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'Southward Ho!' (by way of the Arctic)

References to the Arctic and the promotion of Antarctic exploration in Clements R. Markham's anniversary addresses as President of the Royal Geographical Society, 1894-1905

Introduction

When Clements R. Markham became President of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) in 1893, British naval polar exploration had been in the doldrums for almost twenty years. By the time he resigned his presidency in 1905, Markham had acquired a knighthood and had also engineered a re-awakening of public interest that resulted in the commissioning of the British Antarctic Expedition of 1901-04.

Markham used his anniversary addresses, delivered each year to mark the anniversary of his accession as President of the RGS, as an important forum for his views on geographical matters. The twelve anniversary addresses delivered during the period of his presidency, which were read out at Anniversary Meetings and subsequently published in the Society's *Geographical Journal,* form the main source of material for this article, and will be hereafter referred to according to the year of their delivery: '1894', '1895', etc.[1] In addition, I shall refer to a

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[1] Clements R. Markham, 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society' (July 1894, *Geographical Journal,* Vol IV, pp. 1-25). Clements R. Markham, 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society' (July 1895, ibid., Vol VI, pp. 1-22). Sir Clements R. Markham, 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society' (July 1896, ibid., Vol VIII, pp. 1-15). Sir Clements R. Markham, 'Anniversary Address, 1897' (June 1897, ibid., Vol IX, pp. 589-604). Sir Clements R. Markham, 'Anniversary Address, 1898' (July 1898, ibid., Vol XII, pp. 1-9). Sir Clements Markham, 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society' (July 1899, ibid., Vol XIV, pp. 1-14). Sir Clements R. Markham, 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society' (July 1900, ibid., Vol XVI, pp. 1-14). Sir Clements R. Markham, 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society' (July 1901, ibid., Vol XVIII, pp. 1-13). Sir Clements R. Markham, 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society' (July 1902, ibid., Vol XX, pp. 1-13). Sir Clements R. Markham, 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society, 1903' (July 1903, ibid., Vol XXII, pp. 1-13). Sir Clements R. Markham, 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society, 1904' (July 1904, ibid., Vol XXIV, pp. 1-16). Sir Clements R. Markham, 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society, 1905' (July 1905, ibid., Vol XXVI, pp. 1-28).

number of other papers by Markham, also published in the *Geographical Journal*, which help to illustrate his views concerning polar exploration. These include 'Pytheas, the Discoverer of Britain' (hereafter 'Pytheas');[2] 'The Jubilee of the Hakluyt Society' ('Hakluyt');[3] 'Fourth Centenary of the Voyage of John Cabot, 1497' ('Cabot');[4] 'The President's Opening Address, Session 1898-99' ('Opening Address 1898-99');[5] 'In Commemoration of the Reign of Her Late Majesty, Queen Victoria, Empress of India' ('Queen Victoria');[6] 'Arctic Problems';[7] and 'Commemoration of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth' ('Queen Elizabeth').[8]

I shall concentrate on the numerous references to the Arctic as a region and the precedent of exploration in the Arctic, which Markham used in order to justify a British expedition to the Antarctic. The scope of this article does not include coverage of Markham's allusions to the findings of H.M.S. Challenger's scientific expedition to the Antarctic Ocean of 1872-76, nor his extensive references to Scott's expedition to Antarctica of 1901-04, unless these specifically relate to or illuminate Markham's view of the Arctic. Nor is it possible to cover the many other geographical topics discussed in the anniversary addresses.

In the context of polar exploration, it may be helpful to know that Sir John Franklin's disastrous Northwest Passage expedition of 1845-48 precipitated twenty-six British and four American Franklin search expeditions in the Canadian Arctic and Alaska. Governmental and public attitudes towards polar exploration were still affected by the aftermath of these events during the period 1894-1905, reinforced by the lack of success, in the public's perception, of the British Arctic expedition of 1875-76 (i.e. it failed to reach the North Pole). As a young

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[2] Clements R. Markham, 'Pytheas, the Discoverer of Britain' (June 1893, ibid., Vol I, pp. 504-524).
[3] Sir Clements Markham, 'The Jubilee of the Hakluyt Society' (February 1897, ibid., Vol IX, pp. 169-178).
[4] Sir Clements R. Markham, 'Fourth Centenary of the Voyage of John Cabot, 1497' (July 1897, ibid., Vol IX, pp. 604-620).
[5] Sir Clements R. Markham, 'The President's Opening Address, Session 1898-99' (January 1899, ibid., Vol XIII, pp. 1-16).
[6] Sir Clements R. Markham, 'In Commemoration of the Reign of Her Late Majesty, Queen Victoria, Empress of India' (March 1901, ibid., Vol XVII, pp. 225-252)
[7] Sir Clements R. Markham, 'Arctic Problems' (November 1902, ibid., Vol XX, pp. 481-4).
[8] Sir Clements R. Markham, 'Commemoration of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth' (June 1903, ibid., Vol XXI, pp. 589-602).

midshipman, Clements R. Markham (1830-1916) had taken part in the British naval Franklin search expedition of 1850-51. For the rest of his life he retained a passion for the polar regions (initially the Arctic, but later favouring the Antarctic) and all aspects of the science of geography, particularly matters relating to the Incas and Peru. After his return from the Arctic, Markham left the navy and worked for the India Office until 1877; initially Honorary Secretary of the RGS, he succeeded as President in 1893. A recent article by Ann Savours in *History Today* provides a useful summary of Markham's output in the field of geography.[9]

Exploration

Until Markham succeeded to the RGS presidency, anniversary addresses had been used to provide a review of geographical proceedings throughout the world during the previous year. In his first anniversary address, Markham suggests that, as this service is now being provided by the *Geographical Journal*, 'it seems desirable ... the main part of the address should in future dwell upon some particular subject, preferably one that has most engaged the attention of geographers during the past year' ('1894', p. 5). He then launches into 'dwelling upon the subjects which have chiefly occupied geographers during the past year, namely, the promotion of further discovery both in the Arctic and the Antarctic regions' ('1894', p. 6). His description of the 'six expeditions [that] have either been projected or undertaken to explore different parts of the Arctic Regions within the last two years...' ('1894', p. 6) is limited to each expedition's intended geographical destination. His justification of continued exploration in the Arctic as a whole, quoting General Strachey, is similarly unspecific:

> It may be shown, he said, that no such extent of unknown area, in any part of the world, ever failed to yield results of practical as well as of purely scientific value; and it may be safely urged that, as it is mathematically certain that the area exists, it is impossible that its examination can fail to add largely to the sum of human knowledge. ['1894', p. 7]

[9] Ann Savours, 'From Greenland's Icy Mountains' (*History Today*, 2001, Vol 51, Issue 3, pp. 44-51).

On several occasions Markham itemises what remains to be done in terms of Arctic exploration and advocates its completion, but not in a way that conveys any sense of urgency or confidence that this will be realized. He suggests 'it will be undertaken the next time the British people wake up from their lethargy and become alive to the national importance of Arctic work. This happens about every thirty years.' ('1894', p. 10); whilst hoping 'that British arctic enterprise is not altogether a thing of the past', he remarks that 'all there is left to do is not a tithe of what has been completed under the Union Jack' ('1899', p. 7). The successful outcome of Otto Sverdrup's Norwegian scientific expedition to the northern coast of Greenland precipitates the judgement that 'the whole problem of Arctic geography has now been solved. There are many isolated pieces of work that I should like to see undertaken. ... But there are none which would justify the despatch of an expedition on a large scale.' ('1903', p. 10)

Markham is more focused and emphatic in specifying the ideals of previous polar exploration that might be applied to future Antarctic exploration. His 1897 anniversary address introduces the concept of tradition in British 'antarctic work' that, 'alike in the days of Cook as in the days of Ross, ... has always been undertaken by the Government, and is strictly naval work' ('1897', p. 22). Markham adhered firmly to the notion that 'polar voyages are the best training ground for our navy in time of peace', with his ultimate, and oft-repeated, justification that 'Nelson prepared for Trafalgar in the polar regions' (e.g. '1900', p. 13). Since the government of the day tended to remain unmoved by this argument, he also adopted a strategy of itemising the benefits of polar exploration to commerce and industry, and to science, with an underlying warning of the disadvantage, even dishonour, that might redound to Britain should this course of action not be pursued. Thus Markham advocates the study of oceanography in the polar regions because 'an adequate knowledge of temperatures, salinity, etc., at various depths, is absolutely essential to a successful prosecution of deep-sea fishing', and therefore 'it is to be hoped our Government will see it to be its duty and interest to join in a work which so nearly concerns an important national industry' ('1898', p. 3). Markham demonstrates a genuine interest in the advantages to science that will accrue from polar exploration, to the extent of acknowledging that 'future exploration must become more and more exact and scientific in its character' ('1903', p. 6), but there is no doubt where his priorities really lie:

> It is from the furious gale, off the frozen lee shore, among the hardships and perils of polar navigation, that Britons learn those qualities which have made so many enemies quail before our unconquered fleets. *Even if there is no gain to science,* still it is well that our seamen should defy the obstacles of the frozen sea. ['1900', p. 13, my italics]

Another strategy employed was the allusion to historical polar expeditions as a precedent justifying a continuation of this tradition in his own time. Markham gives fullest rein to this means of persuasion in his articles about the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria, and the voyages of John Cabot; it is also central to his 'Opening Address 1898-99', at a time when the need for funding for the Antarctic expedition that eventually took place in 1901-04 was at its most critical. Markham succeeds in manufacturing historical precedent from Sir James Ross's Antarctic expedition of 1842: 'as the geographical history of the Queen's reign commenced with an antarctic exploration, so the sixtieth year from Her Majesty's accession should be worthily commemorated by preparations for continuing the exploration of that southern continent which bears the name of Victoria' ('1897', p. 595). More usually, however, he has to rely on the precedent of exploration in the Arctic regions, and in this context he makes frequent reference to the 'patriotic munificence of the merchant princes of old' ('1894', p. 10; similar phrasing is used twice in 'Opening Address 1898-99', three times in 'Queen Victoria' and twice in 'Queen Elizabeth'). The 'eminent distiller' Sir Felix Booth is acclaimed for his financial support of an Arctic expedition of 1829 that resulted in 'the discovery of the region named Boothia Felix, of the Gulf of Boothia, which long proved to be a remunerative fishing ground, and of the position of the north magnetic pole' ('Opening Address 1898-99', p. 11); it also resulted in a baronetcy for Booth upon the expedition's return.

Markham found himself in a difficult position concerning the financing of the Antarctic Expedition. He remained emphatic that the government must support the expedition: 'if we are obliged to hold back, our credit as a nation is gone. We must, for the first time in our history, disgracefully take a back place.' ('Opening Address 1898-99', p. 11). At the same time, he was forced to seek private funding in order to enable it to take place at all, flying in the face of his insistence that the only good expedition was a naval expedition (hitherto, by definition, government-backed). A subsequent donation of thirty thousand pounds from Mr L. W. Longstaff enabled plans for the

expedition to proceed. In an attempt to rationalize this private sponsorship of what had, at all costs, to be presented as a national expedition, Markham contradicts himself within the space of a single page in his 1899 anniversary address:

> we look to the various precedents afforded by several private expeditions which have occasionally stepped in to perform work which has usually been undertaken by the Government. ['1899', p. 13]

> It is in no sense a private expedition; its objects are precisely the same as those of the polar expeditions so often despatched or subsidized by the Government, while its national and representative character are emphasized by the Prince of Wales having become its patron and the Duke of York its vice-patron. ['1899', pp. 13-14]

The anniversary addresses do not reveal what, if any, inducements were offered to Mr Longstaff, but Markham's anniversary address of 1905 hints at a possible discrepancy between what might have been anticipated and what transpired. He praises Mr Longstaff's 'munificent and patriotic donation ... Sir Felix Booth did the same for the expedition of the Rosses, and was rewarded with a baronetcy. Mr. Longstaff's great service, he may feel assured, has the admiration of his countrymen.' ('1905', p. 19).

Polar regions

One way to resolve the difficulty in alluding to previous Arctic exploration as a precedent to, and justification for, future Antarctic exploration was to fall back on the neutral term 'polar'. Markham made particularly frequent use of the word in articles written immediately before the Antarctic Expedition's departure in 1901, perhaps to reinforce the sense of the expedition's inclusion within the existing canon of exploration to the icy regions. Specific references to the Arctic proliferate in Markham's writings as well, of course, beginning with the Greek scientific explorer Pytheas who, in the third century B.C., was 'not only the discoverer of Britain, but the first explorer who received information respecting the Arctic Regions' ('Pytheas', p. 519). The Arctic was inextricably linked to the idea of the Farthest North and the North Pole in the British public mind during the nineteenth century, and in seeking to deflect attention away from the Arctic and towards the Antarctic,

Markham sought to downgrade the attainment of the North Pole as an ideal. On several occasions he is emphatic that 'the Council [of the RGS] has always consistently maintained that merely to reach the North Pole, or to attain a higher latitude than some one else, were objects unworthy of support ... the principal aim of Arctic voyages should be to explore the unknown regions, and not merely to reach the Pole.' ('1894', pp. 7-9). He stresses that he is supported in this matter by such Arctic explorers as Nansen and Weyprecht. This becomes a stick with which to beat explorers whose stated aim is to reach the pole: even Peary is not exempt from criticism, although greatly admired in many other respects. Only Andrée's proposed balloon expedition to the North Pole is exempt, perhaps on the grounds of its perceived scientific worth. The North Pole is used as a positive image just once in Markham's writings for the *Geographical Journal* during his presidency of the RGS, in an account of Princess Victoria's donation of a pocket-compass to a Northwest Passage expedition in the early 1830s:

> In the estuary of the Fish river, when there was great disagreement in the other needles in denoting magnetic north, that of the Princess could alone be relied upon; it almost seemed like an emblem or forecast of the excelling steadfastness to duty of our great Queen, 'true as the needle to the pole'. ['Queen Victoria, p. 226]

In his first anniversary address, in 1894, Markham begins to set the scene for a renewal of Antarctic exploration: 'all the scientific societies in the United Kingdom and on the continent are now of one mind as to the importance of Antarctic exploration, and they are convinced that it must be a Government undertaking. It is half a century since Sir James Ross returned, and the time has come for renewing the work which he commenced so admirably.' ('1894', p. 20). However, it is not until 1897 that Markham really starts to focus his audience's attention upon Antarctica in its own right (as distinct from references to the Arctic that might help to further the cause of Antarctic exploration). He invokes the precedent of Sir James Ross's expedition to the south of 1842, explaining that 'the necessity for an antarctic expedition has become more and more urgent, for many reasons, but chiefly because the science of terrestrial magnetism is at a standstill, owing to the absence of any observations in the far south during the last fifty years.' ('1897', p. 593), before going on to enumerate the other scientific

benefits of such an expedition. By the beginning of 1899, the idea of an Antarctic expedition appears to have gained sufficient ground for Markham to declare that 'the exploration of the antarctic regions has now become the most important geographical work of our time' ('Opening Address 1898-99', p. 8). Markham describes the aims of the 1901-04 Antarctic Expedition in great detail over a series of anniversary addresses and other articles, yet not once does he make a reference to the South Pole. This seems to extend his disparagement of 'a sort of international steeplechase', Weyprecht's description of the quest for the (North) Pole, as quoted by Markham ('1894', p. 9). In order to avoid any reference to the South Pole, however, Markham is forced into the circumlocution of explaining that 'the question of wintering is left to Captain Scott's discretion, but he is instructed to use his utmost endeavours to explore the region within reach of his winter quarters, by sledge travelling in the spring.' ('1902', p. 2). By the time reports of Scott's first Antarctic expedition become available, the region has entirely outgrown its original showcase: 'the news is too great, far too important, to be told in a portion of an anniversary address.' ('1903', p. 13).

Expeditions and explorers

Markham refers to the Arctic expedition of 1875 on a number of occasions in his anniversary addresses. The commander of H.M.S. Alert, one of the ships taking part in the 1875 expedition, was Markham's cousin, Albert Hastings Markham, and Clements Markham accompanied the expedition as far as the west coast of Greenland. Markham had worked almost as hard to drum up support for the 1875 Arctic Expedition as he was later to do for the 1901-04 Antarctic Expedition, working in tandem with Admiral Sherard Osborn, who had taken part in the Arctic expedition of 1850-51 with Markham. Osborn died in the mid-1870s, but his support for the renewal of polar exploration was often invoked by Markham thereafter (e.g. '1895', pp. 11-12; '1899', p. 10), particularly Osborn's contention that 'the navy needs some action to wake it up from the canker of prolonged peace' ('1899', p. 12).

Aside from Sir James Ross, commander of the 1842 Antarctic expedition, references to historical explorers are rare in Markham's anniversary addresses. There is, however, a reference to Sir John Franklin in one of his other articles that

illustrates Markham's unfailingly and unfashionably positive perception of Arctic exploration during his own lifetime:

> We no longer look upon the devoted zeal, the high-souled courage, and the heroic deaths of Sir John Franklin and his gallant companions as embodying one of the disasters of the Queen's reign. Those heroes are now among the *Dii majores* of explorers. They set examples which we hold up for imitation; their deeds invite successive generations to go forth and do likewise. [Queen Victoria', p. 229]

Of all the polar explorers contemporary to the period 1894-1905, Nansen and Peary received the most attention from Markham. His admiration for Nansen was evident: 'his lofty enthusiasm is tempered with foresight and prudence, as is the case with all great leaders of men' ('1896', p. 12). He used Nansen to endorse his own criticism of efforts to attain the North Pole, yet appeared to turn a quietly blind eye to Nansen's own 'daring expedition onward into the unknown' ('1895', p. 1), which certainly embodied a desire to reach the North Pole, if not as an explicit goal. Looking back from the vantage point of 1905, Markham recounts how 'Nansen had drawn back the veil which had concealed the Arctic mystery. We now know that the Arctic Regions consist of a deep polar ocean nearly surrounded by land, with a flow of Atlantic water inwards on the Siberian side, and outwards down the east coast of Greenland.' ('1905', p. 16). This discovery reinforced Markham's argument that the North Pole was not an environment worthy of exploration in its own right.

Of the other explorers mentioned in Markham's writings, Baron Toll is praised for 'the exceedingly valuable results of his visit to the New Siberia islands' ('1895', p. 1) and later for his intention to explore Sannikoff Land (believed at the time to be part of the Russian Arctic), giving the impression that Baron Toll's efforts may safely be lauded, since they represent no threat to Markham's own ambitions. The anniversary addresses give almost no details concerning Frederick George Jackson's expeditions to Franz Josef Land, reserving the limelight for newspaper proprietor Alfred Harmsworth, who 'determined to provide the funds for a laudable geographical undertaking' ('1894', p. 10), thus providing a role model for the sponsor Markham already knew he would need to seek for the Antarctic Expedition. Joseph Wiggins, who for years pioneered commercial expeditions in the Kara Sea region, is mentioned

only as the man most likely to obtain tidings of Nansen ('1896', p. 12).

Markham refers to Richard Hakluyt (1553-1616), best known for his biographical writings concerning explorers of his day, on several occasions in the anniversary addresses, and in December 1896 he delivered an address celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Hakluyt Society, of which Markham was also President. Markham describes how, as a young man, Hakluyt 'soon began to see two great needs of his country, and he set himself to work with patriotic zeal to remedy the evils. The first was caused by the ignorance of our seamen as regards the scientific branch of their profession. The second was the absence of records, and the way in which important voyages and travel were allowed to fall into oblivion.' ('Hakluyt', p. 170). Markham was clearly greatly influenced by Hakluyt's achievements, which corresponded in so many respects with the priorities in Markham's own life. He goes so far as to aver that 'excepting, of course, Shakespeare and the *Dii Majores*, there is no writer of the age of Elizabeth to whom posterity owes a deeper debt of gratitude than to Richard Hakluyt, the saviour of the records of our explorers and discoverers by land and sea' ('Hakluyt', p. 173). Markham refers to Sir Henry Yule, a previous President of the Hakluyt Society, in the course of his address, as 'the most Hakluytianly-minded man I ever knew. He was like Hakluyt in his minute and conscientious research, like Hakluyt in his imaginative faculty and his poetic instincts, like Hakluyt in his patriotic aspirations, and like Hakluyt he died in harness, working to the last, and presiding over this Society.' ('Hakluyt', p. 174). It is not hard to imagine that Markham may also have had his own achievements in mind when compiling this description, and not at all surprising that, in seconding a proposal of thanks for the address, Admiral Sir Anthony Hoskins takes the hint and declares that he thought that the term 'Hakluytianly-minded man ... might be applied with equal fitness to their esteemed President' ('Hakluyt', p. 178).

Markham's powers of persuasion

Hakluyt was not himself an explorer, yet various remarks made in Markham's anniversary addresses edge him – and by implication Markham himself – towards that category in all but name. Markham's assessment of the overlap between the fields

of history and geography in 1895 includes the observation that 'exactly the same training, as regards historical geography, is required for an explorer as for a cartographer or a student.' ('1895', p. 8). At this time, the science of geography was lacking in academic status in British universities, compared to its standing in the universities of countries such as Germany. Markham often refers to this with some discomfort, and is keen to use any occasion to emphasize the academic validity of geography:

> History has always looked to the science of geography for the way out of many difficulties ... the search lights of geography have penetrated into many of the obscure periods of the story of our race, and shown ways which, without their help, would have continued to be wrapped in obscurity. ['1895', p. 13]

In the same address, Markham recommends retrospects (a form of research in which both he and Hakluyt specialized) as 'necessary for the execution of really valuable geographical work. They are also of service in reminding us of the great deeds and illustrious lives of our predecessors ... Our younger associates have their enthusiasm aroused, and have examples set before them which they are incited to emulate.' ('1895', p. 17) Markham was 65 years old when he made this speech, and his writings of this period consistently demonstrate a focus on the experience of age, balanced by the enthusiasm of youth. Such retrospects also provide an opportunity to emphasize the qualities of an earlier era and encourage their imitation, or alternatively to lament the lack of such qualities at the present time. In 'Queen Elizabeth', for example, Markham associates Elizabethan exploration and discovery with 'an enthusiastic feeling of patriotism which no difficulties or hardships could daunt, and no disaster could quench' ('Queen Elizabeth', p. 601). He uses patriotism more directly as a means of persuasion when referring to the planned Antarctic Expedition, maintaining that 'the great desire of scientific men throughout the world, as well as of all patriotic Britons, is that a Government Antarctic expedition should be equipped for the complete attainment of all those valuable results which are so urgently needed, more particularly as regards a magnetic survey, and which can only be effectually secured by an expedition under naval discipline' ('1896', p. 14).

On occasion Markham's addresses venture into the realms of slightly overbearing rhetoric: 'Britain is ever true to her traditions.' ('1899', p. 11); and, at the beginning of his first

anniversary address, 'all possibility of contentious discussion and debate has been entirely banished for the future from our anniversary meetings' ('1894', p. 1). He is capable of taking other people's words and attaching a questionably far-reaching interpretation. Balfour's decidedly prosaic utterance concerning the possibility of an Antarctic expedition offers one example:

> "I should be greatly surprised if the expedition does not come across a great many phenomena which we did not expect to observe, and which will throw a novel light upon many of our most important scientific theories." Mr. Balfour, with a touch of Ithuriel's spear, threw a still brighter light upon our hopes, and widened almost indefinitely the possible scope of our discovery of new truths. ['1900', p. 9]

Assumptions on Markham's part that are necessarily unsustainable include character traits attributed to individuals in history, such as fifteenth-century explorer John Cabot: 'He was a scientific seaman and a good cartographer, energetic, brave, and persevering, for these qualities were necessary for the accomplishment of the enterprise he undertook. He must also have combined his practical abilities with imagination and some enthusiasm. ... he must have possessed the facility of winning the confidence of his men' ('Cabot', p. 613).

Markham's first anniversary address relies on persuasion by means of repetition. His ideal of a commander of an Arctic expedition as 'a man of high scientific attainments, of great experience in the ice, and known to be gifted with the rare qualifications of a leader of men' ('1894', p. 8) is followed so closely by a description of Nansen as 'a commander of high scientific attainments, considerable Arctic experience, and the rare gift of inspiring confidence among his followers' ('1894', p. 8) that a direct compliment to Nansen was obviously intended. However, in the same address he goes on to make similar claims for Peary and others: 'For my own part, I look upon Peary as the ideal explorer' (p. 14), 'to my mind, Mr. Trevor-Battye is cut out for a successful explorer' (p. 20). By the end of his address it has been made absolutely clear to the original listener, or subsequent reader, that men of a thoroughly suitable calibre for the purposes of polar exploration abound in plenty.

At intervals during the subsequent decade, Markham describes Antarctic endeavour (or Arctic endeavour that provides a precedent for future endeavour in Antarctica) in a more elevated style than one might generally expect to find in a

geographical journal, for example in the closing sentences of his anniversary address in 1901:

> when the time comes for the Discovery to start on her memorable voyage, with all on board resolved to do their utmost for the credit of Old England, we can, with a clear conscience, join in the hearty cheers of farewell. Then we can all raise the glorious cry, without anxiety, of "Southward Ho!" ['1901', p. 13]

A page or so earlier in the same address, Markham recollects his own experience in the Arctic as he anticipates the results of sledge travel in the forthcoming Antarctic Expedition: 'I am taken back in thought to that memorable April day in 1851... The distinctive flags of the officers were flying in the breeze and enlivening the white landscape, and then fourteen sledges started, with crews full of zeal and resolution, east, west, and south' ('1901', p. 12). When the members of the Antarctic Expedition reach their destination, two years later, Markham envisages their situation in passionate terms that seem to echo what he himself experienced:

> The weather-beaten, frost-scarred heroes, the first great Antarctic travellers, standing on the edge of that immovable ice which imprisoned their ship, with Mount Erebus for a background. One can almost hear the cheers and see the waving caps as the *Morning* moved slowly away. Think of them now, entering cheerfully upon a second winter! Think of the terrible hardships and sufferings they have gone through for science, and for their country's credit! Is there any tale of derring-doe surpassing the story of those who have planted the cross of St. George in 82° 17′ S.? ['1903', pp. 12-13]

Conclusion

It is not possible to establish, from Markham's anniversary addresses and his other writings of this time, precisely what determined the success of his drive to commission renewed British exploration of the Antarctic. This article, in any case, focuses on Markham's specific references to the Arctic as a means of advocating Antarctic exploration, rather than on his prolific descriptions of the planning and outcome of the 1901-04 Antarctic Expedition in its own right. Nevertheless, it is possible to analyse Markham's use of factual information and his presentation of material in the specific context covered by this article, on the assumption that here, as elsewhere, his choice of information and presentation was intended to

enhance the presentation of his claims to the listener or reader. These include a skilful comparison of the common ground between the Arctic and Antarctic regions, using the neutrality of references to the polar regions in what appears to be a very deliberate fashion at a certain stage of Markham's 'crusade', leaving no room for doubt as to where his own priorities lay. They also include repeated and emphatic reference to matters that were central to Markham's plans, such as the historical precedent of British expeditions to unknown regions, ideals of exploration and naval involvement in Polar discovery.

Examining Markham's anniversary addresses over his entire presidency of the RGS, it is hard not to be influenced, perhaps even manipulated, by Markham's style of writing, which creates a layered effect, through comparison and emphasis; this seems, in turn, to posit implied or incomplete syllogisms. For example, Markham frequently stresses the need for common skills to be mastered by the geographer who explores, as well as the geographer who studies, creating patterns of activity like these:

Geographer – Explorer – Discoverer – Hero
Geographer – Researcher – Discoverer – Expert

It seems to me that in his writings Markham sought, consciously or not, to reduce or obscure the distinction between the heroes (Nansen, Peary, Scott) and the experts (Hakluyt and himself). Working on the basis of credit by association, there is little doubt that Markham presented himself (again, not necessarily consciously) as a 'Hakluytianly-minded man'. There are also several instances of Markham invoking Nansen's opinions to endorse his own. Indeed, Markham twice points out that the discoveries from Nansen's expedition of 1893-96 determined by observation what Markham had foreseen in theory from his analysis of the results of the 1875 Arctic Expedition. In one instance, he goes on to explain that Nansen had been unaware of Markham's theory at the time, almost as though to exonerate Nansen from any suspicion of plagiarism ('Queen Victoria', p. 230, 'Arctic Problems', p. 482, and elsewhere).

The effect upon history of Markham's anniversary addresses, and his writings in general may be unclear, but there are moments when it seems as though Markham is trying to 'write history' before the event. Certainly, he used the precedent of history to endorse his views: his presentation of the Elizabethan era as a Golden Age offers underlying 'truths',

such as the equation of discovery with patriotism, which any opponent of Markham's views would have found hard to refute. Markham researched his historical facts very thoroughly, but comparisons are so frequently made between historical characters and people of Markham's own era that the consequent blurring of time seems also to soften the line between fact and aspiration. Robert Falcon Scott, for example, is compared as a historical figure to Sir James Ross before he has set foot on Antarctica ('Queen Victoria', p. 252); Sverdrup's discoveries off the coast of northern Greenland inspire a comparison of Norwegian and British achievements and an association over the centuries that takes the listener or reader into realms of history not far removed from mythology ('1903', pp. 8-9). Francis Spufford suggests that Scott, in writing his journal during the final days of his last Antarctic expedition, 'commanded the kingdom of words. He was *making*. ... A century and more of expectations were to hand, anonymous and virtually instinctive to him: he shaped them.'[10] As a style of writing, this appears to follow a trend similar to that established on several occasions in Markham's writings, when Markham alluded to the past in order to try to write the future into existence.

[10] Francis Spufford, *I may be some time: ice and the English imagination* (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1997), p. 333.

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