Proceedings of a Workshop on the Historic Place Names of Franz Josef Land

Edited by P.J. Capelotti

Oslo, Norway, 12-13 May 2015

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Cover photo: the Russian icebreaker *Yamal* cruises near Jackson Island in Franz Josef Land in August of 2006 (© P.J. Capelotti).

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Susan Barr[2]

Abstract

Remarks at the opening of a workshop, sponsored by the U.S. National Science Foundation, and held in Oslo, Norway, from 12-13 May 2015, to discuss the historic place names of the High Arctic archipelago of Franz Josef Land. The visiting students from Penn State University, none of whom had ever before been to Europe, were anxious to hear how Dr. Barr, a native of the United Kingdom, had come to Norway and made a life for herself in a different country with a different language, as a female in a then-largely male universe of polar research, and, in a nation of hunters, as a vegetarian.

Keywords

Franz Josef Land, polar exploration, Oslo NSF workshop, women in polar studies

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I want to say welcome to Norway but there's nobody here who's Norwegian, which is quite interesting, except for the two of us who live here. I've lived here for a lot more than half my life. The area where we are now (near the Oslo Opera House and the buildings known collectively as the 'bar code') is the area where Oslo was originally established, and now we've started all this building out here, and in the process uncovered quite a lot of interesting boat wrecks. So the contractors are having to put in a lot of money for the archaeological work here, which is rather nice.

I'd also like to say, this book of Pete's that's coming, on the American story in Franz Josef Land, I think it's just fabulous. It's going to be the Bible for these expeditions in years to come. Absolutely amazing. He brought up the subject, and it hadn't yet existed really. Perhaps because the Americans didn't really get close to the North Pole, even though they were supposed to be there for that purpose, those expeditions to Franz Josef Land have been forgotten.

[2] About the author: Dr. Susan Barr of the Cultural Ministry in Oslo, Norway, is a preeminent polar historian and ethnologist. As one of the first Westerners to visit many of the historic sites of Franz Josef Land just as the Soviet Union collapsed, she edited the seminal volume *Franz Josef Land* (Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitutt, 1995), among her dozens of article and monograph works in the history and exploration of the Polar Regions.

Fig. 1. Penn State University student Jackie Lanning (right) presenting her polar art print to Dr. Susan Barr, 12 May 2015 (© Dr. C.L. Devlin).

I have worked in polar areas since 1979. But the first time I came to Norway was 1968. And I have lived here permanently since 1973. The first reason to come here had nothing to do with history: it was to go skiing. I wanted good, long winters, and lots of skiing. So I kept coming backwards and forwards, backwards and forwards, from Britain. I went to university here for a while, and met the man I married and that was ... when you get stuck.

So now I'm a bit sort of in between. People ask, well are you Norwegian? Well, I'm not. I'm still British. If it's a skiing race between Sweden and Norway, then it's Norway all the time. If it's a football match between Norway and England then it's England all the time. So a bit mixed up.

But I have to say that, by now, I dream more in Norwegian. And it's a bit embarrassing, as I speak pretty good English and then I suddenly say, oh, what's that word in English... Just silly. Virtually all of my work has been in Norwegian. It took a long time before I understood that I should publish in English because the market increased from 50 people to 100 people. And I've actually brought for you one of the very first books I ever wrote, so it's pretty old by now. But it's quite a good overview of Norway's polar territories. It's mostly still relevant.

But so many things have changed in these areas in the past 30 years. So this early book says that there's no tourism but now there's a lot of tourism, the kind of tourism on land where you go into hotels and shops and all that sort of thing. And one other thing was that the illustrations were meant to be in color. So one of them says, look at the wonderful colors. There aren't any colors! But apart from that, the facts are still quite good.

Norway is the only country in the world that has territories in both the Arctic and the Antarctic. And they also, interestingly enough, have the northernmost island on the mid-Atlantic ridge and the southernmost island. The ridge itself has even been suggested or proposed for world heritage.

So I just got sold on polar areas and it was a coincidence that I got the job. And life is coincidences. I can tell you that from my own experience. I never intended to marry. I never intended to marry a Norwegian. Especially not one with a beard. I was never going to have children. Got two. And when I did my degree, just happened to see an advertisement for the first cultural heritage office of the Norwegian Arctic, in Longyearbyen in Svalbard—which I didn't know where it was or what it was or anything. I just applied and got it. My first step on Svalbard was in March of 1979 and I was just sold. The cold air... There was just no turning back. So that's what I've done ever since.

Chapter 2. The historical geography of an archipelago of polar explorers[3]

P.J. Capelotti[4]

Abstract

An outline of the rationale for a workshop, held in Oslo, Norway, from 12-13 May 2015, to discuss the historic place names of the High Arctic archipelago of Franz Josef Land. The islands contain hundreds of place names that amount to a virtual catalog of polar exploration and explorers of the mid- to late-19th Century. As an example, three American expeditions spent seven years there between 1898-1905, in failed attempts to try to reach the geographic North Pole. However, in the process, they left behind a record of the American Gilded Age that survived even 70 years of Soviet Communism.

Keywords

Franz Josef Land, historic place names, historical geography, polar exploration, Oslo NSF workshop

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This project started, one could say, in 2006, when I met Magnus Forsberg on board the Russian nuclear icebreaker *Yamal* during a voyage to Franz Josef Land and the geographic North Pole. Over two weeks of breaking through the polar ice cap, Magnus and I had a lot of time on the bridge of the ship to look at the charts of the islands and begin to ask questions about the origins of the place names there, since so many of them were clearly related to the history of polar exploration. At some point we conceived of the idea of a 'place names of Franz Josef Land' and had the audacity to think might rival that essential work of polar toponymy, *Place Names of Svalbard*, produced in several editions here in Norway by the Norsk Polarinstitutt.

At the time we thought the whole effort might take about 30 days, since we were talking about no more than 300-400 place names. Little did we imagine that we would be here in Oslo, nearly10 years later, with two articles published[5] but still very much a long way to go before we

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[4] About the author: P.J. Capelotti is professor of anthropology at Penn State University, Abington College. He is the author or editor of twenty books and his research has taken him several times to Svalbard and Franz Josef Land and twice to the North Pole. A retired Master Chief Petty Officer in the U.S. Coast Guard Reserve, Capelotti was decorated by the Coast Guard with the Arctic Service Medal and twice with the Meritorious Service Medal.

[5] See: P.J. Capelotti and Magnus Forsberg. 2014. "The Place Names of Zemlya Frantsa-Iosifa: the Wellman polar expedition, 1898-1899." *Polar Record* FirstView: doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0032247414000801 and: P.J. Capelotti and Magnus Forsberg. 2015. "The Place Names of Zemlya Frantsa-Iosifa: Leigh Smith's *Eira* expeditions, 1880 and 1881-82." *Polar Record* 51(1): 16-23. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0032247413000429.

have anything like a comprehensive database of the place names of Franz Josef Land, much less the history of the origins and connections with (and between) the various expeditions that explored the islands between their discovery in 1873 and the end of the Ziegler Polar Expedition in 1905.

Fig. 1. P.J. Capelotti at the grave of Bergljot Wellman, second wife of the American journalist-explorer Walter Wellman, at Vestre Gravlund, Oslo, Norway, 10 May 2015 (© Amanda Lockerby).

I started, as many of you know, some 30 years ago, to research and write the story of the American journalist-explorer Walter Wellman. That work eventually took me to Danskoya in Svalbard 22 years ago, and that eventually led me to Wellman's second expedition, which was staged in Franz Josef Land. Susan Barr was one of the few people at the time who had actually been to Franz Josef Land,[6] and Andreas Umbreit had written of Franz Josef Land in his *Guide to Spitsbergen*.[7] But to those of us who were neophytes in Svalbard two decades ago, Franz Josef Land was always a mysterious place even further east and north, one that almost no one visited because it was hidden behind the impenetrable Russian wall. And there it kept all of its secrets.

[6] See: Susan Barr. 1991. Soviet-Norwegian Historical Expedition to Zemlya Frantsa-Iosifa. *Polar Record* 27(163): 297-302. doi:10.1017/S003224740001305X.
[7] See: Andreas Umbreit. 1991. *Guide to Spitsbergen*, 1st edition. Bradt Travel Guides.

Over the past twenty years, I have worked on and off to research each of the three American expedition to Franz Josef Land, beginning with Wellman's in 1898-99, continuing with the Baldwin-Ziegler expedition of 1901-02, and concluding with the Fiala-Ziegler expedition of 1903-05.[8]

But each time I got very far into that massive project I had to put the American project aside to deal with the British explorer who kept getting in the way, Benjamin Leigh Smith, who had he left his own set of place names in Franz Josef Land. There was quite an interesting time looking at some of those. We're still, I don't think quite certain, why Cape Flora was so named. We all assumed it was because of the flowers there, and because it's kind of the only green spot on the island.

But his great, great, great niece is convinced that it's named after Benjamin Leigh Smith's great aunt Flora. She was the wife of Valentine Smith, a person rich beyond the dreams of avarice in Victorian England, much richer than Leigh Smith himself, and who put forward the money to launch the rescue expedition of Leigh Smith after the *Eira* sank, off Cape Flora, in 1881.

After finally getting Leigh Smith off my plate three years ago,[9] it was time finally to turn seriously to the Americans.

Americans, American history, and American polar history in particular, can be extremely problematic. This is nowhere more true than in Franz Josef Land, where three American expeditions spent seven years, all but aimlessly trying to reach the North Pole while spending larger and larger sums of money and throwing more and more people at that monumental problem in increasingly more futile effort to reach the Pole from Franz Josef Land.

However, in the process, they left behind a record of the American Gilded Age that has survived even 70 years of Soviet Communism. There are the names of American bankers on capes and islands and Franz Josef Land, who ... some of them wound up in prison at the end of their days for extortion and various financial malfeasance. But their names are still in Franz Josef Land, having survived the scrub by the Soviet communists and then the collapse of communism. It really is an extraordinary story of the survival of geographic place names in the face of every conceivable tide of history.

And now, of course, we once again have a very stressful relationship, between an attempted resurgent Russia and the West. In a sense, events have come full circle because now

[8] See: P.J. Capelotti. 2016. *The Greatest Show in the Arctic: the American exploration of Franz Josef Land, 1898-1905*. American exploration & travel series, University of Oklahoma Press.
[9] See: P.J. Capelotti. 2013. *Shipwreck at Cape Flora: The Expeditions of Benjamin Leigh Smith, England's Forgotten Arctic Explorer*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, Northern Lights Series. On-line at: http://uofcpress.com/books/9781552387054.

we have tours through Franz Josef Land, tours that cater to a sort of second Gilded Age of individuals able to afford these very expensive tours to what is still a very remote place.'

So that, in a nutshell, is the genesis of the project that Magnus and I began nearly a decade ago. He will talk about some of this work, but let me give you one example of the difficulty in this toponymic research. We had sorted though the Leigh Smith names and then tackled Walter Wellman, and we were very lucky to find some original archival information—in the archives of the National Air and Space Museum in Dulles, Virginia, of all places, which sounds unusual since Wellman's Franz Josef Land expedition was an land/over-ice expedition.

But of course these papers wound up at an aeronautical museum because of Wellman's later aeronautic expeditions. So the Franz Josef materials are basically lost there, because anyone looking for information about the Franz Josef Land expedition wouldn't think to look in an air museum. But that's where they are.

So we are here, in Oslo, talk about how we might approach a more global place names project, with all of the national expeditions from all these different countries. And we are supported here with funding from the Office of Office of Polar Programs at the National Science Foundation, which decided that such a workshop, one that includes our undergraduate students from Penn State University, is a worthwhile endeavor.

Over the next two days, we will begin a discussion leading towards an agenda to proceed with this project. And before we begin, I would like to mention two things.

The first is to show a potential model for a way forward in the work of David Rumsey and this is his website where he has been for years now adding historic charts from places all over the world. Rumsey is President of Cartography Associates, a digital publishing company based in San Francisco, which specializes in digital publishing, online library building, and software development. Rumsey has been collecting historical maps from the world over for decades, and this collection now amounts to more than 150,000 maps, of which more than 30,000 are on digitizes and on-line as the David Rumsey Historical Map Collection at www.davidrumsey.com. The site is free to the public and updated monthly.

Figure 2 is an example. This is, you may recognize it, Cape Cod, Massachusetts, from a 1931 map. What Mr. Rumsey has done scanned these and placed them online so that you can magnify them to incredibly fine levels of detail. As his website says:

"Here viewers have access not only to high resolution images of maps that are extensively cataloged, but also to a variety of tools that allow to users to compare, analyze, and view items in new and experimental ways.

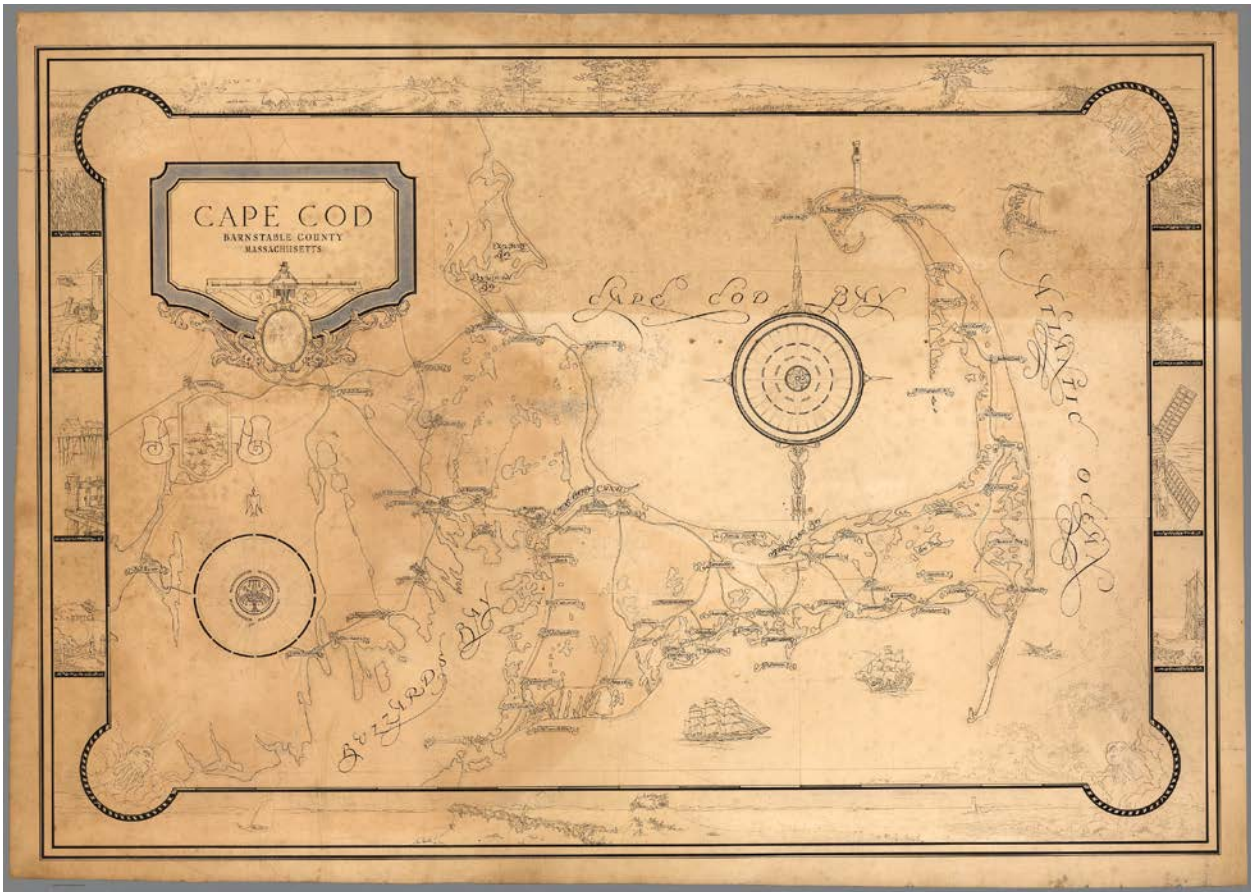

Fig. 2. Cape Cod, by B. Ashburton Tripp (1931). Source: www.davidrumsey.com.

"Maps are uniquely suited to high-resolution scanning because of the large amount of detailed information they contain. In their original form, maps and atlases can be large, delicate, and unwieldy. Digitization increases their accessibility, and when combined with online catalogs, they can be searched in a variety of ways. The site allows public access to rare maps that have been hidden or available only to a few.

"Multiple maps from different time periods can be viewed side-by-side. Viewers can also create their own collections of maps that hold particular interest by saving groups of images. Complete cataloging data accompany each image, enabling in-depth searches of the collection.

"Materials created in America and that illustrate the evolution of the country's history, culture, and population distinguish the collection. Close inspection of the maps often reveals the growth and decline of towns, mining excavations, the unfolding of the railroads, and the "discovery" of the American West by European explorers. The collection also includes European imprints containing maps of the Americas that were influential to American cartographers, as well as maps of other parts of the world distinguished by great craftsmanship, significance, and beauty."[10]

So one avenue we should consider is a similar project for the whole range of historic maps and charts from Franz Josef Land in order to create a similar free and public Internet archive. Secondly, while we will have the chance to hear from my students later, and see the remarkable work they have done, I would like to point out one of them now, as it relates specifically to this issue of mapping and its accessibility.

When I was in Gothenburg in October, I had the great fortune to meet Tyrone Martinsson and see the incredible work that he's doing on the interplay between the past and present in visual and cartographic representations of Svalbard.[11] And the inspiration from that work led directly to Penn State art student Jacqueline Lanning's work that she has brought here.

Jackie took 24 large-scale charts of Franz Josef Land that Heddi Vaughan Siebel, an artist and descendent of one of the Americans from the Fiala expedition, had copied from the Harvard library and kindly made available to us. And you can see what Jackie has done: she's created the first large-scale mosaic of Franz Josef Land. This is a totally unique document, one of a kind. When it is finally printed at full-size, it will be some 8 feet tall and 14 feet wide.

So we are here in Oslo, in very real terms, not necessarily on account of anything Magnus and I have done, but because of the work of Jackie and her fellow students. And Oslo, as it always does, has welcomed us with open arms. It's a magnificent city and justly famed as the city of explorers. After we arrived on Saturday morning, we first visited the Kon-Tiki Museum, where Reidar Solsvik offered us a tour through the archives, where our students were able to see the original log book from the *Kon-Tiki* raft, as well as of course the raft itself.

The logbook, ironically, and I never knew this, was written in English. Even though Heyerdahl's grasp of English wasn't perfect at the time, he wrote the log in English because he had at least a sliver of doubt in his head whether they would survive. And if the raft was going to sink they were going to make sure that the logbook was wrapped and if anything was to be found, the logbook would be found, and it would be in English so that the whole world could understand why he had done what he had done. So this was the chance to see what few have seen: a truly unique and remarkable document and to hear about their progress in digitizing their entire archival collection.

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[10] See: http://www.davidrumsey.com/about
[11] See: Tyrone Martinsson. 2015. *Spitsbergen Past and Present*. University of Gothenburg: unpublished.

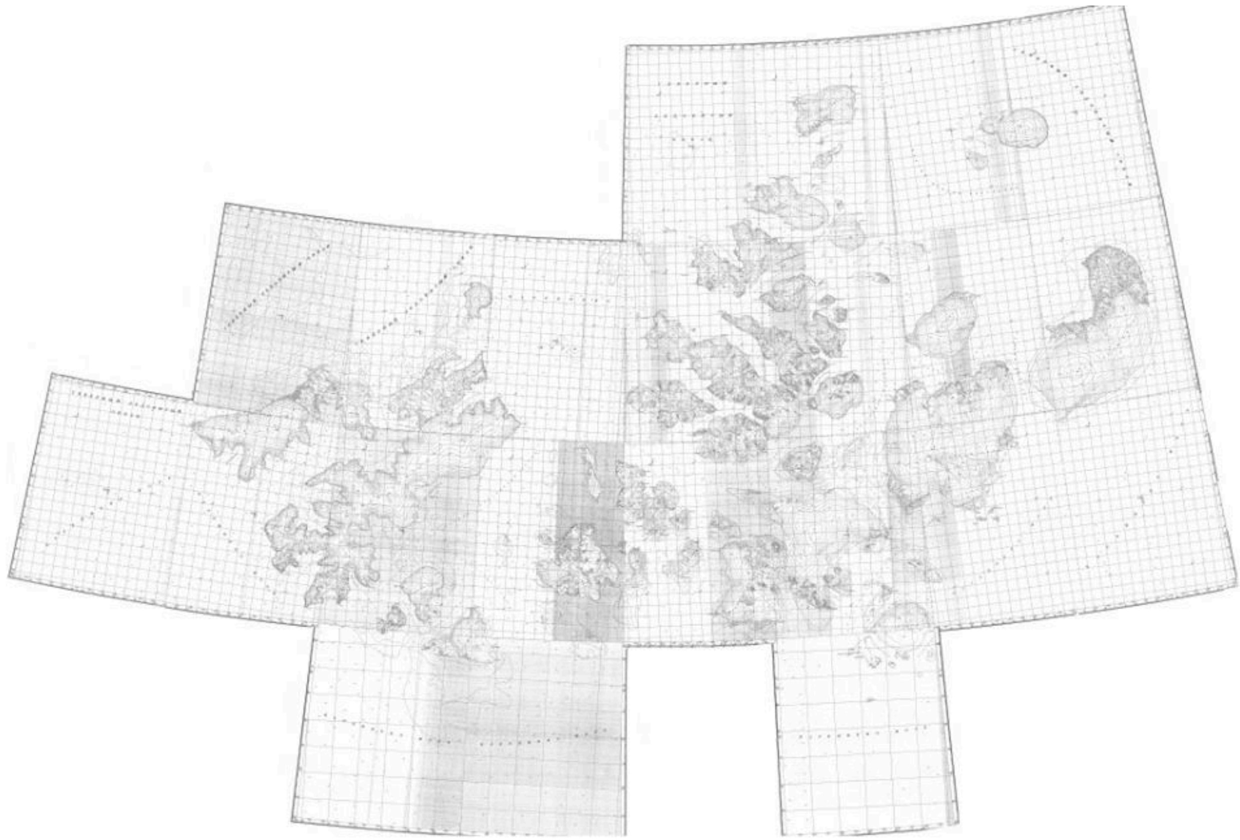

Fig. 3. Franz Josef Land, composite chart (© Jacqueline Lanning (2015)).

We then visited the Fram Museum and saw both the Fram and the Gjoa in its new home. We were absolutely impressed by the new work that's been done at the Fram Museum. The new exhibit text, much of it written by Susan Barr, is some of the freshest, most vibrant writing about polar history in years. It's just amazing, amazing work.

On Sunday, we were able to take advantage of the Munch-Van Gogh exhibit that just opened at the Munch Museet, which was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for our students to see some of the greatest works of art in human history in one exhibit space.

In the afternoon, we fulfilled one of our other purposes in coming to Oslo, and that was a visit to Vestre Gravlund near Majorstua. There we tried, successfully as it turned out, to search for the grave of Walter Wellman's second wife and widow, the Norwegian woman Bergljot Bergersen (see Figure 1). Wellman died in 1934. All that his descendants remember is that he was cremated. They don't know where his ashes were placed, whether they're in a formal grave or were simply scattered somewhere.

Fig. 4. Penn State student Alejandro Cruz with Penn State Associate Professor of Biology and Oslo trip chaperone, Dr. C.L. Devlin, on board the *Fram* at the Fram Museum, 9 May 2015 (© Amanda Lockerby).

Wellman was 74 when he died, his Norwegian wife about 20 years younger, though she herself passed away just a few years later, in 1938, and she was laid to rest right here in Oslo. We wanted to find her, and also thought that because Wellman died in 1934 and was cremated, that there might be an off chance that she might have taken his ashes to Norway with her and that we might find his name on this stone.

We did find the grave, however you can see that the obelisk that's supposed to sit on top of this marker has toppled and it's sitting by the side of it. There's nothing on the three sides except a small Germanic cross. We chose not to try to roll it over, as Anders Larsson informs us that such markers are often deliberately taken down by graveyard authorities for precisely the reason that they have fallen or turned over and killed or injured people.

But we had nevertheless found a direct connection between Norway and the United because of the American exploration of the Arctic. And there are others that involve the direct connections between American polar explorers and their contemporaries in both Norway and Sweden. As Anders Larsson also told us, Eivind Astrup is also buried in Oslo and Evelyn Briggs Baldwin visited his grave here while he was on his way to Spitsbergen in 1897.

This was Baldwin's self-described epic expedition to race to reach the basket of the Swedish balloon expedition in July of 1897 so he could accompany Salomon Andrée to the North Pole. This was an event that existed only in Baldwin's mind. And it gained in importance the older that he got. With each retelling Baldwin's story became more elaborate, and his time between his arrival at Virgohamn and the departure of the balloon became shorter and shorter, until in the end he was only minutes late for the departure of the balloon, when in fact Magnus Forsberg and Anders Larsson has pinned Baldwin's arrival at the launch site to no earlier than two weeks later.

There is in fact a fascinating and brief series of letters at the Library of Congress that has Baldwin pleading with Andrée to let him on the expedition, Andrée's very terse replies, basically saying "We have no room. It's a Swedish expedition. Go away." And Baldwin continuing to say, but I would be really good on this expedition, and Andrée finally writing very curtly, "I'm sorry, sir, to say that there is no room in the basket." Baldwin mutated this exchange in future years to mean that if only for a little bit more space in the basket he would have been on the doomed expedition, which was never even a remote possibility.

Fig. 5. The Penn State University group at Uranienborg in Oppegård, Norway, 11 May 2015 (© Dr. C.L. Devlin).

Yesterday, through the kind efforts of Henrik Smith, we were able to visit Uranienborg, the home of Roald Amundsen that has been left close to how it was when he flew to the rescue of Umberto Nobile in 1928 and was lost.

Randi, the lovely woman who lives adjacent to the home, has been leading tours of the home for 43 years. And so we met Captain Amundsen (Fig. 5) and then drove to nearby Oppegård kirke. We had especially looked forward to these two visits as the students had watched the entire series "The Last Place on Earth," several scenes of which had been filmed at the home and the church graveyard, had read much of the screenplay from the film, as well as the article that Susan Barr and I had published in *Polar Record* on this graveyard scene.[12]

[12] See: P.J. Capelotti and Susan Barr. 2014. "Oppegård kirke, Oppegård, Norway: fixing the location where Roald Amundsen revealed his 'minor diversion.'" *Polar Record* 50(2): 222-224.

Chapter 3. The place names of Franz Josef Land: framing the problem[13]

Magnus Forsberg[14]

Abstract
A brief introduction to the geographic place names of Franz Josef Land. Franz Josef Land is located in the western Arctic though for much of the 20th Century it was closed behind the Iron Curtain. Prior to that, there were a series of Western expeditions between the 'official' discovery in 1873 and the departure of the American Fiala group in 1905. From these expeditions, the islands are heavily connected to the history of the search for the North Pole.

Keywords
Franz Josef Land, historic place names, historical geography, historical archaeology, polar exploration, Oslo NSF workshop

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Franz Josef Land is located in the western Arctic though for much of the 20th Century it was closed behind the Iron Curtain. Prior to that, there were a series of Western expeditions between the 'official' discovery in 1873 and the departure of the American Fiala group in 1905. From these expeditions, the islands are heavily connected to the history of the search for the North Pole. The distance from Cape Fligely, the most northern tip, to the North Pole is 429 nautical miles according to the navigation chart. There was a Norwegian expedition there in 1931, and in World War II a German radio station.

How do you reach Franz Josef Land? Well in the old days, most of the expeditions started at Arkhangelsk, to pick up dogs and horses. These included Jackson, Wellman, Baldwin, and Fiala. Russian vessels sailed to the islands from Murmansk. And now from Norway, Longyearbyen, a few expeditions have started from there.

Many Russians will fly to Franz Josef Land from Arkhangelsk, usually to Novaya Zemlya and from Novaya Zemlya by helicopter up to Alexandra Land. In the old days, when the Soviets had military and scientific installations and runways in Franz Josef Land, it was also very

[14] About the author: Magnus Forsberg was born in Sweden. Although he was formally educated in mathematics and physics at Goteborg University and Chalmers University of Technology at Goteborg, Magnus soon returned to his first love — nature. He worked as a warden for a nature sanctuary and bird observatory from 1976 to 1994, including, in 1990, heading the second largest wetland restoration in Sweden, the Getteron Wetland Sanctuary. He has been a guide in North Africa, the Middle East, Siberia, Central Asia, and throughout the Polar Regions.

common to fly out from Siberia here up to Novaya Zemlya in long-range helicopters from Novaya Zemlya.

Of course the issue with reaching Franz Josef Land—and the reason it was found at such a late time, in 1873 if you're Austrian, in 1865 if you're Norwegian—is the ice. As you can see here, it is ice, ice, ice. Some 90% of the landmass in Franz Josef Land is covered by glaciers, so that there are very few areas with barren land. The main current of the ice is moving from the northeast to the southwest. That creates a lot of issues for perilous navigating up there.

What makes Franz Josef Land interesting today? Those of us gathered here are polar history freaks. But I would say it's almost impossible to sell a trip focusing on polar history. Very few people will actually go on a trip just focusing on history. The reason why people come to the arctic is of course the polar areas. If you would do a trip up to the ice and not see a polar bear, you would be in deep trouble, I promise you.

But what people are truly fascinated about and it's the reason why I return over and over to the Arctic or Antarctica is not really the polar bears, it is the ice. To spend days in the ice in the Arctic is something you never, ever forget. And in Franz Josef Land, around all these islands, the ice is very hard here. Drifting ice is trapped in the channels here, fast ice stays for a long time, which makes it very very hard to navigate if you don't have access to very good icebreaker. Unfortunately for the tourist industry, icebreakers are very expensive ships to run and there are few of them.

Most of the tourist ships used today in the Arctic, not every one unfortunately, or in the Antarctic, are what you call ice-enforced, or ice-strengthened. We're not going to dig deeper than that but they are not icebreakers. That is important to remember. A lot of people will say 'I have been travelling on an icebreaker' but that's not the case.

Now, for Franz Josef Land's history. It was very probably known, prior to the Austro-Hungarian 'official' discovery in 1873, by Arctic sealers and walrus-hunters from northern Scandinavia. In this it likely mirrors the situation in Antarctica, where sealers from America and England went down there and found a land and kept it a secret. You did not want to reveal about seal and walrus sites because it was walrus that made money for them and of course if you had reached these islands in1865 and found a goldmine of seals and walrus and polar bears there, completely untouched, you would keep that information to yourself.

At this time, Sweden and Norway were a union, and there was much poverty in Northern Finland and Northern Sweden and Norway, so if you were a sea-hunter out of Hammerfest such a discovery gave you an opportunity to survive. If we pursue this history, then the first place name ever attached to the area was Northeast Spitsbergen. I don't think we'll ever be able to confirm it and of course the Austrians would never agree on this but it's there.

The official finding of Franz Josef Land dates back to the Weyprecht-Payer expedition that was sent out by the Hungarian empire with the aim to be the first through the Northeast Passage and also make a detour to discover the North Pole. They did neither—they got stuck in ice because as I said moves from the east-northeast to the southwest and so they were beset in the ice for more than a year. Finally, in August of 1873, they see land for the first time. They stayed there over winter and into the spring of 1874 when Payer and a few of the crew makes a trip up north. This trip leads to 92 place names and additionally in Carlson's diary—which still survives—there are two more that have never been recognized.

Of the 92 place names, there are today 10 or more which have significant questions remaining from them. This is because we need to take the name and connect it with a person and then ask: why did Payer pick this? At times this is extremely difficult to find his connection because the name derives after people who have nothing to do with anything Arctic. Payer was a cartographer and had been mapping in the Alps, before he came to Franz Josef Land.

But in general Payer names many many places after early Arctic history, for example the *Germania*/*Hansa* expedition to Greenland under Koldewey in1869-70. There are American explorers named, like Kane and Hall, and also a lot of very famous German and Austrian scientists, explorers, politicians, bankers, and so on, and of course sponsors. We can see these in the first maps of Franz Josef Land, published in Petermann's *Mitteilungen*, which was the meta center of exploration in the day, and which promoted the idea of an 'open polar sea' to the North Pole.

The next expeditions, in 1878 and 1879, were an English voyage with Albert Markham and the other Dutch. These expeditions approached Franz Josef Land but the ice was an issue and they never landed but they did attach two place names, but only one survived.

Then in 1880, Leigh Smith came to Franz Josef Land and that is one of the few things we could not definitely name when we wrote our article, which is why did he name the ship *Eira*? We have many theories that, but I think we'll have to survive without finding the final answer. The most important of Leigh Smith's voyages was that he sighted a new part of Franz Josef Land, to the west of where Payer had been.

The next expedition was Jackson's British North Pole expedition, and used both the storehouse Leigh Smith left behind, called Eira Lodge, as well as Leigh Smith's overwintering hut at Cape Flora. Jackson continued Leigh Smith's mapping of western Franz Josef Land, and several of the veterans of this expedition later join with Scott on the *Discovery* expedition to Antarctica.

It is during Jackson's time in Franz Josef Land that he meets with Fridtjof Nansen, who has picked up on the idea of drifting across the polar basin. He has an incredible ship builder here in Norway, Colin Archer, descended from Scottish family. So they built this round ship, which you saw at the Fram Museum. Nansen leaves the ship with Johansen for a dash towards the North Pole, but they realized very rapidly they wouldn't make it and they had to retreat and the only thing he had was Payer's map of Franz Josef Land, which was very poor, and they lost their watch, so they had a hard time to know exactly what longitude they were at.

They reach Franz Josef Land in late summer of 1895, and in 1896 they slowly made it south where they meet up with Jackson. It is a fascinating meeting because Nansen knew about this expedition, knew that Jackson should be somewhere Franz Josef Land, but the possibility that they should actually meet is an amazing polar story. The most interesting for us is that Nansen produced a map and it looks like this. Of course he based much of his map on Jackson's work in mapping the territory. In fact, when Jackson wrote his autobiography in the 1930s, he actually expressed a little bit disappointment that Nansen had more or less stolen his Franz Josef Land map.

Now it was time for the Americans to enter the arena. Walter Wellman had become obsessed with the Arctic, in Chicago at the Columbian Exposition in 1893, and in 1894 he comes up to northern Norway and launches an expedition to Spitsbergen that fails, but he returns safe and sound and the only casualty, besides the expedition ship that sank, was one of the Norwegians who broke a toe.

Wellman then went to Paris to find out if you could build a polar balloon. But without the money to support such an enormous effort, he decides to launch his next expedition from Franz Josef Land. There were four Americans and five Norwegians and strangely enough he didn't have a plan to retreat from Franz Josef Land. That was up to his brother to arrange over the year when they were going to the North Pole.

They settled at Cape Tegetthoff while second-in-command Baldwin is supposed to get as far north as possible to establish an outpost base camp. They ended up at Cape Heller, far short of Wellman's plans, and it was there that the Norwegian Bentsen dies early in 1899. Baldwin was not a good commander, could not figure his latitude or longitude, so these measurements were made by the Norwegians and they were actually mapping the eastern parts and also the last major land area to be found on Franz Josef Land with the island Graham Bell Land as it was called in those days and named after the famous Graham Bell who at the time was the chairman of National Geographic society.

When Wellman went towards the North Pole in the spring of 1899 he mentions in a letter that he has a list of names which should be used on the features he and Baldwin have found and the names had a close association with the financing of the expedition as well as Wellman's position as one of the leading journalists in US at the time.

As Wellman is leaving in 1899 he runs into a ship the expedition of the Duke of the Abruzzi on board the Polar Star. Abruzzi is heavily financed and his ship reaches Teplitz Bay on the western side of Rudolf Land, where he establishes his base. He sends out his second-in-command and they are able to best Nansen's farthest north by 20 nautical miles. That is what they come home with, they have beaten Nansen's record, but strangely enough they don't get the energy, the steam, like Nansen got from his return from the Arctic the mapping done on the expedition was not terribly well done.

In 1901, Baldwin was back in Franz Josef Land as the leader of his own expedition, but he never published a book or even a detailed article about the expedition, as did Jackson, whose *One Thousand Days in the Arctic* has a lot of information about the place names. Baldwin had been very successful in his fundraising and nowhere moreso than with William Ziegler, a multi-millionaire. They reached Franz Josef Land on the ship *America*, an old Scottish whaler.

Baldwin states that there are a lot of Norwegians on board, but in fact it was an American expedition with more or less a Swedish crew. The captain was Swedish, all the officers were Swedish, I think there were only three Norwegians on board. There was also a Hungarian as well as six Russians, or Siberians, on the expedition, but it's still called an American expedition.

The expedition is little less than a disaster, but we do have an incredible map, unpublished by Baldwin, of course, and suddenly we can start to find the areas did they find, what places did they name, where did they travel. There are probably still a lot of archaeological sites to be found at Franz Josef Land after this expedition and maybe I made a contribution to this when I stepped on a ski on Champ Island that hints that it comes from either the Baldwin or Fiala expedition.[15]

There are roughly 27 place names derived from the Baldwin expedition. There are a few that we have yet to trace the origins of, like Field Island, which is perhaps the Field Museum in Chicago.

The final American attempt, the Ziegler Polar Expedition under the leadership pf Anthony Fiala, is again an American mix and match, with crew members from several different countries. The expedition ship, Baldwin's old *America*, reaches all the way to Teplitz Bay, where the expedition disintegrates, with the ship being crushed by the ice and the expedition itself devolving into several small groups attempting to survive throughout the islands.

However, the expedition is favored by the presence of Russell Porter, an excellent cartographer and artist who explores and maps much of the archipelago, correcting earlier maps,

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[15] See: P.J. Capelotti. 2007. "Century-old ski found at Mys Triest, Ostrov Champa, Zemlya Frantsa-Iosifa, Russia," *Polar Record* 43 (3): 272-275 doi:10.1017/S0032247407006717

and laying the baseline for all future mapping. Porter's work was published in 1907 along with the entire scientific output of the expedition.

So, by 1905, the outlines of Franz Josef Land were very well known, named and described.

The archipelago was claimed by the Soviet Union in 1926. And that goes back actually to the Canadians and the sector principle. Everyone has seen the map of Antarctica, seen these pie slices into the South Pole. That idea originates from the Canadians, in 1925, in extending their claim from the northern coast of Canada all the way to the North Pole. And then Russia adopted this idea and claimed everything from the western and eastern points of mainland Russia all the way up to the North Pole.

That was when Franz Josef Land became part of the Soviet Union. It was then closed from 1931, I know of only a lone French scientist there, visiting the islands in cooperation with the Russians, until '68. And then in '91 it was opened up again and then it was open, closed a little bit and then in the last say 15 years, it has been approachable by tourists.

Then did anyone actually go to the North Pole from Franz Josef Land? That happened several times with Soviet aeronautical expeditions staged from Franz Josef Land, but to my knowledge still today no one has been able to walk over the ice from Franz Josef Land to the North Pole.

There are only two persons, or two teams, who have walked from the North Pole to Franz Josef Land, have arrived at Franz Josef Land without using a ship or an airplane, and both are Norwegians.

As for the place names themselves, very soon after the 2006 visit to Franz Josef Land, we realized that this is an enormous undertaking. Not until 2013, after Pete had written his book about Leigh Smith, were we at last able to put together the first article, on the *Eira* voyages. Last year, we were able to do the same for Wellman.

Where are we now? With the help of Maria Gavrilo, we have a list of all of the names recently published in Russian (see: Savatyugin and Dorozhkina, 2012). But it is not complete. Some things have been highlighted while others left out entirely. My guess for the reason is that when it gets to the names from the expeditions to 1905, they have taken the names that can be picked up from the books by both Jackson and Payer.

Here is the list of all the names, in English, which are included in the book. But, when we start to drill down into this data, just to connect the names to the right expedition has been a huge effort. Our goal at the moment is to complete the names of the three American expeditions. We have published Wellman, and now remains Baldwin and Fiala.

After 1905, I have been able to find only three more place names added into Franz Josef Land. One is a hunting expedition with a Norwegian ship arranged by an interesting fellow of Spanish-English ancestry, who arranged a hunting expedition to the Arctic in 1906 and he brings a very prominent figure from a noble family in Spain and they find an island and they name it.

The first Russian to arrive to Franz Josef Land was actually with the Jackson expedition, one of the carpenters was a Russian and as already mentioned Baldwin had six Siberians with him. The first place name indisputably set by Russians, Komsomolets Island, was probably first seen and named by Payer and then it was relocated and the first people to ever step on it were the Norwegians during the Wellman expedition, where they were trying to bring provisions to Cape Heller from Storm Bay and they are forced because of the wind and ice to land on a very flat island. This island should be actually be named Bentsen Island, from this strong Norwegian connection, combined with the fact that there are very few Norwegian names up there.

The last thing I want to mention before I close, is to connect with what Pete said about newspaper sources. I started to search in historical Scandinavian newspapers and when you do that suddenly you are overwhelmed with how much information you come across. Just to give you an idea on Wellman's expedition, I have so far been able to download 57 articles in Norwegian newspapers and that is certainly only a fragment since some of the major newspapers here in Norway have not been digitalized yet, so I'm sure that you can probably double that number.

In Sweden—and Wellman's expedition had really no direct connection with Sweden—we have more than 90 newspaper articles. In Britain I have so far found 50 articles, in a country with had a much stronger connection than Sweden, so there will be many more there. That makes so far already 261 articles from three countries about that one expedition. You should divide that maybe in three to give the real sense of what it is, because there are the three major newspapers in Sweden and many of the articles are syndications of the same article that have been published in all three, but still there was a huge interest and an enormous amount of information.

Then there are the as-yet undiscovered archival sources, letters, diaries, and so forth.

We wouldn't be surprised if there are more of these to be found in Sweden when it comes to the Baldwin expedition. Payers diaries are in Austria at the military museum, and these, if anyone can read old German style, which is very few today unfortunately, can reveal a lot of interesting information.

Then there is the issue of the melting ice. Glaciers are melting and previously hidden land is being uncovered. Melting glacier fronts will retreat to form shorelines, or bays, or fjords. So, as you can see, just as we may solve the historic problems of the Franz Josef Land place names, the changing Arctic will create whole new ones.

Discussion

Barr: I would point out that Jackson made an application to be on Nansen's expedition. It was refused, but afterwards he was the one saving Nansen.

Elzinga: Can you say something about the process of verification of the names and establishing them internationally?

Umbreit: The Russian book do they give the explanations of the names?

Forsberg: They try. But, they have not necessarily hit them correctly. For example, Essen Bay, named by Leigh Smith, is described as being named after the town of Esssen in Germany. It could also be named from a family in Sweden. Yet we know from Leigh Smith's papers that it was actually named after his engineer on *Eira*. By depending solely on a few Russian sources, they have often gone onto the wrong track. For example, a lot of glaciers are not included in the Russian place names book. But most of the glaciers are named after it became Soviet. They are all tied to Soviet names. That makes it hard if you're not Russian speaking and know the Russian academic science because most of them are tied to Russian scientific men and sometimes women, or pilots and captains aboard ships doing expeditions up in the Arctic, and not necessarily Franz Josef Land.

Umbreit: But those Russian names might be more correct in the Russian book?

Forsberg: Almost certainly. I have not really looked much into the Russian names here because our focus has always been on the historic expeditions before 1905.

Barr: I think if we were ever to get to the point where there was a place names of Franz Josef Land, it would have to be cut off at 1905. The modern Russian work on the Russian toponymy should stand as the Russian/Soviet/Russian testament. Then, the historic place names that come from countries other than Russia would form a separate database, otherwise, you could get hopelessly lost.

Forsberg: If we were to pursue Russian place names we would have to have a Russian colleague or colleagues who understand Arctic history and the Russian archives. Otherwise we are doomed. We can do something pre-Russian or Soviet Union, for instance, place name book.

Barr: Like historic place names?

Forsberg: *Historic Place Names* we could call it. Yes. Thank you.

Capelotti: We've been trying to find that title for four years now. I knew there was a reason we came here.

Forsberg: Okay. Here starts the list of place names which are not included in the book. Additional place names. You can see it runs and runs and runs.

Elzinga: How many are they?

Forsberg: I think about 200. They could be names, like Ben Cable Island, which turned out to be a mirage. So there are many, many place names which are there that have been located, named, and then relocated and renamed, because the expedition's didn't know about each other or what places had been named or the positions were not recorded with enough precision.

Capelotti: That is an excellent point. Once you extend the historical discussion of the names to variants and mirage islands, that becomes a titanic project unless you can limit it to say 250 historic names. Even that, you're looking at years of work.

Forsberg: Just an estimate of how many names are not in the Russian work, I would say roughly 140.

Capelotti: Well, if you follow the system used in the *Place Names of Svalbard* then the approved name would be listed in bold but something like Ben Cable Island would not be because the name doesn't survive or in that case was just a mirage island.

Forsberg: This is where we are right now. We have two articles out. Nine that could easily be published. It's only a matter of time. We have all the basic facts. I think I have it quite well set.

Capelotti: What Susan said earlier, especially if it was going to be a web portal like they have now at Norsk Polar, it could be set up as a series of fields and we just start plugging in information. They could then be finalized through a review board there and go online. Then it is a matter of continuing to add to the names until the historic list is complete. We could start with Wellman and Benjamin Leigh Smith, since those have all been published. We could start there and then build out from there. The historic maps would be another issue.

Forsberg: This is probably the most complete listing of place names where we at least can connect all the place names to certain sources. That is step number one. Then, to identify and confirm and, if possible add more sources. To identify is usually not so hard. But, to make the final confirmation, is. Of course, it's a matter of how much you need. We gave up on Cape Flora when we couldn't get a definite answer.

Capelotti: We didn't give up on it. We got four different explanations.

Forsberg: Yes, of course. We couldn't go any farther.

Elzinga: I mean it's very legitimate to write multiple hypotheses. Could be this, could be that.

Capelotti: In specific reference to Leigh Smith, he'd left behind very few writings of his own. Much of what we know is from articles that were submitted by Clements Markham of the RGS and the drafts of those articles in the RGS archives. The original manuscripts have penciled in the margins that this was Cape Stephens and that Cape Forbes after Stephens and Forbes Shipyard, and Essen Bay after the chief engineer of Eira, and so forth.

Umbreit: Where did he get his information from?

Capelotti: Presumably Clements Markham got it straight from Leigh Smith, since Leigh Smith was a patron of the RGS, and gave them huge sums of money. Markham wrote up his articles from Leigh Smith's notes.

Umbreit: He had notes?

Capelotti: He would have had some notes from Leigh Smith, yes, his roughed-in charts, and so forth. Markham, if he did not know the people behind these names personally, would have gone to him when they were doing the cartography for those articles and said, “Where does this name come from?” Because the source of those names doesn’t appear in the published article. Some of them do, but most of them don’t. W.W. May, for example, May Island, I mean we know that because Markham, that name was probably assigned by Markham, as a tribute to the guy that did the drawings for the article for free or probably near free. That’s how we were able to knock down a couple of those names.

Umbreit: You must have logged many hours.

Capelotti: Yes, but lot of that was just an accidental discovery while doing the Leigh Smith biography, finding those original manuscripts.

Elzinga: You were saying that 250 are historic names if you cut the list at 1905?

Forsberg: Approximately 250 before 1905 and then roughly 300 to 400 after 1905. For the Russian place names you would have to know the history of Russian academic and science names, and all the Russian explorers.

Umbreit: You'd need to get a third author?

Elzinga: Do you have a Russian colleague?

Capelotti: Not in the Russian geography or toponymy. We would need a Russian trained in historical geography in the Arctic.

Wråkberg: But you would expect that at the Geographical Society or the Russian Academy of Sciences there must be an official list of names for Franz Josef Land that you would at least expect them to have for themselves. But that is separate from what you are doing here, which is primary historical rsearch.

Capelotti: Yes. But what we wouldn’t want is to get into current schemes for standardizing international place names. At that point you’re into U.S. Board on Geographic Names or U.N. Board of Experts on Geographic Names territory. That is a whole other level of bureaucracy, one not necessarily focused on historical place names and certainly not on place names of mirage islands or historical problems like Giles Land.

Wråkberg: That doesn’t say that you wouldn't be able to influence or discuss?

Capelotti: Well, there are examples where the historical record could suggest different names from the current accepted name. What Magnus says about the quote, unquote, Young Communist Island or the Communist Youth League Island, it really has nothing to do with this and everything to do with the historical associations with the Norwegians who landed there during the Wellman expedition. Payer probably saw it but we know that the Norwegians were there and formed definite associations with it based on their attempts to get from there to Cape Heller.

Forsberg: They were the first ones to ever sleep on the island for sure.

Capelotti: The fact that almost all of that expedition was carried out by Norwegians and then one of them died and that there's basically, other than Bentsen Bay, there's nothing to mark the Norwegian presence there.

Elzinga: Gunnar Horn, he would have had the name of the island also.

Forsberg: Gunnar Horn didn’t produce any map in his work on Franz Josef Land. It gives the history of the island and he lists all of the Norwegian expeditions and also there is a very, very strong list of the science made.

Larsson: There is a map but it's very small and sketchy.

Forsberg: You cannot make out anything about the place names. If I recall the map is just a very brief map with the name of islands that we already know. Another source which I'm impressed with, is Vise, obviously he must have been able to speak German and English.

Umbreit: He was of German descent.

Forsberg: But he also must have spoken very good English because he has so many names that he must have spent a lot of time looking into, to find and correlate to the right person because he even got Newton Island correct. It has nothing to do with Isaac Newton. It’s a completely different Newton who went up to Svalbard in the 1860s and is very famous in ornithology. He got that right. There are other names that are associated with Benjamin Leigh Smith that I’m surprised that he was able to name because they are so inaccessible.

Wråkberg: It seems likely that he would have access to staff resources, perhaps an assistant.

Forsberg: Probably. They had a very good library in St. Petersburg already in the 20s when Vise was there.

Elzinga: Perhaps the Russian naval archives.

Forsberg: Yes, but he was in, in those days it was still the Arctic Institute. It was renamed later. He was there for many years if I remember correct.

Chapter 4. The places of Franz Josef Land: current visits and imagery[16]

Andreas Umbreit[17]

Abstract
Recent tourist cruises of Franz Josef Land have offered the chance to search for the remains of historic expeditions to the islands, as well as expeditions that used the islands as a base from which to try to reach the geographic North Pole. Expedition leader Andreas Umbreit discusses his recent such finds at both Greely Island and Teplitz Bay on Rudolf Island, as well as several other sites.

Keywords
Franz Josef Land, historic place names, historical geography, historical archaeology, polar exploration, Oslo NSF workshop

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I would like to start with some recent views of Greely Island, which was the location of Evelyn Baldwin's 'Kane Lodge.' In Fiala's book, there is also a record that they used the Kane Lodge site as well. The lodge is marked, but very vaguely. It's not very precise. I tried to find the site in 2011, but it was so foggy that we circled Coal Mine Island without realizing that we were not on Greely Island, and gave up.

Then, in 2012, we were close inshore again and I was allowed to do some research for a few hours. From the ship, we looked in the area where it must be, here on this coast. But the area I was looking at did not fit at all the description in Fiala's book, which indicated there must be a strand flat.

There is nothing on this coast that looks like this. I was really uncertain, but with binoculars, we found some things that look, from a distance, like some wooden objects. We

[17] About the author: Andreas Umbreit was born in Munich in 1959 and brought up in the Bavarian Alps, where he served also his military service in a unit of the army mountain forces. He has worked as an Arctic guide, lecturer, and expedition leader in Svalbard since 1987 and in 2003 became one of the first Western expedition leaders to Franz Josef Land. He has also visited Novaya Zemlya, Wiese, Severnaya Zemlya, and Vaygach. His website dedicated to the history and flora and fauna of Franz Josef Land, http://www.franz-josef-land.info, consists of more than 60 subpages with more than 500 photographs and maps and is visited on average by 60 users per day. His *Guide to Spitsbergen*, which includes a segment on Franz Josef Land, is now in its 10th edition in German and 4th in English.

made an excursion on the other side with the tourists. After they finished, we took the Zodiac and just dashed over there and looked at these wooden objects.[18]

Fig. 1. A view of the shoreline of Greely Island, with what could very well be the remains of the location of Evelyn Briggs Baldwin's 'Kane Lodge' (© Andreas Umbreit).

No strand flat. But obviously, something that is older than the Russian activities. That was all that was left here. Right next to it is the moraine of the neighboring glacier, the ice is just behind. It was really interesting. Then you have the historical detail pictures of the site.

Barr: That doesn't look anything like this.

Again, that's true. That was my problem, but when you look into the detailed historical images, we have sledges – like we found them. In fact, it was at least 5 or 6 sledges there. Different types. We have netting, which was probably used for dog cages or something like that. Barrels. And it's piled up here. What I found especially interesting is this bit here. That is exactly the same as we have on Alger Island, one of the pre-fabricated octagonal cabins. A wall segment.

Forsberg: Do you know where that cabin was pre-fabricated?

No.

[18] See: Umbreit, Andreas. 2012. "Franz Josef Land: Possible discovery of the Kane Lodge depot of the Baldwin-Ziegler expedition (1901/02)." *Report to the Russian Arctic National Park*. On-line at: http://www.franz-josef-land.info.

Forsberg: In Gothenburg. Same company that made Andrée's balloon house.

It was, you see it yourself, in immediate danger of being washed away.

Capelotti: Is there any way or any reason to suppose that there would be any remains that could be found underwater? Anything submerged? If that strand is now under water, would an underwater survey lead to anything that's there?

Very unlikely. Just a few hundred meters from here, it is 200 meters deep. It must slope very steeply down. I talked to Russian geomorphologists in the Archangelsk meeting. Their thesis is that this flat terrain on the picture is a result of the neighboring glacier, which was bigger at that time, had a bigger moraine. In the lee of that moraine, there may have been more land, which with the retreat of the glacier, has now disappeared.

Barr: Could another explanation be that they cleared up the camp. Then they piled all this litter way away?

There is no place for a camp here.

Barr: No, exactly. But there was somewhere else where the camp was.

My personal theory is that this is the very last remains. They had piled up their equipment. Here was the pile for the sledges, there are something like six different sledges, wool socks, and there was a pile for some barrels. Everything else, including Kane Lodge itself, has disappeared. That wall element is the very last one, which was washed on the beach, as it is now. This is the very last part that is still left of this Kane Lodge.

Barr: Did that area, did the hill behind fit with this photograph?

More or less, yes. It's difficult, because in the historic images it is snow and winter conditions. We went up this hill behind, and on top, there is nothing. I first thought that these remains had just fallen down from the hill, but they have not. There are interesting constructions, for example the copper plating on the skis of the sledges. Two canvas kayaks. You see, the waves must have gone in, since it is all filled with beach rubble.

Barr: This is an enormous area that has disappeared.

Yes. But we have that in several places. We have that at Cape Flora, with massive loss of terrain. We have it especially on Alger Island, where if you look at the old chart of Alger Island, when East Camp Ziegler was first constructed, it was exactly 100 meters between the camp and the shore. Now, it's maybe 30 meters.

Fig. 2. The site of East Camp Ziegler on Alger Island, showing the eroding shoreline and encroaching sea (© Andreas Umbreit).

As for the Greely Island site, there is now no land. You would never put a camp in this place, under these conditions.

Forsberg: So, technically, everything here could have been washed up on this beach.

No. How could this, concentrated as it is, be washed up? Then probably piled even there. The sledges are piled on each other.

Barr: Pete, what does it say about the leaving of Kane Lodge, that they piled everything up in one day?

Capelotti: Yes, and they sealed the building. They put a whole bunch of supplies in it in barrels, and sealed the building up. Piled up sledges and so forth.

Barr: So they piled up the sledges?

They must have piled things outside, because they have only one building. I think it one, or two?

Capelotti: It was just the one.

You see, like in the other buildings from Alger Island, you can't store much in these buildings. They're not big. They must have to pile it around. I think they had it neatly piled.

There was also one or two heads of walrus with the teeth chopped off, as the hunters did. Just collecting the ivory. There's several walrus bones here. What I find also interesting there is that, today, in this bay, there are no walruses. Maybe that beach here, maybe that was one of the reasons why they may have picked it, it was a haul out area for the walruses. Now the beach is gone. The walruses have moved to different places. Otherwise, in this bay, there are no really good beaches.

Capelotti: What is your feeling about a rock collapse, and new soil and rocks coming down.

There's a steep grade above it. Some rocks constantly falling.

Capelotti: So the site is being attacked from two sides, essentially.

Yes. When we reported this by radio to Russian authorities, who were in the same area at that time with a small sailing yacht, their ship was not big enough for rescuing much of this material. But they did bring some things up, and I think they took some back to the national park institute in Archangelsk.

What I really found most fascinating were these canvas kayaks, because they are, I believe, quite unique.

Capelotti: Wellman had used them in 1898 also. They would have been left over there.

Forsberg: Was there anything where you could see any names on the supply boxes?

Yes. But the writing was in very bad condition. We didn't touch anything. So that is the only writing I could see just by looking at the side. Neither I nor our russian guide on board could even determine whether these are latin or cyrillic letters.

Capelotti: Fiala had a system of marking his crates with symbols like spades and diamonds, clubs and so forth. That sort of has the look of a spade, there, that we'd see on a deck of cards. Could be from Fiala from his sorting system. The idea was that he would only put certain supplies with certain markings, so he'd be able to easily find whether they were food of fuel or whatever it was.

Now, moving on to Alger Island. The camp is situated on a strand flat made of very fine sandy material. This is a huge area with lots of objects. In addition, they had outposts around, like the magnetic observatory. These are the two main buildings, and they were connected. There is a large collection of objects, probably a trash dump. It's all metal from the camps.

The problem with visiting now, is increasing damage especially by negligence. Photographers walking backwards with their camera and stepping into things. When I am there, I have developed a technique for visiting it by having everybody in a line. Then I or another guide go in front, and everybody just stays in the line behind me. By that way, the reward for the tourist is, that they can take pictures of everything without other people in the sight. And that is what most photographers want. By doing it like that, it's nice for the tourists, and it is good for the conservation of the site. As you can see from this apparent tent material, there is an enormous amount of material still laying there.

In newer pictures from 2012, you can see that the sea cliff is now very close to the camp (see Fig. 2).

Capelotti: Do you have an idea, based on this, when the camp would go into the ocean?

The last 100 years have cost about 70 meters of shore. It will not be long now. Some perimeter objects of the camp have been lost to the sea already between my visits in 2004 and 2011.

Barr: Well, it's going quickly now, isn't it? You can't just divide a number of meters by a number of years.

From what I have observed, the pace of erosion has speeded up, maybe because earlier, the winter was longer, and then you also had a longer lasting ice foot, protecting the shore line for longer parts of the year against sea erosion. Now the ice foot is shorter-lived, so erosion is increasing.

In Figure 2 you can see the remains of the hydrogen-generating area where Baldwin sent up his balloons in 1902. You can see from this image, which is three years old, already, that it will not be long before the entire site is in the sea.

There is not much to see at Cape Dillon on McClintock Island. We landed here in 2008, but the weather was very bad. It was where Baldwin landed first, and also where Fiala's expedition had a lookout there, looking for the rescue ship. In fact, the rescue ship came there first, where they had built a small shelter, with a tent over it. They made an oven with a stove on the inside. If you look at the pictures from the site when the ship comes, you see the tent there.

Capelotti: Was there anything in the hearth area?

Just a few objects, as you can see in these detailed pictures. Some bones, likely from walrus. They killed a lot of walruses there.

Capelotti: This is very much what Professor Martinsson has been doing, which is taking the historic images and going back to photograph them from that same perspective now, to see the historical contrast directly.

As for Cape Flora, you have all either visited it or seen pictures of it before. The coast is under erosion here, as well. What I tried especially to find, is the coal mine, but I have not found it yet. There is a lot of movement in these slopes, so it might not be so easy to find it.

Capelotti: Is it possible that it's just been covered over?

It might be. It must be somewhere up on the slope, but I don't know where.

Capelotti: There's a well-known photograph taken from up on the hill when these guys are harvesting coal (see Figure 3).

That is so focused on the site. In the background, you see Bell Island, but still the slope is long, where Bell Island still can be seen. There is a lot of possibilities. You can exclude these areas, because from here, you will not see Bell Island. But still, that slope with potential locations here is still very long.

Capelotti: They do talk about putting the coal in sealskin bags and rolling it down the hill. As in Longyearbyen, presumably there would be pieces lost as it tumbled down hill.

They would be covered now. There is so much movement in these slopes. If you walk in Spitsbergen and down a scree slope, a week after, you hardly see the footprints anymore.

Barr: There is a lot of vegetation there, moss…

Very thick moss.

Barr: If the scree is moving all the time, you wouldn't get so much.

That's true. Up at the mine, I think a lot of scree has fallen down since, up to this little plateau where they went to the rock face. I tried hard with lots of pictures from the ship, with a long lens, and so on, all along the slope. I haven't found it yet.

Capelotti: Has anybody that you know had a chance to, or the time, while you're there, to try to climb up there?

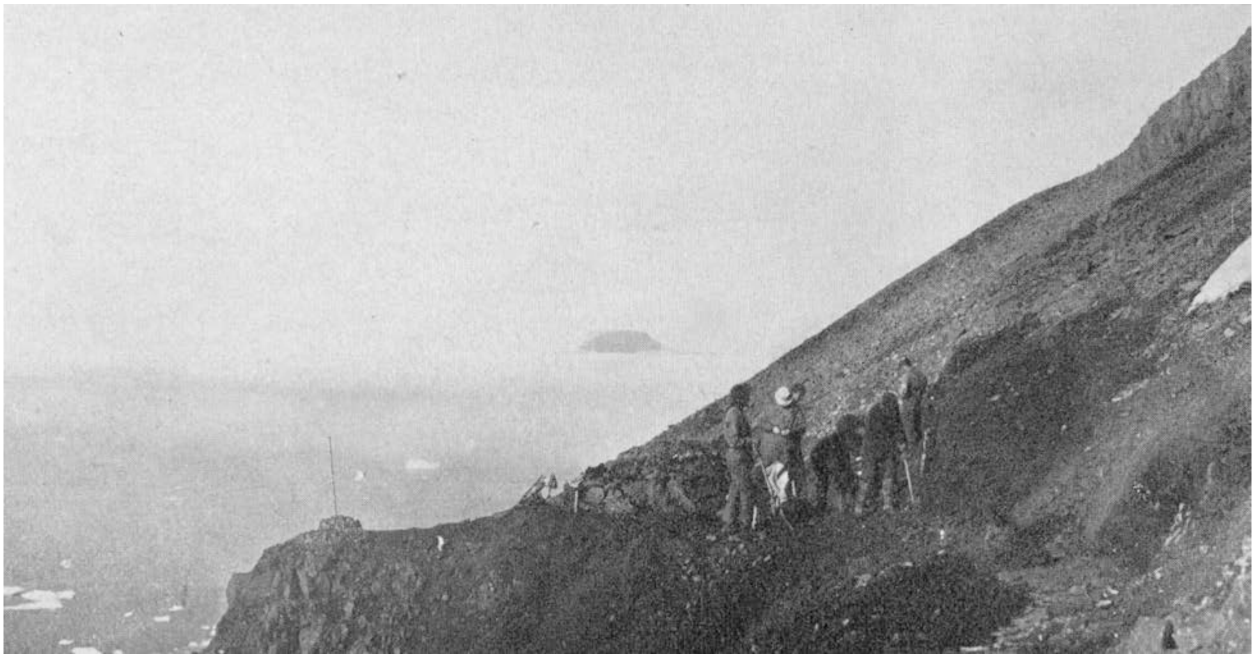


Fig. 3. The discovery of coal high above Cape Flora, during the last year of the Ziegler Polar Expedition, changed the fortunes of the men stranded there (from Anthony Fiala, *Fighting the Polar Ice*, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1906). The location of the mine has not been rediscovered.

Some cruise ships, like the *Yamal*, did. This ruins the vegetation enormously there. They usually walk up is somewhere here in this scree. It would be very coincidental if they strike the coal mine.

There was also a cable-car from the beach up to the plateau, built during Jackson's expedition. The pond at Cape Flora is losing water, because the permafrost is retreating. This whole flat area of Cape Flora is also endangered, not only by sea erosion, but also by the retreating permafrost. Lots of artifacts have disappeared from the site over the past years also by looting. Susan had found that the kettle was gone when she visited.

Barr: It was gone just after I was there, in the same season, to Moscow.

Forsberg: Louise Arner Boyd was here in 1926. And she has a photograph showing, actually, only one little cabin left as early as 1926. Maybe the loss of the things in the camp could have come from many of the Norwegians who were there. It seems clear that Jackson's things were gone by 1926. There were six similar cabins, all made in Gothenburg, and three were set in Greenland and three in Franz Josef Land.

Barr: Just regarding the kettle, it was the cooking range as much as anything else, a Monarch Portable Cooking Range. I'm sure it was brought by a Soviet or a Norwegian expedition. It was gone a few weeks after I was there.

Capelotti: Something that heavy, they presumably would have had to land the helicopter right next to it to get it out of there.

Maybe it didn't even land. Just put down close and retrieved it. And then there are the ice breakers. They are so powerful, not mechanically, but also they have a good position. They have the ship. The national park needs supplies. The national park doesn't want to spoil the relation really by being too sensitive with regulations.

Forsberg: The birds, here murres as they breed, as in this image put an egg on a cliff. The egg is very thick in one end, and very narrow in one end. They' ll incubate eggs for about a month. Then the chick hatches, and about 14 weeks old, they have enormous feet so they can paddle. They have little wings. Then the male calls. Instead of bringing the food to the chick, they bring the chick to the food. The male swims away, with the chick only two weeks old. They won't be fledged until about another month. The male brings it out to the rich waters where they can feed them.

Capelotti: The connection here is that that is why and how the coal mine was discovered at Cape Flora. Anton Vedoe, a Norwegian-Swedish-American living in Boston, he had captured a fox and built a little cage for him, and was up in the cliffs looking for eggs to feed the fox with when he discovered the coal seam. That started the whole mining process. They found it in late August, early September, 1904, just as they had given up hope that the relief ship was coming. They knew they were going to have to stay at Cape Flora for another winter, and they were rapidly running out of the supplies they had down at the base. It is then that Vedoe discovers this coal seam, and all of a sudden they realize that their warmth problem is solved for the winter. Then it was just a matter of getting enough walrus and polar bear to survive the winter.

There was also a sign at Cape Flora for the Ermak*, that's long gone, yes?*

Forsberg: The story is one of the crew of Fiala expedition stole it and Fiala freaked out.

Capelotti: That is probably the first incidence of cultural resource protection in the islands. One of Fiala's crew members stole the sign, and Fiala ordered him to put it back.

Barr: It's the first and the last example.

What I dislike up there is the popping up of more and more signs. This memorial stone is historic, of course. There was a reason to put it there, because they couldn't find the people, they couldn't get much further, so they put the monument for these people who have deceased there.

But there are now so many new memorials, 'In Commemoration of the So-and-So Expedition, set up by the Italian Touring Club.' Things like that. Or the memorial at Cape Norvegia, set up in the 1990s—from a distance, it is the object which is most visible, more than the wintering shelter of Nansen. There is no need for such plates—all people happening to land exactly at such a remote site, know that Nansen wintered there with Johansen, that is the reason why they visit the site.

Barr: Have you been to Beechey Island? You've got the historic Franklin memorial which is fantastic. But then on the little ridge behind it, there is a whole road of memorials to expeditions. There are two urns with ashes from people from the '80s or '90s who wanted to be buried at that site.

Forsberg: I can tell you one other reason why it is so dangerous, this use helicopters here and at the Nansen site, is that there are breeding colonies of birds. The pilots just go straight in, and you could see chicks just hatched that were swallowed in the wash from the propeller. We probably killed thousands that day at Cape Flora. Probably not very good for the polar bears or the fox. I had a long talk with the leaders but they ignored it.

Barr: We've had several seminars with the people who manage Svalbard and the ones who manage Franz Josef Land. We've been trying to convey some of the nature and cultural heritage philosophy, and telling about the regulations. And they've said, 'yeah, great, this is what we want.' But the people on the ships, the crews, the helicopter pilots, the guards. You can't get the message down to them. It's just another world for them. Nature? Conservation? There is also an interesting cultural heritage process, where originally, bones are just hidden in the moss, and then people come and start pulling them out. They make a pile of them, because this is interesting. Then the pile gets taken away in a storm. It's a process of what happens to signs like that. But you think they're just taken as souvenirs?

Capelotti: I was more of the impression that people had placed some of these bones there deliberately to bring tourists up there expected to see the remains of Nansen's hut. Because we recorded this funny little concentration of them that were there, and it would be interesting to see your pictures from 2005, and to see how far back you can trace that concentration, because it didn't seem to have any relation to the original site. The bones were all bleached and they had been out in the sun. It looked like somebody just piled them there to give them a tourist experience related directly to Nansen.

Barr: From '90 to '96, there was obviously a disturbance from helicopter wheels, walking and everything. But I was told at that time, they used to put markers around so people could not go right up to it. Since then, from what you've seen, and what a few others have saw, it seems to just be wide open.

I have not seen much damage by footprints. There's a track on the slope, but that is not on the cultural site. The vegetation here I think is very robust, can tolerate a lot. It's more that things are moved and taken.

Fig. 4. P.J. Capelotti surveys of the remains of Nansen's hut at Cape Norvegia in August, 2006. The concentration of bones placed at the site can be seen in the foreground (© Magnus Forsberg).

At Rudolf Island, I have been there three times so far, and only the first time we had acceptable weather. The other two times, conditions were so bad technically, that we couldn't get the passengers onshore. The first visit was with a helicopter; the second and third were done by zodiac.

My first visit was in 2004, and then again in 2011 and '12. What I have not managed yet, was to get to the site of the pioneer airstrip above, with the aircraft wreck. But what I was looking out for here, was my hope to see anything of the Italian and the Fiala expeditions. When I saw this dam around the lagoon, I first thought, "There can't be anything here, because the Russians used this as their landing site," and you see all the fuel drums up there. Here's the beach, then it comes down, and behind is the lagoon. At that time, when the pioneer expeditions were there, there was no lagoon, because it was all covered with ice. In fact, I think that most of the Italian expedition was built on the at that time permanent ice foot, which has melted away since, and that's why there's hardly anything left. Because when the ice melted away, it all went into the sea, ruined by breakers and scrapped by moving sea ice.

Capelotti: One of the things that the Fiala folks did, and talked about, is, after they had been there for about six months, they discovered the Abruzzi cache, and feasted off of it for a year and a half. It was a lot of stuff there. A lot of it was removed by the Americans. They took part of the Italian tent to enlarge the horse stable at the main camp, which they then subdivided into quarters when the ship sank, and they had to get everybody ashore, and find a place for them.

Barr: This Rudolf Island station isn't manned anymore, this station?

No, the last people left in '96.

Capelotti: You saw this station, yes?

Barr: Yes, when they were still there.

Fig. 5. The debris field at the site of the Anthony Fiala's 'Camp Abruzzi' at Teplitz Bay, Rudolf Island (© Andreas Umbreit).

The buildings are now full with snow.

Down at the lagoon, you see only a narrow dam between shoreline and lagoon. You see there's a caterpillar truck on top of the dam, so my hopes of finding things from the earlier expeditions were really low. You also see a lot of Russian rubbish on the dam. I think they have cleaned it up now in the last years. I think they removed also these fuel and grease barrels now to the Russian mainland.

There is a Russian cabin there on the beach. But then, after coming closer to that cabin, I got excited. That's probably one of the old boats from the original expeditions (see Figure 5). This area here, this is I think where Fiala's base was (see Figure 6).

Capelotti: That could very well be Henry Hartt's boat. The chief engineer of the America took part of Abruzzi's gas apparatus and reconfigured it as a steam engine. This guy was in tremendously bad physical condition, had all sorts of ailments. He was badly overweight, bad *knees, an extremely heavy drinker who had built a still at Teplitz Bay to make more alcohol. He spent the winter of 1903-04, he dug clay out of the side of the hill there, and made a mold in which to cast a propeller, and says in some detail about a kind of a summer cruise around Franz Josef Land in this makeshift steam launch in the summer of 1904. According to him, the makeshift steam launch was about to sink somewhere in the British Channel when he took the steam engine itself and threw it over the side, and that allowed him to row back to Teplitz Bay. His name was Henry Hartt, H.P. Hartt. He wrote a history of his trip and called it, "How I discovered H.P. Hartt Land, by H.P. Hartt."*

Fig. 6. The remains of a boat or boats near the Fiala site at Teplitz Bay on Rudolf Island (© Andreas Umbreit).

And here at Teplitz Bay is also a Swedish cooking stove. It seems unlikely that any of the Russians had Swedish equipment there, so I'm pretty sure that this is from the Fiala expedition.

Capelotti: I mean, if anybody was going to buy a Swedish stove in Stockholm, it would have been Evelyn Baldwin. That could've been moved north by Fiala. The other possibility is that this stove was onboard the America*, and that it was put there by Baldwin. Then as the ship's about to sink during the Fiala expedition, and they're salvaging stuff off of it, and this is one of the things they got off the ship before it sank.*

Did Baldwin get to Teplitz Bay?

Capelotti: No, but Baldwin had the America*. He had stuffed it full of Swedish stuff. Then, of course, Fiala took over the ship. It's possible that the stove at Teplitz arrived there, indirectly, from Stockholm via Baldwin onto the* America*, the* America *was taken over by Fiala in 1903, he makes it to Teplitz Bay, where the ship sinks and the stove is dragged ashore… Because Baldwin* *spent tens of thousands of 1901 dollars scouring the Swedish countryside for stuff. The lists are endless of the things he got there.*

Forsberg: The most important thing is very unlikely that this is something that came through the Russians in the 1930s.

Capelotti: Anders, do you recognize this stove-maker?

Larsson: Yes. Bolinder.

Fig. 7. The remains of a Bolinder Nya No. 1 stove near the Fiala site at Teplitz Bay on Rudolf Island (© Andreas Umbreit).

Forsberg: I do not know if they are still in business. But if you will travel around Sweden, visiting old houses, you will find these old stoves in many, many houses.

Capelotti: This looks like a Bolinder No. 1? Presumably, there are records as to when the Bolinder No. 1 was made. If the number two came out in 1905, then this clearly could not be from a Russian expedition.[19]

Elzinga: An excellent idea for an article: how did this stove get here?

Capelotti: I think that again, seeing something like this, it means that I need to get back into Baldwin's records at the library of congress, and see. He has receipts. He saved his receipts for

[19] Following the workshop, it was learned that the company once known as Bolinder was long ago absorbed in Volvo Construction Equipment, a division of the Volvo Group. See: http://www.volvoce.com/constructionequipment/corporate/en-gb/AboutUs/history/founders/Carl%20Gerhard%20Bolinder/Pages/carl%20gerhard%20bolinder%20introduction.aspx. Research on the Bolinder Nya No. 1 photographed at Teplitz Bay, continues.

everything. If he bought one of these—because no doubt it would have been expensive—m he will have saved the receipt for it.

Forsberg: Can I say something also about this stove here? There is a picture of the stove from Alger Island, and it is much smaller than this. The interesting thing which seems to confirm your idea that this comes from the ship: no one would go to land with a stove like this, because it's such a big thing. You bring a small thing for your land camp, and this was something big to have aboard the ship.

Capelotti: That's a great point. This thing is the size of a grand piano.

It wouldn't be used then for a big group? Then they have lots of people here?

Forsberg: But onboard a ship, as the plan was not to have the whole ship's crew ashore. But when the ship was sinking, they made a huge effort. They off-loaded something like fifty tons of coal. They would have, after the sinking, to have provided for twice the number of men than they expected.

There is also the possibility of artifacts in the lagoon, since this would not have been here during the Fiala expedition. And from my 2012 visit, on top of the rise behind the site, you can see the remains of the astronomic observatory, and the cement and other smashed pieces were lying around.

Capelotti: This would have been the base of the Repsold Circle from the observatory at the University of Christiania. In Fiala's book there is a photo of Russell Porter at the instrument there, sitting there for hours measuring the transit of stars across the heavens.

Barr: And getting away from everyone else.

Capelotti: What kept him sane was that he was almost deaf, so all the constant bickering and chattering just went right over his head. How far would this be from where the stove is?

Hundred to two hundred meters.

Capelotti: Because there was a telephone rigged from the expedition hut to the observatory. Porter is always talking about them ringing up the hut, and him ignoring the phone call: "Just leave me alone."

There is also a scattering of wood and other artifacts near the observatory. An interesting thing is the years on the marble plate, because there's only one year so that the plate must have been fabricated before the expedition. Here on the base it says 1903 to 1904.

Fig. 8. The remains of Fiala’s astronomical observatory at Teplitz Bay: the base that was constructed to hold the Repsold Circle loaned to the expedition by the University of Oslo (© Andreas Umbreit).

Capelotti: But if you look closely, you see someone’s tried to scratch in the number five, to indicate the actual years of the expedition: 1903-1905.

Elzinga: This base is marble, is it?

Capelotti: Yes. They had to have a very stable base for the observatory. They had to go up there, and you see that they've cemented in the brick foundation into the rock, and then they've put this very heavy marble base down on top of it.

Forsberg: Does this instrument still exist here in Oslo? Because it was brought back.

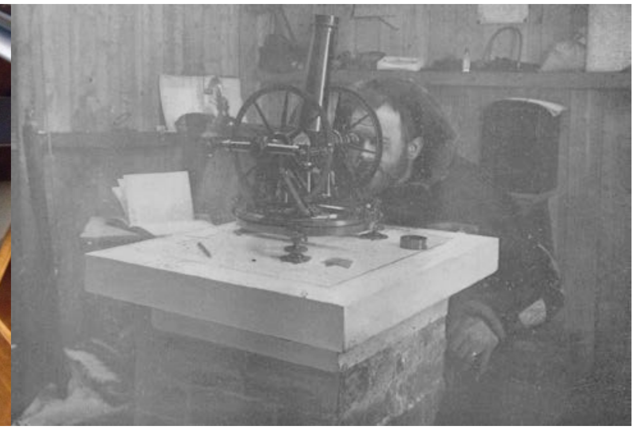
Barr: It was from the university?

Capelotti: Yes. From the observatory.

Barr: The observatory was behind the national library. The big observatory building there, which is now part of the library.

Forsberg: It is clear that to properly explore this area, you really need a lot of time. It’s a huge archaeology site for the history of polar exploration.

In that sense we were lucky, because we couldn't get the passengers ashore, so we had a lot time to look around ourselves. Thank you, everyone.

Figs. 9 and 10. On the left, a current photograph of a Repsold Circle received after the Oslo Workshop as a result of an inquiry by Susan Barr to Bjørn Johansen of the Museum for universitets- og vitenskapshistorie (MUV) in Oslo (photo courtesy of Anne Vaalund/Museum for universitets-og vitenskapshistorie (MUV)); on the right the artist and cartographer Russell Porter during the Ziegler Polar Expedition led by Anthony Fiala, at the Repsold Circle in the astronomical observatory at Camp Abruzzi (from Fiala 1906). It is likely that these instruments are one and the same. The remains of the base for the Repsold Circle, seen in the photo at right, still stand at Teplitz Bay on Rudolf Island in Franz Josef Land (see Figure 8).

Penn State University student presentations

Abstract

The National Science Foundation support that made the Oslo workshop possible funded the project with the specific intent that several high-achieving undergraduate research students would also journey to Oslo for both research and cultural immersion. A dozen undergraduate students began the process in the fall of 2014, and three survived the stringent requirements for the workshop, in part by conducting original toponymic research as it applied to three American explorations of the islands between 1898 and 1905.[20]

Penn State University undergraduate students, from right to left, Alejandro Cruz, Jacqueline Lanning, and Amanda Lockerby, with their research adviser, Dr. P.J. Capelotti at the Kvadraturen in Oslo (© Dr. C.L. Devlin).

[20] See: Broscius, Regina. 2015. "Abington student stories: tracking the polar explorers." Published on-line at: http://abington.psu.edu/story/6428/2015/07/31/abington-student-stories-tracking-polar-explorers

Chapter 5. Evelyn Briggs Baldwin and Operti Bay[21]

Amanda Lockerby

Abstract
During the second Wellman polar expedition, to Franz Josef Land in 1898, Wellman's second-in-command, Evelyn Briggs Baldwin, gave the waters south of Cape Heller on the northwest of Wilczek Land the name 'Operti Bay.' Proof of this is found in Baldwin's journal around the time of 16 September 1898. Current research indicates that Operti Bay was named after an Italian artist, Albert Operti. Operti's membership in a New York City masonic fraternity named Kane Lodge, as well as correspondence between Baldwin and Rudolf Kersting, confirm that Baldwin and Operti engaged in a friendly relationship that resulted in the naming of the bay.

Keywords
Franz Josef Land, historic place names, historical geography, Evelyn Briggs Baldwin, Walter Wellman, Albert Operti, Operti Bay, polar exploration, Oslo NSF workshop

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Background

Albert Operti was born in Turin Italy and educated in Ireland and Scotland and graduated from the Portsmouth Naval School before entering the British Marine Service. He soon returned to school to study art (see Freemasons, n.d.). He came to the United States where he served as a correspondent for the New York *Herald* in the 1890s who accompanied Robert Peary on two expeditions to Greenland.

Artwork

Operti was known for his depictions of the Arctic which included scenes from the history of exploration and the ships used in this exploration in the 19th century. He painted scenes from the search for Sir John Franklin, including one of the Royal Navy vessels *Erebus* and *Terror* under sail, as well as the abandonment of the American vessel *Advance* during Elisha Kent Kane's Second Grinnell expedition. For the last six or seven years of his life, Operti painted stage backdrops, as well as murals for exhibitions at the American Museum of Natural History. During this time, Operti lived in an apartment provided by the Explorers Club in New York, which is where he died in 1927.

Possibly the most influential of Operti's many scenes from the history of polar exploration, is a painting depicting the rescue of Adolphus Greely and the survivors of the Lady

Franklin Bay expedition in 1884. The painting is a meticulous commemoration of the 1884 rescue of Greely and five survivors of the U.S. Army's doomed 25-person Arctic expedition during the First International Polar Year.

The painting was only attempted after extensive research by Operti that included interviewing the survivors of the expedition as well as those who were part of the rescue team. He sought minute details about the tents and other materials that formed Greely's final encampment at Cape Sabine. Operti even studied pre-expedition portraits of the deceased crew members. The painting of the Greely rescue formerly hung in the U.S. Capitol Building, and is now at the Explorer's Club in New York City.

Many of Operti's paintings were featured on a cigarette trade-card set titled "Arctic Scenes" and issued by the Hassan Oriental Cigarette Company. The only text on the card fronts is the title of the card and the artist's name "A. Operti." The backs of the cards feature an attractive serpentine rectangular border with a vertical stack three basic elements: (1) the card title, (2) a descriptive text, and (3) advertising copy. The cards are unnumbered, and are all collected and displayed on-line at: http://www.skytamer.com/T30.html.

Fig. 1. Albert Operti in Arctic kit (from http://www.kanelodge454.org/#!history/c1l15).

Operti worked with a variety of mediums in addition to paint. An example of this is the work completed when he accompanied Peary in 1896 on his Greenland expedition. His assignment on the expedition was to illustrate the recovery of three enormous meteorites that were located the year before. This is where he made the first plaster cast of native Greenlanders. The casts were made of plaster, Vaseline, modeling clay and salt, as well as quill toothpicks, cotton batting, twine, tissue paper, tape measure, calipers and modeling tools.

Operti describes this experience in Kersting's *The White World* (an on-line, digitized copy of Kersting's book reveals an inscription from 1911 by Operti, in which he identifies himself as: 'Arctic Historical Painter;' see Fig. 3).

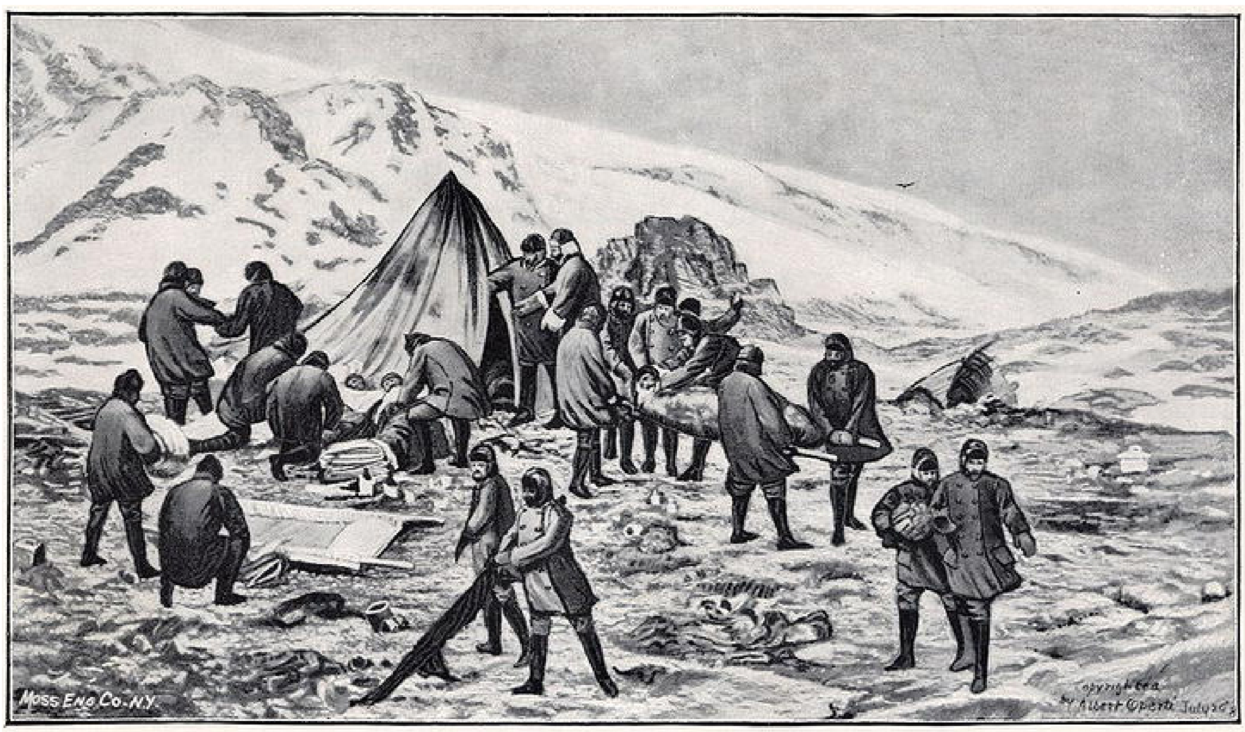


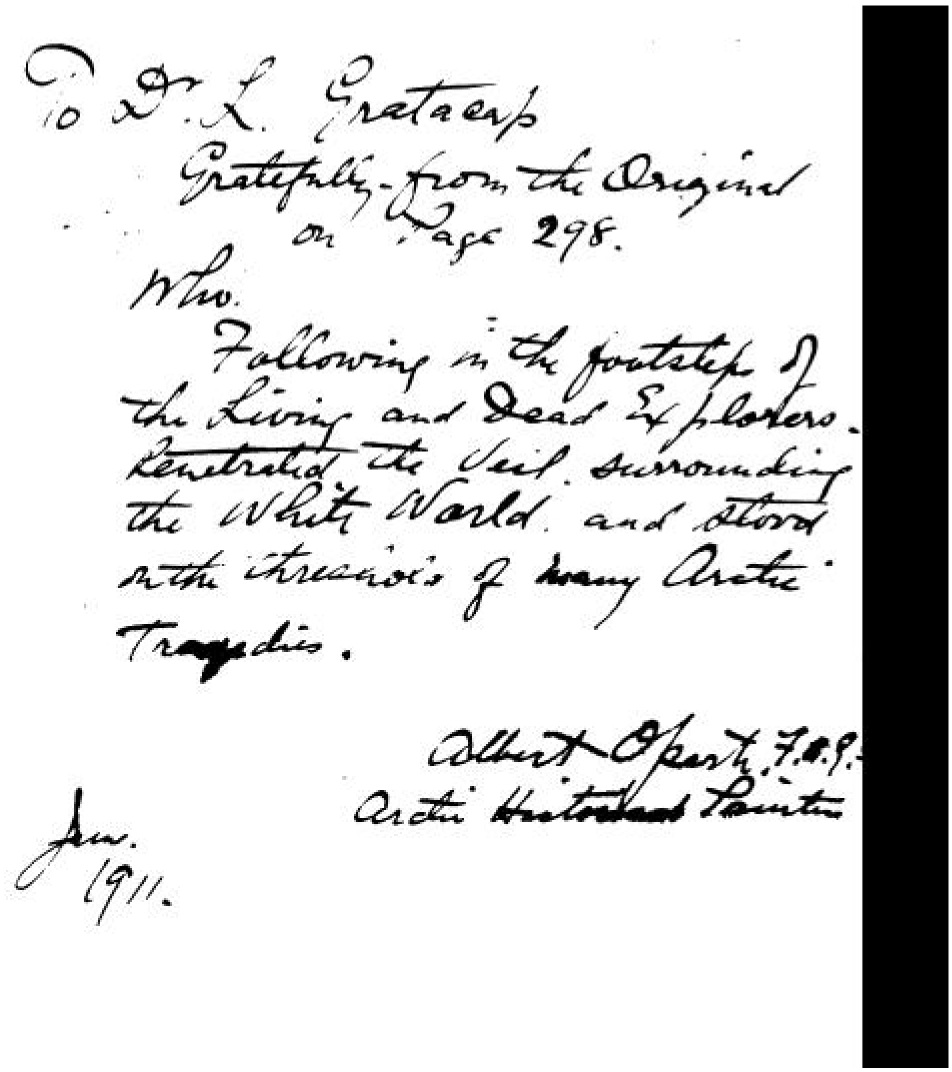
Fig. 2. "Rescuing Greely and his Comrades at Cape Sabine," by Albert Operti (from http://www.kanelodge454.org/#!history/c1l15).

Operti, Baldwin, the 'Kane Lodge' and Operti Bay

The goal of this research was to attempt to find a direct connection between Evelyn B. Baldwin and Operti Bay thought to be named after Albert Operti. Two strong connections were found.

The first is Operti's painting titled *Advance* that hangs in the Masonic Lodge No. 454, called 'Kane Lodge and also in New York City. It is this location that plays an important role in the connection between Operti and Evelyn Briggs Baldwin and the naming of Operti Bay in Franz Josef Land.

An excerpt of a report of the executive committee in charge of a reception held at the Kane Lodge in New York in April of 1896 shows the purpose of the committee meeting as well as the date it was held. This report can be found in the New York Public Library and on page six we find Albert Operti's name under the membership list of the *Committee of Decorations and Relics*. At the top of page twelve, we find Evelyn Briggs Baldwin's name on the list of invited guests, followed by his title as 'Meteorologist on the Peary Expedition in 1893-1894.'


To Dr. L. Gratacap
Gratefully - from the Original
on Page 298.
Who.
Following in the footsteps of
the Living and Dead Explorers.
Penetrated the Veil. surrounding
the White World. and Stood
mid the treasures of many Arctic
Tragedies.

Albert Operti. F.R.G.S.
Arctic Historical Painter

Jan.
1911.

Fig. 3. An inscription by Albert Operti in a copy of Rudolf Kersting's *The White World* shows his self-identification as an "Arctic Historical Painter" (source: Google Books).

It is not clear from this whether Baldwin in fact attended the event, but it does attest to his standing in the wider community of Arctic exploration, and further, if he did attend, of an early connection with Albert Operti.

In addition to this, a more direct connection was found by my colleague, Alex Cruz, in his research (this volume). On May 5th, 1898, Baldwin sent a letter to Rudolf Kersting which, in addition to the main content to the letter, inquired of Kersting after Operti's address. The letter is shown in Alex's paper.

Conclusions

While we do not know why Baldwin asked Kersting for Operti's address, the letter is dated in the same month as Baldwin was making his final preparations to join Walter Wellman on the latter's upcoming polar expedition. During this second Wellman polar expedition, to Franz Josef Land in 1898-99, Baldwin was named Wellman's second-in-command, and during an advance sledge journey in the fall of 1898, gave the waters south of Cape Heller on the northwest of Wilczek Land the name 'Operti Bay.' This is found in Baldwin's journal around the time of 16 September 1898 (see Baldwin 2004).

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Discussion

Lockerby: For my future directions I don't know exactly why Baldwin wanted Operti's address. But there are a set of papers that do exist and they are at the Rauner Special Collections Library at Dartmouth College. I'd like to get into these papers and the correspondence with several different Arctic explorers. That is the next step.

Forsberg: Is Kersting's name there on the event list at the Masonic Lodge? I couldn't see it.

Lockerby: No. I don't think I found him on there. But one of Operti's paintings, called 'Farewell,' hangs at the Kane Lodge (Masonic Lodge #454, in Manhattan, New York City, see: http://www.kanelodge454.org/#!history/c1l15). It's big, bold, and beautiful. Clearly he had significance as far as his artistic ability goes.

Capelotti: Also, you'll see that the name of the committee that Operti was on is called the 'Committee on Decorations and Relics.' In the United States, after the Civil War, when there were so many casualties—well, today is called Memorial Day and the unofficial start of the American summer, at the end of May—but it was originally called Decoration Day. It's when people would go decorate the graves of the Civil War dead. The Kane Lodge in New York came to decorate the grave outside of Philadelphia of Isaac Israel Hayes, the year after he died. So this Kane Lodge has had an integral relationship with Arctic explorers for 125 years and it's still there in New York. They even refer to themselves as 'The Explorer's Lodge

Umbreit: What does 'relics' in this context mean?

Capelotti: Relics could mean, the things that people brought back from their travels. These were the kind of items they had at the lodge, and apparently have there still.

Lockerby: Towards the end of his life, for that last six or seven years, Operti was living in an apartment at the Explorer's Club in New York, where he had done a lot of murals and other paintings for museums. And he was into preserving all the art of the history of exploration.

Barr: So how did you find all these bits of information?

Lockerby: I started out just going through the different archives and digital newspapers. It was all digital research. I have all the pages from the dinner event report because it's has been digitized from its source at the New York Public Library. So I don't have to move from my little laptop and I can read this entire book. Beautiful.

Capelotti: One of the things that both faculty and students at our university have is access to something called the American Historical Newspapers database, which is a whole range of newspapers across the country that have to this point been digitized. It has as well a robust search engine. You can keyword search throughout about a 75, 80 years, from about 1860 through 1950 for American newspapers. The interesting thing about that, as I did in the Franz Josef Land book, is because the United States is so big, that you see how explorers were portrayed in different parts of the country. That's a whole other subject that's wide open for study, just the regional differences in how people perceived the act, the process, of exploration. I'm sure it's very similar to, say, the difference between how somebody would be portrayed in Oslo to how they might be portrayed in Tromsø, for example.

The other thing that they used, which maybe many of you have used, is called NUCMUC, which is the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections and that's through the Library of Congress search engine site. That will tell you where the manuscript collections are, so you can go onto that search engine and plug in Baldwin, Evelyn Briggs Baldwin, and it'll tell you everywhere in the country where there is a recorded note of something related to Baldwin. It could be a letter to him, it could be a letter from him and so forth. That can help narrow down your search. Of course, so many of these searches come right back to the Rauner Library at Dartmouth because they've got such a massive collection of polar explorers there.

Forsberg: Was it true that Stefánsson made this collection?

Capelotti Yes. Vilhjálmur Stefánsson formed the collection, but they also have an Arctic Center at Dartmouth and so the Rauner Library has been adding to the Stefánsson collection ever since Stefansson gave them the rough outlines to it.

Barr: So you're going to carry on with it?

Lockerby: I'd like to. I want to go to the Rauner Library. I'm curious because everything that we've found is from there so I'm curious what's in those papers and who he wrote to.

Forsberg: I recall that that information, doesn't it state the number of names of the explorers he was in touch with?

Lockerby: It says some, and then "and others." So who are the "and others"?

Capelotti: That's why you have to go; you never know until you go.

Magnus: In Sweden we are way behind. So you can access where the information is at least in newspapers, but because of the laws and fighting between the copyright holders, you cannot access stuff. You have to go to the library in Stockholm.

Capelotti: And of course it’s different archive to archive. Library of Congress finding aids are usually very detailed, sometimes down to the letter level. So you will be able to say, “Okay. I know if I go there I’m going to find something.” Rauner finding aids are much more general as Amanda said. It will say, “Correspondence with this person, this person, this person, and numerous others.” It won’t typically be down to the folder or the letter level. You have to actually go there and start poking through to see it.

Chapter 6. Evelyn Briggs Baldwin and the Quereau Glacier[22]

Jacqueline Lanning

Abstract

On September 20, 1898, during the second Wellman polar expedition, Wellman's second-in-command, Evelyn Briggs Baldwin, gave the name 'Quereau' to a glacier on the west coast of Wilczek Land. There is no direct evidence, as of this writing, that can be found on why he described this feature as a 'Querean' glacier. However, there is indirect evidence supporting the notion that he named the glacier after a geology professor, Edmund Chase Quereau.

Keywords

Franz Josef Land, historic place names, historical geography, Evelyn Briggs Baldwin, Walter Wellman, Edmund Chase Quereau, Quereau Glacier, polar exploration, Oslo NSF workshop

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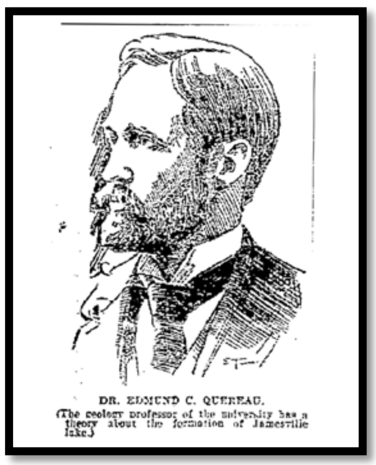


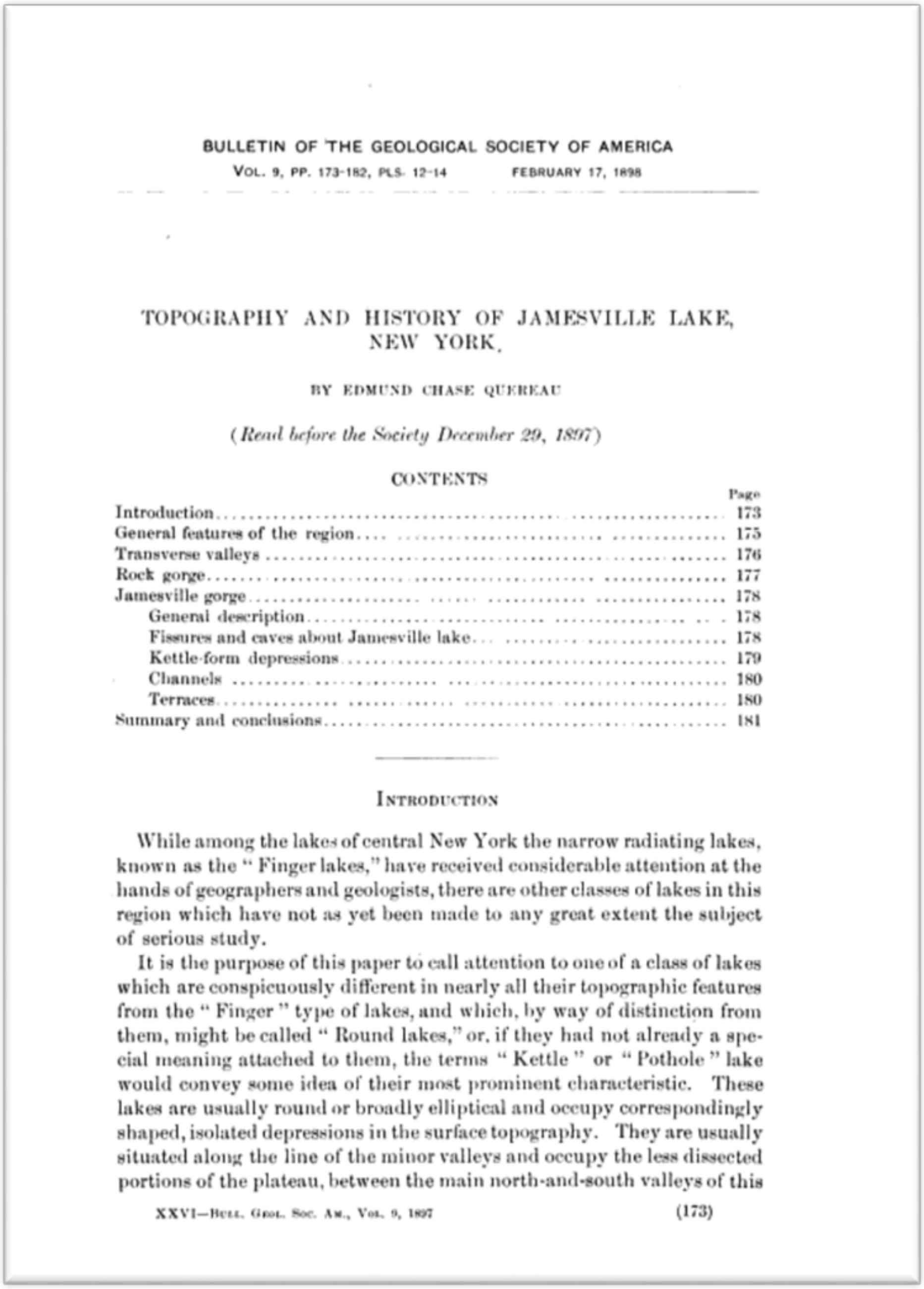
Fig. 1. Portrait Drawing of Edmund Chase Quereau (from Syracuse *Evening Herald*).

Background

Edmund Chase Quereau was born on March 18, 1868 in Aurora, Illinois. He is listed in the Alumni Record of the College of Liberal Arts by Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, yet there is no actual confirmation on his attendance.

Quereau undertook graduate and doctoral studies in Germany. His field of study and the degrees he received were in Geology and Mineralogy. He lectured and taught at University of

Chicago, was the head of the geology department at Syracuse University in New York, and was a member of the Geological Society of America since 1898 (Alumni Record of the College of Liberal Arts 1903).



BULLETIN OF THE GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA
VOL. 9, PP. 173-182, PLS. 12-14 FEBRUARY 17, 1898

TOPOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF JAMESVILLE LAKE, NEW YORK.

BY EDMUND CHASE QUEREAU

(*Read before the Society December 29, 1897*)

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

While among the lakes of central New York the narrow radiating lakes, known as the "Finger lakes," have received considerable attention at the hands of geographers and geologists, there are other classes of lakes in this region which have not as yet been made to any great extent the subject of serious study.

It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to one of a class of lakes which are conspicuously different in nearly all their topographic features from the "Finger" type of lakes, and which, by way of distinction from them, might be called "Round lakes," or, if they had not already a special meaning attached to them, the terms "Kettle" or "Pothole" lake would convey some idea of their most prominent characteristic. These lakes are usually round or broadly elliptical and occupy correspondingly shaped, isolated depressions in the surface topography. They are usually situated along the line of the minor valleys and occupy the less dissected portions of the plateau, between the main north-and-south valleys of this

XXVI—BULL. GEOL. SOC. AM., VOL. 9, 1897 (173)

Fig. 2. Quereau's "Topography and History of Jamesville Lake, New York." (*Bulletin of the Geological Society of America* 9 Dec. (1897): 173-182.)

Quereau published a substantial amount of research on geology and topography. In one article in particular, "Topography and History of Jamesville Lake, New York," he discusses glacial features that may have caused a lake in this area of the United State to form (Quereau 1897). At the very least, this article testifies to Quereau's professional knowledge of and in publishing in the field of glacial studies. Quereau later retired from Syracuse University due to ill health in 1898 (Syracuse *Evening Herald*).

Quereau and Evelyn Briggs Baldwin

Evelyn Briggs Baldwin was born on July 22, 1862, in Naperville, Illinois. He graduated with a Master of Arts degree from North Central College in Naperville in 1885, and later became a meteorologist and polar explorer (Baldwin 2004).

The close proximity of Quereau and Baldwin to each other, geographically, in the American Midwest, and their involvement with the natural sciences, could suggest that they may have met in an academic or educational setting.

It is also possible that Baldwin and Quereau may have known of each other's work due to their interests in similar scientific fields of study. Baldwin's interest in Arctic exploration may have led him to Quereau's scientific research and knowledge of glaciers. Though Quereau did not reach the heights of fame of other scientific contemporaries, he appears to have been a significant researcher into the nature of glaciers and glacial formations at the turn of the 20th century, and this alone might well have brought him to Baldwin's attention.

Conclusions

The indirect evidence collected around this problem of glacier nomenclature is suggestive of Baldwin naming the glacier after Edmund Chase Quereau. However, since the evidence is not conclusive, research still needs to be conducted to form a more direct hypothesis. There are several other avenues that can be taken in this regard, such as an examination of archives of the Smithsonian Institution, specifically box 103 of 154, ("SIA RU000189, Smithsonian Institution Assistant Secretary in Charge of the United States National Museum, Correspondence and Memoranda, 1860-1908"), where there appears to be correspondence either from or to Quereau from the institution. Other connections may exist between mutual colleagues of Baldwin and Quereau's (for example Ernest de Koven Leffingwell, a geologist who worked at the University of Chicago and served as a cartographer during the Baldwin-Ziegler Polar Expedition of 1901-02).

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Discussion

Forsberg: When we did our article, one of our possibilities was, a Quereau with the Weather Bureau. Did you ever look into that man?

Lanning: Are you talking about Quereau Force?

Forsberg: Yes.

Lanning: Then why wasn't it called the Force Glacier? From what I found, Force died when Baldwin was 13. And it further doesn't seem as if Force did enough work that would have inspired Baldwin to name a glacier after him. He did mainly military journalistic type stuff. I didn't actually see work that he did with the Weather Bureau that would have impacted Baldwin's name.

Capelotti: Well, what Jackie 'forced' me to do, if we can use Quereau 'Force,' is to go back to Baldwin's original diary and see, and try to confirm, that he uses this apparently as an adjective and not as a proper noun. In other words, he calls the glacier between Storm Bay and Cape Heller a 'Querean' glacier, as if it's a type of glacier. Since I was not looking at Baldwin's papers for this guy, it may very well be that there is a letter within Baldwin's papers at the Library of Congress that could settle this question.

Lanning: What I found in his diary, it seems like he had spoken about it before. I don't think that was the actual first time that he used the term. That was just the first time he mentioned it in writing, or in that writing.

Capelotti: The important thing to realize about this glacier is that Baldwin arrived on the south side of it in the middle of August. He doesn't cross it until almost the end of September. So he wastes five weeks puttering around on the south side of this glacier. He sends the Norwegians by boat up to Cape Heller (visiting what will become Komsomolets Island in the process) and they do what they do and they get trapped at Cape Heller. They eventually cannot make it back by boat so they end up finally saying, 'Okay. We'll walk across the glacier.' They end up walking across the 16 mile glacier in about two hours after Baldwin was sitting on the south side of it for five weeks. He could have gotten to the glacier in mid-August and crossed it in a couple of hours and then gotten much further north. The reason why it's so important is that is marks really the end of the Wellman expedition right there. When Baldwin fails to cross that glacier in five weeks it's too late in the season by the time they finally cross it and they're forced to go to Cape Heller and build Fort McKinley in a rush, and build their winter station far south of where Wellman actually wanted it.

Wråkberg: I wonder, if any of you have looked into contemporary discussions published by one or other of the people that engaged in this whole issue about the principles of naming in work that I and others have done for example. There are also discussions in the geographical community and other places where you have different opinions about who to honor with a name or who you should give names more generally based on the history of prominent work in science. There have certainly been discussions between Swedish polar cartographers and the German about how this will be done. That would be interesting in this time, I guess, possible to relate to the age of colonialism.

Capelotti: We were heavily influenced by your work, especially "The Politics of Naming" and your work on Antarctica.[23] They were assigned your articles early in the

[23] See: Wråkberg, Urban. 2002. "The Politics of Naming: Contested Observations and the Shaping of Geographical Knowledge," in *Narrating the Arctic: Collective Memory, Science, and the Nordic Nations, 1800-1940,* eds. Michael Bravo & Sverker Sörlin (Canton, Mass: Science History Publications, 2002), pp. 155-197; and: Wråkberg, Urban. 2004. "Delineating a Continent of Ice and Snow: Cartographic Claims of Knowledge and

semester, and both of these were hugely influential. The work you did in particular with regard to Kong Karls Land actually creates the first bridge to Franz Josef Island and the naming scheme there, and then the work in Antarctica on how difficult it was to name a feature when you really didn't know where the coastline was. This is pointed out with relation to Quereau Glacier because Quereau Glacier probably won't even exist in 50 years in which case it will be, I don't know, Quereau Bay or something. As we were saying last night, the whole scheme of place naming will change again as the ice disappears. Then all these names will have to be rethought or recast within a totally different environment.

Forsberg: In the case of the place naming in Franz Josef Land is very simple because it's the Russians who have the cards in their hands and decide if a name survives or not. Kersting and Operti did not last, but this Quereau actually did last. Kersting Bay is now Bentsen Bay, having been named by the Russians in 1932.

Capelotti: We should point that Baldwin assigned these names, almost certainly based on his friendship with those two individuals. And those names have not survived.

Wråkberg: The cases of renaming are extremely interesting, because, oh, it could for several reasons: you can't pronounce it, or it was located incorrectly...

Capelotti: Or it's a bunch of American capitalists and you're now a Communist country.

Elzinga: This is an area I am especially interested in: what are the criteria these guys had for a hierarchy of naming. Here we have a name of a scientist, so one could ask: what is the percentage of names assigned to scientists compared to, for example, capitalists, or sponsors, or family members.

Capelotti: It is also interesting that the person who gives the most money doesn't always get the most prominent place.

Forsberg: We have a good example of that with Wellman, where there are several names in Franz Josef Land from his benefactors, but the Vice President of the U.S. (Garret Hobart), who gave Wellman money but died in November of 1899 just as Wellman returned home, never got a name attached to anywhere in Franz Josef Land. Obviously he couldn't help Wellman on another expedition, so he never got a place name. But all others who put in money got a name.

Territory in Antarctica in the 19th and Early 20th Century," in *Antarctic Challenges: Historical and Current Perspectives on Otto Nordenskjöld's Antarctic Expedition, 1901-1903.* Göteborg: Royal Soc. Arts and Sciences.

Elzinga: Then there is the next stage, which is what are the politics behind the names, what is the explorer trying to cultivate for the future.

Capelotti: In that sense, we should mention Fort McKinley, as that is named after the 'godfather' of American expansion around the globe, who defeats William Jennings Bryan in 1896 and begins this remarkable American experiment, which sees explorers like Wellman and Baldwin carrying Cuban flags from the Spanish-American War, with them to Franz Josef Land in the summer of 1898. I should mention, as well, and as you can see, Jackie actually pointed out a flaw in my work—and thank you very much for that—with this, the glacier that separates Storm Bay on Wilczek Island from Operti Bay. Baldwin in his journal, as Jackie pointed out to me, refers to it as the Querean Glacier. We took that and said it must be named after someone named Quereau. There is a glaciologist, as Jackie told you, by that name. Whether it is named after Quereau or whether this Quereau actually came up with some glacial phenomenon that other people applied to glaciers called the 'Querean Glacier,' we don't know.

Chapter 7. Evelyn Briggs Baldwin and Kersting Bay[24]

Alejandro Cruz

Abstract

A letter from Evelyn Briggs Baldwin to the photographer Rudolf Kersting in May of 1898 lends credence to the notion that the two men were close associates, shared membership in the Arctic Club of America, and that Kersting was the personality behind Baldwin's place name of Kersting Bay on Wilczek Island in Franz Josef Land later in 1898 during the second Wellman polar expedition.

Keywords

Franz Josef Land, historic place names, historical geography, Evelyn Briggs Baldwin, Walter Wellman, Rudolf Kersting, Kersting Bay, polar exploration, Oslo NSF workshop

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.7557/5.3584

Background

Evelyn Briggs Baldwin's journal from the Wellman expedition includes passages describing both Kersting Bay and Operti Bay, as if they had long been known. Today, if one searches for Kersting Bay it will be found under the name "Bentsen Bay," after Bernt Bentsen, a Norwegian who perished at Fort McKinley during the Wellman expedition (Wellman 1900).

Although Baldwin's place name of "Kersting Bay" has not stuck over time, the record of him naming the bay in Baldwin's diary in 1899, the letter addressed to Kersting in 1898, and the Arctic Club as the fraternity to which both men belonged is all substantial evidence that Rudolf is the Kersting named for Kersting Bay.

Kersting, Baldwin, and Kersting Bay

This research sought any direct connection between Baldwin and Kersting. This was initially discovered online, through evidence of a letter from Baldwin addressed directly to Kersting and dated May 5, 1898. This letter is mentioned in the *Finding aid to the Arctic Club of America Collection 1894 – 1914* of the Explorers Club in New York City (see: Lembo and Mendel 2002). Using the series and subject file number, we requested a copy from the archives of the Explorers Club (the Arctic Club folded into the Explorers Club by 1912 (Lembo and Mendel 2002)). A pdf of the letter was kindly provided by the Explorers Club.

Fig. 1. Portrait of Kersting (from Henry Collins Walsh's *Last Cruise of the Miranda*).

The document revealed that Kersting and Baldwin were communicating through letters and had met at least by the date of the letter, May 5, 1898, and evidence of the relationship between the two men is found throughout the letter.

Page one of the letter begins:

"My Dear Kersting,

> Thank you for your kind words. Our expedition will cross the Atlantic separately. Consequently the 'blow out' will be out of the question. The expedition is an assumed fact.
>
> Yes, I was born in a military camp as stated.
>
> I regret exceedingly to hear of Dr. Cook's prolonged absence without tidings from him…"

Baldwin, after fondly responding to Kersting, immediately references the Wellman expedition that would be leaving for Franz Josef Land the following month. The "blowout" being "out of the question" seems to be an allusion to an oncoming celebration apparently planned by the Arctic Club.

Baldwin then changes the subject, writing down his concern for Dr. Frederick A. Cook (a friend to both Baldwin and Kersting) who was at the moment with the Belgian Antarctica expedition aboard the *Belgica* (Cook 1900).

Returning to page two of the letter, Baldwin continues:

> "…and especially of the sad news awaiting him should he return. How very sad. They were both very good friends of mine. Is there still no news of the *Windward*? I fear the worst has occurred—yet hope for the better…"

From the context clues in this second page, Baldwin is presumably referring to the sad news that Robert Peary is also missing, somewhere near Ellesmere Island aboard the *Windward*, and nothing would be heard from him for another year. Baldwin expresses his concern over Peary, with whom he travelled as meteorologist during Peary's North Greenland expedition in 1892-1894 (Baldwin 2004).

Noting the history and significance of 1894, it is important to remember Kersting and Cook set out on the voyage of the *Miranda* in that year. The historical note here being, that the formation of The Arctic Club was the ultimate outcome of Cook's ill-fated expedition to Greenland in the rather unlucky *Miranda*. In this planned polar cruise, after the *Miranda* struck an unchartered reef and began to take on water, Cook traveled 90 miles by open boat to procure the fishing schooner *Rigel*, returning with the plan to tow the *Miranda*. Once it became clear that the *Miranda* was sinking, it was abandoned, and all the passengers (over fifty persons) came aboard the *Rigel*.

As *The Arctic Club Manual* of 1906 put it, albeit crowded:

> "...the company was an especially genial and harmonious one...[a]cquaintances ripened into friendships...[and] out of this intimacy, a more formal association...[arose] for the purpose of keeping alive and perpetuating the pleasant friendships which had been formed on the cruise and cemented by its mishaps" (The Arctic Club 1906).

Indeed, this spirit of comradery carried over into the philosophy of the Arctic Club in the form of mutual respect for arctic explorers by arctic explorers. By 1899, the Arctic Club would have Baldwin and Wellman as members (Lembo and Mendel 2002), and Kersting's involvement as club treasurer may explain this last exciting line from the letter:

> "Please send me Operti's address.
>
> Fraternally yours,
> Evelyn B. Baldwin"

The connection here is the Italian born illustrator Albert Operti (see: Lockerby, this volume), who was on Peary's expedition to Greenland in 1896 (Higgins 2008). This last line links Kersting, Baldwin, and Operti.

Conclusions

As treasurer to the Arctic Club, it would be likely that Kersting would have the address of Operti, but it isn't fully evident why Baldwin needed it. Further research in to any additional private correspondence between Operti and Baldwin might offer specific reasons why Baldwin asks for Operti's address from Kersting. Perhaps he was seeking Operti's talent to illustrate scenes from the upcoming Wellman expedition, but whatever the purpose, simply including Operti in the message was further indication that Baldwin's place names "Kersting Bay" and "Operti Bay" were respectively named for Rudolf Kersting and Albert Operti.

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Discussion

Forsberg: One of the big questions we had before we published our article, was to find the year of Kersting died. Strange enough, this Kersting, he's secretary for the Arctic Club. He's the secretary when the Arctic Club becomes the Explorers Club. Then he vanishes. He pops up again in the 20s as an old man, I can't remember the year. Then in '29, or something, '28, he just vanishes. Gone. The Explorers Club have a list of all the members, the year they were born and when they passed. But the death date is blank for Kersting.

Larsson: That list though is a bit suspect.

Capelotti: They (the Explorers Club) think he died either in late 1930 or early 1931.

Wråkberg: These associations between the three men, especially the formal of salutation "Fraternally yours," were they also derived from their membership in the same Masonic lodge or club or chapter or what-have-you?

Capelotti: That is an excellent observation. Baldwin was a Mason. Operti was a Free Mason. It's probably likely that Kersting was as well. So there may very well be further connections through, especially, the Kane Lodge (the explorer's lodge) in New York.

Barr: Yes, that would make a lot of sense.

Capelotti: The only weakness of this letter is that there is no mention of Quereau, or else we might have been able to wrap up the entire triangle of place names problems we set the students to this semester.

Barr: Concerning modern place names, or glaciers, and so forth, Borge Ousland found a new island. Have you gotten that in your list?

Forsberg: Cape Flora. The first time I got it was when Marie Gavrilo and I sat together and discussed Franz Josef Land. It was actually not him. The Russians claim that they had seen it the same year, before him. So we have not in our article added that island when we're talking about Cape Flora, because that wasn't known by us at that time. This will be an endless issue up in Franz Josef Land

Barr: This will be added to your list?

Forsberg: The Russians have not decided the name of that island to date, because I think they have three different names that have been proposed.

Barr: Ousland put a name on it as well.

Forsberg: He put a name on it.

Barr: What was the name he put on?

Forsberg: I sat with him a few years ago, and he told me this story also… They came there, took a kayak or something and found that the cape was now an island. And there will be many, many issues like this in Franz Josef Land in the near future, as the glaciers are retreating. You see, climate change opens up all of these opportunities for place names changes in the future.

Chapter 8. The politics of place names: a summation[25]

Urban Wråkberg[26]

Abstract
Remarks at the conclusion of a workshop, sponsored by the U.S. National Science Foundation, and held in Oslo, Norway, from 12-13 May 2015, to discuss the historic place names of the High Arctic archipelago of Franz Josef Land. Discussed are new approaches to toponymic research suggested at the workshop, as well as perspective based in the author's research on the toponymic history of Kong Karls Land in Svalbard.

Keywords
Franz Josef Land, polar exploration, Oslo NSF workshop, Kong Karls Land, Svalbard, Spitsbergen

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.7557/5.3585

First of all I would like to say thank you for the invitation to this impressive gathering. We discussed a bit yesterday this idea of the way forward with the materials we have seen here in Oslo. I have been working for several years now for The Arctic University of Norway's Kirkenes campus, where my teaching and research has been partly in different but also in related circles, including contemporary issues of interdisciplinary research in northern studies and the borderlands of Europe. And, as we all know, there is a fair amount of politics going on in the borderlands with Russia today, so I agree that the historical material we have seen and heard about here, the historical naming of what is since 1926 (at first disputed) a Russian Arctic archipelago, should be handled with sensitivity, especially with regard to modern media that might ask you one question but use your answer for an entirely different purpose.

This makes the historical place naming of Franz Josef Land somewhat different from, for example, Antarctica, or even Svalbard, amplified by Russia's recent commitment to devote some hundreds of millions to a new program of Arctic research and nuclear icebreakers (see, for example, "Russia plans new floating Arctic research station," *Barents Observer*, March 18, 2015, and "Keel laying for new nuclear icebreaker," *Barents Observer*, May 27, 2015).

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[26] About the author: Urban Wråkberg is professor of Northern Studies at UiT The Arctic University of Norway. He conducts research on social, political and scientific issues of the north, with a focus on the Euroarctic and the borderlands of the Barents Region, i.e. the norther counties of Norway, Sweden, Finland and of the north-west of Russia. He has published in English, Swedish, Norwegian, and Russian on the history and ideology of polar exploration. Urban's work includes particularly influential articles on toponymic studies in the polar regions such as "Delineating a Continent of Ice and Snow: Cartographic Claims of Knowledge and Territory in Antarctica in the 19th and Early 20th Century," and "The Politics of Naming: Contested Observations and the Shaping of Geographical Knowledge."

However, more than just these technologies will be required, given that the present political situation calls for close observation. Thorough historical reviews of related matters take on new significance. It is worth noticing that Antarctic toponomy and the procedures of issuing new place-names there today, is a quite elaborate and since long institutionalized process under the Antarctic Treaty. In resemblance with 19th century colonial geography, while ensuing apparently neutral nature-descriptive names as well as nationally laden ones to new geographical features entered into official maps, it tries to handle the geopolitical tension still making itself felt among the signatory nations in particular those with dormant but overlapping Antarctic land-claims. This is done emulating the socio-scientific process of meting out due recognition among peers in any subject by naming scientific features, phenomena and natural-laws after a researcher, on less politically heated issues—as Aant Elzinga here present has discussed in his research on Antarctic politics and research.

Attempting to handle geopolitically related issues partly by scientists, within their communities and by their procedures, is sometimes successful like in the science-based regulating of fishing in the Barents Sea between Russia and Norway today, but oftentimes reaching consensus at the cutting edge of on-going international research especially under political pressures, has proved difficult, in the present as well as in the past, as of course professional experts themselves are citizens of various nations and committed to many different interests beside the neutrality of science.

I would like to take this time to discuss some of my work on the discovery, construction, and deconstruction of a specific polar region and its place name, that of King Charles Land in Svalbard, which went on between 1625-1900. In those days the islands were an unclaimed *terra nullius* called Spitsbergen, a name I will use in the following for the historical period in which it is relevant. After Norwegian sovereignty was agreed upon in the negotiations following WWI the official name was altered to Svalbard. The expeditions taking place during preceding years, destined to or passing to the south or north of the ice-infested waters to the immediate east of Spitsbergen, were most intensively engaged in geographical debate in the 1870s. The rather animated exchange of ideas then among Arctic geographers, and their frequent publication of maps containing major revisions of earlier or still upheld competing observations by colleagues, may seem puzzling today if we only base ourselves on the contemporary understanding of the islands found in this region—which is that they are insignificant in all respects but the environmental one. Today King Charles Land, or as the present name is: Kong Karls Land, is a desolate Arctic nature reserve were only the staff of the Governor of Svalbard is allowed to land.

We need to set the events of the 1870s in historical and geopolitical context and recognize the power of the then vast unknown to the east of Spitsbergen. We also need to familiarize ourselves a bit with the workings of 19th century global colonialism. Sightings of supposedly new land were often reported then by members of returning polar expeditions. Such were led and organized not so often actually by scientists but by naval officers, wealthy Arctic tourists, and hard-working skippers of sealing and whaling ships. Thus, sightings and claims to priorities of geographical discoveries were often based on observations of variable geodetic quality and at variance with each other. They could be based on binocular observations from rolling ship-decks made on rare occasions of good visibility, or more precise sightings measured by state-of the-art portable geodetic instruments. The first publicly announced sightings of land to the east of mainland Spitsbergen were made from mountaintops on its eastern coast. They reported of stretches of coasts far off in the un-navigable sunlit ice-fields; coast-lines and horizons of land often distorted by mirages and/or revealed suddenly and temporarily in drifting fogs and clouds.

For all knowledge held by anyone in the 1860s and 70s—geographers, Arctic indigenous people (Svalbard was uninhabited when discovered in AD 1596 by a Dutch expedition on which Willem Barents served as ice-pilot), naval officers, sealing skippers and whalers alike—such sightings might well have been of the westernmost promontory of a major Arctic island, even an unknown continent. Nevertheless, to be science of enduring geopolitical weight, observations and new maps based on them had to be agreed upon among international geographers. The signs of success in that regard included being favorably reviewed in the major geographical journals of the time, and further publicized in one of the major Western languages: English, German or French. Such a process would bestow not only fame on the single individual of the right social standing often identified/constructed afterwards as the sole person to hold the honor of the observation, but also on the sponsors or navy behind the expedition in question and the nation that might claim or was handed some kind of ownership of it.

When it was realized stepwise over the following decades that no great geographical discovery was to be made in the immediate east of Spitsbergen the great drama of the matter cooled off. The geographical and geopolitical field of vision moved further east and north and came to include the first observations and the ensuing work on the cartography of Franz Josef Land—what has been presented in new historical detail at this Oslo workshop. Another driver behind all this before 1909 was the media, the reading public's interest for the race towards the North Pole. Scrutinizing maps and documents of the international world of science from this process enables us I think to see a typical pattern that can inform our general understanding today of how new knowledge is built in a real context of economic, geopolitical and media interests.

In my study of the lengthy process of "discovery" of unknown land in the region of what turned out to be the islands of King Charles Land I worked along the same lines that several colleagues here present have done in their research on other polar regions, some of which has been presented at this gathering in Oslo. I interested myself foremost for the building of new scientific/geographical knowledge that was made publicly accessible. Thus I didn't go looking for information possibly held confidentially in naval records or as business secrets among whalers and seal hunters. I largely focused on published material—but in detail and international in scope. As such, it carried little weight in the eyes of the professional historian, including those designated historians of science, when I began my research on this at Uppsala University in the previous century. They all followed the prestige road into the archives, hunting for unpublished letters and once secret political agendas by which to disclose the master story behind it all that they imagined to exist.

Alas, in Scandinavia at least, such archives are few and far between and sadly meager in juicy details. I did not so much either apply a biographical focus on the individuals involved, e.g. psychologizing on the importance of childhood events on the personality of the great explorers and their style of leadership—as speculated on in an endless row of best-selling polar narratives published since the invention of the polar travelogue, the armchair traveler and the arctic sublime in England in the early 19th century.

Particularly important aspects among those we have presented at this workshop are the careful attention to time-sequences, the real order of events, the guiding effects of major sponsorships, the importance of arctic tourism and the international scope of polar research and the details of its collective management and accumulation of new data. The historiographical basics of interpretation call for persistent attention. It is easier to state awareness of this than to always avoid e.g. social or national bias, heroism and teleological reasoning—acknowledging that outcomes of events seldom followed by necessity from anything; that things might have turned out differently if anything from weather and field conditions during single moments of observation to the funding of expeditions and ensuing research and publication had evolved otherwise; if global media attention and big politics had shifted differently.

Discoveries of what were later regarded as simple facts had their origin in odd combinations of skills and luck, and were contingent on the process of deconstruction and re-interpretation of the events afterwards that posterity has projected on the past—this of course includes our own presentations at this workshop. The responsibility of the professional historian and the importance of up-to-date methodology and an international scholarly ethos is worth stressing. It sits in a tight corner today in many chauvinist camps where academic opportunists and politicians have taken over the construction of heroic pasts and use them freely in manipulating collective memory and in dangerous geopolitical myth-making.

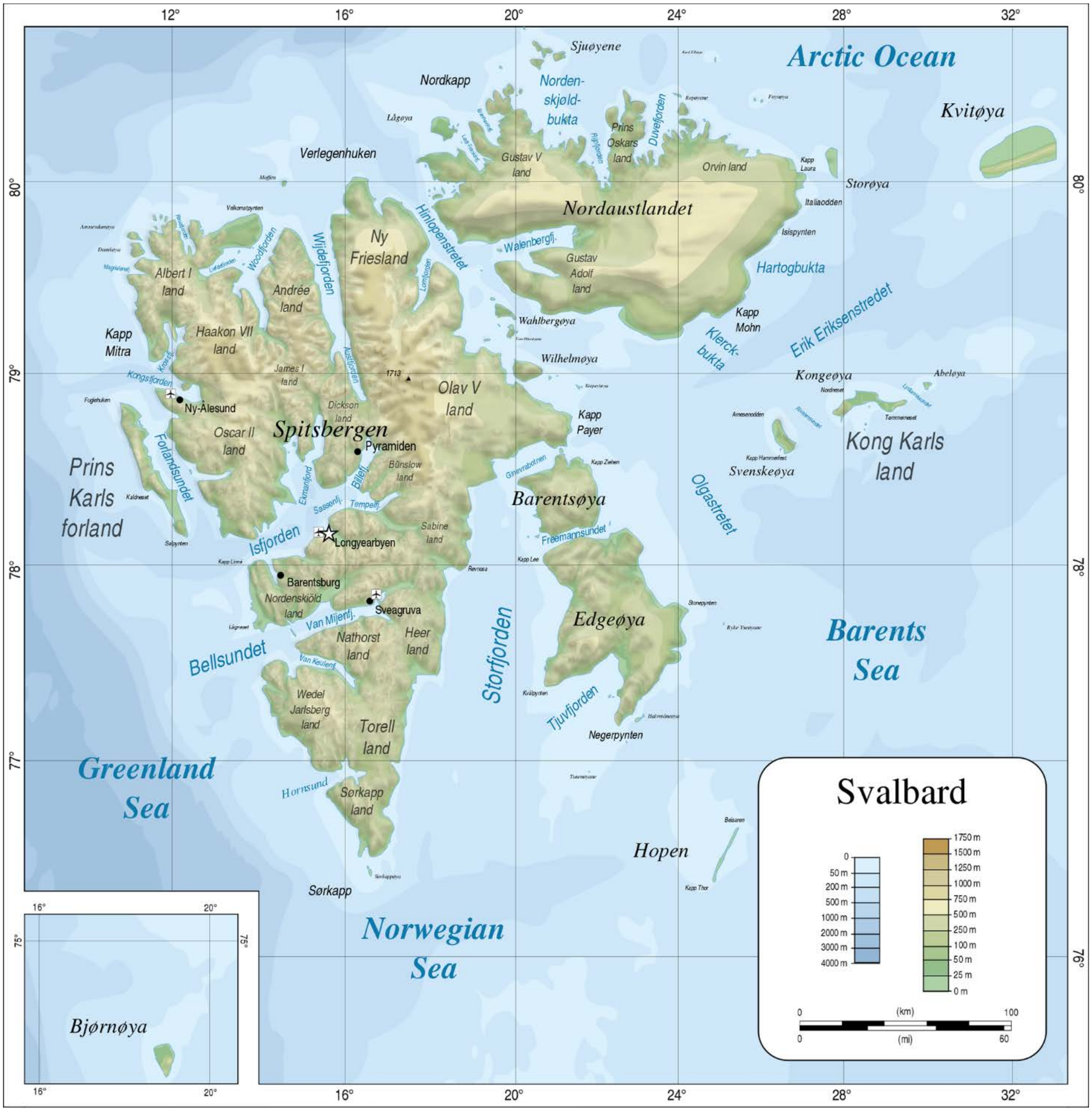

Fig. 1. Contemporary map of Svalbard with the islands of Kong Karls Land (King Charles Land) in the east. Source: Wikimedia.

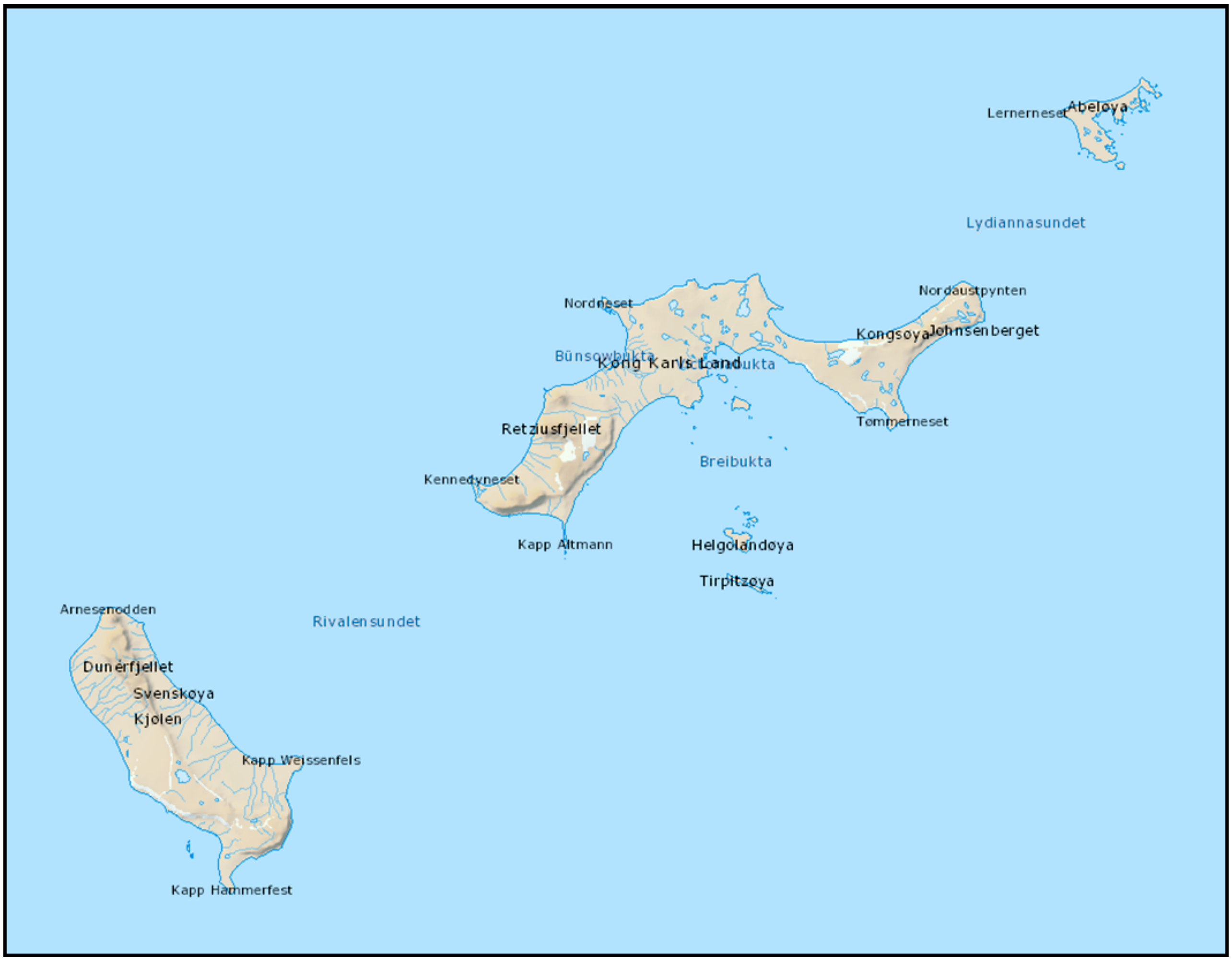

Fig. 2. Contemporary map of Kong Karls Land including some of its official geographical names in Norwegian. The distance from the west-coast of Svenskøya (formerly Swedish Foreland) to the north-easternmost point of Abeløya (Kapp Brühl) is about 80km. Source: the public website of the Norwegian Polar Institute.

Two modern charts of the Arctic including eastern Svalbard are presented as a start here not as yardsticks by which to evaluate in hindsight who was "right or wrong" among polar explorer of the past, but to facilitate attempts to relate some of their observations to the space of our own knowledge of this region. In my visually oriented and rather brief discussion below I will consider a chronological set of old maps produced from field observations of various mariners and explorers, and made public by scientific and some other publishers. Identification is given in the captions, along with comments relating to my specific points here, for further bibliographic details I refer to the sources in the list of literature and to my articles specified in it.

One main conclusion from this research, which corroborate the findings of several previous modern studies in the sociology and history of science, is the importance of scientific metropolitan centers in the evaluation and integration of field data into the accepted body of

Fig. 3. Map of Spitsbergen of the British whaling and trading enterprise The Muscovy Company published in London 1625 by Samuel Purchas. Here the whole of Spitsbergen was interpreted as (an eastern part of) “Greneland.” This map was based on geographical information collected by the men working for the whaling ship-owner Thomas Edge. Its indication of new land in the impenetrable ice-fields to the east of mainland Spitsbergen was called Wyches Lande, after another English whaling ship-owner.

knowledge of any geographical region. Institutions like the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences during the 19th century and in the following century the Norwegian Agency for the Exploration of Svalbard and the Arctic Seas (predecessor of the contemporary Norwegian Polar Institute) were certainly internationally respected and creative initiators of polar research as well as nationally efficient promoters of it, but they were restricted in their global scientific influence by their then use of native languages in their publications and the small size of their national community of researchers. The British Royal Geographical Society, its French and American counterparts and until the 1930s the German scientific societies, engaged broadly in Arctic and Antarctic research as institutional components of colonial powers of global influence.

In the second line of promoters of polar science and Arctic humanities we find the universities in many countries, including already in the 19th and early 20th century nations like Italy and Russia. The university was always a crucial provider of expertise, educator of young professionals for physically demanding field-work, and a steadfast producer of science and scholarship that represented continuity through the ups and downs in the interests for polar research in various national settings as also on the international scene. What can be seen more strikingly in studying the formation of knowledge at the time of controversy regarding King Charles Land is the importance of mapmaking and scientific publishing as a fourth component beside the scientific academies, the geographical societies, and the universities.

The business of whaling around Spitsbergen was very profitable during the 17th century but dwindled already in the following century due to overfishing and temporary climate change. Trappers and walrus hunters from the White Sea region in north-west Russia were active on the islands in the first half of the 19th century, while British naval expeditions were dispatched then and at the end of the 18th century to the islands to conduct among other pioneering geomagnetic and geodetic research. One of these naval expeditions were able to set a northern record that held for many years by having a team marching in the late spring of 1827, under the command of Edward Parry, on the sea-ice to the north of Spitsbergen, turning back at 82º 45’ North. Paul Gaimard led a French expedition under royal auspices to Spitsbergen in 1838 and 1839. It is still remembered today by some for its outstanding engravings, made based on the work of the eminent draftsmen Gaimard brought along, showing landscapes and sceneries from Spitsbergen and northern Norway. These appeared originally in the scholarly and scientific results of the expedition that were then still published the old way, long after the expedition had returned to its home port, as a joint, stand-alone magnificent set of illuminated tomes that most university libraries could not afford to buy. Exemplars of it were offered as princely gifts on great occasions involving diplomats and high echelons of the State of France.

Already in 1827 the Norwegian geologist Mathias Keilhau managed to make scientific observations not of Kong Karls Land but at Bear Island in the south-west, and on land in the south-eastern parts of Spitsbergen, by sharing the costs of chartering a Norwegian sealing sloop *Gud Mit Haab* in Hammerfest, including crew, with the German gentleman tourist Bartho von Löwenigh. In

1837 the Swedish marine biologist Sven Lovén joined—as scientific passenger—a Norwegian sealer in Hammerfest that was bound for Svalbard waters. He became a successful lobbyist of polar research later on in his career as professor at the Swedish Museum of Natural History, promoting national interest in Stockholm and Gothenburg to embark on funding a series of polar expeditions to Spitsbergen during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

At that time the practice of scientific publishing, including such from geographically significant journeys, had shifted towards the standard format of the journal article; not least to remedy the high costs and long delay of producing glossy joint publications aimed at furthering the importance of just one expedition. Given that the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm acted itself as a publisher in Swedish, and to some extent in other languages (mainly German), its proceedings and bewildering array of various series of publications issued throughout the 19th century carried less and less weight in the international world of science. No scientific publisher appeared in Sweden that could equal those of the major language areas and their metropolitan centers of learning.

To excel in northern field research and naval Arctic exploration like the British Admiralty did initially and the Academy of Sciences in Sweden tried to do later, based on the seamanship of its navy but mainly that of north Norwegian sealing skippers, was one way of contributing to science readily accessible to the Scandinavian scientific communities. Another way of gaining importance in international science was followed by German publishers, actually mainly settled outside of that country's main academic centers. As Jane Camerini has demonstrated in her historical research, German publishers like Heinrich Berghaus and Justus Perthes managed, by swift and competent editorial work, eminent map-design, and high-quality printing, to establish world leadership in the business of science publishing in the 19th century. Not only did they shape a style of maps that continues to be influential but also a typical Western belief in the map as a means of communicating almost all important facts on a region and its inhabitants, its future potential, culture, economic value, and geopolitical significance.

This is the reason why we need to point to the work of August Petermann in the process of constructing, deconstructing, and settling the geography and place name(s) of King Charles Land. He was obviously very important in German polar history, as editorial leader of the geographical journal that was later named after him: *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*. Situated in the little town of Gotha in central Germany it functioned in his time and for several following decades as an international clearinghouse for cartographic presentations and facts related to the geography of the world including its polar regions. By following these maps in chronological order you can see how, in these cases, "Giles Land," an old Dutch observation, or even Greenland itself, were shaped in an international context before they were fully known and described. In this way, rich interpretive possibilities open to the researcher, including, as many of us here have done, actual visits to these sites in an attempt to sort through the many issues presented by the historical context.

The ways in which these places were discussed, for example, in Petermann's *Mitteilungen*, based upon the Swedish observations and on the German expedition to eastern Spitsbergen of Theodor von Heuglin's in 1870, but also upon the observations of sealers, you get very interesting constructions of observed points or angles of connections to and from islands, as at the Swedish Foreland, and by this we today can follow also the details of the attempt to open, restart, and close discussions in the past on the priority of discovery of a particular place and, further, the initiative to launch a new place name or re-locate an old one.

These issues were codified by powerful individuals and groups, but at mid-19th century the field was dominated, reasonably so, by Petermann—who happened to take a personal interest in the exploration of the Polar Regions—and his *Mitteilungen*. This was based on the superior quality of its maps and their ability to create a particular view, and facilitated further by a wide public able to read German. As Adolf E. Nordenskiöld, the foremost Swedish polar explorer at the time, of Finnish decent, himself wrote to Petermann: "people in Sweden get to know about my expeditions through your journal so thank you for publishing news, report as well as articles on them!" The geographical journals had a much wider readership in the heydays of Western colonialism than today.

Around 1871 we find many other articles, also published in the *Mitteilungen*, that describe the remote area of the southern and eastern sectors of Spitsbergen. They show different versions and steps in the evolving representations of this area, as we will see in the following, in their views produced from data from Norwegian sealers and from the voyage of Benjamin Leigh Smith.

There are clashes of interests and contradictions in details and interpretations of predecessors work in the charts produced for Petermann's *Mitteilungen* with maps of the same area produced by Nordenskiöld and his Swedish colleagues. The Arctic place names suggested and settled by Western geographers in general in this period were typically nature-descriptive or bestowing honor on significant Western individuals by using their personal name. The latter class of place names also contributed a national statement by the nationality of the individual it referred to. Swedish geographers were able to get accepted e.g. the name of Retziusfjellet on one of the major mountains on Kong Karls Land after the Stockholm anthropologist Gustaf Retzius who was an influential figure at the Academy of Sciences at the time. Dr. Petermann and later continental geographers also accepted geographical place-names after North-Norwegian skippers like in the name of a nearby mountain on Kong Karls Land Tordenskjøldberget. The wide sounds between the main islands of Kong Karls Land Rivalensundet and Lydianasundet were named after yachts used by Norwegian hunters of seals, polar bears, and walrus along the shores of Svalbard. August Petermann was in favor of distributing honors on past scientists in setting geographical names and used in practice a more international list than the chauvinist Swedes employed. Nevertheless, the place names entered on new maps produced by Petermann from von Heuglin's travels and surveys in Svalbard mainly included names of prominent geo-scientists from the German-speaking world. In other work I have also pondered the origins of a third class of names found on Svalbard which today might seem obscure or based on perceived features in the landscape, as I wrote on this a few years back:

> "there remains a class of names given to pristine bays, fjords and mountains, which had sometimes never before been charted and described, where all other codes of naming for some reason seem to have been used up or ruled out at the moment of baptism. In these cases, the field geographer instead resorted to the principle of naming based on the apparent similarity of the natural feature, in his eyes, to something which was, even just remotely, familiar to him.

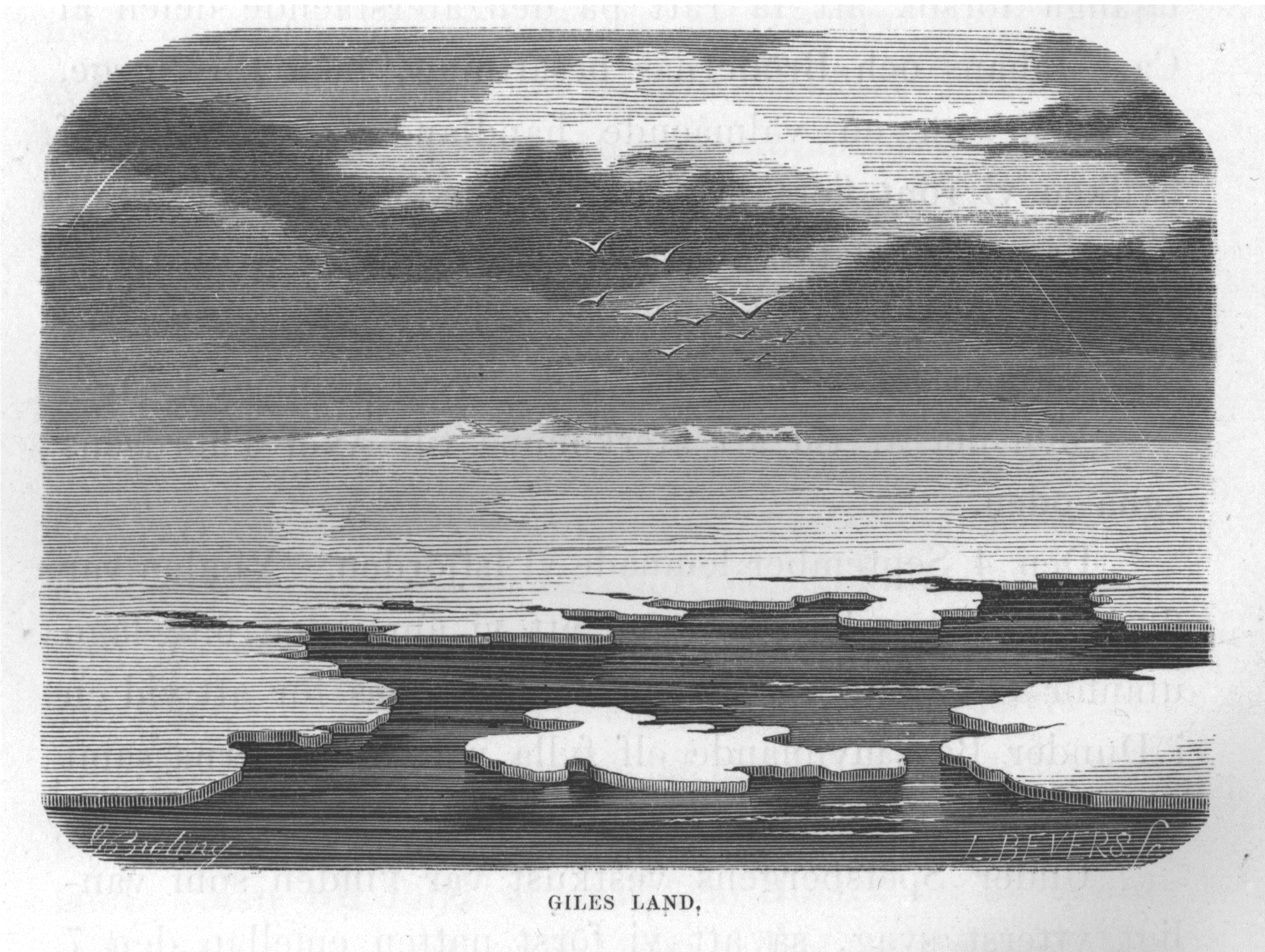

Fig. 4. A wood-cut from the travelogue of the Swedish Arctic expedition of 1864. It illustrates the participating geologists Nils Dunér and Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld's view from White Mountain on eastern Spitsbergen towards King Charles Land, or Giles Land—as they called it, to start with following earlier Dutch statements on land in this direction. The flying birds in the image were put in because such had been observed flying north and east and this was interpreted as a sign of unknown land further north.

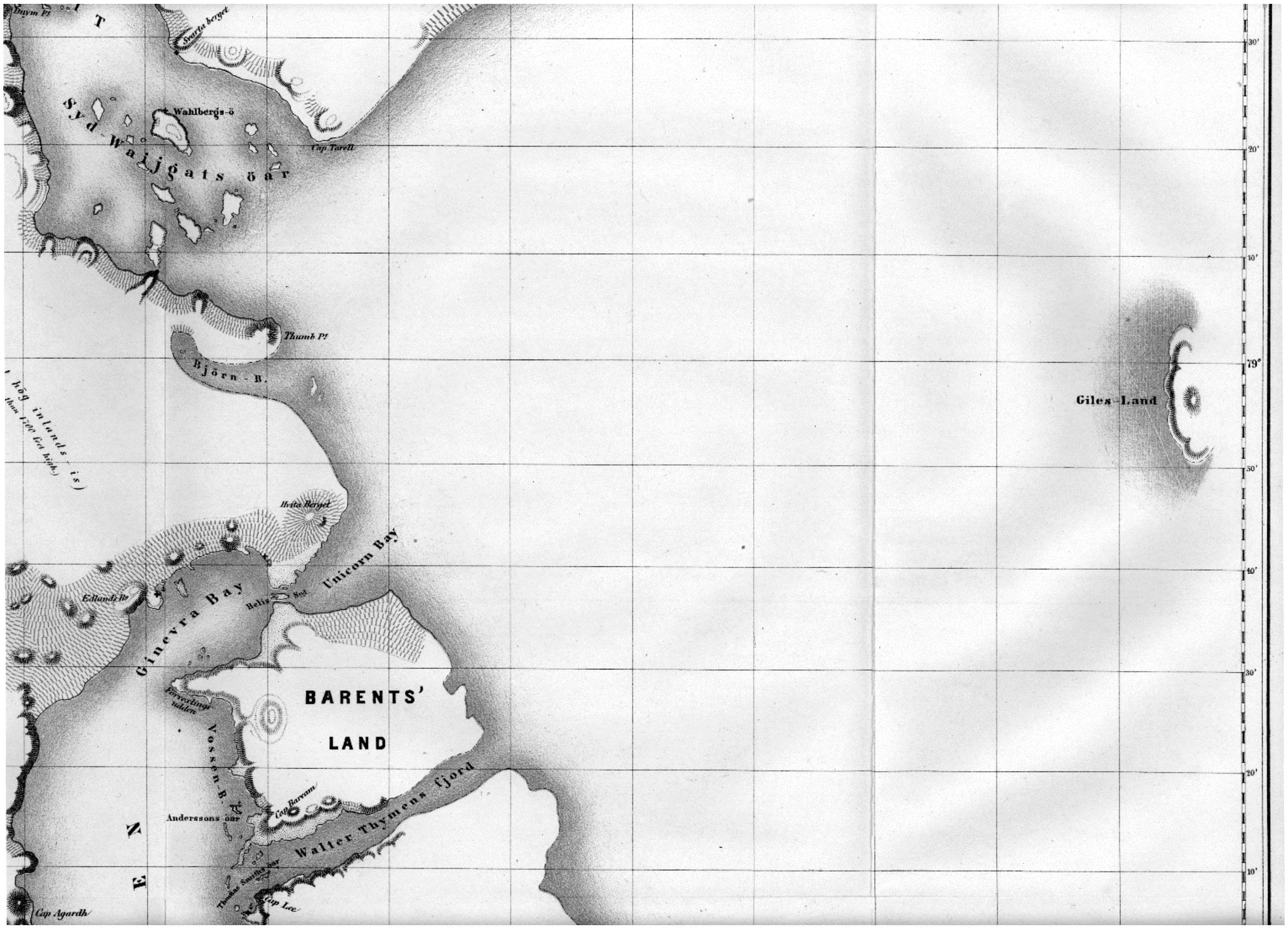

Fig. 5. Detail of a map of Spitsbergen published in 1865 in the *Proceedings of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences* based on Swedish expeditions made in 1861 and 1864 and the sightings during the latter of these towards the east from White Mountain (Hvita Berget). This part of the map shows the new promontory of land in the east placed close to its eastern margin which coincides with longitude 29º E.

> "Thus we find in … Spitsbergen 19th century Swedish geographers named mountains: The Temple, Mt Sphinx, Mt Capitol and Mt Colosseum, based on their supposed similarity to gothic or classical buildings. This demonstrates the dependence of perception on identification: the observer's practice of seeing, recognising and naming what is new by its resemblance to something familiar even including fantasy and the imagined" (Wråkberg 2007).

Below is a chronologically ordered set of maps, which I specify and also comment some in the captions; further interpretations are in the intermingled paragraphs of the following text.

What followed after the Swedish 1864 Arctic expedition was a kind of negotiation, with longer or shorter delays, among experts in geographical societies and academies in Britain and to some extent France. It involved centrally the editors of leading German journals like *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen.* It is instructive in this context to study the annual reviews of *Geographisches Jahrbuch* with their detailed reports on “progress in arctic geography”. Influential counterparts can be found in the *Proceedings* and *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, and perhaps also *La Géographie* and the *Scottish Geographical Journal* given that these were published in major languages. American geographical periodicals like the *Journal of the American Geographical Society* were growing in influence but not yet as global in scope.

The next image (Fig. 6) presents a circum-polar synthesis of all knowledge held by the editors and mapmakers of Petermann’s *Mitteilungen* based on the repository of geographical information accumulated in Gotha. This Arctic map of 1869 introduces information also from non-professional northern geographical observers.

The whalers and seal hunters active far north were certainly the most experienced of High Arctic conditions but relied for positioning and sightings on what they needed for their main business—which was ship’s navigating tools of standard geodetic-design and precision.

A coast sighted by Dutch whalers in the 17th century, placed somewhere in the northeast of Spitsbergen and called Giles Land seemed a promising indication of major unknown land further east, as did the extensive western coast of Wyches Lande on the old map of the Muscovy Company. In disagreement with Petermann, Adolf Nordenskiöld, the leader of the 1864 expedition, moved the name of Giles Land to the more southern observation he and others had made that year, implying that this must be the coast also that the Dutch had observed back in the 17th century but misplaced on their map. On the 1869 map, Petermann dismissed this idea and kept Giles Land in its original northern position, while the Swedish sighting of 1864 was indicated as a promontory of new land and as such continuously drawn as part of a much larger hinterland.

The following year, the German zoologist and explorer of Africa, Theodor von Heuglin, made an expedition on a Norwegian sealing ship to Spitsbergen accompanied by his compatriot, marine lieutenant Carl von Zeil. Ice conditions in eastern Spitsbergen waters were fairly good so von Heuglin and von Zeil were able to sail up the eastern shore of the wide fjord or bay today named Storfjord. They landed at Cape Lee on Edges Land and made excursions on foot along the shores of Freeman Strait separating Barents Land and Edges Land. Based on sightings made by von Heuglin in the summer of 1870 from the top of what was later named Mt. Middendorff, Petermann published a map where Nordenskiöld’s claims to priority based on his sightings of 1864 were deconstructed, as can be seen in Fig. 7 and in detail in Fig. 8.

Fig. 6. State of the geographical knowledge of the Arctic published in: *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen* in 1869. This map demonstrates the inconclusive state of knowledge on the basic distribution of land and sea in the Arctic at this time. Features that look speculative here, like the extension of Greenland into the central Arctic, were based on scientific theory that was seriously debated internationally at the time.

Nordenskiöld's 1864 sighting was of course kept in place but now drawn as separate from von Heuglin's sightings which were of a longer coast stretching further south and east. It was given the name *König Karl Land* (King Karl Land) as a gesture of honor toward king Karl I of Württemberg, a southern German kingdom of which von Heuglin and von Zeil were both citizens (at this time several small states and duchies of German speakers were united into the second *Reich* under the leadership of Prussia). Nordenskiöld's sighting of land was regarded to be of an island in front of König Karl Land and named *Swedisches Vorland,* the Swedish Foreland.

In following maps of this region published in Sweden, exemplified in Fig. 9, Swedish geographers tried to extend the priority of discovery of what was observed in the east by the 1864 expedition by referring to probable errors made by everyone in positioning in the distance parts of what was claimed to be the same coast, but this line of reasoning seems conceived to secure Nordenskiöld as the original discoverer of the main land/island of King Charles Land in the position reported by von Heuglin.

Meanwhile, in Norway, Henrik Mohn—then director of the Norwegian Meteorological Institute in Oslo—embarked on systematic collection of oral and written records from a number of North-Norwegian Arctic skippers. The results were published in a map and article in 1872 in a Norwegian scientific journal, and the following year in Petermann's *Mitteilungen*. Some of these mariners could confirm that there were actually several different but smaller islands in this region and that these could be visible one at the time depending on clouds and fog. The most brilliant idea of professor Mohn in securing support for his new map was however his way of reasoning concerning the name of the land. Mohn retained the name König Karl-Land adding that it should/could also/ be seen to refer to Karl XV (1826-1872), king of both Sweden and Norway in 1859-1872. According to Mohn's investigations, in the last year of his reign a first landing had allegedly been made on one of these by captain Johannes Nilsen from the town of Hammerfest in northernmost Norway.

During the winter most of Svalbard seas are blocked by ice and during several following summers' lack of funding, fog, and heavy drift-ice ruled out any professional geographical exploration in the east. The issue of Kong Karls Land started out as the disputed discovery of a tip of a land or a continent, before it eventually resolved into some relatively insignificant islands, a very similar process that we see again with the non-existent Petermann Land and indeed Franz Josef Land itself further in the north-east.

Clearly no amateur or even professional of science possessed the means to settled the matter of King Charles Land at a single instance: during a moment of discovery in the field, nor by theory, neither by superior mapmaking or publishing given that the latter way seemed the more efficient. In Fig. 10 is exemplified the confusion produced still in 1889 in the region of Kong Karls Land by reports from skippers operating regularly in these seas. In this map, as in the 1872 map compiled by Mohn (not shown here), the longitudinal positioning of the islands in this group, their relative size and location in the sea are all grossly at variance with what we know today.

Fig. 7. Map published by August Petermann in 1872 presenting a deconstruction of King Charles Land. Here both the sightings of Elling Carlsen, and Dunér and Nordenskiöld, are kept apart from Heuglin's observation in 1870.

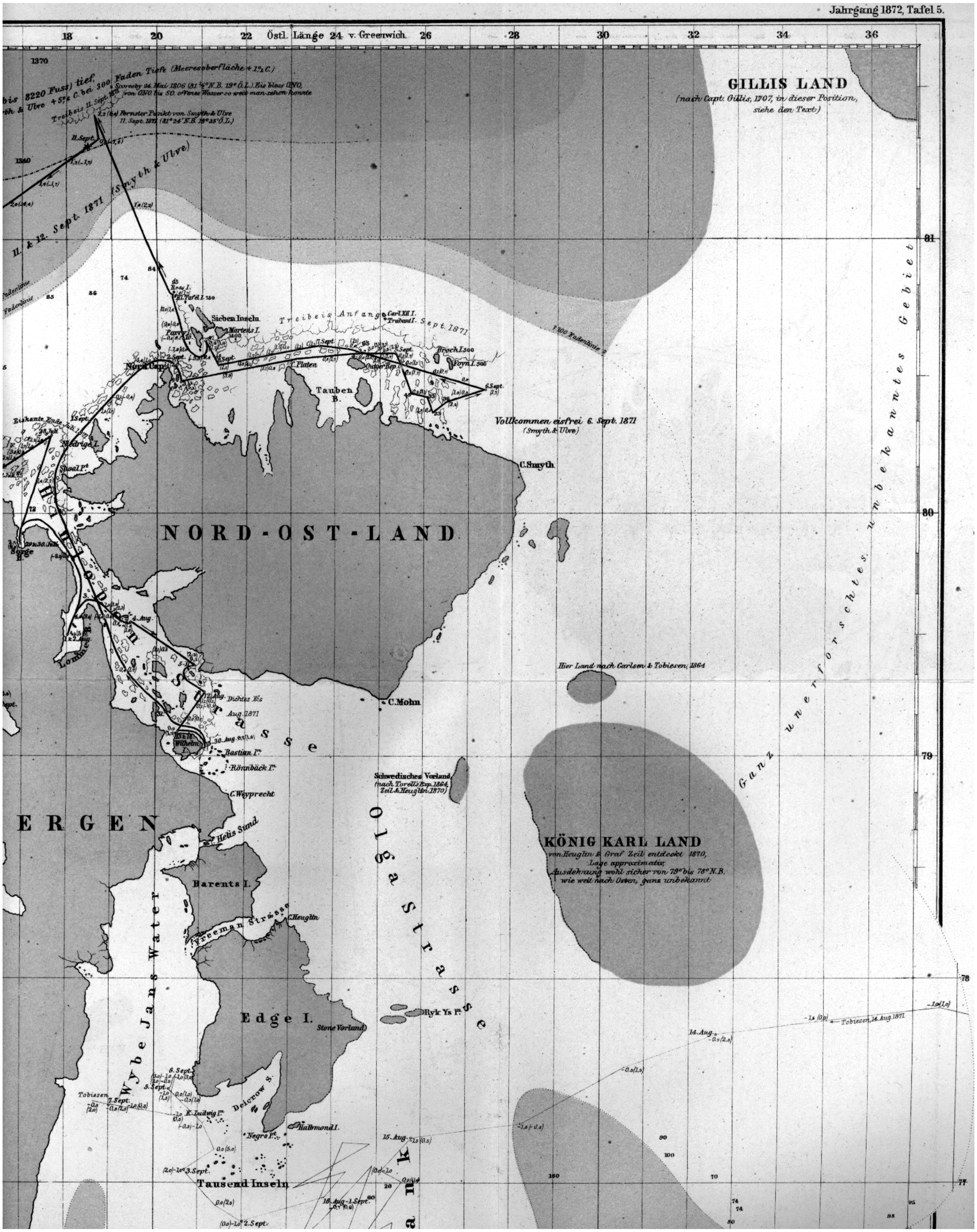

Fig. 8. Detail of the previous map of Spitsbergen and recent observations to the east of it.

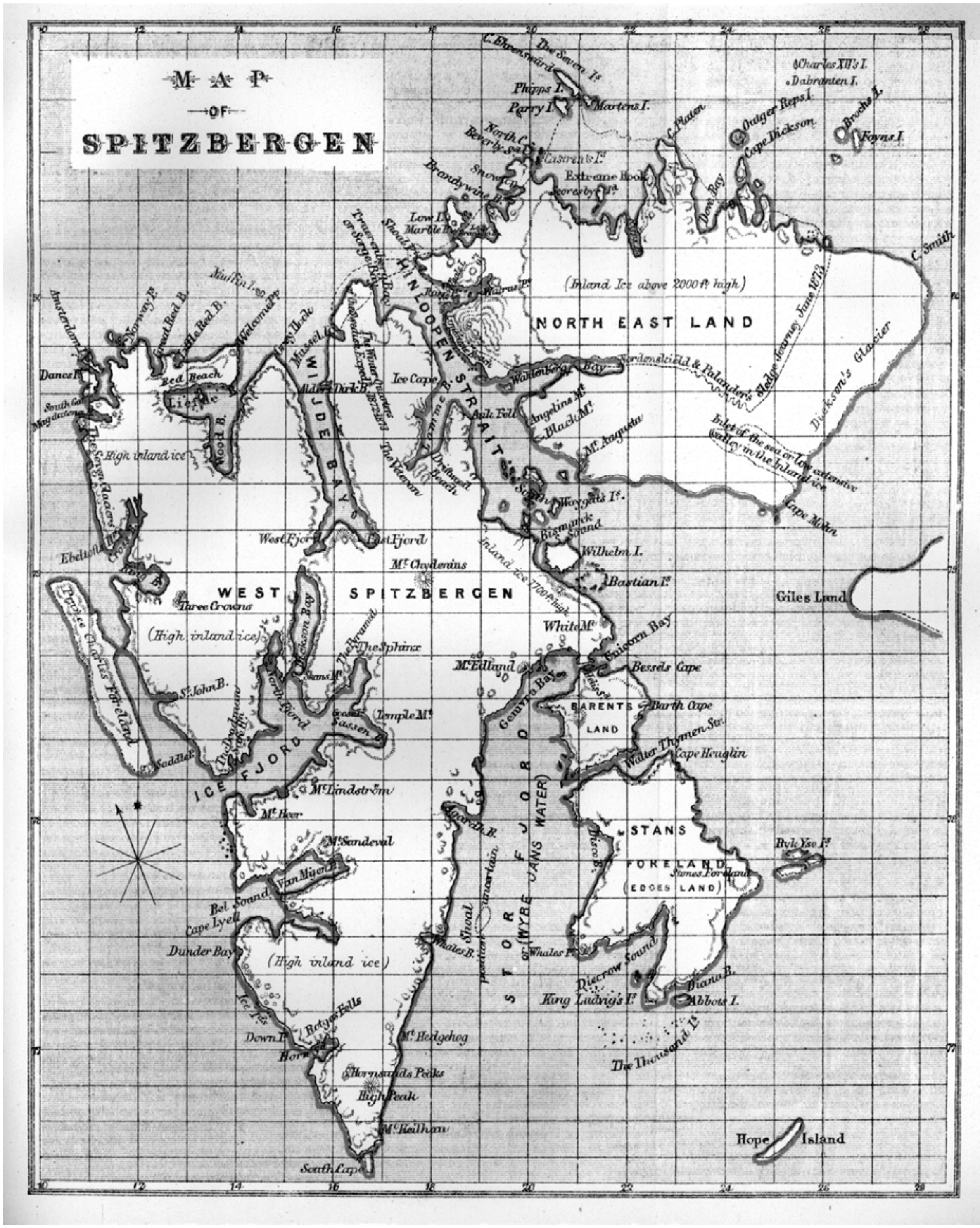

Fig. 9. Swedish map of Spitsbergen from 1879. Notice the closed coastline of King Charles Land, here still called Giles Land. By closing the coast, the priority of Dunér and Nordenskiöld's possible discovery in 1864 of all of King Charles Land could be defended more effectively. Map from Alexander Leslie’s book on A. E. Nordenskiöld’s polar expeditions up to 1879.

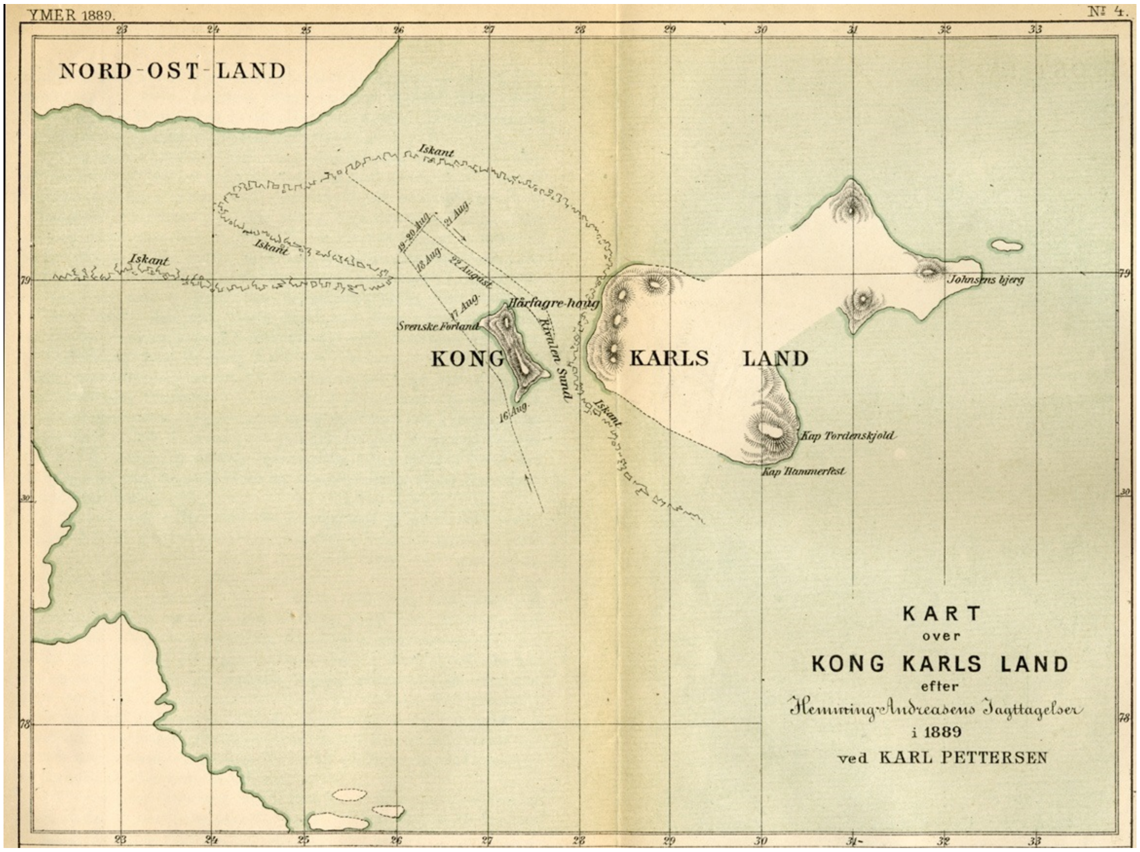

Fig. 10. Map of Kong Karls Land based on the sealing skipper Hemming Andreasen's observations made while approaching the islands in 1889. Source: the journal *Ymer* published by the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography.

Establishing a geographic position in the east-westerly direction on the face of the Earth was very difficult using only the chronometers and navigational instruments carried on board any regular ship throughout the 19th century.

As leader of a rescue-mission on the steam-barque *Antarctic*, dispatched yet a decade later following the disappearance in 1897 of S.A. Andrée's fatal balloon expedition towards the North Pole, Alfred Nathorst was able to bring along a fair team of scientists. They were lucky with weather and ice-conditions and able to make detailed survey based on several landings on the islands of Kong Karls Land. His research team produced several publications from the expedition while Nathorst himself, a paleontologist, contributed a chauvinistically biased overview in its travelogue of the history of the exploration of King Charles Land, based on systematic hindsight reasoning, in which most other methodological mistakes of history writing are exemplified.

Some of my research presented above was done before I had the resources to actually go out into the field and climb e.g. the mountain where von Heuglin made his significant sightings of Kong Karls Land in 1870. Once doing this research, it would have been better to have much more time to be able, as Tyrone Martinsson has done, to record these locations and vistas in something approaching the precise conditions as were experienced by the original travelers. During the so-called Swedarctic expedition in 1997-2000, we had typically a few hours or an afternoon available at most sites, and while very valuable this of course limited the amount of comparisons with the original maps and other sources we could do.

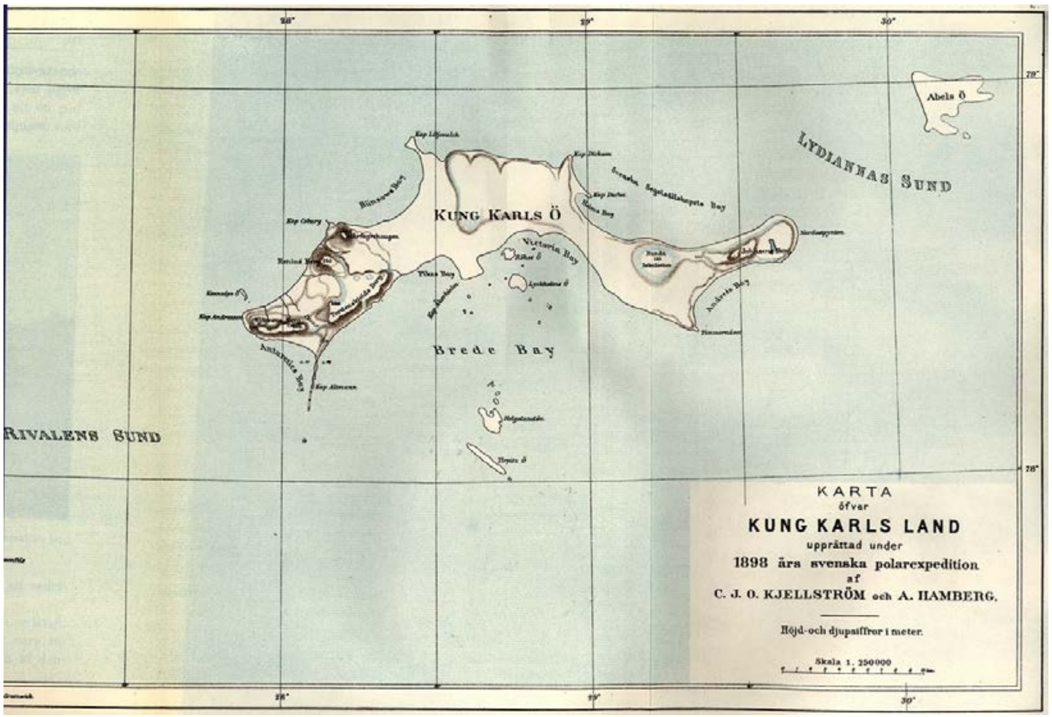

Fig. 11. Detail of map published in 1898 showing the central island in the group of three islands surveyed the same year by Axel Hamberg and Otto Kjellström. They were among the scientists on-board Alfred Nathorst's rescue-expedition for August Andrée. Some of the new place-names entered on the above map have survived and can be found on the contemporary map in Fig. 2. In resemblance with the toponomy of Franz Josef Land Kong Karls Land has several place-names attributable to Arctic sponsors esp. of Nathorst's 1898 expedition. These include: Friedrich Bünsow, industrial investor; George Douglas Kennedy, Gothenburg shipowner of Scottish decent; David Lyckholm, brewer; Oscar Dickson, "timber baron" and big sponsor of nearly all of A.E. Nordenskiöld's polar expeditions. Cape Liljevalch was baptized by Nathorst after Carl Fredrik Liljevalch industrialist and benefactor (still know today in Sweden in the name of the Stockholm art gallery *Liljevalchs konsthall*) but later renamed Teistpynten (Black Guillemont Point); Liljevalch is duly remembered in the names of one mountain and a peninsula elsewhere on Svalbard. Map from (Nathorst 1900).

In the year 2000 we approached Kong Karls Land, but did not have permission to land, as this is now a sanctuary for polar bears. We were able to see the kind of mirage that forms above the islands and the ways such phenomena distort the topographical profile from a distance and inhibit taking a reliable bearing esp. towards land's ends of little elevation. In this way, it was possible to gain an appreciation for earlier voyagers and their attempts to get an estimate of where the land begins and how to record the positions of land and the features on it, from a distance, as would have often been done in earlier days.

Fig. 12. Panoramic view made of a set of photos taken on September 2, 2000, from the north towards the middle island of King Charles Land, i.e. King Charles Island, today Kongsøya. The distance is some 20 km. By zooming in on this image (if you are viewing a PDF-version of this presentation) three mountains on the right are possible to discern, counting from the left (east) they are: Hårfagrehaugen, Retziusfjellet and Sjögrenfjellet. In the left (eastern) half of the panorama the distorting effects of mirages can be noticed. From the Swedarctic 2000 expedition to Svalbard (© Urban Wråkberg).

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Discussion

Capelotti: I think what made this research of Urban's so interesting is that he made the direct connection between the battles over the names in Spitsbergen and those in Franz Josef Land. The center of gravity shifted, as the geography of Spitsbergen became fairly clear by 1880, and with it the realization that Spitsbergen was not a land road to the Pole, but perhaps Franz Josef Land was. The fight over names and naming both shifted east, to Franz Josef Land, and west, to Greenland. Wellman, for example, writes an article in 1898 entitled "Where is Andrée?" where he makes very clear his view that Andrée is in one of two places: either in the ocean or in Franz Josef Land and that if he was in Franz Josef Land he would be found. Of course, as we know, Andrée came down on the ocean, albeit the frozen ocean, and ended, for all intents, in between Spitsbergen and Franz Josef Land at Kvitøya.

Forsberg: Wellman realizes, after nearly dying in Spitsbergen in 1894, that flying is the way to get to the North Pole. So why in 1898 did he make the attempt on the Pole from Franz Josef Land over the ice, instead of flying? I think the main drivers were, he knew that if he could find Andrée there, he would be a rich man, like Nansen, by creating a kind of Stanley and Livingstone moment.

Capelotti: Wellman's 1898 expedition can be seen, in that light, as an almost exclusively journalistic undertaking. There were two huge and interconnected events in journalism that preceded it, and you've mentioned them. The meeting with Livingstone in 1871 had made Stanley famous, but much more recent was Nansen and Jackson in 1896, which occurred under Jackson's sponsorship by the tabloid newspaper pioneer Alfred Harmsworth. So you can tell, in the fall of 1898, both from his letters and in a photograph taken of him at Cape Tegetthoff, that he was tremendously demoralized, because nothing was going right. And, of course, the big thing that wasn't going right is that he had failed to find Andrée. Wellman was, after all, a journalist, and he wanted a big story, and as everyone learned when Andrée was finally found in 1930, it was a massive story, and would have made him world famous.

Forsberg: Wellman had two cards in his pocket: finding the North Pole, and finding Andrée.

Capelotti: Personally, I don't think he would have even tried seriously to reach the North Pole had he found Andrée in 1898. He could have gone home, written his book, and that would have been it.

Wråkberg: But that's very important, to understand the dynamic behind the actions of the main actors.

Capelotti: And speaking of place names, Cape Kohlsatt, on Graham Bell Island. I think he was from Boston, and he was one of the people who provided money for the 1898 expedition. Kohlsatt was, supposedly, in Paris when Wellman returned from Spitsbergen in 1894, had just sold his newspaper and had piles of money, and according to Wellman, they just missed connections there or else Wellman would have had the money to buy a balloon and try for the Pole in a balloon even before Andrée. In the end, he tried over the ice in 1898 because he did not have nearly enough money to try in any other way. But in the context of place names research, Cape Kohlsatt is a perfect example of why the context of these names is so critical. You need to understand both that Kohlsatt was an actual sponsor of Wellman's 1898 expedition to Franz Josef Land, but also a potential sponsor of Wellman's apparent post-1894 plans to fly a balloon towards the North Pole.

Forsberg: He had not even made a plan for getting himself out of Franz Josef Land, so I think he was hoping so badly that Andrée was to be found sitting at either Cape Flora or at Eira Lodge in the summer of 1898 and he could have ended the expedition right there.

Capelotti: And nobody would have even questioned, at the point, why he didn't try for the North Pole, because everyone would have been overwhelmed with the finding of Andrée.

Umbreit: But why did they set up their camp in the southeast of the islands?

Forsberg: Ice. They couldn't get any farther north.

Umbreit: But wouldn't Alexandra Land have been a much better area to search for Andrée?

Capelotti: I'm not sure they had the ability to get even close to the northern coast of Alexandra Land.

Forsberg: And it was the supplies. The supplies that *Windward* had left for Andrée to survive on had been left at Cape Flora and Eira Lodge. Those were the obvious places for Andrée to try to reach. Those were his only real options to survive a winter on Franz Josef Land.

Wråkberg: There is no question that Andrée knew of the supplies at Cape Flora and that if he was in that area he would make for those supplies. And the Swedish expeditions that search for Andrée in both Spitsbergen and Greenland go through all the known huts in which they might have survived or left messages behind. They don't get to Franz Josef Land but they meet people coming back from that area.

Forsberg: They meet *Frithjof*, for example, in Kong Karls Land and it was then that they realizes that Franz Josef Land had been searched and there was no reason to go there.

Umbreit: So Wellman went to these two places and basically gave up when he didn't find Andrée there?

Capelotti: Not entirely, because there's a panic on board when they get to Hall Island, and they see footprints. And by now, Evelyn Baldwin's mind was racing and he was certain that these were from Andrée. They were almost certainly from sealers and walrus-hunters who had been there that same summer and when they went ashore they of course found no trace of Andrée. Now that could possibly have influenced why they stayed there and set up camp there, as perhaps they thought that if they searched a bit more in that area they would find the Swedes.

Umbreit: To return to Spitsbergen for a moment, the Swedish 'Kong Karls Land' and the German 'Kung Karls Land' are two different persons?

Wråkberg: The Norwegian professor, Henrik Mohn, makes a kind of Rorschach image with the name and he comes up with the idea that we use the name 'Kong Karls Land' in the Swedish-Norwegian context that it is understood to be a Swedish king, but we also keep this name based on the contribution from the German side.

Forsberg: Very politically correct!

Wråkberg: That is the genius of Professor Mohn, to crack this issue out of the historical fabric.

Elzinga: In science studies we call this 'interpretive flexibility.' There's a whole field now of 'science diplomacy,' and this is an early form of it.

Capelotti: In the 1865 chart Urban showed I would like to point out Ginevra Bay, attached to the area by James Lamont only a few years previous and named for his ship. It's a 'bay' because they did not get close enough to see that the 'bay' is actually a strait that connects to another bay on the opposite side of Barentsoya. Also, the 1871 Leigh Smith chart is apparently the first time we see 'Cape Mohn' appearing on a map in Svalbard, a testament, perhaps, to Mohn's growing influence in the politics of place names in what would eventually become the Norwegian Arctic.

Acknowledgements and future directions

Capelotti: It has been a true pleasure to join with all of you here in Oslo, and I would be remiss if I did not Dr. Leah Devlin for all of her tremendous assistance in both helping with getting our students here and in helping to document both the workshop and our various visits around Oslo. Also, Ms. Eva Klein at Penn State worked with me for several months in sorting through travel and logistical arrangements, as did Ms. Isabel Isabel Mäntylä here at the amazing Thon Hotel Opera.

As you witnessed, our students worked diligently to prepare their posters and talks here in Oslo, and through that work they provided an excellent insight into the difficulties of toponymic research. These are undergraduate students, of course, so they did this work in addition to taking three or four other courses and working jobs as well. But as you saw, they each spent months working on just one place name. So if you're really going to try and nail down these place names, the names themselves generally sort themselves out. But all of the historical connections do not. That is what takes all of the work.

Wråkberg: It might prove useful to approach Norsk Polarinstitutt on the subject of hosting such a place names database.

Barr: If it were called "Historic Place Names of Franz Josef Land," and limited to the pre-1930 names, or the 1873-1905 names. The Soviet claim can be traced to 1926, but Norway contested it on account of all of their walrus expeditions, so there wasn't a sort of "Now it's Soviet." It was a more gradual process.

Forsberg: That is a suggestion of genius, given the politics around the whole of the Russian Arctic now. The historical line is very simple to draw. Komsomolsk Island in 1931 is the first Soviet name attached to any point in Franz Josef Land. All of the names prior to that, including Sedov's names, can be included in a 'historic place names' project. 1930, then, would be the perfect division between pre-Soviet and post-Soviet names.

Elzinga: So, in other words, this would be all of the names up until the Second International Polar Year.

Forsberg: Yes. Also, in this regard, I would like to mention a new book by Marlene Laruelle, *Russia's Arctic Strategies and the Future of the Far North* (Routledge 2014), which points out that the Arctic is the core of the money for Russia. The problem for Russia today is that the infrastructure of oil and gas and mining is very, very old, goes back in some cases to the 1950s. They need to make some major investments, and they need technology, from Norway, from Sweden, from the U.S., from Germany, to be able to explore and exploit these resources. So right now they are in somewhat of a shaky position with regard to the current political impasse, since they cannot get access to the technology they require.

Capelotti: And Anders, do you know the status of any papers that might remain from Salomon Andrée's brother Ernst, who provides such a great link between Sweden and the United States in his interactions with Evelyn Briggs Baldwin?

Larsson: Ernst's home was burned in 1907, I believe, but what I do not know is whether his personal papers were destroyed in the fire. And this would be a great shame, as Ernst has contacts, with his brother, of course, but also with Baldwin, with Wellman, with Nathorst. These would be critical for the study of the history of polar research both in Sweden and abroad. It is very very sad that nothing has been found of these materials.

Capelotti: Ernest was really the center of gravity of the American relationship with Sweden at the turn of the century and especially as it concerned the exploration of Franz Josef Land and, as Magnus has pointed out, it is very likely that Baldwin named Matilda Island in Franz Josef Land after Ernst's wife. Was Ernst still alive when his brother was found?

Larsson: No. He passed away in 1925. But, already in 1913, Ernst made a donation to the Royal Library in Stockholm of his brother's expedition papers, about four or five boxes. This is mainly correspondence related to the expedition.

Capelotti: So the notes from Baldwin to Andrée come from this collection?

Larson: No, those are from the Grenna Museum. The whole archive from the Andrée expedition is fragmented, with the boxes at the Royal Library, some materials in Grenna, and other materials in private hands. There are very significant private collections in Sweden, one in particular, that contain archival materials and also photographs, objects, diaries, and books.

Wråkberg: Do you know if any of these contain materials from Jonas Stadling? We have had collaborations with the North-Eastern Federal University in Yakutsk, and Stadling's name has come up in those interactions. It is another line in this area of inquiry of the power of being the one to find Andrée and its interrelationship with the press.

Larsson: The repositories from Jonas Stadling are in the town Östersund, located in the region of Jämtland, northern Sweden. The Stadling material is divided between the Regional archive in Östersund (Landsarkivet) and the museum Jamtli (former regional museum of Jämtland). Stadlings letters, manuscripts and diaries are kept in Landsarkivet, his photographs and his extensive library are kept in Jamtli. When I was there last November I found an hitherto (I think) unpublished photo of the *Fram* at Dansköya in August 1896 among many other interesting photos from Stadling's stay with Andrée. There is also material from his travels in Siberia. We went through the Spitsbergen photos. He is a fascinating individual, in several ways. Stadling (1847-1935) covered the 1897 launch of Andrée's balloon from Spitsbergen for *Aftonbladet*, and later led a search for the lost expedition through northern Siberia and the Lena Delta (see: "The People at the Top of the World: A Tour through Siberia in search of Andrée," by Jonas Stadling. 1901. *The Century Magazine* 61 (511-520))]. Andrée even writes in a letter from Danskoya: 'Today Stadling turned up, but we really don't know what to do with him. Where is he going to live?' Stadling's relationship with Andrée is complicated, and if you look in the archives in Östersund there are a few letters from Andrée to Stadling, five or six, very very short, and very very formal, no fraternity at all. And in his diaries, Stadling writes that he felt very uncomfortable covering the Andrée expedition. He lived apart from the expedition, and was not invited to dinners, as examples. Yet he then travels thousands of miles through Siberia in search of Andrée, even though his relationship with Andrée was not that deep, I think. One thing we do know is that he was very interested in shamanism, and studied it in Siberia and later published on it.

Forsberg: Another key figure, this from the Norwegians side, to search for interesting information about both Wellman and Baldwin, is Carl Christensen. He was in Tromso as a teacher, and between 1901-1902 he moves to Stavanger, and years later he writes a memoir, called *Livserindringer* (1920). If there is an archive of his materials somewhere in Norway that could open a lot of interesting lines of research on the Americans, because we know from newspaper articles that he is corresponding with both Wellman and Baldwin. I don't know that such an archive exists.

Barr: I will see what I can find on this.

Capelotti: Probably a good way to bring this all to a close and tie this all together if the discovery made by Magnus and Anders that, when Evelyn Briggs Baldwin was at Danskoya about ten days after the launch of Andrée's balloon, the German writer Max Wiskott writes that 'the American Baldwin wants to take the entire Andrée balloon shed home with him to the United States.' And of course the greatest irony is, that when Baldwin returns to the U.S. and is on a lecture tour, he tries to sell a lecture tour in the United States of Andrée, to an American lecture tour promoter, even though, unbeknownst to Baldwin, of course, Andrée is already dead.

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Frontispiece: Workshop participants, from l. to r.: Tyrone Martinsson, Anders Larsson, Magnus Forsberg, Jacqueline Lanning, Amanda Lockerby, Aant Elzinga, Alejandro Cruz (kneeling), P.J. Capelotti, Andreas Umbreit, Susan Barr, Urban Wråkberg (© Dr. C.L. Devlin).