space (Ljungquist 79); as a mother figure (Moldenhauer 278); as "the apotheosis of the creative imagination itself" (Wells 14); and as "maybe nothing more than a grotesque iceberg" (Lilly 38-9). *Pym*'s abrupt ending, in turn, has been explained by the critics as an overall preference for "the sublimity of a figure rare and strange, resplendent with the aura of last things beheld but unspoken, than the inevitable banality of an editor's intrusive explication" (Eakin 21); as a parody of the anticlimactic nature of exploratory literature (Gitelman 358); as both the anticipation and recreation of Gaston Broche's portrayal of Ultima Thule (Jones 54); and as the representation of "those discursive and hard limits at and of the South Pole" (Glassberg 48).

Scott's reference to Poe underlines his disillusionment with the outcome of the race to the South Pole between him and Amundsen.

Pym erases the presence of ice from his history of Antarctic exploration. Ice also markedly disappears in the depiction of the southern polar region beyond 78°30' of southern latitude. After attaining this latitude, Pym enters the world of imaginative geography, a geo-imaginary space, in which fact and fiction, reality and fantasy, and reason and imagination are compellingly intertwined. It ultimately presents a uniquely sublime space the sublimity of which is generated not by the properties of polar ice, but by the black-white contrast, the overall monochrome nature, and the eerie stillness of that space. In *Pym*'s polar episode, the characters' canoe is pulled towards the South Pole by its wind and current. Hence the distance between the characters and the polar sublime gradually diminishes in the narrative. There is no escape from the sublime polar cataract. Pym, Peters, and Nu-Nu are not independent actors in this final journey as their agency is taken away from them by the power of the South Pole. The Pole accordingly represents a sublime space that dominates and threatens the characters. It therefore transforms into an absolute space, a dominating space of nature, that is left uncolonized at the end of the novel. Thus, the polar space in *Pym* is both creative and subversive in its function. It pushes the limits of language and imagination in its representation in the narrative. At the same time, it subverts the contemporary rhetoric of American nationalism regarding Antarctic exploration. It unveils the illusory character of such exploratory ambitions by showing the looming danger of the polar region and the futility of its colonisation.

Chapter 5: Rejecting the Polar Sublime in *Peter the Whaler*?

William Henry Giles Kingston was a prolific English author of adventure novels for boys. His novel *Peter the Whaler* was one of his earliest works and the first novel in this genre that brought him huge commercial success. It was well received and Kingston “found himself greeted not simply as an author but as the veritable Peter by children” (Bratton 119).¹⁰⁵ It “proved to be a children’s classic” the creation of which solidified Kingston as a principal author of boys’ adventure stories for the next thirty years of his career (Kingsford 175).¹⁰⁶ It was followed by more than one hundred similar in genre novels. Before its publication, Kingston had become a household name in Portugal, worked as an editor of the *Colonial Magazine* and made considerable efforts “on behalf of emigration and seamen’s welfare” (Kingsford 77). *Peter the Whaler* was first published in 1851 when the search for Franklin’s lost expedition was well under way. It is therefore not surprising that the novel overtly addresses contemporary Arctic exploration and the international search for Franklin in a brief sketch in the narrative. Kingston was evidently interested in the overseas exploration and emigration.¹⁰⁷ He never travelled to the Arctic himself but had substantial knowledge of the region drawn from his extensive reading of literature on the topic. One of the main sources that informed the realist depiction of the Arctic and whaling in *Peter the Whaler* was Scoresby’s *An Account of the Arctic Regions* initially published in 1820 and reprinted in 1849 (Bratton 118 and David 206).

The Arctic voyage constitutes a substantial part of the novel’s narrative. *Peter the Whaler* is an early Victorian boys’ adventure novel that is full of sensational adventures and dramatic escapes from various hazards. It tells a story of Peter Lefroy, a fifteen-year-old youth, who embarks on a voyage across the North Atlantic Ocean as a punishment for poaching. Like most Kingston’s novels, it has an explicit evangelical message and is laden with Christian morals. Peter, for instance, concludes his narrative with the following “needful lesson” for his reader: “I have learned to fear God, to worship Him in His works, and to trust to His infinite mercy. I have also learned to know myself, and to take advice and counsel from my superiors in wisdom and goodness” (332). Spufford hence rightfully characterises the novel as “a phenomenally popular boys’ adventure story with a strong evangelical bent” (229). Peter is an autodiegetic

¹⁰⁵ As evidenced by numerous editions of the novel after 1900.

¹⁰⁶ In fact, Kingston was placed second after Dickens on the list of most favourite authors among 2000 school boys in 1888. See Edward Salmon’s *Juvenile Literature as it is* (1888): p. 14.

¹⁰⁷ Kingston, for instance, published an entire book on emigration titled *How to Emigrate, or, The British Colonists: A Tale* (1850).

narrator in the novel. The Arctic region essentially functions as a hostile natural space that continuously challenges Peter both physically and mentally. It is hence a natural space that enables Peter's transition from childhood into adolescence. Polar ice presents an absolute space that dominates and endangers him in the novel, but does not terrify or astonish him. Although Peter underscores the beauty of ice several times throughout the novel, he nearly entirely rejects the polar sublime in the narrative. Despite the rejection of the polar sublime, Peter still employs its aesthetic in order to adequately represent the dynamic power of ice in the Arctic region.

Polar Ice as an Absolute Space

The first sighting of an iceberg and polar ice in general occurs when Peter is on board his first ship *The Black Swan*. The iceberg is initially mistaken for a ship but that notion is quickly rectified by one of the sailors: "I perceived close to us a towering mass with a refulgent appearance, which the look-out man had taken for the white sails of a ship, but which proved in reality to be a vast iceberg" (44).¹⁰⁸ Despite the magnitude and vastness of the iceberg, Peter sees no aesthetic value in its sight and only underlines its large size. In other words, he describes the iceberg in a seemingly objective manner. He acknowledges the extreme danger it presents to the ship in darkness but he exhibits neither astonishment nor terror in his first ever encounter with the magnitude of polar ice. Peter is hence an observer that rejects, or rather dismisses, the mathematically polar sublime, that is, polar nature as magnitude. Thereby, he is quick to voice his opinion on the view of the iceberg to his friend Silas Flint: "I would rather be in a latitude where icebergs do not exist" (ibid.). As icebergs get closer and closer to the ship, Peter perceives them as something even more perilous. The distance between the vessel and icebergs becomes so short that it seems there is no escape for the former. The *Black Swan* manages to pass through the icy trap but the ship a short distance away is not that lucky. The "ill-fated" and "hapless" ship gets imprisoned and wrecked by the ice:

Her [the ship's] sides were crushed in – her stout timbers were rent into a thousand fragments – her tall masts tottered and fell, though still attached to the hull. For an instant I concluded that the ice must have separated, or perhaps the edges broke with the force of the concussion; for, as I gazed, the wrecked mass of hull and spars and canvas seemed drawn suddenly downwards with irresistible force, and a few fragments, which had been hurled by the force of the

¹⁰⁸ From here onwards the quotations from *Peter the Whaler* are taken from the following edition of the novel: Kingston, William Henry Giles. *Peter the Whaler: His Early Life and Adventures in the Arctic Regions*. London: Ward, Lock & Co., Limited New York and Melbourne, 1851.

concussion to a distance, were all that remained of the hapless vessel. Not a soul of her crew could have had time to escape to the ice (46).

Peter is apparently the sole witness of the ship's demise a short distance away as everyone else on board is preoccupied with escaping the ice. He watches on helplessly as the ship with the four hundred and forty men sinks to the bottom of the ocean. The wreckage of the ship emphasises the utter helplessness of man in the encounter with polar ice. It showcases the agency of the natural element and its exertion over man in the narrative. Polar ice encompasses here absolute space that completely dominates humans. Peter feels no "sense of fear" witnessing the shipwreck and considers it as the first adventure in his nautical career (47). He is not terrified or overwhelmed by his first dangerous confrontation with polar ice. Peter therefore does not experience the polar sublime.

The most notable example of the agency of polar ice in the novel takes place while Peter is on board the war ship *Pocahuntas*. Peter is sentenced to a two-year service on board that ship for his alleged involvement with the pirates.¹⁰⁹ The *Pocahuntas* collides head-on with a giant iceberg in the Arctic due to the complete lack of vision and the lieutenant's wrong assessment of the situation. Once again the iceberg is mistaken for a ship's sail but this time the mistake is realised too late. The collision is accompanied by the sound of "a loud, fearful crash" that makes the vessel tremble "in every timber" (160). The ship rises and falls "with tremendous force" and "the loud crashing forward" shows that its strong bows have been stove in (161). It becomes clear to many that the ship is already lost. The captain forbids anyone to quit the ship and threatens to shoot down anyone who would disobey that order. Peter and his three companions manage to jump on the iceberg openly disregarding this order. The *Pocahuntas* with the remaining crew still aboard is engulfed by the sea as the characters on the iceberg observe the entire scene helplessly:

Slowly the proud ship glided from the icy rock, on which she had been wrecked, down into the far depths of the ocean. Soon all were engulfed beneath the greedy waves. No helping hand could we offer to any of our shipmates. The taller masts and spars followed, dragged down by the sinking hull; and in another instant, as we gazed where our ship had just been, a black obscurity was alone before us (162).

For the second time in the novel the ship is wrecked by the ice. Peter is the main witness of the shipwreck here as well but the distance between the observer and the wreckage this time is shortened. In the second case, Peter is not just a mere observer of the shipwreck, but its survivor. The *Pocahuntas*'s wreckage thus affects him more profoundly. The iceberg is used

¹⁰⁹ See the section on the *Pocahuntas* in chapter 10 of this thesis for more context on this.

both creatively and subversively in this instance. Although it destroys the space of the ship, it inadvertently saves the lives of the four characters. The iceberg becomes a new ‘ship’ for the survivors. It turns into a place that provides shelter to the characters. This shelter, however, is temporary since the iceberg is a dangerous and unstable place that can crumble at any moment. The iceberg similarly drives the plot forward as it produces new narrative space for the characters. It therefore constitutes an absolute space that dominates the characters not only through its power, but also through the characters’ dependence on it to survive.

The Aesthetic Beauty of Polar Ice

When the four characters are on the iceberg, Peter pays attention to its beauty which outshines that of the sea around them:

But still more beautiful and wonderful seemed the vast mountain of ice on which we floated, as in every fantastic form appeared, towering above us. The pinnacles and turrets of the summit were tinted with the glowing hues of the east; while, lower down, the columns and arches which supported them seemed formed of the purest alabaster of almost a cerulean tint; and around us, on either side, appeared vast caverns and grottoes, carved, one might almost suppose, by the hands of fairies, for their summer abode, out of Parian marble, their entrances fringed with dropping icicles, glittering brilliantly (166-7).

For the first time in the novel Peter perceives the ice aesthetically. He considers the dazzling beauty of the iceberg only when he is in direct contact with it. There is no distance between the characters and the ice. Within Burkean and Kantian aesthetics, a safe distance or being in a safe place are necessary for the production of the sublime. The characters’ situation fails to meet either of these criteria. The iceberg is hence regarded as the beautiful, that is, the opposite of the sublime. Peter therefore rejects the sublimity of the iceberg (the mathematically sublime, or nature as magnitude), but embraces its aesthetic beauty. He likewise underlines how perilous it is to be on the iceberg in the middle of the North Sea. Such a dangerous situation prevents him from admiring “the enchanting spectacle as much as it deserved” (167). Peter here emphasises the importance of a safe distance not for the polar sublime, but for the aesthetic appreciation of polar ice on the whole.

In spite of its aesthetic beauty, the iceberg represents a dangerous place that gradually melts from the top: “I had heard a rippling noise during the night, and could not conceive whence it came; but now, on looking around, I perceived that it was caused by a small cascade, which, from the ice at the top continually melting, came trickling down the side” (ibid.). At the same time, it enables the continuous survival of the characters until they are eventually saved

by another passing vessel. Food like the body of a seal and many useful things from the wrecked ship like a pot and instruments end up being washed up on the lower ledge of the iceberg. The ice provides the characters with fresh water. It is also used later on as an instrument to obtain fire as “any perfectly transparent substance in a convex shape” will gather “the rays of sun, and form a burning glass” (173). Peter observes that the beauty of the iceberg is much more striking from a distance: “Truly it had appeared beautiful when we were on it, doubly so it did appear now, glittering in the beams of the sun; some parts of alabaster whiteness, and the rest tinged with hues of gold and pink and most transparent blue” (182). Peter once again highlights here the importance of a distance between an observer and an aesthetic object. The aesthetic beauty of the iceberg can be fully appreciated only from a certain distance. Peter also regards the iceberg as “an object well calculated to attract the eyes of a stranger” (ibid.). This eye-catching quality of the iceberg is the main reason why the four characters are noticed and rescued by another ship, *The Shetland Maid*, in the first place. The iceberg thus embodies not a sublime, but an absolute space that the surviving characters’ lives heavily depend on.

When the *Shetland Maid* reaches the shore of Greenland, Peter once again highlights the aesthetic beauty of polar ice:

It was evening, or I should rather say near midnight, when we really got close in, when we found that the valleys were magnificent fiords, or gulfs running far inland, and that the rocks and icebergs were of vast height. As we sailed along the coast, nothing could be more beautiful than the different effects of light and shade – the summits of the distant inland ranges shining in the sunlight like masses of gold, and the icebergs in the foreground tinged with the most beautiful and dazzling colours (216).

For Peter, the beauty of ice is incomparable in its magnificence. He underscores the profusion of colour and the contrast between light and shadow in its view. The icebergs that Peter describes are the ones seen by him close to midnight. Scoresby elucidates in his account of the Arctic that icebergs “differ a little in colour, according to their solidity and distance, or state of the atmosphere” (254). He then remarks that an occasional “glistening appearance” of icebergs is due to the sun shining upon their surface; and that various shades of colour take place “in the precipitous parts” (255). Such portrayal of icebergs is somewhat similar to that found in the novel. Peter, however, puts more emphasis on the aesthetic of the beautiful in his depiction. He likewise draws attention to the problem of assessing distances between the ship and polar ice in the Arctic: “[O]n account of the clearness of the atmosphere, and the brightness of the snow-covered hills or icy plains, they appear to a person unaccustomed to look on them to be very much nearer than they really are” (216). Peter finds out that the distance between the two

is difficult to estimate as it takes lots of nautical experience in the polar region to learn how to do that: “[I]t would be a long time before I should be able to judge of distances” (ibid.). The problem is in the illusion of close proximity of the ship to polar ice when, in reality, the latter is far away from the former. The distance between an observer and polar ice is like an illusion that one needs to know how to see through. It both challenges and undermines the normal visual perception of it. This illusion presents a real danger to the space of the ship that can be potentially wrecked if a mistake in its judgement occurs. In this respect, the Arctic region presents a dominating space of nature that is full of contrasts. It overwhelms the vision with the dazzling beauty of ice and concurrently distorts it due to the refractory characteristics of the natural element. Polar ice hence renders the visual perception of that space uncertain.

Polar Ice as the Dynamically Sublime

As soon as Peter and his companions step on board the *Shetland Maid*, the iceberg crumbles apart not far away from the whaling vessel.¹¹⁰ Peter describes the dwelling on the iceberg as “the most awful and perilous position” in which he has ever been (183). He admits the danger and the beauty of polar ice in the Arctic but continuously rejects its sublimity. The rejection of the polar sublime occurs when the *Shetland Maid* collides with the ice in the course of the voyage. The collision is followed by “a loud, crashing, grinding noise” that is “sufficient to strike terror into the stoutest hearts” (191). Notwithstanding, Peter and the crew have no time to be terrified by it as they are all busy with performing their duties on board: “But it must be remembered that we were all so busily engaged in flying here and there in the performance of our duty, that we had no time for fear” (ibid.). If not for their duty, the characters would have been overwhelmed by the whole experience. The polar sublime is thus rejected through everyone’s commitment to their duty on board. The collision with the ice is unavoidable for the ship because in order to move forward a passage needs to be created. The agency of polar ice challenges the characters’ physical and mental limits. Upon another collision with the ice,

¹¹⁰ The whole episode with the miraculous escape strongly resembles one of the anecdotes about the dangers of polar ice for whale fishers described by Scoresby in his *An Account of the Arctic Regions* (1820): “Two harpooners who sailed with me, to the fishery in the year 1814, were engaged, at a former period, in the capture of a whale at Davis’ Straits, in the service of the ship James, when the boat from which the fish was struck, was dragged by the line under an overhanging precipice of a huge ice-berg. It remained some time stationary, and then was again withdrawn to a small distance, when a mass immediately fell from summit, which, had they remained in their original position, must have crushed the boat to pieces, and buried the crew in the deep. Their escape was indeed so happy and so striking, that they did not scruple to designate it as providential; and the danger was yet so near, that the waves produced by the concussion of the ice on the water, passed, in considerable *sprays*, over the boat (vol. 2: p. 343; original emphasis).

some members of the crew are overcome with fear and scream in horror thinking that the ship is lost. The polar ice represents here an absolute space, a dominating space of nature, that generates only pure terror among some of the men aboard. Despite the terror, the whaling ship successfully creates a passage through the ice and breaks free. This time around the men on board finally prevail over polar ice in the narrative.

As the whaling vessel makes its progress in the Arctic, it becomes more and more difficult for it to go through ice. Various kinds of polar ice such as floes, brash ice, and icebergs constantly endanger the safety of the ship. Polar ice as an absolute space asserts its dominance over the space of the vessel. On the other hand, it is employed as a survival tool by the crew. The crew on the *Shetland Maid* use one of the icebergs on the way as a shield that protects the ship from the upcoming drifting ice and gale and as an anchor during a strong wind. In order to use the iceberg that way, the crew need to maintain a safe but a close distance from it. By mooring the ship to the iceberg, the characters on board significantly improve its progress across the Arctic sea. The whaling vessel ultimately reaches “the most dangerous” part of the voyage, “the passage across Melville Bay, which may be considered the north-eastern corner of Baffin’s Bay” (220). The danger of this part of the Arctic is attributed to the unpredictable nature of the ice there due to sudden gusts of “a south-westerly wind springing up” (ibid.). The ship’s progress is eventually arrested by the giant floe that needs to be passed through in order to reach the open sea. The crew using ice-saws manage to create a water canal for the vessel to pass through. Peter refers to the whole process by the term “tracking” (221). It takes the crew long hours of strenuous labour for ten days to finally enter the open sea. Despite its strenuous character, Peter enjoys the tracking as it is accompanied by the crew’s singing and laughter.¹¹¹ At no point in tracking, he expresses any concern or alarm over the entire process and simply relishes its experience. He once more rejects the sublimity of polar ice in the novel.

¹¹¹ By contrast, William Parry in his *Third Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage* (1826) highlights the difficulty his party had to endure in the breaking of a passage through the ice. This is especially compelling to consider since in the common rhetoric of the polar travelogues of the period explorers often downplayed or even erased their hardships and sufferings from their narratives. Parry chooses to write on the matter but struggles to express it adequately on paper: “I shall, doubtless, be readily excused for not having entered in this journal, a detailed narrative of the obstacles we met with, and of the unwearied exertions of the officers and men to overcome them, during the tedious eight weeks employed in crossing this barrier. I have avoided this detail, because, while it might appear an endeavour to magnify ordinary difficulties, which it is our business to overcome rather than to discuss, I am convinced that no description of mine, nor even the minute formality of the log-book, could convey an adequate idea of the truth. The strain we constantly had occasion to heave on the hawsers, as springs to force the ships through the ice, was such as perhaps no ships ever before attempted; and by means of Phillips’s invaluable capstan, we often separated floes of such magnitude as must otherwise have baffled every effort. In doing this, it was next to impossible to avoid exposing the men to very great risk, from the frequent breaking of the hawsers. On one occasion three of the Hecla’s seamen were knocked down as instantaneously as by a gunshot, by the sudden flying out of an anchor, and a marine of the Fury suffered in a similar manner when working at the capstan; but providentially they all escaped with severe contusions” (36-7).

Peter captures the danger of polar ice later on in the representation of the floes in the narrative: “A moment too late, and our stout ship might be cracked like a walnut, and we might all be cast homeless on the bleak expanse of ice to perish miserably” (223). He emphasises the dynamic power of the floes that dominates the ship: “The floes were approaching rapidly, grinding and crushing against one another, now overlapping each other; or like wild horses fighting desperately, rearing up against each other, and with terrific roar breaking into huge fragments” (ibid.). The depicted scene is sublime in nature but Peter does not acknowledge its sublimity. Instead, he focuses on the urgency of the matter and the brave front assumed by the crew in the confrontation with the polar ice: “Whatever we thought, we worked and sung away as if we were engaged in one of the ordinary occupations of life, and that, though we were in a hurry, there was no danger to be apprehended” (ibid.). The comparison of the floes to the living beings, “wild horses” and “advancing foes” highlights their dynamic power (ibid.). The officers on board are terrified by the confrontation but try to appear cheerful so as to encourage the rest of the crew. By rejecting the polar sublime, Peter similarly attempts to bring the sense of normality back to the space of the ship. Since the ship is threatened to be destroyed by the floes, the polar ice only incites terror among the characters on board. However, even after the ship is deemed to be safe, Peter refuses to acknowledge the sublimity of the polar ice. After the hair-raising escape, Peter is able to observe the danger in safety but he does not perceive the joy over his own self-preservation. In this instance, Peter still rejects the polar sublime though he comes very close to its representation in the narrative: “We were safe [...] but it required some time before one could fully persuade one’s self of the fact. Not only were the neighbouring floes in motion, but even the one in which we were fixed. Rushing together with irresistible force, they were crushing and grinding in every direction, with a noise far more terrific than that of thunder” (224). The realisation of the joy over the self-preservation is significantly delayed by the sheer terror experienced by Peter and other characters on board shortly beforehand. Hence Peter rejects the polar sublime precisely because of the unadulterated terror caused by the dynamic power of the floes.

The one and only instance of the polar sublime occurs in the novel when Peter can observe the dynamic power of the floes from a safe distance. Peter compares the scene to horrible earthquakes he has read about before:

Those who have crossed a large frozen pond or lake will remember the peculiar noise which even stout ice makes when trod on for the first time. Fancy this noise increased a thousand-fold, till the sound is lost in the almost interminable distance! Then the field began to tremble, and slowly rise, and then to rend and rift with a sullen roar, and mighty blocks were hove up, one

upon another, till a rampart, bristling with huge fragments, was formed close around the ship, threatening her with destruction (225).

The floes are represented as something majestic and terrifying at once. Peter highlights the dynamic power of the polar sublime in the passage. In it he puts more emphasis on the terrible noise produced by the power of the floes around the ship. The realisation of relative safety from the ice enables Peter to finally experience the sublimity of its dynamic power. Thus, Peter finally embraces the dynamically polar sublime, that is, polar nature as might in the narrative. Although he continuously rejects the polar sublime, he is ultimately forced to turn to its aesthetic in order to convey his experience properly. One of the innate characteristics of the polar sublime is the perceived inadequacy of language in its written representation. Peter, for instance, expresses this inadequacy in the portrayal of the Arctic that is deemed by him “more beautiful and varied than the imagination can picture, far more than words can describe” (242). Peter’s description of the dynamically polar sublime exemplifies this characteristic in the narrative. This suggests that the aesthetic of the polar sublime still persists beyond the Romantic period in literature when it comes to the description of the polar region in the narrative.

The Portrayal of Arctic Exploration and the Search for Franklin’s Lost Expedition

In *Peter the Whaler*, there are two essential instances in which contemporary Arctic exploration is addressed in the narrative. These are the encounter and interaction of the crew with the Inuit and Peter’s sketch on the search for Franklin’s lost expedition. The Inuit are conspicuously present in the narrative. Like in many similar adventure stories about whaling, the fate of the crew becomes “inextricably linked with that of the Inuit” in the novel (David 206).¹¹² Peter encounters the Inuit for the first time on board the *Shetland Maid* when the ship arrives in the harbour of a small town Leifly (now Oeqertarsuaq) in Greenland. Since its foundation, whaling played the most important role for the town, “belonging to the Danes” (216). Leifly was employed by the Danes as the northernmost post to facilitate and monitor commercial whaling in the Arctic region. Peter expresses his surprise over the fact that “any civilized beings dwelt in such a region of eternal snows” (ibid.). Here the polar region subverts his expectations. Peter invokes the image of the ‘empty’ Arctic that continues to persist in the popular imagination. He positively acknowledges “the pious work” that the missionaries undertake to convert the

¹¹² It occurs, for instance, in such stories as R.M. Ballantyne’s *The World of Ice* (1860) and Frank T. Bullen’s *Fighting the Icebergs* (1910).

Inuit to Christianity in this hostile region (ibid.). The Inuit approach the whaling ship in their canoes to barter goods with the crew. They are all converted Christians. Peter highlights that in each canoe there is “a strip of paper stuck in a thong under the deck, on which were written, in Danish, passages from the Scriptures” (217). The Inuit are depicted positively as the people with an amiable disposition and conduct. Particular attention is paid to the appearance of the canoes, or ‘kajacks,’ that Peter finds curiously long and narrow so much so, that he is surprised they “should be able to encounter the slightest sea” (ibid.).

The barter between the Inuit and the crew is completed in the friendliest manner: “We had to give old clothes, red and yellow cotton handkerchiefs, biscuits, coffee, earthenware bowls, needles, and many other little things; for which they exchanged sealskins, sealskin trousers, caps, slippers, gloves, and tobacco-bags” (ibid.). On the whole, the exchange with the converted Inuit in the canoes echoes in many ways a similar one described by John Ross in his polar account: “Many [of the Inuit] also brought for sale such articles as they had for disposal; and thus our men furnished themselves with boots and gloves, in exchange for cotton handkerchiefs and old clothes” (*Narrative of a Second Voyage* 70). Peter even visits the Inuit settlement on the shore and is “ashamed to say” that their huts are better than many seen in Ireland (217). He is embarrassed to admit the superiority of the Inuit over the Irish in regard to their housing. On the one hand, Peter’s embarrassment adheres to the negative racialized stereotype of the Irish.¹¹³ On the other hand, it corresponds to the colonialist rhetoric of contemporary (polar) exploration. Such rhetoric embodies the racialized ideology in which colonisers are commonly presented as ‘selfless’ educators that wish to ‘enlighten’ the supposedly uncivilised colonised. The Inuit were generally portrayed in view of this rhetoric in coeval polar accounts.¹¹⁴ They presented the ‘ignorant heathens’ that seemingly required Christian teachings that would ‘civilise’ them. In such narratives, the converted Inuit were perceived much more positively than the rest. Peter’s positive portrayal of the Inuit therefore adheres to this rhetoric of coeval polar accounts. It underscores the importance of Christian values and their ‘benign’ impact on the ‘heathens’ of the polar region. Such portrayal similarly underlines the overall evangelical message of the novel.

Peter comments on the state of contemporary British polar exploration when he addresses the lost expedition of “the veteran arctic explorer, Sir John Franklin, and his brave companions” (239). Franklin was put in charge of the Arctic expedition in search for the Northwest Passage

¹¹³ See chapter 10 on the space of the ship in *Peter the Whaler* for more information on the Irish racism, or Anti-Irish sentiment in the novel.

¹¹⁴ See chapter 10 again for more information on the representation of the Inuit in coeval polar travelogues.

that departed from England in 1845. The expedition departed on board two Royal Navy vessels, HMS *Erebus* and HMS *Terror*. The British whalers *Prince of Whales* and *Enterprise* were the last to see Franklin and his crew alive in northern Baffin Bay on the 20th of July that year (Davis-Fisch 8). The first search party was dispatched by the Admiralty in 1848 only largely due to Lady Franklin's continuous urgings. By the time *Peter the Whaler* was first published in 1851, the search for Franklin's lost expedition was well under way. The tragic fate of Franklin's expedition had a significant historical and cultural impact on polar exploration of the period. Historically, numerous state and private search parties, both by sea and on land, mapped thousands of miles of the Canadian Arctic coastline that were previously uncharted. In fact, it can be said that the disappearance of Franklin's expedition contributed more greatly to the geographical knowledge than its safe return would have done (Cyriax 198). It also suspended British exploration in the Arctic until the mid 1870s and shifted the public opinion on the matter as a worthy pursuit in the first place effectively ending the era of 'heroic' Arctic exploration actively promoted by John Barrow. Culturally, Franklin's expedition substantially affected the Victorian imagination and literature as evidenced by a number of literary works such as the ballad "Lady Franklin's Lament" (circa 1850) and the play *The Frozen Deep* by Wilkie Collins (1856).¹¹⁵ Franklin is commonly portrayed in art, literature, and polar accounts of the period as a heroic martyr.¹¹⁶

The unknown fate of Franklin and his men likewise impacts the narrative of *Peter the Whaler*. In the novel, Peter also follows a rhetoric that portrays Franklin as a hero. He brings up the topic of Franklin's lost expedition when the *Shetland Maid* sails near the passage that the Arctic explorer has apparently proceeded through. He describes the last sighting of the expedition, its goals, its vessels and equipment, and the British and American search parties that have been undertaken so far like the ones by Kellet, Moore, Richardson, Rae, James Ross, Bird, Collinson, McClure, Austin, Ommanney, Osborn, Penny, and John Ross. The narrator admits that he only paid particular attention to the topic in the process of writing and not during the actual voyage as he has since become "aware of the many gallant exploits which have been there performed, and the bold attempts which have been made to pierce through it to the seas beyond" (239). Here Peter makes a distinction between himself as a narrator and as a character.

¹¹⁵ The ballad "Lady Franklin's Lament" was first published in Faulkner's *Eighteen Months on a Greenland Whaler* (1878) under the title "The Sailor's Dream": pp. 73-4.

¹¹⁶ For instance, Robert McClure, the man who is credited for the discovery of the Northwest Passage in 1854 and who was one of the men tasked with searching for Franklin's lost expedition, emphasises that the entire discovery would have been impossible if not for Franklin and his crew: "Franklin and his heroic followers had, indeed, not been found; but, in seeking them, the great secret they had sought to solve had been unravelled" (141-2).

As a narrator, Peter presents a wiser and older figure while, as a character, he exhibits the traits of a precocious teenager. Such distinction between the two categories can be observed several times throughout the diegesis. It is, however, interesting to consider this distinction in regard to the depiction of the lost expedition. The entire sketch on Franklin is markedly presented by the figure of Peter as a narrator. The narrator struggles to comprehend what could have gone wrong with the expedition if everything in regard to it, by all accounts, appeared to be favourable: “All hands were well and in high spirits, and determined to succeed, if success were possible; but since that day they have never been heard of” (ibid.). The narrator’s address of Franklin’s lost expedition constitutes a meta-commentary on the issue “in which every man worthy of the name of Briton must feel the deepest and warmest interest” (241). *Peter the Whaler* was written and published before any substantial evidence about the fate of the expedition was found; and before the controversy regarding Rae’s report about Franklin’s men resorting to cannibalism became public. Although the narrator’s meta-commentary is laden with national hubris, it shows that the novel’s narrative, like the coeval public imagination, is haunted by the unknown fate of Franklin and his men.

In *Peter the Whaler*, the Arctic is primarily used as an untamed natural space that is put in contrast to the spaces of the ships which Peter embarks on in his voyage. Polar ice constantly endangers Peter’s life and hinders the progress of his voyage. It therefore runs counter to the spaces of the ships in the novel both on the pragmatic (the voyage) and narrative levels. The polar region repeatedly challenges Peter’s physical and mental limits in the narrative. It facilitates his transition into adolescence and plays an important role in the establishment of his identity. Polar ice largely contributes to these two processes in the novel. For the most part, it encompasses an absolute space the natural agency of which physically dominates the characters on board. However, in comparison to *Frankenstein* and *Tales*, in *Peter the Whaler*, polar ice dominates the characters not only through its dynamic power and magnitude, but also (nearly equally) through the characters’ dependence on it to survive. For instance, the characters employ polar ice as a ‘ship,’ a source of fresh water, a tool to produce fire, and both an anchor and a shield for the vessel.

Although the domineering power of polar ice continuously endangers Peter’s life, it generally does not terrify him. The view of icebergs, that is, the mathematically sublime, or polar ice as magnitude, similarly neither terrifies nor astonishes him. In other words, the dynamic power and magnitude of polar ice do not commonly generate a sublime effect on Peter. It is interesting to note that although Peter underscores the importance of distance for

the better aesthetic appraisal of polar ice, he acknowledges the beauty of the natural element for the first time only when he is on the iceberg. Polar ice becomes an aesthetic object for the first time in the narrative when there is no distance between Peter and the natural element. This fact subverts one of the key conditions in the production of the sublime in Burkean and Kantian aesthetics. Moreover, while Peter acknowledges the aesthetic beauty of polar ice, he is not overwhelmed by it like the narrator in *Tales*. In this respect, Peter seemingly subsumes the beauty of polar ice under the aesthetic category of the beautiful and not the sublime. In fact, Peter again and again rejects the sublimity of polar ice. In this instance, the term ‘rejection’ should not be just understood as Peter’s ‘denial’ of the aesthetic of the polar sublime or his ‘refusal’ to acknowledge it in the narrative. Instead, it should be also seen as a deliberate act on Peter’s part, as a manifestation of his agency, that he puts in contrast to that of polar ice in the novel. Peter’s rejection of the polar sublime can be additionally regarded as an attempt at physical and mental abstraction from the danger that polar ice presents to ships and humans in the Arctic. Alternatively, it can be also seen as evidence that Peter is not a ‘romantic,’ but an ‘objective’ narrator of his voyage (similar to the style of most exploratory travelogues). Despite all of this, Peter eventually turns to the aesthetic of the polar sublime in order to fully convey his encounter with the dynamic power of the floes in the Arctic. He invokes this aesthetic only after the vessel appears to be in relative safety and everyone else on board is no longer terrified. Peter’s single use of the dynamically sublime (nature as might) indicates the problem of adequate representability of polar spaces in language. Peter uses the aesthetic of the sublime as a familiar and established model that has often been adopted in the representation of polar spaces in Romantic and (early) Victorian literature.

PART II SHIPS

Chapter 6: The Ship as a Socio-Heterotopian Space in Polar Exploration

The Ship as “the Heterotopia Par Excellence”

The Salvation Army’s weekly newspaper *En avant*, issued on 25 January 1930, describes the enduring presence of the barge “Louise Catherine” within the city of Paris in the following manner:

It is a beautiful thing to see a boat moored in a big port. It speaks to you of long journeys, of distant and mysterious places and adventures. But if we often pass close by it and it is still in the same place, we start to find it a bit ridiculous and absurd, like a boastful person who is always talking about Africa without having left his native village. Near to the *Ponts des Arts*, a large barge is to be found, immobile throughout the winter. This barge is neither ridiculous, nor absurd. It knows more stories than if it had frequented all the ports of the world (Morgan 130).

In the passage, the associations that we have in regard to ships and boats are used to underscore the significance of the constant view of the barge in the city. The “Louise Catherine” used to be a coal barge that was later transformed by the architect Le Corbusier into a floating asylum for homeless people in Paris. It was afterwards officially registered as a historical monument and was meant to be a museum. Unfortunately, the barge sank in early 2018 due to the flood of the river Seine. The “Louise Catherine” constitutes an example of contemporary appropriation of the ship as a heterotopian space. The ship can be physically reconfigured as an asylum or a historical landmark and a museum. It encompasses a space that is capable of representing other objects and spaces. It is therefore also an imagined space that is laden with various associations, symbolic and metaphorical, produced by social relations which leaven it. The barge “Louise Catherine” demonstrates the multifaceted character of the space of the ship in which each representation does not entirely replace another but all of them co-exist together in their multiplicity. As Casarino puts it in his analysis of nineteenth-century sea narratives, “[t]he space of the ship is definitionally constituted by the very fact that so many different forms of representation, so many irreconcilable spaces, and all their attendant historical-political conjunctures, co-exist within it” (34). The space of the ship is simultaneously creative and subversive in its function. Although it is able to represent various spaces and objects, it still retains its distinctness.

Michel Foucault in his essay “Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias” (1967/1984) defines the ship as “the heterotopia par excellence,” as “a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea,” as “the great instrument of economic development,” and as “the greatest reserve of the imagination” (9). Foucault contrasts heterotopias with utopias. Utopias are understood by Foucault as “sites with no real place,” “fundamentally unreal spaces” that “have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of Society”; and that “present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down” (3). Conversely, Foucault defines ‘heterotopias’ as “real places – places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society – which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted;” and emphasises that “[p]laces of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality” and that “[t]hese places are absolutely different from all the sites that reflect and speak about” (3-4).¹¹⁷ Heterotopias thus constitute ‘other places’ which are concurrently real and imagined, physical and mental and which possess elaborate meanings and relationships that are seemingly linked to all other places. They are essentially ‘real,’ physical approximations of utopias since they are simultaneously real and unreal, or parallel spaces, spaces of the other that are distinct from other spaces.¹¹⁸

The ship embodies a recognisable element of polar exploration. It is a self-contained space that provides protection to humans, and is employed by them as a tool of geographical

¹¹⁷ The concept of heterotopia has been criticised for its “fragmentary and elusive quality of ideas” (Johnson 790). Edward Soja finds the concept to be “frustratingly incomplete, inconsistent, incoherent” (*Thirdspace* 162). Peter Johnson considers it to be “sketchy, open-ended and ambiguous” (790). Some critics even express their doubt over the concept’s potential utility since Foucault abandoned the concept and never returned to it even though he concentrated on the “detailed and complex spatial arrangements within a range of institutions” like prisons, hospitals, etc. (Johnson 793). See here also David Harvey’s *Spaces of Hope* (2000) and Arun Saldanha’s “Heterotopia and Structuralism” (2008).

¹¹⁸ One of the most challenging aspects of heterotopia as a concept is its practical application in the narrative. In our contemporary world heterotopia can be found everywhere but not everything is necessarily heterotopia. Vastly different spaces have been identified and investigated as heterotopias: from pornographic websites and shopping malls to burial sites in Congo and public nude beaches. See, in this instance, Katrien Jacobs’s “Pornography in Small Places and Other Spaces” (2004); Kathleen Kern’s “Heterotopia of the Theme Park Street” (2008); Douglas Muzzio and Jessica Muzzio-Rentas’s “A Kind of Instinct: The Cinematic Mall as Heterotopia” (2008); Filip De Boeck’s “‘Dead’s Society’ in a ‘Cemetery City:’ The Transformation of Burial Rites in Kinshasa” (2008); and Konstantinos Andriotis’s “Heterotopic Erotic Oases – The Public Nude Beach Experience” (2010). It is hard to definitively answer what all these disparate spaces have in common, but they all constitute spaces that are distinctly ‘different’ from the rest. Heterotopian spaces are ‘different’ spaces, counter-sites, ‘other’ spaces which represent and reflect, contest and undermine other spaces. Some heterotopias are heterotopian because of their sublimity as they transcend the everyday while others are heterotopian because they vulgarise the everyday (Faubion 32).

exploration. However, what makes it “the heterotopia par excellence”? Faubion argues that heterotopias are “not figments of our imagination” but “concrete technologies” and “rhetorical machines” (33). In his argument, the ship is “the heterotopia par excellence” and has been “the greatest reserve of the imagination” because of the cargo it has collected “during its stops at one heterotopia or another, from the brothel to the colony, lading from each other the fruits of its labour” (ibid.). In other words, the ship constitutes, what Bachmann-Medick calls in her chapter on the spatial turn, a “hybrid space of cultural encounter” (229). The ship, in Casarino’s term, is “a radically heterogeneous space” (30). The heterogeneity of the ship is enabled by “the extreme compartmentalization and rigid subdivision” of its space and by “the fact that such a highly intricate system of internal boundaries is in a mutually determining relation to hierarchical economies of power and divisions of labor” (Casarino 31). Casarino in his analysis of heterotologies of the ship goes further than Foucault and defines the ship as “the heterotopia of heterotopia” because the space of the ship is characterised by the paradox of representation (27). The paradox is in the following aspect: the ship ceaselessly oscillates between two modes of being, that is, being a floating ‘fragment’ and an autonomous entity, being fragmentary and incomplete, and being entirely monadic and autarchic (Casarino 20). Here this process of oscillation, a ceaseless movement between two polar opposites, is rather problematic because it presupposes that there are two distinct opposite spaces between which the ship alternately moves and occupies.

These two opposite spaces are incompatible but never separate, and the ship needs to occupy them both concurrently. In order to be “adequately represented,” the space of the ship needs to incorporate these two “absolutely separate and opposite, and yet always jarringly juxtaposed and superimposed sites” (ibid.). This oscillation between “a continuously becoming-monad and a ceaselessly becoming-fragment” can be compared to “the disconcerting spatial simultaneity of holograms” (ibid.). To illustrate the paradox of representation inherent in the space of the ship, one can look at the relationship between the ship and the ‘earth.’¹¹⁹ The latter embodies not a geographical or an astronomical category, but a socio-political one (Casarino 21). The relationship between the ship and the ‘earth’ is based on a socio-political conception of the ‘earth.’ The ship is always incomplete because it is

¹¹⁹ By the term ‘earth,’ Casarino essentially understands a socio-political reality of the land which the space of the ship comes from. Here and elsewhere this term should be understood as such. The term ‘earth’ can be considered problematic in the light of the theoretical framework that examines the relationship between ‘the ‘planet’ and the ‘globe’ in literary studies. See, for example, Jennifer Wenzel’s “Planet vs. Globe” (2014); Tim Ingold’s “Globes and Spheres: The Topology of Environmentalism” (2000); and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s *Death of a Discipline* (2003). Despite this, it constitutes an effective visual metaphor that illustrates the paradox of representation that is characteristic of the space of the ship as “the heterotopia of heterotopia.”

essentially a ‘fragment,’ part of the ‘earth’ that reflects and represents a socio-political reality, social relations that govern that reality. At the same time, the ship is a self-enclosed entity, an autonomous miniature universe that is governed by its own social codes of behaviour and is capable of unsettling and subverting social structures of other spaces. This paradox of representation of the space of the ship is what makes it “the heterotopia of heterotopia.” In this instance, Casarino’s insightful examination of heterotopologies of the ship in nineteenth-century sea narratives would have significantly benefited from the application of Lefebvre’s concept of social space and its production.¹²⁰ Although Casarino contends that the ‘earth’ is constituted by a network of social relations and that the ship is “a floating representation of the social field,” he does not go further than that (*ibid.*). The ship as a social space is constantly produced by social relations of people on board *and* of those on the ‘earth.’ Whether that space is a floating fragment of the ‘earth’ or an autonomous entity, it is always inseparable from social relations that ceaselessly produce it. Hence the paradox of simultaneously ‘becoming-monad’ and ‘becoming fragment,’ that makes the space of the ship “the heterotopia of heterotopia,” is ultimately a social product.

Such paradox of representation that characterises the space of the ship is similarly at the heart of space and concept of heterotopia on the whole. Heterotopias are realised in relationship and contrast to other spaces and yet they are concurrently autonomous spaces in their own right. The ship essentially constitutes “what all other heterotopias are only virtually, what space of heterotopia strives to be” (Casarino 27), that is, in Foucault’s words: “a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea” (9). If heterotopias are ‘different,’ distinct sites, which are outside of all places, but simultaneously bearing a special relationship with all other kinds of spaces, then the heterotopia of the ship possesses an additional quality, that is, it bears a distinctive relationship with all other heterotopias. The ship embodies all other heterotopias’ “spatial-conceptual type” and that is why it is “the heterotopia par excellence” (Casarino 27). Here Casarino asserts:

[T]he space of the ship expresses the heterotopic desire for a space completely autonomous from every other space that, at the same time, it wishes to represent. The ship embodies the desire that produces heterotopias, that calls the space of heterotopia into being: the desire to escape the social while simultaneously representing it, contesting it, inverting it – the desire to exceed the social while simultaneously transforming it. Such a paradoxical desire functions always on the brink of its own undoing. [...] [W]hile being constituted by such a dialectic, this

¹²⁰ See the section on the ship as a social space further in this chapter.

ship also travels far in dissolving it by stretching heterotopic space and its representational possibilities. In the very attempt to represent the unrepresentable space of empire, one begins to witness the crisis of that dialectic as well as the dissolution of the ship as the heterotopia of heterotopia of Western civilization (27-8).

Casarino focuses on the essential aspect of heterotopia that is sometimes omitted by other researchers, that is, the imaginative characteristic of the ship as a heterotopian space (Johnson 798). The imaginative quality of heterotopias is succinctly captured by Foucault in the radio talk that was broadcasted slightly before the presentation of the essay “Of Other Spaces” in 1967:

These counter-spaces, these locally realised utopias, are well recognised by children. Certainly, it's the bottom of the garden; or even more, it's the Indian tent erected in the middle of the attic; or still, it's Thursday afternoon on their parent's bed. It is on that bed where they discover the ocean, as they can swim between the covers, and the bed is also the sky, or they can bounce on the springs; it's the forest as they can hide there; or still, it's night as they can become ghosts between the sheets and, finally, it's the delight, as their parents come home, as they may be scolded (Foucault 2010, p. 24 in Johnson 798).

The passage highlights the imaginative quality of heterotopian spaces. Here a quotidian place such as a parents' bed can potentially transform into an imagined space. These imagined spaces are “realised utopias” since they possess a physical presence and part of material reality but they are simultaneously imagined sites which exist outside of all places in the imagination of those who conceive them. Heterotopias thus function as real and illusory sites at the same time. This function is realised in their relation and juxtaposition to all other spaces. Here Foucault identifies two types of heterotopia, i.e. “heterotopia of illusion” and “heterotopia of compensation” (8). Heterotopia of illusion produces an illusory space that “exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory” (ibid.). Heterotopia of compensation, in turn, produces a space that is more structured and fastidious than other spaces. Heterotopian spaces therefore operate via a “double logic” since they are either spaces that represent reality as the illusion or they are perfected spaces that are more ordered and rational than every other space (Boyer 54). The space of the ship is the heterotopia par excellence that is both real and illusory. It functions as both heterotopia of illusion and heterotopia of compensation. The space of the ship operates via the same ‘double logic:’ it presents a perfected space that is more ordered and meticulous than other spaces but it contests the very reality it represents by unveiling its illusory character. Heterotopias are distinct, special, ‘different’ spaces but they bear a special relationship to all other spaces. They are concurrently outside and inside in regard to every other space. They represent a socio-political

reality of all other spaces but they concurrently strive to escape it by opposing or undermining its authority. Such antithetical impetus is at the heart of the production of heterotopias. The space of the ship as the quintessential heterotopia, as “the heterotopia of heterotopia,” constitutes this paradoxical impetus. Ships are often associated with voyages and adventures in distant lands. Such associations create a ‘romantic’ but enduring perception of the ship as an essentially displaced floating space. This perception is characterised by the impulse to escape the social while concurrently representing it and by the impulse to transcend the social while concurrently altering it.¹²¹

The Heterotopian Space of the Ship and Its “Utopian Pretensions”

Although Foucault conceptually puts heterotopia in opposition to utopia, the analytics of the former does not entirely exclude the utopian.¹²² In his essay, Foucault does not outline a ‘model’ of utopia but he juxtaposes its definition with that of heterotopia and hybridises the two conceptions at a certain point. The hybridisation occurs in the example with the mirror that is characterised as being simultaneously utopian and heterotopian. The mirror is real and unreal at the same time. It constitutes an example of “mixed, joint experience” between utopias and

¹²¹ In its paradoxical desire to escape and transcend the social while simultaneously representing and transforming it, the heterotopian space of the ship can be linked to the conception of *communitas* outlined by Victor Turner in *The Ritual Process* (1969). Turner applies a dialectical approach and defines ‘*communitas*’ as a ‘model’ of society that appears in the liminal period “as an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated *comitatus*, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders” (96). *Communitas* is put in contrast with ‘structure,’ ‘*societas*,’ that is defined as a ‘model’ of society that represents “a structured, differentiated, and often hierarchical system of politico-legal-economic positions with many types of evaluation, separating men in terms of “more” or “less”” (ibid.). The two models, alternating and juxtaposed, embody a bilateral model of social interaction that pertains to all societies. The relationship between *communitas* and structure is not to be conflated with that between the ‘sacred’ and the ‘secular’ and that between ‘primitive’ and ‘civilised’ societies. Similar to the relationship of heterotopia to all other spaces, *communitas* is realised through its juxtaposition to and assimilation with aspects of social structure. *Communitas* performs somewhat the same function as heterotopia but the focus shifts from distinct sites to individuals and their interactions within these sites. Both heterotopia and *communitas* unsettle, contest, and reverse various elements of social structure while concurrently representing them. Furthermore, *communitas* emerges in the liminal period and is closely connected to the liminal and marginalised. Similarly, heterotopia is often understood as a substitute term for a liminal and marginal space (Hetherington 7). Liminality and marginality are conditions in which are often generated symbols, myths, rituals, works of art, and philosophical systems (Turner 128). Both heterotopia and *communitas* can therefore subvert and challenge the dominant societal structure. At the same time, despite their conceptual parallels, heterotopia and *communitas* are not different names for the same category. *Communitas* is not a model of just heterotopia and heterotopia is not always a location for *communitas* (Faubion 36).

¹²² In this respect, Faubion, however, asserts that *communitas* is a more inclusive conceptual model than heterotopia because the former “encompasses models of a utopian cast” that Foucault’s analytics of the latter excludes (36). Turner links his conception of *communitas* with the notion of utopia and argues that ideological *communitas*, in particular, is connected with “utopian models of societies” which is based on existential, or spontaneous *communitas* (132). Therefore, it seems that *communitas* is more closely connected to utopia than heterotopia.

heterotopias (Foucault 4). The mirror is a utopia because it reflects a placeless space that does not exist in a physical reality. Concurrently, it is a heterotopia because it is a tangible and material object that makes the place that it occupies “at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there” (ibid.). Heterotopia is evidently distinct from utopia but it does possess certain utopian elements. Like the mirror, the ship can function as a site of mixed experience, as a space that is both experienced and imagined by the characters in the primary literature. Therefore, the heterotopian space of the ship cannot be categorically defined as a utopia, but it does possess some utopian elements which leaven the representation of that space in the popular imagination of the period.

The utopian elements that imbue the space of the ship constitute what I determine the “*utopian pretensions*” which permeate it. In his analysis of the Palais Royal as a heterotopia, Hetherington asserts that if its space was not “a utopia in itself, not a space of the good and ordered life, it did at least have utopian pretensions” which “had to do with the interweaving of the issues of freedom and control” (10-1).¹²³ The utopian pretensions ascribed to the ship are produced by social relations of simultaneously its own space and the ‘earth,’ the socio-political reality. From an outside perspective, the perspective of the ‘earth,’ the space of the ship in the first half of the nineteenth century was often associated with the ideas of personal freedom, potential escape from the mundane, and possible adventure in the popular imagination. These associations, in turn, shaped the way the ship was perceived by the public. Such idealised perception of the ship is commonly encountered in Anglo-American Romantic literature and normally underlines the characters’ desire to embark on a voyage in the first place; and it still somewhat persists today as is evidenced by the example with the barge “Louise Catherine” at the beginning of this chapter. At the same time, looking at the space of the ship from within, it constitutes a heterogeneous space of the perfected social order that is characterised by a rigid social hierarchy and the strict division of labour.

From within, the ship can be defined in Foucault’s term as a “heterotopia of compensation” that strives “to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as

¹²³ Hetherington incorporates Louis Marin’s concept of utopia in his analysis. Marin deconstructs Thomas More’s term of ‘utopia’ into two spatial categories, that is, ‘eu-topia’ meaning ‘good place’ and ‘ou-topia’ meaning ‘no-place’ (xv-xvi). Marin outlines the conception of the ‘neutral’ that is defined as “the *threshold* limiting the inner and the outer, the place where exit and enter reverse and are fixed in the reversal;” as “the name of all limits, provided by the thought of the limit: contradiction itself” (xix). The neutral is emplaced in the space between ‘eu-topia’ and ‘ou-topia,’ between ‘good place’ and ‘no-place.’ The neutral is hence the space in-between the two spatial categories. Hetherington, in turn, locates his definition of heterotopia in the space occupied by the neutral (viii).

meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled” (8). The space of the ship and, in particular, of the exploratory ship needs to be meticulously organised in order to be effective in an expedition. This perfected social structure of the space of the ship is repeatedly subverted in the examined novels and subtly augmented in coeval polar travelogues. The utopian pretensions likewise imbue the entire framework of the period’s polar exploration with the belief in the ‘benign’ power of empirical science. Such belief was closely associated with the nationalist rhetoric of polar exploration. However, polar exploration was primarily promoted not as a nationalist enterprise but as an important advancement in the study of terrestrial magnetism and natural history. The belief in the benevolence of scientific progress for the sake of the whole humanity embodies a ‘utopian’ element in the depiction of the space of the ship in polar exploration of the period. In the examined novels, this utopian element leavens the way the characters regard their voyage to polar spaces and affects the manner in which the space of the ship is perceived by the characters. Thus, the utopian pretensions which are closely associated with the space of the ship are produced by outer and inner social relations. In the first half of the nineteenth century, these pretensions had to do with the ideas of freedom, control, and power which were intricately intertwined. They played an essential role in forming the way the space of the ship was experienced and imagined by the public. The space of the ship was essentially a product of these ideas. The intricate web of utopian ideas produced the space of the ship and affected its representation in the narrative. However, the primary narratives not only represent these ideas, but also frequently challenge and undermine them in the course of the story.

The Polar Ship as ‘Place’ or ‘Non-Place’

Heterotopias encompass “the tension between place and non-place” (Dehaene and De Caeter 5). They cannot be categorically defined as either ‘place’ or ‘non-place.’ Instead, they occupy an ambiguous position in-between, the middle ground between the two entities. Due to their distinctive character, heterotopias embody spaces which run counter to ‘non-places’ conceptualised by Marc Augé. Augé characterises ‘non-places’ as spaces “which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity” (77-8). Heterotopias are the opposite of ‘non-places’ because they are spaces marked by distinctive identity and history; and they bear a special relationship to all other spaces. Similarly, heterotopian spaces cannot be exactly regarded as ‘places.’ Places can be defined as “spaces which people have made meaningful,” “spaces people are attached to in one way or another,” or simply “meaningful

locations” (Cresswell 7). Places are sites which are made meaningful by social relations that leaven them. According to the political geographer John Agnew, places possess three essential aspects: location, locale, and sense of place (5-6). Location obviously indicates the point, a geographic position, in which place is located. Locale, in turn, embodies a material form of place, its representative materiality. Finally, sense of place is “the subjective orientation that can be engendered by living in a place” (ibid.). In other words, sense of place refers to emotional attachments that people form in relation to a particular place. The ship is concurrently place and non-place. It oscillates between the two categories. Although it possesses particular history and identity, it is essentially “a floating piece of space” and “a place without a place.” At the same time, the ship “may become a special kind of place for people who share it on a long voyage, even though its location is constantly changing” (Cresswell 7). This is precisely what happens to the space of the ship in the course of such a long voyage as a polar one. The space of the ship becomes the everyday, the mundane for the characters in the examined novels. It stops being just a ‘space’ and turns into a ‘meaningful location’ for them. This transition in the perception of the ship especially pertains to such characters as the narrators of Gillies’s and Poe’s novels.

In the examined novels, the space of the ship not only becomes a meaningful and special place for the characters, but also has a prominent presence in the narrative on the whole. This sets them principally apart from narratives of polar travelogues of the period. There the ship similarly embodies a heterotopian space that oscillates between place and non-place, but its presence fades into the background for the better part of a polar exploratory narrative. In polar travelogues, the focus of narration is commonly on the outside, on the depiction of outer nature. Notwithstanding, the ship plays an important role in the production of narrative time and space in these exploratory accounts. It is not merely the background of a voyage, but also an active force behind the narrative construction of polar accounts. It is generally referred to at the beginning of a travelogue when preparatory procedures for a voyage are described; when some sort of accident occurs on board; when the ship is endangered by polar ice and/or stormy sea; and/or when the expedition crew stays in polar regions for winter and their stay there is subsequently depicted. For example, William Parry refers to the space of the ship in his *Journal of a Third Voyage* (1826) when it is imperilled by polar ice: “Light northerly winds, together with the dull sailing of our now deeply laden ships, prevented our making much progress for several days, and kept us in the neighbourhood of numerous ice-bergs, which it is dangerous to approach when there is any swell. [...] and it was necessary, in one or two instances, to tow the ships clear of them with the boats” (33). In another instance, John Ross in his *Narrative of*

a Second Voyage of Discovery (1835) refers to the ship at length when he describes technical issues the crew experienced in the operation of the engine.¹²⁴ Later in the narrative, Ross mentions the ship when an accident befalls the chief stoker, William Hardy, who slips and severely injures his left arm while fixing the engine: “[H]is foot had slipped in consequence of the motion of the vessel, while examining a part of the machinery near the piston rod; thus causing him to fall in such a manner as to entangle his arm between the guide wheels and the frame, so that it was crushed, during the back stroke” (18).¹²⁵ In the examples from Parry’s and Ross’ travelogues, the ship itself becomes conspicuous only when the normality of its space is either disrupted or endangered. My examination of polar travelogues of the period shows that the presence of the ship there most of the time remains inconspicuous because it constitutes the everyday, the mundane, and the familiar for the explorer. The novel, the imaginative, and the peculiar are located outside, in the outer nature, that surrounds the space of the ship. The focus of the explorer shifts from the outer surroundings to the inward, the ship, when the normality of the latter gets disturbed or jeopardised in the narrative.

In their edited volume *Heterotopia and the City*, Dehaene and De Caeter focus their research on public urban space as a heterotopia and argue that in today world, instead of “interrupting normality,” heterotopias “realize or simulate a common experience of place” (5). Dehaene and De Caeter emphasise the transition in the function of heterotopias in our world: from spaces which disrupt the commonplace to spaces which emulate its experience. Nowadays heterotopia can be found everywhere but its operation has changed. Rather than operating more like ‘non-places,’ heterotopias now function more like ‘places.’ But they are

¹²⁴ Ross was the first to use a steam engine on the paddlewheel ship *Victory* in his second Arctic expedition, 1829–1833. He describes the problem with the engine on board in the following manner: [T]he performance of the engine was most unsatisfactory. Even with a pressure of forty-five pounds on the inch, we could never obtain more than fifteen strokes in the minute; and as it thence followed, that the outer edge of the paddles had no greater velocity than five miles in the hour, that of the vessel could not possibly exceed three. The boilers also continued to leak though we had put dung and potatoes in them, by Mr Erickson’s direction. The men were moreover so fatigued by the work required at the extra pump, for the supply of the boiler, that I contrived to get it wrought from the lower deck; though, even with this alteration, the labour continued too severe to be endured” (“The Narrative of a Second Voyage” 13). Ross and his crew were eventually forced to give up on the engine and subsequently removed it completely from the ship.

¹²⁵ It is compelling to note that Ross does not undermine the horrible severity of the injury: “The bone being splintered as well as fractured, and the muscles and skin so bruised and torn that the two parts of the limb scarcely held together, there could be no hesitation in determining that it demanded amputation, and as far as my opportunities of surgical reading had extended, that no time ought to be lost in performing the operation” (ibid.). However, Ross still adopts the nationalist hubris that is similarly prominent in other coeval travelogues. He emphasises that Hardy comes up from the engine room on the deck, “unassisted, and alone,” and “though without complaint or exclamation” presents his left arm to him, “shattered, and nearly severed, above the elbow” (“The Narrative of a Second Voyage” 17-8). No matter how severe an injury is, British men are to remain undeterred and to suffer in silence without showing any outward sign of weakness. That is the nationalist rhetoric that commonly permeates exploratory narratives of the period.

still neither places nor non-places. Heterotopias encompass the tension between the two categories. In polar exploration of the period, the space of the ship embodies the same tension. It does not, however, exhibit the transition in its function. Instead, the space of the ship functions in both capacities: it disrupts normality, the mundane and the familiar, and concurrently realises or emulates “a common experience of place.” The ship disrupts the normal and the familiar because it attempts to escape and transcend the social. It simulates or realises “a common experience of place” because it also represents the social and becomes the everyday and the commonplace during a voyage for those on board. Hence the space of the ship embodies the ambivalence between the outer and the inner, between place and non-place, between the commonplace and the heterotopic, and ultimately between the heterotopian and the everyday. In this instance, Heynen succinctly characterises heterotopias as “spatio-temporal constellations that are marked by a fundamental ambiguity” which “might harbour liberating practices, but one should question whether the liberation applies to everyone who is involved” and which “might provide places for transgression and excess, but it seems very well possible that what is transgression for one actor means oppression and domination for another” (321-2). Heynen here highlights one of the most essential problems of the concept of heterotopia, that is, the problem of human agency in the perception of heterotopian spaces.

The problem lies in the question whether heterotopias described by Foucault are perceived as such by all actors, or agents, within them (Heynen 320). The ship was characterised by Foucault as “the great instrument of economic development” and “the greatest reserve of the imagination.” However, it was also employed as a tool that transported millions of slaves to American colonies and subsequently instituted the history of inequality and racism some aspects of which are still current today (*ibid.*). Therefore, for some people, there is nothing progressive, imaginative or liberating about the ship. The question of human agency is similarly linked to the dichotomy between the heterotopian and the everyday that is inherent in the perception of the ship in polar exploration of the period. One can ask here whether all agents within the space of the ship perceive it as the heterotopian or the everyday; and whether the ship as heterotopia ceases to exist as soon as it becomes a space of the everyday, or rather as soon as one stops being an outsider to its space. The answer perhaps lies in the matter of perspective. Heterotopian spaces are perceived as such from an outside perspective, when the one who perceives them is an outsider to them and regards them as such. In a way, it can be said that heterotopian spaces embody not only ‘other’ spaces, but spaces of the ‘other.’ Here Hetherington rightly emphasises that one of the principles of heterotopias is that they are only realised in relation, that is, “they are established by their difference in a relationship between

sites rather than their Otherness deriving from a site itself' (43). Hence heterotopias are spaces of the 'other' but their 'otherness,' their difference, is produced by their relation to other spaces and not by their own difference. The ship is thus not a space of the 'other' per se, but it is a space of the 'other' *in relation* to other spaces. That is why a space is heterotopian when it is regarded from the outside, from another perspective, that enables it to be regarded as such. The space of the ship thus "comes into being as the interference between thought and unthought and between inside and outside" (Casarino 14).¹²⁶ It is irrevocably linked to these questions. That is why the ship constitutes "the heterotopia par excellence" and "the heterotopia of heterotopia." Heterotopias are particular spaces of representation that are "linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life" and also to art (Lefebvre 33). Hence maybe heterotopias can never be fully understood because they are 'other' spaces, spaces of the 'other' that are realised only in relation to every other space, and we will always remain outsiders to these distinct so-called counter-spaces.

The Polar Ship as a Social Space and Its Production

Little is known and even less written about the relationship between Foucault and Lefebvre, although they were definitely aware of each other (Soja, *Thirdspace* 146). Foucault and Lefebvre were conceptualising their concepts of heterotopia and social space roughly at the same time. Lefebvre outlines his concept of social space and its social production in his work *The Production of Space* that was first published in 1974 and was first fully translated into

¹²⁶ Here Casarino specifically refers to Foucault's metaphorical "Ship of Fools" (14). Foucault employs this metaphorical ship in his monograph *Madness and Civilization* (1961/1964) to discuss the relationship between the confinement of madness and the Enlightenment emphasis on human reason: "It is for the other world that the madman sets sail in fools' boat; it is from the other world that he comes when he disembarks. The madman's voyage is at once a rigorous division and an absolute Passage. In one sense, it simply develops, across a half-real, half-imaginary geography, the madman's *liminal* position on the horizon of medieval concern – a position symbolized and made real at the same time by the madman's privilege of being *confined* within the city *gates*: his exclusion must enclose him; if he cannot and must not have another *prison* that the *threshold* itself, he is kept at the point of passage. He is put in the interior of the exterior, and inversely. [...] Confined on the ship, from which there is no escape, the madman is delivered to the river with its thousand arms, the sea with its thousand roads, to that great uncertainty external to everything. He is a prisoner in the midst of what is the freest, the openest of routes: bound fast at the infinite crossroads. He is the Passenger *par excellence*: that is, the prisoner of the passage. And the land he will come to is unknown – as is, once he disembarks, the land from which he comes. He has his truth and his homeland only in that fruitless expanse between two countries that cannot belong to him" (11; original emphasis). Foucault's employment of the metaphorical ship underscores the madman's liminal and displaced position. The ship acts as a space of confinement for the madman from which there is no escape and no turning back. It acutely captures the tension between the interior and the exterior, between here and there. Deleuze, in turn, refers to the "Ship of Fools" to demonstrate how the inside functions as "an operation of the outside," how an inside is a theme that is "merely the fold of the outside, as if the ship were a folding of the sea" in Foucault's entire work (97).

English in 1991. Lefebvre's key contribution is that he turned his attention to the production of space and its intricate connection to social practice. In Lefebvre's conceptualisation of space, space essentially is not a container for social practice, but an active agent in its production. Such approach to space is at the heart of all approaches associated with the spatial turn. Lefebvre's concept of space is therefore "a common reference point" within contemporary scholarship on space (Bachmann-Medick 216). Lefebvre appropriates and expands Marxist theory in his analysis of space and its social production. In this view, each society ascribes space with its mode of production and distinct social relations which permeate it. Social space may therefore be regarded as "produced, organised and regulated to facilitate the needs and demands of capitalism" (Zieleniec 79). Lefebvre's conception hence is replete with 'Marxist' terminology of 'production' and 'reproduction.' Marxist theory and terminology enable Lefebvre to locate his conceptualisation of space within "a historical materialist framework" (Shields, "Spatial Stress and Resistance" 189). Lefebvre seemingly critiques capitalism in the sense that capitalist mode of production imposes its relations of production and reproduction on a society and subsequently on social space.

Although deeply ingrained in Marxist theory, its application in Lefebvre's thought is not dogmatic in nature (Dear 54). Rather Lefebvre's conception of space presupposes certain potential for social resistance. This is one of the key aspects of Lefebvre's spatial theory that coincides with Foucault's conception of heterotopia. The thesis of Lefebvre's entire argument appears to be rather simple: "[s]ocial space is a (social) product" (26). Social space thus incorporates a concrete, material product to be employed by people. It is a concrete, material space that various individuals inhabit, experience, and make use of. Space is thus inseparable from social relations. The production of space, for Lefebvre, embodies "a purely visual field" in which all human senses are utilised in the process (Gregory, "Lacan and Geography" 220). Every society appropriates space in its own way; and space as a social product thus shapes humans' lives in the sense that it presupposes them to follow certain rules of behaviour and affects the way they perceive that space. In the process of being inscribed into space, social relations actively produce that space (Dear 56). That is why social space is a product of social relations. As a social product, it mirrors any changes brought about by social relations. Furthermore, social space constitutes not only a product to be employed and consumed, but also a means of production:

Though a *product* to be used, to be consumed, it is also a *means of production*; networks of exchange and flows of raw materials and energy fashion space and are determined by it. Thus this means of production, produced as such, cannot be separated either from the productive

forces, including technology and knowledge, or from the social division of labour which shapes it, or from the state and the superstructures of society (Lefebvre 85; original emphasis).

This is the point where the conception of social space becomes rather problematic in nature since it embodies virtually everything: from various activities to material objects. It incorporates multiple variegated places which are designated by “invisible lines” that “overlap and penetrate one another so that social spaces should not be read as single texts but as inter-textual” (Kort 39). The “invisible lines” that overlay and permeate social spaces are social relations. Social space and its production are multi-layered because of various ideas and actions that leaven social relations. Social spaces are “inter-textual” because they cannot be perceived in abstraction. They can only be understood and realised in relationship to various aspects of social relations. Social space “contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information” (Lefebvre 77). Therefore, every space is social in essence. The ship is likewise a social space. Within the framework of polar expeditions, it constitutes a tool of geographical exploration that facilitates the transportation of a motley assortment of material objects and people from one point to another, from a port to polar spaces and the other way around. It also facilitates the exchange of knowledge about polar regions: their flora, fauna, meteorological conditions, magnetic readings, and so on. It is a heterogeneous social space that is produced by social relations which permeate it. Human beings with their various activities and practices play a central role in the conception of social space. These activities and practices are characterised by man’s “corporeality and sensuousness,” “sensitvity and imagination,” “thinking and ideologies” (Schmid 29). The production of space by social relations thus operates on two levels, that is, physical and imaginary. Social relations not only transform space physically, but also alter the way that space is conceived and perceived by others. They produce spaces by ascribing a particular meaning to them.

The space of the ship reflects social relations of the ‘earth,’ a socio-political reality, that it represents. It represents the ‘utopian pretensions’ associated with polar exploration of the period such as the belief in the predominance of empirical science for the sake of humanity and the heroic perseverance of countryman in the encounter with the hostile nature of polar spaces. However, these pretensions are not only reflected, but are also repeatedly subverted in the examined novels. This demonstrates the potential for resistance that is inherent in the conception of social space. The potential for resistance is enabled by the multifaceted character of the production of social space which is a complex process because it involves “making choices on the use and significance given to that space” (Matthews 67). These choices are made

individually by man. Every instance of social interaction that occurs within social space shapes every user who comes into contact with it. At the same time, every social encounter with space, to a certain extent, alters it in order to accommodate it to each social occurrence (Matthews 74). Hence every individual within social space participates in its social production. In this instance, social space presents a ‘pliable’ entity that is shaped by each individual who decides what meanings to ascribe to it and how to use it. Social space is a product of every instance of social interaction within its space. The production of social space thus constitutes a reciprocal interaction between humans and material space. Both humans and space are active agents that are involved in the mutual process of social production. In this process, both agents transform one another. Social relations produce space by making choices on its use and significance. These choices produce the way that social space is perceived and conceived by humans who employ and inhabit it. The same process is observed in the investigation of the ship in polar exploration of the period. In the examined novels, the space of the ship is produced by social relations of the ‘earth’ and the characters. The ‘earth’ imbues the space of the ship with distinct meanings which pertain to the manner in which polar exploration was considered in Britain and the United States at the time. The characters, in turn, ascribe their own particular meanings to the space of the ship which usually represent those of the ‘earth’ and occasionally run counter to them. In the latter case, the ship illustrates its potential for resistance as a social space. The ascribed meanings influence the representation and the perception of the space of the ship in the primary narratives.

The Polar Ship as a Heterotopian and Representational Space

Lefebvre’s spatial analysis emphasises the pervasiveness of social spaces and their integral social nature. Such analysis requires a systematic approach that can avoid “a partial, discipline-based analysis” and keep “the intersections on space with an overarching regime or spatialization in sight” (Shields, *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle* 155). In his analysis, Lefebvre chooses to employ a dialectical approach in order to ‘systematise’ his conception of social

space.¹²⁷ He conceptualises a model of spatiality, the spatial triad, that is comprised of three ‘moments’ of space.¹²⁸ These three ‘moments’ are listed as follows by Lefebvre:

1 *Spatial practice*, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society’s relationship that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*.¹²⁹

2 *Representations of space*, which are tied to the relations of production and to the ‘order’ which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, signs, codes, and to ‘frontal’ relations.

3 *Representational spaces*, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces) (33; original emphasis).

Lefebvre conceptualises his spatial triad as a critique against reading space and thinking about it in binary oppositions ‘either’ or ‘or’: either something real or imagined, either something concrete or abstract, either something transparent or opaque, either something material or figurative, and either something objective or subjective (Soja, *Thirdspace* 60).¹³⁰ For Lefebvre, space and spatial thinking are never ‘either’ or ‘or,’ it is always ‘both.’ Social space hence is concurrently real *and* imagined, concrete *and* abstract, transparent *and* opaque, material *and* figurative, and objective *and* subjective.¹³¹ No spatial thinking is “inherently privileged or

¹²⁷ Lefebvre attempts to avoid any definitive ‘systems’ and ‘systematisations’ in his analysis of space and its social production. This particularly becomes evident in the last paragraph of *The Production of Space* (1991) in which Lefebvre asserts: “I speak of an *orientation* advisedly. We are concerned with nothing more and nothing less than that. We are concerned with what might be called a ‘sense’: an organ that perceives, a direction that maybe conceived, and a directly lived movement progressing towards the horizon. And we are concerned with nothing that even remotely resembles a system” (432; original emphasis). Thereby, Lefebvre’s spatial triad should not be regarded as a categorical ‘system’ or ‘systematisation’ of spatial thinking per se as it will run counter to what Lefebvre attempted to convey with his analysis. Rather it should be treated more as a tentative ‘outline’ of three essential ‘orientations,’ or ‘moments,’ of thinking about space and its continuous social production.

¹²⁸ In his book *Thirdspace* (1996), Edward Soja further develops Lefebvre’s model of the spatial triad into “the trialectics of spatiality” in which Lefebvre’s three ‘moments’ of space roughly correspond to Soja’s Firstspace, Secondspace, and Thirdspace respectively (pp. 53-82).

¹²⁹ Lefebvre borrows the terminology from the linguist Noam Chomsky, but denies the implication that the theory of space can be possibly applied to the field of linguistics (33).

¹³⁰ Lefebvre argues that his ‘perceived-conceived-lived’ triad should not be regarded as an abstract ‘model,’ otherwise it would be in danger of being severely constrained (40). Instead, the conceptual triad should be applied to the concrete, not to be confused with the ‘immediate,’ or it will lose its conceptual force. The interaction between the three ‘moments’ of social space “are never either simple or stable, nor are they ‘positive’ in the sense in which this term might be opposed to ‘negative’, to the indecipherable, the unsaid, the prohibited, or the unconscious” (Lefebvre 46). Lefebvre’s conceptual triad of social space hence constitutes a compelling attempt to go beyond the theory of space to the practical application and analysis of space.

¹³¹ The practical utility of the spatial triad notwithstanding, its close examination and subsequent application brings about lots of confusion among different scholars. In this instance, the geographer and social theorist David Harvey finds Lefebvre’s use of a dialectical approach and not a causal one in the spatial triad “too vague” (*The Condition of Postmodernity* 219). The sociologist and cultural theorist Rob Shields, in turn, argues that Lefebvre’s spatial triad “breaks down when one wishes to deal directly with the synthetic results of some of his proposed

intrinsically “better” than the others as long as each remains open to the re-combinations and simultaneities of the “real-and-imagined”” (Soja, *Thirdspace* 65). Spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces (in some sources, also ‘spaces of representation’) correspond respectively to how space is ‘perceived,’ ‘imagined,’ and ‘lived.’ They constitute the main aspects of social space which play an essential role in the analysis of its production. The three aspects ultimately “exist in the state of uncertainty” (Schmid 29). All the three ‘moments’ of Lefebvre’s spatial triad are not separate kinds of spaces but are different sides of the same entity. Lefebvre employs a dialectical approach in his conceptual triad precisely to avoid any ‘systematic’ or ‘dichotomous’ thinking about space. He is even hesitant to use the term ‘model’ in regard to his spatial triad as it implies some sort of limitation for his theory of space. He attempts to conceptualise the spatial thought that is radically open and not dogmatic. His spatial triad hence should not be treated as an abstract or concrete ‘model’ but as a tentative outline of directions and guidelines of thinking about space and its continuous social production in material and imagined capacities.

The third ‘moment’ of the spatial triad, representational space, is of particular interest for the depiction of the space of the ship in the primary texts as it conceptually intersects with Foucault’s notion of heterotopia. It is the ‘moment’ of the production of social space that has received most attention from other critics. It has been critiqued and further developed by other scholars such as Soja,¹³² Harvey,¹³³ Shields,¹³⁴ Gregory,¹³⁵ and others. Representational spaces incorporate the space of those who use and inhabit it. They embody the space that is connected to “the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art” and “directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols” (Lefebvre 33, 39; original emphasis). Lefebvre outlines two essential aspects of these ‘lived’ spaces. First, they are “the dominated space” and therefore “passively experienced” space that “the imagination seeks to change and appropriate” and that “overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects” (Lefebvre 39). They superimpose material space because they symbolically employ its objects. Representational spaces are the space of the everyday which human beings inhabit and make use of on a regular basis. They are spaces beyond the physical matter which our imagination actively alters and facilitates through systems of non-verbal signs and symbols. They are hence closely linked to rituals,

dialectical interactions” (*Images of Spaces and Places* 136). Both Harvey and Shields find Lefebvre’s dialectical approach in the analysis of space rather problematic.

¹³² See Edward W. Soja’s *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (1996) and *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (1989).

¹³³ See David Harvey’s *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (1989).

¹³⁴ See Rob Shields’ *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics* (1999).

¹³⁵ See Derek Gregory’s *Geographical Imaginations* (1994).

traditions, myths, superstitions, and so on. In the primary texts, the ship as a representational space is lived by the characters through images and symbols that overlap its material space. In several instances, the characters' imagination actively strives to alter and appropriate the space of the ship. The ship as a representational space likewise constitutes a site that is laden with various superstitions, traditions, rituals, etc. that are distinct from those of the land. These, in turn, impose certain codes of conduct on people on board the ship. Representational spaces thus similarly demonstrate how power relations and their operation are represented within these spaces.

Second, although representational spaces illustrate the spatial operation of power, they also demonstrate the potential for social resistance against such power. The potential for social resistance that is inherent in representational spaces makes them visible as they bring to the fore power relations which operate there. Such potential is enabled by the connection of 'lived' spaces to the "clandestine or underground side of social life." Lefebvre's depiction of representational spaces suggests that they are spaces of social liberation, which simultaneously reflect the workings of power and contest them. Here Hetherington argues that Lefebvre fails to take into account the fact that representational spaces are also "spaces of alternative modes of ordering" which have their own signs, codes, rules, and symbols and which produce their own relations of power (24). And therefore the main problem in the conception of representational spaces is that "Lefebvre does not allow for a relationship between freedom and order" within these spaces, but desires to regard them merely as "spaces of freedom and resistance" (*ibid.*). Hetherington thus criticises Lefebvre for idealising the potential for social resistance, an intrinsic aspect of representational spaces, without the latter's considering the whole complexity of the process. Hetherington regards representational spaces not as sites, but rather as temporal processes and situations which transpire in certain places. Hetherington does bring to the fore a valid point about Lefebvre's idealised vision in regard to social resistance. Notwithstanding, by characterising representational spaces as "spaces of alternative modes of ordering" and temporal processes, Hetherington falls into the trap of binary thinking that Lefebvre seeks to escape in his conception of space.¹³⁶ Osborne defines such thinking as being a typical problem in social theory as a whole; and terms it as a "logic of dichotomization" that over-dramatizes social change and reduces it to one or two basic elements (19). Contrary to

¹³⁶ Among other things, Johnson similarly critiques Hetherington for being "caught in a web of dichotomisation" in his application of heterotopia (792).

such logic of dichotomisation, Lefebvre's representational spaces are characterised by their innate uncertainty and profound openness.

Representational spaces are those that are lived and inhabited, and therefore they are somewhat spaces of the mundane and the everyday. Nevertheless, "the realm of imagination" enables these spaces to resist "the mundane and alienating features of everyday existence" (Hetherington 23). In this aspect, representational spaces incorporate "a utopian element in the form of a desire for some form of improvement or change within society" (ibid.). Such a 'utopian element' is also present in the conception of heterotopian spaces. The ship as a socio-heterotopian space represents this 'utopian element' in the framework of polar exploration of the period. Representational spaces are distinct spaces, counter-spaces, which are simultaneously real and imagined. They are the "dominated spaces," the "spaces of the peripheries," the "margins and the marginalized," the "chosen spaces for struggle, liberation emancipation" (Soja, *Thirdspace* 68). They are spaces which are "vitaly filled with politics and ideology, with the real and the imagined intertwined, and with capitalism, racism, patriarchy, and other material spatial practices that concretize the social relations of production, reproduction, exploitation, domination, and subjection" (ibid.). As can be seen from these two key aspects of the third 'moment' of the spatial triad, Lefebvre's representational spaces in many ways echo Foucault's conception of heterotopia.

Heterotopias and representational spaces *are* conceptually very much alike. However, the two conceptions of space are not just two different definitions for the same category. In his depiction of the first principle of heterotopias, Foucault outlines two major types of heterotopias, that is, 'crisis heterotopias' and 'heterotopias of deviation.' Crisis heterotopias are special places that are reserved for individuals "in a state of crisis" such as the elderly, menstruating and pregnant women, etc. (Foucault 4). They prevail in 'primitive societies' and today are vanishing and gradually being taken over by 'heterotopias of deviation,' sites for individuals whose behaviour is 'deviant' from the established norm such as prisons, psychiatric hospitals, rest homes, etc. Foucault hence suggests a periodisation of the history of space in which the two types of heterotopia mark distinct stages and progress of its history. The history of space is divided into 'then,' heterotopias of crisis, and 'today,' heterotopias of deviation. The division is of course not strict and rather arbitrary since Foucault states that a few traces of crisis heterotopias still linger today in the form of, for instance, boarding schools and military service posts for young men. Lefebvre, in turn, is more Marxist in his approach and traces the history of space through social relations of production and reproduction. In this perspective of material historicism, space becomes a social product. Lefebvre is considerably more cautious

than, for instance, Harvey in drawing explicit connections between the production of space and modes of production (Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* 400). Nevertheless, in the framework of Marxist critique of commodity fetishism, Lefebvre's conception of space can be regarded as the fetishization of space. Instead of Foucault's periodisation of space, Lefebvre conceptualises the spatial triad comprised of social practice, representations of space, and representational space. All the 'moments' of the conceptual triad are realised only in relation to one another. They are not separate categories, but complementary elements of the same entity. Lefebvre's representational spaces are inseparable from social practice and representations of space. Their conceptualisation bears a striking similarity to that of heterotopias.

Cenzatti compellingly asserts that heterotopias can be regarded as representational spaces that vanish when the social relations which produced them in the first place disappear (76). Representational spaces therefore constitute an essential aspect in the production of heterotopias. Heterotopias are produced by social relations of those who use and inhabit their spaces. Cenzatti's assertion likewise emphasises the "ephemerality of heterotopias" as representational spaces (81). Following Cenzatti's argument, this 'ephemerality' of heterotopias, as representational spaces, can be more prominent in some sites and less so in others such as prison (*ibid.*). Completely disparate representational spaces can be produced within the same physical space. The ship constitutes a radically heterogeneous space, and therefore the ephemerality of heterotopias is more evident there. Diverse representational spaces can be produced within the ship's material space. For instance, the ship "Louise Catherine" was employed as a coal barge, an asylum for homeless people, and a historical monument in Paris. The barge hence enabled the production of various representational spaces within its material space. When social relations which produced each representational space of the barge ceased to exist, that representational space also disappeared. Social relations produce heterotopias, as representational spaces, on material and imagined levels. The features of material space affect and set the limits of what kind of representational spaces can be produced there (Cenzatti 80). The physical characteristics of the ship equally have an impact on what kind of representational spaces are generated there. Social relations ascribe their own meanings to heterotopias, and these meanings shape the way these spaces are perceived by man. These meanings leave traces within heterotopias and produce them on material and metaphorical levels. Notwithstanding, heterotopias, as representational spaces, disappear when social relations which originally generated these meanings vanish.

Thus, there are many parallels in the conception of heterotopias and representational spaces. To a certain degree, it can be said that heterotopias encompass representational spaces.

Nevertheless, heterotopias are not merely another conceptual ‘substitute’ for representational spaces. Heterotopias constitute a broader conception of space than that of representational spaces. This is enabled by the third and the fifth principles that characterise heterotopias. The third principle states that heterotopia “is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible” (Foucault 6). The fifth principle, in turn, asserts that heterotopias “always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable” (Foucault 7). Contrary to common public spaces, heterotopias are not “freely accessible” (ibid.). Either the entry is obligatory (e.g. prisons or barracks) or in order to gain entry, one needs to receive some sort of permission and undergo certain rites, rituals or gestures. In case heterotopias are ‘freely accessible’ to others, then that is just an ‘illusion’ since by the very fact that someone enters, they are excluded (Foucault 8). Heterotopias hence are linked not only to representational spaces, but also to spatial practice and representations of space. Since they are able to juxtapose in one real place several incompatible spaces, they are able to contain the three ‘moments’ of Lefebvre’s conceptual triad simultaneously. Heterotopias constitute spaces in which Lefebvre’s three ‘moments’ of social space “come visibly together” and in which Foucault’s ‘juxtaposition of incompatible spaces’ takes place (Cenzatti 84).

There are another two essential distinctions in the conception of heterotopias and representational spaces. First, Lefebvre is much more explicit in his emphasis on the potential of representational space to resist the workings of power by making their operation within these spaces visible. In other words, the awareness of how power relations operate in representational spaces enables social subjects to contest and undermine them. Conversely, although the conceptualisation of heterotopias presupposes such potential for social resistance, Foucault is much more hesitant, reluctant even, in underscoring this important function of heterotopias. This is one of the aspects in the conception of heterotopia and Foucault’s theory in general that has been criticised by feminist critics.¹³⁷ Second, in Lefebvre’s understanding of representational spaces, space is not a backup social action, but an active agent in it. In this aspect, heterotopias go further and overtly demonstrate “how fragmented, mobile and changing the production of space is” (Cenzatti 81). They constitute ‘other’ spaces not only because they are ‘counter-spaces’ to all other spaces, but also because they “stem from an endless series of

¹³⁷ See Nancy Fraser’s “Michel Foucault: A “Young Conservative”?”; Nancy C.M. Hartsock’s “Postmodernism and Political Change: Issues for Feminist Theory,” and Judith Butler’s “Sexual Inversions” in Susan J. Hekman (ed.) *Feminist Interpretations of Michel Foucault* (1996). See also Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1999).

differences” within the representational space (Cenzatti 82). In this regard, heterotopias can be understood as distinct representational spaces which are linked to, in Lefebvre’s words, “the clandestine or underground side of social life” (33).

The Line-Crossing Ceremony as a ‘Marine Carnival’

In their potential for social resistance heterotopian and social spaces can be conceptually linked to the idea of carnival and the carnivalesque outlined by Mikhail Bakhtin in his *Rabelais and His World* (1965). For Bakhtin, carnival becomes the primary locus of popular culture in Pre-Renaissance Europe since it represents the world upside down and celebrates the bodily and the lowly. The conception of carnival and the carnivalesque presents a historical materialist approach to the study of social and literary representations of popular culture.¹³⁸ Carnival ultimately constitutes a site in which popular culture contests the dominant societal structure through the reversal of low and high hierarchies, negation, debasement, and folk laughter. The hierarchies of low and high are universal in essence since they permeate all aspects of our life (Stallybrass and White 2). They simultaneously embody social and aesthetic categories. These hierarchies are interpolated and interdependent constituents of the prevalent social structure and official culture (ibid.). Carnival is a festive event that is produced within these hierarchies but transiently enables the reversal and disruption of them. Such reversal and disruption of the dominant societal structure and culture is accompanied by the processes of negation, mocking, derision, degradation, debasement, and laughter.¹³⁹ Following Bakhtin, all these processes are never purely positive or negative categories. Instead, they are ambivalent in their essence. They concurrently symbolise birth and revitalisation, death and rebirth.

Bakhtin makes a distinction between a narrow and broad understanding of ‘carnival.’ In its narrow sense, carnival is not a mere simple phenomenon with just one meaning. It is a “number of local feasts of different origin and scheduled at different dates but bearing the common traits of popular merriment” that correspond to the “development of life itself”

¹³⁸ Bakhtin’s carnival is unable to provide a comprehensive cultural or social history by itself, but it can be employed as a useful and ‘fertile in its application topos that can inform certain attitudes to popular culture and its regulation, and the body and sexual transgression. See, in this instance, Simon Dentith’s “Bakhtin’s Carnival” in *Bakhtinian Thought* (1995): pp. 63-84; Peter Stallybrass and Allon White’s *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (1986); Terry Castle’s *Masquerade and Civilization* (1986); and Chris Humphrey’s “Bakhtin and the Study of Popular Culture: Re-thinking Carnival as a Historical and Analytical Concept” in *Materializing Bakhtin: The Bakhtin Circle and Social Theory* (2000), eds. Craig Brandist and Galin Tihanov: pp. 164-172.

¹³⁹ The concept of the carnivalesque can also be seen as a sort of ‘utopian tool’ that has a potential to resist oppressing forces that regulate our life. Bakhtin charges his notion of carnival and carnival laughter with a profoundly positive energy and value that has a liberating, subversive, and deconstructing force and potential. See also Stallybrass and White’s *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (1986): p. 7.

(Bakhtin 218). In its broad understanding, carnival denotes a “special phenomenon” in popular festive culture that managed to preserve “certain fundamental traits” of the past folk life “in a quite clear, though reduced form” (ibid.). In turn, the ‘carnavalesque’ is understood as an epithet of ‘carnival’ in this broad sense. It is not just “carnival per se in its limited form” but also the “varied popular-festive life of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance” that have preserved “all the peculiarities of this life,” whereas “other forms have deteriorated and vanished” (ibid.). Carnival is a distinct event that temporarily suspends and overturns the predominant social hierarchies. It presents the world upside down, the world in which clothes are worn inside out, “comic crownings and uncrownings” occur, fools turn into kings, “lords of misrule” take over, boy bishops are chosen, the bawdy language prevails in speech, and so on (Knowles 6). All these reversals that take place in carnivals are characterised by their downward movement and their temporality. The temporal character of carnival connects its conception with that of ‘heterotopias of the festival.’ This type of heterotopia is linked to “time in its most flowing, transitory, precarious aspect, to time in the mode of the festival” (Foucault 7). Heterotopias of the festival are utterly temporal in essence and run counter to ‘heterotopias of the accumulation of time’ such as museums and libraries. In its downward movement, carnival is perceived concurrently as a “populist utopian vision of the world seen from below” and a type of “festive critique” of the ‘high’ culture through the inversion of its hierarchy (Stallybrass and White 7).¹⁴⁰ In the latter sense, the conception of carnival and the carnivalesque can be employed as a productive analytical tool in the analysis of the relationship between popular cultural forms and the dominant societal structures in which the former turns into an emplacement of resistance and struggle against the latter.¹⁴¹

The line-crossing ceremony is an initiation ritual, a rite of passage, for new sailors that is carried out on board to commemorate the vessel’s passing or crossing the Equator or other notable headlands such as the Arctic Circle, the International Date Line, or the tropics. It is a

¹⁴⁰ Despite its popularity and productive application in cultural theory, the conception of carnival has been criticised for its ambiguous and controversial nature. For instance, Caryl Emerson asserts that the concept of ‘carnival’ constitutes “the weakest, least consistent, and most dangerous category in Bakhtin’s arsenal” (520). Terry Eagleton, in turn, criticises Bakhtin’s positive idealism in the conception of carnival without considering fully its political implications (148). Eagleton underscores one of the major problems of Bakhtin’s carnival, that is, its inability to break away from the dominant societal structure and official culture that it transiently resists against and liberates from. In spite of its liberating and anti-authoritarian nature, carnival constitutes part of the dominant societal structure and culture it contests. It is usually organised by the State and/or the Church as a ‘safety-valve’ to alleviate current tensions in a given society (Humphrey 170). Another problem of carnival as a concept is its failure to take into account the aspect of violence that is often present in its forms.

¹⁴¹ The carnivalesque can likewise be extended to the level of literature. It can refer to “carnivalized writing” that “has taken the carnival spirit into itself and thus reproduces, within its own structures and by its own practice, the characteristic inversions, parodies and discrownings of carnival proper” (Dentith 65). Thus, Bakhtin’s notion of carnival can be seen from two perspectives, that is, a historicising and an abstract (novelistic) one.

long-standing tradition that originated approximately more than four centuries ago and still persists today. In the nineteenth century and up to the 1990s the ceremony was rather brutal in nature and involved beatings of new sailors with boards and wet ropes, dragging them in the surf from the stern, etc. In nineteenth-century travelogues, for example, the ceremony is briefly described and referred to by Benjamin Morrell in *A Narrative of Four Voyages* (1832) and Charles Darwin in *The Voyage of the Beagle* (1839). Interestingly enough, the ceremony is rather extensively depicted in the investigated novels by Gillies and Kingston but not in the examined canonical works by Shelley and Poe. From the outsider's perspective, the ceremony is often seen as something cruel, violent, and entirely unnecessary. However, it constitutes an important aspect of the naval identity formation. For a long time, it "defined the sailors' folk experience, their sense of identity in the Navy, and as a folk tradition, it had not been subject to official regulation" (Bronner 5). In the ceremony, the symbol of the geographical headland and the metaphor of Neptune mythology are used as "key concepts of a tradition that enforces a special sailor's praxis as well as identity" (Bronner 8). The line-crossing ceremony is part of the representational space of the ship, the space that is closely linked to rituals, traditions, and superstitions which are distinct from those of the land and impose certain codes of conduct on people on board. As part of the representational space of the ship, it simultaneously shows how power relations operate within that space. The ceremony commemorates the transition from one world to another and divides people on board into two groups, i.e. the initiated and the uninitiated. The former are superior while the latter are inferior in every way. The uninitiated have to undergo the initiation rite that would enable them to enter "the ranks of the seaworthy," that would make them also superior (ibid.). The initiation rite acutely demonstrates the exercise of power over the uninitiated.

According to Turner, liminality "implies that the high could not be high unless the low existed" (97). The uninitiated hence occupy a liminal position on board that is put in contrast to the high one of the initiated. The ceremony nurtures "a feeling of "self," a group identity against the liminal "other"" (Hersh 299).¹⁴² It contests and challenges the societal structure because it temporarily reverses and suspends hierarchies of high and low on board. It transiently presents the world upside down. For this reason, I define the ceremony as a '*marine carnival*' following Bakhtin's broad meaning of the concept. The power and authority are transferred to the figure of King Neptune who occupies the central position in the initiation rite

¹⁴² Here the line-crossing ceremony intersects with the conception of *communitas* that emerges in the liminal period and that consists of individuals who "submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders;" and that challenges and contests the societal structure (Turner 96).

and who is normally played by an initiated sailor. He is usually joined by his wife Queen Amphitrite, another cross-dressed initiated sailor. Hence the reversal of gender performativity also takes place in the initiation rite. It can be even said that the reversal of gender performativity occurs not only via cross-dressing but also via the symbolic reversal of gender roles. The uninitiated take the submissive, female position on whereas the initiated take the dominant, male position on (Hersh 279). Everyone, the Captain included, needs to submit to King Neptune and follow his orders. The ceremony is likewise an event that is often scripted and accompanied by debasement, derision, negation, humiliation, degradation, and laughter which are aimed at the uninitiated individuals on board. Rebirth of the uninitiated into the ranks of the 'seaworthy' is achieved through violence and mocking. All the scripted events in the ceremony highlight the authority of the sea, the infliction of social control, and the exercise of discipline (Bronner 17). On the one hand, the scripted character of the ceremony runs counter to the idea of 'carnival' with its profound positive and liberating energy and anti-authoritarian force. On the other hand, despite the protests from the public, the line-crossing ceremony still persists today. It constitutes a marine folk tradition that was not officially regulated until the 1990s. This demonstrates that the ship is a self-contained and circumscribed space that represents "a small island culture, with an exclusive social structure and rites of initiation into the tribe" (Bronner 24). It also shows that the line-crossing ceremony underscores the socio-heterotopian nature of the space of the ship. It adheres to the mechanism of opening and closing that is characteristic of heterotopias; and simultaneously signals that, in order to become a 'worthy' member of the representational space of the ship, to gain full access to it, an individual needs to undergo this initiation ceremony.

The space of the ship ultimately embodied a socio-heterotopian space in the first half of the nineteenth century. As such, it was characterised by the paradox of representation that lay at the heart of its production. The space of the ship constantly oscillated between two modes of being, that is, being a floating 'fragment' and an autonomous entity, being fragmentary and incomplete, and being entirely monadic and autarchic (Casarino 20). It ceaselessly moved between these two opposing spaces, disparate and inseparable, that it occupied simultaneously. It was always incomplete because it was essentially a fragment of the 'earth,' that mirrored the existing socio-political reality. Concurrently, it encompassed a self-enclosed entity, an autarchic miniature 'island' that was governed by its own social rules of conduct and was capable of undermining and disrupting societal structures of other spaces. The ship therefore presented a 'different,' distinct space that was outside of all spaces, but simultaneously had a

special relationship with every other space and every other heterotopia. That is why it represented “the heterotopia of heterotopia” and “the heterotopia par excellence.” The ship reflected the contemporary socio-political reality of all other spaces but, at the same time, it strived to escape it by opposing or undermining its authority. The space of the ship as “the heterotopia of heterotopia” and “the heterotopia par excellence” was produced by this paradoxical impetus, i.e. the impulse to escape the social while concurrently representing it and by the impulse to transcend the social while concurrently transforming it (Casarino 28). In my understanding, this antithetical impetus largely explains the reason why ships were (and, to some extent, continue to do so) often associated with voyages and adventures in far-away lands, the ideas of personal freedom and romantic escape from the confines of everyday life. These associations generated an enduring romanticised image of the ship as a displaced floating space that transcended the mundane. The ship thus functioned as a space of mixed experience between utopias and heterotopias. In other words, it was a socio-heterotopian space that was laden with certain, what I determine, ‘utopian pretensions.’

With regard to Anglo-American polar exploration of the period, these utopian pretensions typically incorporated the belief in the ‘benign’ power of science and scientific progress for the sake of the whole humankind and the disinterested and apolitical nature of Arctic and Antarctic expeditions. These utopian pretensions leavened the entire framework of coeval Anglo-American polar exploration and affected the manner in which the space of the ship was perceived in the popular imagination. They had to do with the ideas of freedom, control, and power which were closely interlinked in that period. They played an important role in creating the way in which the space of the ship was experienced and imagined by the public. The intricate web of these utopian pretensions essentially produced the space of the ship on physical and imagined levels. This, in turn, had a profound impact on how the space of the ship was represented in contemporary literature of polar exploration. In narratives of this literature, the space of the ship embodied the ambivalence between place and non-place, between the inner and the outer, and between the heterotopian and the everyday. The key difference between travelogues and fictions in the representation of the space of the ship lay in the extent of its narrative presence. In travelogues of the period, the ship became conspicuous when the normality of its space was either disrupted or endangered. For the most part in these narratives, the presence of the ship remained inconspicuous because it embodied the everyday, the mundane, and the familiar for the explorer. The novel, the imaginative, and the peculiar were located outside, in the outer nature, that surrounded the space of the ship. In fictional works (and the examined novels, in particular), on the contrary, the space of the ship had a

much more prominent presence in the narrative on the whole (and often came to represent a meaningful and special place for the characters).

In general, the space of the ship was characterised by extreme compartmentalisation of its material space, a rigid social hierarchy, and the strict division of labour. It hence presented a “heterotopia of compensation,” that is, a space which is more rational and meticulously organised than any other space. It embodied a representational (social) *and* heterotopian space. The two spaces are conceptually and functionally very much alike. There are two fundamental things which unite them. First, the two spaces are linked through social relations that produce them. The space of the ship was a product of contemporary social relations. It was ceaselessly produced by social relations of people on board (inner social relations) *and* of those on the ‘earth,’ the existing socio-political reality (outer social relations). Inner and outer social relations produced the space of the ship on physical and imagined levels. Such social production altered not only its material space, but also the perception and conception of that space in the public imagination. The ship as a heterotopia and representational space was produced by social relations of those who used and inhabited that space. The material characteristics of the space of the ship, in turn, had an impact on what type of representational spaces could be generated there. When social relations which had originally produced the heterotopian space of the ship ceased to exist, then its representational space vanished as well. This constitutes the “ephemerality of heterotopias” as representational spaces (Cenzatti 81). Second, both heterotopias and representational spaces functionally possess the potential for social resistance against power relations which operate there. This potential makes the operation of power within these spaces more visible. The visibility of power relations enables the users and inhabitants of these spaces to contest and subvert them. Thus, the ship as a socio-heterotopian space was capable of opposing and undermining the dominant societal structures of other spaces. The line-crossing ceremony as a marine carnival, albeit temporarily, also performed (and continues to do so) this function and exemplified the potential of the space of the ship for social resistance against existing power relations there.

Chapter 7: The Frozen Ship in *Frankenstein*

The Presence of Absence

Walton's ship is immured by ice in the Arctic at the beginning of the novel that prevents him from reaching his ultimate exploratory ambition, that is, "discovering a passage near the pole to those countries, to reach which at present so many months are requisite;" and "ascertaining the secret of the magnet" (8). Walton seeks to be the first man to discover the yet elusive Northwest Passage and the North Pole. These exploratory ambitions constitute "the inestimable benefit" that he "shall confer on all mankind to the last generation" (ibid.). Walton echoes the same rhetoric that permeates the framework of contemporary British Arctic exploration. John Barrow, the Second Secretary to the Admiralty, surmises this rhetoric in his *A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions* (1818):

Of the enterprize itself it may be truly characterized as one of the most liberal and disinterested that was ever undertaken, and every way worthy of a great, a prosperous and an enlightened nation; *having for its primary object that of the advancement of science, for its own sake, without any selfish or interested views.* On this account it has justly excited the attention, and called forth the approbation, of maritime Europe; for it is well known that whatever new discoveries may be made, will be *for the general benefit of mankind;* and if a practical passage should be found to exist from the Northern Atlantic into the Northern Pacific, the maritime nations of Europe will equally partake of the advantages, without having incurred either the expense or the risk of exploring it (378-9; emphasis added).

Barrow was one of the main proponents of Arctic exploration of the period, especially the search for the Northwest Passage and the North Pole. Barrow used his important position at the Admiralty to promote exploratory projects in the polar regions and other less explored areas of the globe such as central Africa and Australia. For this reason, Barrow has been considered "the father of Arctic exploration" and even arguably "the father of global exploration" of the time (Fleming 11). Barrow leavens his history of Arctic exploration with the nationalist hubris but when it comes to actual expeditions, he ensures that the selfless nature of polar enterprise that is devoid of any nationalist agenda is adhered to. In Barrow's rhetoric, Arctic exploration is a 'pure' endeavour the most essential objective of which is the advancement of empirical science "for its own sake" and "for the general benefit of mankind." Such rhetoric likewise prevails in contemporary polar travelogues. Walton employs this rhetoric to underscore the significance of his exploratory ambitions in the Arctic. His ambitions constitute the utopian pretensions that lie at the heart of coeval polar exploration. And in turn, he imbues the space of the ship he is the captain of with these utopian pretensions.

Walton's exploratory ambitions are blocked by the agency of polar ice. His ship ultimately gets immured in ice in the Arctic. For this precise reason, the frozen ship turns into a narrative setting for the entire story. In the complex narrative structure of the novel, the space of the ship generates the series of subordinated narratives. It produces narrative time and space for the main story of the novel, that is, the stories recounted by Victor Frankenstein and the Creature. Like the iconic painting *The Sea of Ice*, or *The Wreck of Hope* (1823-1824) by Caspar David Friedrich, the frozen ship symbolises the ultimate fate of most polar expeditions undertaken by British explorers of the period. It can be said that Walton's ship, immured in ice, foreshadows the outcome of contemporary British zeal for polar exploration. It forewarns about the futility of polar enterprise and the danger in blindly pursuing such exploratory ambitions. The novel demonstrates that the utopian pretensions of the 'earth,' the socio-political reality, associated with contemporary polar exploration and ascribed to the space of the ship, are merely a self-delusion. Walton represents these pretensions which are subsequently contested and subverted in the narrative when the ship gets imprisoned in polar ice. As the space of the ship presents a narrative setting for the main story, it fades into the background and becomes absent in the narratives of Frankenstein and the Creature. However, since the main story is narrated on board the frozen ship in the Arctic, that ship is simultaneously physically present and imaginarily absent during its narrative. In other words, the space of the ship possesses a spectral-like presence throughout the main story. It embodies a material receptacle for the main story that is present in its absence. Here I suggest that the frozen ship functioning as a narrative setting lends verisimilitude to the 'improbable' tales of Frankenstein and the Creature. The isolation of the frozen ship and the remoteness of the polar region produce a literary space for the novel that puts the characters' physical and imaginary limits to the test and, in the process, negotiates the relationship between man and nature. In this literary space, rendered immobile by the agency of polar ice, the characters on board Walton's ship can only passively observe their surroundings.

The 'Empty' Arctic vs. the Frozen Ship

The space of the Arctic depicted in *Frankenstein* is characterised by its profound emptiness. It is devoid of the presence of any living being, either man or animal. It is a truly uninhabited land. The Inuit are likewise conspicuously absent within this space. The emptiness and the remoteness of the Arctic perform a double function in the narrative. On the one hand, they make the first appearance of the Creature in such space seemingly more probable. On the other

hand, any appearance of a living being in such space elicits wonder in the characters on board the immured ship: “This appearance [the Creature’s] excited our unqualified wonder. We were, as we believed, many hundred miles from any land; but this apparition seemed to denote that it was not, in reality, so distant as we had supposed. Shut in, however, by ice, it was impossible to follow his track, which we had observed with the greatest attention” (13). The Arctic region in the novel illustrates the way that space was perceived in the popular imagination of the ‘earth,’ the socio-political reality. In this perception, the Arctic presented a space that was hostile, isolated, and ostensibly empty.¹⁴³ Such perception somewhat persists even today. It can be certainly argued that the depiction of the Arctic region in the novel is just the emblematic representation of the gothic polar sublime. However, I argue that such perception of the Arctic constitutes the product of meanings ascribed to polar spaces by social relations of the ‘earth,’ the existing socio-political reality. The social relations of the ‘earth’ produce polar spaces. They also produce the space of the ship, the narrative setting of the novel. The space of the ship in the novel hence embodies a social space. The characters on board ascribe the polar region and Walton’s ship with certain meanings which persist on land. These meanings affect the manner in which these two spaces are perceived and conceived by the characters. For this reason, the appearance of the Creature brings out the feeling of wonder in the characters on board Walton’s ship. The subsequent appearance of Frankenstein, in turn, elicits even more potent wonder in Walton and his crew because Frankenstein is an European and speaks English: “He [Frankenstein] was not, as the other traveller seemed to be, a savage inhabitant of some undiscovered island, but an European” (14). The Arctic region is perceived by the characters as a space that is empty, entirely uninhabited by the Europeans, and therefore ‘uncivilised.’

The ship presents a space that is put in contrast to the empty and hostile polar landscape. The floating bodies of ice that Walton and his crew encounter in his voyage to the North Pole indicate “the dangers of the region” towards which they advance (12). But Walton accentuates that his men are “bold, and apparently firm of purpose” and “the floating sheets of ice” which ceaselessly pass them “appear to dismay them” (ibid.). Walton’s ship is endangered by the close proximity to the dynamic power of polar ice but that does not seem to deter him in the slightest. Walton’s gaze is initially on the outer nature in which he envisions the ultimate

¹⁴³ In reality, the Arctic was (and is) of course not ‘empty.’ Polar travelogues of the period contain numerous depictions of Arctic flora and fauna, and the Inuit people which is not the case in *Frankenstein*. However, the perception of the Arctic as being uninhabited and therefore empty prevailed and continues to do so in the popular imagination.

achievement of his exploratory ambitions. His gaze turns inward, towards the space of the ship, when its normality is disrupted or endangered. Walton, for instance, writes the following in the third letter to his sister: “No incidents have hitherto befallen us, that would make a figure in a letter. One or two stiff gales, and the breaking of a mast, are accidents which experienced navigators scarcely remember to record; and I shall be well content, if nothing worse happen to us during our voyage” (12-3). Some gales and the breaking of the ship’s mast are not incidents which are worthy of being recorded on paper. Like other coeval polar explorers, Walton appears to undermine the severity of dangers experienced in his voyage. The presence of the ship becomes even more prominent when it is beset by polar ice because its normality is jeopardised by the power of the natural element. The vessel’s progress towards the North Pole is blocked by ice and, for this, reason, the focus of narration shifts primarily to the space of the ship and occasionally to the surrounding Arctic landscape (particularly when the Creature and subsequently Frankenstein are spotted for the first time).

The space of the ship almost becomes the sole focal point of narration when Frankenstein comes on board. To gain entry to the space of the ship, Frankenstein first needed to gain permission from Walton, the captain of the vessel: “When I [Walton] appeared on deck, the master said, “Here is our captain, and he will not allow you to perish on the open sea”” (14). As a heterotopian space, the ship is not easily accessible to outsiders. The ship is a space that is characterised by a strict social hierarchy and the rigid division of labour. It presents a heterotopia of compensation that is more perfected and ordered than any other space. Walton’s exploratory ship bound for the North Pole is not an exception here. As the ship’s captain, Walton is at the top of the social hierarchy on board. He is the person who holds the absolute power on the ship and whose decisions must be obeyed by the crew. He is also the only one who can ultimately allow or deny entry to the space of the ship. However, this mechanism of opening and closing that is characteristic of heterotopian spaces is subverted by Frankenstein. Instead of expressing gratitude or relief upon being rescued from the drifting fragment of ice, Frankenstein is reluctant to come on board: “On perceiving me [Walton], the stranger addressed me in English, although with a foreign accent. “Before I come on board your vessel,” said he, “will you have the kindness to inform me whither you are bound?”” (ibid.). Such reaction completely flabbergasts Walton:

You may conceive my astonishment on hearing such a question addressed to me from a man on the brink of destruction, and to whom I should have supposed that *my vessel would have been a resource which he would not have exchanged for the most precious wealth the earth can afford.*

I replied, however, that we were on a voyage of discovery towards the northern pole (ibid.; emphasis added).

Walton is understandably surprised by Frankenstein's question because any ship would be a safe shelter for "a man on the brink of destruction" in the polar region, the value of which cannot be estimated by any material worth. In this instance, the ship is a self-contained space that provides protection to men on board and that is employed as a tool of polar exploration. Polar ice is a natural site that hinders Walton's exploratory ambitions and endangers the lives of the people on board his vessel. The two spaces thus stand in opposition both on the pragmatic (the voyage) and the narrative levels. Here the space of the ship demonstrates the representation of the tension between place and non-place in the narrative. It is simultaneously a place and non-place in the novel. As a non-place, the space of the ship is beset by ice in the remote Arctic, far away from any 'civilised' land. It is essentially located in the middle of nowhere. At the same time, it constitutes a meaningful place for the characters on board in the novel that runs counter to the hostile polar landscape. Walton's ship becomes a precious place for the characters on board because it is the only site in the vicinity that protects them against the hostile nature of the polar region.

The ship is also a meaningful place for the characters on board because it is a fragment of the 'earth,' a representational space of the socio-political reality they hail from. For Walton, the space of the ship represents an invaluable resource in the polar region. Conversely, for Frankenstein, the space of the ship is either a potential tool in his quest for vengeance, the pursuit of the Creature, or a potential obstacle in his way. Both characters ascribe their own meanings to the space of the ship which affect the way it is perceived by them. Hence they both produce distinct representations of the space of the ship in the polar landscape. The produced spaces of the ship are distinct from and even at odds with one another. In this respect, the ship presents a heterogeneous space that incorporates and juxtaposes various representational spaces within its material space. It is also a social space that is continuously produced by social relations of the characters on board. Although being on the verge of death, Frankenstein needs to be persuaded by Captain Walton to enter the space of the ship: "Upon hearing this he [Frankenstein] appeared satisfied, and consented to come on board. Good God! Margaret, if you had seen the man who thus capitulated for his safety, your surprise would have been boundless. His limbs were frozen, and his body dreadfully emaciated by fatigue and suffering. I never saw a man in so wretched a condition" (ibid.). In doing this, Frankenstein subverts the power structure on board and the mechanism of closing-opening of the ship as a heterotopian space.

Walton's Alienation and the Subversion of Authority on Board

Walton repeatedly underscores how lonely and isolated he feels in his polar pursuit. He states, for instance, that he “should find no friend on the wide ocean” (16). The ship as a social space plays a significant role in this. It has been mentioned previously that Walton's loneliness and isolation highlight the individual and romantic nature of his polar quest. Like Barrow, Walton is a dreamer haunted by the images of the glory and grandeur of prescient discoveries at the poles. In Frankenstein, he sees a kindred spirit who can understand and sympathise with his polar dream. Frankenstein forewarns Walton about the danger of pursuing such ambitions: “I ardently hope that the gratification of your wishes may not be a serpent to sting you, as mine has been” (17). Frankenstein is Walton's mirror that reflects a potential disastrous outcome that awaits those who blindly seek the satisfaction of their ambitions. The frozen ship mirrors Frankenstein's tragic fate and ultimately the fate of contemporary British polar exploration. To Walton, the ship presents a precious tool that can help him realise his exploratory ambitions, his “hopes of utility and glory” (155). Walton imbues the space of the ship with the utopian pretensions that permeate the framework of coeval polar exploration. He hence participates in the social production of the space of the ship.

In addition to the individual and romantic nature of Walton's polar dream, his experience of loneliness and isolation is conditioned by the process of alienation. This process constitutes an integral aspect of social space. Lefebvre regards alienation as a spatial concept linking it to the dislocation or distance of the worker who is perceived as a mere object (Shields, *Lefebvre, Love, and Struggle* 40). The dislocation or distance are the result of the concepts of profit and commodification imposed on a society from above by capitalist social structures. To put it simply, social space alienates because the concepts of commodification and profit, imposed upon a society, treat people as mere objects disregarding their needs. Such treatment leads to the severance of social relations and the alienation of people from each other. The ship as a social space alienates Walton socially, physically, and emotionally. Contrary to Lefebvre's argument, the process of alienation that affects Walton primarily occurs not because of the concepts of commodification and profit imposed upon the social space of the ship. Instead, for the most part, it is enabled by social, physical, and emotional distance facilitated by the space of the ship. As it has been pointed out before, the ship constitutes a space that is characterised by a rigid social hierarchy, the strict division of labour, and the compartmentalisation of its physical space. It is therefore, using Foucault's definition, the ‘heterotopia of compensation’ that is more perfected and more meticulously organised than other spaces. As the ship's

captain, Walton is at the top of the social hierarchy on board. He is not a ‘tool’ or a ‘worker,’ but rather the one who holds the power and authority over the rest. His privileged status on board is spatially marked by the cabin that he solely occupies. However, Walton’s position puts him at distance from the rest of the crew. The divide between the two becomes even more conspicuous when Walton’s ship is entirely immured by polar ice: “I am surrounded by mountains of ice, which admit of no escape, and threaten every moment to crush my vessel. The brave fellows, whom I have persuaded to be my companions, look towards me for aid; but I have none to bestow” (153).

Despite the precarious situation, Walton refuses to give up hope and is prepared to die for his polar cause. In contrast, Walton’s “brave fellows” do not partake in his devotion to the cause: “[E]ach day’s expectation delayed fills them with fear, and I almost dread a mutiny caused by this despair” (154). A few days later Walton’s fear of a mutiny becomes a reality when a delegation of the sailors with their leader wake him up at night asking for “admission into the cabin” (ibid.). They demand Walton to promise them that if the ship should be freed from ice he would instantly turn it southward without leading them “into fresh dangers, after they might happily have surmounted this” (ibid.). Walton is eventually forced to comply with the sailors’ demands. The brief depiction of the mutiny performs a double function in the novel. On the one hand, it demonstrates the subversion of the social hierarchy and authority on board, while, on the other, it shows the temporary disruption of the ship’s labour division and compartmentalisation of its material space. On the other hand, the mutiny highlights the imaginary divide and distance between Walton and the sailors in regard to their view of the polar pursuit. Walton vividly illustrates these divide and distance between the two in the following statement later in the narrative: “[T]he men, *unsupported by ideas of glory and honour*, can never willingly continue to endure their present hardships” (155; emphasis added). Precisely because Walton is supported by “ideas of glory and honour,” he is unwilling to give up on his polar quest even when faced with the possibility of his own death.

In the speech to the mutineers, Frankenstein defends Walton’s perspective on the polar expedition: “For this was it a glorious, for this was it an honourable undertaking. You were here after to be hailed as the benefactors of your species; your name adored; as belonging to brave men who encountered death for honour and the benefit of mankind” (ibid.). Frankenstein’s speech echoes the rhetoric of Barrow and other contemporary proponents of British polar exploration. In this nationalist rhetoric, polar exploration is not an undertaking associated with ideas of personal and national gain, but a ‘glorious’ and ‘reputable’ undertaking “for honour and the benefit of mankind.” It embodies the utmost test of masculine worth and

male heroism. It is an undertaking in which there is no place for any ‘femininity,’ that is, any sign of weakness or trivial concern over one’s self-preservation. The mutinous sailors fail the ‘test’ because they prioritise their own self-preservation over ideas of glory and honour. Thus, the imaginary divide and distance between Walton (and Frankenstein) and the mutineers exemplify a conflict between two opposing views on the significance of coeval polar expeditions. In this conflict, Walton represents the utopian pretensions of the ‘earth,’ the existing socio-political reality. These utopian pretensions constitute the typical rhetoric of honour and glory that leavens the framework of contemporary British polar exploration. They are ascribed to the socio-heterotopian space of the ship and affect the way that space is perceived by Walton (and Frankenstein). Both Walton and Frankenstein perceive the space of the ship only as a tool in achieving their ambitions and goals associated with glory and honour. For the sailors, on the contrary, the ship is just a space that provides shelter from the hostile nature of the Arctic and that would potentially lead them back home. The sailors, with their mutiny, accordingly challenge and subvert the utopian pretensions of glory and honour that Walton and Frankenstein represent in the narrative. In a larger context, the sailors’ mutiny against Walton, their captain, illustrates the novel’s critique of not only the blind pursuit of one’s ambitions and desires, but also that of such ambitious projects as polar exploration. The novel similarly forewarns the reader about the dangers such pursuits can potentially incur, and the frozen ship serves as an essential symbol of such outcome.

In *Frankenstein*, the frozen ship functions as a narrative setting that confines Victor’s and the Creature’s ‘implausible’ tales within the bounds of realism. It possesses a spectral-like presence throughout the diegesis of these two tales. Overall, the ship presents a socio-heterotopian space that is put in contrast to the hostile and ‘empty’ Arctic both on the pragmatic (the voyage) and narrative levels. In this respect, it represents the ambivalence between place and non-place in the narrative. It is the only site in the vicinity that protects the characters on board and provides them shelter against the hostile nature of the Arctic. Similar to other exploratory ships of the period, it embodies a heterotopia of compensation that is more organised and perfected than any other space. As such, it is characterised by spatial compartmentalisation, a rigid social hierarchy, and the strict division of labour. As the captain of the vessel, Walton occupies the top of the social hierarchy on board. Therefore, he is in charge of the social production of the space of the ship and the operation of power there. However, his privileged position largely contributes to his alienation from the crew. Walton, Frankenstein, and the sailors all participate in the social production of the space of the ship since they attribute their own meanings to it. Walton imbues the space of the ship with his

“hopes of utility and glory” and the idea that his polar pursuit is a ‘pure’ endeavour that he will bestow on all mankind. These ideas constitute the utopian pretensions which leavened the framework of contemporary British Arctic exploration promoted by Barrow. Frankenstein, for his part, eventually sides with Walton in these utopian pretensions although he initially considered the space of the ship only as a potential tool in his quest for vengeance. The sailors’ view of the polar enterprise (and hence the use of the ship) runs counter to that of Walton and Frankenstein. Their successful mutiny against Walton exemplifies the function of the socio-heterotopian space of the ship to resist power relations that operate there. It demonstrates the complete subversion of the social order on board. The frozen ship ultimately performs a creative and subversive function in the novel. It (together with the hostile polar landscape) provides a literary space that enables the negotiation of the relationship between man and nature; and simultaneously subverts the utopian pretensions of coeval polar exploration that Walton and Frankenstein stand for in the narrative.

Chapter 8: The Leviathan's Social Heterotopologies in *Tales of a Voyager to the Arctic Ocean*

The Arctic voyage described in the novels lasts approximately six months and occurs in 1822. The narrator goes on the voyage across the Arctic Ocean along the Shetland Islands, Norway, and Greenland on board the ship *Leviathan*. The characters on board establish a routine in which each individual needs to share a story with the others when his turn comes: “[O]ur whole crew became a company of tale-tellers, and it is now my delight to peruse the numerous anecdotes which I was then almost compelled by courtesy to collect” (1: 151). The novel’s narrative structure constitutes the frame cycle with interpolated narratives. In this narrative structure, the Arctic voyage is the frame, primary narrative and ‘anecdotes’ are secondary, embedded narratives. The ship constitutes the main setting for the frame narrative. It enables the production of narrative time and space for interpolated narratives. Hence it is not only an important setting that facilitates the textual cohesion of the novel’s narrative but also an essential agent in the plot and character development.

The space of the ship performs a double function, creative and subversive, in the production of meaning in the narrative. It is presented in two states in the novel, that is, as a mobile vehicle and as a frozen site. In both states, it expedites the storytelling ‘topos’ as it provides narrative time and space for the recounting of the characters’ tales and anecdotes. Furthermore, the narrator’s depiction of the *Leviathan* concurrently reflects and undermines its representation as a socio-heterotopian space in the novel. For instance, the established storytelling routine momentarily disrupts the rigid social hierarchy and division of labour on board that is characteristic of the space of the ship. The narrator therefore hastily asserts in regard to the custom of storytelling on board: “[I]n accordance with the manners of the parties, the relation of the story became a sort of duty, regulated by the discipline of the crew” (1: 151-2). The assertion demonstrates that every custom needs to be regulated on board due to the nature of the ship as a socio-heterotopian space that is more regulated and perfected than any other space. The ship is likewise a space that is put in contrast to the hostile nature of the Arctic region both on the pragmatic (the voyage) and the narrative levels. Such contrast is likewise both creative and subversive in its function. On the one hand, it ultimately highlights the struggle between humans and nature, between the agency of man and the agency of nature, that is at the heart of contemporary polar exploration. On the other hand, it challenges and subverts the utopian pretensions that are associated with coeval polar exploration and that are ascribed to the space of the *Leviathan* by the narrator.

The *Leviathan* as an Imagined Social Space

The ship's name "Leviathan" is compelling in its symbolic interpretation. The ship shares the same name as the mythical sea monster from the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Old Testament. The name can also figuratively refer to a powerful opponent or a giant whale. The ship *Leviathan* can be accordingly imagined as a mighty enemy of the ocean and nature in general; or as a sea monster that braves the ocean and opposes the forces of nature. The name can similarly indicate the ship's symbolic association with the whale-fishing industry. Hence the name adds up an imagined dimension to the representation of the space of the ship in the narrative. It ascribes particular meanings and associations to the material space of the ship that influence the way that space is perceived by the characters and the reader. For instance, the 'battle' between the *Leviathan* and polar ice is often personified in the novel. In one of the passages, it is likened to the biblical battle between St. George and the dragon: "[S]ince falling in with the ice, we have been "traverse sailing," proceeding in a zigzag direction, to elude the approaches continually made to us by our craggy adversaries, who seem as willing to tilt with the bows of the Leviathan as St. George could have been to run against his Dragon" (2: 8). It is compelling here to note that the polar ice is compared to the warrior-saint and the vessel is compared to the Dragon and not vice versa. The characters who are on board the ship, named after the biblical sea monster Leviathan, personify the Dragon that is destined to be defeated at the hands of its ultimate adversary, the polar ice. The imaginary personification of the struggle between the ship and polar ice imbues it with a mythical flair and underlines the power disparity between the two adversaries. The name "Leviathan" therefore has a hand in the social production of the space of the ship. The *Leviathan* is a space that is both experienced and imagined by the narrator.

The *Leviathan* is not an exploratory vessel but "a ship engaged in the northern whale fishery" (1: 10). Within the framework of coeval polar exploration, whalers and their vessels were seemingly best fitted for the exploration of the polar regions. William Scoresby was "the most successful whaler in Britain" for more than twenty years in the early nineteenth century (Fleming 30). His book *An Account of the Arctic Regions*, published in 1820, is considered to be one of the foundational texts in the field of Arctic science. Scoresby and his father are referred to several times in *Tales*. In his letters to Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, Scoresby suggests that an expedition in search of the Northwest Passage should be entrusted to a whaling captain who can occasionally pursue fishery "without detriment to the other object of the voyage [and] the expenses would be proportionally reduced and might possibly be

altogether defrayed” (Fleming 32). In response to this, Banks wondered why the whalers were not interested in polar exploration despite the considerable governmental reward (T. and C. Stamp 67). Scoresby elucidated that the whalers had been unwilling to participate in polar expeditions due to required huge expenses and self-interest (Fleming 32). Captain Shafton, the master of the *Leviathan*, and the high-ranking crew members exemplify this attitude to polar exploration in the novel. When the ship arrives at its furthest northern extremity of the Arctic ocean, “a council of whale-catching” is called in order to make a decision regarding the future course of the vessel (2: 124). As there are no whales in sight upon the ship’s progress towards the Pole, the council decides to steer their route south-west in search for whales there. The narrator does not support this decision: “I cannot say this improvement, or alteration, in our route, gave me any gratification, for I desired greatly to have proceeded to the utmost limit of the liquid arctic; but I could not feel any right to murmur, and I afterwards learnt that a very few miles more would have brought us to the verge of the frozen ocean” (ibid.). The narrator, like Walton and Pym in their romantic polar pursuits, wishes to reach “the utmost limit” of the polar regions. The council members are not interested in the glory of polar discoveries. Instead, their concern lies solely in the presence or absence of whales in this or that portion of the Arctic and the ship’s preservation in the course of the whale-fishing expedition. In other words, they are only interested in material gain and survival. The narrator and the council constitute the tension between the romantic and the pragmatic view on contemporary polar exploration. The narrator represents the utopian pretensions of such polar dreamers, real and fictional, as Barrow and Walton. The *Leviathan*’s masters are not such dreamers. The narrator and the council mark two opposing views on the imagined instrumental role of the vessel in the Arctic ocean. These two views are ascribed to the representational space of the ship, that is, the social space ‘lived’ by the characters on board who simultaneously experience and imagine it. The narrator and the ‘whaling council’ hence produce two distinct representational spaces of the ship that are in conflict with one another. In this respect, the *Leviathan* presents a heterogeneous social space that juxtaposes conflicting representational spaces within its material space.

There are several instances in the novel that highlight the difference between the space of the whaling ship experienced by the narrator and the one imagined by him. At the first sight of the *Leviathan*, the narrator is surprised by what he sees: “The size of the Leviathan, (nearly three hundred tons), likewise exceeded what my information had led me to expect, nor could I perceive any of that disagreeable smell of oil, which I had been told rendered these vessels intolerable” (1: 10). Later in the novel, the narrator is amazed to find out that the interior of the cabin is not inferior in its amenities and furnishings to the establishments found in London: “A

landman is surprised if he behold aboard a ship any approach to the conveniences and comforts of domestic society, and I, like other “green men,” did not expect to find a table arranged and served with the same attention, if not with the same elegance, as in London” (1: 30). The comforts and the elegance of the cabin makes the narrator immediately experience “that inexpressible sensation of satisfaction” that he can best describe as “feeling oneself at home” (ibid.). The narrator is from a well-off merchant family who is used to a privileged life style. His free access to the ship’s cabin and the location of his lodging there already indicate his privileged status on board. The narrator is not an official member of the crew or the ship’s commandment but he occupies an ‘elite’ position in terms of physical space on board. The narrator’s depiction of the cabin illustrates the compartmentalisation of the space of the whaling vessel. However, it also shows the divide between the masters of the ship and the sailors on board. The narrator only focuses on the description of the cabin and deliberately abstains from describing the living quarters of the sailors in the novel. He attributes this omission to his desire to be ‘authentic’ and ‘concise’ in his narrative: “I shall not now describe the quarters occupied by the other officers and the men, as I had not yet seen them, and I prefer detailing my information in the way I find, from my journal, I acquired it, to arranging it in a more formal, though concise, method” (1: 28-9). In fact, the narrator never stops to describe the living space of the sailors on board in *Tales*. This not only points out to the alienation of the narrator from the sailors, but also the alienation of the sailors from the masters of the ship who have free access to the cabin aboard. It likewise exemplifies one of the ways in which common sailors are excluded not only from the novel’s narrative, but also, for the most part, from the narratives of coeval polar travelogues.

The narrator’s surprise over the appearance of the cabin marks the contrast between the imagined space of the whaling ship, spartan-like space, and the experienced one, the cosy and privileged space. The narrator also underscores such contrast when he asserts that the food cooked on board is also in no way inferior to that of the land: “[T]he kitchen of a Greenland ship sends forth steams as zesty as the laboratory of a London hotel” (4: 20). In doing this, he seemingly idealises the life on board. Nevertheless, such idealised perception of the space of the ship is subverted when the vessel is endangered by the polar ice in the novel:

Instead of the gay scenes and numerous diversions of a populous city, I am confined to a few amusements, and a few heterogeneous companions, contained within a space of little more than a hundred feet in length [...] and, instead of the comfort and security of a paternal dwelling, and the impossibility of perishing through want, I am exposed to the constant hazard of storms and shipwrecks, to the certainty of many inconveniences, and to the possibility of being starved to death by hunger and by cold” (2: 97-8).

In the passage, the ship transforms into a confined and imperilled space that is inferior to the city in terms of entertainment, amenities, and safety. In contrast to the rhetoric of coeval polar exploration, the narrator here does not shy away from emphasising the dangers that the vessel is commonly exposed to in the Arctic ocean. However, this is not usually the case throughout the novel. For instance, when the *Leviathan* is nearly immured in ice, the narrator is not concerned about the dangers of such a situation. Instead, he entirely focuses on the “beautiful and enchanted” appearance of the ship that is “encased in a splendid sheet of ice” as if “she had been immersed in a petrifying lake, whose waters had congealed around her,” or as if “she had been dipped in a vast cauldron of melted glass, which had clung to her, and grown solid as she was withdrawn” (2: 120-1). There is a marked divergence in the vision of the frozen ship between the narrator and other characters on board. The narrator downplays the dangers and sufferings experienced by the crew in the encounter with the hostile Arctic nature. Only the narrator and his friend William enjoy the “beautiful and enchanted” view of the ship: “[T]here were none but my friend William and myself who seemed to enjoy the fairy and fantastic appearance of our good ship, arrayed in ice and snow. The sailors, clothed in their huge pea-jackets and camlet trowsers, [...] paced their watches impatiently, amidst the wreathing sleet that whirled around them, smoking their pipes in rueful silence” (2: 121).

Contrary to the narrator and William’s delight over the fairy-like sight that the ship presents, the sailors get restless on board the ice-bound ship as their fishing expedition is in danger of being suspended indefinitely. The narrator (and William) and the sailors produce two distinct imagined spaces of the frozen ship that are in contrast with one another. Both imagined spaces encompass two divergent and adverse representational spaces of the ship that are juxtaposed within its material space. This juxtaposition unveils a contrast between the romantic and the pragmatic in the view of the frozen ship. The contrast likewise persists in how the narrator and the ‘whaling council’ respectively perceive the imagined instrumental role of the *Leviathan* in the Arctic voyage that has been described earlier in this section. In both cases, the narrator presents a romantic representation of an imagined space of the ship in the novel that runs absolutely counter to the manner in which that space is perceived by the masters and sailors of the ship. On the one hand, such representation shows that the narrator ascribes the imagined social space of the ship with the utopian pretensions, that is, dreams and ambitions, of contemporary polar exploration. On the other hand, it demonstrates the narrator’s more romanticised perception of the representational space of the ship and the Arctic voyage on the whole.

The *Leviathan* as “the Heterotopia of Heterotopia”

In *Tales*, the space of the *Leviathan* ultimately embodies “the heterotopia of heterotopia” as it is characterised by the paradox of representation in the narrative. The ship constitutes a fragment of the British ‘earth,’ that is, its socio-political world. Since the ship is “employed in the northern whale fishery,” its masters must comply with “the act of parliament, which regulates the bounty of a pound per ton, to every ship fitted according to its directions” (1: 15). As a mobile fragment, the space of the ship is regulated by the laws and guidelines of the ‘earth.’ To a certain extent, the parliament likewise controls who goes on board a whaling vessel. According to its act, it is imperative for every whaling vessel in the Arctic to have one surgeon and “five green men” (men who have never been in the Arctic ocean before) on board. The failure to comply with the act results in “the penalty of not receiving the above bounty” and hence “the condition is always fulfilled” (ibid.). The *Leviathan* is not an exception here as its owners comply with the parliament’s requirement. The narrator and his friend William are both listed as “green men” on board. William enrolls as a surgeon while the narrator is not officially a member of the crew. It is interesting to consider the reason behind the parliament’s act in regard to the crew of a whaling vessel. The need for a surgeon on board is easy to understand. But the reason is not that transparent when it comes to the obligatory presence of “green men” among the crew. This can be explained by the parliament’s desire to involve more and more new men in the northern whale fishery and hence promote not only the whaling industry but also the exploration of the Arctic. The *Leviathan*’s owners are predominantly interested in material gain from the whale fishery in the Arctic but by complying with the parliament’s act, they nevertheless contribute to the exploration of the region as well.

At the same time, the *Leviathan* represents an autonomous social space that is governed by its own set of rules, traditions, ceremonies, rituals, and superstitions.¹⁴⁴ All these codes of conduct are only applicable to the space of the ship and are distinct from those on land. The ship presents a heterotopian space in the novel that is not readily accessible to the outsiders. To gain access to the space of the ship, all the enlisted crew members need to go through “the roll” ceremony performed on the deck: “The ceremony consisted in the repetition of the name and occupation of each individual of the crew, upon which, he passed before the officer of the customs, who performs this duty, to shew that he was in readiness to depart, as well as of able

¹⁴⁴ Most traditions, ceremonies, and rituals described in the novel are closely linked to various superstitions which are ascribed to the space of the ship. They will be discussed in more detail in section on the *Leviathan* as a representational space.

body” (ibid.). The permission granted by the customs’ officer is required to become an official member of the crew. The completion of the ceremony is also necessary for the departure of the ship. As the narrator is not enlisted, he is excluded from the ceremony but is present with the rest during it on the deck. The narrator admits that even if he had been “in the commissioner’s list” he should not have made the cut due to his poor health (1: 16-7). This again marks the narrator’s privileged position on board the *Leviathan*. The ceremony was the “formal proceeding” after which followed a festive part, “a kind of ball, preceded by a supper, to which all the crew were welcome” (1: 17). The ball constitutes a festive custom on board that celebrates “the speedy departure of every Greenland vessel” (ibid.). The custom enables the crew to bond with one another before their voyage to the Arctic in which they will need to work closely together. The narrator and William however do not participate in the festivities with the others on board. In doing this, they not only miss the opportunity to bond with the rest of the crew, but also undermine the custom that is part of the whaling vessel as an autonomous social space which is distinct from the ‘earth.’

Another example of distinct marine customs that is followed on board the *Leviathan* is the custom of greeting other vessels on the way. The narrator briefly depicts this custom in the following manner: “Another ship, a collier, gave us three hearty cheers, which we returned, and they again replied; it being the custom for those who offer the first salute to give the last huzzas” (1: 34). The custom represents a traditional means of communication between various ships upon seeing one another. It likewise emphasises the significance of marine language, verbal and non-verbal, for seamen. The narrator, for instance, even adopts some of the language in the narrative of his voyage: “[A]bout half-past eleven in the forenoon, or, to take upon me the language of seamen, 11 1/3 A.M. the tide had risen sufficiently to float the *Leviathan*” (1: 21). The narrator discusses at length the importance and distinctness of the seamen’s language in one of the passages in the novel. He characterises the language as “the figurative language of seamen” and “their symbolic dialect” in which one word is applied “to many uses” and most subjects are expressed “by allusions to the few images” (4: 206). The narrator underlines the simplicity and symbolism of the seamen’s language. He similarly considers the origin of the language that, in his view, can be attributed to seamen’s “seclusion from general society,” “paucity of their ideas, and their want of common information” (ibid.). The narrator asserts that his goal is not “to reproach the untutored and isolated mariner with his deficiencies; but to afford some analysis of the composition of phraseology” (ibid.). The narrator compares the language of seamen in its structure to other figurative languages found in such ‘new’ sections of literature as the “Cockney School” (ibid.). The ‘symbolic dialect’ “finds favour” among the

academics of this school so much so that “the credulous, to whom the quackery of literature, like all other quackery, is most congenial, are led to believe that sailors are a species of native poets, whose metaphoric *patois* is replete with hidden beauties” (4: 207; original emphasis). The narrator criticises the academics for romanticising the language of seamen. Although he attempts to provide an objective linguistic analysis of ‘sea language,’ his discussion of the language appears to be condescending in nature. Furthermore, such analysis only illustrates the narrator’s alienation from seamen in general and hence from the *Leviathan*’s sailors. The language of seamen plays an essential role in shaping the monadic nature of the ship as a heterotopian space. The language constitutes part of the ship as an autonomous social space that is distinct from the ‘earth.’ The narrator acknowledges the language’s significance and its distinctive features in the novel but he also subverts them with his ‘objective’ analysis. The space of the *Leviathan* thus presents the “heterotopia of heterotopia” that is characterised by the paradox of its representation in the narrative. It simultaneously represents a floating fragment of the British socio-political world and a monadic social space that is distinct from it. The narrator exemplifies this paradox of representation in his account. He, however, also undermines the representation of the ship as an autonomous social space by not taking part in one of its customs and by treating the language of seamen in a condescending manner.

The *Leviathan* as the “Heterotopia of Compensation”

The *Leviathan* is a socio-heterotopian space that is characterised by the strict hierarchy, the rigid division of labour, and the compartmentalisation of its space. It can therefore be considered as the “heterotopia of compensation,” i.e. a space that is more meticulously organised and regulated than other spaces. The daily life on board the *Leviathan* is regulated by the sound of the bell that signals the crew what they need to do: “The striking of eight bells now warned us to “turn out;” for, though the ship still rolled along upon the water in all the agitation of a stiff breeze, we did not wish to acquire the reputation of “skulkers”” (1: 96). The bell functions as a clock for everyone on board that controls the actions of the crew. The regulation and control of daily life on board the *Leviathan* are likewise (and primarily) facilitated by the strict societal structure and division of labour. Captain Shafton is at the top of the hierarchy and his authority is absolute on board. This is illustrated in the novel when the drunken merriment of the sailors celebrating the line-crossing ceremony is immediately seized by the captain’s order: ““All hands a hoy, all hands,” several times repeated, broke upon the ears of the muddled crew, like a thundering billow; and, as if there had been a spell in the

words, every man was in an instant upon his legs” (2: 87). The captain is aided in his duty by the first mate, Mr Ridgway, and the second mate, Matthew Shipley. The three men constitute the top of the societal pyramid aboard the ship. The narrator occupies an ambiguous position on the *Leviathan*. On the one hand, he is an outsider to the social hierarchy on board since he is not a member of the crew. On the other hand, he is a member of the ship’s ‘elite’ that shares and has access to the same privileges as the top of the social pyramid. His position somewhat disrupts the social structure established on board. The narrator’s hierarchical ambiguity on board is exemplified in the following episode: “I had enjoyed this prospect of the stiff gale while Captain Shafton was asleep, but when he came upon deck he ordered me below, and I was compelled to obey, in virtue of my promise” (1: 77). The narrator is forced to obey the captain’s order not because of the latter’s authority but because the former’s wish to uphold his word and honour.

Apart from the narrator, every crew member is assigned to a particular duty on board throughout a day. In this instance, the division of labour is reflected in the organisation of the watch duty on deck. The watch duty, or “the watches,” involve “dividing the crew into parties, one of which is alternately on duty, while the others refresh and repose themselves” (1: 34). During a crisis the strict division of labour on board becomes especially apparent. For example, it is underscored in the depiction of the struggle between the *Leviathan* and the bodies of polar ice in the narrative: “Every one was at his appointed duty; some standing by the ropes and shifting the sails, as the parting ice allowed us a passage; others running fore and aft, bawling and shouting, to make their voices audible above the roaring of the elements, and the shrieking and rattling of the blocks and yards, as they swung round upon the masts” (6: 74). The precise division of labour on board is not just a special feature of the ship as the heterotopia of compensation. It is also absolutely vital for the effective operation of the vessel in the ocean; and it becomes a matter of life or death in the Arctic in a time of crisis and particularly in the encounter with polar ice there. Despite being an outsider, the narrator exhibits the necessity for such rigid division of labour among the crew in his depiction of the *Leviathan* and his life aboard. The division of labour on board is similarly linked to the compartmentalisation of the space of the ship and the rigid social hierarchy on board. The *Leviathan*’s compartmentalisation has been previously discussed in regard to the narrator’s description of the cabin. It also performs a double function in the novel. Firstly, it reflects the social hierarchy aboard, i.e. the division between the sailors and the masters of the vessel. Such division is exemplified by the narrator in the following passage: “We of the cabinet did not spend all the night in gazing at the outrageous mirth of the crew, but after supper enjoyed our usual conversation and our grog”

(1: 256). The crew's lower rank excludes them from having access to the cabin and its amenities and social functions. Secondly, the compartmentalisation of the ship's space conditions and sets the limits on the division of labour there. Such function is closely linked to the materiality of the space of the ship that determines the way that space can be used by man. The *Leviathan's* size and the size of each space within it determine the capacity of workers there. For instance, only one sailor was enough for the watches on the *Leviathan's* deck; and only one sailor there could fit into the crow's nest, the lookout barrel in the upper portion of the main mast.

The *Leviathan* as “the Heterotopia Par Excellence”

The whaling vessel in the novel embodies not only a tool of polar exploration, but also an instrument of economic development and a mirror of technological progress. The *Leviathan* mirrors technological progress since it adopts the latest inventions within its space. One of such inventions described in the novel is the crow's nest, “an open barrel” fixed to “the main top-gallant-mast head, through the bottom of which a trap-door opens upon [...] a ladder of ropes, with wooden bars for steps, instead of ratlins” (2: 11). The invention of the barrel crow's nest was credited to the Arctic British explorer and whaler William Scoresby, Sr. The narrator refers to Scoresby, Sr. as the captain who “as renowned for skill in Greenland fishery, and its mysteries, as Robin Hood may have been for craft of buck-shooting, or Rob Roy for levying “black mail;” and as “the father of whale slaughter” (2: 11-2). The narrator's portrayal of Scoresby, Sr. generates an image of a noble and rogue hero and underlines the explorer's importance for contemporary whale fishery. The narrator admits that the idea of the watch nest was not new as the Dutch whalers used to construct a type of nest out of leather and hoops. Still, ‘old’ Scoresby's invention was in “the glory of adopting a trim and seamen-like contrivance, instead of an immense bower of hides and arches” (2: 11). The narrator is rather flippant in regard to the Dutch invention and reverent in his praise of Scoresby's. Hence the crow's nest is an object of national pride for the narrator.

Despite this, the ‘glory’ of Scoresby's invention is subverted by the suffering that the harpooner experiences there in the course of the *Leviathan's* voyage: “I have often wondered to see a poor fellow sit, congealing and bleaching for hours together, at the mast head, during a gale, which has raised blisters upon the faces of his comrades upon deck, where it is comparatively warm” (2: 12-3). For this reason, the narrator offers a possible way of improving the harpooner's condition. He suggests installing “a moveable hood” on the top of the crow's nest with a hole for a telescope in it (2: 12). In fact, the narrator claims that he has come up

with “a hundred improvements of various kinds, which would contribute to alleviate the hardships of whale catching” during his Arctic voyage (2: 13). However, the *Leviathan*’s crew, like “the general race of Greenland fishers,” would be reluctant to adopt any changes that would lessen their sufferings since they “partake much of the stolidity and blindness to their own welfare” (ibid.). Here the crew echo the nationalist hubris of coeval polar exploration, the rhetoric in which man’s stoicism is typically glorified and his suffering is conversely undermined. Such rhetoric constitutes part of the utopian pretensions ascribed to the space of the ship in the novel. The crew’s nest represents the tension between technological progress and resistance to change on board. It similarly represents the tension between the narrator’s pragmatism and the crew’s utopian pretensions. It also illustrates the *Leviathan*’s heterotopian nature, that is, its function as a material space to juxtapose within itself several sites and objects which are inherently incompatible.

The whale fishery constitutes the *Leviathan*’s role in economic development of the country. The hunt for whales and their subsequent slaughter in the Arctic are described in detail in the novel. The body of the whale is hoisted on board and cut off into pieces on deck by almost the entire crew. The narrator initially only observes the bloody work and does not participate himself in the process: “[A]fter witnessing all hands, like so many demons of blood and grease, rioting in the spoils of their hapless victim, I left the deck, covered with lumps of blubber, fins, tails, and crang” (2: 214). The space of the ship is essentially transformed into a site of butchery that the narrator and William are happy to escape in a boat “like two school-boys broken loose from incarceration” to go hunting for birds (ibid.). The grotesque scene on deck seems to repulse the narrator and makes it unbearable to witness any longer. Here the narrator highlights the violent nature of the whale fishery and the vulnerability of the whale body. Interestingly enough, there is a shift in the perception of the dead whale before it was hoisted on board and after. Before its transportation to the deck, the narrator calls the whale slaughtered in a violent struggle by the crew “our monster of the deep” and “this strange beast, disguised as a fish” (2: 206). After witnessing its dismemberment on deck, the narrator refers to the whale body as the “hapless victim” (2: 214). Such shift is produced not only by the grotesque nature of the whale’s dismemberment on deck, but also by the space of the ship. The *Leviathan*’s deck is an open space that reinforces the visibility of the bloody process for the narrator. Moreover, the shift makes the vessel’s name “Leviathan” ironic here and consequently hints at the following question: ‘Who is the real ‘monster’ in the Arctic ocean, the *Leviathan* (man), or the whale (nature)?’ The narrator considers the question at length in the aftermath of the whale’s killing and its dissection on deck:

The pride of intellect, which glories in the contemplation of a large ship, with all its powers and resources, its majesty of motion, and its scorn of peril, shrinks back upon the soul, when it reflects that all the grandeur of conception and capacity of execution displayed in building a mansion on the sea, serves but to enable its inhabitants to extend suffering and slaughter from the surface of the earth to the recesses of the deep. [...] The bear which kills a seal and devours it to maintain his life, is a real cruel savage, while the man who slays thousands, to convert their skin into trumpery ornaments, is a praise-worthy member of society (2: 223-4).

The narrator castigates man's selfish attitude towards nature and seemingly frowns upon the violent nature of the whale fishery. He underscores the ship's instrumental role in facilitating such violence upon nature in the passage. He therefore subverts the representation of the ship as a product of man's "grandeur of conception and capacity of execution." He also undermines Foucault's notion of the ship as "the great instrument of economic development" and "the greatest reserve of the imagination." The narrator underlines the aspect of violence in the function of the ship that is missing from its conception as "the heterotopia par excellence" and, for the most part, from the conception of heterotopia on the whole. Nonetheless, the narrator somewhat tones down his own castigation of the brutality of the whale fishery later on in the novel when he describes it as being full of "the violence of joy" (2: 314). The "violence of joy" is contagious and all-encompassing in nature. The narrator and William are not mere observers but active participants in it: "[L]ike two great geese clapping their wings because the rest of the flock clapped theirs, William and I were as joyous as the most joyful" (2: 315).

The subsequent dissection of the whale's body physically transforms the outward appearance of the *Leviathan*: "Blood and grease flowed around in profusion, and lumps of blubber filled the 'flinch gut,' or that space between decks allowed for their reception, even up to the hatches" (2: 316). In this instance, the narrator does not disparage the bloody nature of the whale fishery. He, however, emphasises its violent aspect in both cases. The openness of the space of the ship's deck makes it even more apparent in the narrative. In the first instance, the narrator is just an observer and outsider to "the violence of joy." The capture of the whale and its later dismemberment on deck present the vulgarisation of the everyday for him. At the same time, they constitute the everyday for the crew on board the *Leviathan*. Here the narrator illustrates the problem of human agency in the conception of heterotopias, that is, whether all the individuals within a heterotopian space perceive it as such and whether a space is heterotopian only to those who are outsiders to it. The space of the *Leviathan* is "the heterotopia par excellence" in the novel that arguably embodies "the great instrument of economic development" and "the greatest reserve of the imagination." Nevertheless, it is also a human tool that enables the infliction of violence on nature.

In the second instance, the narrator becomes an active participant in “the violence of joy” of the whale fishery. It no longer repulses him. On the contrary, it invigorates him like other seamen on board. To a certain extent, it can be said that it becomes the everyday for him. The Arctic voyage changes the narrator’s entire outlook on violence and cruelty: “To inflict death, while at home, on the most noxious vermin, had always been to me a painful exertion of superior power, but now I joined eagerly in the intention of slaughtering animals, harmless in their behaviour towards me, and which it was scarcely possible could ever cause injury to any one” (3: 55). The narrator accentuates that dwelling on board the whaling vessel transforms the way one perceives violence towards not only whales, but animals in general. He asserts that there is something about dwelling aboard that enables such transformation in man’s perception of violence: “I do not know in what manner the influence of the sea induces carelessness of danger, and heedlessness of cruelty, but I am certain that he who dwells long upon the ocean will acquire both” (ibid.). The ship thus facilitates the alteration of the way violence is commonly perceived by the narrator. It is a space that is not only transformed by human violence but also a space that transforms the way that violence is understood by the narrator in the novel. The narrator depicts animals as helpless victims of man’s cruelty and “superior power.” Such power disparity between man and nature is overturned in the encounter between the ship and polar ice in the novel. The *Leviathan* is nearly shipwrecked after the collision with the ice that “threatened to destroy, in a few moments, man and the proudest of his works” (3: 82). Despite being a tool of economic development and a mirror of technological progress, the ship is powerless in the face of the agency of polar ice in the novel. It is rather ironic to consider here that polar nature ‘pays back’ for the violence and cruelty inflicted on its fauna by the *Leviathan*’s crew.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Compellingly enough, polar ice is not only the main adversary of the *Leviathan* (and contemporary polar exploration on the whole) but also an object of trade in the novel. The “frigid merchandise” is sold “to delight the luxuriant palates of London” (2: 322). The *Leviathan* is not involved in the ‘frigid’ trade, but the narrator comes across several Greenland vessels that are dispatched to retrieve “ice from the neighbourhood of the Pole” (ibid.). Despite its apparent abundance, the demand for polar ice in London exceeds its supply since only one Greenland vessel is successful in bringing the “frigid merchandise” there and making a fortune out of it. The success of the vessel is explained by the fact that the seamen there “were content to pick up the loose pieces, called sunken, or fresh-water ice” (ibid.). Meanwhile, other vessels rushed head first into the area of large bodies of ice to pick up fast lots of ice and thus ended up being crushed by it. Hence many ships were shipwrecked and many people died. Although polar ice is dangerous for vessels, men still wish to exploit and colonise it. The expected material gain outweighs one’s self-preservation. Furthermore, the danger and difficulty in obtaining polar ice only adds up to its economic value as an object of merchandise for man. The narrator is astonished to hear that a fortune can be made “in these enlightened times” by selling ice (2: 323). The value of ice is not in itself, but in where it comes from, i.e. the *polar* region. Polar ice as an object of trade thus contributes to the instrumental role of the ship in economic development.

For the most part of the novel, the *Leviathan* presents a quintessential heterotopian space that functions as a tool of economic development and a mirror of technological progress. Nonetheless, the narrator explicitly challenges and undermines such notion of the space of the ship in the following passage in the novel:

I certainly never found myself in less complimentary moods to my own species, than when I regained our vessel, after straying amongst the wilderness of beauty which I entered at various periods, whilst roving the Arctic Ocean; and I never was more disposed to look upon mankind and all its feeble inventions and tame delights, as a race of despicable things of life, degraded by follies and vices, such as Swift has represented his Yahoos (4: 227).

The narrator draws a striking contrast between the sight of the polar ice and that of the ship. In this contrasting depiction, the polar ice stands for the sublime, the surreal, and the imaginary while the ship represents the mundane, the physical, and the actual. The vision of the polar ice uplifts the narrator's imagination and spirit while the vision of the ship brings him down to reality. The *Leviathan* embodies here an 'evil' invention, a product of sinful mankind, that is put in sharp contrast to the 'pure' Arctic nature. Such outlook seemingly castigates technological progress and subverts the idea of the ship as "the great instrument of economic development," as "the greatest reserve of the imagination," and essentially as "the heterotopia par excellence." The narrator likewise implicitly criticises here the exploratory projects of man in the Arctic. The wilderness and beauty of the polar region in the eyes of the narrator only accentuate the worthlessness of mankind and its inventions in their feeble attempts to explore it. Humans are likened to "a race of despicable things of life" that threaten to destroy the untamed grandeur of the Arctic scenery. Such castigation not only contradicts the nationalist rhetoric of contemporary polar travelogues, but also ultimately questions the feasibility of coeval polar exploration and the utopian pretensions associated with it. It hence exhibits the potential of the ship as a heterotopian space to resist the dominant societal structure of the existing socio-political reality.

The Heterochronies of the *Leviathan*

The narrator demonstrates his considerable knowledge of coeval natural history and "comparative anatomy" in the novel (4: 14). For instance, he gives elaborate advice on how to store various species of flora and fauna on board using a "deal box" with lead foil, "the best repository for a traveller's museum" and a barrel, or a keg (4: 13-4). In the course of the voyage, the narrator collects several samples of fauna and ice from the polar region: "I spent my hours of exercise in increasing the number of my specimens of the living productions of this climate,

and in investigating the combinations of ice which lay heaped and strewn around us, in every imaginary position” (4: 204-5). The narrator is not an official member of the crew, and the *Leviathan* is not an exploratory vessel. Despite this, the narrator unofficially performs a duty of a naturalist on board similar to that of an exploratory vessel. It is interesting to note here that *Tales* is the only novel among the examined primary texts in which the narrator not only describes the encountered flora and fauna, but as well actively collects their specimens and stores them on board. The *Leviathan* is thus transformed into a “traveller’s museum” in the novel. The narrator is a privileged user of the space of the ship who decides on how to use that space. He therefore actively participates in the social production of the space of the ship here. In this instance, the space of the ship is also linked to one of the principles of heterotopias, that is, their “absolute break” with “traditional time,” or “heterochronies” (Foucault 6). According to Foucault, museums are “heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time” (7). The *Leviathan* performs such function by facilitating the storage and preservation of the narrator’s specimens of polar fauna and ice. A “traveller’s museum” embodies only one space of representation that the ship is capable of incorporating within itself. Such function similarly indicates the ability of the ship not merely to juxtapose several incompatible sites and spaces within one material space, but also numerous spaces of representation.

The *Leviathan* constitutes a heterotopian space that is characterised by its absolute break with traditional time. The perception of time on board in the novel is distinct from that of the ‘earth.’ In the first place, the nature of the polar region has an impact on how time is sensed by the narrator and other characters on board. The narrator points out that the definitions of ‘day’ and ‘night’ are rather problematic in the Arctic region: “[I]n reality, we never had any night, the whole twenty-four hours being one continued period of light, and this perpetual day existed for several months. At midnight the sun would shine as gayly into the cabin as if it were open morning, and darkness had totally disappeared from our senses” (2: 95). Contrary to the life on British soil, there is no distinction between day and night in the Arctic. This affects the way ‘traditional’ time is perceived by the characters in the novel. The narrator’s depiction of continuous perpetual light in the polar region echoes exploratory accounts of contemporary polar explorers such as Parry in his *Journal of a Third Voyage* (1826): “[T]he Aurora again appeared in the southern quarter, and continued visible nearly the whole night, but without any remarkable feature” (70). Another fact that impacts the perception of time in *Tales* is the ship’s isolation from the ‘earth’ and its changes in the polar region. The seamen’s prolonged distance from the land cuts them off from “all change of society” (2: 333). This especially becomes apparent at the end of the novel when the *Leviathan* returns to the Shetland Islands and all the

crew are eager to find out about the changes having taken place in their absence: ““What news?”” was the first and eager inquiry of every one, and we were told what was news to us, that Lord Castlereagh had perished by his own hand. I was shocked at the fate of the individual, though it could be deemed no misfortune to his country” (6: 308). While on a polar voyage, the ship is disconnected from the ‘earth’ and its changes. For this reason, these changes are perceived even more acutely by the seamen upon hearing about them all at once after a continued period of isolation. Such shift in the perception of societal changes constitutes an example of the ship’s connection to heterochronies and their absolute break with the traditional time of the ‘earth.’

The *Leviathan* as a Place

The ship is a heterotopian space that embodies the tension between place and non-place. In *Tales*, the *Leviathan* is a confined space in which the narrator and other characters stay together for the most part of the polar voyage. The whaling vessel becomes a second home for the characters in the course of the lengthy voyage in the Arctic. It turns into a place which the characters get emotionally attached to. In other words, the space of the ship acquires a sense of place for the characters in the novel. This sense of place is mainly generated by two aspects of the space of the ship in the narrative. First, the *Leviathan* is the only space amidst the hostile Arctic nature that provides a safe shelter to the characters. It is a safe and familiar place that protects the characters against the sublime nature of the polar region: “It is a grand and sublime sight to see the waves rising around us, as if about to unite their immense volumes, and overwhelm the little bark that glides along the hollow between them” (1: 73). The space of the ship facilitates the experience of the sublime for the characters on board since it provides a safe distance from the hostile nature. The *Leviathan* is a circumscribed place that is put in contrast to the infinite space of the outer nature. Throughout the novel, the narrator depicts the struggle between the ship and polar ice, i.e. between the agency of man and the agency of nature. Such struggle not merely increases the efficacy of seamen’s labour aboard, but also considerably deepens their fellowship. The increased fellowship of the crew becomes especially apparent when the *Leviathan* is immured in ice. The prolonged besetment of the vessel enables the seamen of other ships nearby to visit the whaling vessel, and vice versa. For example, the *Leviathan* is visited by several commanders of other beset vessels such as the Captain Duncan of the *Dundee*. The visitations between the ships are accompanied by drinking, singing, dancing, and storytelling. Here the space of the immobile ship can be likened to one’s house

that hosts a social gathering for its guests. The ship's besetment likewise encourages more and more storytelling among the *Leviathan's* crew who are weary of waiting and doing nothing. The narrator laments this period of idleness on board describing it as "an intolerable affliction, exceeding in misery even the tediousness of listening to a twice told tale" (5: 270). Despite this, the vessel's besetment brings the narrator and the crew closer together. For instance, the narrator reads a certain book four times to one sailor that he has never met before "with any one who would read more than half a page to him at once" (5: 272). The sailor who despised reading was so moved by the narrator's act that he offered to tell a tale that had not been recounted before. The exchange between the narrator and the sailor facilitated by the beset ship creates a camaraderie between the two.

Second, the *Leviathan's* sense of place is enabled by the locale of the space of the ship. The physical form, or better the material representation of the ship also produces the sense of place in the narrative. The space of the ship embodies a floating piece of the 'earth' that is familiar for the characters on board. It is something commonplace for them amongst the sublime polar nature because it is a material product of their socio-political reality. Over the course of the continued polar voyage, the ship becomes a place that is the mundane and the everyday for all the crew. It turns into a meaningful site for them. In this case, the narrator particularly asserts towards the end of the voyage: "I had by this time learnt to feel myself quite at home on board a ship, and to consider the *Leviathan*, as it really was, a comfortable residence" (6: 302). The narrator comes to consider the *Leviathan* his second home. The assertion that the vessel is a "comfortable residence" may not apply to everyone on board since the narrator occupies a privileged position there. Notwithstanding, the narrator's statement illustrates his emotional attachment to the space of the ship. The confined character of the ship similarly creates the sense of place in the narrative since it unites all the seamen on board despite the rigid compartmentalisation of its space. Such comradeship is achieved through entertainment that involves lots of dancing, drinking, and singing. In particular, there is a lot of emphasis on singing and dancing on board throughout the novel. Both singing and dancing temporarily suspend and subvert the strict societal structure and division of labour aboard. They likewise both divide and unite the seamen on the ship. Such concurrent division and fellowship is exemplified in the depiction of the Shetlanders' dance: "The Shetland men, in general, expressed in their faces, and in their movements, far more delight and agility than their southern messmates, and their evolutions were as rapid and fantastic as the most desperate Highland reel could encourage, and the rolling of the ship increase" (1: 254). The dance both exposes the difference between the Shetlanders and the English and erases the difference between them.

Thus, the *Leviathan* becomes a meaningful place for the characters the material space of which brings them all closer together. In doing this, the space of the ship unveils the difference between the crew and concurrently forms a fellowship between them in the course of the voyage.

The Exclusion of Women and “Feminine Performances” on Board

In general, women were excluded from the space of the ship employed in contemporary polar exploration. In *Tales*, the exclusion of women from the *Leviathan* is more prominent than in other examined novels. Two women, Captain Shafton’s and the cooper’s wives, are “temporary visitors” on board while the ship goes down the river (1: 23). The narrator is quick to assert that the women are surely “not bound for Greenland” (ibid.). Such assertion seemingly excludes any possibility of female presence on board in the polar region. As soon as the ship is ready to depart for Greenland, the women are dismissed from the space of the ship “somewhat unceremoniously” (1: 31). The narrator justifies such blatant dismissal by the pre-eminence of a sailor’s duty: “[T]o a sailor a wife never stands in competition with a good wind, and a very fair and welcome breeze had just sprung up” (ibid.). The ‘unceremonious’ dismissal of the women from the ship only highlights their exclusion from coeval polar exploration in the narrative. A polar voyage constituted an utter test of masculinity and male worth and therefore it was not seen as a place for women. Furthermore, in the novel, women represent seamen’s imaginary bindings to the land and their duty. It is a requirement for seamen to be married if they want to be employed on board the *Leviathan*. The employed seaman receives payment in advance as “it secures to him that remuneration for his labour which, unless he brings back the ship safe into port, he is not entitled to claim” (1: 25). The payment is then delivered to the wives of those seamen. In this case, the seamen would be less tempted to desert the ship after the payment or spend it all on drinking. The wives act as one of the guarantors of their husbands’ return to the shore. In some degree, they are also the guarantors for their husbands’ “good behaviour” on board (ibid.). The money and the wives embody imagined ties that bind the seamen to the space of the ship.

Women are excluded from the *Leviathan*’s space for the duration of the polar voyage. Nonetheless, they are not entirely barred from the space of the ship in the novel. The narrator describes, for instance, the female captain of one of the Dutch vessels encountered on the way to the Arctic. The captain is portrayed as “a bulky female, arrayed in the clumsy Dutch costume, parading the deck of the *schip (sic)* in all the majesty of wrath, brandishing a bundle of long

tobacco pipes in her hand” (1: 37; original emphasis). From a distance, the narrator can observe the woman angrily pursuing and berating one of the sailors on board who in terror jumps off the vessel and is subsequently picked up by another ship. In the process of doing this, the female uses “such hard words” that the narrator does not question her “maintained clear possession of the boards” (ibid.). Such portrayal suggests that only a ‘brute’ woman, deprived of any femininity, can be the captain of the ship. The narrator’s emphasis on the Dutch version of the word ‘ship’ indicates that only a Dutch (and not English) vessel can be managed by a female captain. This becomes ever more apparent when the ‘brute’ female captain is put in contrast to Captain Shafton in the narrative.

Contrary to the Dutch captain, Shafton’s depiction is somewhat romanticised by the narrator: “[T]o a mind full of enterprise and activity he united an open and unsuspecting disposition, combined with much delicacy of feeling” (1: 35). Shafton is characterised by his openness and urbanity of manners. As such, the captain only welcomes on board those who are free from “ignorance and vulgarity” (ibid.). The *Leviathan* therefore constitutes a space that is free from these two social afflictions. Moreover, it is a space that is devoid of not merely female presence on board (in the polar voyage), but also any femininity. The latter is shown through the emphasis on the unwavering bravery of Captain Shafton and the seamen in their encounter with the polar sublime. It is also hinted at in the scene when the narrator characterises yarn spinning done by the “bluff-visaged workmen” as “seemingly feminine performances” (6: 81). The narrator justifies the seamen’s “feminine performances” by their recourse to “that mode of whiling away the weariness of inaction, and relieving the flagging powers of converse” (ibid.). The seamen are forced to turn to the “feminine performances” only in their time of extreme idleness on board. Thus, the portrayal of women and femininity in the novel suggests the narrator’s implicit criticism of their presence on board the polar ship. In this view, the ship is a space that is reserved only for male heroism and stoicism. Such outlook mirrors the utopian pretensions associated with coeval polar exploration, that is, the belief in the heroic perseverance of the British men in their encounter with the hostile nature of the polar regions. The narrator subsequently ascribes these pretensions to the representational space of the ship, the lived social space that is both experienced and imagined by him.

The Marginalisation, Discrimination, and Alienation of the Shetlanders Aboard

The Shetlanders constitute part of the crew on board the *Leviathan*. It was customary of Greenland whaling vessels to hire a large portion of their crews from the Shetland and Orkney

Isles. The natives are hired by the whalers because of their “strong and enduring” personality and “mild and docile” disposition (1: 110). They “serve in the lowest capacities in the vessels” such as “the helots, the hewers of wood and drawers” (ibid.). They hence occupy the lowest position in the social hierarchy on board the whaling vessels. The Shetlanders are commonly ostracised and mistreated by the English seamen who “treat them usually with that overbearing insolence and brutal cruelty” that can be attributed to “slave-drivers in the colonies” (ibid.). The Shetlanders are not officially inferior to the English but they are discriminated against by the latter due to their “simple hearts and unassuming spirits” (ibid.). The mistreatment of the Shetlanders on the ship is so severe that the narrator likens it to that of “Jews or Negroes” (1: 111). They “yield like slaves to the audacious tyranny of their inferiors” (ibid.). The narrator is puzzled about the reason for such a phenomenon on board.

The natives’ mistreatment can be explained by two possible reasons. First, the space of ship is part of the ‘earth’ and therefore reflects the attitudes of its socio-political world. Hence this bad English attitude towards the natives on board is also reflected in their behaviour on land. The Shetland and Orkney Isles used to be a Norwegian province until they were annexed by Scotland in the fifteenth century as a dowry payment in the marriage between James III and Princess Margaret. The Isles then came under British rule and accordingly the natives and their nautical expertise were exploited by the Royal Navy. In fact, around 3000 Shetlanders served in the Royal Navy during the Napoleonic wars and many natives were recruited by compulsion as the press gangs were very active in the early nineteenth century.¹⁴⁶ In coeval polar travelogues, the narrative normally focuses almost entirely on outer nature unless the normality of the space of the ship is either endangered or interrupted. The discrimination against the Shetlanders on board is seemingly not addressed there.

Second, the Shetlanders are depicted in the narrative as being somewhat ‘naive’ and ‘innocent.’ They thus display the stereotypical features usually ascribed to the depiction of the Inuit in coeval polar accounts. The “smiling, good-natured image of the Inuit” embodies “the pervasive image” of them “in the popular imagination” (David 17).¹⁴⁷ It is compelling to note that the Inuit are conspicuously absent in *Tales*. They are briefly mentioned only once in the novel. The narrator refers to the evidence of their former presence on land (discovered by the crew of another ship), that is, the Inuit ‘huts’ “containing slate knives, bears’ heads, and other signs of natives” (6: 58). Such absence is especially interesting since they are rather

¹⁴⁶ From “History.” *Shetland*. [online article]. n.d. Accessed: 6 September 2019. www.shetland.org.

¹⁴⁷ See also Hugh Brody’s *Living Arctic* (1987) and Ann Fienup-Riordan’s book article “Introduction: Eskimos, Real and Ideal” in *Eskimo Essays* (1990): pp. 1-34.

prominent in the narratives of coeval polar travelogues and almost entirely disappear from them only after the mid nineteenth century (Spufford 188, 197-8 and David 47, 50).¹⁴⁸ In a way, the Shetlanders are the substitute for the Inuit people in the narrative. They present a people that is colonised by the British. The marginalisation of and discrimination against the Shetlanders on board reflect the relationship between the ‘coloniser’ and the ‘colonised’ in the novel. Such relationship is characterised by colonial racism in which the colonised’s subservience and the coloniser’s dominance are attributed to their respective nature (Memmi 119). The narrator repeatedly indicates that the Shetlanders’ meekness instigates the domineering English to mistreat them.

The *Leviathan* is not an exception in this instance. The Shetlanders are marginalised, discriminated against, and alienated by the rest of the crew throughout the novel. Such mistreatment of the natives subverts the narrator’s depiction of the *Leviathan* as a space that is free from vulgarity and ignorance epitomised in the figure of Captain Shafton. There are several examples of the Shetlanders’ mistreatment throughout the novel. In the first place, the Shetlanders are excluded from an important ceremony for Greenland whalers that is carried out before the commencement of the whale fishery: “The harpooners were invited into the cabin, bearing the harpoons they had selected for their boats, and each was compelled to drink a bumper of rum, from the socket of his weapon, to the success of the fishery” (1: 251). All the English seamen “had the favour of draining the harpoon socket granted to them,” while the Shetlanders were given normal glasses of liquor (1: 252). The narrator observed that it was not the first time that “the men of Shetland were considered inferior to their comrades” for an unknown reason “unless, (as Robinson Crusoe would say), because they were inferior in rascality and low manners” (ibid.). In this regard, the space of the ship constitutes a representational space that is governed by its own set of rituals and ceremonies. The Shetlanders’ exclusion from the ceremony marks not only their inferior social status, but also their alien and marginal status within the *Leviathan*’s representational space.

The Shetlanders are the outsiders within this representational space. A Shetlander Bill M-y, however, is an exception to such mistreatment of his fellow countrymen. The man is a “violently passionate and overbearing” person who conducts himself “more like a ruffian, accustomed to the lawless life of a corsair, than a peaceful mariner” (1: 195). His aggressive and assertive behaviour intimidates the English sailors on board: “Nobody dared insult Bill,

¹⁴⁸ The disappearance of the Inuit after the mid nineteenth century can be potentially explained by the report given to John Rae by a group of the Inuit about the disastrous fate of the Franklin expedition, and their indication that the expedition members might have resorted to cannibalism (Spufford 197-8 and David 50).

though a Shetlander, for he was prompt in repaying any debt of injury with compound interest” (2: 302). Bill is the only Shetlander who dares to speak back to and retaliate against the English. In doing this, he subverts the established social hierarchy on the *Leviathan*. Notwithstanding, Bill joins the English in their mistreatment of the Shetlanders on the ship: “[I]t was strange that he took great delight in tyrannizing over his countrymen, with harsher severity than the English themselves” (ibid.). The Shetlander seemingly wishes to erase any possible association with his countrymen. This suggests that Bill attempts to shed his Shetland (the colonised) identity by emulating the English (the colonisers) in their abuse of his landsmen.

The narrator openly condemns the mistreatment of the Shetlanders by the English on whaling vessels: “I was ashamed of, and shocked at my countrymen, when I witnessed their cowardly and ungenerous behaviour towards a race, far superior to them in morality and good conduct, and inferior in nothing but bold determined contempt of rectitude” (1: 303). Despite this, he repeatedly and somewhat condescendingly depicts the Shetlanders as a ‘race’ that, unlike the English, is harmless and simple-minded in their manners. The narrator similarly characterises the Shetlanders as “a cunning, over-reaching, shrewd set, somewhat given to lying, pilfering, and such like insidious knavery;” but admits that the English sailors also possess “these qualifications to a greater extent, and developed into more perfect vices” (ibid.). Both characteristics of the Shetlanders mirror the way in which the colonised are depicted by the coloniser (and also constitute the ideological machine of colonial racism).¹⁴⁹ They also reflect the manner in which the Inuit are often described in contemporary polar travelogues in spite of their stereotypical good-natured image. For example, John Ross in his *Narrative of a Second Voyage* (1835) describes the cunning nature of the Inuit: “We had a specimen of their cunning, in one who, having a sore on his leg, begged to have a wooden leg made; expecting thus to gain a piece of timber. It was easily explained, that the first condition was, to cut off the sore leg; which of course put an end to this application” (277). Ross also underlines the Inuit’s “troublesome familiarity” and their predilection for pilfering iron and wood:

Another party came on board, and among them, a woman with an infant at her back. She was hideously tattooed all over the face; and her portrait, like that of many others was drawn. Her husband was a stranger, belonging to some southern tribe, and knew the names for copper and brass; whereas, with the present people, the name for iron applied to all. The presents which we made to these also, did not prevent the disappearance of a pair of snuffers; though we could not ascertain who the culprit was (274-5).

¹⁴⁹ See Memmi’s book article “The Colonizer Who Accepts” in *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1991): pp. 89-120.

Like the Inuit in coeval polar accounts, the Shetlanders possess a contradictory image in the narrative. On the one hand, they are good-natured, simple-minded, and docile people (who are oppressed by the English on the ship). On the other hand, they are portrayed as being somewhat sly with a penchant for knavery. There is another parallel that can be drawn between the Inuit and the Shetlanders in the novel. The narrator and William go hunting for birds on ice in a boat when they get surrounded by a thick fog and the ice starts to break apart under their feet. The two characters are eventually rescued by a group of Shetlanders “instead of a boat’s crew at the floe edge” after they have abandoned all hope of reaching their boat or the *Leviathan* (5: 303). In several literary works of the period set in a polar region, the Inuit come to the rescue of the main characters.¹⁵⁰ As David puts it, the characters’ fate in these books becomes “inextricably linked with that of the Inuit” (206). Furthermore, the scene of the rescue demonstrates the fellowship between the characters and undermines the prejudice against the Shetlanders in the narrative. Nevertheless, it similarly highlights the Shetlanders’ inferior position on board the *Leviathan*. Out of all the crew, they are the only ones who are sent to look for the narrator and William when the ship begins “to break adrift” (5: 303). They are the ones who are entrusted with such a dangerous task.

The parallels between the image of the Inuit and that of the Shetlanders in the novel are striking and compelling. They suggest that the relationship between the Shetlanders and the English on board mirrors the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. Such relationship exemplifies the function of the space of the ship in mirroring the existing socio-political reality. It is produced by the social relations of the ‘earth’ that are ascribed to the space of the ship in the narrative which, in turn, affects the way that space is experienced and perceived by the characters. The narrator both subverts and reflects the negative attitude towards the Shetlanders. The ship, in this instance, encompasses a space that both unites the crew aboard and exposes difference between them in the novel. The *Leviathan* is not only a socio-heterotopian space, but also a *political* one in the novel. It constitutes a representation of social space in the narrative that unveils the operation of power within that space. The Shetlanders are unofficially at the bottom of the hierarchy on board. They are marginalised and alienated by the English within the social space of the ship (both its representation of space and its representational space. i.e. the social space of the ship which corresponds to how that space is imagined and lived by the characters).

¹⁵⁰ See, for instance, W.H.G. Kingston’s novel *Peter the Whaler* (1851), R.M. Ballantyne’s novels *Ungava* (1857) and *The World of Ice* (1860), and Jules Verne’s novel *The Adventures of Captain Hatteras* (1864/1874).

The *Leviathan* as a Representational Space

The *Leviathan* encompasses a representational space, that is, a space of the everyday that the characters inhabit and make use of on a regular basis. It is a space of the ship that is lived by the characters through images and symbols that overlap its material space. It is hence a space that is closely linked to rituals, traditions, myths, and superstitions. The representational space of the *Leviathan* constitutes a lived space that is governed by ceremonies and superstitions which are distinct from those of the 'earth.' The most notable ceremony described in the novel is the line-crossing initiation rite performed on board. The ceremony commemorates the ship's crossing of the Arctic circle. The initiation rite temporarily subverts and suspends the rigid social hierarchy and the strict division of labour on the *Leviathan* and the physical compartmentalisation of its space. The ceremony starts with a loud noise that awakes the narrator. His cabin door is "flung back with violence" and "a group of hideous beings" enters the room (1: 62). The "hideous beings" are the seamen dressed up as King Neptune and his entourage. King Neptune, or "the Greenland Neptune," represents the absolute authority of the sea in the ceremony that is grotesquely marked by "a lofty superstructure, composed of the skin of a bear's head and one of its legs" on his head; and "a large harpoon, suspended in a sealskin belt, like a broad sword" (2: 63-4). Among King Neptune's entourage, the narrator particularly singles out a barber "whose power and whose will to employ it were as great and as formidable as the influence of the barber of the eleventh Lewis of France" (1: 64). The barber occupies the most important position in the ceremony after King Neptune and his Queen because he is the one entrusted with ducking and shaving the uninitiated seamen. The ducking and shaving are the key part of the ceremony in the novel. It was later revealed in the narrative that the barber had been a Shetlander. This exemplifies the function of the ceremony in subverting and suspending the societal structure on board.

The ceremony divides the crew into two groups: the initiated and the uninitiated. The narrator and William belong to the latter category and hence are subjected to the initiation rite. They occupy a liminal position on board that is put in opposition to the superior one of the initiated seamen. The ceremony contributes to the formation of *communitas* in which all the uninitiated seamen need to submit to the authority of the initiated; and that, in turn, contests and undermines the existing societal structure on board (Turner 96). It challenges and subverts the societal structure because it transiently reverses and interrupts the hierarchies of high and low on the *Leviathan*. The ceremony temporarily displays the world upside down aboard. It presents a marine carnival in the novel. The marine carnival is characterised by the unrestrained

merriment of all the crew in the narrative: “[I]n spite of the efforts of the god of seas to retain his gravity, he, with his whole court, burst out into such a peal of convulsive laughter, that the Leviathan rang with it from stem to stern, and several mollymawks, which were flying in her course, started off in full speed, in affright” (1: 66). Such depiction subverts and understates the violent and humiliating nature of the initiation rite in the narrative. This, in turn, brings the rite closer to Bakhtin’s conception of carnival in which laughter and merriment are associated with positive and liberating energy and anti-authoritarian force. The *Leviathan*’s crew are united and liberated in their laughter and merriment.

There is another aspect in the ceremony’s description that downplays its demeaning and brutal character in the novel. The uninitiated are actually given a choice, that is, either to pay the fine to King Neptune “required by the usages of his kingdom” or “to appear upon deck, and undergo the process of shaving and ducking, as by law established” (2: 67). The narrator and William choose the former and are therefore excluded from the ceremony. This once again highlights the privileged status of the narrator and his friend aboard and their distance from the common seamen. The marine carnival plays an essential role in the formation of the seaman’s identity. In the novel, it is accompanied by the characteristic ridicule, humiliation, and violence towards the uninitiated: “A heavy application of this instrument [a razor with an edge like a saw] then followed, and streaks of blood became visible on the skin over which it passed” (1: 74). It symbolises the rebirth of the uninitiated into the ranks of the ‘seaworthy’ through “uncivilized abuses practised on this occasion” (ibid.). The narrator and William’s exclusion from the carnival puts them into a position not only above, but also outside the representational space of the ship. The marine carnival underlines the heterotopian nature of the space of the ship in its adherence to the mechanism of opening and closing characteristic of heterotopias. To become a ‘true’ seaman and to gain full access to the space of the ship, an individual needs to undergo through the initiation rite. In this sense, the narrator and William subvert this mechanism by not going through the rite and retaining their status on the ship. The transient character of the marine carnival also links the space of the ship to heterotopias of the festival. Albeit temporarily, the line-crossing ceremony subverts and suspends the dominant societal structure on the ship in the novel.

As a representational space, the *Leviathan* is governed by various superstitions that impact the behaviour of the seamen on board. The importance of superstitions for the fellow seamen is repeatedly emphasised by the narrator. Certain things are considered to be a sign of either good fortune or misfortune. For instance, “a small bird, (probably a snow-bunting),” that settles on the bowsprit is perceived as an indication of bad luck by the seamen (2: 99). In

another instance, the continued misfortune in catching whales is attributed to the presence of “that d–d black, curly-hided dog aboard” by one of the seamen (2: 193). The seamen generally attribute misfortune to the presence of any living being on board in the novel. The narrator comes into conflict with the seamen over this superstition when he attempts to keep a captured seal alive in confinement aboard and bring it back to England. The superstition, however, steps in to sabotage this plan as the seal is secretly released by one of the seamen. The captured seal becomes the main point of contention between the narrator and the seamen particularly after the besetment of the ship. For the narrator, the seal embodies a “plaything,” or an “object of natural history” that he can study in its usual habitat (4: 25). For the seamen, on the contrary, the seal personifies “a dark and mysterious character” that has brought “*bad luck* upon the vessel” since its sojourn among them (4: 25-6; original emphasis). The seamen’s superstition regarding the seal overpowers any reasoning from the narrator, and even the inclination to obey a direct order from the vessel’s masters: “I doubted greatly that the weight of official authority would have subdued the workings of superstition among the sailors” (4: 26). The power of superstition is so strong among the sailors that it can potentially subvert the social hierarchy on board. The narrator acknowledges the importance of superstitions for the seamen. At the same time, he castigates superstition since it “opposes the intellectual improvement of mankind by fostering its prejudices” (4: 27). The narrator suggests that poor and uneducated classes are more susceptible to superstitions since they concern “the private feelings of the lower class” (4: 27). Such outlook on the seamen’s superstition once more underscores the narrator’s privileged status and distance from the sailors on the *Leviathan*. In *Tales*, the ship is like a monadic drifting island that is ruled by its own rituals, ceremonies, and superstitions which all together comprise its representational space. Despite his elite position aboard, or maybe because of it, the narrator is ultimately an outsider to this representational space of the ship in the novel.

The *Leviathan* is the main setting for the frame narrative in *Tales* that enables the production of narrative time and space for the characters’ interpolated tales and anecdotes. It is a space that is put in contrast to the hostile nature of the Arctic both on the pragmatic (the voyage) and the narrative levels. It presents a socio-heterotopian space that performs a creative and subversive function in the production of meaning in the narrative. It both emphasises the struggle between the agency of nature and the agency of man and undermines the utopian pretensions of coeval British Arctic exploration which the narrator and the sailors ascribe to

the space of the ship. The *Leviathan* embodies a socio-heterotopian space that is simultaneously imagined and experienced by the characters on board. It is a heterogeneous site that encompasses multiple representational spaces within one material space. Like Walton and Pym, the narrator is a ‘dreamer’ who generates a romantic representation of the instrumental role of the ship in polar exploration. This representation is at odds with that of the ‘whaling council’ and the sailors aboard. The narrator is a representative of the British social elite that grants him a privileged position on board. It both puts him on an equal footing with the masters of the ship and alienates him from the sailors. His simultaneously ambiguous and privileged position on the ship disrupts and undermines the social order on board.

On the surface, the *Leviathan* represents a “heterotopia of heterotopia” that is marked by the paradox of representation. It is a floating fragment of the British socio-political world that is regulated by the laws and rules of the Parliament. At the same time, it is an autonomous social space that is governed by its own rules, traditions, ceremonies, rituals, and superstitions which leaven its representational (‘lived’) space. The narrator both exhibits and undermines this paradox of representation in his account. There are two aspects which make the *Leviathan* distinct from other representations of the ships in this study. First, there is more emphasis on the British laws and rules in regard to whaling vessels in the novel. This makes the representation of the whaling vessel as an incomplete fragment of the British ‘earth’ in *Tales* much more conspicuous in comparison to other novels. Second, there is more focus on seamen’s superstitions, traditions, rituals, language, singing, and dancing in Gillies’s novels than in other novels of this study. The narrator enthusiastically describes these constituents of seamen’s life and concurrently undermines them by not taking part in them (certain ceremonies, traditions, and rituals), treating them in a condescending manner (seamen’s language and superstitions), and/or being in a direct conflict with them (seamen’s superstitions). This fact underlines the narrator’s privileged and foreign position within the representational space of the whaling vessel. The depicted rituals, ceremonies, singing, and dancing both bring the crew together and expose the difference between them. They also demonstrate the exclusion of certain social groups on board (e.g. the exclusion of the English from the Shetlanders’ dance and the exclusion of the Shetlanders from the ceremony of drinking rum from the harpoon socket with the English).

Similar to other contemporary ships, the *Leviathan* presents a heterotopian space (a “heterotopia of compensation”) that is more thoroughly organised and managed than any other space. It is accordingly characterised by spatial compartmentalisation, a strict social hierarchy, and the division of labour. These characteristics of the ship are considerably reinforced

whenever its space is imperilled by ice. On the whole, the societal structure of the whaling vessel can be visually regarded as a ‘pyramid’ with the masters at its top and the sailors at its bottom. The narrator is seemingly positioned above and outside of this social ‘pyramid.’ The *Leviathan* similarly represents “the heterotopia par excellence” in the sense that it embodies a mirror of technological progress (e.g. the crow’s nest) and instrument of economic development (e.g. whale fishery). However, the narrator subverts this notion by underscoring the instrumental role of ships in inflicting violence on Arctic nature and fauna. He perceives the ship as an ‘evil’ invention, a product of sinful mankind, that runs counter to the ‘pure’ nature of the Arctic. In this contrast, for the narrator, the ship stands for the material and the mundane while the polar ice embodies the sublime and the imaginary. In contrast to other novels and *Peter the Whaler*, in particular, the narrator shows open contempt for whale slaughter (at least initially) and highlights the aspect of violence in the function of the space of the ship that is missing from the conception of the “heterotopia par excellence” on the whole. In doing this, he not only undermines the notion of the ship as “the great instrument of economic development” and “the greatest reserve of the imagination,” but also brings to the fore the problem of human agency that leavens the conception of heterotopias as a whole. The problem of human agency is in the question whether all the individuals within a heterotopian space perceive it as such and whether a space is heterotopian only to those who are outsiders to it. In this respect, the space of the *Leviathan* can be arguably seen as “the great instrument of economic development” and “the greatest reserve of the imagination,” but it also exemplifies a tool that enables the infliction of violence on nature.

In contrast to other novels in this study, Gillies’s narrator underlines another function of the ship as a heterotopian space, that is, its “absolute break” with “traditional time,” or its connection to “heterochronies.” He is also the only narrator who actively collects and stores the samples of Arctic fauna and ice compiling a “traveller’s museum” on board. Furthermore, the space of the *Leviathan* becomes a place for the narrator and the characters aboard. In the course of the voyage, it comes to embody not just a shelter against the hostile nature of the Arctic, but also a meaningful and familiar location and even a second home for the narrator and the crew. The narrator’s emotional attachment to the space of the ship is clearly more prominent in the narrative than in other examined novels. The exclusion of women on the *Leviathan* is also more prominent suggesting the narrator’s critique of their presence on the ship. In this view, the ship is a space that is solely reserved for male stoicism, comradeship, and heroism. The *Leviathan* is accordingly a very *political* space that is produced by the social relations of the outer world (the British ‘earth’) and those of the people on board. The political

nature of the space of the ship is also vividly exemplified in the English treatment of the Shetlanders who are marginalised, alienated, and discriminated against on board. They, in many ways, embody the substitute for the absent Inuit in the novel. Their treatment on board hence mirrors the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. The narrator, in this regard, both endorses and subverts the English attitudes towards the Shetlanders on the ship. The *Leviathan*'s political nature makes the operation of power in that space more conspicuous. The potential for social resistance against such power relations on board is most explicitly displayed in the scene describing the line-crossing ceremony. The ceremony presents a marine carnival that temporarily suspends the division of labour and spatial compartmentalisation. It likewise temporarily subverts and reverses the authority and the social order on board. A Shetlander performs the role of the barber, the key role in the line-crossing ceremony after King Neptune and his Queen. He is the one who has been given the power to 'shave' the 'green men' inflicting violence and humiliation on them. Contrary to *Peter the Whaler*, the 'green men' are allowed to buy their way out of the ceremony. The narrator and his friend William are the only known individuals aboard who have actually done that. This emphasises once again their privileged and outsider position within the representational ('lived') space of the whaling vessel in the novel.

Chapter 9: The Circumscribed Space of the Ship and the Utopian Pretensions of the South Seas' Exploration in *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*

The full title of Poe's only novel is lengthy and descriptive.¹⁵¹ The title lines in the first edition are organised in such a way as to have a shape of "an approaching ship under sail" (Harvey 31). Even the original layout of the title's text hence acquires the shape of the key instrument of contemporary polar exploration and one of the central spaces in the narrative. Not only the title's content but its form similarly indicates the most essential theme of the novel, that is, a sea voyage. The space of the ship accordingly plays an important role not merely in the story and character development, but also in the production of narrative time and space. It embodies a socio-heterotopian space that concurrently reflects and contests other spaces in the narrative. It likewise both represents and undermines the U.S. utopian pretensions in regard to contemporary South Seas' exploration. It is hence employed both creatively and subversively in the novel. The space of the ship is mainly represented by two vessels in the narrative, that is, the *Grampus* and the *Jane Guy*.

The Subversiveness and Imaginativity of the Hidden Place on the *Grampus*

Pym, despite the protests from his family, runs away from home to embark on a voyage to the South Seas and then further towards the South Pole. He is smuggled on board the *Grampus* by his friend Augustus, the son of Mr Barnard who is appointed as the vessel's captain. The *Grampus* is a brig that is fitted and repaired to be used as a whaling vessel. Pym unflatteringly describes it as "an old hulk, and scarcely seaworthy when all was done to her that could be done" (13-4). The material representation of the ship is transformed to serve the needs and desires of its owners.¹⁵² The old brig is produced to function not in its original capacity. In fact,

¹⁵¹ *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym. Of Nantucket. Comprising the Details of a Mutiny and Atrocious Butchery on Board the American Brig Grampus, on Her Way to the South Seas, in the Month of June, 1827. With an Account of the Recapture of the Vessel by the Survivors; Their Shipwreck and Subsequent Horrible Sufferings from Famine; Their Deliverance by Means of the British Schooner Jane Guy; the Brief Cruise of this Latter Vessel in the Antarctic Ocean; Her Capture, and the Massacre of Her Crew among a Group of Islands in the Eighty-Fourth Parallel of Southern Latitude; Together with the Incredible Adventures and Discoveries Still Farther South to which that Distressing Calamity Gave Rise* (iii).

¹⁵² The owners are "the firm of Lloyd and Vredenburgh" that "connected in some manner with the Messieurs Enderby" (13). The connection to the Enderby is rather interesting as it already indicates the Antarctic angle of the future voyage. The Enderby, also known as Enderby and Sons or Enderby Brothers, was a commercial firm in England that possessed a number of vessels involved in the northern and southern whaling and sealing fisheries (Riffenburgh 380). The company greatly contributed to the geographic exploration of the South Seas and the Antarctic in the 1830s. For example, John Biscoe's expedition (1830-1833) was carried out in the Enderby vessels *Tula* and *Lively*. The expedition successfully circumnavigated the Antarctic, discovered Enderby Land and

Pym is confused why the vessel “was chosen in preference to other and good vessels belonging to the same owners” (14). The material space of the vessel is therefore ill-suited for its new purpose. This, however, does not deter Pym’s zeal for the future voyage on board the *Grampus*. Pym and Augustus, unnoticed by anybody, sneak into the cabin and then further into the latter’s room. The characters access the space of the ship effortlessly. Even the cabin, the space solely reserved for the masters of the ship, is conveniently accessible to them. In this instance, the brig embodies a heterotopian site that juxtaposes several distinct spaces within one single space. The characters transcend the borders that divide the space of the ship and hence subvert the compartmentalisation of its material space.

Invigorated by the voyage they were embarking on, Pym somewhat romanticises the depiction of the cabin that is “fitted up in the most comfortable style” and Augustus’s room: “I thought I had never seen a nicer little room than the one in which I now found myself” (16). Augustus’s room underlines his privileged status on board as the captain’s son: “There were many other little comforts in the room, among which I ought not to forget a kind of safe or refrigerator, in which Augustus pointed out to me a host of delicacies, both in the eating and drinking department” (16-7). Pym’s access to the room also indicates his privileged position aboard but that access is restricted since he needs to conceal himself in the secret hold underneath the room until the vessel reaches the open waters. Pym’s portrayal of the hidden path to the hold is striking in its heterotopian nature:

The taper gave out so feeble a ray that it was with the greatest difficulty I could grope my way through the confused mass of lumber among which I now found myself. By degrees, however, my eyes became accustomed to the gloom, and I proceeded with less trouble, holding on to the skirts of my friend’s coat. He brought me, at length, after creeping and winding through innumerable narrow passages, to an ironbound box, such as is used sometimes for packing fine earthenware. It was nearly four feet high, and full six long, but very narrow. Two large empty oilcasks lay on the top of it, and above these, again, a vast quantity of straw matting, piled up as high as the floor of the cabin. In every other direction around, was wedged as closely as possible, even up to the ceiling, a complete chaos of almost every species of ship-furniture, together with a heterogeneous medley of crates, hampers, barrels, and bales, so that it seemed a matter no less than miraculous that we had discovered any passage at all to the box. I afterward found that Augustus had purposely arranged the stowage in this hold with a view to affording me a thorough concealment, having had only one assistant in the labor, a man not going out in the brig (17).

Graham Land, visited the South Shetland Islands, Bounty Islands, South Sandwich Islands, and others. It is referred to by Pym in the novel’s chapter on the history of Antarctic exploration discussed in detail in chapter 4 of this thesis.

The passage ultimately highlights the representation of the ship as a socio-heterotopian space. Pym is a 'deviant' who has to hide himself in "an ironbound box" in order to embark on the voyage to the South Seas with his friend. The box is concealed underneath Augustus's room and carefully hidden by heterogeneous objects and spaces of the stowage. The secret passage to the hideout is painstakingly and meticulously concealed in the floor of the room. Only Augustus and Pym are aware of the secret place on board. The *Grampus* is thus a heterogeneous space comprised of multiple areas which present an arrangement of closing and opening, visible and invisible boundaries which are characteristic of heterotopias. Both the hiding place and the entire space of the ship are not easily accessible to Pym because he is a stowaway. Pym is able to physically access the space of the ship but he is still an outsider to this space as he has no permission to be there. The ship contains heterogeneous objects and boxes of stowage collected in various geographic locations. The passage accordingly exemplifies the nature of the space of the ship to be "the heterotopia par excellence" in respect to every other space. The *Grampus* likewise constitutes a heterotopian space that, in Foucault's words, juxtaposes "in a single real place spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible" (6). Pym's hideout, the "ironbound box," seemingly resembles a coffin, a site of Pym's future burial, around which there is a maze, a chaotic array of furniture and other cargo.

There are several interpretations of the significance of Pym's hideout and the space of the ship on the whole by the critics. For instance, the secret hold on the *Grampus* has been interpreted as a mirror of Pym's abnormal state of mind,¹⁵³ as the mother's womb from which Pym is reborn,¹⁵⁴ as "the belly of the sea monster" from which Pym is born again (Lee 25);¹⁵⁵ while his detailed description of the ship's stowage has been construed as a metaphor for Poe's novel and its strenuous compositional process.¹⁵⁶ All these interpretations are rather compelling in their metaphoricality but what particularly interesting is the extreme circumscription of the space of the ship in the narrative. In general, "a strong impulse to delimit space" constitutes a typical feature of Poe's stories (Carringer 508).¹⁵⁷ Such feature commonly unveils the character's fear of "being further circumscribed," that is, his fear of "being confronted with diminishing space" (Carringer 509). Carringer argues that, in *Pym*, this circumscription of space produces a paradoxical contrast between the content and the form of the novel. The

¹⁵³ See DeFalco's article "Metaphor and Meaning in Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur of Gordon Pym*" (1976).

¹⁵⁴ See Bonaparte's *The Life and Works of Edgar Allan Poe: A Psycho-Analytic Interpretation* (1933/1949).

¹⁵⁵ See Lee's article "The Quest of Arthur Gordon Pym" (1972).

¹⁵⁶ See Hutchisson's article "Poe, Hoaxing, and the "Digressions" in *Arthur Gordon Pym*" (1996).

¹⁵⁷ In fact, Poe himself acknowledges this in his essay "The Philosophy of Composition" (1846): "[I]t has always appeared to me that a close *circumscription of space* is absolutely necessary to the effect of insulated incident: – it has the force of a frame to a picture" (166; original emphasis).

narrative's central theme is a sea voyage, Pym's movement in space, that is marked by its "spaciousness" is in tension with his predilection for circumscription (Carringer 511). Carringer's analysis is insightful in regard to general circumscription of space in *Pym*. It is, however, rather limited when applied to the delimitation of the space of the ship in the narrative. Carringer fails to indicate another two contradictions in the narrative created by the *Grampus*'s circumscription. On the one hand, it creates the contrast between the delimited space of the ship and the infinite outer nature.¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, it produces the contrast between Pym's vast imagination and the delimited material space of the ironbound box.

Pym initially romanticises his hiding place describing it as containing "almost every article of mere comfort which could be crowded into so small a space" and allowing him "sufficient room" for his accommodation, "either in a sitting position or lying at full length" (18). The confined place presents a heterotopian space in which time and its perception are ultimately suspended. No daylight reaches the secret hold, and Pym's only link to the outer world is Augustus's watch that is run down in the course of his continued slumber: "Striking a light, I looked at the watch; but it was run down, and there were, consequently no means of determining how long I had slept" (19). Pym struggles in his perception of time, past and present, upon awakening. The only indicator of the long time passed is the utter "state of absolute putrefaction" of the previously unfinished cold mutton (*ibid.*). He is completely cut off from the outer world that can be partially accessed merely through the distant sound and the motion of the vessel: "In the mean time the roll of the brig told me that we were far in the main ocean, and a dull humming sound, which reached my ears as if from an immense sound, convinced me no ordinary gale was blowing" (20). The prolonged circumscription of space instigates Pym's nightmarish dream visions:

My dreams were of the most terrific description. Every species of calamity and horror befell me. Among other miseries, I was smothered to death between huge pillows, by demons of the most ghastly and ferocious aspect. Immense serpents held me in their embrace, and looked earnestly in my face with their fearfully shining eyes. Then deserts, limitless, and of the most forlorn and awe-inspiring character, spread themselves out before me. Immensely tall trunks of trees, gray and leafless, rose up in endless succession as far as the eye could reach (21).

¹⁵⁸ The first contrast similarly contributes to the production of the sublime in the narrative through the progress from constriction to vastness. As Ljungquist puts in his analysis of the sublime in *Pym*: "The thrust toward vast expanse constrained by intermittent episodes of circumscription is one of the main virtues of the sublime aesthetic" (87).

Pym's terrifying dreams underscore the difference between the confined space of the hold and the boundless outer nature; and between the former and his vast imagination.¹⁵⁹ The location of the hiding place similarly emphasises the vertical nature of the space of the ship. Pym's path to the secret compartment is characterised by its profound movement downward in space.¹⁶⁰ There are several indicators in the narrative that liken the *Grampus's* hold with a coffin or a tomb. For example, the putrefied mutton can be interpreted as a sign of decay that is associated with death (Lee 25). There is also the threat of being buried alive with no possibility of escape, that is, the fear of being further delimited in space: "To add to my troubles, the brig was pitching and rolling with great violence, and the oilcasks which lay upon my box were in momentary danger of falling down, so as to block up the only way of ingress and egress" (23). Finally, Pym himself explicitly compares his prolonged confinement with being buried alive: "My sensations were those of extreme horror and dismay. In vain I attempted to reason on the probable cause of my being thus entombed" (25). Hence the downward movement in space and the coffin-like depiction of the hold can be construed as Pym's symbolic burial and rebirth or even his descent into hell (Lee 23-5).¹⁶¹ These symbolic interpretations, however, only underline the imaginary character of the space of the ship. They fail to address the ship's materiality and socio-political reality.

Pym's confinement highlights the socio-heterotopian nature of the space of the ship in the narrative. It indicates his liminal position within that space. Pym gained access to the material space of the ship but not to its representational space, that is, the social space that is lived by the characters on board. The *Grampus* is a space that is presented vertically in the narrative. It is likewise a space in which power operates vertically in terms of its social hierarchy. It can be said that Pym escapes the gaze of the metaphorical 'Panopticon' in this instance. He is an outsider to the existing social hierarchy aboard. In his imprisonment, Pym produces his own representational space on board that exists outside the social space of the ship. He imbues this space with his own meanings that gradually change the way that space is

¹⁵⁹ DeFalco argues that Pym's nightmares are the product of his 'sick' imagination and that his 'corrupt' imaginings overwhelm his mind (60-1). In turn, in his article "Imagination and Perversity in *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*" (1971), Moldenhauer argues that Pym's imaginings are prophetic; and that Pym first dreams about his exploits and only then experiences them. This constitutes the fluid line "between receptive and active imagination" (273). In other words, Pym dreams his future voyage into being as he first constructs it in his mind before actually experiencing it.

¹⁶⁰ Moldenhauer argues that, similar to Poe's short story "MS. Found in a Bottle" (1833), "go down" constitutes both the movement and motif in *Pym* (268).

¹⁶¹ In the article "The Godwinian Confessional Narrative and Psychological Terror in *Arthur Gordon Pym*" (2003), Markley argues that Pym's imprisonment on the *Grampus* embodies "a common convention of Gothic fiction" and an important feature of the Godwinian narrative tradition (9).

perceived by him, i.e. from a comfortable place to a tomb-like site of confinement. Here the socio-heterotopian space of the ship can be likened to Turner's '*communitas*' that appears in the liminal period and possesses a capacity for undermining the societal structure (96). Pym's presence in the secret hold and his liminal position aboard thus challenge and subvert the existent social hierarchy on the *Grampus*.

The Subversion and Reversal of the Social Structure on the *Grampus*

In the course of Pym's prolonged stay in the hold, mutiny takes place on the *Grampus*. Out of all the examined novels, the mutiny entirely (and not temporarily) subverts and reverses the existent social structure on board in *Pym*.¹⁶² It is similarly marked by its particularly brutal and violent nature in the narrative.¹⁶³ As a result, the representational space of the ship is likewise subverted since the social relations that have produced it cease to exist. Instead, the mutineers create a new representational space of the ship in which the social order is ultimately overturned. The mutiny is instigated by nine members of the crew. The ultimate subversion and reversal of the existent social structure is indicated in the depiction of the captured captain. Augustus saw his father lying on the floor, tied down, "with his head down, and a deep wound in the forehead, from which the blood was flowing in a continued stream" (36). The captain "spoke not a word, and was apparently dying" (*ibid.*). Before the mutiny, Captain Barnard presented the absolute authority and hence occupied the top position in the social hierarchy on the *Grampus*. The turnabout in the social order and power is shown through the spatial positioning of the captain and the mutineers in the cabin. The mutineers tower over the captain lying prone on the cabin floor: "Over him [the captain] stood the first mate, eyeing him with an expression of fiendish derision, and deliberately searching his pockets, from which he presently drew forth a large wallet and a chronometer" (*ibid.*). The takeover of the captain's possessions symbolically culminates the transfer of power to the mutineers. Furthermore, the

¹⁶² In his article "Poe's Imaginary Voyage" (1952), Quinn argues that *Pym*'s "basic element" is its "pattern of recurrent revolt;" and, consequently, power and authority are constantly subverted in the novel (564).

¹⁶³ So far, the critics have traced three possible sources for the mutiny's depiction in *Pym*. First, Beegel (1992) draws a parallel between the mutiny in *Pym* and the one on the Nantucket whaling vessel *Globe* that took place off the coast near Hawaii in 1824. The mutiny is characterized as "the most horrible mutiny that is recounted in the annals of the whale-fishery from any port or nation" (Starbuck 243). Before the publication of *Pym* in 1838, two narratives describing the *Globe* mutiny were printed: William Lay and Cyrus Hussey's *A Narrative of the Mutiny, on Board the Ship Globe, of Nantucket* (1828) and Hiram Paulding's *Journal of a Cruise of the United States Schooner Dolphin, Among the Islands of the Pacific Ocean; and a Visit to the Mulgrave Islands, In Pursuit of the Mutineers of the Whale Ship Globe* (1831). Second, McKeithan (1933) cites Archibald Duncan's *The Mariner's Chronicle* (1804) as a possible source for the mutiny described in Poe's novel. Finally, Huntress (1944) identifies R. Thomas's *Remarkable Events and Remarkable Shipwrecks* (1836) as another possible source for the mutiny in *Pym*.

presence of the mutineers in the cabin already signals their transcendence of the borders that divide the material space of the ship. The mutineers take over not only the captain's possessions, but also his space, the cabin. In doing this, they subvert the compartmentalisation of the material space of the ship.

On the whole, the mutiny on the *Grampus* is characterised by the profound movement of the bodies up and down in space. Augustus and his father (the captain) are pushed down on the cabin floor while the mutineers remain standing above them. The mutiny proceeds with further movement of the characters upwards and downwards within the space of the ship. After the cabin, the mutineers occupy the deck, the upper part of the ship, while the remaining crew stay below, in the forecastle. The mate loudly demands that the latter surrender and come up to the deck one at a time: "Do you hear there below? tumble up with you, one by one – now, mark that – and no grumbling!" (37). When an Englishman obeys the mate's order, he is met with "a blow on the forehead from an axe" (ibid.). His body falls down to the deck, lifted up by "the black cook" and tossed further down, "deliberately into the sea" (ibid.). The same fate eventually awaits the rest of the crew in the forecastle: "All in the forecastle presently signified their intention of submitting, and, ascending one by one, were pinioned and thrown on their backs" (ibid.). In relation to one another, the mutineers and the crew are positioned vertically in space aboard. Such spatial positioning indicates the emplacement of power between the two social groups.

The mutineers' newly empowered status is marked by their upper spatial position while the crew's inferior one is made apparent by their lower spatial position. The nine mutineers are essentially outnumbered since there are twenty seven who do not participate in the revolt. They are, however, at an advantage in space and arms on the vessel. They only succeed in their revolt after they manage to close the forecastle and occupy the deck above. The mutiny hence subverts and reverses not merely the existent social order, but also the spatial one on board. The materiality of the vessel's space sets the limits on a type of representational space that can be produced there. The mutineers' advantageous spatial position enables them to succeed and produce their own representational space aboard. In this regard, the *Grampus* constitutes a conspicuously vertical material space that mirrors and facilitates the social hierarchy aboard. It is also a space in which power operates across both horizontal and vertical planes. It is therefore a three-dimensional space that possesses a volume. In other words, it is a space that

is similar to prisons in regard to the spatial operation of power (Peters and Turner 1041). In such spaces, power is transmitted and contested through volume.¹⁶⁴

In the aftermath of “the most horrible butchery,” twenty two members of the crew are executed with an axe blow to the head (37). Their bodies are carelessly dumped into the sea. Their sole executioner is the black cook who is characterised as “a perfect demon” whose bloodthirst is unmatched among the mutineers (38). Only four persons, including Augustus, are spared from the execution and thrown on the deck. Meanwhile, the mutineers, “the whole murderous party,” hold “a drunken carouse” until sunset (ibid.). A macabre party of drinking debauchery ensues on board that marks the end of the butchery. The revolt produces a new representational space of the ship that entirely subverts and reverses the original social order and its authority aboard. The mutineers, now in power on board, decide on the further capacity of the vessel. They decide to employ the space of the ship in “some piratical expedition” in the South Seas (40). They also decide what to do with the surviving members of the crew after “much indecision and two or three violent quarrels” (39). The fate of the survivors is ultimately distinguished by another two movements downwards within the space of the ship. It is decided to set Captain Barnard and the survivors (apart from Augustus) adrift “in one of the smallest whaleboats” (ibid.). Despite the captain’s pleas, he is forcefully thrown into the boat by the mutineers: “Two of the ruffians seized him by the arms and hurled him over the brig’s side into the boat, which had been lowered while the mate went below” (40). The surviving men on the deck follow him downwards without any outward sign of resistance. Augustus, in turn, is handcuffed and “thrown into a lower berth next to the forecastle, with the assurance that he should never put his foot on deck again ‘until the brig was no longer a brig’” (41).

The whole scene underlines the verticality of the space of the ship that reflects the reversal of power and social hierarchy on board. The fact that the mutineers are in power and control is indicated by their upper position in space on the ship. The survivors’ vulnerability is displayed through the passivity of their bodies which are thrown down in space. Hence the vertical positioning on board indicates the exertion of agency by the former social group and its forcible removal from the latter one. The deck, the upper part of the ship, becomes a representational space of privilege and power the access to which is denied to Captain Barnard,

¹⁶⁴ In regard to the spatial conception of volume (i.e. the distribution of and opposition to power through volume), see, for example, Elden’s “Secure the Volume: Vertical geopolitics and the Depth of Power” (2013); Graham’s “Vertical Geopolitics: Baghdad and After” (2004); Bridge’s “Territory, Now in 3D” (2013); Gordillo’s *Rubble: The Afterlife of Destruction* (2014); Squire’s “Rock, Water, Air and Fire: Foregrounding the Elements in the Gibraltar-Spain Dispute” (2016); and Steinberg and Peters’s “Wet Ontologies, Fluid Spaces: Giving Depth to Volume Through Oceanic Thinking” (2015).

Augustus, and the four remaining sailors by the mutineers. The precise meaning behind the cook's cryptic expression "until the brig was no longer a brig" is "hardly possible to say" (41). It is, however, compelling to interpret the expression in the framework of the spatial representation of the *Grampus*. The expression suggests something beyond the destruction of the material space of the ship. Instead, it hints at the total subversion and elimination of the representational space of the brig at the hands of the mutineers. Complex symbolisms that comprise a representational space of the brig, that is, the space lived and experienced by the characters, are undermined and eradicated by the mutineers. In doing this, the mutineers exemplify the ephemerality of the *Grampus* as a socio-heterotopian space within the material space of which multiple representational spaces can be produced and subsequently subverted and eradicated.

It is likewise interesting to consider the racial and ethnic identity of the mutineers in regard to the subversive function of the space of the ship. There are two people of colour among the mutineers, that is, the black cook and Dirk Peters, a half-Indian.¹⁶⁵ Apart from the mate, the leader of the mutiny, the two characters are the key figures in influence and power among the mutineers. The black cook is described as the person who seems "to exert as much influence, if not more, than the mate himself" (38). Unlike Peters, the cook remains nameless in the novel and is only referred to by his skin colour and/or occupation on board.¹⁶⁶ Both characters are characterised as 'demons,' 'villains,' and 'savages' by Pym.¹⁶⁷ Peters also possesses a particularly grotesque and ferocious appearance in the narrative: "His arms, as well as legs, were *bowed* in the most singular manner, and appeared to possess no flexibility whatever. His head was equally deformed, being of immense size, with an indentation on the crown (like that on the head of most negroes) and entirely bald" (*ibid.*; original emphasis). Peters is infamous among the seamen for his Herculean strength and quick temper. On board the *Grampus*, however, he is initially regarded by the mutineers "with feelings more of derision

¹⁶⁵ Peters's racial description undergoes a drastic transformation in the novel, that is, from being called a half-Indian and "the hybrid" (46) to being directly referred to as "white" by Pym after the Tsalal episode: "We were the only living white men upon the island" (151). Several critics interpreted this compelling disappearance of Peters's colour in the course of the voyage as, for example, evidence of the novel's narrative disunity (Ridgely and Haverstick 71); as "an unnatural transformation physically actualized in the narrative world" that "distinguishes Pym's position as an unnatural narrative produced amid the racial epistemologies of nineteenth-century America" (Lilly 34); and as Pym's attempt "to homogenize Peters's reader-induced heterogeneity by (ab)using his representational power" (Jang 364).

¹⁶⁶ In the discussion of the mutiny in *Pym*, Beegel comments that black cooks were often employed by the American merchant and whaling vessels at the time (17).

¹⁶⁷ Here Covici, Jr. argues that Peters's character serves as a symbolic mediator between "the destructive anarchy bodied forth in blackness and the seductive disintegration that Poe attributes to things white," that is, between 'civil' and 'savage' societies; and likewise between Pym's rational and irrational states of mind (113, 117-8).

than of anything else” (39). But, in the course of the mutiny, Peters’s power and influence gradually increase to the point that he becomes the leader of counter-mutiny against the mate and the cook. The depiction of both Peters and the cook evidently suggests the narrative’s racist rhetoric.¹⁶⁸ It likewise indicates the subversive function of the space of the ship that underlines the ephemerality of the *Grampus*’s representational space. The mutiny enables the complete subversion and reversal of existing social structure. As a result, the people of colour like the cook and Peters, the colonised and the oppressed, forcibly return their agency and occupy the top of the social hierarchy within a newly produced representational space on the *Grampus*.

The Division and Destruction of the Social Order on the *Grampus*

It was later revealed that the principal reason behind the mutiny was the chief mate’s personal grudge against Captain Barnard. After the revolt, the mutineers split into two factions led by the mate and the cook respectively. The split was caused by the disagreement on the future course of action to be undertaken by the crew. The first faction “were for seizing the first suitable vessel” on the way and equipping it for “a piratical cruise” at the West Indies (45). The second faction, on the contrary, were for following the *Grampus*’s original route to the South Pacific and “there either to take whale, or act otherwise, as circumstances should suggest” (ibid.). The cook’s division was stronger than the other mainly because it included Peters who “had great weight apparently with the mutineers” (ibid.). Peters’s influence is attributed to his ability to inspire the mutineers’ imagination about pleasures and riches seemingly encountered in the South Pacific: “He dwelt on the world of novelty and amusement to be found among the innumerable islands of the Pacific, on the perfect security and freedom from all restraints to be enjoyed, but, more particularly, on the deliciousness of the climate, on the abundant means of good living, and on the voluptuous beauty of the women” (46). The two factions essentially struggle for the power and control over the brig.

The power struggle fragments and undermines the newly established social structure on board. It exemplifies the paradox of representation that lies at the heart of the ship as a heterotopian space. As an autarchic and monadic spatial entity, the *Grampus* is ruled by its

¹⁶⁸ As Poe himself was from the South and a ‘Southerner,’ some critics attribute this and the entire Tsalal episode to the author’s allegorical representation of racial tensions and anxieties in the US in the 1830s in regard to the Abolition movement condemning slavery and the negative reaction to such movement in the South. See, in this instance, Levin’s *The Power of Blackness* (1960): pp. 109-23; Hoffman’s *Poe* (1972): pp. 259-72; Fiedler’s *Love and Death in the American Novel* (1960): pp. 391-400, Rosenzweig’s “Dust Within the Rock” (1982), Sutherland’s *The Problematic Fictions of Poe, James, and Hawthorne* (1984): pp. 12-37; and, in particular, Kaplan’s “Introduction” to *Pym* (1960): pp. vii-xxv.

own laws and codes of conduct. At the same time, it reflects and constitutes part of the ‘earth,’ the socio-political world, in which a power struggle commonly ensues when the existing social structure and authority are overturned. The *Grampus* hence presents an acutely political space in the narrative that requires the characters to use violence and deception in order to survive and retain their agency there.¹⁶⁹ The two divisions are in conflict over how they *conceive* the use of the space of the brig. They therefore present two competing representations of the space of the ship. They accordingly attempt to ascribe these two distinct conceived spaces (the two disparate ideas about the space of the ship) to the material space of the brig. The winner in this struggle will be able to produce their own representational space, that is, the lived social space, on the *Grampus*.

Peters generates a paradisiacal and yet powerful image of the South Pacific for the mutineers that takes “strong hold upon the ardent imaginations of the seamen” (ibid.). The brig here constitutes the only available means for the mutineers to achieve this paradise on earth. It is their only means to escape the social constraints of the existing socio-political reality (the ‘earth’) and start a new life in this ‘promised land’ depicted by Peters. Peters and the mutineers thus participate in the social production of the space of the ship as they ascribe their own imaginary representations to it. Peters is the key ‘instigator’ in this process through which a representational space of the ship is continuously (re)produced by the mutineers in his faction. The produced representations encompass the utopian pretensions that are generally associated with the romantic vision of the space of the ship. At their core is the romanticised idea of the ship as an escape from the social, i.e. an escape from a given society and its norms and restraints. Such idea goes hand in hand with the ship’s inability to ultimately escape the social. The two ideas comprise another paradoxical portrayal of the space of the ship in the novel which echoes and persists in the popular imagination in general. They are two sides of the same coin, the coin being the representation of the space of the ship in the narrative.

The fact that the idealistic escape from the social can only be achieved via violence and bloodshed problematises and undermines the utopian pretensions ascribed to the space of the ship by Peters and his faction. In this instance, Campbell argues that the only possible way to escape *Pym*’s “world of chaos” is “the ability of the imagination and intuition to impose order upon it” (206). The characters’ imagination does not impose order upon the chaotic world of the novel, but provides an imaginary escape for them from the actual representational space of

¹⁶⁹ Campbell considers violence and deceit as pervasive and recurrent motifs in the novel. She regards them as a necessary response to the absurd and fragmentary world depicted in *Pym* (206).

the ship and creates an alternative representation of that space. And this representation ultimately subverts the newly established social order on board since it is in conflict with the space of the brig conceived by the mate's faction. The utopian pretensions produce a sharp contrast between the paradisiacal imagining of the South Pacific and the actual space of the brig imbued with violence, bloodshed, and debauchery. The contrast generates a narrative tension between the imagined and material spaces of the brig. The former incorporates an imaginary representation of the ship conceived by the mutineers and laden with their utopian pretensions. The latter, in turn, constitutes the embodied experience of the space of the ship. It is a space that is directly lived by the mutineers in which power operates through brutality and intimidation. The narrative tension in the spatial representation of the *Grampus* suggests the novel's critique of the romantic conception of the ship (and a sea voyage) as an escape from the social. It demonstrates the illusory character of such conception in the representational space ruled by power and brutal physical force alone. It hence forewarns about the danger of having such illusions in regard to the space of the ship and a sea voyage on the whole.

The only way to survive and keep one's agency within such representational space is to use violence and deception. Pym leaves the ironbound box with the help of Augustus but continues to hide in the secret place underneath the cabin room. He accordingly remains an outsider to the representational space of the ship up until the counter-mutiny orchestrated by Pym, Augustus, and Peters. Augustus is meanwhile set free by the mate on the condition "he would promise not to be going into the cabin again" (54). He is allowed to roam free around the ship "anywhere forward of the mainmast" and ordered to sleep in the forecabin (ibid.). The cabin is a space that is reserved for the leaders of the mutiny. It is a symbol of the highest power and status on the brig. It is therefore a space of privilege the access to which is denied to Augustus and other low-ranking mutineers. Augustus's new partial freedom similarly indicates his outsider position within the representational space of the ship. In the eight days to follow, the mate's faction gradually gains the upper hand on board as more and more men begin to share the mate's views in regard to becoming pirates in the Pacific.

The cook's party dwindles in its number and hence influence. Jim Bonner, a harpooner from the cook's group, is thrown overboard during a violent row among the mutineers; while Simms, a common hand and also one of the cook's, falls overboard from the top sail and drowns with "no attempt being made to save him" (56). Another two men from the cook's party, Greely and Allen, likewise join the mate in his desire of a piratical pursuit. The violent power struggle among the mutineers is accompanied by the gradual destruction of the brig. A sea gale tears away "a great portion of the larboard bulwarks" and does "some other slight damage" (ibid.).

The next day the leak gains upon the vessel that is “occasioned by the brig’s straining, and taking in the water through her seams” (ibid.). The material space of the ship hence mirrors the continuous disintegration of the social order on board. After Rogers is poisoned to death allegedly by the mate, only the cook, Peters, and Jones remain in the faction. Peters unsuccessfully tries to involve Jones in the mutiny against the mate. The mate’s faction ultimately wins in the power struggle aboard when the cook officially sides with them and Jones threatens to expose Peters’s mutinous plan. The paradisiacal vision of the South Pacific is accordingly overthrown by the promise of an immediate material gain. The mate’s more materialistic representation of the space of the brig essentially takes over from the cook’s more idealistic one aboard.

Peters, left with no choice but to “take the vessel at all hazards,” turns to Augustus for assistance (57). Augustus and Pym eventually open up to Peters and join him in the plan to retake the brig under their sole control. The three characters form a new faction on the brig that once again divides the social order established by the mate on board. Apart from Augustus and now Peters, no one is aware of Pym’s existence on board. This constitutes one of the key advantages of the newly formed faction that is at their disposal. The three characters employ Pym’s ‘ghost’ presence aboard and the mate’s “superstitious prejudices” in their plot to deceive others and overthrow the existing social structure (59). Pym decides to dress up as Rogers’s corpse, “one of the most horrid and loathsome spectacles” ever seen, that is left in its hammock on deck to be tossed overboard (62). Unlike other sailors’ bodies simply disposed into the sea before, Rogers’s corpse is brought up from the cabin for “the usual rites of sea burial” (ibid.). The sea burial of the corpse is ordered by the mate “being either touched with remorse for his crime or struck with terror at so horrible a sight” (ibid.). In spite of the complete reversal and subversion of the social structure in the course of the mutiny, the ship still presents a representational (social) space that is governed by its own superstitions and rituals.

Peters seizes Allen, the watch, by the throat and throws him overboard. In the interim, the mate and his gang coop up in the cabin being on high alert. The mate orders one of his men to “go forward, and order the d–d lubbers to come into the cabin, where he could have an eye upon them” for he wants “no such secret doings on board the brig” (65). In this instance, the cabin is not only a space of privilege, but also a space of surveillance on the ship. It is a metaphorical panopticon through which power and control over the men aboard are exercised by the mate. The mate’s order also illustrates the characters’ further confrontation with even more circumscribed space in the narrative as nearly the entire counter-mutiny becomes

confined within its space. The mate allows Augustus and Peters entry to the cabin and greets them “with feigned cordiality” (ibid.). Due to his apparent good behaviour, Augustus is openly invited to reside in the cabin and join the ranks of the mate’s party. The invitation is characterised by his movement upwards and backwards in space on the brig, that is, from the forecastle (front and down) to the cabin (up and back). Such movement hints at a symbolic transition of agency back to Augustus. This transition, however, is temporary and illusory since it is feigned by the mate to give Peters and Augustus a semblance of cordiality. It also indicates the three-dimensional nature of the space of the ship in which power operates through volume, i.e. through horizontal and vertical planes and depth.

Peters sets the stage for Pym’s appearance among the mutineers in the cabin by leading them “to talk of the thousand superstitions which are so universally current among seamen” (66). At the moment of “the highest pitch of nervous excitement” Peters gives the signal to Pym to appear in the cabin who descends into the room “without uttering a syllable” and stands erect “in the midst of the party” (ibid.). The produced effect of the unexpected apparition entirely paralyses all the present mutineers with utter horror. Pym attributes an essential role in such profound effect to the circumscribed and secluded nature of the space of the brig: “The isolated situation of the brig, with its entire inaccessibility on account of the gale, confined the apparently possible means of deception within such narrow and definite limits that they must have thought themselves enabled to survey them all at a glance” (67). As it has been mentioned before, an extreme circumscription of space constitutes a common aspect of Poe’s poetics, and the writer himself acknowledges this: “[I]t has always appeared to me that a close *circumscription of space* is absolutely necessary to the effect of insulated incident: – it has the force of a frame to a picture” (“The Philosophy of Composition” 166; original emphasis). The confined space of the brig enables the production of sublime terror as it, like a picture frame, amplifies the effect created by the ghostly apparition of ‘Rogers.’ In other words, the nature of the space of the brig facilitates Pym in his deception of the mutineers. As a result, it ultimately enables the success of the counter-mutiny by Peters, Augustus, and Pym. Except for Allen, all the mutineers are gathered in the cabin and watched closely by the mate. Pym, dressed up as a Rogers’s corpse, subverts and reverses the mate’s metaphorical panopticon. The delimited space of the cabin immensely aids him in this process. It similarly allows him to survey all the mutineers at a glance. The close proximity to the ‘ghost’ and the inability of potential escape within such space augment the terror experienced by the mutineers upon seeing Pym.

The counter-mutiny is characterised once again by the compelling movement of bodies up and down in space. The mate, terrified of the ‘ghost,’ springs up from his mattress, speechless, and falls back, “stone dead, upon the cabin floor and is “hurled to the leeward like a log by a heavy roll of the brig” (67). Out of the seven remaining mutineers, the four continue to sit “for some time rooted apparently to the floor – the most pitiable objects of horror and despair” (ibid.). Only the other three initially have enough presence of mind to oppose but they are swiftly dispatched as the two are shot down by Peters and the one is knocked out by Pym. Another mutineer, among the four rooted to the floor, is shot down by Augustus. Upon realising the deception, the surviving three resist the counter-mutiny “with great resolution and fury” and would have probably prevailed if not for “the immense muscular strength of Peters” (68). During the violent struggle, Augustus is thrown on the floor by one of the mutineers and stabbed several times in the arm. He is saved from death by the miraculous appearance of Tiger, Pym’s dog, that leaps on the mutineer, pins him down on the floor by the throat, and subsequently kills him. The remaining two are eventually murdered by Peters. Of all the mutineers, only Richard Parker, the one knocked down by Pym, is left alive by the counter-mutineers who now become the “masters of the brig” (ibid.). The movement of bodies up and down within the space of the cabin mirrors the transfer of power and agency between the two social groups, the mutineers and the counter-mutineers, in the narrative. The downward movement signals the mutineers’ loss of agency and power; while the upward movement, on the contrary, displays the acquisition of the two by the counter-mutineers. The downward and upward movements of the characters’ bodies once more underline the verticality and volume of the space of the ship in the novel. Such character of the ship seemingly reflects the hierarchical nature of the social structure on board.

The circumscribed space of the ship is thus employed in the narrative not merely in the creation of terror, but also in the subversion and reversal of the existing social structure. The counter-mutineers reverse the mutineers’ social order and subvert their representational space of the ship in the place of which they produce a new one. The space of the brig is hence used both subversively and creatively in regard to the paradox of representation that is at the core of the ship as a heterotopian space. The outer nature (the ocean and a strong gale) echoes the counter-mutiny in its violence and chaos in the narrative and gradually continues to destroy the brig. It devastates and eventually shipwrecks the space of the brig in its violence: “We had scarcely time to draw breath after the violence of this shock, when one of the most tremendous waves I had then ever known broke right on board of us, sweeping the companionway clear off, bursting in the hatchways, and filling every inch of the vessel with water” (71). The

material space of the *Grampus* is destroyed and overpowered by the agency of nature, the sea. The fact that the brig's shipwreck occurs in the aftermath of the counter-mutiny suggests that it mirrors the total subversion of the social structure on board. The ruin of the representational space of the ship is accompanied by the ruin of that material space. This underscores the inherent paradox in the representation of the ship, that is, its inability to escape the social despite the ascribed ideas of an escape from it. The narrative hence critiques such utopian pretensions associated with the space of the ship. It shows that an idealistic escape from the social achieved through violence and deception only leads to complete chaos and destruction.

The Significance of the Stowage on the *Grampus*

A considerable section of the narrative describes the importance of a proper stowage for a vessel. The section constitutes one of the few textual digressions inserted throughout the novel which seemingly disrupt the plot and thereby the textual cohesion of the narrative.¹⁷⁰ This particular digression takes place right before the counter-mutiny instigated by Peters, Pym, and Augustus. The direct source for the digression has never been found. Furthermore, all the digressions contain far too many obvious mistakes making the facts presented in them to be mostly erroneous.¹⁷¹ For this reason, it has been construed as not merely a 'filler' to pad the length of the novel, but also as an ironic metaphor for the novel's compositional process and "the act of literary creation" as a whole (Hutchisson 25). Notwithstanding, the section on a proper stowage is compelling in its interpretation in regard to the reading of the *Grampus* as a socio-heterotopian space in the novel.

Pym highlights that "many most disastrous accidents" can be avoided on board "*provided there be a proper stowage*" (50-1; original emphasis). Despite the significance of "a proper stowage," the brig's stowage fails to adhere to this condition: "The stowage on board the 'Grampus' was most clumsily done, if stowage that could be called which was little better than a promiscuous huddling together of oil-casks and ship furniture" (52). The stowage on the *Grampus* presents a chaotic mess that, nonetheless, enables Pym perfect concealment on board. It similarly exhibits the tumultuous nature of the representational space of the brig established on board as a result of the mutiny and later the counter-mutiny. In other words, it serves as the

¹⁷⁰ Notably, there are five digressions in the novel which appear "at odd places in the narration" (Hutchisson 24). These are sections on a proper stowage in chapter VI, the vessel's movement "lying to," or "laying to" in chapter VII, the description of the tortoise of "the Gallipago breed" in chapter XII, the detailed exploration of the Kerguelen Islands in chapters XIV and XV, and the way of cooking the mollusc *biche de mer* in chapter XX.

¹⁷¹ See Burton's detailed notes to his edition of the novel in *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket. The Imaginary Voyages. Collected Writings of Edgar Allan Poe*. Vol. 1 (1981).

symbolic reflection of the state of social anarchy formed on the vessel in the course of both revolts. Furthermore, the “clumsily done” stowage, moving and hazardous in its “promiscuous huddling,” not only displays the ephemerality of the representational space of the brig, but as well the multidimensionality of that space. The failure to cater to the requirement of a proper stowage is attributed to Captain Barnard, “who was by no means as careful or as experienced a seaman as the hazardous nature of the service on which he was employed would seem necessarily to demand” (50). Such characterisation subverts the initial depiction of the captain as a seasoned seaman who is personally appointed to command the *Grampus* by a renowned whaling company. Captain Barnard’s unprofessionalism regarding the stowage on the brig and his personal quarrel with the mate are the key reasons for the bloody mutiny and the subsequent shipwreck of the vessel during a violent gale. Hence both the captain, the master of the vessel, and the material space of the vessel, “scarcely seaworthy,” are not fit for an exploratory voyage in the South Seas. These two factors serve as the precursors of the future disastrous fate of the *Grampus* and, concurrently, as a subtle critique of the utopian pretensions of such coeval voyages and their conspicuous nationalist agenda.

The *Jane Guy* and the Utopian Pretensions of the South Seas’ Exploration

In the aftermath of the *Grampus*’s shipwreck, only Pym and Peters survive long enough to be rescued by another vessel. They are picked by the *Jane Guy*, “a fine-looking topsail schooner,” that is “unusually sharp in the bows, and on a wind, in moderate weather, the fastest sailer” Pym has ever seen (108). The qualities of the ship, however, are not well suited for “a rough sea-boat” sailing in the South Seas (ibid.). Pym is quick to conclude that the ship is “not altogether as well armed or otherwise equipped as a navigator acquainted with the difficulties and dangers of the trade could have desired” (ibid.). Like the *Grampus*, the material representation of the *Jane Guy* does not match the purpose that is ascribed to its space. It puts the limits to the kind of space that can be produced there. The *Jane Guy* is not a space that is fitted for a polar expedition but it is still laden with the utopian pretensions associated with the coeval exploration of the poles. Such unsuitability of the vessel hints at the ill-fated nature of Pym’s future voyage in the polar region on board the schooner.

Not only the material representation of the ship, but its captain, Captain Guy, is also not fully suited for an exploratory voyage in the South Seas. Although the captain is described as “a gentleman of great urbanity of manner, and of considerable experience in the southern traffic,” he is deficient in energy and “in that spirit of enterprise” that is “so absolutely

requisite” in the region (ibid.). Captain Guy’s urbane manners and considerable knowledge of the South Seas make him a fitting captain in the eyes of the existing socio-political world but these qualities are not enough for the exploration of the region. In the novel, the southern hemisphere presents a space in which a character can survive and retain his agency only through violence and deception.¹⁷² Due to the top position in the social hierarchy aboard, Captain Guy has a great impact on the representational space of the schooner and its transformation in the narrative. The produced representational space of the schooner thus runs counter to the outer violent world. Pym and Peters are hospitably accepted on board as they are “treated with all the kindness” that their “distressed situation” demands (109). They immediately and seamlessly become part of that representational (‘lived’ social) space.

If the *Grampus*’s narrative ultimately depicts a space that sets man against man within it (and is eventually destroyed by the violent nature of the ocean), then the *Jane Guy*’s narrative primarily describes a conflict between man and the outer world.¹⁷³ The latter imitates the narration of coeval travelogues more profoundly than the former. It uses exploratory literary topoi more frequently and hence borrows more extensively from contemporary literature of exploration.¹⁷⁴ The *Jane Guy* thus encompasses a space that is put in opposition to the outer world in the narrative. The focus of narration shifts accordingly from the space of the ship to the outside nature. Like a seasoned explorer, Pym describes in great detail the Kerguelen Islands and the fauna there such as penguins, albatrosses, seals, and sea elephants. Pym dedicates an entire chapter of the novel to the retelling of the history of Antarctic exploration. It has been shown earlier how, by selectively using such sources as Reynolds and Morrell, Pym underscores the conspicuous absence of ice and mild climate beyond a certain geographic latitude. In doing this, he effectively re-writes the contemporary history of Antarctic exploration both creatively and subversively. Pym seemingly echoes Reynolds’s zealous call

¹⁷² This representation of the world enables such critics as Hussey (1974) and Vance (2011) to argue that, contrary to *Robinson Crusoe*, *Pym* subverts the belief in divine Providence in the narrative. Hussey, for example, states that *Pym*’s world is “this terrifying realm of physical nature” that can only be confronted by “man’s frail, limited powers unaided by any *supernatural* assistance” (24; original emphasis). Vance similarly contends that *Pym* employs the model established by *Robinson Crusoe* but challenges “the very notion of determinacy” or anything providential (64).

¹⁷³ Such critics as Cecil (1963) and Hussey (1974) argue that *Pym* should not be read as one complete narrative, but as two distinct narratives that are just nominally joined together by the author. Cecil regards the second narrative, the *Jane Guy*’s story, as the only one that is “independent and complete within itself, a brilliant fantasy, one of Poe’s better arabesques” (233-4). Hussey, in turn, asserts that *Pym* is a novel that contains two narrators, Pym and “Mr Poe,” and two narratives that essentially elucidate two opposing attitudes to the genre of exploratory literature, that is, Pym tries to imitate the genre, while Mr Poe mocks it and shows “what it could become if transformed by a true poet” (31). For this reason, *Pym*, and particularly the *Jane Guy*’s narrative, can be construed as a literary response to the coeval popularity of the genre.

¹⁷⁴ It mainly borrows from such contemporary sources as Morrell’s *A Narrative of Four Voyages* (1832) and Reynolds’s *Address* (1836).

for the governmentally approved U.S. expedition in the South Seas but downplays its nationalist hubris: “Of course a wide field lay before us for discovery, and it was with feelings of most intense interest that I heard Captain Guy express his resolution of pushing boldly to the southward” (125). Pym envisions the Antarctic region as a blank space that just demands to be discovered and marked by man’s presence. He imbues his history of southern polar exploration with the utopian pretensions commonly associated with it. In these pretensions, Antarctic exploration is an apolitical endeavour the sole purpose of which is the discovery of the blank region solely in the name of science and mankind. He ascribes these pretensions to the representational space of the *Jane Guy*, that is, its lived social space. This, in turn, affects the way that space is perceived by Captain Guy, the person who represents the absolute authority on board. Pym therefore produces a new representational space of the ship the main goal of which is the exploration of the south polar region. The *Jane Guy* thus transforms into a polar exploratory vessel that is set to explore the Antarctic region and reach the South Pole.

As the *Jane Guy* “pushes boldly” to the south, Pym turns to (not for the first time in the novel) journal-like entries to narrate his voyage. Such style of narration is typically used in exploratory travelogues. The narrative focus remains on the outside nature even when it is interrupted by the death of the crew member, an American named Peter Vredenburg, who falls “between two cakes of ice, never rising again” since it occurs overboard (128). As the schooner crosses the Antarctic circle and moves further southward, the temperature gets milder and ice gradually disappears. The voyage only reaffirms Pym’s belief in the absence of ice and mild climate in the far south, that is, the perfect navigability of that space for explorers: “We had now advanced to the southward more than eight degrees farther than any previous navigators, and the sea still lay perfectly open before us” (129). Captain Guy is initially the driving force behind the “resolution of pushing boldly to the southward,” but that changes when they start running out of fuel and several crew members begin to suffer from scurvy. For this reason, the captain feels compelled to abandon exploratory ambitions regarding the South Pole. Such “ill-timed suggestions” of the captain, however, make Pym burst with indignation as they are so close to “solving the great problem in regard to an Antarctic continent,” an opportunity too great and tempting to miss for man (129-30). Pym uses this argument to convince the captain to push on southward.

Pym and Captain Guy embody two conflicting representational spaces of the ship in the narrative. As the commander, Captain Guy prioritises the preservation of the vessel and the crew over any exploratory ambitions. Conversely, Pym is only interested in the glory of the future discovery. Although he laments “the most unfortunate and bloody events” which

immediately occur due to his advice, he feels “some degree of gratification at having been instrumental, however remotely, in opening to the eye of science one of the most intensely exciting secrets which has ever engrossed its attention” (130). Pym justifies and promotes his exploratory ambitions in the name of science and mankind. For Pym, Antarctic exploration is an enterprise that has nothing to do with personal or material gain and nationalist agenda. It is likewise an enterprise that is beyond self-preservation. Pym attributes these utopian pretensions of the South Pole exploration to the space of the *Jane Guy*. In doing so, he produces a new representational space of the schooner that replaces Captain Guy’s one. This new space eventually leads to the destruction of the vessel and hence to the utter subversion of the utopian pretensions of that space.

The new space of the schooner, that is, the *Jane Guy* as a polar exploratory vessel, is set to solve the problem of the southern continent. Now the potential danger is not within the space of the ship, but it is in the nature of the southern polar region outside. It ultimately manifests in the form of the natives of Tsalal Island in the narrative.¹⁷⁵ On 19 January 1828, the schooner comes across the island in latitude 83° 20’ south and longitude 43° 5’ west, a geographic location that has never been reached before by any explorer. Instead of reaching the Antarctic continent, the *Jane Guy* discovers the island Tsalal where the vessel eventually meets its demise. The most notable feature of the island is its predominant black colour.¹⁷⁶ On Tsalal, virtually everything is black, from the flora and fauna to the artefacts and dwellings there (Levin 115). The island’s natives are “jet black” from head to toe, “clothed in skins of an unknown black animal” and armed primarily with clubs “of a dark and apparently very heavy wood” (131-2). Even their teeth are completely black. The island is surrounded by the sea “of an extraordinary dark colour” (131). Tsalal’s black colour is put in contrast to the white colour presented in the objects and people’s complexion of the *Jane Guy* and in the nature of the southern polar region beyond the island.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ The Tsalal episode in many ways echoes Morrell’s account of the Massacre Islands (chapter VI: pp. 403-15).

¹⁷⁶ In Hebrew, the name ‘Tsalal’ signifies ‘dark’ or ‘shady’ (290).

¹⁷⁷ See chapter 2 for more detailed analysis of the white-black contrast in the novel and its function in the production of the polar sublime. A number of *Pym*’s critics have commented on the white-black contrast and its significance in the novel. For example, Levin (1960) reads it as an allegoric manifestation of coeval racial anxieties in the U.S. (120-1); Cecil (1963) reads the novel’s “radical colour scheme” as an “extraordinary feature of Poe’s imaginary polar world” (238); Lee (1972) interprets it as “an imaginative portrayal” of Tsalal as Hell (29); Carringer (1974) interprets it as the contrast between land/circumscription (blackness) and movement in space/spaciousness/limitless space/“a kind of maternal tranquillity” (whiteness) (514); Ljungquist (1978) sees it as part of the production of the sublime in the novel (85-6); Spufford (1996) regards it as “a Virginian fantasy of race-war and racial degradation” (75); and Jones (2010) construes it as part of the polar quest in which it signifies “a desire to return to a prelapsarian state, the rediscovery of the lost Eden” (63).

The natives have evidently never seen “any of the white race” and seem to recoil from the white colour in fright (132).¹⁷⁸ Upon seeing the schooner, they perceive it as a “living creature” that can feel emotions and sense pain (ibid.). They are careful with their spears as they are afraid of hurting the ship. When the cook accidentally makes a gash on the deck with an axe, the chief of the natives, Too-wit, runs up to it, pushes the cook roughly to the side, and commences “a half whine, half howl, strongly indicative of sympathy” (133). Too-wit expresses his sympathy over “the sufferings of the schooner, patting and smoothing the gash with his hand, and washing it from a bucket of seawater” which stands nearby (ibid.). The *Jane Guy*’s crew are initially amused by the reaction but the chief’s acts constitute a shocking “degree of ignorance” for them some of which Pym thinks is “affected” (ibid.). For the natives, the schooner is not a means of transportation or a technological marvel, it is a giant sentient being that needs to be respected and cared for. They ascribe their own meaning to the space of the vessel and thus participate in the social production of that space. They create a new representation of the space of the ship that runs counter to that of the crew’s. Contrary to the white men, the natives attribute agency to the space of the vessel. The new representation influences the manner in which the space of the ship is perceived by the natives. This, in turn, impacts the behaviour of the natives towards the *Jane Guy*.

Only twenty natives at a time are allowed access to the space of the schooner. Captain Guy implements such limitation as a safety precaution against the natives who outnumber the white men more than four times. The natives’ visit of the *Jane Guy* underlines the socio-heterotopian nature of that space. The schooner is a space that is not readily accessible to the outsiders such as the natives of Tsalal. At the same time, it is also a political space that marks the power imbalance that is at the core of the relationship between the coloniser, the schooner’s crew, and the colonised, the island’s natives. The natives are admitted to explore the upper and lower parts of the vessel and even the cabin and to touch and examine various objects such as arms “at leisure” (ibid.). Notwithstanding, the white men always remain in control during the entire visit as they carefully monitor and register every reaction from the natives. They are in their own element on board the schooner that embodies a familiar place for them. The vessel is likewise part of their socio-political reality. The natives are astonished at nearly everything on board. Although the arms provide them with “much food for speculation” and the “great guns” evoke “the profoundest reverence and awe” in them, two large mirrors in the cabin elicit

¹⁷⁸ It is later revealed in the note to the novel that there is a taboo on the colour white on Tsalal (pp. 176-8).

“the acme of their amazement” (ibid.). Upon seeing the mirrors, the chief nearly goes mad, throws himself on the floor, and covers his face with his hands to avoid perceiving his reflection again. Too-wit remains lying on the floor until the crew are eventually forced to drag him to the deck.

The natives are unaware of the purpose of the arms and guns, white man’s greatest technological wonders of the time. They perceive them as white man’s idols only because they notice the care the crew have for them and how closely they are being watched while handling them. The arms and guns thus present only a symbolic value for the natives. The mirror embodies a true wonder that absolutely terrifies them. The chief’s fall to the floor symbolically emphasises the power imbalance between the crew and the natives. Concurrently, Too-wit’s refusal to get up indicates the performance of his agency that is at odds with the crew. The power imbalance between the colonisers and the colonised is reversed when most of the crew, Captain Guy, Peters, and Pym included, leave the schooner to visit the island upon Too-wit’s invitation. There, they are eventually ambushed by the natives in a narrow valley. Apart from Peters and Pym, everyone gets slaughtered in the trap set by the chief. The *Jane Guy*, left with only six men and ten natives-hostages on board, is overrun and overtaken by “an immense multitude of desperadoes” in canoes (153). The destruction of the vessel is characterised as “a pitiable scene indeed of havoc and tumultuous outrage” (154). The ship is dragged by the natives as the spoils of victory to Too-wit on the shore who has observed the battle “like a skilful general his post of security and reconnaissance among the hills” (ibid.). The natives proceed to further destroy the ship by gleefully setting it on fire which causes a big explosion that claims the lives of possibly a thousand of them and mangles an equal number of them.

The natives (and Too-wit in particular) reverse the coloniser-colonised power imbalance through deception and violence. As the schooner is destroyed in the narrative, its representational space as a polar exploratory vessel equally ceases to exist. The violent manner in which the vessel is eradicated in the narrative is significant within the framework of contemporary (polar) exploration. The ship encompasses one of the key symbols of geographical exploration and imperialist expansion. Its violent eradication at the hands of the natives, the outer alien and hostile force, serves as a cautionary tale for those who romanticise voyages to remote locations and glorify exploratory ambitions. It hence subverts the utopian pretensions associated with coeval exploration of the South Seas, and particularly the U.S. Exploring Expedition led by Wilkes that was about to depart at the time of *Pym*’s first publication. The *Jane Guy*’s narrative reflects the nationalist “self-congratulatory myth” encapsulated in such expeditions indicating that “its mythical power may be dangerous and

self-deceptive” (Lenz xxviii). The “self-congratulatory myth” is employed both creatively and subversively in the novel. This myth produces the space of the *Jane Guy* and ultimately eradicates it. Thus, *Pym* presents a literary critique of such myths which demonstrates that their mindless pursuit can potentially lead to self-delusion and subsequently to self-destruction.

In *Pym*, the *Grampus* is marked by the extreme circumscription of its space, a common feature of Poe’s poetics. The circumscribed nature of the space of the ship generates a contrast on narrative and content levels of the novel. In the former case, it creates a contrast between the main theme of the novel (a sea voyage) – movement in space and spaciousness – and the delimited space of the ship (the hidden place, in particular). In the latter case, it generates a sharp contrast between the confined character of the space of the ship and the infinite outer nature, on the one hand, and between the former and Pym’s boundless imagination, on the other. The circumscribed nature of the brig likewise highlights the intricate compartmentalisation of its physical space. The space of the brig presents an arrangement of opening and closing, visible and invisible boundaries which are characteristic of heterotopias. Overall, there is more focus on the materiality, compartmentalisation, and circumscription of the space of the ship in comparison to other examined novels. In this respect, the space of the *Grampus* presents a very distinct kind of ‘heterotopia of compensation’ (a space that is more rational and more carefully organised than any other space) that is not distinguished by a rigid social hierarchy and the strict division of labour. Instead, it is a space that is primarily characterised by its meticulous material compartmentalisation. In other words, it is a heterotopian space that is materially and *not* socially more perfected than other spaces. There is also much more emphasis on the ship’s stowage than in any other novel in this study. The stowage both underlines the heterotopian nature of the space of the brig (as the “heterotopia par excellence”) and mirrors the ensuing utter anarchy on board.

Pym’s liminal position and ‘spectral’ presence on board both undermine and subvert the social structure there. His hiding place also underscores the verticality of the space of the brig. This verticality becomes especially apparent during the mutiny and counter-mutiny which completely subvert the existing social order on board. The mutiny and counter-mutiny are characterised by the profound movement of the bodies upwards and downwards in space (on board and in the cabin respectively). The characters’ upper position indicates their advantage and power while their lower position shows their weakness and vulnerability. In this instance, the movement downwards points to the characters’ loss of agency while the movement upwards demonstrates their exertion of agency. This fact displays the operation of power on

the brig through vertical planes and depth of that space. The *Grampus* therefore presents a conspicuously vertical and three-dimensional space in the narrative. It is also a representational ('lived' social) space in which the use of violence and deception is the only way for the characters to survive and retain their agency. It constitutes a space that is produced by the characters' social relations on physical and imagined levels. The mutineers' factions generate two conflicting representations of the space of the ship. Both these representations present a romantic image of the ship as an escape from the social, i.e. the constraints and norms of a society. The meanings they ascribe to that space thus encompass the utopian pretensions which were (and somewhat continue to do so) often attributed to the space of ship in the period. The fact that this idealistic escape can only be achieved via violence and bloodshed problematises and undermines these utopian pretensions. This accentuates the inability of the space of the ship to escape the social since it always represents *both* a monadic 'island' governed by its own rules of conduct and a floating fragment of the socio-political world. This incorporates the paradox of representation of the space of the ship as the "heterotopia of heterotopia." The space of the *Grampus* is eventually wrecked by the agency of nature. The novel accordingly critiques the representation of the ship (and a sea voyage on the whole) as an idealistic escape from the social showing that such an escape is in actuality unattainable and potentially leads to complete social anarchy and destruction.

If the *Grampus* remains the constant focus of narration, then with the *Jane Guy* (similar to contemporary polar travelogues) the novel's focus shifts towards the outside nature and, for the most part, stays on it. In this respect, the *Grampus*'s story presents a conflict between men while the *Jane Guy*'s one exhibits a conflict between man and nature. Therefore, the space of the latter runs counter to the nature of the southern polar region. It is compelling to note here that both vessels are eventually destroyed by the agency of outside forces. The *Grampus* is destroyed by the agency of nature (although it presents a conflict between men) while the *Jane Guy* is ruined by human agency (although it displays a conflict between man and nature). The material spaces of both ships are ill-suited for their assigned purposes, whale fishery and the exploration of the South Seas respectively. The captains of the two vessels are also ill-suited for these purposes. For example, Captain Barnard failed to properly organise stowage on the brig (vital for a whaling vessel), and his personal row with the mate led to the mutiny on board. Captain Guy, in turn, is considered to be an ill-suited person for the exploration of the southern polar region. These two facts can be seen as precursors to the disastrous fates that awaits the two vessels in the narrative. Pym essentially produces the space of the *Jane Guy* by imbuing it with the utopian pretensions of contemporary polar exploration, that is, the desire to discover

and claim the imagined emptiness of the region beyond 74° of southern latitude (and particularly the South Pole) solely in the name of science and mankind. Similarly echoing Barrow and Reynolds, Pym considers his polar pursuit as an absolutely disinterested and apolitical endeavour. Pym's blind pursuit of his exploratory ambition leads to the wreckage of the *Jane Guy* by the natives of Tsalal. The wreckage ultimately subverts the utopian pretensions of coeval polar exploration. Thus, the novel critiques such utopian pretensions associated with the space of the ship as an idealistic escape from social norms and constraints (the *Grampus*) and an exploratory mindless fervour seemingly for the sake of science and mankind (the *Jane Guy*).

Chapter 10: The Ephemeral Space of the Ship and the Subversion of Power in *Peter the Whaler*

The space of the ship is produced by social relations of simultaneously its own space and the 'earth,' the outer socio-political world. From an outside perspective, the perspective of the 'earth,' the space of the ship in the first half of the nineteenth century was often associated with the ideas of personal freedom, potential escape from the mundane, and possible adventure in the popular imagination. Such idealised perception of the ship is frequently encountered in literature of the period in which it underlines the character's desire to embark on a voyage in the first place. *Peter the Whaler* compellingly subverts the romanticised idea of a sea voyage as an exciting escape from the mundane everyday life. Such an idea embodies a common association the space of the ship represented in the popular imagination of the period. It constitutes part of the utopian pretensions that are generally ascribed to that space by the outside socio-political reality. The novel demonstrates that such idea is illusory and has a potentially dangerous outcome for those who truly pursue it. From the beginning, Peter emphasises that one's home and family are far more precious than any possible riches or adventures to be found and experienced while "roaming round the world" (20). Peter's actual experiences on board, for the most part, subvert the idea that generates the romanticised perception of the space of the ship as a thrilling escape from the mundane. The material space of the ship hence subverts the idealised representation of that space which prevailed in the contemporary popular imagination.

Contrary to other narrators of the examined novels, Peter is an unwilling traveller who embarks on a voyage to the other continent solely as a punishment for poaching. In the course of his adventures, he goes from one vessel to another with startling speed. His story narrates a voyage that is comprised of seven different ships. Peter becomes part of social spaces presented by these various ships in the narrative. In fact, the novel encompasses a tale of ships and shipwrecks. The story progresses as Peter moves from one ship to another in the narrative. Each ship enables him to visit new locations and encounter new people and peoples. The space of the ship accordingly facilitates nearly every new experience for Peter. It is therefore not only an important background for the story, but also the key driving force in the production of its narrative. This chapter will focus on the analysis of only three ships in the novel, the *Black Swan*, the *Pocahuntas*, and the *Shetland Maid*, since they pertain directly to the Arctic region and its sea ice. All the three ships embody distinct socio-heterotopian spaces that underscore the paradox of representation that lies at the heart of their production. As socio-heterotopian

spaces, they are special, ‘different’ spaces that bear a special connection to every other space. They are both outside and inside in regard to all other spaces. They represent a socio-political reality of all other spaces but they concurrently strive to escape it by opposing or undermining its authority. The space of the ship as the heterotopia par excellence and as the heterotopia of heterotopia represents this paradoxical impetus. In this impetus, all the three ships constitute spaces that are characterised by the impulse to escape the social while simultaneously representing it and by the impulse to transcend the social while simultaneously transforming it. Such impulse underlines the paradoxical representation of the ship as a socio-heterotopian space. This representation highlights the subversive and ephemeral nature of these spaces in the novel.

The *Black Swan* and the ‘Vertical’ Abuse of Power

The *Black Swan* is the first ship that Peter boards in his voyage. It is bound to Canada and is to depart from Liverpool. It ultimately presents a socio-heterotopian space in which the poor emigrants and Peter are mistreated by the authority on board. The captain, Elihu Swales, and the first mate, Mr Stovin, represent this authority on the ship. They produce the representational space of the ship, that is, the social space which is directly lived by the passengers through images and symbols that overlap its material space. It is a space of the everyday that the passengers inhabit and make use of on a regular basis in the course of the voyage. It is a space that is beyond the physical matter that their imagination actively alters and facilitates through systems of non-verbal signs and symbols. It is a space that demonstrates how power relations and their operation is represented within it. The *Black Swan* embodies a representational space in which Swales and Mr Stovin, who occupy the top of the social hierarchy on board, abuse their power over the poor passengers and low-ranking sailors.

Peter is an outsider to this representational space whose access to it is entirely rebuffed at the beginning. The *Black Swan* presents a heterotopian site the material space of which is easily accessible to outsiders but this is merely an illusion when it comes to its representational space. Peter easily gets on board through the plank placed between the quay and the ship’s deck. No one aboard pays any attention to him as if he were invisible all together. The ship appears to his sight as “an extricable mass of confusion and disorder” (30). Although he is officially enlisted on board as the captain’s charge to learn about the “life of a sailor,” he is rudely brushed off by Mr Stovin when he attempts to offer his assistance in preparing the ship for the upcoming voyage (19). Peter is allowed complete access to the material space of the

ship only when it is ready to depart. He, however, still remains an outsider to its representational space. Upon gaining that access, he continues to perceive the ship as a space in which everything appears to be “in the wildest confusion” and in which he gets “most unaccountably in everybody’s way,” and therefore gets “kicked out of it without the slightest ceremony” (36). As an outsider, Peter does not understand the workings of the ship, of its heterotopian space, that it is easy to access physically but not so easy to become part of that representational space.

On the surface, the *Black Swan* presents a space that is more ordered and rational than any other space. It therefore functions as a heterotopia of compensation. It is a passenger vessel that is mainly used to transport emigrants and their belongings from the UK to America. It is a space that is carefully policed in regard to its passengers.¹⁷⁹ The restrictions regarding the passengers’ luggage on board exemplify this. The emigrants’ bags that are too bulky are denied admission on board. Such restrictions are only implemented against the emigrants who are poor. They can be obviously explained by the ship’s spatial capacity. Nevertheless, they are not properly conveyed to the emigrants beforehand since there are “no means to enable these poor people to obtain better information” before they leave home (36). Many of the poor emigrants lack information about a sea voyage and the country they are heading to in search of a better fortune. As Peter observes their boarding, he openly pities these people for “their helpless ignorance,” for their lack of proper direction, and also for the poor treatment they receive “at the hands of the countrymen” they are abandoning forever (36-7). He repeatedly critiques the way the emigrants to America are mistreated, that is, the way they are ripped off in the city and neglected aboard. The luggage restrictions thus show the power imbalance on board between the poor emigrants and the ship’s authority. They also illustrate the operation of power within the representational space of the ship. At the same time, the emigrants do possess a voice in the narrative as they are seen loudly complaining about the treatment they are receiving and giving vent “to their feelings in oaths not lowly muttered” (37). Although the poor emigrants are powerless within the representational space of the *Black Swan*, they are still capable of protesting their treatment there. This illustrates that the representational space of the ship unveils not only the spatial operation of power, but also the potential for social resistance against such power there. The emigrants’ verbal protest exhibits this potential of the representational space of the ship in the narrative.

¹⁷⁹ People are the ones who produce and therefore control space by setting its boundaries and regulations (Simmel 551). See further Georg Simmel’s “Space and the Spatial Ordering of Society” (2009): vol. 2, pp. 543-620.

The *Black Swan* brings together a large variety of people within one space. The confined nature of the space of the ship only highlights the difference between the passengers on board. The key feature that Peter initially underscores in the inner depiction of the ship is the extreme compartmentalisation of its space. The space aboard divides the passengers into poor and rich, a low and a high class. It also divides the crew according to their station on board. The captain, the crew, and the rich passengers are located spatially *above* on board, while the poor emigrants are placed *below*. The seamen and mate live under a “raised place forward” above the deck, “called the topgallant fore-castle,” while the captain and rich passengers inhabit the upper cabin, called “the poop,” that is elevated above the stern (29). The space below, “between decks” and “open fore and aft, and fitted up with standing bed-places,” is reserved for “the abode of the poorer class of emigrants” (29-30). The inner material space of the ship hence presents a space that is vertical and three-dimensional in nature when it comes to the representation of the social order on board. The extreme compartmentalisation of such space reflects the representation of the rigid social hierarchy and division of labour that are established on the *Black Swan*. The compartmentalisation of physical space and the strict social structure and division of labour were typical of the ships of the period. They also incorporated the characteristics of the space of the ship as a heterotopia of compensation that is more meticulously organised and managed than any other space. On the *Black Swan*, however, the vertical nature of spatial compartmentalisation makes these characteristics even more prominent and simultaneously highlights the materiality of the inner space. Such spatial compartmentalisation functions as a physical mirror of the social segregation aboard. As a result, the inner space of the *Black Swan* constitutes a vertical and three-dimensional space in which power and control over the poor emigrants and lower members of the crew are exercised primarily through vertical spatial planes.

Peter occupies a somewhat liminal position on board the *Black Swan*. He is not an emigrant passenger and not fully part of the crew. He is grudgingly accepted on board as “a ship’s boy” by the captain (40). This goes against his expectations of messing in the cabin and being “a sort of midshipman” (ibid.). As a ship’s boy, he “must be berthed and messed, and do duty” (ibid.). Peter perceives the captain and the first mate as incompetent masters of the ship. Captain Swales is characterised as “a bully and a coward” and not “a man of firmness and moral courage,” to whom his crew are “accustomed to look up” (54). Mr Stovin, his right hand, is likewise depicted as an abusive brute that is “not fit to be placed in command of others” (30). Interestingly enough, the only time Captain Swales exhibits competence as the master of the

ship is during the encounter with the drifting ice.¹⁸⁰ The captain shows great nautical skill and determination in commanding the ship's frantic escape from the ice. Still, these skill and determination also highlight the captain's sole desire to survive and thus hint at his selfish nature that will be fully unveiled when a disaster truly strikes the vessel later in the narrative. As the captain and the first mate occupy the top of the social hierarchy on board, they are in charge of the representational space produced there. Together the two produce a socially segregated representational space of the ship in which power over the poor emigrants and Peter is abused.¹⁸¹ Peter is put under the charge of Mr Stovin who mistreats him by constantly beating him with a rope, verbally abusing him, and forcing him to do the dirtiest job on board. His harsh treatment notwithstanding, Peter's position aboard is still much better than that of the poor emigrants who are "looked upon by the officers as so many sheep or pigs, and treated with no more consideration" (42). The emigrants are cramped together below deck, "allowed to accumulate filth and dirt of every description, their diet bad and scanty, and never encouraged to take the air on deck" (ibid.). Peter and the poor emigrants, to a lesser and a greater extent respectively, are hence the main victims of power abuse within the representational space of the *Black Swan*.

Peter is in direct conflict with this representational space as he opposes and challenges the manner in which that space is managed by Captain Swales and Mr Stovin. His revolt against the existing social order constitutes his resistance against the abuse of power that he is subjected to within that space. He challenges the authority on board several times in the course of the voyage. He stands up to Mr Stovin when the latter beats him with a rope for the first time: "I'll thank you in future not to take such liberties with my back" (38). This retort seems to merely amuse the first mate but such showing of 'fight' together with Peter's calm demeanour leaves "a more favourable" impression on him than the initial one, and somewhat softens "his savage nature" (ibid.). Peter's response is a push back against the social order established on the *Black Swan* that earns him the grudging respect of the first mate. This implies that voicing one's

¹⁸⁰ The ship's encounter with the ice is discussed in more detail in chapter 5 of this thesis.

¹⁸¹ Peter addresses the abuse of power both in regard to seamen's general treatment on board and the poor emigrants on the *Black Swan* and emigrants on the whole. He castigates the brutal abuse that seamen are commonly subjected to at the hands of "ignorant and rude shipmasters" (49). He likewise underlines that his portrayal of the emigrants' poor treatment on board the *Black Swan* should not be taken as a critique of emigration as a whole, but as the necessity of organising a better system that would prevent such thing from happening in the future. In this view, despite all possible hurdles, "emigration will go forward; but it depends on every one of us, whether it will prove a curse or a blessing to those who go forth, whether the emigrants are to be in future friends or deadly foes to the country they quit" (42). In this instance, Peter possibly echoes Kingston himself who was a contemporary expert in emigration and wrote and published an entire book on it, *How to Emigrate: or, the British Colonists: A Tale of for All Classes* (1850), just a year prior to the initial publication of *Peter the Whaler* (1851).

protest without losing one's temper, that is, a dignified, gentlemanly protest, can be the only effective expression of one's agency within the representational space of the ship in which power over the poor and the low-ranking is sorely misused. In short, to remain a gentleman on the ship is the right way to retain and assert yourself within such a space. In this instance, the conflict between Peter and the first mate unveils the strife between the social order on the *Black Swan* and that on the 'earth,' the existing socio-political reality. Peter, "the son of a gentleman" and "a gentleman" himself, presents the direct opposite of such 'brutes' as Mr Stovin and, in particular, Captain Swales (44).¹⁸² He becomes the bottom of the social hierarchy on board who then attempts to subvert its top, the captain and the first mate. He is an outsider with zero nautical experience who hails from a well-to-do middle class family and represents the values of his social class on the 'earth.' He attempts to ascribe these gentlemanly (and evangelical) values to the representational space of the *Black Swan*. These values run counter to the existing representational space of the ship. This, in turn, creates a conflict between two opposing representations of the space of the ship presented by Peter and Captain Swales.

The conflict reaches its climax when, for once, Peter snaps and openly confronts Captain Swales about the unfair beating he receives from him: "How dare you strike me, Captain Swales? [...] I paid you a sum for my passage, as also to learn seamanship, and not to be treated as a slave" (48). While saying this, Peter takes a hold of the handspike that lies nearby and makes it look as if he is about to strike the captain back. In response, the captain declares Peter to be "the rascally mutineer" and the first mate strikes him on the head sending him "sprawling on the deck" (ibid.). Peter's mutiny against the captain is the verbalisation of his agency against the existing social order. The fact that he sprawls on the deck from the blow to the head indicates his loss of agency. Such loss is accompanied by the movement *downward* in space. Several of the emigrants and the crew witness the whole exchange and protest against the captain's actions by crying out "Shame, shame!" but they are too afraid to interfere (ibid.). This shows that not only Peter, but also the emigrants and the crew express their open resistance to the captain's abuse of power on the *Black Swan*. Peter blatantly rebels against the captain, and, by doing so, he temporarily subverts the current social order aboard. Peter's punishment is characterised by his further movement *downward* in space on the ship. He is dragged *down* to

¹⁸² William Bell, the second mate on board, is likewise the complete opposite of Captain Swales and Mr. Stovin and is described as "a quiet, gentlemanly young man, who always kept his temper, however roughly spoken to by the captain" (40). The second mate epitomises an ideal role model for Peter on the ship. Like Peter, Bell embodies the values of a gentleman and Christian who does not "reply to the abuse thrown at him" by the captain because it is "the wisest and most dignified course to pursue" (ibid.). Hence the second mate is the most competent member of the crew but he lacks any power on board.

the edge of the bowsprit and forced to remain there out in the open exposed to the sprays of sea water that continuously fly over the ship. The bowsprit is a site on board that can be seen from every part of the vessel. Peter's punishment is a public spectacle that is set to humiliate him and provide a warning for everyone else who would dare to challenge the social structure on board. It is likewise rather symbolic in the manner in which power and control are spatially exercised on the ship. Peter is moved *down* in space and confined in the place that essentially constitutes an instance of a reversed panopticon. He is put in the panopticon *below* not to observe others but to be watched closely by the rest from *above* on board. Peter's movement downward in space once again indicates his loss of agency within the representational space of the ship. It also shows the vertical nature of the inner space of the ship. Peter's emplacement in the reversed panopticon aboard displays the three-dimensionality of that space. His punishment thus once more emphasises the verticality and three-dimensionality of the inner space of the ship and the operation of power through volume and vertical planes in that space.

As Peter is serving his punishment in the bowsprit, a fire breaks down in the cargo area of the ship. There is a compelling class and ethnic divide in the emigrants' overall reaction to the fire on board. The majority of the cabin, well-off, passengers and "some of the second and steerage passengers of the English" come forward and offer their help in working the pumps and handing down the water-buckets; while "the poorer Irish" do nothing "to help themselves," but sit "shrieking and bewailing their cruel fate" (*ibid.*). Peter, a son of the clergyman from the south of Ireland, condemns the poor Irish emigrants for their selfishness and idle despair but underhandedly compliments the rich English on their ability not to succumb to panic. He seemingly commends the latter for their ability to retain their Christian values, which he constantly advocates and attributes to the space of the ship throughout the novel.¹⁸³ In his observation, these values prevail only among the well-off English and not the poor Irish in the time of the emergency. Hence the rich English are superior to the poor Irish on a moral level. On the one hand, such rhetoric undermines Peter's earlier castigation of the poor emigrants' treatment on board. It can be said here that he adopts a rhetoric that is not only classist, but is also laden with coeval anti-Irish sentiment, or Irish racism.¹⁸⁴ On the other hand, it represents

¹⁸³ There are many interpretations and applications of the term 'Christian values.' In general, 'Christian values' signify moral values that pertain to the religion of Jesus Christ and His teachings such as compassion, piety, selflessness, and so on. In addition to this meaning, here they also indicate moral values of "a human being, as distinguished from a brute;" and "a 'decent, 'respectable,' or 'presentable' person" (OED).

¹⁸⁴ Anti-Irish sentiment, or Irish racism, was somewhat widespread in Victorian Britain. As Curtis puts it, the idea that the Irish were "alien in race and inferior in culture to the Anglo-Saxons" prevailed among the English throughout the nineteenth century (*Anglo-Saxons and Celts* 5). In this understanding, the Irish were commonly perceived as "childish, emotionally unstable, ignorant, indolent, superstitious, primitive or semi-civilized, dirty, vengeful and violent" (Curtis; *Anglo-Saxons and Celts* 53). In short, the Irish were inferior to the English both

the general attitude towards the poor Irish emigrants prevalent in Victorian Britain and especially widespread in Liverpool at the time.¹⁸⁵ In this regard, the *Black Swan* constitutes a highly political space that recreates the social attitudes of the ‘earth,’ the contemporary socio-political reality. Such conflicting rhetoric in the depiction of the Irish emigrants’ reaction to the fire seemingly exemplifies the paradox of representation that characterises the space of the ship as “the heterotopia par excellence” and “the heterotopia of heterotopia.” The *Black Swan* here embodies a monadic floating space that cannot escape being part of the ‘earth,’ the coeval socio-political world. It ultimately represents a heterotopian space that is characterised by its antithetical impulse to escape the social while simultaneously representing it.

Such paradoxical representation underscores the subversive and ephemeral nature of the socio-heterotopian space of the *Black Swan*. The fire entirely subverts the social hierarchy and discipline on board as the captain and the first mate are incapable of assuaging the passengers’ panic. The shipmasters are also incapable of taking the right measures in preventing the further spread of the fire aboard. Peter is released from his place of confinement by his American friend, Silas Flint, so as to assist the captain and the rest of the crew in putting out the fire. It becomes clear to Peter and his fellow companions that the ship is beyond saving and will eventually perish in the fire. Even before the material space of the *Black Swan* is entirely destroyed by the fire, its existing representational space disappears since the social relations (the obedience to the captain and the first mate) that produced it in the first place cease to exist. This exemplifies the ephemerality of the heterotopian space of the ship as a representational space.¹⁸⁶ In this respect, heterotopias are produced by social relations of those who employ and inhabit them. As the ship embodies a radically heterogeneous space, the ephemerality of heterotopias is more prominent there. The fire on the *Black Swan* leads to the subversion of the social relations that produced its representational space. Captain Swales’s orders are ignored by the emigrants as they know him to be “a bully and a coward” who would first think only of “his own individual safety” (54). The ship turns into a smouldering ‘volcano’ that floats across

physically and morally. Regarding the former aspect, especially after the 1860s, the Irish were even portrayed by some English illustrators as being ‘ape-like’ in appearance in order to reinforce their image of an ‘inferior’ race. See, for instance, Lewis Perry Curtis’s *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (1971).

¹⁸⁵ The *Black Swan* travels from Liverpool to Canada. With the development of steamboats and their high availability, numerous Irish people moved to Liverpool after the Great Famine, or the Great Hunger, in Ireland (1845-1849) and settled in the poor parts of the city (Panayi 34). As a result, the prejudice against the Irish was especially prevalent in Liverpool in that period as, for example, people with Irish names or accents were discriminated against in regard to their employment and presence in public houses there. See also Lengel’s *The Irish Through British Eyes* (2002).

¹⁸⁶ See also chapter 6 of this thesis on the polar ship as a heterotopian and representational space; and, in particular, Cenzatti’s book article “Heterotopias of Difference” in *Heterotopia and the City: Public Space in a Postcivil Society* (2008); pp. 75-86.

the ocean for nearly a week before sinking. The fire here presents an outside ‘natural’ force the agency of which not only subverts the existing representational space of the ship and power relations that operate there, but also results in a complete chaos on board. The ship accordingly turns into an anarchic space that highlights the depravity of human nature. Captain Swales, his men, and the cabin passengers abandon the ship early on in the boat secretly prepared and provisioned for that. The remaining passengers go increasingly mad without water as some inject themselves with the drugs found in the surgeon’s compartment, some jump overboard, and some, many women and children among them, die on the deck and their bodies are immediately discarded into the ocean.

Peter firmly believes that the *Black Swan* could have been saved or at least its destruction could have been considerably delayed if the captain had taken appropriate measures as soon as the fire was uncovered by the crew. In this regard, Captain Swales’s incompetence is the key reason behind the destruction of the ship. The captain and the first mate produced the representational space of the ship in which power over the poor and the low-ranking was severely abused by them. In the novel, such space is characterised by the vertical and three-dimensional manner in which that power operates there. Within such space, power and control over the poor emigrants and Peter is exercised primarily through vertical planes and volume of that space. The representational space of the *Black Swan* displays the potential for social resistance that is conceptually characteristic of such spaces on the whole. If the poor emigrants verbalise their protest over how badly they are treated on board, Peter’s resistance is more explicit and forward. Peter makes several attempts to subvert the existing social order on the ship. His attempts at subversion, however, are limited to his social status as a gentleman outside the space of the ship. They do not lead to the subversion of power relations that exist within the representational space of the ship. It is only the fire, an outside ‘natural’ force, that completely subverts that space and power relations which leaven it, but this only leads to absolute anarchy on board. Overall, the *Black Swan* represents a socio-heterotopian space that is characterised by the paradox of representation which is at the heart of its production in the first place. As such, it likewise emphasises the subversive and ephemeral nature of such space. Peter, for the most part, reinforces and even endorses certain stereotypes in regard to, for example, the Irish in his portrayal of the voyage on the *Black Swan*. Despite this, his portrayal of the voyage exemplifies the potential for social resistance that defines the conception of representational spaces. The *Black Swan* embodies a representational space in which power over the poor and low-ranking is abused by the authority on board. The novel shows that such space cannot be saved and simply disintegrates when a disaster, the fire, strikes it. The novel

therefore critiques the abuse of power within such space suggesting that it is doomed from the start.

The *Pocahuntas* and Blind Adherence to Discipline

After reaching Canada, Peter is captured by the pirates led by Captain Hawk who asks him to join them. Peter eventually pretends to join the pirates so as to secretly rescue Captain Dean of the ship *Mary* and his crew who have picked him up after the fire previously devastated the *Black Swan*. After the pirates are captured by the American authorities, Captain Dean and his daughter Mary, Peter's romantic interest, testify on his behalf. As a result, Peter is spared execution and sentenced to the service on board the *Pocahuntas* for two years instead. The *Pocahuntas* is a warship, a corvette, that is "bound to the North Seas, to look after the interests of the United States fisheries" (143). It is described as a ship that is "strongly built and strengthened, so that to contend with the bad weather" and the drifting ice in the North (143). In other words, the *Pocahuntas* is an American military *polar* vessel. The material representation of the space of the ship corresponds to its assigned purpose. Peter is essentially imprisoned on this ship. The corvette accordingly presents a floating prison for Peter that confines and disciplines him. It is not just a space that is characterised by its compartmentalisation, rigid social hierarchy, and division of labour. It is a regimented space in which discipline and adherence to it play the most essential role: "Discipline is everything on board a man-of-war. Without it such a mass of people could not possibly be moved together, and all would be confusion and constant disaster. There must be a head to command, either worn by the captain or first lieutenant" (146).

The *Pocahuntas* fully embodies the representational space of such "man-of-war." The life on board the corvette is carefully regulated by a system of different visual and aural signals: "Every man on board has his proper post and particular duties; and all are accustomed to listen for and obey the signal of command, be it the human voice, the boatswain's pipe, a peculiar flag, or the report of a great gun or musket" (144-5). The space of the warship therefore constitutes a heterotopia of compensation that is more rational and organised than any other space. As such, it constitutes an autonomous heterotopian space that produces the social order in a more perfected way than other spaces: "[O]ne follows the other in rank, down to the lowest rated officer" (146). It is also a space in which the representation of how power operates within that space is more transparent and conspicuous. The attributes that pertain to the polar exploratory ship as a socio-heterotopian space (its compartmentalisation, strict social

hierarchy, and labour division) are considerably more reinforced aboard the warship in comparison to other ships in the novel. Every single crew member of the corvette is assigned to a particular place, rank, and duty.

Peter makes a brief comparison between the US and the UK navies. In his view, no matter how republican the Americans are on shore, they very carefully adopt the customs of the latter and “afloat they wisely carry out the principles of an absolute monarchy in the most perfect manner” (145). Peter highlights the superiority of the English navy over that of the Americans. In doing this, he participates in the social production of the space of the corvette. He exhibits English national hubris in regard to the organisation of the space of the ship. This hubris constitutes part of the utopian pretensions that he ascribes to the space of the corvette. He therefore produces another representation of that space. In this representation, the space of the US warship is just a by-product of the English navy in its customs and principles. Such representation runs counter to how that space is perceived by the Americans. Contrary to his experience with the *Black Swan*, Peter is officially accepted within the representational space of the warship in which he is regarded as “an able seaman” (146). His ‘able’ skills are marked by his spatial allocation on the corvette. Peter is placed in the afterguard, a space reserved for those with considerable nautical knowledge and skills. It is a space that occupies a ‘middle ground’ in the established social hierarchy on board. Peter’s spatial positioning on board hence signals his intermediate status in the social order there.

At the top of the corvette’s societal structure are the commander and the first lieutenant who are in charge of all the people on the *Pocahuntas*. The commander, Captain Gierstien, is described as “a very good seaman” and a man who has seen “much of the world” while the first lieutenant, Mr Stunt, is characterised as “a disciplinarian of the most rigid school” (ibid.). Together the two produce a representational space of the ship in which everything is “in very good order as a man-of-war” (ibid.). It is a space in which power is not abused but its operation is much more conspicuous since it is governed by absolute adherence to discipline instituted by the higher chain of command on board. Everyone must submit to power of those whose military rank is higher than theirs. Such space is fitting for a military vessel but it lacks any kindness and consideration: “Strict regulations, the cat, and fear did everything” (ibid.). This discovery tremendously upsets Peter: “[I]t seemed as if a leaden weight were attached to my heart” (ibid.). The corvette hence presents a representational space that not only disciplines and confines Peter, but also alienates him. Alienation constitutes part of the conception of social space. The representational (social) space of the corvette alienates Peter and the crew because it disregards their needs and treats them only as objects of one disciplinary machine. In this

machine, power and control over the crew is exercised solely through fear, intimidation, and strict rules. This widens the societal gap between the shipmasters and the crew even further. The commander and the first lieutenant are competent managers of the warship but they are completely estranged from their crew since they prioritise discipline on board over anything else.

In the course of the voyage, Peter and his fellow sailors participate in the continuous social production of the space of the *Pocahuntas* as they attribute new meanings to it. In the first instance, Peter discusses the matter of converting the Inuit to Christianity on the coast of Labrador by the Moravian missionaries with Thompson, his “greatest chum” on board (147).¹⁸⁷ Peter agrees with Thompson that the Inuit are “the ignorant heathen, who would not otherwise have a chance of having the truths of the gospel preached to them” if not for the Moravian missionaries willing to go and live among them in the Canadian Arctic (148). The Moravians are praised for their zealous desire to convert the ‘ignorant’ Inuit in the Arctic, a region tormented by hellish cold in winter and a large infestation of mosquitoes in summer. The manner in which Peter and Thompson characterise the Inuit here typically pertains to the colonialist depiction of indigenous people(s) in general. In other words, the characters employ the coloniser’s rhetoric in regard to the portrayal of the colonised, that is, the Inuit. In this rhetoric, the colonised are portrayed as ‘ignorant heathen’ while the colonisers (in this case, the Moravians) are presented as well-meaning men who selflessly seek to educate and convert these ‘heathen’ to Christian beliefs and values. This rhetoric is likewise used in contemporary polar books and travelogues.¹⁸⁸ The converted Inuit (like in Labrador) are regarded more

¹⁸⁷ In the early eighteenth century, the Inuit in Labrador acquired the reputation of being “ferocious, murderous and thieving” that was “brought on by retributions and counter retributions” between the Inuit and traders/fishermen on the southern coast of Labrador (Williamson 32). The missionaries, who were sent there by the Moravian Church, settled in Labrador in the late eighteenth century. Since their settlement, in spite of their supposedly altruistic agenda, the Moravians pretty much dominated the spiritual and economic life of the Inuit in Labrador until 1926 (Williamson 33). Despite their apparently ‘positive’ effect on the education and economy of the Inuit, from the beginning, the Moravians were explicitly averse to the Inuit “pre-contact” culture (dances, songs, festivals, etc.) which was severely suppressed by them, referred to as mere “heathen practices,” and deliberately excluded from their diaries and annual accounts (Williamson 35). Furthermore, the Moravians essentially treated the Inuit as “children of nature” (popular address to the Inuit in many Moravians’ diaries and books) for over 160 years thus significantly slowing down the development of their socio-political initiative (ibid.).

¹⁸⁸ For his part, the Arctic explorer John Ross, while describing his visit of Holsteinborg (now Sisimiut) in Greenland, makes the following observation about the Moravian missionaries in Labrador and their supposedly ‘positive’ effect on the Inuit there: “[W]hen the Moravian missionaries in Labrador, under his charge [Mr Latrobe], have found, not only that their converts could be rapidly taught, in addition to their accurate singing, to play on the violin, and not only this, but to construct their own instruments, no one can question the inherent musical talents of this race, though the faculty may not belong to every tribe. I presume it to be pretty well known that *these worthy missionaries* have not treated this subject as a mere matter of amusement or curiosity, but that, *in their enlightened practice*, it has been rendered a powerful auxiliary in *religious instruction and civilization*, as

positively and segregated from the remaining Inuit who are looked upon as ‘ignorant heathen’ in these narratives.¹⁸⁹ The characters proceed to discuss the reason behind the missionaries’ willingness to go to such hostile region as the Arctic. Thompson explains to Peter that “it is not what one sees on the outside, so much as what is in the inside of a man, which makes him happy and contented, or the contrary” (149). The Arctic is hence presented as a space that challenges the physical and mental limits of men and concurrently celebrates masculinity and male comradeship. The characters’ outlooks on the Inuit and the Arctic embody the common attitudes of the ‘earth,’ the socio-political reality, towards these categories at the time. Peter and Thompson generate these attitudes in the narrative and attribute them to the space of the ship thus producing it. The space of the *Pocahuntas* is thus a product and integral part of its socio-political world.

The corvette’s name ‘Pocahuntas’ embodies another instance of the social production of its space by the characters in the narrative. Another shipmate, Tom Stokes, tells the story of ‘Pocahuntas,’ or usually known as Pocahontas, to Peter. Stokes describes the love story between the Indian princess Pocahuntas and the governor of the Jamestown settlement in Virginia using the same coloniser’s rhetoric: “He [the governor] became much attached to his beautiful and faithful bride; and, having succeeded in converting her to Christianity, he married her according to the rites of the Church. From this union sprung some of the most respectable and wealthy families of the State” (150). After hearing the story for the first time ever, Peter agrees that “the Princess Pocahuntas ought to be held in reverence by all true Virginians” (ibid.). Pocahuntas is to be revered precisely because she exemplifies a good ‘savage,’ that is, a ‘savage’ that has been converted to and ‘civilised’ by Christianity. The Indian princess is a colonised that is aware of Christian values and beliefs and that is predominantly why she exhibits such a positive figure. The story of ‘Pocahuntas’ has been largely fictionalised and romanticised over the years. Notwithstanding, it can be considered an important cultural myth that lies at the heart of the American history about the birth of the nation. The name

far as civilization is possible under such circumstances as those under which these tribes exist” (*Narrative of a Second Voyage* 75; emphasis added).

¹⁸⁹ For instance, Hartwig, in his *The Polar World* (1869), emphasises that, despite their similar manners and habits, “the same description is not applicable in all points to the disciples of the Moravian brothers in Labrador or Greenland, to the Greek-Catholic Aleuts, and to the far more numerous heathen Esquimaux of continental America, or of the vast archipelago beyond its northern shores” (291). Regarding the religious beliefs of the ‘ignorant’ Inuit, Hartwig then writes: “The heathen Esquimaux do not appear to have any idea of the existence of one Supreme Being, but believe in a number of spirits, with whom on certain occasions the angekoks pretend to hold mysterious intercourse. [...] [I]n their behaviour to the old and infirm they betray insensibility, or rather inhumanity, commonly found among savage nations, frequently abandoning them to their fate on their journeys, and allowing them to perish in the wilderness” (301).

'Pocahuntas' therefore plays a substantial role in the social production of the corvette in the narrative. It imbues the space of the ship with the particular cultural and socio-political connotations that emphasise American national hubris. The name suggests that the US corvette is meant to be respected and venerated. For their part, these connotations, ascribed to the space of the warship, affect the manner in which that space is perceived by Peter, upon hearing the story, and the crew as a whole.

As the *Pocahuntas* proceeds further northward, the focus of narration shifts from the space of the ship towards the outside nature. Peter starts describing various Arctic birds called by his messmates "shearwaters, boatswains, kittiwakes, dovebies, Mollymokes or Mollies, gulls, buntings, and many others" (157). The mortal danger to the warship likewise comes from the outside in the form of an enormous iceberg. The iceberg is initially mistaken for a sail of another vessel in "the inky obscurity" of "the night as dark as Erebus" (159-60). Believing it to be a sail, the lieutenant gives a wrong order to the crew that leads to the head-on collision of the warship with the iceberg. The collision brings back the focus of narration back to the space of the ship. It completely subverts the representational space of the ship and turns it into a space of utter panic and disorder: "[W]hile the terrific noise of the wind, and the sea dashing over the ship, and the ship striking against the iceberg [...], added to the cries of the people, the groans of the ship, and the creaking and crashing of the masts, almost drowned the voices of the officers, who were rushing here and there as they came from their cabins, in a vain endeavour to restore order" (161). The agency of nature overpowers the corvette, a vessel that carries the mantle of the US navy and hence embodies a representation of the national pride and ambition. For the second time (after the fire on the *Black Swan*), it is a natural rather than a human agent that subverts the existing social order on board. The agency of ice, the outside natural force, annihilates the representational space of the warship rendering its ruling principle, everyone's absolute adherence to discipline, futile. It therefore subverts the social and power relations that originally produced that space. Such subversion of the representational space of the ship once again underscores the ephemerality of that space and its heterotopian nature.

The subversion of the representational space of the *Pocahuntas* leads to a complete chaos on board as the officers unsuccessfully try to bring the situation under control. The higher chain in commands eventually resorts to brutal force and violence in order to retain their power and restore discipline on the corvette. Following the captain's command, the first lieutenant gathers his men with their arms and brings them on the deck "ready to enforce his orders" (161). It becomes clear to many of the crew that the warship is lost. The urgency of the situation and the need to survive in it evoke the sailors' open resistance against power on board represented

by the captain and his officers. Numerous sailors charge forward intending to jump on the iceberg to save themselves. Captain Gierstein, in turn, shouting through his speaking trumpet, strictly forbids all the sailors to leave the ship and commands the armed men to shoot down anyone who would disobey his order. Disregarding the command, Peter and his three shipmates sprint to the front of the vessel and jump down on the iceberg. Some of the sailors that try to follow this example are gunned down by the marines who obey the order to the end. The collision with the iceberg therefore not only entirely subverts the representational space of the ship, but also creates a conflict among the crew aboard. It constitutes a conflict between the social and the individual, i.e. between the social order (and collective obedience to it) and one's self-preservation (an individual desire/instinct to survive). The captain and the first lieutenant stand for order and discipline within the representational space of the warship produced by them. Their armed men are blind to the danger and obedient to the order even when the warship starts sinking. They keep firing "their last volley" at the escapees, that is, "a volley over their own graves" (162). At the same time, the remaining seamen are not "drilled to obedience" (ibid). They are "a mass of human beings" who simply desire to survive and are hence filled with "agonized despair and dismay" as "the proud ship" sinks "down in the far depths of the ocean" (ibid.) Their open resistance against the captain and his men exemplifies the manifestation of their free will, their agency, and their desire to survive. Only Peter and his messmates who have disobeyed the order early on survive in the aftermath of the shipwreck.

The final confrontation between the higher chain of command and the crew on the *Pocahuntas* highlights the potential for social resistance against power relations that operate within its representational space. Such resistance, however, only manifests when the sailors' lives are directly endangered after the collision with the iceberg. Once again it is not human agency, but the agency of the outside natural force that entirely subverts the representational space of the ship and power relations which leaven that space. On the whole, the *Pocahuntas* presents a representational space the ruling principles of which are discipline and absolute obedience to it. Notwithstanding, these principles constitute the main reason behind the undoing of that space. Following the wrong command given by the lieutenant causes the direct collision of the warship with the iceberg. Obeying the captain's command then, prevents most of the seamen from jumping on the iceberg and having a shot at surviving. The warship ultimately presents an extremely regimented, prison-like space in which all the subjects are mere gears of one disciplinary machine. The representational space of the *Pocahuntas* not only confines and disciplines Peter and the sailors, but also alienates them from the authority on

board. Those who blindly follow orders within that space are in danger of being potentially squashed by this machine when a disaster devastates it.

The *Shetland Maid* and the ‘Horizontal’ Operation of Power

The *Shetland Maid* is a vessel that rescues Peter and his companions from the drifting iceberg that has wrecked the *Pocahuntas*. It is a ship that is “perfectly fitted as a whaler, being also strengthened by every means which science could devise, to enable her to resist the pressure of the ice to which such vessels must inevitably be exposed in their progress through the arctic seas” (184). It represents an ultimate polar vessel of the period made specifically to combat ice in the Arctic. The material representation of the ship hence matches the role assigned to its space. Like other ships of the period, the *Shetland Maid* presents a heterotopia of compensation that is more rational and meticulously organised than any other space. As such, it is characterised by its rigid social hierarchy, division of labour, and spatial compartmentalisation in the narrative. It is, however, distinct from other vessels in the novel with respect to how power operates within that representational space. It constitutes a representational space in which Peter and his companions are immediately accepted by the captain, his officers, and the entire crew; and treated with kindness and consideration by them. It is hence a space that is put in opposition to the spaces of the *Black Swan* and *Pocahuntas* in the narrative. Peter and his companions voluntarily enlist as members of the crew on the *Shetland Maid* and are offered the same monthly wage and bonus for each tun of oil as everyone else on board. The space of the whaling vessel does not confine, punish, or discipline Peter. Instead, it accepts him with kindness and teaches him not merely how to be a sailor, but also how to be a whaler. In a way, it is a space that symbolically marks Peter’s transition into adolescence. It is highlighted by Peter’s adoption of a new identity, that is, “Peter the Whaler” that he proudly announces to the reader in the novel (184).

The different nature of the representational space of the ship is similarly indicated by the character of its captain. As Captain Rendall holds the highest authority and power on board the *Shetland Maid*, he is in charge of not only the representational space there, but also its production. Peter characterises the captain as “a well-educated, intelligent, brave,” and “a truly religious man” (185). Peter also labels him as “the father of his crew” (ibid.). Captain Rendall thus runs counter to the captains of the *Black Swan* and the *Pocahuntas* since he epitomises gentlemanly and Christian values at once. He is not just a competent master of the ship, but as well a mentor-like figure to his crew. In other words, there is no considerable social distance

between the captain and his crew. Contrary to the representational spaces of the *Black Swan* and *Pocahuntas*, the representational space of the *Shetland Maid* is governed by the social hierarchy that is more *horizontal* than vertical in essence. The ‘horizontal’ nature of the social hierarchy on the *Shetland Maid* pertains not to the crew’s allocation within its material space, but to the manner in which the captain exercises power over them. Captain Rendall produces a representational space of the ship in which power over the low-ranking is not abused (like it was on the *Black Swan* in which power and control operated primarily through vertical planes and volume of that space); and in which the crew are not alienated through everyone’s reliance on absolute discipline (like it was on the *Pocahuntas*). In this space, the crew are not alienated and treated like objects of one disciplinary machine. Instead, they are regarded as equal members of one family. It therefore presents a ‘horizontal’ representational space not in the sense that the material inner space of the ship is horizontal per se, but in the sense that power operates there mainly through horizontal planes and volume of that space. By the ‘volume’ here is meant the three-dimensional character of the space of the whaling vessel.

This operation of power through horizontal spatial planes and volume on the *Shetland Maid* becomes conspicuous in the description of the crow’s nest on board. Peter characterises this “sentry-box at the mast head” as a “most important contrivance” for a whaling vessel (188-9). The crow’s nest is a contrivance that is used as a look-out on board. It performs two most essential functions for a whaler, that is, it assists in navigating the ship among drifting ice and in seeing whales from a distance. It can be said that the crow’s nest is a panopticon-like space aboard in the sense that the entire ship can be observed from there. Although Peter does not use the crow’s nest himself in the novel, it still presents an inversion of his previous situation on board the *Black Swan* when he was the object of the panoptical gaze. Unlike the situation on the *Black Swan*, the crow’s nest functions as a proper panopticon on the *Shetland Maid*. As such, it enables a person there to observe the whole ship from above without being necessarily subjected to the gaze from the sailors below. It similarly underscores the three-dimensional nature of the space of the whaling vessel. Interestingly enough, Peter characterises the crow’s nest as a spot on board not only for a look-out, but also as a place in which “the master takes up his post, to pilot his ship among the ice” (189). Captain Rendall occupies the crow’s nest to personally navigate the ship when it is endangered by the ice. The contrivance is not just a site for a watcher on board the *Shetland Maid*.¹⁹⁰ Instead, it is a place that is employed equally by

¹⁹⁰ In this regard, *Peter the Whaler* runs counter to *Tales* in which the crow’s nest presents a brilliant British invention that is used only by the crew watchers and not the captain; and that also causes the watchers there to suffer profusely from the severe cold.

both the captain and the crew. It shows that both of them are on an equal footing regarding their duties within the representational space of the ship. It likewise undermines the vertical character of the social hierarchy on board and simultaneously underscores the horizontal nature of the social order on the *Shetland Maid*.

Such social order is likewise exemplified in the traditions carried out on the whaling vessel. Before hunting the first whale, all the harpooners gather in the cabin to obtain their instructions for the entire whaling season. After this, everyone is served a glass of grog to drink “a good voyage and a full ship” (ibid.). The tradition of drinking a glass of grog represents a good fortune in future whaling and voyaging for the crew. It is part of the representational space of the ship. No one is excluded or treated differently in the course of it including the Shetlanders.¹⁹¹ For instance, Peter specifically mentions Alec Garrock, a Shetlander, belonging to the crew of the ship, who recounts a story of his survival on the ice after the shipwreck to others. The *Shetland Maid* thus constitutes a representational space in which no one is discriminated against, marginalised, or mistreated. Moreover, a round of storytelling occurs among the crew when the ship is blocked by the ice during a voyage. Similar to other novels analysed in this study, the agency of ice performs a subversive and creative function in the narrative. It immures the ship halting it in its tracks but produces narrative time and space for short stories and anecdotes among the characters on board. In addition to this, the storytelling further unites the characters and creates a social bond between them.

Whaling performs a similar function in the narrative. It both unites all the crew and suspends all the activities on the ship. The death of the first whale, “the monster,” is depicted as a bloody and violent scene: “[A] spout of blood and mucus and oil ascended into the air from its blow-holes, and sprinkled us all over” (201). The scene, however, is accompanied by the triumphant joy of the whole crew. Peter does not show any sign of empathy towards the whales hunted by the crew. Conversely, he regards whaling as a mere lucrative business as one whale can cover the cost of the entire voyage for the captain. When the whale is dragged on board and dismembered there, Peter is not repulsed by the process in the slightest. The whale’s dismemberment mobilises the entire crew and reinforces the division of labour on board. Depending on their task in the process, the crew is separated into several groups. The “krangers” remove oily parts from the blubber, the “kings” throw the blubber to the “krangers,” the harpooners skin the whale, and the boat-steerers who chop the body parts into smaller

¹⁹¹ In Gillies’s *Tales*, on the contrary, the Shetlanders are repeatedly marginalised, alienated, and discriminated against on board the *Leviathan*.

pieces (208). They are all overlooked by the line-managers who carefully monitor the whole process. The dismemberment, in a way, turns the space of the ship into a factory that delegates and distributes the tasks among the crew so as to create a portable product out of the slaughtered whale. The whale's body parts and oil are later carefully stored in casks on the ship. They embody a precious cargo for the crew since each of them is to receive a fixed sum of money for each tun of oil from the whale. Consequently, whaling and the transportation of its oil and body parts constitute the ultimate purpose assigned to the representational space of the *Shetland Maid*. This economic purpose is ascribed to the space of the ship by the 'earth.' Here the whaling vessel encompasses the market demand of its current socio-political world. This exemplifies the space of the *Shetland Maid* as the "heterotopia par excellence" and "heterotopia of heterotopia," and as such, its inability to escape the social while simultaneously representing it which constitutes its paradox of representation that lies at the heart of its production.

On the whole, the *Shetland Maid* embodies a socio-heterotopian space that like the *Black Swan* and *Pocahuntas* (and other ships of the period in general) is characterised by its strict division of labour, spatial compartmentalisation, and social hierarchy; and by the paradox of its representation that is characteristic of ships as heterotopias par excellence and heterotopias of heterotopias. However, it ultimately presents a representational space that runs counter to those of the *Black Swan* and *Pocahuntas* in the way in which power operates on board. It encompasses a lived social space in which power over the low-ranking is not abused by the authority on board and in which the crew are not alienated, marginalised, and discriminated against by it. The figure of Captain Rendall plays an important role in the production of such space on board. He epitomises gentlemanly and Christian values that he ascribes to the space of the ship thus producing it. He accordingly produces a representational space in which the social hierarchy on board is more horizontal than vertical in the manner in which power operates there. In such space, power is exercised through horizontal spatial planes and volume. Overall, such operation of power paints that space in a predominantly good light in the narrative, but it also makes this operation much less conspicuous in comparison to those of the *Black Swan* and *Pocahuntas*. This, in turn, makes the potential for social resistance against such operation of power much less conspicuous within that space as well. As it has been mentioned before in this chapter, such potential characterises the conception of representational spaces as heterotopias. At the same time, the representational space of the *Shetland Maid* does exhibit this potential in the narrative. The only and most notable example of such potential for resistance on the *Shetland Maid* is depicted in the crew's celebration of the line-crossing ceremony on board.

The Line-Crossing Ceremony on the *Shetland Maid* and the Potential for Social Resistance on Board

Upon passing the Arctic circle, the line-crossing ceremony begins on the *Shetland Maid*. The ceremony divides the crew into two large groups, i.e. the uninitiated called “the youngsters,” or “the green hands” and the initiated called “the old hands” (192). The latter prepare for the ceremony behind the former’s back. The space of the ship seemingly transforms into a site of celebration. It is decorated by a colourful garland made of artificial flowers and ribbons with “the model of a ship, full-rigged, with sails set and colours flying” (193). The ceremony constitutes part of the representational space of the ship that underlines the autonomous nature of that space from the ‘earth,’ the outside socio-political world, since it is not commemorated on land. It is a rite that marks the establishment of a seaman’s identity as he is accepted into the ranks of the seaworthy. It signifies the fact that one becomes a worthy member of the seamen’s community and its representational space aboard. The ceremony therefore registers Peter’s symbolic transition into adulthood and his establishment as a seaman on the *Shetland Maid*. It encompasses a marine carnival in Bakhtinian broad understanding of ‘carnival.’¹⁹² In this sense, it signifies a “special phenomenon” in popular festive culture that managed to preserve “certain fundamental traits” of past folk life “in a quite clear, though reduced form” (Bakhtin 218). As such, it is a special event that temporarily suspends and reverses the predominant societal hierarchies. It presents the world upside down, the world in which clothes are worn inside out, “comic crownings and uncrownings” occur, fools turn into kings, “lords of misrule” take over, boy bishops are chosen, the bawdy language prevails in speech, and so on (Knowles 6). All the reversals that occur during this event are characterised by their downward movement and their temporality.¹⁹³ In its downward movement, carnival can be seen as a type of “festive critique” of the ‘high’ culture through the inversion of its hierarchy (Stallybrass and White 7). In this respect, it presents an emplacement of resistance and struggle against the dominant societal structures.

The line-crossing ceremony on the *Shetland Maid* thus presents a marine carnival because it performs these functions and characteristics of Bakhtinian carnival in the novel.

¹⁹² See the section on the line-crossing ceremony as a marine carnival in chapter 6 of this thesis for more elaboration on the distinction between a narrow and broad understanding of Bakhtinian carnival; and on Bakhtinian conception of carnival and the carnivalesque on the whole.

¹⁹³ The temporality of carnival closely links it to Foucault’s conception of “heterotopias of the festival” which are, in turn, connected to “time in its most flowing, transitory, precarious aspect, to time in the mode of the festival” (Foucault 7). Foucault emphasises the temporal nature of heterotopias of the festival and juxtaposes them to “heterotopias of the accumulation of time” such as museums and libraries.

Peter remarks that the ceremony is commonly practiced on board all whaling vessels in the Arctic. It therefore represents a marine carnival that is part of the larger societal structure it briefly undermines and turns upside down.¹⁹⁴ However, what makes the line-crossing ceremony on the *Shetland Maid* distinct from Bakhtinian carnival is the fact that its reversals are distinguished by their *downward* and *upward* movement of the uninitiated, or the “green hands,” within the inner material space of the ship during its celebration in the narrative. The seaman masquerading as King Neptune is treated “with as much authority as if he was captain of the ship” by the old hands aboard (*ibid.*). The king’s entourage is comprised of his queen and his “wally-de-sham and trumpeter extraordinary” (194). Together they come to represent the new authority that all the crew are to be subservient to during the ceremony. They are all conspicuously grotesque in their appearance and attire. King Neptune, for example, has “very large whiskers, and a red nightcap showed under his helmet” with a speaking trumpet in one hand and “a trident surmounted by a red herring” in the other, and dressed in a pair of huge sea boots (*ibid.*). As soon as King Neptune and his entourage appear, Peter and all the ‘green hands’ are dragged forward and forced to bow *down* to them.

This first step in the ceremony is demeaning for the green hands. It imposes physical submission to the new authority upon them. Following the king’s order, all the green hands are then forcibly taken *below* the deck and locked up together in the cable tier referred to as the “dark prison” by Peter (195). This step is characterised by its movement down in space and confinement of the green hands below. The movement of the green hands down in space aboard symbolises their loss of agency during this step of the ceremony. The old hands here are positioned spatially above the green ones. Albeit temporally, such spatial positioning of the two groups demonstrates unequal power relations between them on board during the ceremony. It underscores the operation of power between the two groups on the ship and hence makes it more conspicuous within that space. The old hands are in complete power and control over the green hands and this is marked by their upper position in space on board. The submissive status of the green hands, on the contrary, is indicated by their lower spatial position on the ship. In this instance, the spatial positioning of the two groups similarly highlights the verticality of the

¹⁹⁴ This very fact constitutes one of the main problems in the conception of Bakhtinian carnival and the carnivalesque. See, in this instance, Terry Eagleton’s *Walter Benjamin: Towards a Revolutionary Criticism* (1981) in which he criticises Bakhtin’s positive idealism in the conception of carnival without considering fully its political implications (148). Eagleton underscores one of the major problems of Bakhtinian carnival, that is, its inability to break away from the dominant societal structure and official culture that it transiently resists against and liberates from. In spite of its liberating and anti-authoritarian nature, carnival constitutes part of the dominant societal structure and culture it contests. It is usually organised by the State and/or the Church as a ‘safety-valve’ to alleviate current tensions in a given society (Humphrey 170).

inner material space of the ship. Compellingly enough, this is the only instance in the novel when power operates through vertical planes on the *Shetland Maid*. Such emphasis on the verticality of the space of the ship performs a double function in the narrative. On the one hand, it reflects the new social hierarchy temporarily established on board during the ceremony. On the other hand, it underlines the reversal of power between the old hands and green ones on the whaling vessel.

One by one the green hands are dragged from their ‘dark prison’ *up* to the deck into the presence of King Neptune who sits on “a throne composed of a coil of ropes, with his court, a very motley assemblage, arranged round him” (ibid.). In the similar fashion, Peter is brought in front of the king’s court. The movement of the green hands *upward* in space characterises this following step of the ceremony on board. It once again underscores the verticality of the space of the ship. It also signals the upcoming transfer of agency back to the green hands after their forced ‘shaving’ on the deck. Despite Peter’s struggles, his head is seized by the valet who applies tar to his face. The valet then starts ‘shaving’ Peter by scraping his face mercilessly with an iron hoop. The process of ‘shaving’ constitutes the key part of the ceremony. Any form of resistance, vocal or physical, during it is either immediately suppressed or punished “to the great amusement of all hands” (ibid.). Any outward sign of anger from the initiated is ruthlessly mocked and ridiculed until that person is forced, “for his own sake, to get back his good-humour again without delay” (196). The process highlights the carnivalesque essence of the line-crossing ceremony since it is accompanied by laughter, mocking, and ridicule of the uninitiated. Humiliation and abuse are integral parts of the symbolic initiation into the class of the seaworthy. They are necessary acts for the green hands to go through so as for them to become respectable members of the representational space of the whaling ship bound to the North Seas. After being “pronounced shaved and clean,” Peter is declared “duly initiated as a North Sea whaler” (ibid.). All the green hands are compelled to participate in the ceremony. No one is allowed to pay off the king and his assemblage in order to escape going through it.¹⁹⁵ The line-crossing ceremony ultimately presents the world on board the *Shetland Maid* upside down. The cooper’s mate is crowned as King Neptune, the boatswain is crowned as his Queen, and their valet is played by the boatswain’s mate. The ceremony hence reverses the existing social hierarchy on the ship. In regard to Neptune’s queen, it is also characterised by cross-dressing that represents a reversal of gender performativity aboard. The ceremony finishes with

¹⁹⁵ This once again runs counter to Gillies’s *Tales* in which the narrator and his friend William could pay a tribute to the initiated group to escape their direct participation in the line-crossing ceremony on board the *Leviathan*.

an extra serving of grog, lots of merry dancing, and singing well into the dark. It presents a marine carnival that encompasses a constituent of the representational space of the *Shetland Maid* in the novel. It temporarily liberates the crew from the existing authority on board by briefly subverting the social structure, labour division, and compartmentalisation of that space. In doing this, it unveils the function of the ceremony as a marine carnival to resist the existing dominant societal structure on board.

The function of the line-crossing ceremony to resist the dominant societal structures links its conception to that of representational and heterotopian spaces. All the three examined ships in *Peter the Whaler* embody distinct socio-heterotopian spaces that illustrate the paradox of representation that is at the heart of their production. They are also spaces which are more rational and meticulously organised than any other space. In other words, they exemplify heterotopias of compensation that are characterised by their spatial compartmentalisation, rigid social hierarchy, and strict division of labour. On the whole, the ship as a socio-heterotopian space conceptually presupposes certain potential for social resistance against the operation of power in that space. All the three spaces of the ships, to a lesser or a greater extent, exhibit this potential in the narrative. The *Black Swan* presents a vertical and three-dimensional representational space in which power over the poor and low-ranking is severely abused by the authority on board. In this space, power is exercised primarily through vertical planes and volume of that space. The *Pocahuntas*, in turn, encompasses an extremely regimented and prison-like representational space in which everyone's absolute adherence to discipline plays the most essential role aboard. Such absolute adherence to discipline leads to the alienation of the crew within that space since they are treated as mere objects by the authority there. In contrast to the *Black Swan*, there is no emphasis on the verticality of the inner material space of the *Pocahuntas*. Despite this, the *Pocahuntas* incorporates a 'vertical' representational space in the manner power and control are exercised over the crew due to everyone's absolute adherence to discipline there. In other words, it is a representational space that is governed by a very 'vertical' social order on board.

The representational space of the *Shetland Maid* runs counter to those of the *Black Swan* and *Pocahuntas* in the manner in which power operates there. Apart from the depiction of the line-crossing ceremony, it embodies a representational space in which the social hierarchy is 'horizontal' in its operation of power. The examination of all the three ships reveals that the more visible the operation of power within these representational spaces is, the more

conspicuous social resistance against such power there becomes. Conversely, the less visible such operation of power in these spaces (like on the *Shetland Maid*) is, the less conspicuous social resistance against such power there is. To put it another way, the examination of all the three ships demonstrates a direct correlation between the (in)visibility of power relations and the (in)discernibility of social resistance against such relations within these spaces. The representational spaces are inseparable from social relations which continuously produce them. The representational spaces of the three ships are mainly produced by their captains who occupy the top of the social hierarchy on board and hence present complete authority there. The captains are in charge of the production of the representational spaces on board since they establish social and power relations that operate there. When these relations established on the *Black Swan* and *Pocahuntas* are entirely subverted by the agency of outside forces, fire and ice respectively, the representational spaces of these ships also cease to exist. This illustrates the ephemerality of representational spaces as heterotopias in the narrative. Interestingly enough, out of all the three ships, the *Shetland Maid* is the only vessel that is not shipwrecked by the agency of an outside natural force and the representational space of which is not subverted by it. This suggests the novel's critique of such representational spaces as those of the *Black Swan* and *Pocahuntas* in which power over the poor and low-ranking is abused, and in which the crew are alienated and treated as objects by their respective authorities on board. In this regard, the *Shetland Maid*, which is put in opposition to such spaces in its operation of power, epitomises an exemplary representational space of the ship in the narrative.

Conclusion

In September 2014, the Victoria Strait Expedition discovered the wreck of HMS *Erebus*, one of the two vessels employed in Franklin's expedition lost in 1848, south of King William Island in the Canadian Arctic. The former Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper defined the discovery of the 'fabled' ship as an answer to "one of Canada's greatest mysteries" and gave the following official statement:

This is truly a historic moment for Canada. Franklin's ships are an important part of Canadian history given that his expeditions, which took place nearly 200 years ago, laid the foundations of Canada's Arctic sovereignty. [...] Our Government has been deeply committed to finding HMS *Erebus* and HMS *Terror*, which were Canada's only undiscovered national historical site. Since 2008, there have been six major Parks Canada-led searches for the lost Franklin Expedition ships, pain-stakingly [*sic*] covering many hundreds of square kilometres of the Arctic seabed. It is gratifying that the ship's remains were found during the Government-supported 2014 Victoria Strait Expedition. Finding the first vessel will no doubt provide the momentum – or wind in our sails – necessary to locate its sister ship and find out even more about what happened to the Franklin Expedition's crew.¹⁹⁶

Some years earlier, in 2007, a Russian expedition had dived deep below the North Pole in a remotely operated submersible and planted their titanium flag on the seabed near the Pole.¹⁹⁷ This had sparked an outrage in the Canadian government and greatly contributed to the launch of a new expedition in search of the lost Franklin ships by Harper in 2008. It was "a crafty way of packaging a political agenda with the shiny wrapping of an adventure that speaks to the heart of Canadian nationalism" (Worrall).¹⁹⁸ As was the case with Barrow's promotion of British Arctic exploration and the search for the Northwest Passage in the first half of the nineteenth century, national competition greatly stimulated Canadian exploration of the Victoria Strait. Harper promotes the discovery of HMS *Erebus* as the ultimate proof of Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic. He employs the ship of the Royal Navy as a symbolic mantle, passed to Canada by the British (especially Barrow and Franklin), that enables the nation to lay claim to the Arctic.¹⁹⁹ The *Erebus* comes to epitomise a precious relic that validates "Canada's emerging

¹⁹⁶ From "Franklin Ship Discovery: Stephen Harper's Full Statement." *CBS Canada*. [official statement]. 9 September 2014. Accessed: 28 January 2020. www.cbs.ca.

¹⁹⁷ See C.J. Chivers's "Russians Plant Flag on the Arctic Seabed." *The New York Times*. [news article]. 3 August 2007. Accessed: 20 September 2019. www.nytimes.com.

¹⁹⁸ From Simon Worrall's "How the Discovery of Two Lost Ships Solved an Arctic Mystery." *National Geographic*. [online article]. 16 April 2017. Accessed: 26 September 2019. www.nationalgeographic.com.

¹⁹⁹ The Canadian President of the Treasury Tony Clement, for example, similarly stated in one of his speeches to the media regarding the discovery of HMS *Erebus*: "I don't think we're going to find a Russian flag on Erebus so I think it underscores our point – in all seriousness – that the British, and of course, we inherited from the British,

identity as an Arctic power” (Craciun, *Writing Arctic Disaster* 1). The discovery of HMS *Erebus* hence becomes the discovery of Canadian *Arctic* identity. Similar to Anglo-American polar exploration roughly two hundred years ago, the Victoria Strait Expedition is inevitably intertwined with a country’s nationalism.

Two years later, in September 2016, the wreck of the other lost Franklin ship, HMS *Terror*, was discovered nearly intact in the area of uncharted Terror Bay located near King William Island in Western Nunavut. The discovery was made by a research group from the Canadian government. It would have been impossible without the tip from Sammy Kogvic, an Inuit hunter and member of the Canadian Armed Forces.²⁰⁰ In this instance, Parks Canada, that officially led the Victoria Strait Expedition and represent the Canadian government, emphasise the vital role of the Inuit of Nunavut, their knowledge and support in the discovery of the two lost Franklin ships on their official website. In fact, the two wrecks and most artefacts from them now legally belong to the governments of Canada and Nunavut.²⁰¹ This is historically ironic since the testimony of a group of the Inuit to John Rae about the disastrous fate of the Franklin expedition, and their strong indication that the surviving Franklin men might have resorted to cannibalism turned the Victorian public openly against them. The testimony could potentially explain the reason behind the subsequent disappearance of the Inuit from narratives of polar travelogues after the mid-nineteenth century (Spufford 197-8 and David 50). If Franklin’s lost expedition had pretty much erased the subsequent presence of the Inuit from the history of British Arctic exploration, then the Victoria Strait Expedition, so to speak, has re-inserted them back into it.

Canada’s Far North.” From Ameya Charnalia’s “New Footage Offers Look into HMS *Erebus* Wreck.” *The Globe and Mail Canada*. [news article]. 16 April 2015. Accessed: 30 January 2020. www.theglobeandmail.com.

²⁰⁰ See Heather Pringle’s “Unlikely Tip Leads to Discovery of Historic Shipwreck.” *National Geographic*. [online article]. 13 September 2016. Accessed: 26 September 2019. www.nationalgeographic.com.

²⁰¹ The ownership of the two wrecks became a matter of contention among the governments of Canada, Great Britain, and Nunavut. In 1994, Canada claimed the undiscovered wrecks of HMS *Erebus* and *Terror* as a national historical site. In compliance with international maritime law, the wrecks of military vessels belong to a country that originally set them out (in this case, Great Britain). However, in 1999, Canada and Britain reached a non-binding agreement in which the latter agreed to transfer the ownership of the wrecks to Canada. The government of Nunavut, established in 1999 as part of the Canadian newest territory and largest official agreement between Canada and the Inuit, staked a claim on all archaeological sites and artefacts within their territory (where the two wrecks would be eventually discovered in 2014 and 2016). In 2018, Britain legally transferred the ownership of HMS *Terror* and *Erebus* to Canada and Nunavut. According to this agreement, Britain was allowed to keep all sixty-five artefacts already recovered and Canada was not to seek any financial compensation from Britain for the excavation and recovery of the artefacts (costing millions of dollars).

See “Who Owns the *Erebus* and *Terror* Wrecks?” *Canadian Mysteries*. [online article]. n.d. Accessed: 16 March 2020. www.canadianmysteries.ca; and Kathleen Harris’s “Canada, Britain Formalize Agreement on Franklin Expedition Wrecks.” *CBS Canada*. [news article]. 26 April 2018. Accessed: 16 March 2020. www.cbs.ca.

In claiming HMS *Erebus*, Harper declared Canadian right to the history of British Arctic exploration and by extension to the authority over the North. He therefore announced Canada as the rightful successor to the British Arctic heritage. In his statement, he emphasises that the main goal of the Victoria Strait Expedition had been the finding of “Canada’s only *undiscovered* national historical site.” In this regard, the undiscovered wrecks presented a ‘blank’ and ‘empty’ spot on the Arctic map that had been officially claimed by Canada. Harper’s rhetoric underlines the desire to claim the *imagined emptiness* of the space of the Arctic for his nation. The ‘imagined emptiness’ is the term I have developed in my application of Lefebvre’s conception of absolute space, i.e. a pre-colonised natural space that existed during the earliest modes of production and that physically dominated man. In his discussion of absolute space, Lefebvre argues that “the emptiness of a natural space” was forcibly taken away by man from nature to construct political spaces in their stead (49). In doing this, man proclaimed authority over that emptiness and used it for themselves. The same desire to stake a claim on the imagined emptiness of the Arctic and Antarctic imbued the framework of British and American polar exploration in the first half of the nineteenth century advocated respectively by Barrow and Reynolds. The Anglo-American polar explorers of the period failed to colonise polar spaces physically, but they put a claim on the imagined emptiness of those spaces.²⁰² This indicates the enduring perception of the polar regions as ‘empty’ and ‘blank’ spaces in the Western imagination. The ‘emptiness’ and ‘blankness’ of the Franklin wrecks was transformed into a distinct symbol of Canadian nationalism. The discovery of HMS *Erebus* and *Terror* enabled the Canadian government to claim not only the lost Franklin vessels and artefacts there, but also the Arctic territory encompassing them.

The study of Anglo-American polar exploration in the first half of the nineteenth century helps us understand the abiding perception of the polar regions as ‘empty’ and ‘blank’ spaces in the present Western imagination. The ‘emptiness’ and ‘blankness’ of polar spaces is an invention of the nineteenth century that “we need to unlearn” (Craciun, *Writing Arctic Disaster* 9). Such perception of polar spaces can be explained by the manner in which Anglo-American polar exploration was promoted at that time. Polar exploration was predominantly seen then as a pure and apolitical endeavour in the name of mankind and science. Similarly, despite its clear political agenda, the Victoria Strait Expedition was first and foremost promoted and portrayed as a very essential one for science and history that would finally solve the ‘great’ mystery of

²⁰² Similarly, back in 1994, Canada had declared the undiscovered Franklin wrecks as a national historical site thus staking a claim on the imagined emptiness of that space in the Arctic. And Stephen Harper reiterated this claim in his official statement regarding the discovery of HMS *Erebus* in September 2014.

Franklin's lost expedition. The discovery of the two lost vessels is considered one of the greatest findings in underwater archaeology and maritime history in the twenty-first century. Apart from numerous artefacts, the discovery of HMS *Terror*, in particular, revealed that it might have sunk after its anchor line had been deployed. The vessel was found in an almost 'pristine' condition: with nearly all hatches closed, three main broken masts still standing, and perfectly stowed (Watson).²⁰³ This suggests that the vessel had most likely been shut down for winter by the remaining crew who then boarded the other vessel in an attempt to escape to the south. This discovery "challenges the accepted history behind one of polar exploration's deepest mysteries" – the demise of all one hundred and twenty nine men of the Franklin expedition (ibid.).²⁰⁴ According to the accepted history, the Franklin men made an attempt to escape the Arctic in "a brutal death march" dying one by one in the process, but the evidence from HMS *Terror* potentially hints at the fact that some of the dying men "instead mustered incredible strength, fighting off hunger, disease and frostbite" desperately trying to sail home (ibid.). Hence the new evidence testifies to the fact that the Royal Navy seamen were not simply suicidal martyrs, but true national heroes who lost their lives in their fight to survive in the hostile Arctic. Similar to many polar travelogues of the period, the fate of Franklin and his men is a tale of nationalist hubris that is laden with male stoicism and suffering. What sets it apart from the rest is not only its completely disastrous outcome and the construction of heroic nationalist narrative around it, but its seemingly unexplainable disappearance in the remote and inhospitable Arctic. The 'mysterious' disappearance of the Franklin expedition and the subsequent largely unsuccessful search for it, one of the longest, most expensive, and most intense ones in maritime history, gripped the popular imagination for generations to come.²⁰⁵

The Canadian discovery of the Franklin wrecks sparked a heated debate about national history, who should be really credited for it, and certain facts concerning it. It also raised questions about the access to the Arctic and its natural resources, competing national claims over them, the legacy and the role of the Inuit in the history of polar exploration.²⁰⁶ In the twenty-first century, the 'myth' of Franklin, a Romantic/Victorian British Arctic explorer, has been compellingly and curiously translated into the conception of "New North."²⁰⁷ The

²⁰³ From Paul Watson's "Ship Found in Arctic 168 Years after Doomed Northwest Passage Attempt." *The Guardian*. [news article]. 12 September 2016. Accessed: 26 September 2019. www.theguardian.com.

²⁰⁴ ibid.

²⁰⁵ See also Paul Watson's *Ice Ghosts: The Epic Hunt for the Lost Franklin Expedition* (2017): pp. 109-13, 133-6.

²⁰⁶ See also Adriana Craciun's "The Franklin Mystery" (2012).

²⁰⁷ See Laurence C. Smith's *The World in 2050: Four Forces Shaping Civilization's Northern Future* (2010) in which he loosely defines the "New North" as the conception that is based on the following main argument: "The northern quarter of our planet's latitudes will undergo tremendous transformation over the course of this century,

discovery of the lost Franklin ships similarly brought to the fore the history of British Arctic exploration in the first half of the nineteenth century and its enduring relevance in our time. Due to the spectacular beauty and hostility of its landscape, but also for economic reasons, Arctic and Antarctic spaces have always stimulated national competition as well as aesthetic imagination, and continue to do so today. This can possibly explain the resurgent popularity of historical and contemporary travel accounts indicated by, for instance, the recent reprinting of Cherry-Garrard's account of Scott's Antarctic expedition, *The Worst Journey in the World* (1922), Lansing's account of Shackleton's Antarctic voyage, *Endurance* (1959), and a number of new publications on Franklin's lost expedition.²⁰⁸ Similar to the Canadian Victoria Strait Expedition, Anglo-American polar expeditions almost two hundred years ago were mainly promoted as a disinterested and apolitical enterprise in the name of science and history in spite of its obvious political and nationalist agenda. Like Harper, British and American explorers of the period desired to claim the imagined emptiness of polar spaces for their respective nations. In the place of that imagined emptiness, they produced a new ideological space imbued with nationalism, male stoicism, heroism, and comradeship. Therefore, the same rhetoric closely connects the Western representation of polar spaces in the past with that of the present.

Such rhetoric generates a paradoxical representation of polar spaces in the Western imagination. On the one hand, the Arctic and Antarctic are commonly imagined as 'pure,' 'empty,' 'blank,' and stateless spaces which exist outside the political and the social. On the other hand, they are actual natural spaces of potential social production which embody a promising national commodity for such influential countries as Norway, Russia, Canada, the USA, Finland, Iceland, Sweden, and Denmark. Hence there is an evident discrepancy between how people imagine polar spaces and how they actually experience them. Such paradoxical representation of polar spaces can be traced back to their portrayal in Anglo-American exploratory travelogues and fictional works of the first half of the nineteenth century. In these narratives, the polar regions encompassed absolute and sublime spaces that corresponded to the two ways in which they were represented there. The polar regions as absolute spaces presented the agency of nature that dominated men not only through their power, but also

making them a place of increased human activity, higher strategic value, and greater economic importance than today" (18-9).

²⁰⁸ For the publications in connection with Franklin's lost expedition in recent years, see, for example, Michael Palin's *Erebus: The Story of a Ship* (2018), Paul Watson's *Ice Ghosts: The Epic Hunt for the Lost Franklin Expedition* (2017), Gillian Hutchinson's *Sir John Franklin's Erebus and Terror Expedition: Lost and Found* (2017), and John Roobol's *Franklin's Fate: An Investigation into What Happened to the Lost 1845 Expedition of Sir John Franklin* (2019).

through men's dependence on them to survive.²⁰⁹ The polar sublime, in turn, overwhelmed men's senses and imagination. This study offers the first comprehensive examination of the natural properties of ice in the production of the polar sublime based on both Burkean and Kantian aesthetics. The sublimity of polar spaces was primarily generated by such natural properties of ice as its 'blankness,' magnitude, magnificence, and dynamic power.²¹⁰ The Poles remained unknown spaces at the time and, for this reason, were used as 'blank' canvases for the public to project their own associations and values on. The 'blankness' of the Poles was essentially the sublimity of the unknown that spurred on the popular imagination about those spaces. The magnitude, magnificence, and dynamic power of polar ice, for their part, were properties in nature which enabled the experience of the sublime in Burkean aesthetics.²¹¹ These properties of ice and their function in the production of the polar sublime have been discussed in detail in chapter 1 and further examined in the portrayal of the polar regions in the primary texts in chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5 of this study.

In the examination of the polar sublime, this study has particularly focused on the importance of literal (Burkean aesthetics) and conceptual (Kantian aesthetics) distance for its production. However, this study regards literal and conceptual distance as essential not only for the production of the polar sublime, but also for the representation of the polar regions as absolute spaces in the primary literature. To my knowledge, Lefebvre's concept of absolute space has not been applied yet in the investigation of the polar regions in literary studies. In my study, I regard the concepts of the sublime and absolute space as two distinct sides of ice in literature of polar exploration of the period. The key difference between the two lies in the presence or absence of safe distance between polar ice and the observer, i.e. whether polar ice is perceived as a potential danger or as an entirely threatening one. At a safe distance, the natural properties of polar ice generate the experience of the sublime that requires a certain degree of physical abstraction from the observer. The polar sublime is therefore an experience

²⁰⁹ The term 'men' here and elsewhere refers to both contemporary polar explorers and men as in, 'humans,' so as to capture the relationship between the explorers and polar spaces, and simultaneously between humans and nature on the whole.

²¹⁰ It could have been compelling to investigate the polar sublime in the examined novels and travelogues not only through Burkean and Kantian 'traditional' aesthetics (with their focus on literal and conceptual distance between the observer and the sublime and the subjective exceptionalism of its experience), but also through the focus on the explorer's physical body and its reaction to the hostile nature of polar spaces (especially by analysing meteorological data and references to temperature in polar travelogues). See, for instance, Benjamin Morgan's "After the Arctic Sublime" (2016).

²¹¹ It would have been equally interesting to look at the representation of icebergs in the novels and polar travelogues (both texts and illustrations) through the lens of the recent spatial conception of depth and volume. See, for example, Philip Steinberg and Kimberley Peters's "Wet Ontologies, Fluid Spaces: Giving Depth to Volume Through Oceanic Thinking" (2015).

that is self-reflective, self-absorbed, and individual in nature. It utterly challenges the explorer's mind and body. It puts the limits of his body, imagination, and *language* to the test. Conversely, in close proximity, or in the absence of safe distance, the 'sublime' properties of polar ice incorporate the agency of nature that dominated the explorer and continuously thwarted exploratory projects of man in this period. This domineering power of ice made polar spaces absolute. Both concepts, to a lesser or a greater extent, highlight the dominating power of polar ice. The experience of the polar sublime is an encounter with a potential (virtual) danger that such power exhibits while absolute spaces of polar ice present an actual (physical) confrontation with it. Both concepts likewise underline man's implicit desire to possess and colonise the hostile nature of the polar regions. In both cases, this desire is chiefly demonstrated on an imagined level. The explorer's encounter with the polar sublime was perceived as an instance of "virtual heroism," that is, as an imagined heroic encounter with the grandeur and power of ice.²¹² On the other hand, absolute spaces of polar ice overpowered the explorer physically. However, these spaces were socially produced on an *imagined* level. The imagined emptiness of these absolute spaces was imbued with ideological significance. Therefore, the two concepts similarly emphasise the aspects of blankness and emptiness in the representation of polar spaces at the time. On the whole, polar spaces performed a double function, a subversive and creative one, in the production of meaning in contemporary literature of exploration. They physically subverted the British and American exploratory ambitions and their national self-congratulatory myths regarding them. At the same time, the British and the Americans used these spaces as imaginary blank canvases in order to negotiate their national identity and project their nationalist hubris on.

The polar regions present absolute and sublime spaces which are both imagined and experienced by the characters in the novels examined in this study. There are several parallels in the depiction of polar spaces between *Frankenstein* and *Pym*. First, in both texts, the Poles embody geo-imaginary spaces which incorporate fictional and non-fictional aspects in their representation. These spaces are products of imaginative geography in which fantastic elements are closely interpolated with theoretical and scientific knowledge found in contemporary polar travelogues (e.g. the open polar sea theory and the science of terrestrial magnetism). However, if Pym actually enters and traverses the region of imaginative geography at the South Pole, Walton perceives the Pole as a geo-imaginary space only in his own imagination. Unlike Pym,

²¹² The phrase "virtual heroism" is taken from Robert Doran's *The Theory of the Sublime: From Longinus to Kant* (2015): pp. 248-251.

Walton never reaches the Pole, and the Arctic that he encounters in his voyage is precisely “the seat of frost and desolation” that he refused to accept in his imagination before (7). Second, in both novels, the Poles, distant and unexplored, represent the sublimity of the unknown that stimulates Walton’s and Pym’s imagination about those spaces. Third, the Poles also constitute absolute spaces, dominating spaces of nature, which resist human exploration and colonisation. Walton and Pym wish to claim the imagined emptiness of these absolute spaces in the name of science and mankind, and personal and national glory. They therefore participate in the social production of the imagined emptiness of the Poles constructing new ideological spaces in its stead replete with certain values and associations.²¹³ As absolute spaces, the Poles are characterised by yet another paradox of representation in the two narratives. Both Walton and Pym desire to monopolise the imagined emptiness of the Poles and concurrently preserve it for themselves in its most primal and pristine. Walton’s paradisiacal vision of the Pole hints at his desire to return to a prelapsarian space of nature. Pym, on the other hand, keeps his discovery of the South Pole a secret and never reveals the ‘truth’ behind it. In other words, Poe’s novel abruptly ends with no revelation of what is located at the South Pole leaving that space as frustratingly ‘blank’ as it was on the contemporary map of the world. Finally, both Walton and Pym are polar dreamers who blindly pursue their exploratory ambitions. Thereby, Shelley’s and Poe’s novels critique polar exploratory ‘fever’ that gripped Britain and the United States at the time showing the potential danger that its mindless pursuit can bring about.

In all the investigated novels, to a greater or a lesser degree, the polar sublime underscores the problem of *adequate* representability of the Arctic and Antarctic. This problem is not specifically addressed in the conception of the sublime in Burkean and Kantian aesthetics. In Kantian aesthetics, the sublime is characterised by the inadequacy of one’s imagination. However, the sublimity of the polar regions renders not only the characters’ imagination, but also their language inadequate in the novels. There are also distinct kinds of the polar sublime depicted in the primary texts. For example, *Pym* offers a compellingly unique type of the polar sublime in which ice is hardly present. Instead, the sublimity of the polar region is produced not by the properties of ice, but by the black-white contrast, the overall monochrome nature, and the eerie stillness of that space. Poe’s novel accordingly runs counter to *Tales* in which the multifaceted nature of the polar sublime is generated by innate characteristics of ice. Gillies’s novels are distinct in their stronger emphasis on the sublime

²¹³ In his discussion of absolute space, Lefebvre argues that “the emptiness of a natural space” was forcibly taken away by man from nature to construct political spaces in their stead (49). In doing this, man proclaimed authority over that emptiness and used it for themselves.

beauty of polar ice and the sublimity of depth (icebergs underneath the ocean). Gillies's narrator is not himself an explorer, but he considers polar explorers as heroes and regards polar exploration as absolutely necessary for mankind. Similar to Walton and Pym, he desires to both claim the imagined emptiness of the unexplored Arctic for himself and preserve it in its 'pristine' bareness. In this instance, he pointedly contrasts the tranquil beauty of the Arctic with the violent and noisy nature of whale fishery that disrupts it. Akin to *Frankenstein* and *Pym*, the Pole in *Tales* also presents a geo-imaginary space that blends fantastic elements (the characters' absurd imaginings about that space) and non-fictional ones (the latest findings in the science of terrestrial magnetism).

Peter the Whaler stands out in its representation of the polar region in the narrative. There polar ice dominates the characters not only through its dynamic power, vastness, and magnitude, but also nearly equally through their dependence on it to survive (e.g. the characters use polar ice as a 'ship,' a source of fresh water, a tool to obtain fire, and both an anchor and a shield for the vessel against a gale and floes). Contrary to Gillies's narrator, Peter seemingly subsumes the beauty of polar ice under the aesthetic category of the beautiful and not the sublime. Interestingly enough, he perceives polar ice as an aesthetic category for the first time only when he finds himself on the iceberg, that is, when there is no distance between him and the natural element. In doing this, he subverts one of the key conditions in the production of the sublime in Burkean and Kantian aesthetics. In fact, he repeatedly rejects the polar sublime in the narrative as he is neither overwhelmed nor terrified by his encounter with it. Nonetheless, he eventually (the one and only time) turns to the aesthetic of the polar sublime in his representation of the dynamic power of floes. Peter uses this aesthetic as a familiar and established model of Romantic poetics in order to properly convey his confrontation with polar ice. Hence his ultimate employment of the sublime aesthetic not merely displays the problem of adequate representability of polar spaces in the narrative. It also exemplifies the enduring presence of this aesthetics in the Victorian period.

Apart from *Pym*, the agency of polar ice expedites a storytelling topos as it provides narrative time and space for the characters' tales and anecdotes in the primary texts. This is especially prominent in *Frankenstein* and *Tales* where the ships, hemmed in by ice, facilitate the characters' storytelling. Polar exploration essentially encompasses a confrontation between the agency of nature and that of man in exploratory literature. That is why polar spaces stand in opposition to ships both on the pragmatic (the voyage) and narrative levels. The representation of the latter (ships) has been the second subject matter of this study. In exploratory narratives, the ship stands for human agency. In my argument, it embodies a socio-

heterotopian space. As such, it is characterised by the paradox of representation that lies at the core of its production. This paradox has been outlined by Casarino in his analysis of nineteenth-century sea narratives. According to this paradox, the ship is a space that ceaselessly oscillates between two modes of being, that is, being a floating ‘fragment’ and an autonomous entity, being fragmentary and incomplete, and being entirely monadic and autarchic (Casarino 20). It constantly moves between these two opposing spaces, disparate and indivisible, that it occupies simultaneously. It is always incomplete because it is essentially a fragment of the ‘earth,’ that mirrors the existing socio-political reality. At the same time, it is a self-enclosed entity, an autarchic miniature ‘island’ that is governed by its own social rules of conduct and is able to undermine and disrupt societal structures of other spaces. The ship therefore presents a ‘different,’ distinct space that is outside of all spaces, but concurrently has a special link to every other space and every other heterotopia. For this reason, it represents “the heterotopia of heterotopia” and “the heterotopia par excellence.”

The ship reflects the contemporary socio-political reality of all other spaces but also strives to escape it by opposing or undermining its authority. In this instance, my application of Lefebvre’s concept of social space and its production has significantly enhanced Casarino’s paradox of representation that characterises the space of the ship. The ship as a social space is ceaselessly produced by social relations of people on board *and* of those on land (the ‘earth’). Whether it is a floating ‘fragment’ of the ‘earth’ or an autonomous ‘island,’ it is always indivisible from social relations which constantly produce it. Hence Casarino’s paradox of simultaneously ‘becoming-monad’ and ‘becoming fragment’ is ultimately a social product. The space of the ship is produced by the paradoxical impulse, that is, to escape the social while simultaneously representing it and to transcend the social while concurrently altering it (Casarino 28). In my understanding, such paradoxical impulse largely explains the reason why ships were and, to some extent, continue to be often associated with voyages and adventures in distant lands, the ideas of personal freedom and romantic escape from the confines of everyday life. These associations generate an enduring romanticised image of the ship as a displaced floating space that transcends the mundane and the social. The ship thus functions as a space of mixed experience between utopias and heterotopias. In other words, it is a socio-heterotopian space that is laden with certain, what I determine, ‘*utopian pretensions*.’²¹⁴

²¹⁴ The term ‘utopian pretensions’ has been borrowed from Kevin Hetherington’s *The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering* (1997) in which he asserts that if the Palais Royal was not “a utopia in itself, not a space of the good and ordered life, it did at least have utopian pretensions” which “had to do with the interweaving of the issues of freedom and control” (10-11). However, I do not use the term in the same sense as Hetherington, since the ‘utopian pretensions’ which permeated the space of the ship did not deal with just “the

Within the framework of Anglo-American polar exploration at the time, these utopian pretensions commonly incorporated the belief in the ‘benign’ power of science and scientific progress for the sake of all mankind and the disinterested and apolitical nature of Arctic and Antarctic expeditions. These utopian pretensions imbued the whole framework of coeval polar exploration and impacted on the way in which the space of the ship was conceived and experienced in the popular imagination — and the way in which it was represented in exploratory literature. They had to do with the ideas of freedom, control, and power which were intimately interlinked in that period. The intricate web of these utopian pretensions produced the space of the ship on material and imagined levels. In exploratory narratives, the space of the ship presented an ambivalence between place and non-place, between the inner and the outer, and between the heterotopian and the everyday. The key distinction in the portrayal of the ship between travelogues and fictional texts lay in the extent of its narrative presence. In my investigation of polar travelogues, the ship became conspicuous when the normality of its space was interrupted and/or imperilled. For the most part, the presence of the ship remained unobtrusive because it represented the everyday, the mundane, and the familiar for the explorer. The new, the imaginative, and the peculiar were found outside, in the outer nature, that surrounded the space of the ship. In fictional texts (and especially the examined novels), in contrast, the space of the ship had a much more prominent presence overall in the narrative.

On the whole, the space of the ship was distinguished by extreme spatial compartmentalisation, a rigid social hierarchy, and the strict division of labour. It therefore represented a “heterotopia of compensation” – a space that is more rational and scrupulously organised than other spaces (Foucault 8). It encompassed a representational (‘lived’ social) *and* heterotopian space. Both spaces are functionally and conceptually very much alike. There are two essential aspects which link them. First, the two spaces are connected through social relations that produce them. The space of the ship was constantly produced by social relations of people on board (inner social relations) *and* of those on land (outer social relations) on physical and imagined levels. The ship as heterotopia and representational space was socially produced by those who inhabited and used that space. The physical features of the ship, in turn, had a strong influence on what kind of representational spaces could be generated there. When social relations which originally produced the heterotopian space of the ship disappeared, then

issues of freedom and control.” See further the section “The Heterotopian Space of the Ship and Its “Utopian Pretensions” in chapter 6 of this study.

its representational space also vanished. This constituted the “ephemerality of heterotopias” as representational spaces (Cenzatti 81). Second, both heterotopias and representational spaces functionally possess the potential for social resistance against power relations which operate there. This potential makes the operation of power in these spaces more conspicuous. The visibility of power relations allows the users and inhabitants of these spaces to undermine and subvert them.

In all the examined novels, the space of the ship exemplifies the paradox of representation (being a fragment of the ‘earth’ and an autonomous ‘island’) in the narrative. In *Tales*, there is notably more emphasis on the laws and rules of the Parliament in regard to whaling vessels bound for Greenland. This makes the representation of the *Leviathan* as an incomplete fragment of the British socio-political world much more prominent. In all the novels, the ship similarly embodies a “heterotopia of compensation,” a space that is more perfected and organised than any other space (spatial compartmentalisation, a rigid social hierarchy, and the strict division of labour). In this respect, *Pym* distinctly focuses more on the circumscription, materiality, and spatial compartmentalisation of the space of the ship. The *Grampus* hence presents a very different type of heterotopia of compensation that is materially and not *socially* more perfected and organised than other spaces. In all the fictional narratives, the space of the ship encompasses the ambivalence between place and non-place. In *Tales*, however, the *Leviathan* becomes a place for the narrator and the characters on board in the course of the voyage. It comes to represent not only a shelter against the hostile nature of the Arctic, but also a meaningful and familiar location and even a second home for the narrator and the crew. All the narrators occupy different positions on board in terms of power. Among them, only Walton is the captain, the top of the social hierarchy aboard, who is in the position to exert power over the entire crew. Both Pym and Peter initially occupy a liminal position on the ship as they are neither passengers nor official members of the crew. For its part, the position of Gillies’s narrator aboard is rather ambiguous as he is not an official member of the crew but shares the same privileges as the captain and the mates. The liminal and ambiguous positions of all the three narrators disrupt and undermine the established social order on the ship. Except for Pym, all the narrators are alienated within the representational space of the ship either due to their privileged position and social distance from the rest (Walton and Gillies’s narrator) or due to their impersonal treatment at the hands of the authority on board (Peter’s treatment on the *Pocahuntas*). Pym, in turn, is an outsider to the representational space of the *Grampus* since he is a stowaway.

The space of the ship performs a creative and subversive function in the examined novels. It mirrors the utopian pretensions ascribed to its representational space by the existing socio-political reality and concurrently subverts them in these narratives. All the narrators, to some degree, exhibit nationalist hubris in regard to contemporary polar exploration and justify its necessity foremost in the name of science and mankind. In other words, they highlight the pure and apolitical nature of coeval polar exploration. Apart from *Tales*, all the novels also exemplify a romantic image of the ship (and a sea voyage) as a potential escape from the social (the constraints and norms of a society) and its ultimate inability to do so. In all these narratives, the representational space of the ship is entirely subverted by the agency of outside forces (e.g. ice, fire, and the stormy ocean). Such subversion executes a double function in the narrative. On the one hand, it displays the ephemerality of heterotopias as representational spaces. On the other hand, it points to the novels' critique of the romantic representation of the ship by showing that an idealistic escape from the social is dangerous and unattainable and can only lead to self-delusion. Furthermore, in all the examined novels, the socio-heterotopian space of the ship illustrates the potential for social resistance against power relations which operate there. In general, the more visible the operation of power in these spaces is, the more conspicuous social resistance against it becomes; and the other way round.

The potential for social resistance is most prominently illustrated in the novels' depiction of mutiny (*Frankenstein*, *Pym*, and *Peter the Whaler*) and/or the line-crossing ceremony (*Tales* and *Peter the Whaler*). The ceremony presents, what I define, a 'marine carnival' that, albeit temporarily, suspends the division of labour and spatial compartmentalisation and disrupts the social order on board.²¹⁵ *Pym* and *Peter the Whaler* constitute compelling examples in their portrayal of power relations on the *Grampus* and *Black Swan*, respectively, and social resistance against these power relations. Both novels underscore the verticality of the space of the ship. The characters' upper spatial position indicates their advantage and power while their lower spatial position highlights their weakness and vulnerability. Similarly, the characters' movement downwards in space on board points to their loss of agency while their movement upwards demonstrates their exertion of agency. Therefore, the *Grampus* and *Black Swan* both represent vertical and three-dimensional spaces in which power relations operate through vertical planes, volume, and depth of those spaces. On the *Grampus*, the narrator's hiding place in the stowage underneath and the movement of the seamen's bodies upwards and downwards

²¹⁵ My term 'marine carnival' is based on Bakhtinian broader definition of carnival and the carnivalesque. See the section "The Line-Crossing Ceremony as a 'Marine Carnival'" in chapter 6 of this study.

in space during mutiny and counter-mutiny underscore the vertical nature of the space of the ship while, on the *Black Swan*, the verticality of the inner material space of the ship reflects social segregation on board. The captains of both vessels are ill-suited for their assigned roles aboard. Furthermore, representational spaces of both vessels are subverted by the agency of outside forces (fire and the stormy ocean). These parallels between the two novels indicate the direct correlation between the visibility of power relations on board and the discernibility of social resistance against them. The verticality of the space of the ship thus emphasises both the operation of power and social resistance against it in these narratives.

The socio-heterotopian space of the *Leviathan* can be distinguished from ships in other examined novels in several aspects. First, the whaling vessel represents “the heterotopia par excellence” in the sense that it encompasses a mirror of technological progress (e.g. the crow’s nest) and instrument of economic development (e.g. whale fishery). However, the narrator subverts this notion by highlighting the instrumental role of ships in inflicting violence on Arctic nature and fauna. He perceives the ship as an ‘evil’ invention that runs counter to the ‘pure’ nature of the Arctic. In contrast to other novels and *Peter the Whaler*, in particular, the narrator shows open contempt for whale slaughter (at least initially) and underscores the aspect of violence in the function of the space of the ship that is missing from the conception of the “heterotopia par excellence” on the whole. In doing this, he not only undermines the heterotopian notion of the ship as “the great instrument of economic development” and “the greatest reserve of the imagination,” but also brings to the fore the problem of human agency that characterises the conception of heterotopias in general. The problem of human agency is in the question whether all the individuals within a heterotopian space perceive it as such and whether a space is heterotopian only to those who are outsiders to it. In this respect, the space of the *Leviathan* can be arguably seen as “the great instrument of economic development” and “the greatest reserve of the imagination,” but it also exemplifies a tool that enables the infliction of violence on nature.²¹⁶

Second, Gillies’s narrator underlines another function of the ship as a heterotopian space, that is, its “absolute break” with “traditional time,” or its connection to “heterochronies” (Foucault 6). He is also the only narrator who actively collects and stores the samples of Arctic fauna and ice compiling a “traveller’s museum” on board. Finally, the *Leviathan* is a very

²¹⁶ It would have been interesting to look at human violence (against nature *and* between men), its significance, and function in more detail in the representation of ships in the investigated novels and polar travelogues. In this respect, the aspect of human violence is missing from the overall conception of heterotopias and Bakhtinian carnival and the carnivalesque though it is present in the portrayal of ships in the novels and polar travelogues of the period.

political space that is produced by inner and outer social relations. The political nature of the whaling vessel is most notably exemplified in the (mis)treatment of two social groups on board, that is, women and the Shetlanders. In comparison to other novels, the exclusion of women on and from the *Leviathan* is more prominent suggesting the narrator's disapproval of their presence on board. In this regard, the ship is reserved only for male stoicism, comradeship, and heroism. The Shetlanders, for their part, are marginalised, alienated, and discriminated against by the English on the *Leviathan*. The narrator both endorses and subverts the English attitudes towards the Shetlanders aboard.

The polar regions and ships are both spaces which are imagined *and* experienced by the characters in the examined novels. They are also both employed subversively *and* imaginatively in these narratives. Both spaces are characterised by the inherent paradox of representation. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the polar regions (as absolute spaces) were distinguished by the desire of humans to colonise and possess the imagined emptiness of these spaces and their simultaneous wish to retain the 'pure' and 'pristine' nature of those spaces. In turn, ships (as both a floating 'fragment' and an autonomous 'island') were imbued with the impulse to escape the social while concurrently representing it and by the impulse to transcend the social while simultaneously altering it. I argue that both these paradoxes of representation, to some extent, are characterised by the antithetical impetus to escape the social and the ultimate inability to do so.²¹⁷ That is mostly likely why ships were often associated with journeys and adventures in far-away lands in the period. Such associations continue to persist today in the popular imagination especially in regard to sailing ships. The antithetical impetus to escape the social and its inability to do so similarly leavens the enduring perception of the polar regions as 'pure' and 'empty' spaces in the Western imagination at present when, in actuality, they are laden with a country's nationalism and competing national claims over these territories and their resources.

The examination of ships and the polar regions in this study likewise unveils not only the fact that literal and conceptual distance is required for the production of the polar sublime, but also the fact that such distance is an integral part of the representation of these two elements. As socio-heterotopian spaces, ships are always 'other' spaces and spaces of the 'other' which

²¹⁷ Casarino highlights this paradoxical impulse solely in the representation of ships as heterotopias: "The ship embodies the desire that produces heterotopias, that calls the space of heterotopia into being: the desire to escape the social while simultaneously representing it, contesting it, inverting it – the desire to exceed the social while simultaneously transforming it" (28). Casarino's argument could be ultimately extended to the representation of polar spaces as well. I argue that this paradoxical impulse to escape the social and its inability to do so is at the heart of the production of both spaces, the polar regions and ships, in this study.

exist *outside* of all other spaces (but have a special connection to them). For their part, the polar regions are geographically distant and remote spaces (from the Western perspective). At the same time, they are also conceptually distant spaces in the public imagination. As John Moss puts it in his exploration of Arctic landscape: “When outsiders first explored the Arctic, they were looking for something else: wealth, a northwest passage, knowledge, glory. They found violent conditions, contoured alien space. They failed to enter the landscape. They wanted through it, or to endure it, or back out” (17). The perception of the polar regions is marked by the tension between geographical and conceptual distance. The latter is conditioned by the knowledge about polar spaces (values and associations formed by texts on them). Despite all the efforts, those who are outsiders to the polar regions ultimately fail “to enter the landscape” which indicates that the distance between them and these spaces is ever present. That is conceivably why the polar regions are still overwhelmingly perceived as ‘pure,’ ‘blank,’ and stateless spaces in the popular imagination. This, in turn, can explain why, on the one hand, environmental protests today engage so strongly with the Arctic and Antarctic (e.g. the recent viral images in social media of a polar bear dying of starvation on iceless land in the Canadian Arctic); and why, on the other hand, politically and nationally driven actions (e.g. the planting of a flag underneath the North Pole by the Russians) in these spaces elicit a very strong (mostly negative) response from the public.

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