



THE JAMES CAIRD SOCIETY



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JOURNAL

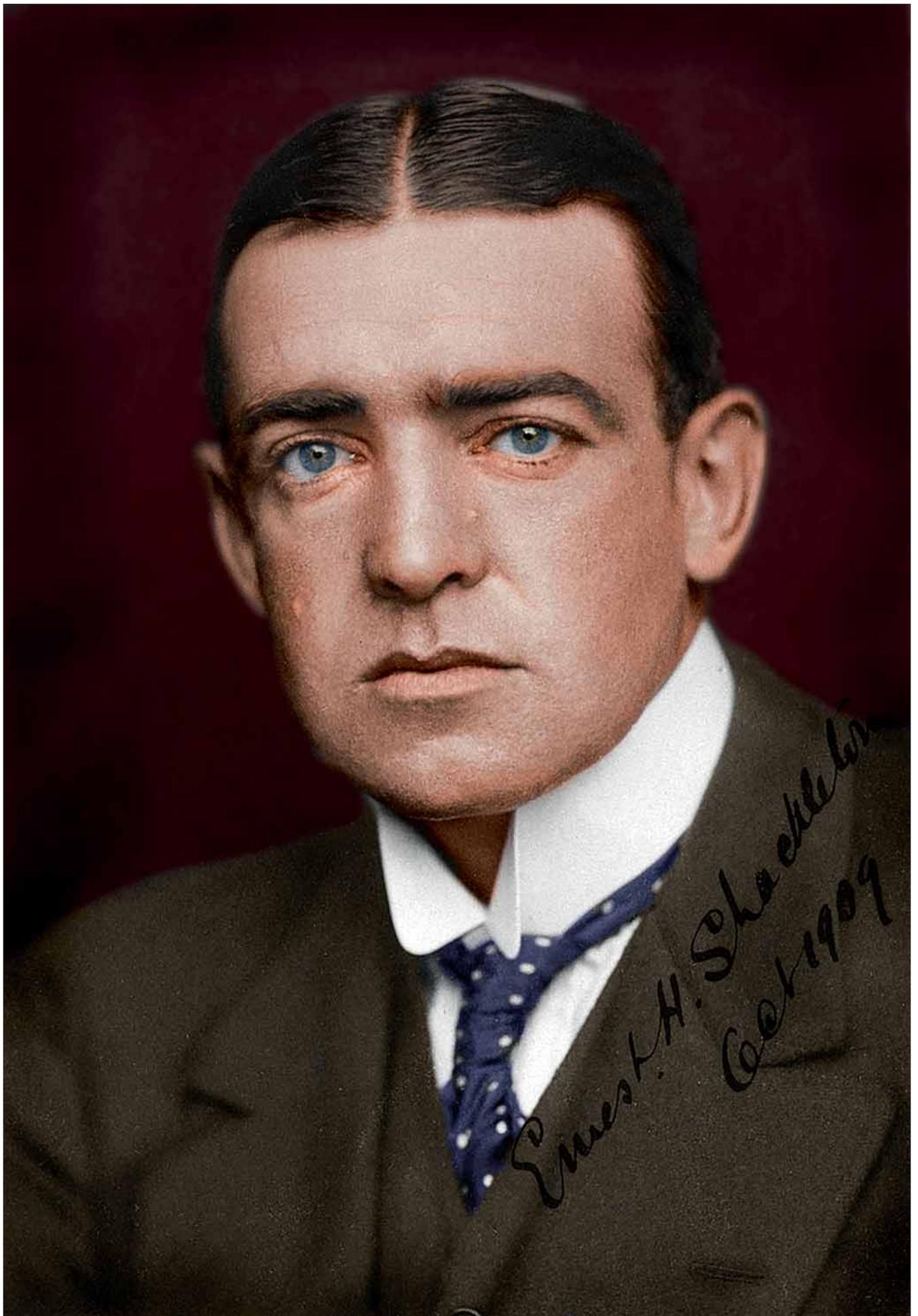
Number Ten

Antarctic Exploration



Sir Ernest Shackleton

October 2019



The James Caird Society Journal – Number Ten

Welcome to JCS *Journal* Number Ten. It is a great privilege to be your editor and I would like to extend my sincere thanks to all those who have expressed their gratitude for the style and content of the journals since I 'took charge' back in 2007. I am very pleased by the wonderful response to *Number Nine* published in Spring 2018 (onwards and upwards, hopefully!).

As I have said on numerous occasions the intention of the *Journal* is to provide members with a little 'meat' on the study of Shackleton and his contemporaries in the world of polar exploration. The Society's excellent *Newsletter*, on the one hand, is always topical and informative but its intention is quite different. It is a 'lighter' read. The *Journal*, on the other hand, seeks to complement the *Newsletter* by providing material of greater length and, where possible, originality. It seeks to educate and enlighten the polar enthusiast on matters historical and contemporary; it endeavours, also, to stimulate debate.

You will see from the Contents page that this issue of the *Journal* is quite eclectic. It is my great fortune to know many experts in the field of polar history and in *Number Ten* I have prevailed upon some wonderfully-obliging people to explore the part Norway played in shaping and guiding the Boss's progress. Anna Lucas gives us great insight into this and concludes, '*we can note Norwegian connections in diverse aspects of Shackleton's life: preparation for Antarctic exploration, wartime assignments, public speaking, and the Award that recognises his continuing legacy. Norwegians offered him well-built ships, quality supplies, training grounds, hospitality, long-lasting friendships, honours and, most importantly, invaluable advice.*'

In the past I have had some reservations about Roald Amundsen's character and yet I have been painfully aware that I am no expert on the man and hadn't really studied his history in-depth. Amundsen's 'strange' adoption of a young girl as 'a social experiment' had puzzled me. I got to know Anders Bache when I was carrying out some PhD research at the Scott Polar Research Institute (University of Cambridge) in 2014. He is a Consultant at Roald Amundsen's House, Follo Museum (Drøbak, just south of Oslo) and states, 'My career has included research, exhibition development and public engagement relating to polar history and heritage sites in the Arctic and Antarctic. Different projects and museum work have given me wide competence with guiding and public speaking, beside a great experience with several publications of different themes relating to the history of the polar regions'. So it was that I invited Anders to write an article on the enigmatic man who had effortlessly glided into the history books on 14th December 1911 – beating Robert Falcon Scott and his team to polar priority by some 4 weeks. Along with his co-author, Rick Frolich, a more 'human' story of this polar athlete emerges and runs its course to a very sad end indeed. '*At 8 pm (on) 17th of June, the sound of the flying boat's engines fills the air, with a course set for northern Norway. Latham 47.02 lands in Tromsø Bay at 6 am the following morning and ten hours later takes off again, now heading towards Ny-Ålesund, Spitsbergen. Those present are the last to see Roald Amundsen alive, and only a torn off wing float and two petrol containers from the flight were ever found.*'

In stark contrast to Shackleton's Norway and Amundsen I am very grateful to Liam Maloney for his wonderful article on Shackleton and his connections with Dublin Society – it is important, always, to never lose sight of Ernest's Irish roots and the pride that the Emerald Isle feels towards its polar heroes – of which there are many.

Anne Strathie is an accomplished polar author and another 'gem' who I had the pleasure of meeting at SPRI a while ago. I publish in *Number Ten* her take on Herbert Ponting and Frank Hurley who she describes as 'brother artists of the trail'. Here we have a story of two geniuses

at work – and not just in the polar environment. Both men possessed boundless energy and never tired in their quest to record history in their own very special way.

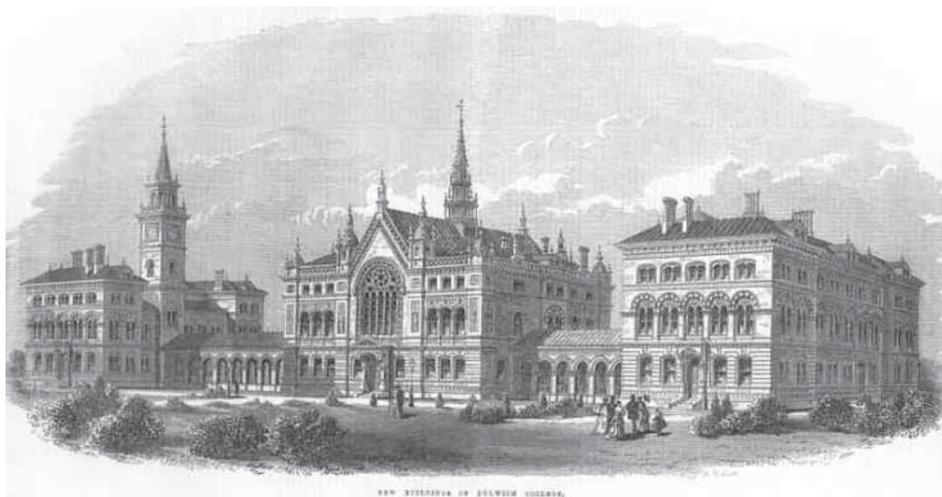
Whilst the Journal is dedicated mainly to Shackleton I feel it is important to embrace the Heroic Age with all its personalities and adventures. My good friend Michael Tarver sent me a nice piece about William Lashly - arguably the 'unsung hero' of Robert Falcon Scott's *Terra Nova* expedition (1910-12). I include it here as I know there are some Scott admirers in the JCS and I (for one) do not feel a proper appreciation of Shackleton's own life and career can be seen in a vacuum. I also include in *Number Ten* a detailed response by Bill Alp (NZ) to a controversial claim by Professor Chris Turney (University of NSW) that Teddy Evans stole food from depots and failed to pass on orders to a dog sled team that would have brought Scott home safely.

There are other, somewhat 'lighter' and shorter articles to give balance to *Number Ten* – I hope you enjoy the read. In Spring 2021 *Number Eleven* will celebrate the *Quest* expedition and focus on the last days in the life of the great man who is Sir Ernest Henry Shackleton.

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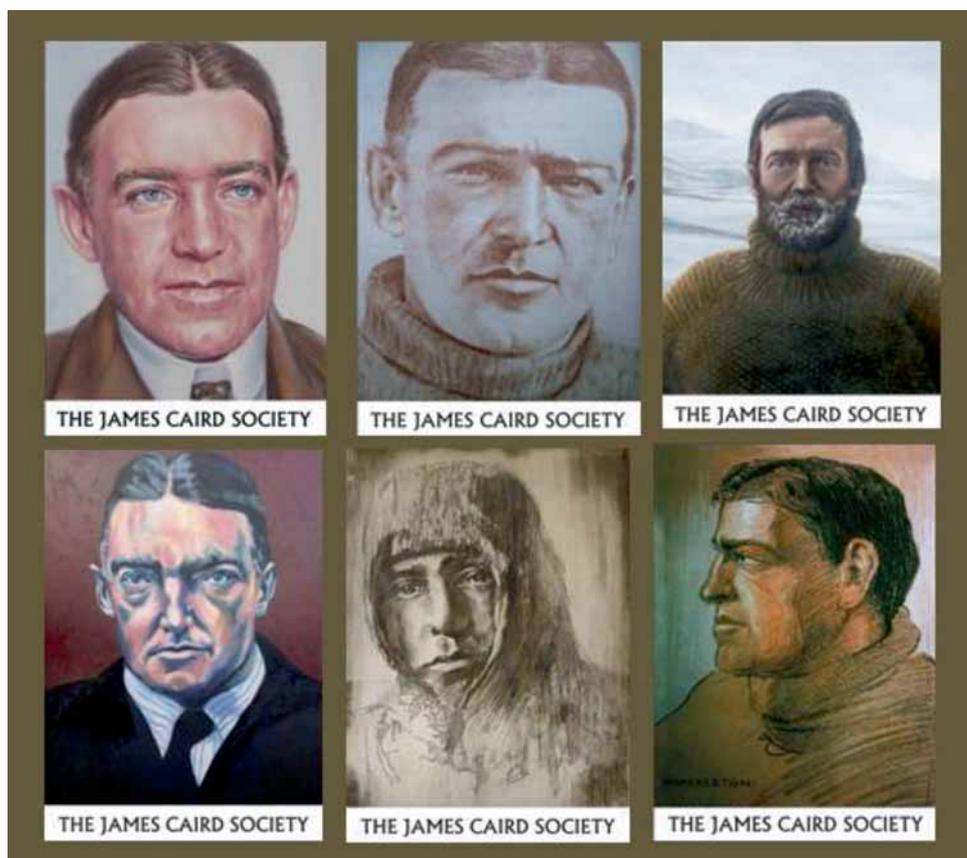
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Shackleton and Norwegian Connections

Anna Lucas



On the Bergen-Oslo railway line is the mountain resort of Finse. At an elevation of 1222 metres (4009 feet), it lies well above the tree-line near the Hardanger Glacier in southern Norway and offers months of sub-zero temperatures, snow and wind. Here, in May 1914, Ernest Shackleton and his team brought equipment and supplies to be tested in preparation for his Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, but his connections with Norway began prior to that and continue to this day with the Shackleton Award for outstanding exploration presented each year at the Hotel Finse 1222.

When we read of Shackleton's renamed ships, *Endurance* and *Quest*, we might not immediately make the connection with their Norwegian origins; a Norwegian connection for *Nimrod* in its later years is also claimed. Shackleton was inspired by, and sought advice from Norwegian polar explorers Fridtjof Nansen and Roald Amundsen and, in turn, inspired the young Tryggve Gran. In Norway, he sourced ships and supplies for his expeditions and, during his 1909 lecture tour of Scandinavia, in Christiania (Oslo) he was honoured by King Haakon, by members of the Geographical Society, and by students. In sub-Antarctic South Georgia, Norwegians at whaling stations provided hospitality and help. He held shares in a mining company in Spitsbergen and, during the First World War, he was briefly in Tromsø. After his death on *Quest*, Norwegians stationed in South Georgia assisted with necessary arrangements and he was buried there at Grytviken. Norwegian newspaper reports expressed the high regard in which he was held, partly because of his accomplishments and partly because information gained during his early Antarctic exploration had contributed to Amundsen's polar triumph; they followed his adventures with interest.

The *Nimrod* years

After being unwillingly invalidated home from the *Discovery* expedition (1901-1904) led by Captain Robert Scott, Shackleton determinedly made plans to return to Antarctica. Armed with his recent first-hand experience, he was acutely aware of the threat of scurvy and the essential role that nutrition played in the success of extreme endeavours; and he was aware of potential limitations and the need for reliable equipment and dependable men. He trusted that, although sourcing funds to finance an expedition to explore Antarctic regions was challenging, the engagement of high-profile and philanthropic sponsors, the promotion of the scientific component, and the publicising of the enterprise both prior to and after the event, would facilitate the process and bring the expected rewards. Despite Shackleton's

fundamental confidence in his ability to succeed, Nansen and Amundsen expressed concern about his relatively hasty planning and considered his expedition ill-prepared. Norway was made fully independent of Sweden in 1905 with the Karlstad Treaty, Haakon VII was proclaimed King, and Nansen was appointed first Norwegian Ambassador to the United Kingdom. Acknowledging Nansen's achievements in the Arctic, Shackleton sought his advice then chose to ignore much of it, though with an oblique reference to Nansen's authority, he wrote: "Many thanks for all the trouble you have taken re the business I wrote about. I quite see why it is impossible to carry out the idea".¹



left: Roald Amundsen, ca 1914 – Efter Fotografi. right: Fridtjof Nansen, ca 1905 – Mittet & Co.
Photos: National Library of Norway, Oslo

Shackleton continued with plans for his expedition but his illogical decision to take Manchurian ponies rather than sledge-dogs to Antarctica, horrified the Norwegians. His aversion to skis, which required time-consuming practice to master, and to sledge-dogs, which required time to train, were expressions of his impatient nature rather than a commitment to the practice of man-hauling sledges, which he had observed as the standard. He had also been influenced by British explorers Albert Armitage, whom he met on Scott's *Discovery* expedition, and Frederick Jackson, leader of the Jackson-Harmsworth expedition to Franz Josef Land (1894–1897) of which Armitage was a member, when Jackson had set his sights on the North Pole. Their advice to Shackleton belied the actual experience; although three of Jackson's four horses died, and the dogs on his expedition survived, Jackson proclaimed the use of horses an "unqualified success".²

Ronald Savitt, in his article "Antarctic sledging preparations and tacit knowledge", expressed what Nansen and Amundsen attempted to convey to Shackleton.

Critically important are the need for substantial planning and experimentation with key processes, and the ability to experiment and capture additional tacit knowledge. Success in the management of tacit knowledge demands a clear understanding of the processes. Experimentation is a key factor in determining what works and what does not work. Tacit knowledge generated from experimentation must be quickly captured, communicated, and transformed into explicit knowledge if it is to have value. The less

¹ Shackleton, EH. Letter to F Nansen. 23 October [1907?]. Brevs. 48, Norwegian National Library archives, Oslo

² Smith, M. *Shackleton – by Endurance we conquer*. Cork: The Collins Press 2014, Chapter 14

open [one] is to change, in the sense of having to confront and implement new knowledge ... the greater the chance that tacit knowledge will be given minimum importance or even none at all.³

Shackleton, of course, was innovative in other areas of Antarctic exploration, e.g. with the use of pre-fabricated buildings and motor cars, and with the design of tents and motor-sledges, but he continued to resist the use of skis and sledge-dogs. Though able to draw on his personal experiences and be guided by other players whose administrative and field experiences in polar exploration exceeded or complemented his own, in 1907 Shackleton was a novice leader. He was 33 years old; the still-influential past-president of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS), Sir Clements Markham, was 77; Scott, ambitious and territorial, was 39. Nansen, 46, and Amundsen, 35, were interested in his plans and generous with their advice, but quietly harbouring plans of their own. At times frustrated by demands and limitations, Shackleton was selective with which advice he allowed to filter into his plans. At his core was a dogged determination, offset by consideration for others. He was already unconsciously developing the leadership style from which exploration planning, and business management, would take inspiration decades later.

Shackleton established an expedition office at 9 Regent Street in London and appointed Alfred Reid as secretary for his British Antarctic Expedition (BAE). He met with Nansen and Amundsen, the latter recently returned from his North-West Passage success. In April, accompanied by Reid, he visited Norway to arrange for the supply of expedition gear. He learned that Mr CS Christiansen, the maker of the sledges used on the *Discovery* expedition, was away. Disappointed, he consulted Sigurd Scott-Hansen, Nansen's navigator on *Fram*, and decided to order from LH Hagen & Co. sledges to be constructed according to Nansen's pattern: ten 12ft sledges to be hauled by ponies; eighteen 11ft sledges for man-hauling; and two 7ft sledges for short journeys. Scott-Hansen and Captain Pepper, whom Shackleton had met on the voyage to Norway, agreed to supervise the construction of the sledges in Christiania. Shackleton also ordered twelve pairs of skis. These were used close to the hut, but not on long journeys. From WC Møller in Drammen, 43km south-west of Christiania, he ordered reindeer-skin sleeping bags: twelve 1-man bags and three 3-men bags, as well as 80 *finnesko* (reindeer-skin boots) with an additional 12 pair of special *finnesko*, and 60 pairs of wolf-skin and dog-skin mitts. He ordered leather ski boots and 50kg of *sennegrass*, dried sedges used by the Sami and other Arctic people as insulation in footwear, and highly recommended by Carsten Borchgrevink, the Anglo-Norwegian Antarctic pioneer who led another British Antarctic Expedition 1898–1900. Shackleton ordered from a Norwegian food-preserving company, special tinned food: fish balls, roast reindeer and roast ptarmigan, "which were very attractive luxuries during the winter night in the south," and took, for use on sledging trips, six Primus stoves built according to Nansen's modified design.⁴

He needed a suitable ship. On offer in Sandefjord, Norway, was the sealer *Bjørn* renamed *Deutschland* in 1910 (built 1904 in Risør; 144.8ft x 29.6ft; tonnage 598gr./344net), but the price of £11 600 was beyond Shackleton's budget and, obliged to look elsewhere, he chose the much smaller, and older, *Nimrod* (built 1866 in Dundee; 136ft x 27ft; tonnage 334gr./277net), based in Newfoundland, for £5000. It was brought to a berth in the Thames and its rigging altered from that of a schooner to a barquentine. Later owned by Norwegian interests, *Nimrod* sailed from Torquay with the BAE on 7 August 1907.⁵

³ Savitt, R. (2004). "Antarctic sledging preparations and tacit knowledge." *The Polar Record*; Cambridge. Vol. 40 (2): 153–165

⁴ Shackleton EH. *Heart of the Antarctic*. London: Heinemann. 1909. Also Jensen & Co. advertised their "Plasmon-Pulver" (powdered plasmon) in a Norwegian newspaper with Shackleton's endorsement. *Verdens Gang*. 16 October 1909

⁵ Ibid. Shackleton, 1909. Note: Dimensions given are from Mitchener, EA. *Ice in the Rigging: Ships of the Antarctic 1699–1937*. Hobart: Maritime Museum of Tasmania, 2015, p. 179 and p.155

During this expedition Shackleton, with Frank Wild, Eric Marshall and Jameson Adams, discovered a 125-mile-long glacier which descends from the Antarctic Plateau to the Ross Sea, the Beardmore Glacier. They then trekked to 88° 23' S, 97 geographic miles from the South Pole, and further south than anyone had been. Achievements by other expedition members included the ascent of Mt Erebus and the location of the Magnetic South Pole. After giving lectures in New Zealand and Australia, Shackleton returned to England, where he was greeted with both enthusiastic congratulations and, less obviously, a simmering scepticism by Markham and a few who doubted the accuracy of his calculation of latitude. Nansen and Amundsen acknowledged what he had achieved despite what they considered a flawed preparation. In a letter to Shackleton's wife, Emily, Nansen wrote:

You know perhaps that I thought [he] spent too little time over his preparations and I wanted him to make more experiments with several things before he went out, as he was bound to experience disappointments with things he had never tried properly. But there it is, so much more marvellous that he could do all he has done.⁶

In October 1909, to raise funds, Shackleton embarked on a lecture tour of Scandinavia accompanied by Emily. When they arrived in Christiania, he was given the most enthusiastic of welcomes sparked by Nordic appreciation of his accomplishments in polar conditions.

What a day of celebrations the Shackletons had in Christiania!

Representatives from the Norwegian Geographical Society, from the Seamen's Association, from Lighthouse Associations and the city's councillors were on the platform to greet them when they arrived by train from Stockholm at 10.30am. Deputy Mayor, Consul Cathinco Bang, made a short speech of welcome and Emily was presented with a bouquet of flowers. Norwegian and British Flags hung over the exit. Outside the station, a group of people had gathered and they cheered loudly as the Shackletons left to be driven to the Victoria Hotel.⁷



Arrival this morning. Welcome to the City offered by Councillors and the Geographical Society's Board of Directors. Aftenposten, Friday 15 October 1909 p. 1

They were invited to a luncheon with King Haakon VII and Queen Maud at Bygdøy Kongsgaard, the royals' summer residence. After the lunch, the king conferred on Shackleton the Royal Norwegian Order of St Olav: Commander, second class.⁸ Founded by King Oscar I in 1847, this honour, usually reserved for Norwegian nationals and foreign heads of state, was presented as "a reward for distinguished services rendered to Norway and mankind".⁹

In the evening, Shackleton's lecture to the Norwegian Geographical Society at Gamle Logen, a concert hall and conference centre, was attended by the king and queen, and by foreign ministers of state and members including Nansen and Amundsen. The Society's president, Dr Hans Henrik Reusch, gave a brief introductory speech and presented Shackleton with an honorary membership of the Society. He stated that in the nineteen years since the Society's incorporation, honorary memberships had been conferred on only four men, and continued:

⁶ Nansen, F. Letter to Emily Shackleton, 18 April 1909, SPRI

⁷ *Norges Sjøfartstidende*. "Sydspolsfareren Shackleton." 15 October 1909, p.1

⁸ *Verdens Gang*. "Shackleton i Kristiania: Hos Kongeparret." (At the royal palace.) 16 October 1909

⁹ St Olav's Medal. www.royalcourt.no/artikkel.html?tid=28662 accessed 29 October 2018

For the Norwegian Society, this evening's meeting is a great event because we have as our guest one of the twentieth-century's most famous men, Lieutenant Shackleton

Mr. Shackleton... we want you to be one of us, not just a visitor coming from outside. We consider it an honour for our Society to have you as an honorary member and we ask that you give your lecture for us this evening as one of our own.¹⁰

At the conclusion of the lecture, during which Shackleton used lantern slides and cinematography, Professor Nansen said:

I do not know what to admire most: the way in which Shackleton executed his expedition, or the way he told us about it.¹¹

As her husband presented his lecture, and outlined the route he had taken to reach 88°23'S, Emily noted the expression on Amundsen's face. A few years later, she recalled the moment and felt that it was *then* that Amundsen was inspired to go south, to cover the remaining ground between Shackleton's furthest south and the South Pole.¹²

The assembled members and guests proceeded from Gamle Logen to the Grand Hotel where a banquet had been prepared in the Rococo Room. Outside, a considerable number of people had gathered in the area, and police kept the street near the hotel free of traffic. Shackleton appeared on one of the Grand Hotel's balconies, which was decorated with green garlands and where E.S. was spelt out in light globes.¹³ In a "powerful booming voice which could be heard by the masses" Amundsen declared:

You have been honoured both in the South and in the North since you returned from your illustrious journey, but I dare claim that nowhere have the hearts of the people beaten more warmly for you, nowhere has the admiration for your outstanding accomplishments been greater than here.

At 9.00pm, a procession of students carrying flaming torches had marched from their assembly hall in Universitetsgaten 26, along the main street, Karl Johan Gate, to the Grand Hotel where, mingling with the crowd, they formed a semicircle below the balcony.¹⁴ Shackleton was astounded as he gazed down at the crowd and the burning torches.

Never before have I seen such a sight as I see now before me, of all the torches lit in my honour ... I thank you from the bottom of my heart ... this evening I have been overwhelmed, yes really overwhelmed.¹⁵

Fridtjof Nansen was unable to attend the banquet, but his younger brother, lawyer Alexander Nansen, made a speech honouring Emily Shackleton.¹⁶ Quite different accounts of the evening's events are given in British newspapers and in biographies, e.g. of students accompanying Shackleton to the lecture or escorting him from the lecture to the Grand Hotel.¹⁷

¹⁰ President's speech. Norwegian Geog. Soc. Yearbook. Trans. from: *Geogr. Selskabs Arbog 1908-1912; Aarsberetning 1909-1910*; pp. xiv-xx

¹¹ Nansen's speech. Norwegian Geog. Soc. Yearbook. Trans. from: *Geogr. Selskabs Arbog 1908-1912; Aarsberetning 1909-1910*; pp. xiv-xx

¹² Mill. HR. *The Life of Sir Ernest Shackleton*. London: Heinemann, 1923

¹³ Norwegian Geog. Soc. Yearbook. Trans. from: *Geogr. Selskabs Arbog 1908-1912; Aarsberetning 1909-1910*; pages xiv-xx

¹⁴ *Morgenbladet*. "Studenternes Fakkeltog." (Students' Torches.) 16 October 1909

¹⁵ *Aftenposten*. 16 October 1909 cited in "Roald Amundsen's Sydpolenekspedisjon 1910-1912". Norsk Film Institutt, Oslo. 2010, and in Huntford (2002) Chapter XXVI, p. 293

¹⁶ "Shackleton i Kristiania: Festmiddagen." (The banquet.) *Verdens Gang*, 16 October 1909

¹⁷ Compare the Norwegian reports with e.g., *Globe* "Honoured by King Haakon." 16 October 1909, p.10; HR Mill (1923) *The Life of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, Fisher and Fisher (1957) *Shackleton*; and R Huntford (1985/2002) *Shackleton*

On Saturday evening, the Shackletons attended a concert featuring mezza-soprano, Madame Cahier.¹⁸ It was held in Logens store sal, in the same room he had given his lecture the previous evening. After this, Shackleton addressed university students in their assembly hall. Emily didn't attend his lecture to the students, but returned to the Victoria Hotel to pack the luggage in preparation for their 7.00am departure by train for Gothenburg in Sweden, where they would be guests of explorer Otto Nordenskjöld.¹⁹

In a thank-you note, which perhaps summarised her attitude to Shackleton's endeavours, she wrote to Alexander Nansen:

Thank you very much for your kind letter and for the copy of your speech which I shall always treasure. I know it will give me great courage if I need it in the future as I fear I may! When a man's heart is set in that direction, especially when he is so suited for the work, one must put one's own feelings aside – though you know how terribly hard it is sometimes.

Thank you also for the beautiful photographs which I am delighted to have.

We shall never forget the kind welcome you gave us here and our most delightful visit. I only wish it had been longer. I did not go to the lecture tonight. My husband thought I had better stay at home and pack for our early start tomorrow.

With kindest regards from us both to yourself and Mrs Nansen

Yours very sincerely,

Emily M. Shackleton.²⁰

On Sunday morning they were farewelled at the railway station by Amundsen who presented Emily with a bouquet of flowers.²¹ In their own ways, Amundsen and Nansen expressed their admiration for her. Nansen, commenting on the *Nimrod* expedition and Shackleton's achievements, wrote to Emily:

I think indeed, that your husband and yourself, who allowed him to go and have waited for him, have done a deed you have every reason to be satisfied with and proud of ...²²

During Shackleton's lecture tour, a young Norwegian polar enthusiast, Tryggve Gran, boarded the train. He and a friend had prepared a map of Shackleton's polar journey for a Norwegian newspaper.

...it took me only a few minutes to get into conversation with the explorer and his lady. At first he took me for a journalist since I had produced the map in *Verdens Gang*, but when it quickly became clear to him that I was no reporter, but a young man with polar ambitions, he cast aside reserve and talked quite freely.

Gran quoted Shackleton as saying: "If we had had skis on the journey south and known how to use them like the Norwegians, we would probably have reached the Pole."

Nansen later introduced Gran to Scott and, when Scott held trials for his motor-sledges at Fefor, north of Christiania, Gran accompanied him and there accepted an invitation to join

¹⁸ *Aftenposten*. 13 October 1909, p. 3. Concert notice. Madame Cahier was a celebrated Swedish soprano (American-born) who sang opera and classical songs. Also *Dagbladet* 17 October 1909 p.2 and p.3

¹⁹ *Verdens Gang*. "Shackleton." 17 October 1909

²⁰ Shackleton, Emily. Letter to Alexander Nansen, advokat (n.d.). Brevs. 361. Norwegian National Library, Oslo.

²¹ Huntford, R. (2002). *Shackleton*. Abacus: London, p. 297

²² *Ibid.*, p. 300

Scott's 1910–1913 expedition.²³ After returning from that expedition Gran continued his association with the Shackletons.

In 1911, when Amundsen reached 88° 23A S with his South Pole team, his thoughts were with Shackleton.

We did not pass that spot without according our highest tribute of admiration to the man, who—together with his gallant companions—had planted his country's flag so infinitely nearer to the goal than any of his precursors. Sir Ernest Shackleton's name will always be written in the annals of Antarctic exploration in letters of fire. Pluck and grit can work wonders, and I know of no better example of this than what that man has accomplished.²⁴

After accomplishing his goal of reaching the South Pole then taking *Fram* to Tasmania, Amundsen cabled his news to the world from Hobart. He received many responses; among them was a telegram: Heartiest Congratulations. Magnificent achievement. Shackleton.²⁵ Amundsen must have been grateful for Shackleton's presence when he came to London to present his paper to the RGS where members' memories of the news of Scott's death after his arrival at the Pole only weeks after Amundsen were still distressing. Shackleton welcomed him and proposed the vote of thanks with a hearty sincerity and understanding not all RGS members shared.²⁶

Shackleton often sought an opinion or support from his Norwegian contacts. In a telegram dated 17 April 1914 he wrote to Nansen:

Would greatly value favourable opinion from you on my plans – for publication at once in private circular I am sending out – your opinion would carry great weight – kindest regards – Shackleton.²⁷

He sent a similar request to Amundsen, who replied:

As you know, I have already for years [... considered (words illegible)] your splendid plan: crossing of the Antarctic continent. I have always been of the opinion that the human race cannot rest until every inch of the earth's surface has been explored. It is our duty and we must go on. If you succeed in your brilliant enterprise, which I'm sure you will, you will – you certainly will – have done your share of the work and added the most beautiful stone to the magnificent crown won by ... enterprising British explorers.²⁸

²³ Hattersley-Smith, G. "Trygve Gran." In *The Norwegian with Scott: Trygve Gran's Antarctic diary, 1910-1913* by T. Gran. Trans. by EJ McGhie; Edited by Hattersley-Smith. H.M.S.O. National Maritime Museum, Great Britain, 1984. Geoffrey Hattersley-Smith quoted Trygve Gran in his Introduction to *The Norwegian with Scott*. The timing in Gran's account of his meeting with Shackleton on a train near the Norwegian border, however, is incomprehensible. Gran wrote that he attended the lecture [in Christiania] after boarding Shackleton's train at Frederikshald, now Halden, after having a discussion with him, and after his map was published in the newspaper, *Verdens Gang*. Gran's map was published in *Verdens Gang*, 16 October 1909, after Shackleton's lecture to the Geographical Society in Christiania, though it is possible that the map was also published earlier. If so, or if—on Friday 15 October—Gran simply had a copy of the map that was to be published the next day, Gran might have boarded the night train from Stockholm at Kongsvinger, a Norwegian town on that route near the Swedish border, and north-east of Christiania/Oslo. It is unlikely that he boarded the train at Frederikshald, now Halden, as they would have passed that town, travelling south from Christiania on their way to Gothenburg on 17 October. HR Mill's account (1923, p. 167), written in collaboration with Emily Shackleton, states that Gran boarded their train just as it left Christiania.

²⁴ Amundsen, R. *The South Pole: An Account of the Norwegian Antarctic Expedition in the "Fram" 1910–1912*. Translated from the Norwegian by AG Chater. London: John Murray 1913, Chapter XII

²⁵ Shackleton, EH. Telegram to R Amundsen. 10 March 1912. Brevs. 480:A. National Library of Norway archives, Oslo

²⁶ Mill, HR. *The Life of Sir Ernest Shackleton*. London: Heinemann, 1923, p. 188

²⁷ Shackleton, EH. Telegram to F Nansen, 17 April 1914. Brevs. 48. National Library of Norway archives, Oslo

The *Endurance* years

In 1913, Shackleton was preparing for his next venture: The Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (ITAE). In a presentation to the RGS, he outlined his proposal “to cross the South Polar Continent from sea to sea—from the Weddell Sea to the Ross Sea.” The minimum distance would be 1500 geographical miles; they would make geological, magnetic, meteorological, and biological observations. Two ships, one in the Ross Sea and one in the Weddell, both equipped for dredging and sounding, would support the expedition. Men from the Ross Sea party would lay depots in the direction of the South Pole in preparation for Shackleton and his Trans-Antarctic team’s advance. Inspired by Amundsen’s “wonderful speedy journey” to the South Pole, he would take sledge-dogs; he would also take sledges driven by aeroplane propellers.²⁹ His plan was approved and the RGS made a grant of £1000.

Leon Amundsen wrote to inform Shackleton that he did not know when his brother would return to Christiania; he had been away on a lecture tour since November. However, Leon would be happy to meet him at his hotel.³⁰

In May 1914, Shackleton and a few of his team went to Finse, where Nansen had skied. He sailed from Hull to Christiania, accompanied by ski-expert Harry Brittain, on the liner *Eskimo*, then took the train to Finse.³¹

Observations in a Bergen newspaper give a Norwegian perspective:

The acclaimed British South Pole explorer Ernest Shackleton is for the time being at Finse to test his south polar equipment and to get a taste of polar life before he starts on his great expedition. It was Shackleton’s intention to come to Norway in March; however, he was delayed and could not enjoy the highlights of our winter splendour and winter cold. But even now there is more than enough snow to be found in the Finse countryside for the kind of work Shackleton is doing. Of course, the temperature in Finse at the end of May is not as you have in the south polar regions.

Shackleton came to Finse with a few companions on Tuesday morning. Not long after he came, he went for a tour of the glacier. The weather was quite unpleasant, and on the glacier they met sharp driving snow. The British South Polar explorer found the glacier and its surroundings excellent for training. He and his companions have made a number of depots and raised a couple of tents. Supplies were transported up to the glacier on sledges. The Englishmen did not go with skis, and it was quite difficult for them to drag the sledges through the loosely packed snow.

Shackleton, however, intends to use not only ordinary sledges on his journey across Antarctica; he also wants to use motor-sledges — but of a quite different design to the one Scott used on his expedition. Shackleton has designed a new type of sledge, where its main characteristic is that the sledge is driven by air propulsion in the same way as an aeroplane. He has such a sledge with him and yesterday it was tested on the [frozen] Finse Lake. The sledge is equipped with a 40-horsepower engine, which made a huge

²⁸ Amundsen, R. Letter to EH Shackleton. 17 April 1914. Brevs. 812.1. National Library of Norway archives, Oslo. A few words are illegible in the original letter.

²⁹ Shackleton, E. “The Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, 1914.” *The Geographical Journal* 43 (2) pp.173–178

³⁰ Amundsen, L. Letter to EH Shackleton. 12 February 1914. Brevs, 812. National Library of Norway archives, Oslo

³¹ *Hull Daily Mail*. “Sir E. Shackleton in Hull.” 18 May 1914, p. 5

Note: The liner *Eskimo* (built 1910 in Hull; 331.2ft x 45.2ft; tonnage 3326) was operated by the Wilson Line and made regular sailings between Hull and Christiania. In 1914 it was commandeered by the Royal Navy and renamed HMS *Eskimo*. After being returned to the Wilson Line in 1915, it was captured by the Germans at Risør in Norway the following year but returned to the Wilson Line after the war.



Shackleton at Finse, May 1914. Note the exterior and interior of the newly designed tent. Photos: SPRI



*Recent photo of ski tracks heading in the direction of the place where Shackleton camped.
Photo © Anders Bache*



The motor sledge. Photo: SPRI

THE IMPERIAL TRANS-ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS,
"ANTARPEDEI, LONDON"
TELEPHONE NO.
2245 REGENT.
100000
A.B.C. 5th EDITION
AND
BENTLEY'S

4, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
REGENT STREET,
LONDON, W.

26th May 1914

Dear Mr. Klein
We the undersigned
wish before leaving your
hospitable roof to thank you
for the courtesy, kindness,
and help you have given
us; and to say that when the
Expedition is over we hope to come
again to the joys of Teise
Yours sincerely
Ernest Shackleton

Frank Wild
Fritz Dobbs
Hickie
George Manston
Harry J. Brittain
J. Orde Lees.

noise. Without any impressive speed, the sledge glided over the ice. The snow was soft and the runners cut into it deeply. In order to achieve better speed, Shackleton intends to make some changes to the design. He was not disappointed with the attempt.

Telegraph from Finse today: With his companions, Shackleton left the Finse hotel at a quarter to four. Everyone had skis with them. They went past the Finse Lake and upwards in the direction of Kongsnut, where some depots have been laid. The Englishmen overnighted in tents in the snow. The camp lies approximately 3 km from Finse. The weather has been pretty good both yesterday and today and it is assumed that the south polar explorers had a relatively good night in their tents. They have sturdy sleeping bags to lie in and the equipment is good in every respect.

Shackleton has not returned yet, but one assumes he will come during the day. He has no guide with him because he will navigate himself and rely on his own ability. One does not really know how long Shackleton will be here, it could still be a while before he returns to England. His companions, in fact, have to learn to ski. Several of them have never had skis on their feet before. Shackleton himself is a good skier. The motor-sledge has not been used since Wednesday. It stands now outside the hotel.³²

Though this reporter describes him as 'a good skier', Shackleton wrote that it was 'rather hard after my sedentary life at the office'.³³

A letter from Shackleton and his men thanking the manager is displayed at the Finse Hotel. He also expressed his appreciation of the assistance given by Norwegian railway staff who unloaded and loaded all the equipment at Finse.³⁴ They travelled back to Hull from Christiania on *Eskimo* arriving on 29 May. The *Hull Daily Mail* reported that Shackleton was "in the best of spirits bronzed, and looking well." The report noted that Shackleton seemed well satisfied with the results of the tests in Finse and, after trialling the equipment and the rations, though a few modifications might be made, was pleased to establish "the suitability of the new tent, weighing only 36 lb and accommodating six men; the nature and packing of the provisions;



The shipyard model of 'Polaris'. Image: courtesy of the Norwegian Maritime Museum.

³² *Bergens Tidende*. "Sydpolsutrustingen proves." (Antarctic equipment trials). 22 May 1914

³³ Shackleton, EH Letter to Emily Shackleton, May 1914. SPRI, cited in Huntford (2002), p. 376

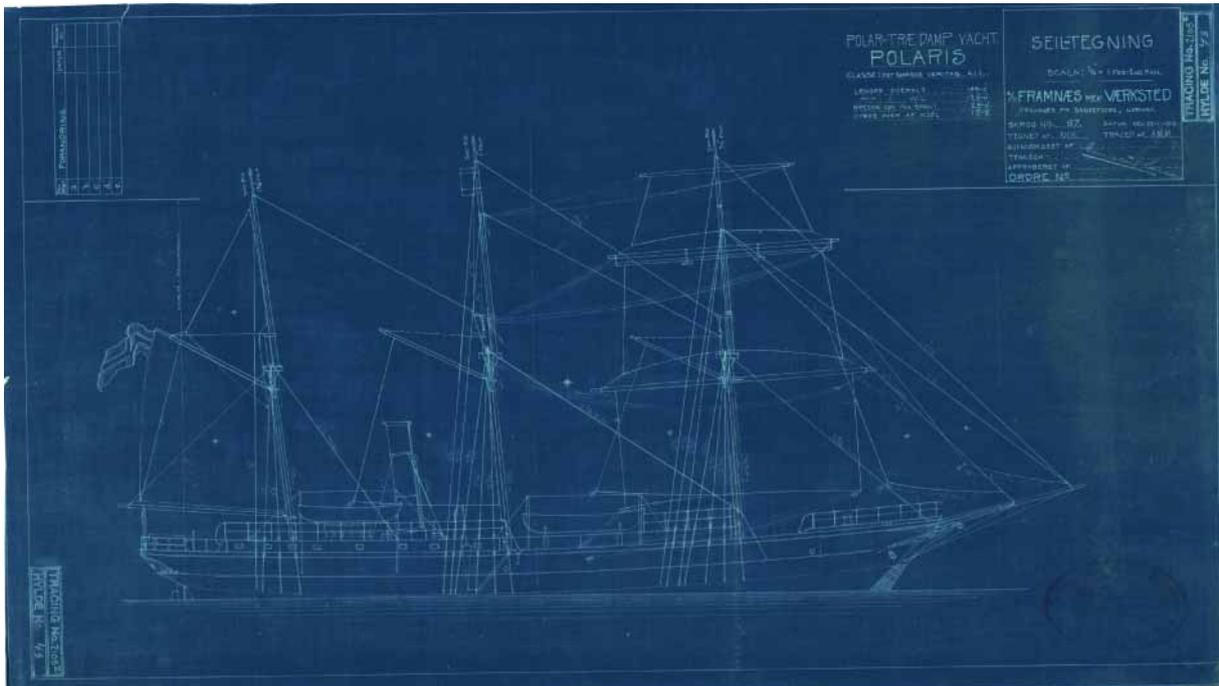
³⁴ *Newcastle Journal* "Polar Exploration." 30 May 1914

and the practicability of the principle of a motor-sledge driven by an aerial propeller capable of speedily carrying heavy loads over a fair snow surface.”³⁵

The Finse rehearsal was not without its personal challenges. At times, they had to cope with heavy rain (rarely, if ever, experienced in Antarctic regions) and Frank Wild recorded the desertion of most of the team from the campsite within three days, leaving only himself and Dobbs who stayed until recalled by Shackleton.³⁶ Newspapers reported signs of frostbite on the men’s faces, and that the taste of the scientifically formulated and nutritionally ideal rations was declared “unpleasant”.³⁷

Polaris

Shackleton had sold *Nimrod* after returning from the BAE to Captain Valentine Webster.³⁸ For his ITAE, he went to Sandefjord, 122 km south of Christiania, to inspect a newly built ship, *Polaris* (built 1912 at Sandefjord; 140ft x 26.4ft; tonnage 348gr./231net). The three-masted barquentine, with a three-cylinder triple-expansion reciprocating engine which developed about 350hp and ran at 130rpm to obtain a maximum speed of 10.5 knots, was designed by Ole Aanderud Larsen to accommodate the requirements of Lars Christensen and the Belgian explorer Adrien de Gerlache, who planned to take the ship on Arctic voyages with paying guests. Built at Framnæs Mekaniske Værksted, a Sandefjord shipyard, under the supervision of Christian Jacobsen, a master of wooden shipbuilding, its ice-strengthening features included sheathing with three-inch greenheart and plating of strips of 7/8-inch steel.³⁹ Its credentials were impeccable. Financial difficulties had forced de Gerlache to withdraw from the original project and Christensen sold *Polaris* to Shackleton for less than cost price. The ship, renamed *Endurance*, was taken to Millwall Dock, London, and refitted for the expedition before sailing from Plymouth on 8 August 1914.



Blueprint of the sail plan for Polaris from the Framnæs Mekaniske Værksted, the Sandefjord shipyard where it was built.

³⁵ *Hull Daily Mail*. “Sir E. Shackleton in Hull.” 29 May 1914, p. 3

³⁶ Mills, L. *Frank Wild*. Whitby: Caedmon of Whitby. 1999, p. 208

³⁷ *The Washington Post* “Greasy Rations in Sausage Skins to be Food of Shackleton Party.” 5 July 1914

³⁸ Lloyd’s Register Foundation. *pers. comm.* email 3 November 2018

³⁹ Anon. “The Imperial Transantarctic Expedition’s Ship *Endurance*.” *Shipbuilding and Shipping Record*, 30 July 1914, pp. 124–128. Dimensions given are from Mitchener, EA. *Ice in the Rigging: Ships of the Antarctic 1699–1937*. Hobart: Maritime Museum of Tasmania, 2015, p. 190

A Norwegian sailor, Hjalmar Gjertsen, who had been second mate on *Fram* 1910–1912, applied to join the ITAE as a dog-driver, and nominated Nansen as a reference. Nansen replied to Shackleton's urgent telegram with: "Believe Gjertsen good man but doubt experience dog-driver".⁴⁰ A delay in processing Gjertsen's application for leave from the Navy meant that *Endurance* left without him and any offer that Shackleton might have made was negated. Gjertsen had a distinguished maritime career and served in Arctic and Antarctic seas.

In November, *Endurance* sailed from Buenos Aires to South Georgia where Shackleton was given information and advice about ice conditions by the whaling captains who thought the best time to leave would be in February or March and that an earlier start would mean that *Endurance* would encounter heavy pack ice before reaching the Weddell Sea. Based on their predictions, Shackleton altered his intended route slightly and took extra coal, but left in early December.

Shackleton had maintained contact with Tryggve Gran and in 1914 invited him to join his *Endurance* expedition. Gran was interested, but declined. Since their meeting in 1909, he had been to Antarctica with Scott and had trained as an aviator at Louis Bleriot's flying school in France. He had another plan. On 30 July 1914, he flew from Cruden Bay, north of Aberdeen, to Jæren, Norway—the first person to fly across the North Sea.⁴¹

In 1930, Tryvve Gran published an article in a Norwegian newspaper in which he wrote of Shackleton's "psychic friend". He claimed Campbell Mackellar, keen Antarctic enthusiast and financial supporter of the *Nimrod* expedition, summoned him urgently to a London Club in 1915 to tell him about a vision he had had on 28 October of Shackleton and his men standing on ice and watching a ship partly buried in the ice.

In a letter to Captain JK Davis dated 1 April 1916, Mackellar, who was obviously interested in spiritualism, tells of a different psychic experience. Mackellar met a Scottish clairvoyant "some time ago" and told her he was thinking of a friend, but he gave her no name. She described Shackleton and said she saw him "small and far away ... must be across the ocean somewhere ... thinking much about the sea. Sea was everywhere and he was always looking at it. He walked always looking at the ground ... there were others and they appeared to be measuring or surveying and somehow the ground was dangerous because they stepped so carefully ... it might be a swampy or marshy ground".⁴² Gran also had an interest in unexplained phenomena and, when he was in Antarctica with Scott, claimed he had dreamt of Amundsen's arrival at the South Pole.

In a more prosaic, but unrealistic, offer to lead a relief expedition to rescue expedition survivors, he told Emily Shackleton that he could most likely get the use of *Fram*. At that point (1 April 1916) there was only news of the Ross Sea party's plight when *Aurora* arrived in New Zealand. She thanked him, but privately expressed doubts about the suitability of such a plan.⁴³ Her doubts were justified. Norway's Bureau Veritas had surveyed *Fram* after its return in 1914 and declared it unsuitable for another polar voyage.

In Gran's entertaining but improbable account, a few months after Mackellar's vision, he and Mackellar were dinner guests at Emily's home but didn't tell her about Mackellar's (unconfirmed) vision. After a midnight phone call informed her of her husband's survival in an open boat, the three of them went to the Central News Agency where they were shown

⁴⁰ Shackleton EH. Telegrams to/from F Nansen. 18 September 1914. Brevs. 48. National Library of Norway archives, Oslo

⁴¹ Gran, T and Hattersley-Smith, G. *The Norwegian with Scott: Tryggve Gran's Antarctic diary, 1910-1913*. National Maritime Museum, H.M.S.O, Greenwich, 1984

⁴² Mackellar, CD. Letter to JK Davis, 1 April 1916. State Library of Victoria, JK Davis papers: 3272/5M

⁴³ Shackleton, Emily. Letter to JK Davis, 4 April 1916. State Library of Victoria, JK Davis papers: 3272/8S

the full news report. They learnt that the ship had sunk after being crushed by ice. The crushing process had begun on 27 October 1915, about the time Mackellar had his vision. Though they didn't remark on this in Emily's presence, Gran claimed this as proof of a supernatural phenomenon.⁴⁴

Mackellar, who died in 1925, had no opportunity to comment on the claims in Gran's 1930 article, but a note he wrote to Shackleton's biographer, HR Mill, gives a different account of that evening:

Lady Shackleton came out into the hall with us while Allan her Scottish maid with her for so many years, stood at the open door to intercept any passing cab for us. She hailed one successfully, and as she did so the telephone bell rang. We bade a hasty goodnight as Lady Shackleton went to the telephone and it being raining we ran down the steps and jumped into the cab. They tried to stop us, Allan even running after the cab, but we were gone. It was the news of Shackleton.⁴⁵

News from Shackleton detailing the loss of *Endurance* and his voyage in *James Caird* was sent from Port Stanley on 31 May 1916. The drama of the final days of the *Endurance* expedition needs no re-telling here. The beautiful ship was crushed by ice in the Weddell Sea, and sank, but not before the men had retrieved essentials. They camped on the ice which carried them northward, then travelled by boat to Elephant Island. Leaving Frank Wild in command, from there Shackleton took one of the lifeboats, *J. Caird* and, with Captain Worsley, Tom Crean and three other men, made the epic voyage to the island of South Georgia for assistance. After arriving at King Haakon Bay on the uninhabited western side of the island, making the first ascent of the central mountain range, trekking tentatively over crevassed slopes, retracing their steps, then making a bold, time-saving decision, Shackleton, Crean and Worsley slid gloriously down an eastern slope. (It was an experience they surely relived for many years in moments of reflection and, six years later, Worsley returned to a nearby steep section and "came down that slope with a crouching glissade, for 500 feet"⁴⁶) In 1916, their boldness had been rewarded; they arrived at sea-level bruised but relatively unscathed except for "considerable damage" to their trousers, and walked to the Stromness whaling station. Understandably, the manager Thoralf Sørllle did not recognise Shackleton at first but, when he had heard their story, gave them "coffee and cakes in the Norwegian fashion" then offered them the use of a bath and provided clean clothes.⁴⁷

Sørllle made arrangements for Worsley to travel on the whaler *Samson* to bring the three men stranded on the western side of the island to Stromness. Then, though the plan was not successful, made the first arrangements for a ship to take Shackleton back to Elephant Island to rescue the crew of *Endurance*. Pack ice defeated them. Wild and the rest of the crew were eventually rescued by the Chilean Navy's *Yelcho*. Shackleton wrote of the dramatic events: "I feel it is my duty as well as my pleasure to thank here the Norwegian whalers of South Georgia for the sympathetic hands they stretched out to us in our hour of need".⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Gran, T. "Sir Ernest Shackleton og hans synske venn." (Shackleton and his psychic friend.) *Aftenposten* Magasinet, 22 March 1930, pp. 8–9

⁴⁵ Mackellar, CD to HR Mill, SPRI; cited in Huntford (2002) *Shackleton* Chapter LI, p. 604. Emily Shackleton, whose collaboration with Mill when he wrote her husband's biography (1923), indicates her endorsement of the content of Mackellar's note. She died in 1936, and might not have known of Gran's 1930 article written in Norwegian.

⁴⁶ Worsley FA.(2007). *Shackleton's Boat Journey*. First published: Hodder and Stoughton, 1940. Reprinted 2007 Wakefield Press: Kent Town South Australia, pp 129–143

⁴⁷ Shackleton, EH. *South*. London: William Heinemann (1919). An image of the manager's home in Stromness can be seen in the pdf: Basberg, BL (2012). "The sub-Antarctic as a source of human enrichment — the case of South Georgia." *Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania* 146: 81–88

⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

From Sørle, Shackleton first heard the news that his Ross Sea Party and his other ITAE ship, *Aurora*, were in difficulties. He travelled to New Zealand to take part in the rescue, which had been organised in his absence by representatives of governments, and was confronted by the controversial dismissal of *Aurora's* acting captain, Joseph Stenhouse, and bureaucratic refusal to acknowledge Shackleton's right to command. Urgent and persuasive mediation paved the way for him to participate in the rescue of his Ross Sea Party.⁴⁹ Published details of the outcomes of the ITAE expedition and the rescues were overshadowed by war news but, in a London newspaper, Amundsen praised Shackleton's "indomitable will and his immense courage".⁵⁰ Recalling the events in a later tribute, Nansen commented on Shackleton's ability to overcome difficulties. To manage the rescue of his men "after the most appalling difficulties ... [was] a perfectly wonderful achievement".⁵¹

Northern Norway during wartime

Shackleton returned to England in May 1917, while the destructive impact of World War I continued. One area of increasing strategic interest to British interests was the Arctic area to the north of Norway. Several countries, including Britain, Norway, Sweden, Netherlands, and America, had an interest in mining coal, iron and other minerals in Spitsbergen and the Svalbard archipelago, but no country had administrative authority over the region. In 1910, Germans had established a meteorological station there, but had since left.

On 3 March 1918, a treaty signed by the German and Soviet governments obliged the Russians to support any future German regime in the Svalbard archipelago. The British, and in particular the Northern Exploration Company, saw this as a threat to their mining interests in the area and to Scandinavia. The managing director set in place a plan to raise half a million pounds of capital by issuing shares at £1 each. The company asked Shackleton to make preparations for, and to lead, an expedition to Spitsbergen. They granted his request for Frank Wild to be his second-in command. The British Admiralty made an armoured vessel, *Ella*, available for the expedition and it left London in early August, travelling in convoy with other ships. Because of the presence of submarines, it took 14 days to reach Tromsø, where Norwegian and Swedish miners were to be taken on board before proceeding to Spitsbergen. They were waiting for company directors to join them in Tromsø (where Shackleton had a suspected heart attack) when he was recalled by the War Office to assist with a military operation in northern Russia. The British campaign was intended to support the loyalist White Army against the increasing influence of the Bolshevik supporters in northern Russia in an area adjacent to Norway. On his way south, Shackleton met with the company directors to explain the situation that had arisen and to advise them of his recall. Wild took over the leadership of the Spitsbergen operation.⁵²

Brief notices in Norwegian newspapers tracked Shackleton's movements, e.g. on 12 August: "... on his way to Tromsø. His goal is Spitsbergen, where more mineral fields in Bell Sound and Kings Bay and other places will be examined by experts."⁵³ And, almost three weeks later, on 1 September: "Shackleton passed through Trondheim, travelling south [to Christiania], on his return from Spitsbergen."⁵⁴

In 1912 Norwegian businessman Jonas Lied, who lived in Russia and England as well as Norway and who was a Fellow of the RGS, had formed the Siberian Steamship Manufacturing

⁴⁹ Lucas, A. "Planning the rescue of Shackleton's Ross Sea party: the leadership controversy." *James Caird Soc. Journal* No 8 (May 2016) 38–55

⁵⁰ *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney, NSW) "Shackleton's Work; Amundsen's Appreciation." 13 February 1917, p. 5 quoting the *London Daily Chronicle*.

⁵¹ *Observer*. "Nansen's Tribute to Shackleton." 5 February 1922, p. 7

⁵² Hoel, A. *Svalbard. Svalbards historie 1596–1965*, Vol.1. Oslo, 1966. pp. 447–453

⁵³ *Aftenposten*. "Shackleton in Spitsbergen." 12 August 1918, p. 1

⁵⁴ *Trondhjems Adresseavis*. 1 September 1918, p.3

and Trading Company in Oslo with a group of business partners. In 1913, he travelled with Fridtjof Nansen to assess the viability of more trade routes that he wanted to establish between Britain and Siberia via the Kara Sea. He was also a director of Northern Traffic Ltd, registered in London in 1915, for the transport of goods to and from “the Scandinavian States, Russia, Siberia and the Far East generally”.⁵⁵

Amundsen approached Lied in 1916 asking if supplies for his *Maud* expedition could be taken to Dickson Island in the Kara Sea, near the mouth of the Yenisei River. Lied agreed, but as the influence of the Bolshevik government in Russia spread to the north, Lied’s trade was severely affected. He managed to complete the arrangements for Amundsen, but not without difficulty.⁵⁶

Shackleton had a luncheon appointment with Lied at the Savoy Hotel in London in March 1918, but didn’t arrive.⁵⁷ The purpose of the meeting was not recorded in Lied’s diary. They had mutual contacts through Nansen and through the RGS. As part of Shackleton’s brief was to organise supplies for the Spitsbergen expedition, he might have intended to negotiate a freight contract with Lied.

Situated in the western region of the Barents Sea, which leads to the Kara Sea and to access to the Russian ports of Murmansk and Archangel, the importance of Svalbard’s location was heightened during the war years. Britain wanted to maintain a presence there ostensibly for mining interests but also for intelligence regarding other nations’ involvement. Possibly partially due to the influence claimed by Jonas Lied, the Svalbard Treaty was signed as part of the negotiations at Versailles at the end of World War I.⁵⁸ Norway was officially given sovereignty over the area in 1925.

Lied was also an associate of Captain Valentine Webster, who had purchased *Nimrod*. Lied wrote: “Eventually I bought his ship, the *Nimrod*, for £2000 and then sold her again to old Christensen in Oslo, and he returned her to the seal-hunting service for which she had been designed. The *Nimrod* could get through ice all right, but her cargo capacity was too small for the Siberian business.”⁵⁹ During the war *Nimrod* was sold to a company named Nimrod Ltd. On a voyage from Blyth to Calais with a cargo of coal, it foundered and sank on Barber Sands, Caister, Norfolk on the 29 January 1919.⁶⁰

The Quest years

In 1921, the restless Shackleton was making plans for an expedition to the Canadian Arctic region. He consulted Nansen who agreed that “it would be a splendid thing to do and would no doubt yield results of the greatest value to science”.⁶¹ When the Canadian Government withdrew its support, and after a chance meeting with businessman and philanthropist John Rowett, whom he had known during school days, Shackleton considered instead another trip, with a focus on oceanography, to Antarctica.

Again, he needed a ship, and again he found one in Norway. *Foca 1* (built in 1917 at Risør by Erik Lindstøl; 111.4ft x 24.8ft; tonnage 205gr./94net) was a wooden two-masted schooner

⁵⁵ *Dover Express*. “Northern Traffic Ltd.” 30 April 1915, p. 7

⁵⁶ Lied, J. (1945). *Prospector in Siberia: the autobiography of Jonas Lied*. Oxford University Press: New York. Trans. from Lied’s autobiography *Over de Høye Fjelle*. Chapters XIX and XX

⁵⁷ Lied, J. Diary entry 18 March 1918. Norwegian Maritime Museum archives, Oslo

⁵⁸ Lied, J. (1945). “Saving Spitsbergen for Norway.” In *Prospector in Siberia: the autobiography of Jonas Lied*. Oxford University Press: New York. Chapter XVII

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Chapter XI. “Old Christensen” is most likely Christen Christensen (father of Lars) who owned Framnæs Mekaniske Værksted, the shipyard where *Polaris*, later *Endurance*, was built and who was also a partner in the Siberian Steamship Manufacturing and Trading Company.

⁶⁰ Lloyd’s Register Foundation. *pers. comm.* email 3 November 2018

⁶¹ *Observer*. “Nansen’s Tribute to Shackleton.” 5 February 1922, p. 7

fitted with auxiliary steam engines.⁶² From 1917 to 1919, the ship was chartered by the Norwegian Spitsbergen Coal Company, and took miners and supplies—and the mail—to the Svalbard archipelago, returning with a cargo of coal. Shackleton bought *Foca 1* for £11 000 and brought it to Southampton in March 1921 intending to rename it. Emily suggested *Quest*. After extensive alterations, *Quest* sailed from London on 17 September 1921.⁶³

In *Shackleton's Last Voyage*, Frank Wild recalled that a Norwegian taken on as a harpoon expert, Eriksen [*sic*], left the ship at Rio de Janeiro. A Norwegian newspaper reported that Edvard Erichsen, an Arctic seaman from Tromsø, left Shackleton and went to New York where Roald Amundsen, then re-organising his *Maud* expedition, hired him.⁶⁴ However, there is no mention of Eriksen/Erichsen on the *Maud* expedition's crew list.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, the *Quest's* passage from Rio to South Georgia was rough and Shackleton decided to postpone Christmas celebrations. On 4 January 1922, they came to anchor in Grytviken. Shackleton's last diary entry, written that evening, is often quoted and a portentous significance has been attributed to it. "In the darkening twilight," he wrote, "I saw a lone star hover Gem-like above the bay." Mr Jacobsen, the manager and an old friend of theirs, came aboard, and shortly afterwards returned to the shore with Shackleton who was "full of vigour and energy". They had dinner in comfort at the Norwegian station and spent "a cheery evening, the Boss being full of jokes". At the finish Shackleton rose, saying, "Tomorrow we'll keep Christmas". Wild went on deck with him, and they discussed a few details of work before turning in early.

About 3am Wild was awakened by the doctors, Macklin and McIlroy, who told him that Shackleton had died. Later that morning, after summoning all hands to the deck and informing them of the circumstances, Wild went ashore to see Mr Jacobsen who, deeply shocked at the news, offered his support. Further support came from other whaling stations in South Georgia. Shackleton's embalmed body was placed in a coffin made by Mr Hansen, manager of the Leith whaling station, then transferred from the ship, first to the little hospital, then to the church, which had been built in 1913. Arrangements were made for a Norwegian steamer, *Professor Gruvel* (Captain Jacobsen), then berthed at Grytviken, to take Shackleton's coffin to Montevideo, Uruguay. Leonard Hussey would accompany the coffin and proceed with it from Montevideo to England on a mail boat. When Lady Shackleton was notified, she felt that it was preferable for her husband's last resting place to be in South Georgia close to the polar environment which had beckoned him for so many years, and requested that his coffin be returned to Grytviken for burial. A British steamship, *Woodville* (Captain Leaste) transported Shackleton from Montevideo back to South Georgia, and arrived at Grytviken on 27 February.⁶⁶

Meanwhile, coal for *Quest's* onward journey had been supplied by Mr Andersen, manager of Husvik Harbour. Ice anchors and other equipment were manufactured in Hansen's workshop, and food and clothing provided. Wild, grateful for the assistance given by the Norwegian station managers, had taken command of *Quest* and the ship left South Georgia at daybreak on 18 January. Wild decided, after consultation with engineers, to carry on with the expedition as he believed his Boss would have wished.⁶⁷

⁶² *Foca 1* from a Latin word for seal (*phoca*). Ancient Greek for seal (ὄ ἐς) is phonetically similar.

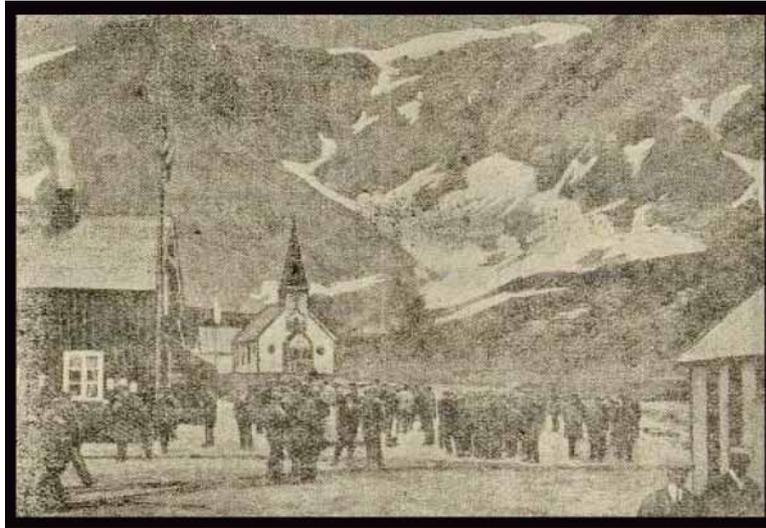
⁶³ Erskine, A and Kjaer, K. "The polar ship *Quest*." *Polar Record* 34 (189): 129-142 (1998)

⁶⁴ *Bergens Tidende*. "Roald Amundsen har vœret hjemme i Norge en maaned. Han reiser tilbake til Amerika idag." (Roald Amundsen has been home in Norway for a month. He travels back to America today.) 17 March 1922, p.1

⁶⁵ Sverdrup, HU (1926). *Tre Aar i Isen med 'Maud'* (*Three Years in the Ice with 'Maud'*). Gyldendal, Norsk Forlag: Oslo.

⁶⁶ Wild, F. and Macklin, AH (1923). *Shackleton's last voyage: the story of the Quest*. Cassell: London

⁶⁷ *Ibid*.



News from Grytviken in South Georgia: "After an announcement from England, the polar explorer, Ernest Shackleton, who met his death during his last voyage to the South Polar lands, is to be buried in Grytviken in South Georgia. Pictured here is the church from where Shackleton will be buried."

— Hvor Shackleton skal begraves. (Where Shackleton will be buried.)

Extract from Haalogaland, 21 February 1922, p. 2

Shackleton was buried in the little cemetery at Grytviken on 5 March 1922. Of his team only Hussey was present but managers from the five whaling stations, whalers, fishermen and residents of South Georgia attended the funeral service, conducted in Norwegian and English, at 3pm. Hussey noted that the day was clear and calm. Six Shetland Islanders carried the coffin to the Decauville light railway, which transported it toward the cemetery, where British and Norwegian flags flew at half-mast. A wooden cross was constructed and wreaths hung over it. (The cross was replaced with the granite tombstone in 1928.) Mrs Aarberg, wife of the Norwegian doctor at Leith whaling station, laid a wreath of flowers—carefully cultivated in her home—on the gravesite.^{68,69}

Another Norwegian attendee wrote in a letter home:

The polar explorer had reached 88 degrees 23 minutes S in 1909 and in 1922 he would try to get even closer to the South Pole. That was not how it was [to be]. Grytviken was the last stop for him. Sverre from Borøya was there when he was buried.⁷⁰

Wild returned to Leith Harbour with *Quest* on 6 April 1922 and, before their departure on 7 May, he and the crew erected a memorial cross to Shackleton. The cross, atop a stone cairn into which the men cemented an engraved brass plate, stands at Hope Point, a headland just outside Grytviken Harbour.⁷¹

Passengers on cruise ships which stop at Grytviken can visit the church, the graveyard and the South Georgia Museum where a replica of Shackleton's *J. Caird* is displayed.

Wild took *Quest* back to England and in 1923 it was sold to Norwegian shipowner, Peter Schjelderup. His son Ludolf, with a Norwegian crew, sailed *Quest* back to Norway, where it went into a shipyard at Rognan for a major overhaul and refit. With Schjelderup, *Quest* was used as a sealer and as a charter ship in northern seas for many years, but in 1962 it left Bodø

⁶⁸ Hussey, LDA (1949). *South with Shackleton*. London: Sampson Low, p. 173

⁶⁹ Wild, F and Macklin, AH (1923). *Shackleton's last voyage: the story of the Quest*. Cassell: London. Chapter IV

⁷⁰ Letter. Brev fra Syd-Georgia/Grytviken år 1922. Cate 7/3 22. Text translated from the Norwegian. Norwegian Maritime Museum archives, Oslo

⁷¹ Wild, F. and Macklin, AH (1923). *Shackleton's last voyage: the story of the Quest*. Cassell: London. Chapter IX
Note: Search <Grytviken> on Google Maps, and the Street View option will give you a virtual exploration of the area.



Grytviken, ca 1930 showing the tanks and the elevated Decauville railway, which also ran at ground level in places. Photo © Theodor Andersson, courtesy Sandefjord Whaling Museum



We were the first ship of the season to call at Grytviken; the locals had only arrived that day to open the various buildings, and there were no footprints to be seen in the deep snow as we entered the graveyard. top right: interior of the restored Norwegian-built church (note bracing); upper left: looking toward the church from the graveyard (note the King penguins huddled beyond the fence); lower right: Shackleton's headstone; lower left: the approach to Grytviken. Photos © 2009 Chris Hurley



South Georgia Museum at Grytviken which houses a full-scale replica of Shackleton's boat 'James Caird'. The Fullerton Room displays artefacts related to expeditions and to exploration of the island. Items include a model of Endurance and, in a case of other Shackleton-related artefacts, Worsley's almanac used on the 'James Caird' to navigate to South Georgia from Elephant Island. Photos courtesy South Georgia Museum 2019.

for Newfoundland and was crushed by ice off the coast of Labrador. The crew, unable to staunch the consequent leaking when the badly damaged *Quest* was free of the ice, abandoned the sinking ship.⁷²

The deck-cabin in which Shackleton died had been removed in 1924 and installed at a Rognan farm in northern Norway, where it was used for storage. Tentative arrangements had been made to send it to South Georgia Museum but it was instead shipped to Ireland for conservation work before being displayed at the Shackleton Museum, Athy Heritage Centre, County Kildare.⁷³

In conclusion, we can note Norwegian connections in diverse aspects of Shackleton's life: preparation for Antarctic exploration, wartime assignments, public speaking, and the Award that recognises his continuing legacy. Norwegians offered him well-built ships, quality supplies, training grounds, hospitality, long-lasting friendships, honours and, most importantly, invaluable advice.



Above: Committee member Hanna McKeand hands the 2019 Shackleton Award to Sébastien Roubinet.

At the far left in this photo is Committee member Bjørn Basberg.

Below: Sébastien Roubinet, with the Award, and Eric André

Photos: Emile Holba. Presentation images kindly supplied by Hotel Finse 1222.



⁷² Erskine, A and Kjaer, K. "The polar ship *Quest*." *Polar Record* 34 (189): 129–142 (1998)

⁷³ Siggins, L. "Cabin in which Ernest Shackleton died donated to Ireland." *Irish Times* 29 September 2015
Video of cabin at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/people/shackleton-s-sea-bedroom-was-little-more-than-a-glorified-packing-case-1.3238249>



Finse landscape Photo © Anders Bache

The Shackleton Award at Finse

The Shackleton Award has been presented annually at Finse 1222 since 2014. It is a significant and very real acknowledgement of his legacy: *inspiration*. It honours outstanding expedition achievements, expeditions which are “novel, unmotorized and within polar areas or conditions” and which also “inspire today’s explorers to new expeditions into unknown territories or conditions”.⁷⁴

The 6th Shackleton Award was presented to three Frenchmen, Sébastien Roubinet, Vincent Colliard and Eric André, who attempted to cross the North Pole from Alaska to Svalbard with a catamaran in the summer of 2018. Photos, and a map of their proposed journey, are at: <http://arcticnorthwestpassage.blogspot.com/2018/08/2018-sebastien-roubinet-expedition-to.html>

The award is a handcrafted museum-quality model of Shackleton’s lifeboat *James Caird* on an oak stand. At a scale of 1:15 (50cm long, 15cm wide and 45cm high) each model is constructed by Seb Coulthard, using the line drawings referred to for the construction of the full-scale replica, now held at Dulwich College, which Shackleton attended 1887–1890.⁷⁵

Let us give Shackleton the last word. In 1912, he wrote:

All over the world great tasks of discovery await accomplishment, some sensational, some merely useful, some chiefly challenging the scientist, some the financier and trader ... That great chapter in human history is yet far from being closed; it has much that is strange to reveal, and much of benefit and beauty.⁷⁶

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⁷⁴ www.shackletonlegacy.com/the-shackleton-award.html

⁷⁵ www.shackletonlegacy.com/museum-quality-model-boat.html

⁷⁶ Shackleton, EH (1912). ‘The Future of Exploration.’ *The North American Review* Vol. 195 (676), pp. 414-424

Amundsen and *Uranienborg*

Rick Frolich & Anders Bache

Perhaps no private dwelling provides a better vantage point from which to view the Golden Age of Polar Exploration than that of Roald Amundsen at Svartskog, south of Oslo. Home to Amundsen for twenty years and open to the public since 1935, Uranienborg is now managed by the Follo Museum. What follows was prompted by the recent discovery in an outbuilding there of a chest, filled with photographs, letters, manuscripts and documents that threw new light on many events in Amundsen's life.

*The chest
discovered in 2015...*



*...marked "Leon Amundsen, Kristiania, Norway.
From Roald Amundsen, Nome, Alaska".
Photo: Follo Museum*

Departure

On 16 June 1928 Amundsen closes the door to his blue-white Swiss-chalet-style house for the last time. For twenty years *Uranienborg* has been his home, where great plans have been laid, meetings held, and memories accumulated. He still has plans, but is nearly 56, self-proclaimed retired and financially broken, and his immediate concern is the search for Umberto Nobile and the airship *Italia*, missing somewhere north of Svalbard. He makes the short journey from Svartskog to Oslo, and at Østbanehallen says goodbye to friends and family and boards the night train to Bergen. It is the last they see of him

An explorer's apprenticeship

Roald Engelbregt Gravning Amundsen would make his first mark on polar history with the Belgian Antarctic expedition in 1897, but our story begins when Eivind Astrup, one of Amundsen's great heroes, stands in front of the Norwegian Student Society in February 1893.



Figure 2. Uranienborg, Amundsen's home at Svartskog from 1908-28. Photo: Follo Museum

Aged just 19, Astrup had left Norway in 1890 to further his education in the United States. He read of Robert Peary's planned expedition to Greenland soon after arriving and applied to join it, impressing Peary enough to select him for his team and later to join him on the first crossing of the northern part of the Greenland Ice Sheet. He returned to Greenland with Peary the following year, but their relationship soured as things went badly and an unwell Astrup took the first opportunity to come home when the expedition ship returned in the summer. Despite the falling out, Astrup was a hero in Norway when he returned from Greenland, telling his story through a successful book and lecture tour. In his large audience now was the 21-year-old medical student Amundsen, inspired as Astrup's stories opened his eyes to a universe of ice. He had 'a big influence on my future affiliation with polar research', said Amundsen later. Roald and student friends were soon donning skis and rucksacks and heading into Nordmarka, the forest that embraces Oslo, where in a hut they would talk, dream, and plan.

In the autumn Amundsen wrote letters to people heading north; one was to Martin Hoff Ekroll, who planned to lead a hunting expedition to Svalbard, another to the Swedish-Norwegian Consulate asking to join the planned Jackson-Harmsworth expedition to Franz Josef Land. Did they need someone like him? Not this time. Undeterred, Amundsen set out with friends Laurentius Urdahl and Wilhelm Holst to Hardangervidda, central Norway's great mountain plateau. Although severe weather forced their retreat from what would



Urdahl, Holst and Amundsen in studio equipped for adventure, 1893.

Photo: Skimuseet, Oslo

have been a pioneering crossing, Hardangervidda provided Amundsen with valuable experience, as it would again two years later when nearly providing his early grave.

By March 1894 Amundsen's dream was coming true, as he stood at last on board a ship heading north, to the ice, the animals, the light, and the cold, that he had yet to experience but would encounter again and again. Amundsen was a junior seaman on the sealing vessel *Magdalena*. 'As for life on the Arctic Ocean, I like it very well' wrote Roald to his brother Leon. He sailed on several ships, to America, Canada and England, and in 1895 passed his mate's exam. Amundsen was building a career...

...while Astrup seems to have been looking to end his. By late 1895 this celebrated polar explorer, still only 24 and with several plans for future expeditions, was struggling. At Christmas he travelled up to Hjerkin Fjellstue (Mountain Lodge) at Dovrefjell, and after a night at the lodge set out on skis, carrying some food and drink, a revolver, and dark thoughts.

A few days later Roald Amundsen was also preparing his skis, unaware of the drama at Hjerkinn. With his brother Leon he was back on Hardangervidda, planning a crossing from Mogen to Garen. One night, a couple of days into the trip and in search of comfort, Roald '...dug into the snow and made myself a small cave not much larger than my body, and into the cave I climbed head first and pulled my bag in after me'.¹

Amundsen had made a serious mistake.

'In the night, the weather turned cold suddenly. The wet snow had settled down on me in my cave and over its entrance at my feet. When the temperature dropped, it froze. In the middle of the night I woke up I could not move an inch. I was practically frozen inside a solid block of ice'.²

His cries for help had little chance of reaching Leon, and stuck in his own coffin of ice Roald drifted into 'either sleep or unconsciousness'.³ Mercifully, his boots still showed above the snow and his brother had not followed his example, but Leon still took over an hour to dig Roald free. More mishaps followed and the newspapers began to carry anxious messages about them all; Astrup had not been seen for several weeks, and there was no sign of the Amundsen brothers. It is tempting in retrospect to see a heroic handover through these winter days of 1895/96, as in the chaos of gloomy thoughts, snow, wind and cold Roald Amundsen takes the baton from Eivind Astrup. The end for one is the beginning for the other, and only Roald and Leon come home.



Photo of Astrup monument found at Uranienborg. Photo: Follo Museum

Eivind Astrup's body was found in late January, beside a large rock against which his skis had been laid just a few kilometers from where he had started at Hjerkinn. A photo of his memorial was found recently at *Uranienborg*, but without provenance to indicate whether Amundsen visited. What is clear is that Amundsen never forgot Astrup. He joined his first real polar expedition the following year, on the *Belgica* heading for Antarctica, and when leader Adrien de Gerlache later invited him to name a geographical feature - a small cape on the north-east coast of Wiencke Island - 'Cap Eivind Astrup' was his reply.

¹ Amundsen, Roald: *My life as an explorer*, Garden City, N.Y:Doubleday, 1927: 13

² *ibid*

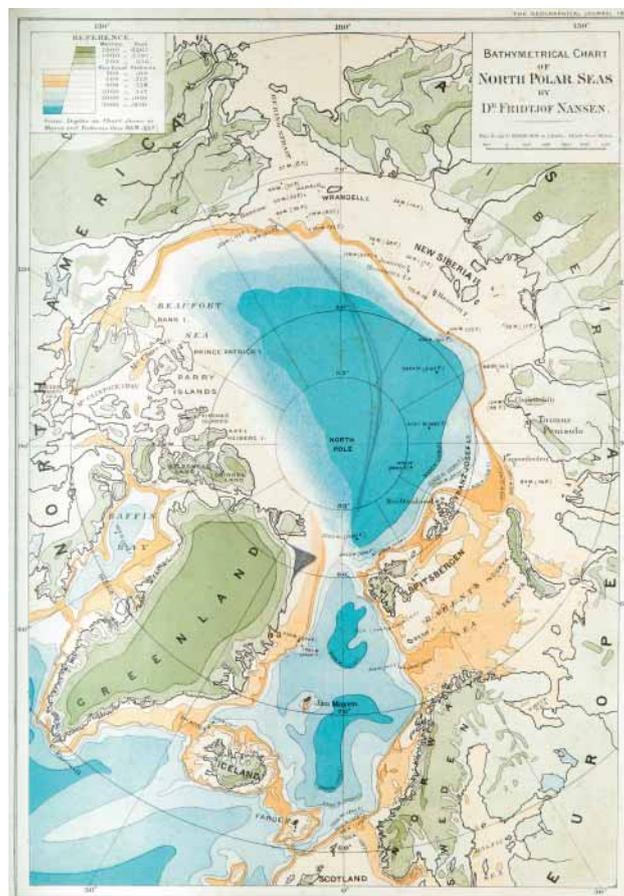
³ *ibid*:14

Also on the *Belgica* was someone with a close connection to Eivind Astrup who would become Amundsen's friend, supporter and rival. The American Frederick Cook had been surgeon on Peary's 1891 Greenland expedition and now had the same position aboard *Belgica*, where his presence would prove vital.

Coming of age

Amundsen led his first expedition in 1903-06, sailing the small fishing vessel *Gjøa* through the Northwest Passage with a crew of six. This first ever transit provided valuable ethnography and geomagnetic studies, and for Amundsen both credibility and survival and travel techniques learned from the Inuit that would underpin his career. In 1908 he bought the house at Svartskog, which he named *Uranienborg* after the Oslo district where he grew up. Here he compiled his next plan, to drift across the Arctic Ocean just as Fridtjof Nansen's expedition had with *Fram* in 1893-96, but this time further north and hopefully over the North Pole. Nansen consistently supported the scientific aspects of Amundsen's expeditions, and may even have stepped in to guarantee the *Gjøa* purchase, so he naturally gave his blessing for the use of *Fram*. Amundsen faced serious sponsorship problems, though, when in 1909 both Robert Peary and Frederick Cook claimed to have reached the North Pole, so the plan famously became an expedition to Antarctica and the South Pole, reached on 14 December 1911.

Amundsen's focus was still the North Pole, or, as he often stressed, the exploration of the Arctic Ocean in general (where some still thought a significant land mass might exist). The South Pole expedition was by contrast essentially a means to an end, albeit one that thanks to good planning and fortune included days 'like a pleasure trip'. His intention, however, to take *Fram* directly from Antarctica, follow the coast of the Americas and then drift across the Arctic Ocean, was thwarted by lack of money, uncertainty over the opening of the Panama Canal, and Nansen's request to postpone until an oceanographer became available.



Nansen's 1907 bathymetric chart. Copy found in *Uranienborg* with route hand-drawn from Point Barrow across Arctic Ocean. Photo: Follo Museum.

The *Maud* years, 1918-25

In 1918 Amundsen tried a new plan to drift across the Arctic Ocean, this time with the purpose-built *Maud*. Despite ultimately failing in its advertised aim, the expedition would transit the Northeast Passage for only the third time in history and be scientifically Amundsen's most productive, particularly its ethnography and the oceanographic studies of Harald Ulrik Sverdrup. Financially, though, it was a disaster that would take its toll. In other respects, too, the years were hardly a smooth ride. Much is made of Amundsen's close encounter with a mother polar bear, although he himself made light of his injuries, if not the narrowness of his escape. More serious were a badly broken arm that prevented long sledge journeys, and the carbon monoxide poisoning that left him with heart palpitations and long-term damage.

Before leaving, Roald had signed over *Uranienborg* to Kristine Elisabeth 'Kiss' Bennett, a young Norwegian married to the wealthy and much older English timber merchant Charles. Their long affair began in London soon after the South Pole success and continued in both England and Norway, where some claim Kiss was given a 'final' choice in 1916, to stay with Charles or live at *Uranienborg* with Roald. Leon, who was living in one of the affected properties, only learned of the transfer much later, in the same letter that contained the manuscript of Roald's book on the Northeast Passage. This carries the dedication 'To the birthday child. Maudhavn, Tscheljuskin, February 10, 1919', written the day Kiss turned 33. More modest tokens of Roald's affection include the three Ross's gulls in *Uranienborg*, of twenty sent from the *Maud* from whose feathers two fans were to be made; one for Kiss and one for Queen Maud to mark *Maud's* journey through the Northeast Passage.

The *Maud's* third winter was spent ice-bound off Chukotka with all but four of her original complement having left in Nome. Native cook Mary had joined there, and for general duties



*Kakonita (left) and Camilla
at Svartskog, summer 1922.
Photo: private collection/ Follo Museum.*

the expedition now hired Kakot, a Chukchi widower who had left his four-year-old daughter with relatives while he sought work. After finding her in poor health at New Year Kakot brought the little girl on board *Maud*, where she recovered and rather charmed the Norwegians. They called her Kakonita, or just Nita (her original name seems to be lost), and it was agreed that Amundsen would take her back to Norway (even though Kakot remarried around this time). A companion for Nita was found in eleven-year-old Camilla Carpendale, whose Australian father Charlie was an East Cape (Cape Dezhnev) trader with Russian citizenship. With his Chukchi wife Pung-I (or 'Jessie', neé Tonanik), he welcomed the prospect of a Western education for his daughter. Camilla was expected to return after a few years, but Amundsen apparently saw Nita and Kiss as a ready-made family to join him permanently at *Uranienborg*. So, by sledge with Oscar Wisting to East Cape and then by whaler and steamship the girls reached Seattle with Roald ahead of *Maud* in summer 1921. From there they travelled with Oscar's wife Elise to New York and Norway and enrolled in school in Svartskog in November 1922. Thanks in part to Roald's absences, however, the girls lived mostly with Leon's family, or sometimes the Wistings.

The London specialist who in 1922 advised Amundsen to abandon exploration, on account of the damage done by the carbon monoxide poisoning to his heart, didn't get his way, but this period of the *Maud* expedition did see Amundsen's focus shift to flying as a means of Arctic exploration and reconnaissance (having already discussed the idea with Leon, who did not share his brother's enthusiasm, and in 1914 gained a pilot's licence). He borrowed an Oreole biplane from manufacturer Curtiss, naming this *Kristine*, and for its endurance and comfort he purchased a Junkers F13 that became *Elisabeth* (the original damaged on its delivery flight from New York was replaced with a loan). But in May 1923, *Kristine* crashed irreparably, and undercarriage damage ruined plans to fly *Elisabeth* across the Arctic Ocean from Alaska to Svalbard. By summer 1925 the *Maud* had still not caught a current across the Arctic Ocean and the expedition ended. Already in 1924 - just two years after Camilla and Kakonita came to Norway - the financial fallout from the expedition had forced Amundsen to declare himself bankrupt.



In Alaska, 'Kristine' (being assembled) and 'Elisabeth'. Photos: Nasjonalbiblioteket

Of his three brothers, Jens Ole Antonio (Tonni), Gustav (Busken) and Leon, all older than himself, Roald had always been closest to Leon. Leon would manage the financial and other arrangements when Roald left for the ice and had been a central figure during the South Pole expedition. Now, though, friendship and cooperation were stretched beyond breaking point as disputes over money and property led to estrangement and Leon's wife Aline's appeals for reconciliation failed.



On the steps at Uranienborg, summer 1918. Leon top, Roald right of second row, Gustav furthest left. Photo: private collection/ Follo Museum.

With Gustav (Busken) increasingly filling Leon's role in his affairs, Roald's 1925 will, witnessed by friends Fritz Gottlieb Zapffe and Lincoln Ellsworth, begins 'I, Roald Amundsen, hereby decide, as my last will, that all that I now or in future should leave behind me of all kinds shall fall to my brothers Jens and Gustav Amundsen'. Leon is never mentioned.

There were also consequences for the girls, who Roald now found it difficult to support (Kiss's affair with Roald having suffered a fate similar to her namesake aircraft). For Roald the day is saved by lawyer, diplomat, and old friend Hermann Gade, who with Peter 'Don Pedro' Christophersen buys the Svartskog properties. An agreement allows Roald to continue living at *Uranienborg*, but the girls return to Camilla's family in Chukotka. Amundsen would meet them just once more, near Seattle in 1926 when presenting a signed flag from the airship *Norge* to Charlie Carpendale.

Flying further north

Amundsen learned valuable lessons from the struggle to operate aircraft in the conditions of the *Maud* expedition, including how difficult it would be on shifting uneven ice to lay, locate, and pick up the fuel caches that even the Junkers F13 required when ski-equipped.

So in 1925 came an attempt to reach the North Pole in two Italian-built Dornier-Wal flying boats, N24 and N25, piloted by Leif Dietrichson and Hjalmar Riiser-Larsen, with American Lincoln Ellsworth and Amundsen as navigators and Oscar Omdal and Karl Feucht as mechanics. Eight hours after take-off from Ny-Ålesund, the mining settlement on Spitsbergen's west coast, Amundsen made the call to set down to refuel and fix their position. The aft engines of both aircraft cut out on the descent, and N25's landing in the broken pack-ice was particularly dicey. They had reached 87° 43' N, but N24's hull was leaking after damage on take-off, and its engine, having shown signs of overheating earlier in the flight, was now disabled. Even retreat was in doubt. On weak and shifting ice (both Dietrichson and Omdahl survived immersion) the crews laboured for three weeks on meagre rations to fashion an airstrip and manhandle N25 onto it. Finally, after flying as low as possible for many hours to conserve fuel, Riiser-Larsen set the explorers down in a heavy sea off Spitsbergen, just as Norway was abandoning hope for them. In King Haakon's words, 'once dead and returned to life'.



Dornier-Wals N24 and N25 at Ny-Ålesund / Ellsworth and Amundsen with sextants after landing near 88° N. Photos: Follo Museum

Finally, in 1926 Roald Amundsen looked down upon the North Pole. Again he had come from Ny-Ålesund and with Ellsworth, but this time in an Italian-built airship (originally N1, renamed *Norge*) with constructor and pilot Umberto Nobile, thirteen others and Nobile's dog. On reaching the Pole, the flags of Norway, the United States and Italy were dropped onto the ice before the *Norge* continued across the entire Arctic Ocean and landed in Alaska.



Figure 11. Norge over Ny-Ålesund. Photo: Nasjonalbiblioteket

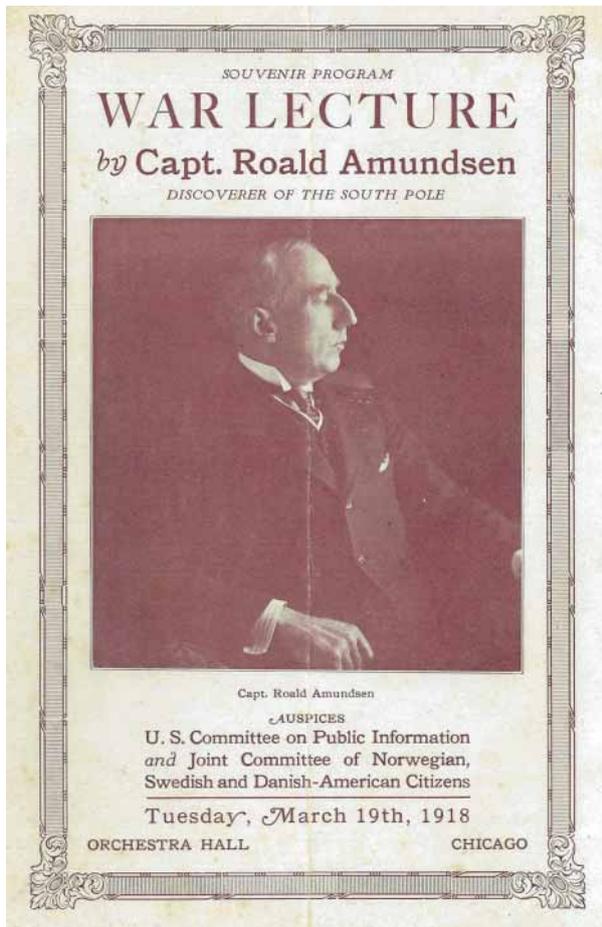
With Oscar Wisting, Roald Amundsen thus became the first to plant a flag at both geographic poles, having with Helmer Hansen been first to sail through both the Northwest and Northeast Passages.

Coming to Svartskog

From young Kakonita to a who's who of polar explorers and Benito Mussolini, Roald Amundsen's *Uranienborg* saw a fascinating range of visitors: a few came to stay indefinitely, some barely crossed the threshold.

Captain Robert Falcon Scott, who according to at least one source had been present for Amundsen's lecture at the Royal Geographical Society in London in 1907, was experimenting with powered oversnow vehicles in Fefor, Norway, around Easter 1910. On his return, and at Tryggve Gran's suggestion, he paid a visit to *Uranienborg*. Scott apparently hoped to explore ways in which his expedition to the South Pole and Amundsen's to the North could collaborate scientifically, but Amundsen did not appear. Detractors suggest that with Antarctic plans already advanced but not public, Amundsen was avoiding a difficult encounter, but it is hard to be sure.

Lincoln Ellsworth entered Amundsen's life in February 1918, when sent to the U.S. Air Force's headquarters in Paris just as Amundsen completed a rather unusual tour away from the ice. As a private citizen (because of Norway's neutrality), Amundsen had been invited to observe the conditions on the Western Front and present lectures to boost support for the Allied effort amongst Scandinavians across the US. He had returned his German honours and medals a few months before in protest at the sinking of merchant ships and contempt shown for survivors (he was a seaman himself, of course, and aside from sponsorship and income from books and lectures, funding for exploration also came from substantial shipping investments, swelled with the proceeds of the South Pole expedition and built up through the war). The symbolic act was met with approving letters and telegrams from across Norway and abroad, and Amundsen's lecture notes found in the chest in 2015 speak of 'patriotic efforts that the Allied Countries are making to forever crush the forces that are bent on opposing the continuance of true freedom and liberty among the peoples of the earth'.



Poster from war lecture in Chicago, March 1918. Photo: Follo Museum.

Ellsworth's request to join the *Maud* expedition was politely refused, but an opportunity to further his polar ambitions would come in late 1924 following another call to a hotel room, this time in New York. With Amundsen bankrupt, Ellsworth was offering a crucial contribution from his wealthy coal-mining family to the purchase of Dorniers N24 and N25, in exchange for joining the North Pole attempt. After this expedition failed, he provided \$100,000 to sponsor and join the *Norge* flight. As their friendship grew, Ellsworth came to know Amundsen's different sides; 'People who met him casually complained of his chilly reserve. There was nothing of that about the real Amundsen. He was like a child whose confidence has been betrayed so often that it finally trusts nobody. So he encased himself in a shell of ice. Win his confidence and melt that ice, and a different being emerged'.⁶

Amundsen also records a meeting in France of three polar explorers, during a four-night stay in a 17th-century chateau seventeen kilometres from the front. This served as the 'Headquarters for Official Visitors', where he says he met two officers, of whom one had been with Robert Falcon Scott's expeditions and one with Ernest Shackleton. Amundsen doesn't identify them, but a photo of Thomas Orde Lees found in the recently discovered chest suggests that he may have been one.

The contrast between the filthy trenches of the front and the hallways of Paris's Hotel Le Meurice with their fashionable guests must have been great, but it was there that Lincoln Ellsworth, the then 37-year-old, 'summoned up all my courage one evening, went to the hotel, and sent him my card, requesting an interview'⁴. The man who came down was 'a tall, long-limbed, rugged figure with a hawk-like visage and eyes that bored through me and then seemed to look a million miles behind me into space. His skin was weather-beaten; forehead baldness was creeping back into his iron-grey hair'.⁵



Found in the chest in 2015. Photo: Follo Museum.

⁴ Ellsworth, Lincoln: *Beyond Horizons*, William Heinemann Ltd, 1938: 102

⁵ *ibid*: 102

⁶ *ibid*: 109



*Lincoln Ellsworth and Amundsen at Uranienborg in 1925.
Photo: Follo Museum, private collection.*

Although **Frederick Cook** never visited *Uranienborg*, an artefact there stands for the long association with Amundsen that began on the *Belgica* in 1897 and continued for some 30 years through a controversial career.

To an inexperienced mate, Cook had been a good friend and a credible mentor - a man, apparently, to trust. When Antarctic ice trapped the *Belgica* the expedition faced a winter for which it was ill prepared. As death, poor organisation, and the physical and psychological effects of isolation and scurvy threatened to overcome it, Cook took charge, drawing on his Greenland experience and Amundsen's well-suited temperament. Penguin and seal meat supplemented tinned food, daily exercise improved morale, and the expedition survived the winter (the first to do so). A channel was cut and blasted through the ice in the summer, and with penguin skins to protect her hull the *Belgica* was freed. Could such a man be a liar? This is what many would come to believe.

Cook's claim to be first to summit Mount McKinley (Denali) in 1906 was shown to be fraudulent. His claim to have been first to the North Pole in 1908 was disputed by Robert Peary (the debate still runs). And 1923 was a particularly bad year, in which he was charged with fraudulent oil company promotions (which he denied, but for which he was jailed), and his wife sued for divorce after his discovery in a hotel with prohibited whiskey and a young woman.

Cook lost his marriage, wealth, liberty and credibility, and his claims to Denali and the North Pole, but he still had a loyal friend in Norway. For one of several visits Amundsen made to see him in Leavenworth, Cook prepared a gift: from one polar explorer to another, an embroidered white table runner that sits proudly in the *Uranienborg* living room, on the piano that was on board *Fram*.

In 1940, ten years after his release and just before he died, Cook received a presidential pardon from Franklin D. Roosevelt. But was he a man you could trust? 'Whatever Cook may have done, the Cook who did them was not the Dr Cook I knew as a young man, the soul of honour and kindness, lion-hearted, in courage. Some physical misfortune must have overtaken him to change his personality, for which he was not responsible', wrote Amundsen in 1927.



Cook's table runner. Photo: Follo Museum

Most loyal of all was **Oscar Wisting**. From a first meeting in 1909 testing kites for use as observation platforms over the ice, to the South Pole, the seven years of the *Maud* expedition and the *Norge* triumph of 1926, Wisting was there. He commanded the *Maud* in Amundsen's absence after 1921 and made the first flight from the *Maud* over the Arctic Ocean ice with Odd Dahl in 1923. His wife Elise looked after Camilla and Kakonita. It was out of loyalty to Amundsen that Wisting declined Nobile's invitation to join the *Italia* expedition to land at the North Pole, and, had space permitted, he would have been with Amundsen on the *Latham 47* that went to search for it. There was even a plan for the Wistings to move to one of the Svartskog properties in 1928. Of the friends and heroes in Roald Amundsen's life, Oscar Wisting might, outside of Norway at least, be the most unsung.

Celebrity vs. anonymity

*Roald Amundsen is a famous name.
 Engebret Gravning not so famous.
 But they are both names for the same man.*

Roald Amundsen was a world figure, particularly after his return from Antarctica, and newspapers were so hungry for news of his exploits that he eventually felt compelled to live two lives, one public and one private - a need sometimes met by the simple expedients of a loose beard, a pair of glasses, and his middle names. The bearded and bespectacled Engebret⁷ Gravning (or sometimes 'Mr. Johnson') thus travelled the world unrecognised and unhindered.

In Norway he was a hero to a newly independent nation, and children in particular idolised him. One voice preserved in the archives of Norway's National Library and at *Uranienborg* belongs to Sigrid Hovgård, a young girl from Lillesand. Sigrid was a *big fan*, who sent several letters and received replies. When Amundsen returned miraculously in Dornier N25 from the 1925 North Pole attempt, 13-year-old Sigrid sent a poem:

'...Welcome home! I cannot find the words
 that might describe the feeling I have in my heart!
 You stout Roald! I have a wish,
 it will be fulfilled when you on your next expedition start.
 I am young, but I believe:
 You will plant the Norwegian flag at the pole next year!'

⁷ Amundsen's spelling was at times unconventional: here he is using that of his father's middle name, rather than his own.

She was right, of course, and when Amundsen returned triumphantly in 1926 after flying over the North Pole in the *Norge* he received a letter:

'Dear Roald Amundsen! Welcome home! Now you can see that the poem you received last year from me came true, because you saved it didn't you? I predicted you would plant Norway's flag at the pole this year. And a thousand million thanks for the letter. Mother says that I must always save it because you have written your name below it. When everyone was afraid for you, I was sure it was going well because I prayed every night.'

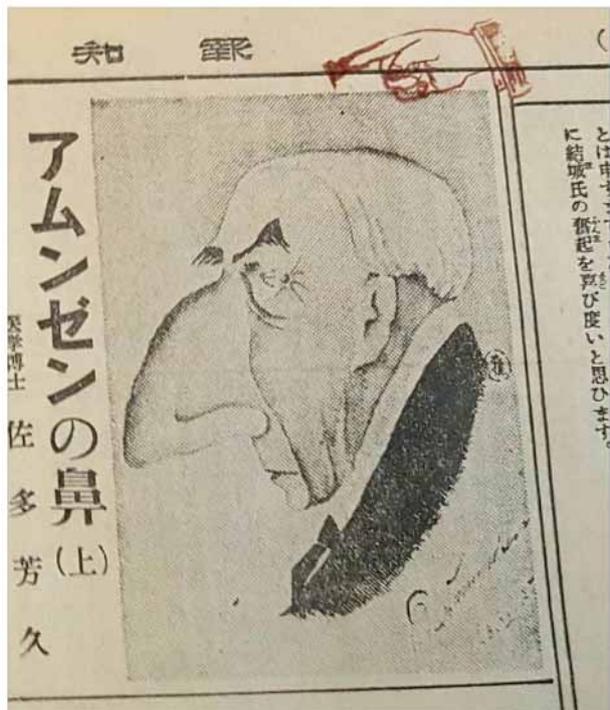
Also inspired by the *Norge* success was a young fan who shared his name with his big hero.

"May I also congratulate you! I am a little, 8-year-old boy named Roald", he wrote. "My father is called Amundsen, so we two have the same name. When I saw you coming safely home, I said 'Great God, next after Jesus you're the greatest man I know.'"

1927: the retirement plan

Amundsen announced his retirement from exploration after the *Norge* flight, and in December 1926 finished writing what would be his last book, the autobiography published in English as *My life as an explorer* and initially serialised in abridged form in US magazine *The World's Work*. This review of his career in the ice would alienate a remarkable number of prominent institutions and figures, among them the Royal Geographical Society, who he accused of discourtesy over his use of dogs in Antarctica, and Umberto Nobile, who objected to his account of the *Norge* expedition, for which Nobile was accused of taking undue credit (an antagonism that subsequent events would throw into sharp relief). Amundsen's original title, *Medaljens bakside* (in English, the medal's back, or even dark, side), would have been apt. Controversy, though, was preferable to obscurity: the debts left by his illustrious career as a polar explorer were far from cleared, and like it or not, life away from the ice would mean travelling the world writing and speaking about his adventurous life for money.

His year began in North America, dealing with publishers, public engagements, and later his health. In the spring he attended the Los Angeles clinic of Albert Soiland, a Norwegian pioneer radiologist to whom he was both friend and patient.



An April letter to sister-in-law Malfred reports an operation on a thigh tumour and subsequent treatment with radium, and on the shelf in the *Uranienborg* office sits an inscribed copy of Soiland's 1928 book for the laity on dealing with cancer. We know little, though, of his condition before visiting Soiland or how successful his treatment was.

In June he sailed from Canada to Japan, at the invitation of sports newspaper *Hochi Shimbun* for a lecture tour that proved to be a great success. He took tea with the new Emperor Hirohito, talked on the radio, and received gifts including a set of commemorative kimonos, some antique armour, a valuable sword, a gold-plated casket and, from one newspaper, a homage to his nose; one for a conqueror and one to fear, it declared.

Japanese newspaper caricature found in *Uranienborg*. Photo: Follo Museum

Amundsen returned to Norway via the Trans-Siberian Railway, having been away from *Uranienborg* for nine months in all. On 3 October he made an important if puzzling change to his will. His relationships with sister-in-law Malfred and nephew Gustav (Goggen) were close, and the postcards that Roald had the habit of sending home to Malfred throughout his career now fill a box in *Uranienborg*. Often with no more than an address and date, they were greetings from around the world to signal that all was well. Now Malfred received something far more valuable, as Roald picked up his pen, struck through 'Brothers Jens and Gustav Amundsen' and wrote 'sister-in-law, Mrs Malfred Amundsen'. With this stroke Malfred became his universal heir and a perennial dispute between relatives was born.

Within a fortnight he was back in America, this time for a five-month lecture tour. But barely a week after setting foot on the continent, and a few days before being dinner guest of honour at the Explorers Club in New York, he was already on his way home. The newspapers were quick to speculate: Roald Amundsen had fallen blindly in love according to several, he was going home to marry said others. After a few days came Amundsen's explanation, that not romance but money was behind the sudden return. Tour manager Lee Keedick owed him several thousand dollars, and as one strapline put it, 'No cash, no lectures'. Retirement might have been more challenging than he had expected, had it not been so short-lived.

Final flight

As the Bergen night train leaves Oslo, Amundsen's retirement is on hold. Alongside him with Oscar Wisting sits Leif Dietrichson, the 38-year-old aviator who piloted Dornier N24 on their North Pole attempt three years ago. If after that dramatic escape Amundsen seemed indestructible, the journey they are now embarking upon will prove otherwise.

The train takes them into the mountains of central Norway and over Hardangervidda, where Amundsen perhaps recalls the important role the area played in his earliest adventures. His journey with brother Leon in 1896 'involved as many hardships and dangers as anything I later encountered in my polar expeditions'⁸. From Finse the train descends to Bergen, where they meet the crew of Latham 47.02, a prototype twin-engined flying boat modified for (but untested in) Arctic conditions and made available to them by the French Navy. Captain René Guilbaud is known for several long-distance flights from France and has just released a plan to cross the Atlantic. Co-pilot Albert Cavalier de Cuverville is also an experienced aviator, and beside them are mechanic Gilbert Georges Paul Brazzy and telegrapher Emile



Send-off at Østbanehallen. Photo: Nasjonalbiblioteket

⁸ Amundsen, Roald: *My life as an explorer*, Garden City, N.Y : Doubleday, Page, 1927 : 18



*Press conference at Hotel Terminus, Bergen.
From left: Dietrichson, Amundsen, Guilbaud and Wisting. Photo: Preus Museum.*

Valette. Six men in all (Wisting will travel by sea), heading north to join the search for the airship *Italia* and sixteen men last seen over three weeks ago.

At their press conference in Bergen's new Hotel Terminus, Amundsen declares: 'The potatoes that should have been grown at home at Svartskog can wait while a new chapter is made in "My life as an explorer". There are lives to be saved'. At 8 pm that evening, the 17th of June, the sound of the flying boat's engines fills the air, with course set for northern Norway. Latham 47.02 lands in Tromsø Bay at 6 am the following morning and ten hours later takes off again, now heading towards Ny-Ålesund, Spitsbergen. Those present are the last to see Roald Amundsen alive, and only a torn off wing float and two petrol containers from the flight were ever found.

Back at Svartskog, *Uranienborg* stands as he left it - filled with things, memories and stories that preserve the story of his life.

The last resident

Some have identified Amundsen's state of mind - or even a desire for a heroic death - as contributing to his setting out across the Barents Sea in a less-than-ideally suited aircraft with no escort or public flight plan. Such fatalism is hard to reconcile, however, with the opening up at the time of a new chapter in his life.

On 2 July 1928 S/S *Hellig Olav* docked in Oslo. Elisabeth 'Bess' Magids had made the nine-day journey across the Atlantic before, but this time was special; to exchange a trading post in Alaska for *Uranienborg*, and the man she had been married to for 14 years for a life with Roald Amundsen. He had asked her to marry him and she had said she would come.

Born in Canada, Bess had lived in Deering, Alaska since 1914, with her husband Samuel who ran a trading post. She and Roald met in 1922 aboard the S/S *Victoria* sailing from Seattle to Nome. He was 25 years older, a grey-haired, world-renowned polar explorer. She was a fellow musher, the 'Queen of the Arctic', short, with dark hair and eyes brown as chocolate-cream. They would meet again soon after, and in New York in 1925. In 1927 she came to Norway, to *Uranienborg*, in secret.

Bess stayed for months, through Christmas and New Year. Her future was at *Uranienborg* with Roald, who even planned to bring Kakonita back to Norway to live with them. First, though, she had to deal with the past, and left for Alaska in March 1928 with a promise to come back very soon and to stay forever.

When she sailed from New York for Norway three months later Bess already knew that Amundsen had gone in search of Nobile, having received a telegram the day Latham 47.02 took off from Bergen for Tromsø. After that, silence, but he would probably show up soon. She was met at *Uranienborg* by Roald's nephew Gustav and his wife Aslaug. They gave her the key to the house, and Bess Magids became its last resident.



One of the last press photos of Bess Magids, from a 1968 interview recounting her relationship with Roald Amundsen. Photo: Pioneers of Alaska / Fairbanks Daily-News Miner.

For nearly three weeks she waited, first at *Uranienborg* and then 140 km north of Oslo at the Høsbjør Hotel (we don't know why there or who she might have met). When no news came hope faded; her future with Amundsen would never be realised. On 20 July, after a last dinner with some of Roald's closest friends and family, Bess began her retreat to Alaska, leaving behind the shirts she had apparently ironed for her husband-to-be and carrying with her a case of silverware from *Uranienborg* given as a last memory of him.

Final notes

After Amundsen's disappearance, Gade and Christophersen gave *Uranienborg* to the Norwegian state, and in 1935 Gade officiated at its opening as a National museum. Many years later Bess gave the silverware to a returning Norwegian couple who had been living in Alaska, and in 1975 it came back to *Uranienborg*. The *Italia* survivors were spotted two days after Amundsen's disappearance and eight men, including Nobile, were eventually rescued.

Observations on Crossing Antarctica

Robert Headland

Introduction

There have been several, recent and exaggerated, claims to have traversed, or made crossings, of the Antarctic continent. Many such assertions demonstrate a lack of a historical and geographical basis compared with the explorations that they often purport to emulate. The following observations attempt to clarify the circumstances to allow identification and assessment of various partial or incomplete crossings.

History

All early approaches to Antarctica, and exploration of its interior, were made by expeditions arriving aboard ships. A party of four men from Carsten Borchgrevink's *Southern Cross* expedition reached 78° 83'S, in February 1900, from near the Bay of Whales on the edge of the Ross Ice Shelf. Robert Scott, from *Discovery* at Ross Island, led a sledge party to 82° 28'S in January 1902, and Ernest Shackleton, from a station established by *Nimrod* on Ross Island, sledged to 88° 38'S in January 1909. In 1911 Roald Amundsen led a five-man dog-sledge expedition from 'Framheim', established from *Fram*, to 90°S, the South Pole, on 14 December. Only five weeks later, Scott with four others also reached the South Pole, but all perished during the return journey. These early explorations of the interior of Antarctica did not intend a crossing, but all began from the shores. From the beginning, with very few exceptions, Antarctic stations were coastal, subsequent use of aircraft for exploration was shore based. A few expeditions have re-enacted those of Amundsen and Scott (others going only one-way); but are not considered here as they are not crossing Antarctica.

The earliest proposal to traverse the continent was by William Bruce in 1908 but it did not eventuate. In 1911-12, Wilhelm Filchner, leader of the *Deutschland* South Polar Expedition, planned to cross Antarctica from the Weddell Sea, circumventing the South Pole to reach unexplored territory, then to finish at the Ross Sea. An attempt to build a base on the Filchner Ice Shelf was abandoned when it was found to be on a calving iceberg. *Deutschland* became beset in the Weddell Sea and drifted for nine months before escaping from the ice and abandoning the crossing. In 1914-16, Sir Ernest Shackleton, leader of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition aboard *Endurance*, planned to cross Antarctica from the Weddell Sea, via the South Pole to the Ross Sea. The Ross Sea Party of the expedition, aboard *Aurora*, laid depots from McMurdo Sound towards the South Pole for Shackleton's crossing party. Shackleton's ship became beset before reaching the coast, drifted in the Weddell Sea pack ice, was eventually crushed and sank. *Aurora* also became beset and adrift. All twenty-eight men of *Endurance* were rescued in 1916 and the seven survivors of the Ross Sea party in 1917. The Ross Sea and Weddell Sea have the most southern maritime coasts of Antarctica and thus the shortest continental crossing.

Earliest crossing

The first successful continental crossing started in 1955 and was completed in 1958. Dr Vivian Fuchs, leader of the Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition, crossed from the Shackleton base, Filchner Ice Shelf, on the Weddell Sea, where he landed from *Magga Dan*, via the South Pole, to Scott Base, Ross Island, on the Ross Sea. This crossing, completed in 99 days, was made using Tucker Sno-Cats. After leaving the South Pole, it used depots laid by Sir Edmund Hilary's New Zealand support party from Ross Island. This was transported aboard HMNZS *Endeavour* which took the entire expedition to New Zealand at its conclusion. The expedition achieved what the earlier expeditions of Filchner and Shackleton had proposed, but failed, to accomplish. During the crossing a comprehensive scientific and surveying programme was conducted.

These expeditions were to cross Antarctica from sea to sea via, or around, the South Pole, regarding the ice front of the Filchner Ice Shelf of the Weddell Sea as the starting point and the terminus of the Ross Ice Shelf, or Ross Island, as the finish. Thus these traverses set the original definition for 'crossing Antarctica'. In essence the start and conclusion were at maritime coasts, that is places with an open ocean, although this may well have some floating pack-ice which a ship can penetrate during summer. These predecessors set the style for successors.

Complete crossings

The few complete, ocean to ocean, traverses include the following. In 1980-81, the Antarctic part of the Trans-Globe Expedition, led by Sir Ranulph Fiennes (Britain) aboard *Benjamin Bowring*, started from a coastal point near the South African SANAE III station on Fimbulisen in Dronning Maud Land and continued, via the South Pole, to Ross Island where they departed aboard the same vessel. This expedition also adhered to the principle of crossing from sea to sea via the South Pole. Similarly the International Trans-Antarctica Expedition (1989-90) led by Will Steger (United States) and Jean-Louis Etienne (France) used dog teams to cross Antarctica. They started from Seal Nunataks, on the Weddell Sea shore of the northern Antarctic Peninsula, arriving there aboard a Twin-Otter aircraft. They sledged south along the Antarctic Peninsula to the South Geographic Pole, turned towards the Pole of Inaccessibility then continued north to the Russian Station at Mirnyy on the shore of the Davis Sea from where they departed aboard *Professor Zubov*. This expedition chose the longest route across Antarctica, via the South Pole, while still adhering to the principle of crossing from sea to sea. The 1990-91 expedition, led by Sjur Mørdre (Norway), used aircraft to reach the northern coast of Berkner Island, a sub-glacial feature, and crossed to Ross Island via the South Pole. In 1996-97 Børge Ousland (Norway) made a solo crossing, also from the coastal part of Berkner Island, to the South Pole and on to McMurdo Sound. In 2005-06 Rune Gjeldnes (Norway) traversed from near Novolazarevskaya to the South Pole then on to Terra Nova Bay on the Ross Sea. In 2016-17 Mike Horn (South Africa) traversed solo from the Fimbulisen coast to the South Pole and on to the Adélie Coast. Several of these expeditions made contributions to research, mainly involving human physiology.

These examples are of the expeditions that can rightly claim to have completed a 'crossing of Antarctica'. Other expeditions, with starting points and finishing points distant from the coastal edges of the frozen continent, might be considered as exceptional feats of human endurance and achievement but fail to qualify as 'crossings of Antarctica' under the original definition of such traverses. Such partial, or incomplete, crossings have become too numerous to record.

Frozen continent

The continent, Antarctica, is permanently covered by the larger of the Earth's ice sheets. Recent survey shows this occupies 99.68% of the surface area. The ice is subject to deformation, as is any solid mineral, with a relatively fast speed of movement (at the South Pole the ice surface moves about 10 m annually). The ice is of terrestrial origin formed by consolidation of snow. It is confluent over the two sub-continent of Antarctica and the ice shelves formed as it flows onto several circumferal seas. The weight of this ice depresses the bedrock beneath it. The greatest ice thickness measured is 4776 m. In many places the base of the ice-sheet is below sea level reaching a maximum depth of 2870 m in Victoria Land. Throughout most of the polar regions permanent ice can only be regarded as a solid mineral – the substrate on ice caps and ice sheets.

The several peripheral ice-shelves, extending from the ice-sheet, form some 46% of the coast. Although from about 300 to 600 m thick where they originate to often 200 m thick near their termini, they are afloat extending several hundred kilometres over the coastal seas. This glacial ice is in contrast to the pack-ice and other features which are formed by the freezing

of saline Southern Ocean water. Ice shelves have ages of many millennia; pack-ice is rarely more than 4 years old. They are in dynamic equilibrium such that the largest appear in approximately the same position on the earliest charts as on modern ones. A variable hinge-zone, generally crevassed, is usually apparent where tidal influences begin. The equilibrium is disrupted by periodic calvings when massive tabular icebergs are detached, the largest of which may be 50 km wide. It may then be many years before the ineluctable flow has advanced the northern position of the ice-cliff to its previous position. Slow variations in the average limit of ice shelves, and entire breakout of some smaller ones, correspond to changes in the Earth's thermodynamics generally.

The grounding, or hydrostatic, line where the terrestrial ice begins to be afloat on sea water is distinct from the 'sea-level' elevation; it extends much farther north. It is determined by geophysical instruments using radar or radio-echo soundings. At its maximum some 1800 m of glacial ice are afloat where the Rutford Ice Stream joins the Ronne Ice Shelf. The proportion of Antarctica where bedrock is depressed below sea level by the weight of ice is 44.7% of its area. The coastal limit of an ice shelf is an ice wall or ice cliff. In historical literature that in the Ross Sea was termed the *Great Ice Barrier*. Indeed, the Antarctic Treaty is unequivocal about the continental limits. Article VI states 'The provisions of the present Treaty shall apply to the area south of 60° South Latitude, including all ice shelves'.

Contentions

A proportion of claimed Antarctic crossings begin, and usually finish, from points far away from the maritime coast, thus greatly reducing their distances. Some of these have decided to regard the hydrostatic line as a boundary. This vastly shortens and simplifies the journey but has no claim to being a historically comparable traverse. Starting and ending points selected by adventurers are various including: Hercules Inlet, base of Leverett Glacier or others in the vicinity, southern (inland) part of Berkner Island or elsewhere on the southern extent of the Filchner-Ronne Ice Shelf or Ross Ice Shelf, Blue 1 runway, Patriot Hills, Union Glacier, and similar interior locations far distant from any maritime coast.

SPOT route

From 2005 the United States Antarctic Program has maintained a graded way between Amundsen-Scott, their South Pole station, and McMurdo station on Ross Island. This South Pole Overland Traverse is 1600 km long and flagged about every 400 m. It provides a very effective way to supply the new Amundsen-Scott station (vastly more fuel-efficient than the previous use of aircraft). Most vehicular traffic is early in the summer but sledge trains follow the path in both directions throughout the season. Several recent traverses have gained assistance from this artificial graded construction as it by far the easiest, and safest, route to or from the South Pole. However few adventurers have used it in entirety to reach McMurdo Sound as most begin or end far inland from any coast and fail to cross the Ross Ice Shelf. A few, quite rudimentary, routes are established elsewhere in Antarctica including the annual Vostok traverse.

Discussion

These contentious assertions substantially curtailing an Antarctic crossing ('moving the goalposts') have caused a degree of controversy and correspondence. These extend beyond geography to dispute: unsupported, unassisted, solo, and similar definitions. Presence of supporting or escorting vehicles, film groups recording traverses, air dropped and landed supplies, rescue and return of adventurers, use of wind power, travel along the graded route, guides and similar assistance, electronic communications, and many similar factors become involved in argument and definition. Assertions of distinctions of nationality, sex, physical condition, age, and similar characteristics are becoming increasingly common.

Commercially operated flights have been practicable in Antarctica from 1987 allowing deployment and collection of personnel and supplies from large areas of the continent. Such

charters are, however, necessarily expensive and constrained by time. This has encouraged abbreviated crossings and their consequent proliferation. It is noticeable how rarely the actual locations of the beginnings and ends of many crossings are specified by participants, especially those starting or ending far from any coast. Similarly maps showing actual journeys made are not always available. Exploration is essentially geographical research, these feats and some stunts are better described as adventuring, or varieties of extreme sports. Sports have their principles and standards – but with partial Antarctic crossings these are deteriorating and exaggerated claims are being asserted with increasing frequency. The question about whether an expedition, or its assertions, or both, are fully substantiated is apparently asked too rarely and often uncritically accepted by news and other publicisers of claims. Complication may arise when efforts by adventurers are made to support campaigns, raise funds for charitable or other causes, endorse or advertise commercial products or services, self-promotion, or for various other applications; but this should not compromise the authenticity of their exploits. Contributions to scientific research are rarely forthcoming.

Sources

This note is based on an item written by Damien Gildea for 'Explorers Web' *How the Confusion Began and Where Do We Go From Here*, which includes several maps showing full and a selection of abbreviated crossings. Peter Clarkson <pd3@cam.ac.uk> and Robert Headland <rk10@cam.ac.uk>, with help from several colleagues, added the historical, geographical, and other information.

Information: Gildea, D. 2017 <<https://explorersweb.com/2019/01/09/crossing-antarctica-how-the-confusion-began-and-where-do-we-go-from-here>>. Fuchs, V. E. & Hillary, E. 1958. *The Crossing of Antarctica*. London: Cassel. British Antarctic Survey 2016 *Map the Antarctic* (1 : 10 000 000). British Antarctic Survey Map1 2013 *Bedrock topography of Antarctica*.

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*Frank Hurley and Frank Worsley
Images colourised by Pete Vass*

Frank Hurley and Herbert Ponting: 'brother artists of the trail'

Anne Strathie

Introduction

Over the past decade, as I have researched for and written biographies of men who served on Scott's *Terra Nova* expedition, I have been struck by the fact that, while much is sometimes made of perceived differences (whether of opinion, approach or personality) between Scott and Shackleton, such differences appear to have relatively little impact on the men who served on their expeditions. My first biographical subject, Henry 'Birdie' Bowers, keenly followed Shackleton's *Nimrod* expedition while travelling the world and, when kitting himself out for the *Terra Nova* expedition, purchased a Burberry his sister described as 'identically the same as Shackleton's'. Later, when Bowers was told about Scott's and Shackleton's 'differences', he wrote home that he still regarded Shackleton as 'a splendid chap'. When researching for a group biography of *Terra Nova* veterans, I discovered it was Shackleton who introduced Herbert Ponting's first cinema lecture at the Philharmonic Hall and that several *Terra Nova* and *Endurance* expedition members served side-by-side in World War I's North Russian campaign. I am now writing a biography of Herbert Ponting and thought that James Caird Society members might be interested in some of my findings regarding the sometimes parallel, sometimes intertwining careers of Ponting and his 'brother artist of the trail' Frank Hurley, particularly between late 1916, when they first met, and August 1918, when they went their separate ways – Hurley to return to Australia, Ponting to meet up with Shackleton in Tromsø.

Anne Strathie is the author of *Birdie Bowers: Captain Scott's Marvel* and *From Ice-Floes to Battlefields: Scott's 'Antarctics' in the First World War*; her new biography of Herbert Ponting will be published by The History Press in 2020.

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On Saturday 31 January 1920, *Illustrated London News* published a photograph of Frank Hurley and Herbert Ponting. The photograph, taken during the recent war, was captioned 'friendly rivals in polar exploration and photography' and showed a uniformed Hurley and a dapperly-suited Ponting holding between them 'Ponko the penguin', the mascot Ponting used to entertain children during his cinema lectures on Scott's *Terra Nova* expedition. In the accompanying text the two men were more extravagantly described as 'the two greatest travel and adventure photographers living today', a judgement with which few who had seen their photographs and films from three Antarctic expeditions would have disagreed. Hurley and Ponting came from very different backgrounds but, despite that and an age gap of fifteen years, had much in common. Hurley, born in October 1885 in Glebe, Sydney, ran away from home and school aged 13 and (with his father's agreement) worked in an ironworks before returning home and enrolling for night classes at a local technical school and science lectures at University of Sydney. At the age of 17, Hurley bought a Kodak box camera and began learning everything he could about photography. Within four years he was writing articles on photography, giving talks to local camera clubs and working for a Sydney postcard company. His growing reputation for high-quality, striking images of local scenery and wildlife – and dramatic photographs of speeding trains captured at considerable physical risk – brought him to the attention of editors of illustrated magazines and, in 1910, earned him a first one-man exhibition at Kodak's gallery in George Street, Sydney. Later that year, when Australian newspapers published articles about Herbert Ponting, 'camera artist' (a term Hurley also favoured) to Captain Scott's *Terra Nova* expedition to Antarctica, it was evident that professional photographers now had a 'new frontier'.



Frank Hurley and Herbert Ponting, with 'Ponko' the penguin mascot; published in Illustrated London News, 31 January 1920; taken in London, probably in 1917; photographer unknown (or possibly Ponting pulling a string from the shutter-lever); image © private.

Ponting, born in 1870 in the ancient cathedral city of Salisbury, changed home and school frequently as his family relocated in furtherance of his father's banking career. In 1888, aged 18, Ponting joined a bank in Liverpool, where a childhood fascination with stereoview photographs soon translated into the purchase of Kodak and other cameras, membership of a camera club and attendance at Liverpool's first international photographic exhibitions. When Ponting's father conceded that his eldest son had not inherited his natural aptitude for banking, he purchased a fruit-ranch in northern California, which Ponting worked for several years – whilst also becoming a general outdoorsman, 'crack-shot' hunter, gold and mineral prospector, mine-manager, expert stereoview photographer, husband and father. After Ponting sold his ranch, he and his family moved to his wife's family home in San Francisco. His father tried to persuade him to return to banking but when Ponting realised he could earn good money by selling his

photographs to stereoview companies and illustrated magazines and entering photographic competitions his future course was set. Between 1901 and 1906 Ponting made regular photographic tours of Japan, Korea, China and other Asian countries for leading American stereoview companies and magazines and, for a spell, served as a war-correspondent in the Russo-Japanese war. In 1907 he returned to Britain, where he continued to work for a stereoview company (including in Switzerland, Spain and Portugal), sold photographs to and wrote articles for *Country Life* and other magazines and exhibited regularly. In 1909, while considering a potentially lucrative commission from the Harmsworth publishing group, Ponting met Robert Scott, who wanted to hire an experienced photographer for his second Antarctic expedition. A few days later Ponting (who had read Scott's *Discovery* exhibition reports on the Trans-Siberian Express) declined Harmsworth's offer in favour of Scott's riskier but potentially career-changing commission.

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Ponting left London by boat-train in September 1910 after completing and launching a full-length illustrated book (*In Lotus Land: Japan*), organising photographic displays at the Japan-British Exhibition, assembling the expedition's 'photographic outfit' and learning to operate a kinematograph. By the time Ponting's ship reached Australia, the expedition was making news, in part due to the unexpected announcement by Arctic explorer Roald Amundsen that he planned to claim the South Pole for recently-independent Norway.¹

Ponting arrived at Lyttelton, New Zealand, just in time to film the *Terra Nova* steaming into harbour. Scott, whose expedition was as much about science as reaching the Pole, wanted

¹ Amundsen wanted to claim the North Pole for his native Norway but the emergence in 1909 of competing claims by Americans Peary and Cook persuaded him to try to beat Scott to the South Pole rather than risk being third to the North Pole.

Ponting to create the most extensive photographic and film record of any Antarctic expedition – and Ponting did not disappoint. He lay on gang-planks to film the ship's bow cutting through pack-ice, photographed distant mountain ranges through huge telephoto lenses, was attacked by a pod of 'killer whales' and stayed up all night to capture the sea freezing by the light of the moon. Although Ponting could not, without assistance (which was rarely available), travel far with his heavily-laden sledge he eagerly 'gathered in' (as he put it) the awe-inspiring scenery. When confined to the Cape Evans hut by blizzards or winter darkness, Ponting photographed his expedition companions or toiled for hours in his darkroom. When winter conditions allowed, he used copious quantities of flash-powder to photograph spectacularly large grounded icebergs. Scott, realising that Ponting's images were the best possible advertisement for his expedition, decided Ponting should return to England in early 1912 to work with members of the expedition committee, publicising the expedition and raising much-needed funds for a second season on the ice.



The Terra Nova in the ice-pack, 1910; photographer Herbert Ponting; image published in The Year 1911 Illustrated after being sent back from Antarctica in early 1911; image © private.

As the time for the southern journey approached, Ponting showed Scott and others how to set exposures when photographing glaringly bright, largely white Antarctic landscapes and take photographs of themselves (using twine tied to the shutter-trigger and wound round a ski-pole) to record their presence at the South Pole. In the small hours of 1 November Ponting filmed Scott, Wilson and their companions with their ponies and dogs, heading into 'the heart of the Great Alone'. After Scott and his party left, Ponting paid several visits to Cape Royds to film and photograph the Adélie penguin colony near Shackleton's hut and other wildlife.² Back at Cape Evans, he took haunting portraits of dog-driver Cecil Meares and other exhausted men as they returned from the south and made a final photographic tour of the surrounding area. In mid-January Ponting, through his telephoto lens, spotted the *Terra Nova* in the distance but, due to unexpectedly thick pack-ice, she did not reach Cape Evans for another three weeks.

On 1 April 1912, following a rushed departure and difficult voyage, Ponting and his shipmates reached New Zealand – to learn that Amundsen had reached the South Pole on 14 December 1911. All they could tell the Central News Agency representative who met the ship was that Scott and four companions had embarked on the last stage of their journey to the Pole on 4 January. Ponting knew immediately that the values of Central News Agency's 'exclusive' and of his films and photographs had decreased considerably. On his way to London, Ponting stopped in Sydney, and handed his films over to Fred Gent of Gaumont, whose employers had purchased distribution rights from Scott. Gent had, it turned out, already met Shackleton

² Ponting used the expression 'the Great Alone' (from a poem by Preston-born 'Bard of the Yukon' Robert Service) twice in his book *The Great White South*; the second time he described Scott and his companions disappearing (on the last occasion Ponting saw them) into 'the heart of the Great Alone'.

(when acting as projectionist when Shackleton showed *Nimrod* expedition films to the King at Balmoral) and local photographer Frank Hurley, who had received cinematograph training from Gent's colleagues before leaving for Antarctica with Douglas Mawson's expedition.

Back in London, Ponting found expedition committee members unreceptive to publicity ideas he and Scott had discussed in Antarctica – and that he had little say regarding how his photographs were used. Feeling unappreciated and underutilised, he began planning a short photographic tour of northern India. But as he toiled day after day, making prints of hundreds of photographs to send to New Zealand in time for them to be taken to Scott in Antarctica, he reluctantly postponed, then cancelled, his first post-expedition commission. In early November Ponting, tired and drained after three years' continuous work, wrote a long letter to Scott, lamenting the impact of Amundsen's success on their plans and enumerating his various grievances and frustrations.³ After dispatching his letter, Ponting completed his outstanding expedition-related tasks and began planning a break in the ski-resorts of the French Alps.

By early February Ponting was feeling refreshed and ready to return to London to complete his expedition work. Scott was not due back in England for some time, so he was surprised when, on 10 February, one of the staff in his Wengen hotel handed him a cable from Central News Agency. When Ponting read the words 'Captain Scott and entire Polar Party perished whilst returning from the South Pole', he almost fainted. Shocked and distraught, he immediately took a train north and arrived in London in time for a memorial service attended by the King. Two weeks later, a newspaper headline announced 'Second Antarctic Tragedy': the deaths of two members of Mawson's party. Mawson, who had been with the two men, had missed catching the *Aurora* back to Australia, but Hurley was back in Sydney, where some of his films were ready to be shown. He would be returning to Antarctica on the *Aurora* in December but in the meantime would make a short working visit to Java.⁴

Over the summer Ponting helped select and prepare photographs for inclusion in the *Strand's* serialisation of Scott's story and in *Scott's Last Expedition*, the official expedition report. Scott had told Ponting he would only give a few lectures on his return before handing the task over to Ponting, but Teddy Evans (as Scott's 'No. 2') decided to undertake a fifty-lecture tour of Britain and further lectures in Europe and North America, using the lantern-slides Ponting had prepared for Scott. Once again, Ponting was left marking time. But when donations in response to Scott's dying appeal to 'look after our people' reached a sufficient level to not only provide pensions for dependents of the South Pole party but to clear the expedition's deficit, the expedition committee finally granted Ponting some leeway.

On 4 December an exhibition of almost 150 framed enlargements of Ponting's Antarctic photographs (expertly printed by his long-standing collaborators, Raines & Co) opened to great acclaim at the Fine Art Society's New Bond Street galleries. Over the following months the Fine Art Society organised similar exhibition in Manchester and other cities, and in major towns all over Britain, and in Paris. On 23 January 1914 Shackleton took a break from preparations for his forthcoming trans-Antarctic expedition to introduce Ponting's inaugural 'cinema lecture' at the Philharmonic Hall. Shackleton, who had already signed up Ponting's *Terra Nova* companions Tom Crean and Alf Cheetham, was keen to discuss photographic equipment with Ponting, as one of his major supporters, Ernest Perris of the *Daily Chronicle*, was suggesting he should hire Douglas Mawson's photographer, Frank Hurley. When Mawson arrived in London in early May, he and Shackleton discussed this further, as well as the possibility of Shackleton's using the *Aurora* to transport his Ross Sea party. On 9 May the *Sphere*, by way of preview of Mawson's official expedition account, published a first selection

³ Ponting to Scott, 4 November 1912, SPRI/MS964/11.

⁴ Ponting also visited Java when working for a stereoview company; Hurley, like Ponting, took stereoviews in Antarctica, even though by that time they were less fashionable.



Tom Crean shouldering his skis, photographer Herbert Ponting; image © Scott Polar Research Institute.

of Hurley's photographs; Mawson was also using lantern-slides of Hurley's photographs to illustrate lectures but had apparently not sold Hurley's films to Gaumont or another major distributor.

As Ponting's well-reviewed two-part show ('With Captain Scott in the Antarctic' and 'Wild Animal and Bird Life in the South Polar Regions') played to good houses at the Philharmonic Hall, he recruited his friend Cecil Meares to give similar lectures (based on Ponting's script) outside London. On 14 May Ponting gave a 'by royal command' lecture at Buckingham Palace to the monarchs and members of their family and 400 guests including the King and Queen of Denmark. The following week a season of French-language cinema-lectures based on Ponting's films (delivered by another trusted and well-trained deputy) opened in Paris. In June, American ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, who had met Scott in 1910, came to see Ponting's lecture. Shortly after receiving a letter from

Roosevelt saying that he had never seen 'an exhibition which impressed [him] more', Ponting decided that, rather than continue to pay hire fees to Gaumont, he should invest some pre-Antarctic savings into his future by repurchasing all rights to his films.⁵

But within weeks of Ponting's paying Gaumont £5,000, everything changed, as the latest instance of 'trouble in the Balkans' escalated into a major war involving Britain and other major European powers. Shackleton, whose main expedition ship, the *Endurance*, was about to leave for South America, sought and received Admiralty clearance to deprive Britain of a vessel and several naval officers at time of war. Shackleton, who still had fundraising and other business to complete, would be travelling by steamer to South America, where he would join his ship and meet his Antarctic camera artist, Frank Hurley, who would arrive direct from Australia.

When rules for volunteering for active military duty were announced, Ponting realised that, lacking a previous service record, he was deemed too old to serve his country. Undeterred, he offered his services as photographer, filmmaker or war-correspondent to the War Office, but when their officials showed little interest, he approached the Foreign Office – whose officials suggested that his films (with their examples of British stoicism and self-sacrifice) would help boost morale on the 'home front'. But by November dark nights, 'blackouts' and dimmed street lighting combined to discourage people from coming out in the evening and, in early December, following several weeks of losses, Ponting brought his 500-lecture season at the Philharmonic Hall to a close – by which time, a journalist suggested, he and Meares had between them recounted Scott's story to about a million people.

The War Office was, despite lobbying by film industry companies and trade bodies, slow to appreciate how film could serve not only as means of recording events but also recruiting volunteers and promoting a sense of national cohesion. While civil servants deliberated,

⁵ Roosevelt to Ponting, 16 June 1914.

Gaumont sent a young staff cinematographer Geoffrey Malins to film troops in France and Belgium, and Cherry Kearton (a well-regarded wildlife photographer with his own film company) released his own films from near the western front.⁶ As war-film 'shorts' became popular fixtures in British cinemas, the War Office finally relented and authorised Gaumont and selected members of the Association of Kinematograph Manufacturers to produce and distribute officially-sanctioned war-films.

In late January 1916 Ponting embarked on a week-long series of cinema lectures in his parents' home-town of Southport, near Liverpool. Back in London, Burberry advertised their 'trench-kit' as being made from the same fabric as polar outfits supplied to Shackleton, Scott, Amundsen and Mawson. But while Amundsen was known to be in neutral Norway and Mawson working for Britain's Ministry of Munitions, no-one knew where Shackleton was. As the third anniversary of the arrival of the *Terra Nova* in New Zealand with news of Scott's death passed, speculation regarding Shackleton's whereabouts increased. During March, as the silence from the south continued, Ponting and others became concerned. In late March, a cable finally arrived from New Zealand but it made no mention of Shackleton or the *Endurance*, stating simply that the *Aurora* had, after breaking away from her McMurdo Sound moorings, been forced by heavy pack-ice to return to New Zealand.⁷ This meant that Shackleton's Ross Sea party were stranded for the winter and that, should Shackleton's Weddell Sea party have crossed Antarctica, there would be no ship waiting for them. With no real idea as to the whereabouts of Shackleton and his Weddell Sea party, all the Royal Geographical Society and other would-be rescuers could do was wait for further news. In May, as concern for Shackleton and his men grew, Cherry-Garrard (one of the last *Terra*



Endurance in the ice by flashlight;
photographer Frank Hurley. Credit SPRI

Nova expedition members to leave Cape Evans) wrote to the *Times*, confirming that he and his companions had left ample provisions in the *Terra Nova* and *Discovery* expedition huts.⁸

On 1 June the *Daily Chronicle* published a cable sent by Shackleton from the Falkland Islands:

The *Endurance* was crushed in the middle of the Weddell Sea on October 27, 1915. She drifted 700 miles in the ice until April 9 this year. We landed on Elephant Island on April 16. I left on April 24, leaving twenty-two men in a hole in the ice cliffs there, and proceeded South Georgia for help with five men in a 22ft. boat. At the time of leaving the island all were well, but in urgent need of rescue.

On 3 June, while the Royal Geographical Society and others discussed a potential rescue mission, the Admiralty announced

⁶ Malins' wartime activities are well-documented; Kearton's wartime films are listed on the BFI website. *Sphere's* March 1915 'Literary Letter' describes Ponting and Cherry Kearton as the 'two most wonderful photographers of our time'.

⁷ *Globe*, 25 March 1916 et al.

⁸ *Times*, 13 and 27 May 1916.

that a major naval engagement had taken place off Jutland on 31 May. Prominent on the casualty list was the name of *Terra Nova* navigator Harry Pennell, whose ship, the *Queen Mary*, had been struck by German shells, exploded, split in two and sunk with the loss of almost all aboard. Edward Atkinson, Pennell's closest expedition friend, felt the loss deeply but was, as he told Cherry-Garrard, relieved that Tom Crean, another popular *Terra Nova* expedition member, had reached the Falklands safely with Shackleton.⁹

By August the *Discovery* (loaned by Hudson's Bay Company) was heading for South America to assist Shackleton. But Edward Atkinson, now in France, was stood down from potential rescue duties after Shackleton confirmed that, rather than wait for the *Discovery* to arrive, he would be accepting offers of local assistance to rescue Frank Wild (his No. 2), Hurley, Cheetham and others from Elephant Island.¹⁰ Shackleton had sent some photographs from the Falklands, but in London people were eager to see the films Gaumont's Geoffrey Malins and others had made during July's 'big push' on the western front. But when *The Battle of the Somme* (the first feature-length film about the war) opened in cinemas in August, Ponting and his family were, like many British families, mourning the loss of a relative (in Ponting's case a favourite cousin) who had died in the ferocious fighting. Although war-films were clearly now a government priority, when Ponting approached his Foreign Office contacts they agreed that the current level of interest in Shackleton's expedition justified his showing his films again at the Philharmonic Hall (subject to any profits being invested in War Loan stock).¹¹ Ponting opened his new season in mid-October, but as days shortened and German night-bombing raids persisted, his box office income failed to cover his running costs.¹² But he was pleased when *Endurance* expedition members passing through London on their way to take up war-duties, came to see his show.¹³

When Frank Hurley arrived in London on 11 November, his first port-of-call was the *Daily Chronicle* offices, where Ernest Perris, in Shackleton's continuing absence, took delivery of Hurley's films.¹⁴ Perris, already familiar with Ponting's films, agreed that Hurley should, to broaden the appeal of his films, return to South Georgia and shoot more footage of wildlife. Over the next few days Hurley met up with Mawson and Fred Gent (now working in London for Australian film distributors Fraser Films) and Australian photographer Hubert Wilkins (recently returned from Vilhjalmur Stefansson's Arctic expedition) and saw *The Battle of the Somme* films. On 18 November Hurley and Perris came to see Ponting's lecture at the Philharmonic Hall. That night Hurley wrote in his diary that 'Ponting's pictures ... are the acme of photographic perfection' and that '[his] patter is splendid and his manner and delivery is excellent.' Over the next few days Hurley visited Raines & Co (to order lantern-slides and a photograph album for the King) and Paget Plate Company (to order colour lantern-slides) and attended, at Gent's invitation, the first showing of films from the Salonika front – an event at which he was introduced to Kathleen Scott. Hurley paid a second visit to Ponting's show then, on 6 December, a third visit in company of his *Aurora* expedition sledging partner Eric 'Azzie' Webb.¹⁵ That evening Ponting presented his younger opposite number

⁹ Atkinson to Cherry-Garrard, 5 June 1916, SPRI/MS559/24/31.

¹⁰ Atkinson to Cherry-Garrard, 12 June 1916, SPRI/MS559/24/32.

¹¹ The government tried to prevent anyone 'profiteering' from the war or national tragedy.

¹² Ponting's describes his 1916-7 Philharmonic Hall season in letters to Kathleen Scott (6 and 10 February 1917, SPRI/MS15/2-3).

¹³ *Times*, 9 November 1916.

¹⁴ As no Antarctic or other journals kept by Ponting have been located, information on Hurley's visits to London is from *The Diaries of Frank Hurley* (ed. Dixon and Lee), online versions of the diaries and newspaper reports. See also Dixon's *Photography, early cinema and colonial modernity: Frank Hurley's synchronized lecture entertainments*.

¹⁵ The fact that Hurley participated in a South Magnetic Pole sledging journey suggests he was more involved in general expedition activities than Ponting. Scott had, however, suggested early on that Ponting (an experienced traveller) lead a geological expedition, but Ponting stood down after one of the geologists protested.

with a signed copy of his book *In Lotus Land: Japan*, with a dedication Hurley described in his diary as 'one of the highest tributes that could be paid to a brother artist of the trail', particularly as it came from 'the leader in Antarctic photography'.¹⁶ Hurley, who was already working on a Ponting-style commentary for his own films, gave an interview to a *Sphere* journalist for a two-part 'special', which included a double-page spread of his flash-lit image of the beleaguered *Endurance* and other images developed from the 120 glass plates which Shackleton had allowed him to preserve (for reasons of weight) from the 400 or so Hurley had already exposed.¹⁷

As Christmas approached, Ponting attempted to boost audience numbers by advertising his shows as 'ideal entertainment for the holidays' and penguins' antics as 'funnier than all the pantomimes'.¹⁸ But in January he sometimes went home early as no-one had bought tickets for his show – although Hurley's huge on-screen projections of *Endurance* expedition Paget colour plates seemed to draw people to the Regent Street Polytechnic just down the road. On 5 February, as Hurley prepared to leave for South Georgia, a cable arrived from Shackleton, who had sailed straight from South America to take part in the rescue of his Ross Sea party:



Tom Crean with puppies;
photographer Frank Hurley. Credit SPRI

Arrived Cape Evans well, January 10. Relieved seven survivors ... On March 9 last A. P. Spencer-Smith died of scurvy on the Barrier. Captain Mackintosh and V. G. Hayward perished in a blizzard on May 8 last while attempting to cross from Hut Point to Cape Evans. The *Aurora* will be due at Wellington February 10.

The following day Frank Wild presented Raines & Co's album of Hurley's photographs to the King at Buckingham Palace. Meanwhile Ponting provided *Sphere* artist Douglas MacPherson with photographs of McMurdo Sound (to help him illustrate a feature on Shackleton's Ross Sea Party) and advertised his films as showing locations mentioned in Shackleton's dispatches.¹⁹

In early March Ponting brought his second Philharmonic Hall season to a close and calculated that he had, despite his best efforts, lost £1,200 in less than five months.²⁰ As he considered his options, he wrote to Kathleen Scott, explaining that, as he needed to recoup

¹⁶ On p83 of *Once More on My Adventure* (Frank Legg and Antoinette Hurley) it states that Hurley was given the book 'in tribute to a brother artist of the trail'; although some suggest this is the actual dedication, the full sentence and Hurley's own diary entry remain, in my view, ambiguous. I have not been able to establish whether Ponting or Hurley originated the expression 'brother artist of the trail', but Ponting also referred to the person who taught him to cook as a 'culinary artist' and, having lived in California, would have regularly used the word 'trail.'

¹⁷ *Sphere*, 9 and 16 December 1916.

¹⁸ *Times*, 20 December 1916 et al.

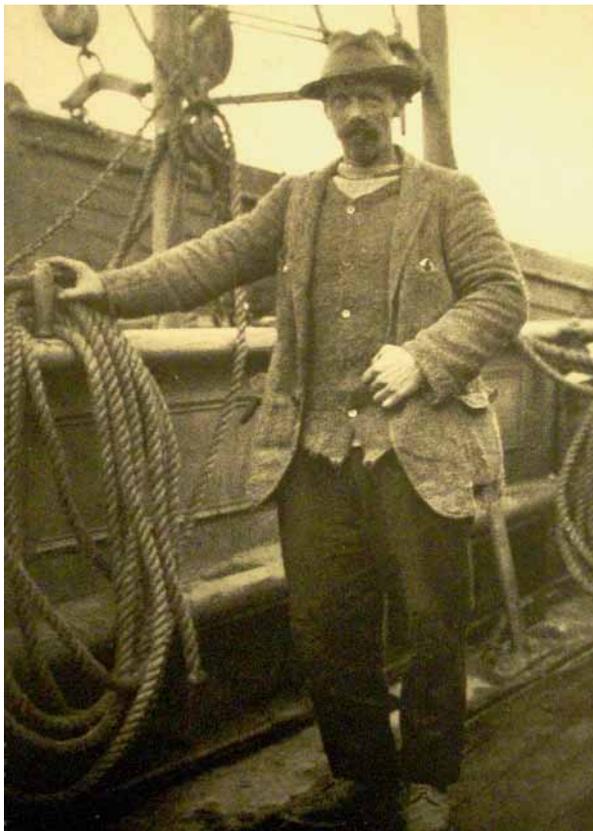
¹⁹ *Times* and *Sphere*, 17 February 1917. MacPherson (1871-1951) regularly produced 'bird's eye' drawings (an art-form Ponting knew well from time in America) to illustrate articles on Antarctic expeditions.

²⁰ £1,200 was over four times Ponting's annual expedition salary, worth c.£100,000 in current purchasing power.

his losses and set himself up for the future, he was contemplating selling his films and, if necessary, his photographs. Some American organisations had already shown an interest in them but he would, he told Kathleen Scott, prefer for his work to remain in Britain, preferably in the custody of an educational institution which could (as Ponting and Scott had envisaged in Antarctica) introduce children to Antarctic wildlife. Ponting closed his letter by asking whether Kathleen Scott might be prepared to help him achieve this objective.

In late May Shackleton returned to London, ready, willing and able to serve in the war – probably, as he told reporters, in North Russia.²¹ Hurley returned from South Georgia in June and left within weeks for the western front to join Hubert Wilkins and other members of the Australian Imperial Forces' film and photography unit.²² Summer came and went with no news of Shackleton's Russian posting, but in October Hurley (who had learned that Shackleton would soon be leaving London for South America) paid a whistle-stop visit to London to collect a debt of £530 – about which he had reminded Shackleton several times.²³ Hurley, £530 to the good, returned to Ypres but by early November was back in London to attend briefings on new duties in the Middle East and on a major exhibition of AIF war photography he was expected to organise when he return to London with his next batch of photographs and films.

Hurley returned from Cairo in May 1918, bringing with him spectacular photographs and footage taken from aircraft during bombing raids – but without his new wife, an opera



Frank Wild on Ella off Spitsbergen, 1918; photographer Herbert Ponting; published in Northern Exploration Company publication, The Gateway to Northern Markets, 1918; image © private.

singer he had met, wooed and married within a ten-day period. He paid his now-regular visit to Ernest Perris, who told him that, during Shackleton's current absence (in South America) he had sold British and European rights the *Endurance* films for £10,000. When Perris mentioned he was now open to offers for other territories, this gave Hurley an idea. But before he could spend much time on that, he needed to set the exhibition of his and other AIF war-photographers' work which was due to open at the Grafton Galleries in Mayfair on 24 May. Hurley was duly impressed with Raines & Co's enlargements and Paget Plate Company's colour reproductions, but less so with the initial photographic selections made by his colleagues and by suggestions by his superior, Captain Bean, that Hurley's large-scale composite images were photographic 'fakery'.²⁴ After much hard work and quick-thinking by Hurley to resolve last-minute hitches, the exhibition opened on time – although when Hurley discovered no-one had booked the Grafton Galleries' lecture hall he was so incensed he boycotted the official opening. But when he saw hundreds of people admiring his favourite images from Ypres (a

²¹ *Times*, 30 May 1917.

²² *Times*, 22 August 1917.

²³ Hurley's diary, 13-16 October 1917.

²⁴ The debate on photographic 'fakery' was long-running; Ponting was against 'fakery' other than in very limited circumstances, and indignant when people confused him with Clarence Ponting, an self-proclaimed advocate of 'fakery'.

21x15ft, twelve-negative 'composite' of an air-raid and a sombre photograph of a dead German soldier in a crater) and huge colour photographs of action in Palestine he felt sufficiently confident to ask his superiors if he might exhibit his images in Australia. His mood changed, however, when he learned that Wilkins, who had stayed on at Ypres, would receive a Military Cross (while Hurley remained undecorated) and was told that his superiors wanted to 'tour' his photographs in Britain rather than send them back to Australia with Hurley. Hurley who, like Ponting, preferred controlling his own destiny, resigned his commission and told Ernest Perris he was interested in acquiring Australasian rights for the *Endurance* films.

While Hurley and Perris bartered, Fred Gent's friend Tod Martin (an independent Australian film distributor currently visiting London) approached Ponting to discuss an Australian distribution deal covering the *Terra Nova* films.²⁵ If Hurley could also obtain agreement from Mawson he, Hurley, could then offer cinema lectures on all three films in Australia and New Zealand. By mid-July Hurley had agreed terms with Perris and Ponting and Martin had signed a contract based on a 50/50 profit split. As Fred Gent and Martin had agreed to handle commercial matters in Australasia and Britain respectively, this left Hurley and Ponting free to concentrate on technical and production matters in their respective countries. Hurley then met with Mawson, who agreed that the *Aurora* films could form part of the arrangements. Hurley, who felt that the British regarded the three expeditions (and hence their films) as unnecessarily 'antagonistic', was delighted to have brought the three films together in a spirit of 'mutual interest.'

While Hurley continued working on his consortium and ordered *Endurance* expedition lantern-slides for Shackleton's post-war lecture tour, Ponting and Shackleton were considering their own polar project of mutual interest. The recent Russo-German peace treaty (signed in March), had contained an appendix required Russia to 'carry out the organization of Spitsbergen in the sense of the German proposals.'²⁶ As the staked-out claims on the mineral-rich no-man's land of two British companies, Northern Exploration Company and the Scottish Spitsbergen Syndicate, exceeded those of all other countries combined, the subject of the appendix was raised in the House of Commons.²⁷ Shackleton had been approached by Northern Exploration Company – whose board members included his friend and long-standing supporter Harry Brittain – to lead a government-backed fact-finding expedition to Spitsbergen.²⁸ For Shackleton this would fill time while waiting for news of his elusive posting to North Russia and allow him to visit, at no cost, an archipelago he had considered exploring following the *Nimrod* exhibition.²⁹ For Ponting, the expedition offered a chance to 'do his bit' for the war-effort, revive his credentials as a camera artist and (all being well) reduce the losses he had made on NEC shares purchased before the war from *Terra Nova* expedition agent George Wyatt. During the war, NEC's share price had fallen steadily (due largely to the company's inability to survey its Spitsbergen properties) but now, under recently-appointed managing director Frederick Salisbury-Jones, NEC appeared well-placed to play a leading role in Britain's post-war economic recovery. At a meeting in the company's offices Salisbury-Jones explained to Shackleton and Ponting that the Admiralty would provide a suitably-equipped vessel, qualified pilot and convoy escort to Tromsø and that, following a long-overdue inspection of NEC's Spitsbergen properties, a party of mining experts and miners would be landed. What Salisbury-Jones expected from Ponting was high-quality photographs suitable for use in company prospectuses and films to show to potential investors. Shackleton, for his part, had

²⁵ Tod Martin had previously worked for Fraser Films, for whom Gent was by then working in London.

²⁶ *Times*, 7 March 1918, etc.

²⁷ *Times*, 21 May and 19 June 1918.

²⁸ Brittain, a former *ILN* journalist, travelled to Norway with Shackleton to test sledges for the *Endurance* expedition and, through the 'Pilgrim Club', introduced Shackleton to wealthy Americans who might support his expeditions. Brittain joined the NEC board in June 1918.

²⁹ *London Daily News*, 22 December 1910, *Daily Telegraph*, 17 April 1911.

already requested Frank Wild's release from his current North Russian duties and contacted *Endurance* expedition doctor James McIlroy, who had been injured on the western front but was now deemed fit for non-combat duties.

During late July Ponting juggled his Spitsbergen preparations with meetings with Hurley and Martin, who wanted him to condense his lecture notes and reduce the number of his lantern-slides to eighty. Ponting did not relish either task but, following an evening round the gramophone session at Ponting's apartment and several joint working sessions, the job was done. After Hurley performed a similar operation on his *Aurora* and *Endurance* expedition photographs, he placed orders for five sets of lantern-slides per lecture and two copies of 5,000ft film-footage per expedition, which he hoped to hand-carry back to Australia.³⁰ While Hurley put the finishing touches to his consortium, Shackleton left to join the *Ella* and Ponting checked that the cameras and kinematograph which had served him well in Antarctica were in good working order. Hurley, who had decided to leave for Cairo in early August, was also working to a deadline, so grateful when Fred Gent offered to double-check all his lantern-slides and films (which had not yet been delivered) and to forward them to Hurley in Sydney.

On 3 August 1918 Ponting and Tod Martin accompanied Hurley on the boat-train to Tilbury Docks, where the two 'brother artists of the trail' bade each other farewell and safe passage.

Ponting reached Tromsø to find that the *Ella* had already sailed for Spitsbergen and that Shackleton had returned to London to prepare for his long-delayed posting to North Russia.³¹ When Ponting caught up with Salisbury-Jones, Frank Wild and others on the *Ella* he was grateful for long hours of daylight which allowed him to make up for lost time and photograph and film mineral-streaked mountains and NEC's existing and planned sites of operation. On his return to London, Ponting booked the Philharmonic Hall for another short season, during which he showed his Spitsbergen films to interested parties as an interval 'feature' between his Antarctic films and provided his photographs for magazine features and several NEC publications. In October, at Salisbury-Jones' request, he represented NEC in a discussion about Spitsbergen at the Royal Geographical Society. In 1919 Ponting joined Salisbury-Jones and Harry Brittain on a second expedition to Spitsbergen but by then, despite strenuous lobbying by NEC board members and others, the British government had decided, as part of the overall Versailles settlement, that Spitsbergen should be transferred to Norway.³²

Although Ponting lost most of the funds he had invested in NEC, he soon turned to other projects.³³ He completed and published a well-received and popular Antarctic memoir (*The Great White South*) and a revised edition of *In Lotus Land: Japan*; he produced two feature-length versions of his Antarctic films (a silent film, *The Great White Silence* and a 'semi-talkie', *90 degrees South*) and he invested in and worked on several more or less promising inventions. Ponting, like millions of others, failed to make money during the Great Depression but in his latter years found a comfortable niche as a regular BBC radio broadcaster. In the months

³⁰ Hurley limited Ponting to eighty slides but allowed himself 150 for the *Aurora* expedition and 100 for the *Endurance* (for which he had fewer to choose from).

³¹ It is unclear exactly how Shackleton and Ponting reached Tromsø; one newspaper report suggests Shackleton travelled to Tromsø via Aberdeen, while magazine report describes Ponting joining the *Ella* late, having taken a local ship from Tromsø to Spitsbergen. Shackleton biographies generally mention Shackleton falling ill in Tromsø, but it is unclear whether Ponting accepted the publicly-stated reason for Shackleton's return to London (recall for army duties) or whether Wild or McIlroy confided in him while they were on the *Ella*.

³² According to British cabinet records, government ministers decided that it was politic to allow Spitsbergen to be transferred to Norway.

³³ Wild received NEC shares as part-payment for his services, but Harry Pennell purchased his (also from Wyatt); at letter from Edward Atkinson suggests he may also have owned them. Shackleton, an entrepreneur by inclination, may have also accepted them in part-payment for services.

leading up to Ponting's death in 1935 (by which time his Antarctic films had been acquired for the nation) his Japanese and Antarctic photographs were featured in a major Royal Photographic Society exhibition and his patented 'Distortograph' equipment was used to create special effects for a successful new British film, *Emil and the Detectives*.

*

After Frank Hurley returned to Sydney, he exhibited his war photographs in Kodak's George Street Gallery and showed his Palestine films in the cinema; as his *Aurora* films had been shown in Australia during the war, his *Endurance* films featured more regularly during his December 1919 to January 1920 national lecture tour.³⁴ Although Hurley regarded *South*, the feature-length version of his *Endurance* films, as his greatest cinematic triumph, *Pearls and Savages* (filmed in Papua New Guinea) was also a critical and box-office success. In 1925 Hurley returned to London, where, a few hundred yards from Ponting's apartment, he lectured on *Pearls and Savages* in the Polytechnic's cinema.³⁵ Hurley returned to the Antarctic with Mawson in 1929 and 1931 and, like Ponting, rarely stopped working, whether as a filmmaker, writer or radio broadcaster.

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In 2009 the Royal Collection published *The Heart of the Great Alone*, a handsome illustrated history of Ponting's and Hurley's photographs, including those they had chosen to present to King George V at Buckingham Palace. During a subsequent exhibition of the same name at the Queen's Gallery, photographs taken by the two great Antarctic camera artists were displayed in the same building where King George had first admired their work – a fitting tribute to two 'brother artists of the trail' who, despite being often separated by thousands of miles, were united by shared skills, an artistic sensibility and love of travel.

Notes and references:

The author's forthcoming biography of Ponting will include further detailed references and full bibliography, but the footnotes provide details relating directly to this article, Ponting's expedition to Spitsbergen and other events referred to in the author's current two publications.



³⁴ Hurley's edited diaries do not mention his giving cinema lectures on Ponting's films, but an archived newspaper article refers to Ponting's films being shown in Australia with an accompanying lecture by someone else.

³⁵ It is not known whether Ponting saw *Pearls and Savages* or whether he and Hurley met again in London – although given Fred Gent worked for Ponting in London for several years and Hurley had both their contact details, it is not unlikely.

The Shackleton sculpture and maquette

Mark Richards

To celebrate the centenary of Ernest Shackleton and his crew's remarkable journey in the *James Caird* and rescue of the remainder of his men from Elephant Island on 30th August 1916, Kildare County Council commissioned me to create a sculpture. The 3.5 metre high work was unveiled by The Hon. Alexandra Shackleton and Mayor Ivan Keatley, therefore, on 30th August 2016 in Athy, Co. Kildare, near to Shackleton's place of birth.

The Irish Times described the work as '*superb*'.



To further mark the occasion I have, in conjunction the Athy Heritage Centre-Museum, issued a limited edition bronze maquette. There are 50 available and each one will be signed, numbered and dated by me.

The story of the full-size sculpture.

I developed my ideas and the composition by way of sketch maquettes.

The first portrays Shackleton at the age when he left Kildare. He stands on tiptoes, holds a twisted root in the shape of ship in his left hand while his right hand shields his eyes from the southern sun as he gazes into his future.



The second shows him in full polar kit taking a sextant reading on what might be a boat's prow; travelling south.

In the third, he has arrived and stands on an asymmetrical plinth. It struck me that the polar explorers may have hardly stood upon level ground for long stretches of time; furthermore, the polar surface they travelled may have given way at any time. I wanted to convey something of this uncertainty in the design of the plinth and, by contrast, counter this with Shackleton's resolve and composure evident in the pose and feel of the figure.



All three maquettes (which are now on display in the Athy Heritage Centre-Museum) had in common that the sculpture should, if possible, face due south. This is, I am delighted to report, the case thanks to the efforts and vision of Kildare County Council and the Athy Heritage Centre-Museum.



Using the third maquette as reference, I set about creating the work in clay in my studio. Throughout the modelling of the figure, much of my attention was concentrated on getting the balance right. This involved ensuring that my baseboard was perfectly level and edging the figure back and forth until the tension between uncertainty and resolve was just right from every angle. At the same time, I began to familiarize myself with the portrait. This was done with small clay sketch heads worked from as many photographs as I could find. Teasing a likeness and feeling out from pictures and stories was a matter of trial and error, and then, when it all seemed an impossible task, I sought help from Alexandra Shackleton.



The few hours I spent with Alexandra significantly altered my understanding of Shackleton and the insights she shared with me laid the foundation for what would be the finished portrait.

The clay modeling was completed in mid May 2016, enlarged, moulded and cast to bronze.

The work was then shipped to Athy to be united with the plinth in Emily Square



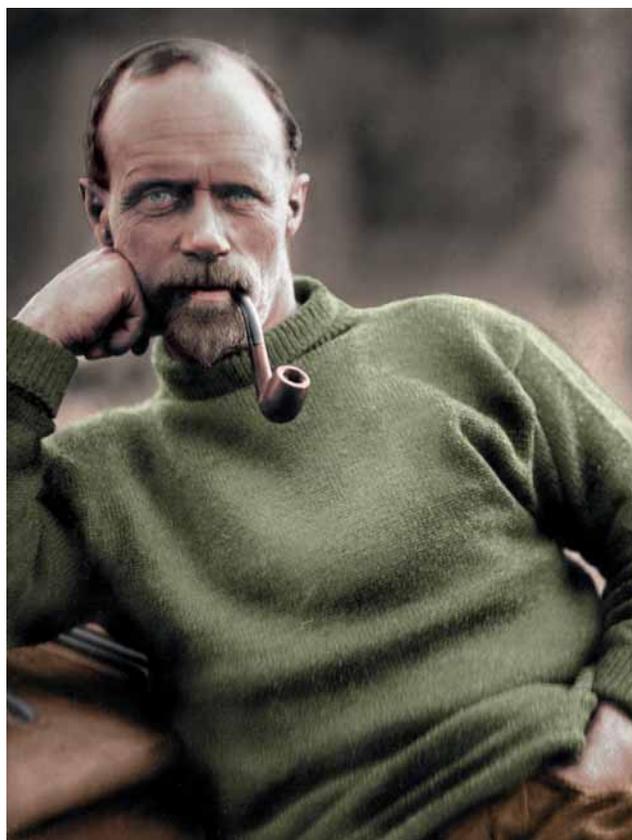
The unveiling was a wonderful occasion.

Lucina Russell, Kildare's arts officer with whom I had worked closely throughout the commission, conducted the ceremony with style and warmth. It was, for me a moving occasion; a great opportunity to meet the inspiring representatives of the polar community and some of the wonderful people who live in and around Athy and the inspiring polar community.



The finished work.

For details on purchasing a maquette please visit <https://shackletonstatue.com>
Or contact: Margaret Walsh at Athy Heritage Centre Museum
00 353 (0)59 863 3075
athyheritage@eircom.net



Frank Wild. Image colourised by Pete Vass.

Sir Ernest in Dublin: the celebrity of Shackleton, Dublin society and the Lady Dudley scheme.

Liam Maloney

Sir Ernest was quite an ideal lecturer. Manly, frank and honest, he recounted his experiences in a style quite his own, and a mere cold literal transcription of his words would completely fail to convey even a rough idea of the charm with which he threw into his brief sketch of his historic tour.¹

Following the successes of the British Antarctic Expedition (the *Nimrod* expedition), 1907-1909, Lieutenant Ernest Shackleton was instantly famous. He was a celebrity, a hero and a very desirable person to meet. He used his journey home from Antarctica to visit the Commonwealth countries, shake the hands of his supporters and patrons, receive praise and give lectures on his adventures in the ice. The focus of this paper is the lecture that Shackleton gave in Dublin on 14 December, 1909, and the Dublin elite that attended. The proceeds of the lecture went to assist a scheme established by Rachel, Countess of Dudley, to bring trained nurses to the poorest regions of the west of Ireland.

Having left the Antarctic continent, the first inhabited place to which the *Nimrod* called was Half Moon Bay. Shackleton wanted to dispatch telegrams to London concerning the expedition before he faced the press anywhere else. This done on 23 March, 1909, Shackleton and the *Nimrod* proceeded to Lyttelton, New Zealand, and arrived on 25 March, 1909. His arrival and reception in New Zealand set a pattern for how Shackleton was to be received in most, if not all, ports of call. The arrival of the ship and crew was greeted with guns booming and flags waving, with questions and admiration pouring from the crowds of thousands that gathered to catch sight of the men. Free use of the port's facilities was provided by the harbour board. A service of thanksgiving was held at Christchurch Cathedral and a celebratory banquet was held by the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury. Bishops, mayors, dignitaries and huge crowds of cheering people showed their support and praise for Shackleton and the expedition. Shackleton gave a public lecture on 7 April, 1909, to a crammed audience of over two thousand. He donated the proceeds of the lecture to the children's ward in Christchurch Hospital and to the Christchurch Technical Institute to build a Girls' Training Hostel to accommodate and train young women.

The pattern repeated during the next leg of the triumphant journey home. From the end of April, 1909, Shackleton 'swept through Australia on a roar of applause', as Hugh Robert Mill wrote in his biography. He gave lectures at Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Perth and exercised the 'reckless generosity of his nature' by supporting local hospitals with his collected lecture fees. It was possibly Shackleton's known generosity towards hospitals, as well as his Irish birth, that led Lady Dudley to suggest a lecture in aid of her nurses' scheme in Ireland.

Shackleton's return to London on 14 June, 1909, was a display of pride, showmanship and fame. A grand welcoming reception was held in the Royal Albert Hall on 28 June and on 12 July Ernest and Emily Shackleton attended King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra at Buckingham Palace by personal invitation. Shackleton had been invested into the Royal Victorian Order, a dynastic order of knighthood founded by Queen Victoria in 1896, as a Member (M.V.O.), on 4 August, 1907, before the *Nimrod* left England. *The Times* reported that as of 10 July, 1909, 'the King has been graciously pleased' to promote Shackleton to Commander of the Royal Victorian Order (C.V.O.). In the King's birthday honour list of

¹ 'Nearest the South Pole: Lecture by Sir E. Shackleton', *Freeman's Journal*, Wed., 15 Dec., 1909, p. 10.

November, 1909, Ernest Shackleton was granted the honour of knighthood. The entry in *The Times* was as follows:

Ernest H. Shackleton Esq., C.V.O. Commander of the British Antarctic Expedition, 1907-9, which discovered the South Magnetic Pole and got to within 111 miles of the South Pole; a member of the National Antarctic Expedition under Captain Scott in 1902; published last week 'The Heart of the Antarctic'.

Shackleton was received as a public hero and was well-rewarded upon his return to the imperial capital, London, from the Antarctic wilderness.

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In December, 1909, Shackleton turned to the city of Dublin in his native island of Ireland. He was to give a lecture on his *Nimrod* Antarctic adventures on 14 December. On his way across Australia following the return of the expedition, Shackleton had met Rachel, Countess of Dudley, wife of the then Governor-General of Australia (September, 1908, to July, 1911). Lady Dudley suggested that he give a lecture in Dublin on behalf of a nursing fund she had initiated. Shackleton, who had so often donated the proceeds from his lectures to local hospitals and philanthropic and charitable enterprises, agreed to Lady Dudley's idea. Shackleton was at many stages in his life powerless to the suggestions of women and so this may have also assisted in Lady Dudley's persuasion. Part of her charm may have been that Lady Dudley was known and acknowledged by, at least, *The Irish Times* as 'undeniably one of the greatest beauties of to-day.'

Lady Dudley was the first wife of William Humble Ward, 2nd Earl of Dudley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from August, 1902, to December, 1905. Despite the erosion of the Irish vice-regal authority across the nineteenth century, the Dudleys were, as Adam Pole has written, 'a great social success'. The couple entertained lavishly—Lady Dudley had arrived in Dublin with a reputation for hosting successful festivities—at Dublin Castle, they travelled widely around Ireland and hosted two royal visits during Lord Dudley's lord lieutenancy. The couple had a holiday home in Connemara in the west of Ireland and summered in Rockingham near Boyle, Co. Roscommon, in 1903. On their journeys across the country, and during their time particularly in the west, they saw the destitution of the population. On Monday, 20 October, 1902, The Lord Lieutenant and the Countess of Dudley went for a 'short tour on motor cars in the west of Ireland'. Throughout the journey, they 'made frequent stops at the most miserable looking of the cabins, and leaving the cars entered into conversation with the peasants'. Lady Dudley showed a keen interest and spoke to women there 'in a most kindly manner, making particular enquiries as to the condition of life and the means of livelihood.'

In his assessment of Lady Dudley, Christopher Cunneen stated that though she had 'a reserved and absent manner', she 'took an unusually prominent public role'. Lady Dudley's public visits and patronage clearly demonstrate her interests in provision of assistance and care for the marginalised in society such as demobilised and injured soldiers and sailors, children, the sick and infirm and the rural, isolated poor. Lady Dudley was perturbed by the lack of medical services in the west and the high levels of social inequity leading her to write a series of letters that appeared in Irish newspapers in 1902-1903. These letters highlighted the lack of proper care for the poor in their homes in the west and appealed for 'subscriptions to a fund to be expended in the establishment and assisting to maintain nurses in the poorest of the country districts of Ireland'. The money collected was to start the 'Dudley scheme for the establishment of district nurses in the poorest parts of Ireland'.

Within a very short time, the money was flowing in. Donations ranged from the £250 of H. H. Smyly, Esq. to the modest £1 of Mrs. Lindsay and of Miss Annie S. Eustace. Annual subscriptions ranged from the £180-strong support of the Institute for Jubilee Nurses in London

to the £1 of Miss M. F. Gibson and that of £1 from Miss Keyes. Joseph Robins highlighted the attraction of the scheme for the monied classes of Dublin and across Ireland thus:

The linkage with the viceregal court ensured that the nursing associations were perceived as fashionable charities. Because of their loyalist connections, both schemes [Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses and the Lady Dudley Scheme] attracted the support of the former ascendancy classes, in particular the "old county families", who organised garden parties and other charitable activities to fund the local associations.

Though Lady Dudley had, by the time she met Shackleton in Australia in 1909, been away from Ireland for some time, she asked Shackleton to give a lecture to benefit the scheme and to show that 'though she had left Ireland, her heart was still with them'. Her activities in Ireland and her continued concern for Irish affairs are perhaps part of the reason for her and her husband's popularity in Ireland. In the winter of 1902, Lady Dudley suffered a serious illness. In December, *The Irish Times* wrote that 'she has already won her way into the affections of its [Ireland's] people.' In all company, the paper reported, 'she has been equally natural and equally charming.' Despite such compliments from the press of the day, some would consider reference to Lady Dudley in James Joyce's *Ulysses* as immortalising her. 'William Humble, earl of Dudley, and Lady Dudley, accompanied by lieutenantcolonel Hesseltime, drove out after luncheon from the viceregal lodge' The progress of the viceregal cavalcade is then recounted following its passage 'out by the lower gate of the Phoenix Park.'

Over against the Dame gate Tom Rochford and Nosey Flynn watched the approach of the cavalcade. Tom Rochford, seeing the eyes of Lady Dudley on him, took his thumbs quickly out of the pockets of his claret waistcoat and doffed his cap to her.

Perhaps it is appropriate that the destination of the Lord Lieutenant and Lady Dudley was, in this *Ulysses* scene, Mercer's Hospital 'to inaugurate the Mirus bazaar' to raise funds for the institution.

*

Sir Ernest Shackleton's lecture in Dublin on 14 December, 1909, was the big event of his visit to Ireland. It was advertised daily in *The Irish Times* thus:

LADY DUDLEY'S SCHEME FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DISTRICT NURSES IN THE POOREST PARTS OF IRELAND. On Behalf of the Above, SIR ERNEST SHACKLETON, Will give his Illustrated Lecture on "NEAREST THE SOUTH POLE," IN THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS, EARLFORT TERRACE. TUESDAY, December 14th, at 8.0, By kind permission of the Senate. The Chair will be taken by HIS EXCELLENCY THE LORD LIEUTENANT. Seats, £1 1s., 10/5, 7/5, 5/-; Unreserved 2/6. Plan and tickets at Offices L.D.N.8., 30 Molesworth street, and Messrs. Cramer, Wood, and Co. The Lecture will be fully Illustrated by KINEMATOGRAPH PICTURES And Photographs taken during the Expedition.

For Shackleton, there was another Dublin society appointment earlier in the day—he was the honoured guest at a luncheon hosted by the Corinthian Club in the Aberdeen Room of the Gresham Hotel on Sackville Street (renamed O'Connell Street in 1924). The Corinthian Club was a gentleman's club founded by Sir Charles Alexander Cameron. He was a chemist, medical officer and writer. Cameron was President of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland 1885-1886 and is remembered for his contribution to hygiene and public health. He was a fan of drama and the arts and his creation and presidency of the Corinthian Club illustrated his tastes and enjoyments. In his book, *Reminiscences*, Cameron wrote:

On the 18th October, 1897, I invited a few friends to my house to discuss a proposal to establish a club in Dublin on the lines of the Savage Club in London.

The club soon established its luncheon and dinner schedule. Cameron himself revelled at dinner parties. His last published article expressed the delightful idea that the 'excellent habit of dining out' was the trick to a long and happy life. At the club's dinners, the members

often paid honour to distinguished guests from a variety of spheres of public life. It was, however, 'chiefly those who distinguish themselves in music and the drama who have been entertained by the club.'

The Corinthian Club luncheon for Shackleton was certainly noteworthy and *The Irish Times* reported on the hosting of the famous explorer by the fashionable club:

The occasion was one of very considerable interest, and a very large party of the members of the Club and their guests—including several ladies—assembled to do honour to the celebrated Antarctic explorer.

Sir Charles Cameron, as President of the club and the presiding chair of proceedings, proposed the toast to Sir Ernest Shackleton. He said that although the club had entertained many prominent guests in the past, 'in the matter of interesting personality, none of them had exceeded in that respect the gentleman who they were there that day to honour.' Cameron highlighted Shackleton's place in the Royal Navy, 'the most popular of the public services', and the club's pride in his achievements in the Antarctic. There had been Irish men who had distinguished themselves in the realm of the Arctic, but they could then, Cameron announced, 'claim an Irishman as the greatest of Antarctic discoverers.' This was met with a round of applause from the floor. Acknowledging his failure to actually reach the South Pole, Cameron said that Shackleton 'had shown others the way there, and the means by which it might be reached', and that he was, in effect, 'the virtual discoverer of the South Pole.' Again, this was met with applause.

Shackleton thanked Sir Charles Cameron, the club and guests who had honoured him. In describing the British Antarctic Expedition 1907–1909, as reported in the newspaper, Shackleton said that the 'expedition upon which he had been to the Southern Continent was one conducted entirely under British auspices' in that it comprised two Irishmen, five Scotchmen, two Welshmen, and the rest were Englishmen. In the circumstances, it seems that he meant that the expedition was 'British' in that it included men from across the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and strove to achieve its goals for the empire of which all of the crewmembers were a part. It was an inclusive expedition, led by an Irishman who believed in the aspirations as represented by the flag of the Union, under which the expedition sailed. Indeed, it was the Union flag given to Shackleton by Queen Alexandra that he had thrust into the ice at his furthest southern point. Despite Shackleton's clarity concerning his birthplace, the *Freeman's Journal* felt it necessary to print the following in November, 1909:

Lieutenant Shackleton's feat is a tangible asset of Ireland. Elsewhere he has been styled a British explorer. We here in the old country know that he is a worthy son of a notable Irish family, who have loved and served Ireland at [sic.] many notable ways. The Shackletons are honoured in Ireland, and we rejoice in the additional renown the young lieutenant has shed upon their name.

Shackleton said that it was 'a source of great pleasure to him to come to Dublin' and that he 'felt quite at home' there. Shackleton was born at Kilkea House in Co. Kildare, but the family moved to 35 Marlborough Road, Dublin, in 1880, when Ernest was six years old. The Shackletons lived in Dublin for four years as Henry Shackleton, Ernest's father, studied and qualified in medicine at Trinity College Dublin. Three Shackleton sisters were born in Dublin—Clara, Helen and Kathleen. It was from the Carlisle Pier in Kingstown (now Dún Laoghaire), south of Dublin, that the family moved to England in December, 1884.

The guests at the luncheon in the Gresham were treated to 'a very enjoyable programme of music' from over a dozen musicians. Mr. Henry Hunt, the club's Honorary Secretary, was praised by Cameron for having devoted 'much of his time in securing the highest class music at the club dinners'. The club's dinners were seemingly a springboard for some musical careers:

Several young ladies, amateur vocalists, have, so to speak, made their debut at the club's entertainments, and have become professionals.

The club's musical director, Dr Jozé, officiated at the piano alongside club member T. H. Weaving.

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On his arrival at the buildings of the National University on Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin (now the National Concert Hall), a guard of honour was provided for Sir Ernest Shackleton comprising the Dublin Squadron of the Legion of Frontiersmen and a party of coastguards from Kingstown Coastguard Station. His Excellency John Campbell Hamilton-Gordon, 1st Marquess of Aberdeen and Temair, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, occupied the chair and opened proceedings. The Lord Lieutenant said that the large crowds were brought together by the 'exceptional interest' of the lecture and to welcome 'a distinguished explorer, an Irishman [at this point there was applause] who has come to the Irish capital'. After some relevant but unsuccessful attempts at humour, referring to the rival claimants on the North Pole, and praise for Lady Dudley and 'the most beneficial work' of the nursing scheme, the Lord Lieutenant announced, 'I have great pleasure in introducing Sir Ernest Shackleton.'

Shackleton was 'received with hearty applause' by the audience in the sold-out venue. As Michael Smith noted, Shackleton 'knew how to engage with people, either in close proximity or in large numbers at vast meeting halls'. He had a charm, an easy-going conviviality and as he gave his lectures without notes, his manner was very appealing. Sir Ernest took his audience through the highs and lows, the hardships and the comradery of the expedition's work. With his light-hearted jests and cheer, he kept his listeners attentive and engaged. Throughout his lecture, Shackleton had a selection of photographs from the expedition and maps of the areas visited, as advertised. After telling the story of the expedition's exploits, the rest of the lecture was 'devoted to the exhibition of a number of slides, illustrating various incidents of note which occurred during the voyage'. These included the movements and activities of the men of the expedition and those of the wildlife around them—penguins, birds, seals etc. This provided 'a very great deal of amusement' to the audience.

At the end of his speech at the luncheon earlier in the day, Shackleton praised the loyalty of his expedition colleagues. He again returned to speak about his men at the conclusion of his lecture. He praised the work of the scientific team of the expedition who were then busy producing memoirs and reports of their findings in the Antarctic regions. All of the men of the expedition had worked very hard, he said. As *The Irish Times* reported, Shackleton finished his lecture thus:

They [the crew of the expedition] were not standing so much in the limelight as he was, but he realised, and so would everybody else, that but for the splendid co-operation of those who helped him very little would have been accomplished.

Shackleton had similarly displayed such gratitude in his speech in June to the Royal Societies Club in London. The expedition, he said, 'would never have been such a success if it had not been for their denial of self and their single-hearted devotion to the object in view'.

Dermot Robert Wyndham Bourke, 7th Earl of Mayo, in proposing a vote of thanks to Shackleton, said

that they all realised the great hardships through which he and his companions had gone on their voyage to the South Pole and the benefits which the journey had conferred upon human knowledge and science.

General the Right Hon. Sir Neville Lyttelton, G.C.B., who also attended the Corinthian Club luncheon, seconded the vote of thanks and it 'was carried by acclamation'.

Sir Ernest Shackleton was an entertaining all-round success in the eyes of Dublin high society. Attendees at the National University that evening had been in the presence of the Lord Lieutenant and many aristocratic figures. Fashionable society had come out to see the famous

hero, the Irish poster-boy of polar exploration. As well as 'paying a deserved tribute to a distinguished and intrepid Irishman', in publicising the event *The Irish Times* also said that in attending Sir Ernest Shackleton's lecture the public 'will help maternally in succouring many poor peasants in pain and suffering.' The paper said that they hoped the lecture would be beneficial to Lady Dudley's nursing scheme, 'for it would be a grievous loss if one of the nurses had to be withdrawn from a district whose inhabitants had learned to rely on her skill and counsel.'

Shackleton's Dublin lecture raised £315 12s 6d for the Lady Dudley scheme. Despite this being a great sum of money, the scheme was always short of funds. In 1910, the salaries for the scheme's nurses amounted to £1,806 6s 11d, the largest expense of the total expenditure of £3,944 4d. The scheme reached an optimum high of twenty-one nurses but expanded no further due to constant financial constraints. The scheme's nurses quickly overcame a distrust of medical personnel in the rural population and had a profound effect in rural home care and cleanliness. They impressed a party of visiting MPs in 1906 when they saw the value of work undertaken by the devoted women. As Catriona Clear has noted, the training, professions and employment of the scheme gave many opportunities to women for 'very hard but fulfilling work with few holidays.' The nurses were all regularly overworked and their diligence was often to their own detriment. The nurses often willingly risked life and limb in travelling and attending to those in their care. As Joseph Robins noted, in 'many areas the carefully chosen district nurse became a familiar and highly respected personality pedalling around on her high bicycle.'

Problems that faced the scheme in providing medical assistance to parts of the west of Ireland included travelling to the isolated, rural areas and the poverty of the patients encountered. A nurse attending a maternity case in 1910 recalled:

The house is an old stable. There is no bed in the house, just a table, one chair and one stool; they are very poor. Patient was lying in the corner in a frightful condition.

The Irish Times reported, there was a consistent need for funds to continue and to extend the scheme's reach to 'other equally poor and necessitous districts'. As well as direct care provision, Sheila Armstrong has written that the Lady Dudley Nurses, along with the Jubilee Nurses, 'were involved in the development of the child welfare and school health service between 1907 and 1915.'

Shackleton, in a small way, assisted the work of the nurses to provide domiciliary medical care and to improve public health and sanitation in the poorest parts of Ireland. Shackleton was happy to donate to causes that furthered the education of women, brought health care provision and assisted the marginal in society. Mill said of his companion that he 'overflowed with kindness, and could never bear to see any one unhappy or in want without offering help.'

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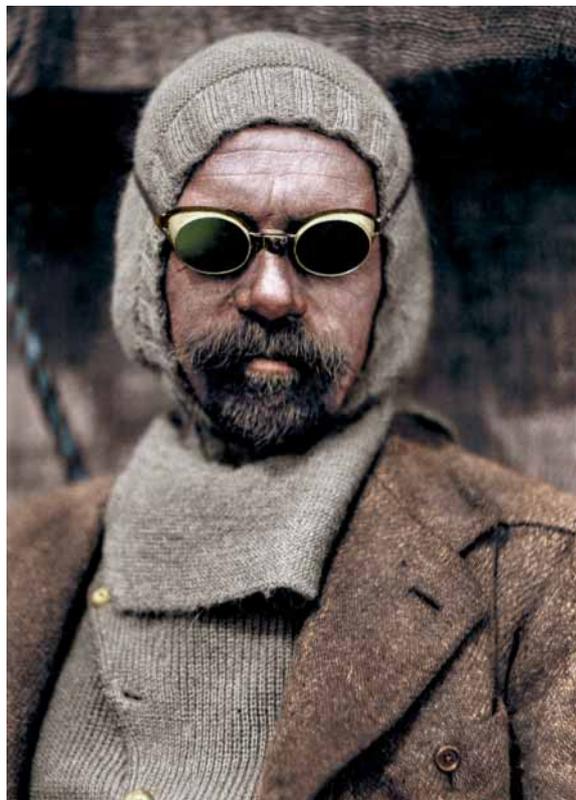
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Frank Wild. Image colourised by Pete Vass.

Polar Exploration in 1913 – a good thing?

Stephen Scott-Fawcett FRGS

The tragedy of March 1912 shook the very roots of Edwardian society and Robert Falcon Scott's demise (along with his four companions: Edward Wilson, Henry (Birdie) Bowers, Laurence (Titus) Oates and Edgar Evans) sparked an outpouring of emotion in the months that followed and a debate that still rages today. A friend passed me this information about



One of many bronze medallions inserted at the base of the Scott Memorial, Plymouth, UK

a debate held at Gresham's School (north Norfolk) in February 1913 where the merits (or otherwise) of polar exploration were aired by members of the rising generation.

It is fascinating to note the opening remarks made by The Hon. Mover that only 'a few scientific finds (*have been made*) of no permanent value to mankind.' If only he had known the truth later revealed by those studying the Expedition's findings – that there was evidence of a 'green' Antarctica in the past and clear signs of what we now call 'plate tectonics' – a point actually made by one of the school debaters! Indeed, a Mr Halsey

proved to be very prescient in his views! The school debate upheld the advantages of polar exploration.

A Meeting of the Society was held on February 22nd, at 8p.m., in the Double Classroom, when C. E. G. Goodall moved "That this House is of opinion that the results of Polar Exploration cannot justify the sacrifices made for it."

The Hon. Mover pointed out that for nearly a thousand years there have been Polar explorations. Both Poles have now been reached, and a great tragedy has just been enacted. It is natural to ask oneself whether the results have justified the costs. The practical results have been limited to a few scientific finds, interesting no doubt, yet of no permanent value to mankind. The practical costs have included many valuable lives, much time and much money.



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A. H. Graves, who opposed the motion, inveighed against the materialistic tendencies of the age. Mammon is everywhere the sovereign power. Having denounced the sentimentality of the age and having supported his arguments to this effect, he maintained that no price was too high to pay for the moral example got by Scott's death.

G. J. H. Lascelles, who spoke third, asked the House if men go to the Pole for a trip. He, for his part, did not blame men for going, but, after all, what do they gain but knowledge? Captain Scott's death was due, not to his own fault, but to his misfortunes. Polar exploration is like rock climbing, there is no harm in it, but there is always a great amount of danger.

Mr. L. L. C. Evans, who spoke fourth, laid stress upon the moral value of the examples set by the lives of Polar explorers. Heroism, he maintained, cannot go astray. There is also no inconsiderable practical gain. It has, for instance, been shown that the Antarctic Pole is temperate, and that Australia was originally joined to the South Polar continent.

K. M. Moir, however, was equally certain that heroism can go astray. Without being a gross materialist, he considered that it was better that men should devote their energies to objects which might afford tangible results.

D. M. Reid was quite convinced that this view was wrong. He looked to Polar exploration as a sure means of bringing about the great aim of mankind—military service.

T. J. Townsend, while admitting that Polar explorers do not go to the Poles in order to gain “materiality,” scornfully insinuated that it did not interest the House to know that an unfathomable sea had been discovered at the North Pole. In the case of Scott, it was the call of the wild ringing in his years that impelled him to the Antarctic. That he had a wife was nugatory (*of no importance ED*).

The Hon. President had had no intention of addressing the House, but he felt it his duty to bring back the debate on to the right lines. Scott had not gone to the Pole to *die*. The question under discussion was whether the scientific results justified the sacrifices. Scott’s heroism had nothing to do with it.

Mr. J. Grundy considered that people who had a definite ideal as Scott and his party, and who attained it, were living a higher life. The sacrifices, he maintained, justified themselves.

F. G. Womersley considered it better to live quietly than to die heroically.

E. W. Clark pointed out that most Polar explorers simply stay round the edge of the Pole and make useful observations.

R. H. Beece sniffed contemptuously at the practical results of Polar explorations.

F. W. Halsey compared Scott’s Expedition to the explorations of Marco Polo. Neither had any great immediate or apparent results. But as the records of the latter are valuable as historical documents, so those of Scott might in future ages, and in the hands of a Newton, be of permanent value to mankind.

The Hon. Mover having replied, the House then divided:

For the motion - 22 votes

Against the motion - 29 votes

The motion was, therefore, lost by 7 votes



Edgar Evans, Birdie Bowers, Edward Wilson, Robert Falcon Scott enjoy a mug of ‘hoosh’



On the ice trail 1912



Gresham’s School, Holt,
Norfolk - today

ENGLAND'S LATEST HERO (1909)

A Character Sketch of Lieutenant E H Shackleton
by the Editor of the 'Royal Magazine'.

March 23rd was a great day for England. Shortly after mid-day the news arrived that we had gained a bloodless victory, peacefully conquered new territory and what was better than all else, added another name to the long list of heroic names which glorify 'our Island story'. Lieutenant Shackleton is the man of the hour since England learned that he had planted the Union Jack a little over 100 miles away from the South Pole.

I do not propose to go into his public life and great achievements. Since the 23rd the world has been ringing with them. But very little has been said about the man himself, his character and personality, and as what a man does is generally – and in Shackleton's case most certainly – the result of what a man is, any side-light on our new hero's character cannot fail to be of deep interest.

It was shortly after his return from Captain Scott's Antarctic Expedition that I first met Shackleton. He had, as everyone remembers, been invalided home. He called on me to propose some journalistic scheme, and a series of articles on Antarctic Exploration – there was never a man so full of schemes, ideas, and various projects as he – and I took him on as an Assistant Editor of the *Royal Magazine*. He stayed with me for several months, writing an occasional article on his special subject, Antarctic Exploration, and filling up the remainder of his time with the usual routine work of an Assistant Editor – correcting proofs, interviewing contributors, considering manuscripts and doing a hundred and one odd jobs.

You may wonder why exactly I gave him this appointment on the *Royal*. He had had no practical experience of journalism – I remember his coming to me and asking how to correct a proof! – I was not the first to admit, with that big laugh of his which one never forgets, that office work was out of his line altogether.

But I am convinced that if he gone to a Stockbroker, a Butcher, a Carpenter, or a Theatrical Manager and asked for a job, he would have got it. There was something about him that compelled confidence. None of these good folk would have repented to taking him on: though stock broking and acting may have been as little in his line as journalism, he would have made his mark in them somehow or other.

Speaking for myself, and apart from any personal feeling for the man, I was very sorry when he left us. He was brimming over with original, unconventional, racy ideas, which, whether practical or not, were always stimulating and suggestive.

He worked well. Though sitting at a desk the best part of the day may have gone sorely against the grain, he sat at the desk – sat tight – and tackled manuscripts, proofs, and callers with the same ardour that he brought to the exploration of the Antarctic wilderness.

Though a natural leader, and, I should imagine, a man who would exact implicit obedience and every ounce of work from his subordinates, he knew how to obey. The tasks I set him to do – not over-congenial tasks, remember – he did promptly and without a murmur. I never had a more willing lieutenant, nor one who showed more interest and enthusiasm in his work.

Of Shackleton personally it is difficult to speak without using superlatives. I have met many distinguished men in my time, but never one with quite his peculiar fascination and magnetism.

His appearance, to begin with, was attractive. Of medium height, thickset, and extraordinarily powerful, he moved with the rolling sailor's gait and looked at you with his great, humorous, dark-blue eyes, which, like the eyes of so many men of action, had often in them the brooding look of the dreamer. In repose, his face was somewhat heavy and stern, but when he talked with animation or smiled it was marvellously alive, and when he laughed – the rafters shook! He was the most-friendly 'hail-fellow-well-met' man I have ever come across. His 'Hullo! Hullo? Hullo?' and mighty grip when he came across you are things not lightly forgotten. There was not an ounce of 'side' in him. He loved telling of his adventures in all parts of the world, but never for the purpose of self-glorification; he talked from the sailor's zest for spinning a yarn.

Article published in Pearsons Weekly April 8th 1909

SIR ERNEST SHACKLETON, AN APPRECIATION

By Roald Amundsen (Discoverer of the South Pole), Paris February 10th

As an explorer I have naturally followed the fortunes of the Shackleton Trans-Antarctic Expedition with the keenest interest. English readers do not need to be told that the interest has been sympathetic as well.

I have long had the highest admiration for Sir Ernest Shackleton's qualities as a man of indomitable will and immense courage, and as a leader whom it was a privilege to follow. As I wrote in my book 'The South Pole' his journey in 1908-9, when he fought his way to Lat. 88° 23' South, was one of the most wonderful achievements of polar exploration that had been accomplished. And if a man has seldom enjoyed a greater triumph, seldom has a man deserved it better.

Everyone who read his account of that march must feel a boundless admiration for the four heroes who took part in it. They raised a monument, not only to themselves and their achievement, but also to the honour of their native land and the whole of civilised humanity. But if Shackleton was great then, what can we say now? It is in misfortune that a man is tested, and nobody could have been tried higher than he and his companions have been during more than two years. Everything was against them at both sides of the Antarctic continent. A bad season in the Weddell Sea, where the weather is often bad, but perhaps has never been worse than at the beginning of 1915: the Endurance crushed in the ice and the loss of valuable stores: the necessary sacrifice of the dogs.

Shackleton foresaw the possibility of his emergency, as might be expected of a leader to preserve the whole of his party from disaster in the Weddell Sea. That journey through the pack-ice to the howling wilderness of Elephant Island was a magnificent example of what resolution and skill may perform. But a greater yet was to come.

A Very Wonderful Feat

Shackleton's unvarnished tale of the voyage of the small boat through 750 miles of stormy seas to South Georgia, when he went to get assistance for his companions, fails to do justice to a very wonderful feat. It takes a sailor to appreciate the perils of that journey and to realise on what a slender thread the lives of the little crew hung. Many accomplished seamen would have failed where Shackleton succeeded. It was a triumph of great daring crowned with great and deserved success.

Then began his successive attempts to rescue his marooned men, which, despite other distractions, were followed with breathless interest in many parts of the world. With ships unsuitable for his purpose, but the best that could be found in those waters, he tried again and again to break through the cordon of drifting ice which surrounded Elephant Island at that time of the year. Three times he was baffled by the weather. But of Shackleton I think we can truly say that 'failure' is not to be found in his vocabulary and at the very next attempt he reached the island and took off all the party safe and well. That they survived the rigours of that inhospitable place much credit is due to Frank Wild, perhaps the most experienced of Antarctic explorers.

Every Englishman must have echoed the words of King George in his message to Sir Ernest Shackleton on that occasion.

'High Courage, Unbroken Resolution'

It might have been thought that after bringing back in safety the party whom he had personally led Shackleton might well have rested on his oars. He had done enough for honour but his task and duty, as he saw it, was not yet accomplished. There were men still imprisoned in the Ross Sea. They were not, as we who know the Antarctic thought in great peril but it was necessary to bring them off and Shackleton did not hesitate a moment in going to their rescue.

Three of them are dead after suffering great privations in the marches they made in carrying out their instructions to lay depots to the South for the relief of the Weddell Sea party, who might come that way. One cannot but express the deepest appreciation of the work they did under the most adverse circumstances. They endured almost every misfortune which can fall to the lot of Antarctic travellers – scurvy, bad weather, the loss of their dogs. It is the highest testimonial to their self-sacrifice and devotion that the sick men were brought back safely to the base. That two men were lost on the sea ice is an accident to which all who travel in those latitudes must be prepared to face.

Do not let it be said that Shackleton has failed either in his expedition or in what has happened since. No man fails who sets an example of high courage, of unbroken resolution, of unshrinking endurance. And the world is richer for this long record of unselfish devotion.

POET AND POLAR EXPLORER

Unknown Verses by Sir Ernest Shackleton

In view of the revival of public interest in Polar exploration as the result of the recent departure from the Cape of the new British Australian Antarctic expedition in the Discovery (October 1929) – now making her fourth voyage to the South Polar regions – the article from a correspondent which we publish below on a little-known aspect of the life of the late Sir Ernest Shackleton is of special interest. A memorial to the explorer, it will be remembered, was recently unveiled in South Georgia by the Governor of the Falkland Islands.

Not seldom in those who achieve renown is the poetic talent and a love of literature allied to the more practical qualities of action and leadership. Indeed, in more romantic ages ennobling precepts immortalised in song and story often-times, in themselves, inspired great deeds, and not infrequently were the mainsprings of high and noble purposes unflinchingly carried to success. Even the great Alfred himself, we are told, spent his leisure from driving the Danes into the Northumbrian wastelands in writing educational works and in translating from the Latin Boethius's 'Consolations of Philosophy'.

In the age of Elizabeth literary talent and a spirit of active enterprise seem almost invariably to have been the tokens of contemporary greatness. 'Raleigh was soldier, sailor, diplomat, explorer, poet and historian'. Spencer wrote the 'Faerie Queen' when Secretary to the Viceroy of Ireland, Sir Fulke Greville, sometime Chancellor of the Exchequer to Elizabeth, left a volume of poems and a 'life' of his friend gallant Sir Phillip Sidney. And Sidney himself, amid the distractions of court-life, diplomatic missions and literary expeditions, found time and inspiration for 'Arcadia' and the famous 'Defense of Poesie'.

A Love of Poetry

As an explorer and navigator, it has been acknowledged by friend and critic alike that Sir Ernest Shackleton was in the direct line of Frobisher and Drake. But in his two-fold love of literature and action he was more akin to Raleigh, whose ship dared unknown seas less often than her captain's thoughts ranged the treasured demesne of letters.

Of the devotion of Shackleton to Letters a full account is given by Dr Hugh Mill in his impressive 'Life' which was published by Messrs Heinemann in 1923. In his preface Dr Mills says - "When I first began to know Shackleton well, on board the Discovery, we were drawn together by a common love of the poetry which had so large a part in shaping his life". Most of the chapter headings in this stirring biography were favourites of the dead explorer's; passages and verses from the poets he loved best, which he would quote on the long polar marches or breath into the frozen quietude of the dark Antarctic winters.

It is not widely known that the explorer himself was a poet of no mean order. Many of his verses - written while sailing the world as an officer of the Merchant Marine or specially composed for the bright pages of 'The South Polar Times' - have already been published. A few early poems still remain, however, in the hands of friends, which are not widely known. One of these - a philosophic poem on Fanning Island recently came to light and by special permission of the Lady Shackleton has been made available for publication. In view of the circumstances in which the verses were written it is interesting to trace the early stages of Shackleton's career, up to the time when he returned to England from the first great adventure to the Frozen South.

Early Days at Sea

Shackleton's first voyage was in the *Hogthon Tower*, a clipper of 1,600 tons, which sailed from Liverpool on 30 April 1890. 20 years afterwards he said that it was on this voyage, bound for Valparaiso, that the appeal of the White South originally came to him. On his next voyage he took to writing down his impressions and his keen observation, descriptive power, and poetic perception are strikingly evident in the following description of a tropical sunset:

Many a painter would have given half of what he possessed to have been able to catch the fading tints of the red and golden sunset we had last night. The red and golden gleams gradually fading away into a deep purple, and far away, almost on the edge the horizon, was the white speck of a homeward ship. All I say is if you wish to see Nature robed in her mantel of might, look at a storm at sea; if you want to see her robed in her mantel of glory, look at a sunset at sea.

In November 1894 he sailed for the East as third mate of the *Monmouthshire* (1900 tons). Three months later, while the ship's company were enjoying the pleasant warmth of the Indian Seas, a Norwegian whaler was sighted which had forced its way through the icepack south of New Zealand. *The Antarctic*, as the whaler was appropriately named, had just returned from Victoria Land where, for the first time since Ross in 1843, the crew had set foot on the great Antarctic continent. The event stirred Shackleton's imagination, for he pictured in verse a procession of ships proceeding out of the north - on each -

*Nailed to the rotting flagstaff
The old white ensign flew,
Badge of our English freedom
Over all waters blue*

Return from Discovery Expedition

Sailors told him stories of the Great White South.

*Then they told me a wond'rous tale,
And I strove to write it down;
But my pen refused its duty.
And I lost my chance for renown.
But since that vision left me
I have looked on those sailor men
As worthy the brightest idyll
That poet could ever pen.*

In 1901 Shackleton set out with Scott's expedition on his first voyage to the Far South. At last he could realise his ambition to see and explore for himself those vast tracks of ice and snow so vividly described by the Norwegian sailors seven years earlier. Of the trials and hardships which beset the expedition, and the successes that ultimately crowned their efforts, Scott left an enduring record in 'The Voyage of the *Discovery*'. Shackleton himself, after more than two years in the Antarctic, broke down with scurvy and was invalided home. As his verses on Fanning Island were given to a friend in London in August 1903, it must have been during his voyage homewards in the *Oratava*, from Auckland to San Francisco, in May of that year (1903) that the poem which follows was written:

Fanning Island

(A link in the All-British Cable)

*Surfbound lonely islet,
Set in a summer sea.
Work of a tiny polyp,
A lesson I learned from thee.
For to your foam white shores
The deep-sea cables come,
Through ocean ooze,
By feathery palm,
Flies on the busy hum
Of the worlds now linked together
The new with the older lands.
A moments space and the Northern deed,
Is placed in Southern hands.
So small isle, green and lonely,
I find as I think it ov'er
That your place in the scheme of Nature
Shows to me more and more
That everything created
Helps to the finished plan,
That starts with the lowly worm,
And will end in the perfect man.
That the smallest leads to the greatest,
That your worth may now be seen,
As the pulsing heart of the world
Throbs by your palm trees green.*

We can imagine the explorer seated on deck in mid-Pacific memories of his two years far from the amenities of civilisation providing so striking a contrast to the subject of his poem, writing the lines on his knee as Fanning Island sank beneath the horizon. They are lines vibrant with high thought and a noble faith; characteristic of the man whom posterity will remember as the idealist and poet among explorers, and of the 'superman' who, when the Endurance was crushed in the ice, made that epic voyage in a 20ft open boat to South Georgia on behalf of his comrades marooned on Elephant Island – an inspiring echo of the lost leader who rests now in his lonely grave 'midst the stark and sullen solitudes that sentinel the Pole'.



Artist: Eva Mout

Did Teddy Evans fatally undermine Scott of the Antarctic?

Bill Alp

The 1912 death of Scott of the Antarctic and four companions has long been blamed on poor planning by Scott, but documents discovered by a UNSW researcher (Chris Turney, Professor of Earth Science and Climate Change at the University of New South Wales) reveal a different story – and a possible cover up. However, his controversial findings have been challenged by many polar historians – Bill Alp is one of those.

The tragic death of Scott of the Antarctic and four companions on the return of his scientific expedition to the South Pole in 1912 has long been blamed on poor planning by Scott.

But the discovery of new documents by UNSW Sydney researcher Professor Chris Turney, revealed today in the journal *Polar Record*, show how the actions of another expedition member brought about their deaths and why it has been covered up for over a century.

Through patient detective work, Turney found documents that reveal how the second in command, Lieutenant Edward (Teddy) Evans, later the 1st Baron Mountevans, crucially undermined Scott – stealing rations from food depots and failing to pass on orders to a dog sled team that would have brought Scott home safely.

“The new documents suggest at the very least appalling leadership on the part of Evans or, at worst, deliberate sabotage, resulting in the death of Scott and his four companions,” Turney said.

“The documents also show how public records were altered in later recounts of the expedition and why a Committee of Inquiry into the expedition was rapidly shut down almost before it began.”

Early on, multiple members of Scott’s expedition developed doubts about Lieutenant Teddy Evans’ role as second in command. Scott himself described Evans in letters as “not at all fitted to be second-in-command” and promised to “take some steps concerning this”.



Scott's Antarctic expedition team. Photo: National Library

It is likely one of the reasons that Scott sent Evans back to base before he pushed on to the South Pole with four companions. But on the return journey from the Pole, Scott's expedition found rations carefully planted on the journey out had disappeared.

For too long Scott has been held responsible for the death of himself and the men of his party who made the fateful expedition to the South Pole.

In addition, the updated orders Scott gave to Evans to send a dog team out to meet the returning expedition were seemingly never delivered. Instead, Scott and his team were left to die alone and starving in a blizzard.

The documents uncovered by Turney reveal how Evans had a history of taking more than his share of supplies and how public statements were changed to deflect blame from Evans' role in the missing rations after Scott's death.

It even uncovers why the President of the Royal Geographical Society, Lord Curzon, decided not to hold a public committee of inquiry.

"For too long Scott has been held responsible for the death of himself and the men of his party who made the fateful expedition to the South Pole," said Turney.

"These new documents tell a very different story about how Scott's planning for the expedition was undermined, reveal that his orders were fatally ignored and why the man who arguably contributed the most to his death was never held accountable for his actions."

The reader is encouraged to download Professor Turney's article: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/polar-record/article/why-didnt-they-ask-evans/224A49CABBF71E72B99C3B7236A4>

Response to Chris Turney's Article:
by Mr Bill Alp

Introduction

The article *Why didn't they ask Evans?* by Professor Chris Turney was first published in *Polar Record* in September 2017. It claimed that Captain Robert Falcon Scott's second-in-command, Lieutenant Edward 'Teddy' Evans, contributed to a shortage of food for the returning polar party at key depots and that he failed to pass on a vital order from Scott for the dog teams to come out and meet the returning polar party.

I found Turney's arguments to be unconvincing (poorly researched, with an unbalanced presentation and full of distracting detail) so I wrote 'Commentary on Chris Turney's Why didn't they ask Evans' (Alp, 2019), which has been published in full on two websites:

tomcreandiscovery.com at: <http://tomcreandiscovery.com/?p=4427>

ResearchGate at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329864229>

Turney's 2017 article exceeds 9,000 words, raising many subtle arguments, inferences and implications. Much of his material appears to be only loosely related to the matter at hand, so I confined my *Commentary* to what for me were the three main questions:

1. Given its sensational press coverage, does the article provide a well-reasoned and balanced analysis of factors contributing to the fate of Scott's Party?
2. Does the article present convincing evidence that the polar party's food depots for the return journey had been tampered with?

3. Does the article present convincing evidence that Scott *actually* gave the alleged instructions to Evans?

Professor Turney has subsequently published a long response to my *Commentary* (Turney, 2019). This article acknowledges and comments on his response. While the bulk of his response is simply a re-presentation of the original material, he did respond to my three concerns noted above. In short:

1. He does not see any need for his research and analysis to be balanced. If reporters choose to create a distorted (sensational) impression of his article, that is not his concern, not his responsibility and he has no accountability.
2. He agrees with my analysis showing that the returning polar party never went onto short rations whilst returning across the Ross Ice Shelf. He agrees they consumed the quantity of food Scott had originally planned, right until their final week.
3. He agrees that his pivotal reference to Gran's 1961 book, the basis of his claim that Evans failed to deliver Scott's orders, does not actually appear in Gran's book.

Unbalanced presentation

Discussing the subject of the sensational press coverage, Turney responded "one can often only hope that the accompanying reports will be accurate and without sensation. Sadly, this is not always the case." (Turney, 2019). He does not acknowledge his own contribution to sensational reporting, triggered by the unbalanced nature of his article.

Antarctic scholars have for many years agreed that Scott's planned sledging diet fell well short of the calorific and vitamin content required for heavy sledge hauling, yet Turney was silent on this matter. As noted in my *Commentary*, Scott and his men were effectively on a 'starvation diet' from 10 December 1911 until their deaths in March 1912. Without that knowledge, reporters (not just the *Daily Mail*, as implied by Turney) have presumed that Evans' alleged food thefts caused malnutrition and starvation in Scott's Party. A short paragraph like the one in my *Commentary* (160 words) would have provided reporters with more than sufficient contextual knowledge to avoid this particular line of unjustified sensationalism.

Food Shortages

The abstract of Turney's 2017 article states, "The evidence focuses on the shortage of food at key depots" The paragraphs below probe how well his article lives up to its abstract.

Before diving into the detail, one naturally asks, "Was the quantity of food allegedly stolen by Evans material to the fate of Scott's Polar Party?" A high-level approach to answering this question is to investigate whether Scott's Party was able to stay on full rations throughout, (i.e. to eat as initially planned by Scott), or whether at some point they had to go onto short rations in order to eke out an insufficient quantity of food. My *Commentary* shows that the party did not go onto short rations at any point whilst returning across the Ross Ice Shelf. Turney has grudgingly accepted my conclusion, stating, "While Mr Alp well may be correct that Scott and his men were not forced to go onto short rations, neither could they draw upon what should have been excess rations." (Turney, 2019). This means the alleged thefts, if they occurred, had no material impact on the fate of Scott's Party, which consumed the amount of food that Scott had always intended.

Having established that the amount of food stolen was immaterial or imaginary, I shall now examine the four pieces of evidence' provided by Turney to justify his claim about Evans' theft(s):

- Theft at Upper Glacier Depot,
- Theft at Southern Barrier Depot,
- Theft reported by Katherine Scott,
- Theft reported by Oriana Wilson.

Alleged theft at Upper Glacier Depot. Turney claims, “But the shortfall in anticipated food happened at least twice. The first occurred on the Polar Party’s return journey at the Upper Glacier Depot on 7 February 1912 (Fig. 2), when the team found a full day’s biscuit allowance missing” (Turney, 2017, p. 505). However, the journals of Scott and Wilson for that day clearly show the shortfall was discovered in the morning, whilst the men did not arrive at the depot until evening.

A wretched day with a satisfactory ending. First panic, certainty that biscuit-box was short. Great doubt as to how this has come about, as we certainly haven’t over-issued allowances. Bowers is dreadfully disturbed about it. The shortage is a full day’s allowance. [] Soon after 6.30 we saw our depot easily and camped next to it at 7.30. (Scott, 2011, p. 393)

We reached the Upper Glacier Depot by 7.30 p.m. and found everything right which was satisfactory, after a breakfast which was give up to a discussion as to the absence of one day’s biscuit. (Wilson, 1972, p. 240)

The first shortfall therefore was detected in their on-sledge biscuit box, managed by Bowers, prior to reaching the Upper Glacier Depot. This does not support Turney’s claim about Evans stealing food from that depot.

Alleged theft at Southern Barrier Depot. The second alleged theft relates to the Southern Barrier Depot, which the polar party reached on 24 February 1912. Scott’s wrote, “Found store in order except shortage of oil – shall have to be very saving with fuel – otherwise have 10 full days’ provisions from tonight ” (Scott, 1911, p. 403) Scott’s recorded 3 days later, “31 days to depot, 3 days’ fuel at a pinch and 6 days’ food.” (Scott, 1911, p. 405) Turney sees this apparent one-day discrepancy as proof of food theft (by Evans), “ they were short of a day’s full rations ” (Turney, 2017, p. 506). However, Scott’s diary says nothing about any shortage. What Turney overlooks is that the entry for the 24th was written at lunchtime and the entry for the 27th after their evening meal, so when Scott wrote “otherwise have ten full days provision from tonight” he was including their evening meal in the count. In fact, Scott *increased* their food allowance the next day. When they reached the next depot, they had three days of food rations left. Clearly, there was no food shortage of food at the Southern Barrier depot. Turney is mistaken.

Theft reported by Katherine Scott. Her opinion, recorded by Curzon, was based solely upon Scott’s sledging journals. Turney quotes Curzon, “It appears Lieutenant Evans – down with scurvy – and the two men with him must on return journey have entered & consumed more than their share.” (Turney, 2017, p. 500) Scott’s journals have been published in full and have been perused by scholars for over 100 years. I am not aware of any other person making the same interpretation as Curzon. I suggest this part of Curzon’s notes is of no value to Antarctic historians.

Theft reported by Oriana Wilson. Her report, recorded by Lord Curzon, is problematic. Together they claim that an unstated quantity of pemmican was removed from an un-named depot on an unknown date, based on a note in Oriana Wilson’s possession (but not in Wilson’s sledging diary) which she subsequently destroyed. Whilst Turney believes this “ provides a crucial part of the expedition’s story” (Turney, 2017, p. 500), I do not share his belief. There is no supporting information in any other journal. I suggest this part of Curzon’s notes is of no value to Antarctic historians.

All four examples put forward by Professor Turney are deeply flawed. He has not produced a shred of evidence to support his vilification of Evans. My original *Commentary* stated, “As the article stands, the claim that Evans took food beyond his fair share, to the detriment of the polar party, is unproven. I find Professor Turney’s research supporting this allegation to be incomplete, unbalanced and therefore unconvincing” (Alp, 2019). Turney’s response to my *Commentary* does not alter my opinion.

Failure to pass on Scott's instructions

The abstract of Turney's 2017 article states, "The evidence focuses on the failure to pass on orders given by Scott". This section of my response probes how well his article lives up to its abstract.

Turney makes a bold claim that Evans failed to "act on orders given to him on the Plateau [by Scott on 3 January 1912]" (Turney, 2017, p. 506). He would have the reader believe Scott amended his pre-existing instructions to Atkinson for the dog teams to come out to meet the returning polar party. Turney based his claim upon a single thread of reasoning, originating in Gran's 1961 book *Kampen om Sydpolen*, which is not available in English. His article states (Turney, 2017, p. 507):

Whilst no orders were apparently written by Scott for the Last Supporting Party, it does seem they were issued on the journey. By the time the two final parties had reached two-and-a-half degrees north of the Pole, Scott had settled on his plans for the dogs on their third journey. Meeting privately with Evans he sent his second-in-command back and ordered the dogs should return across the Ross Ice Shelf to meet the returning party between 82° and 83° S (Gran, 1961).

I wrote to Turney on 15 October 2017, requesting a translated version of Gran's text relevant to the alleged orders to Evans, but received no response. In order to make progress I purchased a copy of *Kampen om Sydpolen* and asked a Norwegian work-colleague to locate and translate to English all paragraphs that mention dogs or Meares. I was expecting to receive something akin to Roland Huntford's paragraph:

Evans also carried a message from Scott changing the orders for the dogs yet again – for the fourth time. Meares now was to come to out and meet Scott between 82° and 83° S., sometime towards the middle of February (Huntford, 1979, p. 457).

Imagine my surprise when my colleague reported that *Kampen om Sydpolen* contains no such statement. At no point in his book does Gran say that Scott gave orders to Evans for the dog teams.

Turney subsequently commented on this matter in his response to my *Commentary*, "Mr Alp is correct that the Norwegian does not explicit [sic] describe Scott telling Evans he should send the dogs back across the Ross Ice Shelf during his final meeting with the second-in-command". (Turney, 2019) In other words, Turney's 2017 claim of Evans' disobedience relied upon a non-existent quote - at best misleading, at worst a deceptive practise.

Turney did not explain his reliance on a non-existent quote. Instead, he chose to answer a different question - **the wrong question** – choosing to provide "statements by Gran that make clear Scott gave orders for the dog teams"(Turney, 2019). This is not helpful because there has never been any doubt that Scott provided instructions to Meares and to Atkinson about the third dog journey. Scott's written instructions to Mears appear in both Evans's book *South with Scott* and in Wilson's sketchbook. Atkinson's short verbal summary of Scott's detailed instructions appears in Volume 2 of *Scott's Last Expedition*.

What I was seeking from Turney was the actual text from Gran's book, upon which he based the claim that Scott provided Evans with instructions for the team. Turney raised three points in answering **the wrong question**:

- He referred to a discussion between Scott and Meares on 11 December 1911, the day Meares turned for home. I fail to see how a December discussion could provide details of what would be discussed between Scott and Evans the following month. Whilst an editorial comment '[to be led by Evans]' has been slipped in, Scott did not announce who would be

in either support party until well after 11 December. Turney's first point does not provide any insight into what Scott *actually* said to Evans on 3 January 1912.

- He then referred to Scott, on 18 February 1912, expecting to be soon met by Meares and the dogs. However, Scott's journal of 18 February (at Shambles Camp) says no such thing and neither does Wilson's. One is left wondering about Gran's source – the men with Scott on 18 February all died on the return journey, so how could Gran know what was in Scott's mind on that day? Perhaps he was confusing this with his 29 February 1912 discussion with Evans, when Gran said he proposed a rescue party be sent as far as the foot of the Beardmore Glacier. In any event, the second point raised by Turney does not provide any insight into what Scott *actually* said to Evans on 3 January 1912.
- He then referred to pages 184-185 of Gran's book, being Gran's summary of the events of January and February 1912, outlining how those events influenced the third dog journey. Turney fails to mention however that the first paragraph on page 184 refers explicitly to the written instructions issued by Scott to Meares in October 1911, establishing context for what follows. There is no suggestion on pages 184-185 that the 1911 instructions to Meares had been superseded by new instructions to Evans. Failure to mention that Gran was referring to Meares' original 1911 instructions, rather than implying Gran was referring to the alleged new instructions to Evans, may be seen, at best, as misleading, at worst a cunning practice. Turney's third point does not provide any insight into what Scott *actually* said to Evans on 3 January 1912.

Turney concluded. "Based on these statements, I do not consider it an unreasonable interpretation that the orders were provided to Evans on the Polar Plateau. Indeed, it is hard to not [sic] to make any other interpretation." (Turney, 2019). It is clear Turney has not directly addressed the central issue of whether Scott actually provided instructions to Evans for the dog team. In order to show that Evans was disobedient in not relaying instructions, Turney needed first to establish that the instructions existed. He has produced nothing to support his vilification of Evans. Without evidence that Scott instructed Evans about the dogs, Turney's claims, a 'house of cards', collapses.

My original *Commentary* stated, "As the article stands, the claim that Evans failed to convey Scott's revised orders is unproven. Verifiable research and analysis would strengthen the claim. I find Professor Turney's research supporting this allegation to be incomplete, unbalanced and therefore unconvincing." (Alp, 2019). Turney's response to my *Commentary* does not make me alter my mind.

Curzon's meeting notes

As stated above, Lord Curzon's notes, which seem to impress Turney as being rather valuable, do not provide any useful or usable evidence about the alleged theft(s) of food by Evans. One can sympathise with the widows, deep in their grief process (second stage – anger), seeking to apportion blame, but Curzon could be expected to do better. Curzon's notes might perhaps be more useful in an article about the grief process, as an example of individual and institutional responses to disaster. They are not useful in the current context.

Circular argument

Turney has provided a rambling argument, around the date of onset of Evans' scurvy, which seems to be circular in nature. A *circular argument* occurs when the premises presume, openly or covertly, the very conclusion that is to be demonstrated.

Turney begins with a presumption that the guilt-driven Evans decided to create a defence that food theft was justifiable, in order to treat his scurvy. He claims Evans manipulated the

timeline for onset of his scurvy so that it aligned with a date when his party reached a depot with alleged food shortages (Southern Barrier Depot). He presents this as proof that Evans stole food. This type of circular argument does not stand up to scrutiny.

It may also be noted that Turney has not proved there was any shortage of food at the Southern Barrier depot (see *Alleged theft of food at Southern Barrier Depot*, above).

There is also an “elephant in the room” here. Biscuits and pemmican, the foodstuffs Turney claims were stolen, do not contain a significant quantity of Ascorbic Acid and are therefore not an effective treatment for scurvy. It was widely known at the time of the expedition that fresh food was the only effective treatment (remembering this was well before Ascorbic Acid had been identified). Turney produces no evidence that Evans believed biscuits or pemmican could cure his scurvy.

Confirmatory bias

Turney has focused on the worst that has been written or can be hypothesised about Teddy Evans. The concept of *confirmatory bias* comes to mind.

Confirmatory bias occurs from the direct influence of desire on beliefs. When people would like a certain idea or concept to be true, they end up believing it to be true. They are motivated by wishful thinking. This bias leads the individual to stop gathering information when the evidence gathered so far confirms the views (prejudices) they would like to be true. Once they have formed a view, they embrace information that confirms that view while ignoring, or rejecting, information that casts doubt on it. *Confirmatory bias* suggests that the individual does not perceive circumstances objectively. They pick out those bits of data that make them feel good because they confirm the prejudices. Thus, the individual becomes prisoners of their own assumptions.

Summary

- Turney has not provided any proof that Teddy Evans stole food from return depots.
- Turney has not provided any proof that Scott gave instructions for the dog team to Teddy Evans around 3 January 1912.
- Curzon’s diary notes do not provide any useful contribution to Antarctic history.

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Editor’s note:

Bill Alp is a Consultant Project Manager.

WILLIAM LASHLY

A forgotten hero of Cardiff Docks

Michael C. Tarver FRGS

There must be many untold stories of heroes and fascinating characters which lay latent from the vibrating times of Cardiff's docklands. Many became its residents and employees, others came by sea and settled in the city or by whatever means, they became involved in those days as the city and port progressed from the beginning of the industrial revolution, through to its prosperity up to the First World War.

One such man, now almost forgotten, who escaped death during his adventurous early life and then was offered employment by his admirers was William Lashly. Following those far off adventures, he was engaged as a marine engineer in the years between the two World Wars, employed by The Board of Trade to help supervise the conduct of shipping at Bute Docks.

Lashly had joined the Royal Navy in 1889 and for 20 years served in warships, involved in many skirmishes away at Far East stations. Later he was an instructor at HMS *Racer*, a naval college based in the grounds of Osbourne House, Isle of Wight. His strength of character and expertise in steam ships, resulted in his being chosen by Captain Scott for the 1901/04 RRS *Discovery* Expedition, during which in 1903, he accompanied Scott and PO Evans for an initial sledging journey into the unknown continent. It was while on this journey, that due to his strength and presence of mind, he saved the life of both Scott and Evans, who had fallen into a crevasse.

On the expedition's return home, he returned to service in the Royal Navy but was again selected by Scott for the return expedition to the Antarctic in 1910, in the RYS *Terra Nova*. Lashly was in the sixteen-man team which made the journey toward the South Pole. Following the breakdown of the motor sledges, he continued the 750-mile journey on ski and was in the group of three, 170 miles from the South Pole, which waved goodbye to Scott's party of five as they continued South, toward their goal of 90 degrees South.

That three-man return journey, comprising of Lashly and PO Tom Crean, turned into the dramatic rescue of the third member, the deputy leader of the expedition - Lt. *Teddy* Evans. Evans had developed scurvy and his condition was steadily worsening. This resulted in Lashly and Crean placing Lt. Evans on the sledge and pulling him for almost 100 miles until they could do so no more. Lt. Evans ordered them to abandon him but they refused the order. Being the youngest, Crean then bravely went on alone with a few biscuits and a stick of chocolate for the remaining 33 miles to get help. Lashly remained in the tent nursing Lt. Evans. Crean's brave great walk over the heavily crevassed area, resulted days later, in bringing in both Lt. Evans and Lashly.

Lt. Teddy Evans life was saved.

In November, 1912, Lashly was a member of the search party which set out to search for Captain Scott and his four companions. When the search party leader, Dr. Atkinson, entered the tent, he took William with him - he was, therefore, one of the last to see Scott, Wilson and Bowers.

When the expedition ship returned to Cardiff in June 1913, members of the expedition were invited to Buckingham Palace and in addition to being awarded polar medals, for saving the life of Lt. Evans, both Lashly and Tom Crean were each awarded the Albert Medal* (now renamed the George Cross *) by King George V.



*William Lashly standing beside a Wolseley motor sleigh.
BAE 1910-13.*

After William had accepted an appointment with the Board of Trade at Cardiff Docks, he and his family took up residence in the city. On the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, at 47 years of age, he re-enlisted in the Royal Navy and was posted to HMS *Irresistible*, a formidable class warship. The ship was sent to the Dardanelles Strait (Turkey) and they were soon to see action. In a heavily mined sea, many ships were blown up including *Irresistible*. Crippled, she drifted into the range of enemy shore batteries. Attempts were made to tow her off, but she sank. Of her 780 crew, 150 were killed. Lashly was among those saved and he was transferred to HMS *Amethyst* for further service in the Mediterranean. He later returned to Britain, where he served, shore based at Portsmouth.

At the end of the First World War, Lashly was able to resume his appointment with the Board of Trade and with his wife Alice and their teenage daughter, also

called Alice, they lived at Mayfield Avenue, Victoria Park. In 1932, at the age of 65, he retired from the Board of Trade and the family returned to Hampshire and the village of Hambleton, where he and his wife had been born and where they were wed.

William Lashly died in 1940. At his request he was buried in an unmarked grave in the village churchyard of St. Peter's & St. Paul's. Throughout his life, he kept in touch with past colleagues with whom he had served in the Royal Navy and the Antarctic. Lashly visited the newly created Scott Polar Research Institute at the University of Cambridge. He called at Gestingthorpe Hall, the home of Lady Caroline Oates, to talk about her son. From letters which have come to light subsequently it can be seen that Lashly was highly regarded as a brave and steadfast colleague by all those who served with him.

In the Antarctic a small range of mountains and a nearby glacier are named after him. In the 1990s, in the Cardiff and surrounding areas, older persons recalled that, in their youth, they had attended lantern slide lectures on the Antarctic, given by Lashly in church and village halls.

When Teddy Evans published his story '*South with Scott*' in 1921, a book which he '*affectionately dedicated to Lashly and Crean*', the memory of that Antarctic return journey never left him. Teddy Evans went on to have a high-profile career in the Royal Navy. When William Lashly's *Terra Nova* diary was printed for a private circulation in 1939, Admiral Teddy Evans wrote in the forward: "*This little volume is a chapter from the life of one of those steel-true Englishmen whose example sets us all a-thinking. I owe my life to Lashly's devotion and admirable duty-sense. He is one of those 'Yeomen of England' whose type gave us Drake's men and Nelson's men and Scott's and Shackleton's men, and will do so again.*"

The Antarctic story has long been associated with the city and port of Cardiff. The 'heroic age' of polar exploration is exemplified by the adventurous life of William Lashly who lived and worked in the city. His life and contribution to those times is recognised by the Captain

Scott Society who have placed a plaque at the home where, after those adventurous years, he lived in the city.

JCS Editor's Footnote

In May 2019 I organised a polar conference at Annascaul, Co Kerry, Republic of Ireland – Tom Crean's birthplace. I visited his family tomb just outside the village – a place of tranquility and rural beauty. On the top of the tomb are the remnants of a ceramic wreath sent by Teddy Evans. It was in tribute to Crean, who together with Lashly, saved his life in 1912.



Stephen Scott-Fawcett, Annascaul, May 2019

Fortitudine vincimus

**Sir Ernest H. Shackleton
Appreciation Society Convention**

17-19 May 2019

<p>Friday, 17 May</p> <p>19:00 Informal gathering in the bar of the South Pole Inn</p> <p>20:00 Welcome by Stephen Scott-Fawcett (upstairs)</p> <p>20:15 <i>An Introduction to Tom Crean</i> Michael Smith</p> <p>20:45 More chat at the bar before 'lights out'</p> <p>Saturday, 18 May</p> <p>09:00 Arrival and Formal Opening of Convention (upstairs)</p> <p>09:30 <i>The Irish Polar Tradition</i> Michael Smith</p> <p>10:15 Tea & Coffee Break (in the bar)</p> <p>10:45 <i>Shackleton's Cabin</i> Michael Smith</p>	<p>11:30 <i>The Legacy of Hurley and Ponting</i> Anne Strathie</p> <p>12:15 Buffet Lunch (in the bar)</p> <p>13:30 <i>Antarctic Disasters</i> Katie Murray</p> <p>14:15 <i>Shackleton's Heart</i> Ian Calder</p> <p>15:00 Tea & Coffee Break (in the bar)</p> <p>15:30 <i>Open Forum</i></p> <p>16:30 End of Formal Session</p> <p>19:30 Informal Dinner (in the bar)</p> <p>Sunday, 19 May</p> <p>10:30 Tour of Tom Crean Country with Michael Smith</p> <p>13:00 Sunday Buffet Lunch (South Pole Inn)</p> <p>14:00 <i>Display of Antarctic Stamps/Heroic Age Postcards</i> Tony Shields</p> <p>14:30 Afternoon Free</p>
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By Endurance We Conquer



Tom Crean



F. A. Worsley. E. H. Shackleton

Tom. Cream

