THE JAMES CAIRD SOCIETY

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JOURNAL

Number Eight

Antarctic Exploration

Sir Ernest Shackleton

May 2016

Sir Ernest Henry Shackleton

The James Caird Society Journal – Number Eight

Welcome to the latest Journal ('Number Eight'). As ever, it is a privilege to edit this work as I to seek to inspire and educate JCS members in all things 'Shackleton'.

We remain, of course, in the midst of much jubilation and the Society has advanced the Centennial celebrations in no mean fashion. Thanks must go to your hardworking Committee and, in particular, our Chairman, Sir James, who has spearheaded the major calendar of events splendidly. These will, in effect, culminate in a wonderful Commemoration Service at Westminster Abbey on Friday 20th May 2016.

The launch, in January 2014, of the Society's '*The Shackleton Centenary Book (2014)*' [Sutherland House Publishing; ISBN 978-0-9576293-0-1] was a great success with all copies sold – thanks to the advance subscription of many members. *TSCB (2014)* focused, almost exclusively, on the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (ITAE) (1914/16) and was intended to be the principal written contribution by the JCS to celebrate the Centenary of the Boss's extraordinary achievements down south. 'Number Eight' attempts, therefore, to complement the record by sprinkling a number of extra polar 'goodies' into the mix.

Tim Jarvis's *Shackleton Epic Expedition* set the scene for our celebrations. His successful 'double' crossing of the Southern Ocean and South Georgia in early 2013 was followed by three gripping one-hour documentary programmes on 'Discovery Channel' broadcast far and wide. As I promised last time, I propose to feature Tim's 'replica' expedition here. The article includes some wonderful photographs.

I discovered in my filing system a wonderful (short) account by Ken Drury of his acting role in writer-director Charles Sturridge's BAFTA- winning two-part drama, 'Shackleton' produced by Channel Four in 2002. Ken played the enigmatic Harry McNish – quality carpenter-cum-troublemaker. I include his thespian account in 'Number Eight'.

Although our talented member, Seb Coulthard, was ahead of your editor on this (his website refers – www.sebcoulthard.com > Shackleton tab) I was fascinated by the on-line verbatim account of Shackleton's expert witness evidence given at the London Titantic Inquiry (aka, British Wrecks Commissioner's Inquiry) on 18th June 1912. I reproduce it here for those who hate 'surfing' the internet or are averse to modern technology!

Stephen Haddelsey always produces some excellent writing for the Journal and a while ago he kindly sent me a most interesting article on Antarctic transport history, no doubt inspired by his recent research on Bunny Fuch's (essentially) motorised British Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition (TAE) (1955/8). Of course, it was Shackleton who first pioneered the use of motor transport in Antarctica. On 1st February 1908 his men unloaded an Arrol-Johnston motor car directly onto the sea ice – with mixed fortunes. I hope you enjoy the read.

As many will know, the ITAE was not a single expedition but part of a double – pronged assault on the southern continent. The story of the Ross Sea Party is beginning to emerge into the mainstream of polar history bibliography. I have always felt sorry for the first captain of the SY *Aurora,* the rather underfunded and ill-equipped relief ship used by Shackleton's 'other' men. After the ship was blown from its Ross Island winter moorings in a severe storm (6th May 1915), Captain Lieutenant Joseph Stenhouse managed to save the beleaguered and ice-gripped ship from certain death. It was a Herculean effort. The ship's eventual return to New Zealand on 3rd April 1916 (after 11 months at sea!) was not only momentous, given the context, but nothing short of a miracle. Notwithstanding Stenhouse's obvious seafaring mastery (and, I might add, the unanimous accolade of his brave crew) the captain was relieved of his duties by the decision of the British and Antipodean Governments who assumed joint-responsibility for the operation to rescue the men marooned on Ross Island.

The appointment of the highly-respected polar-maritime veteran, Captain John King Davis, as new captain of SY *Aurora* was as dramatic as it was controversial. Intrigued by this apparent shenanigans I invited Anna Lucas, a most accomplished polar researcher based 'down-under', to investigate this issue further. Her findings (a reporting 'exclusive' for the JCS) are noteworthy and probably raise more questions than answers. This is most definitely 'work-in-progress'!

Anne Phillips, Aeneas Mackintosh's grand-daughter has offered a few insights and family photographs for publication, here. Aeneas had been Shackleton's 'Number 2' on the *Nimrod* expedition (1907/9) and he played a prominent part in the Ross Sea expedition, being Shackleton's appointed commander of the party. Sadly, he was one of three men to perish on this mission.

Shackleton's Irish roots are never to be overlooked. I invited acclaimed polar author, Michael Smith, to write about Ireland's Antarctic explorers (there are quite a few!). Michael's contribution to the JCS Journal, over the years, has been prolific and rewarding.

The effervescent Neale Webb (a dedicated Shackleton advocate, as many of us will know) for two years, now, has offered to show your editor around 'Shackleton's Dublin'. Alas, due to pressing personal commitments, I have failed to cross the Irish Sea, to-date (save for earlier forays to Athy, Co Kildare). However, I do sincerely promise to answer his 'call and, as interim compensation, I am delighted to be able to include, here, Neale's Dublin essay, first published in *Obelisk* - early 2015.

Recently, I stumbled across a most interesting list of songs/lyrics/entertainment notes which had been sent to me at some point (I believe by Roddy Dunnett?). It is entitled 'Songs for Marooned Men' and identifies the kinds of entertainment-cum-singalongs which would have been prevalent on the ice and, in particular, Elephant Island. The list/notes are worth a look, I feel, so they are reproduced here. One can imagine just how important for morale musical tunes/songs were at the time.

Sadly, as with the last edition, 'Number Eight' has little space for comprehensive book reviews. However, I did ask Anna Lucas to review '*Ice In The Rigging*' written by the late E.A (Ted) Mitchener and published in 2015 by the Maritime Museum of Tasmania (see on). It is a most readable book full of good research and about the ships of Antarctica and stories pertaining thereto.

In addition, I would like to draw your attention, here, to two further books:

(1) Anne Strathie's book, '*From Ice Floes to Battlefields*' published in 2015 by The History Press. It gives an intriguing account of the Great War service undertaken by Scott's men. Of course, the book, by default, rather throws down the gauntlet for someone to undertake similar research of the *Endurance* men, some of whom lost their lives (one way or another) upon their return from the deprivations of Elephant Island.

(2) Michael Smith's book, '*Shackleton (By Endurance We Conquer)*' published in 2014 by The Collins Press (paperback published in 2015 by One World) has received rave reviews and quite rightly so. The somewhat controversial (although heavily-researched) pro-Shackleton tome of Roland Huntford, first published in 1985, set the proverbial cat among the pigeons. For the past 30 years polar authors have rallied behind either the legacy of Ernest Shackleton or Robert Falcon Scott and ne'er the twain shall meet. Here, at last, we have a book which is balanced and, to my mind, extremely well researched. It is essential reading for Shackleton fans and anyone interested in good 'solid' polar history.

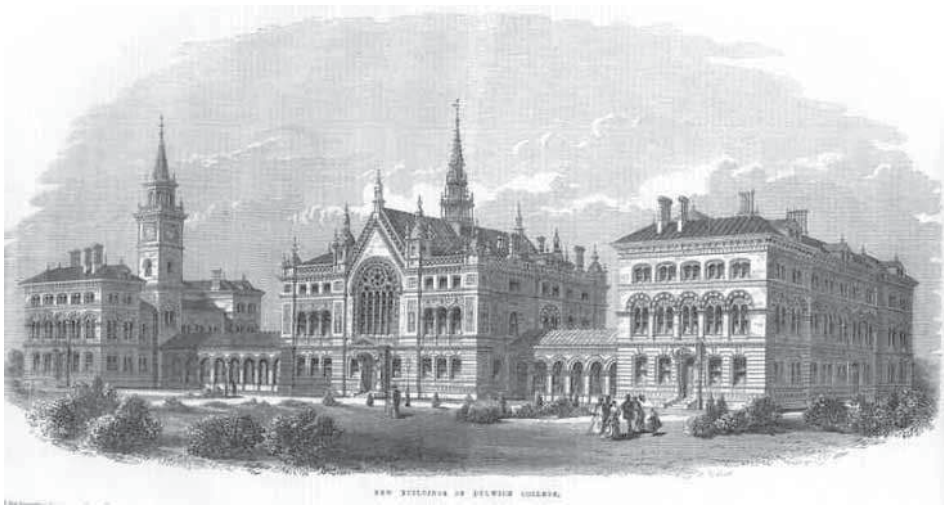
In a later edition of the Journal I propose to publish some research carried out by Stephen Martin (author of *A History of Antarctica* (Rosenberg Publishing, 1996; revised 2013) in relation to Australian Antarcticans who served in the Great War.

For those familiar with the internet, purchasing any polar book is straightforward. Simply click on to www.amazon.co.uk and type the book title into 'Search'.

Talking of the internet, may I draw your attention to a public Facebook Group which I help run? It has nearly 2000 enthusiastic members (some are well-connected with the polar world) and members of the JCS would be very welcome. The Group is called *Sir Ernest H Shackleton Appreciation Society.*

I continue to receive many positive letters, emails and the occasional 'phone call from readers of the *Journal*. As ever, I thank you for your feedback and comments. Please feel free to contact me at my home address (see on) or my via my more reliable email address – **stevescottfawcett@live.co.uk**

Stephen Scott-Fawcett FRGS
January 2016



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Shackleton Epic Expedition (February 2013)

An Introduction

In summer 2008 or 2009 (I think it was) I had the huge pleasure of meeting Tim Jarvis in London, at the home of our President, Zaz Shackleton. Zaz had approached Tim, previously, to consider undertaking an expedition to honour her grandfather's achievements during the 'Endurance ' expedition (1914-16) – not least his extraordinary small boat journey in the *James Caird* and his, no-less extraordinary, mountainous crossing of South Georgia.

In April 2007 Tim had completed an expedition in Australia where he attempted to recreate Douglas Mawson's polar feats in Antarctica (Australian Antarctic Expedition 1911/14). He succeeded in pulling a heavily loaded sledge c 500km and demonstrated his qualities as a modern-day polar 'great'.

The meeting in London was an opportunity (in part) to offer Tim a little feedback from my (more limited) polar experience. However, Tim was already well-advanced in his thinking and his choice of team. It was my job simply to listen to his plans and to do my best to promote the expedition in its early stages and to consider ways of raising the funds required. Regarding the latter – Tim and all members of his team made their own, supreme, financial sacrifices to make the 'Epic' happen. The Society did its bit to feed some funds through. Incidentally, we are very lucky to have Seb Coulthard (one of Tim's team) as a JCS member and someone committed to advancing Shackleton's legacy (see www.sebcoulthard.com).

Tim suggested that I contact *Classic Boat Magazine* to obtain permission to reproduce its article on Tim's endeavour published in May 2013. The story is well-told by Steffan Meyric Hughes (with Seb's invaluable technical input) and the wonderful photographs are reproduced here courtesy of 'Shackleton Epic'.

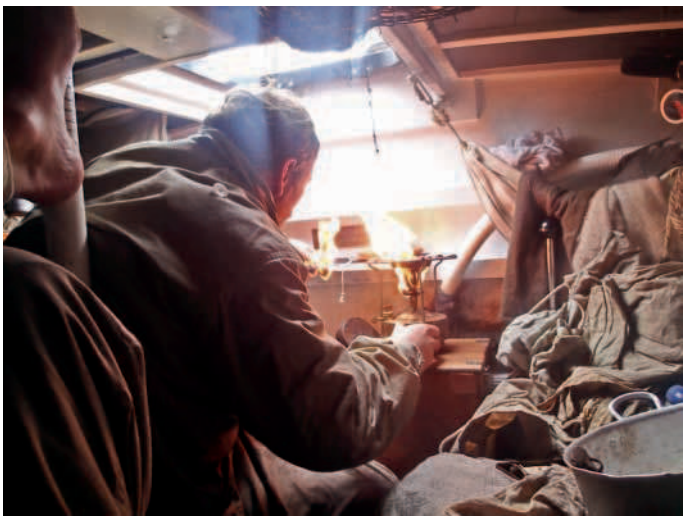
Stephen Scott-Fawcett

Shackleton's 1916 Voyage Retraced

The 800-mile voyage across the Southern Ocean that Shackleton and five of his men made in 1916, to fetch help for the rest of his party stranded on Elephant Island after the sinking of their ship Endurance, has been frequently referred to as the greatest small-boat voyage ever made.

On approach to South Georgia, the Alexandra Shackleton sails amogst submerged rocks along the leeshore of South Georgia Image by Magnus O'Grady.jpg

Sir Ernest Shackleton himself, traditionally number two to Scott in the canon of British Polar explorers, has become a rare winner in the post-empire trend of historical reinterpretation, a viewpoint often inflected with an undeclared vein of inverse snobbery. So while establishment heroes like Scott and Oates have been shot down in flames of derision or even calumny (Scott as sentimental blunderer and Oates as paedophile) from the comfortable armchairs of hindsight,



Any attempt to cook was dangerous, here you see Baz Gray lighting the Primus stove - Image by Paul Larsen.jpg

Shackleton's star shines ever brighter. His paternal leadership that ensured the survival of all 28of his *Endurance* crew through an epic saga played out in the most hostile place on the planet, led polar historian Sir Raymond Priestley to write in 1974, "For scientific leadership, give me Scott; for swift and efficient travel, Amundsen; but when you are in a hopeless situation, get on your knees and pray for Shackleton."

No doubt some of the men left stranded in 1916 did pray that Shackleton and his five men would reach salvation – the whaling station at Stromness on the north shore of South Georgia – which of course, they did. This was a time decades before the first OSTAR (1960) and the first Fastnet (1925), never mind today's global daredevil spectaculars like the Velux and Vendée races. In 1916, the Great War waged and, out of radio range, not a soul on earth knew of Shackleton's plight. The idea of sailing a 23ft 1in (7m) ship's lifeboat with a makeshift deck of canvas, 800 miles across the Southern Ocean in winter, must have seemed daunting and surreal.

INTO THE UNKNOWN

In 2009, Ernest's granddaughter Alexandra Shackleton approached environmental scientist Tim Jarvis to leada re-enactment of what has become known as the 'Shackleton Double' – the treacherous sea voyage followed by a land crossing from the south of the island of South Georgia to Stromness – in vintage kit.

Tim's measured manner and soft Australian accent inspire confidence nearly as much as his past polar expeditions, which include a historically authentic 2007 march across Antarctica in the footsteps of Douglas Mawson's 1912 expedition, to see if Mawson could have survived without eating his companions. Luckily for Jarvis's film crew, he succeeded. "We live in an age where convenience has become the most desirable quality. I don't think everything should be easy," he told CB at the project's launch at London's In & Out club in September 2012. A long trestle table was laden with coils of natural rope, old packing cases, antique chronometers and cotton haversacks. This lovely stage set was, in fact, the actual equipment for the voyage. The build of the new *James Caird*, named the *Alexandra Shackleton* after the voyage's patron, was just as authentic. She was built at the International Boatbuilding Training College normally, as a double-ended whaler in larch on oak, then given three extra planks for topsides, originally an in-situ retrofit by Shackleton's carpenter (and mutineer at one point in the expedition) Harry McNish. The original deck, canvas over a lattice-work of packing case wood and sledge runner, that bore a "strong likeness to stage scenery" (Shackleton), was replaced with a real tongue-and-groove wooden

The team gaze at the horizon

Arriving at South Georgia

deck covered in canvas. A mast was bolted to the keelson as a hog strengthener, in replication of another of McNish's retrofits in 1916.

Anyone who has read Shackleton's book South, or just contemplated sharing a space the size of a small double bed with three other fully clothed, soaking wet men in sub-zero conditions on the Southern Ocean for two gruelling weeks, can imagine that the trip would not be easy. Quite how hard it might be would be impossible to realise, without actually going out there and trying. Early sea trials were not confidence-inspiring; Tim Jarvis reported appallingly claustrophobic conditions, with each man below decks needing to be choreographed limb by limb from the cockpit so they could all lie down at the same time. He reported seasickness from the boat's awful motion and noted how hard it was to navigate or cook. And this was in the Solent.

Nevertheless, on 24 January, the *Alexandra Shackleton* slipped away from Elephant Island, rowing out under her 14ft (4.3m) spruce sweeps to escape the ice and the lee of the land. "We wanted to get as much northing in as early as possible," Aussie navigator Paul Larsen would say later. With him were Tim Jarvis (Anglo-Australian), sailor Nick Bubb (British), bosun Seb Coulthard (British, RN), mountaineer Barry Gray (British, RM) and Ed Wardle (British, cameraman and mountaineer).

IN THE SOUTHERN OCEAN

It wasn't long after raising the sails, once out of the lee of land, that the *Alexandra Shackleton* was hit with much of the magic and enormity of the Weddell Sea and the Southern Ocean. The first day featured a close whale sighting, an iceberg encounter, five hours becalmed – and then the seas started rising.

By day three, the boat was racing downwind at up to seven knots, corkscrewing over the 20ft-25ft (6.1m-7.6m) swells, pushed by 50 knots of southerly wind. Thankfully, they were hit with nothing like the freak or 'rogue' wave experienced by Shackleton and crew in 1916, a wave that has entered the hydrographic canon and nautical folklore. Shackleton wrote of it at the time: "What I had seen was not a rift in the clouds, but the white crest of an enormous wave. During 26 years' experience of the ocean in all its moods, I had not encountered a wave so gigantic."

RECREATING AUTHENTICITY

The Shackleton Epic, as it is officially known, was not the first attempt to recreate the 1916 voyage in a replica craft. That accolade goes to German explorer Arved Fuchs, who successfully made the passage in another James Caird replica in 2000. The feature that sets Epic apart was the amazing level of authenticity – everything from food and clothing, to the boat itself. In charge of gear and boat modifications (the Alexandra Shackleton was supplied by IBTC as an empty shell) was Seb Coulthard RN, voyage bosun. It was Seb's job to

The compass, sextant and chronometer

Arrival at Pegotty Bluff - LtoR - Nick Bubb, Ed Wardle, Baz Gray, Tim Jarvis, Seb Coulthard, Paul Larsen

collect all the vintage gear to complete the list of necessary equipment.

Although the boat carried every modern safety device, these, apart from the VHF to relay messages to the support ship, were only used in extremis. From day to day, the men lived much as Shackleton's crew did in 1916. This meant equipping the boat with oars (a unused set was found in a deep, dusty corner of Portsmouth Historic Dockyard), sails, rigging and much more besides. Seb tracked down Philip Rose-Taylor to act as sailmaker; Philip is one of the last surviving men to have sailed around Cape Horn on a cargo-carrying Tall Ship, and after measuring the James Caird in situ at Dulwich College, he made the sails from flax canvas, hand-stitching every part of the ketch-rigged lugger.

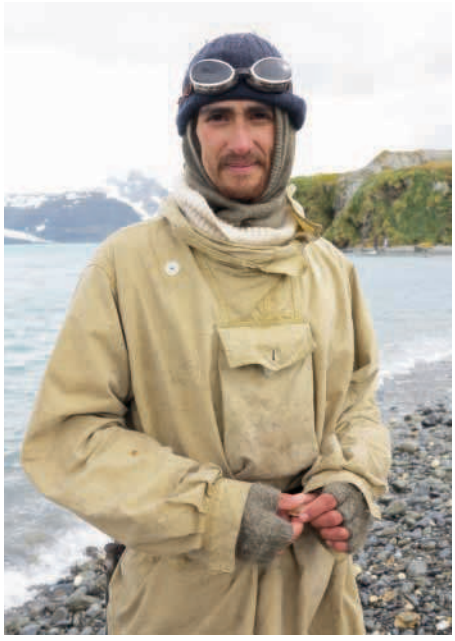
While this was going on, the search was on for a list of navigation equipment that included a Heath & Co sextant; Thomas Mercer marine chronometer; E. Dent & Co pattern 182 Admiralty boat compass (gimballed, and alcohol filled), vintage binoculars and an S. Smith & Sons pocket watch. The diaries from Shackleton's voyage also contained exhaustive lists of food and equipment for Seb to work from.

For the sextant, Seb found a 1954 Sestrel model very similar to the Heath & Co version – "and it was free!" he adds. A boat compass of the exact same model was procured, and was even cracked at the same place in the lens as Shackleton's. When swung, it showed zero deviation. Seb found a Thomas Mercer chronometer too. This one, a similar model but from the 1950s, is so accurate that it sat in the offices of the Sydney Harbourmaster and was used until the 1970s to give an accurate time for ship captains to set their chronometers. It lost precisely two seconds a day on land and four at sea.

With the three main instruments dealt with, Seb concentrated on the pocket watch (for budgetary reasons, an Elgin pocket watch from 1916 was substituted for the S. Smith & Sons watch, which fetch thousands on the secondhand market). The Elgin pocket watch worked reliably in Seb's freezer, his airing cupboard, and on board the ship in the Antarctic.

VINTAGE CLOTHING

Ed Wardle tracked down the vintage clothing, which comprised woollen jumpers, shirts and underwear, Merino socks and Merino long johns, jackets of tightly-woven cotton, which they waterproofed with boot dubbing, and leather boots with plain leather soles. The jackets were "water-resistant" rather than waterproof, Seb relates, and the wool, contrary to common wisdom, kept him and his crew warm when wet.



Expedition jumper, with Swedish balaclava, Wolsey lambswool beanie hat, fingerless gloves by Barbour, Swiss glacier goggles - Image by Jo Stewart

For ballast, Seb filled the boat with 1,763lb (800kg) of stone in hessian sacks, tied down with wet manila rope (which tightens when dried). Capsize tests showed that more was needed to make the boat self-righting. The

eventual figure was found to be 2,328lb (1,056kg) – just 88lb (40kg) more than the amount Shackleton estimated would be necessary for the James Caird.

In contrast, the modern kit, particularly the AIS, performed very poorly, and Seb wishes to take this chance to warn CB readers that AIS transponders have nothing like the range claimed by the makers. "Four to five miles" on the tin was a few hundred yards in reality. Seb also wishes to emphasise, after tank-testing lifejackets in a simulated storm at the RNLI pool, the importance of crutch straps and a sprayhood. In a simulated Force 5 in a warm pool, they made all the difference.

The support boat Australis followed at a distance of 20 miles, coming close once a day to take photos, although during the storm, it went into a search pattern for the Alexandra Shackleton when all electronic communication failed. The little boat was successfully located just as Seb Coulthard, whose day job is retrofitting Navy helicopters, finished making his repairs, so the relative safety of the mission was once again secured.

Later on in the voyage Australis skipper Ben Wallis would note the regularity of 'rogue' waves when, 180 miles off South Georgia, peaks of 26ft (7.9m) would come "popping out of nowhere" in a sea that was averaging just half that. On days with good visibility, *Australis*, 20 miles away, was "a speck in the distance" according to navigator Paul Larsen. Even as a speck, it must have given great psychological succour when compared to the unimaginable exposure known by the Shackleton crew in 1916, alone on a storm-tossed ocean at the bottom of the globe, forgotten by a world at war. Of the windless troughs between the waves, Shackleton wrote: "For a moment the consciousness of the forces arranged against us would be almost overwhelming."

History seldom records, at least in writing, the jokes shared by men in acute discomfort but by day four, Tim's diary already stated the jokes had staled. Reading between the lines, life on board must have been indescribable, four men sleeping "like badly folded accordions" as Seb put it, in a space the size of a small double bed, while those on watch were faced with wind-chill temperatures of -10^{0}C or worse, as well as directional uncertainty for most of the time, as Paul Larsen was only able to take three sun sights.

The *Alexandra Shackleton* has no tiller, just yoke lines, the loss of leverage making steering a very heavy job, with a man sometimes required on each line. This was one of the elements that made this replica voyage more taxing than the original. Ultimately, they can't be compared – one was life and death, a voyage of desperation against a backdrop of dwindling supplies and unimaginable hardship and fear, while the other was a voyage bolstered by the safety net of every modern communications and safety device known to man – including the support ship.

And yet, to paraphrase Paul Larsen, it is easier to be pushed off a building than it is to jump. "I turned this trip down the first time it came up," he told CB. And, Tim Jarvis points out that knowing help is at hand "ate into our resolve". And many of the incidental discomforts were worse too: the present-day crew were physically larger, which made the cramped conditions even worse; a lack of acclimatisation to the cold, even though they had warmer air temperatures than Shackleton's winter (April) voyage; the water, infected as it was with the vinegary taste leaching out from the whisky barrel, was as putrid as Shackleton's brackish water; and then there's the thing that's impossible to prove but no less true for it – we humans are not nearly as tough as we were a century ago.

One of the biggest problems for these modern-day adventurers was the pemmican – yes, the trip's authenticity charter extended to food. Don't be fooled by Arthur Ransome novels into thinking that pemmican is a sort of jolly, vintage tinned meat eaten on dinghy-sailing holidays. Real pemmican is lard with dried beef floating in it. As Seb Coulthard explained: "You have

to eat it red hot. We used an old Primus stove. We bought the kerosene in Argentina and it gave off an awful smell. The stove was leaking from two days into the trip. That and the smell of beef made everyone sick over the side." Paul Larsen added: "It gets everywhere – your bedding, your clothes, your beard..." As far as possible, they stuck to other Shackleton-approved food: hot milk, nougat, biscuits and Bovril.

Twelve days after their departure (Shackleton took 16), the little boat made landfall in King Haakon Bay, South Georgia, six miles from Shackleton's landfall. And just like the original voyage, the last hurdle was the hardest, with a headland to lay against the wind in an unweatherly boat. At one point the *Alexandra Shackleton* was inside the rocks, the support boat helpless and a lethal lee-shore situation looming. With half the crew in the bows to dig the nose in, she made it around the last headland and felt the scrunch of gravel under her forefoot. "You know what it's like when you pinch a difficult mark? It's all beer and skittles from there on," Paul Larsen told CB with a chuckle.

Thanks to Seb Coulthard for his help with technical aspects of this article. Read about the land leg at www.shackletonepic.com

The launching of the 'Alexandra Shackleton' at Portland Marina, 18/3/12.

The Filming of 'Shackleton' for Channel Four (2002)

By Ken Drury

When the order for war mobilisation was given on August 14th 1914, it looked like Shackleton's plans for the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (ITAE) were about to be thwarted. Shackleton offered the entire ship's crew to the Government. The one word reply from the Admiralty must have lifted his spirits. It read "Proceed."

Proceed Shackleton did, into one of the most dramatic expeditions of recent history. It was the drama that inspired Charles Sturridge to write and direct "Shackleton," his BAFTA-winning two-part film for Channel 4 in a co-production with the U.S. film production company Arts Entertainment. Between them they raised a budget of $15 million and in March 2001 the production was underway. Sturridge took a cast and crew onto the ice off the east coast of Greenland to film Shackleton`s story. I had the good fortune to be cast in the part of Henry McNish, ship`s carpenter.

Ken Drury as 'Harry McNish'

Filming began in and around London and then at 'Shepperton Studios'. The Art department had, with painstaking attention to detail, built the interiors of the Endurance. Lines were learned, costumes were fitted, make up applied, nerves were exposed with too much bonhomie and loud laughter.

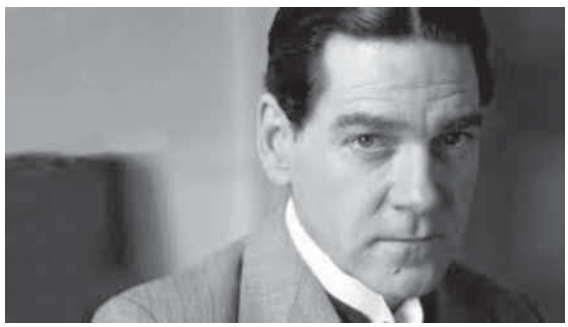
We all felt VERY privileged to be part of the story. On the 19th May 2001 we flew in a chartered plane to Reykjavik (Iceland) where we met up with *Kaskelot*, a three-masted sailing ship. It had sailed up from St Austell in Cornwall.

Again the Art department did a wonderful job turning *Kaskelot* into the *Endurance.* John, the skipper, gave us a tour of this wonderful wooden ship. They had built a false deck with kennels on either side for the huskies. It was almost a true replica of the *Endurance*.

We filmed about thirty miles off the Icelandic coast for the next three days. The crew of *Kaskelot* were young enthusiasts who seemed to enjoy what we were doing and I suspect they had a bit of a laugh at the sight of a few faces getting paler and paler as the seas got bigger and bigger!

Polar Bird had been chartered for the next leg of our journey. It was a Norwegian icebreaker that had sailed up from the South Atlantic and was to be our home for the next five weeks. Conditions on board were very cramped and basic. With a film crew of sixty and a cast of twenty it was do or die! Our four hundred mile crossing to Greenland was rough to say the least with the *Kaskelot* following behind in some atrocious weather.

In 2001, between the east coast of Greenland and the open sea (North Atlantic/Greenland Sea) there was a thirty mile wide shelf of ice, about fifteen hundred miles long stretching up to the pole. It was constantly on the move from the north and as it reached warmer waters it started to break up.

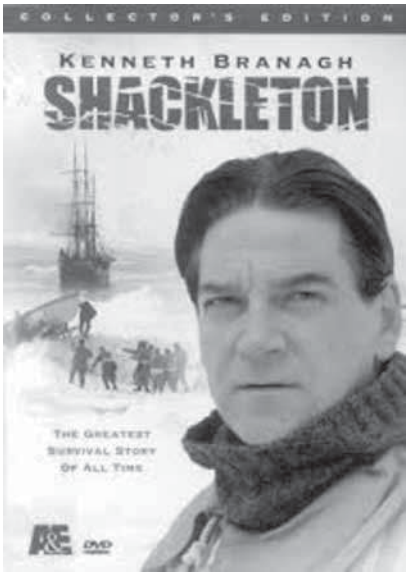


Kenneth Branagh as 'Shackleton'

The *Polar Bird*'s helicopter would seek out a floe large enough to work on. The breaker would make its way through. The crew then drilled into the ice and moored the ship to the floe. Ship and floe then travelled south together and we would work on the floe until it started to break up. We then sailed back out to sea, travelled north and back into the ice to repeat the process. A floe with a cast and crew working twelve hour days looked like a scene from MASH!

Filming the scenes on the small boats - rowing between the floes with their spectacular marine blues and greens - was the most amazing experience. It is exhilarating to feel that you are in a place where no-one else has been.

On the 29th May we were joined by *Kaskelot* and began filming on the ship close to the ice. It was an odd experience commuting to work from our base on *Polar Bird* by large dinghy out to *Kaskelot* each day. It was a million times more pleasant than travelling on the London underground!



DVD 'Collector's Edition'

When the *Kaskelot* finally left us she said her 'farewells' in full sail alongside *Polar Bird*. It was a magnificent and moving sight!
We continued filming on the ice well into June and on our return we spent a week in Whitby, North Yorkshire to shoot the scenes on Elephant Island. After that we returned to the studios in Shepperton. It took a month to wrap things up.

We had all been on a long voyage (literally and metaphorically) but it had been nothing like Shackleton's own journey, that's for sure!
I had a great time playing the character, Harry McNish. He was, by all accounts, a most accomplished carpenter. He was also a dour Scot with a strong anti-authority streak. When I spoke to his grandson on the telephone he told me that McNish had a reputation for being "a very grumpy man who hated authority." This was pure gold dust to an actor!

Filming on 'Shackleton' was a major highlight in my forty year career as an actor. To my mind it will be almost impossible to beat. At the time I was 'long enough in the tooth' to appreciate just how wonderful an experience this all was. I made sure to take full advantage and enjoyed every bit of it.

The London *Titanic* Inquiry (18th June 1912)
British Wreck Commissioner's Inquiry Day 26

Background

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
April 17, 1912
Resolved, That the Committee on Commerce, or a sub-committee thereof, is hereby authorized and directed to investigate the causes leading to the wreck of the White Star liner *Titanic*, with its attendant loss of life so shocking to the civilized world.
Resolved further, That said- Committee or a sub-committee thereof is hereby empowered to summon witnesses, send for persons and papers, to administer oaths, and to take such testimony as may be necessary to determine the responsibility therefor, with a view to such legislation as may be necessary to prevent, as far as possible, any repetition of such a disaster.
Resolved further, That the Committee shall inquire particularly into the number of lifeboats, rafts, and life preservers, and other equipment for the protection of the passengers and crew; the number of persons aboard the *Titanic*, whether passenger or crew, and whether adequate inspections were made of such vessel, in view of the large number of American passengers travelling over a route commonly regarded as dangerous from icebergs; and whether it is feasible for Congress to take steps looking to an international agreement to secure the protection of sea traffic, including regulation of the size of ships and designation of routes.
Resolved further, That in the report of said- Committee it shall recommend such legislation as it shall deem expedient; and the expenses incurred by this investigation shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers to be approved by the chairman of said-Committee.

At 10:30 am on Friday 19th April at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York the Committee sat down and began interviewing its witnesses……
The British Government quickly followed suit and ordered a formal inquiry into the Loss of the *Titanic*. On Monday, 22 April, 1912, Sydney Buxton, President of the Board of Trade, requested the Lord Chancellor appoint a Wreck Commissioner to investigate the disaster. To fill the seat of Wreck Commissioner, Lord Chancellor Robert, Earl Loreburn, appointed Charles Bigham, Lord Mersey of Toxteth, President of the Probate, Divorce & Admiralty Division of the High Court.

Charles Bigham
"Lord Mersey"
Illustrated London News

On Tuesday 2nd May 1912 The London Titanic Inquiry began (at the London Scottish Drill Hall, Buckingham Gate) with this opening gambit,
The Attorney-General (Sir Rufus Isaacs):
My Lord, before this Inquiry begins I desire on behalf of His Majesty's to express our deepest sympathy with all those who have to mourn the loss of relatives or friends amongst the passengers, the officers or the crew of this ill-fated vessel. My Lord, this terrible disaster in mid-ocean, both because in mere magnitude it exceeds any calamity in the history of the mercantile marine, and also because of many of its harrowing incidents, has in a profound and marked degree, touched the heart of the nation. Whilst not desiring in any way to anticipate the result of this Inquiry, I cannot refrain from paying a reverent tribute of warm admiration to those whose manful devotion to duty and heroic sacrifices for the safety of others, have maintained the best traditions of the sea…….

The Inquiry was to last for 36 days (compared with 18 days in New York) and included one half-size (20ft long) model of the starboard side of Titanic (provided by Harland and Wolff, the ship's builders) and, on official Day 26 (18th June 1912), one Sir Ernest Henry Shackleton.

Testimony of Sir Ernest Shackleton
(Examined by the Attorney-General)

25014. You have had a large experience of ice?
- Yes.

25015. I want you to help the Court with your views, as a result of your experience, first of all with regard to the visibility of ice in clear weather. Take icebergs first?
- That entirely depends on the height of the iceberg. Take an iceberg of about 80 feet high, and the ordinary type of iceberg that has not turned over, you could see that in clear weather about ten to twelve miles.

25016. At night?
- Not at night, no. I would say, providing it was an ordinary berg, about five miles on a clear night.

25017. (*The Commissioner.*) At night?
- Yes, at night.

25018. (*The Attorney-General*) You said - provided it was an ordinary berg?
- Yes.

25019. Are there bergs which present a different appearance in colour?
- There are many bergs I have seen that appear to be black, due to the construction of the berg itself, and also due to the earthy matter and rocks that are in all bergs. In fact, in the south many of these so-called islands, and charted as islands, must have been big bergs with earthy matter on them. Again, after a berg has capsized, if it is not of close construction it is more porous and taking up the water does not reflect light in any way.

25020. Have you had large experience of this particular track?
- Not much, only four or five times I have seen ice in the North Atlantic.

25021. Have you ever seen ice of this particular dark character to which you have referred in the North Atlantic?
- Yes, twice.

25022. (*The Commissioner*.) In the North Atlantic?
- Yes.

25023. (*The Attorney-General*.) Was that on the outward route to the States?
- On the outward route, yes - once outward and once homeward.

25024. Do you remember about what time it was of the year?
- In about April, I think, 1897, and again in May, 1903, and again in June, 1910, but that was further North.

25025. Is this right that you have seen altogether on the North Atlantic track ice on four or five occasions?
- Yes.

25026. That is, four or five voyages?
- Yes.

25027. Extending evidently over a very considerable period of time?
- That is so.

25028. Beginning in 1897?
- Yes.

25029. Out of those four or five times is it right that you twice saw these dark-coloured icebergs?
- I would not like to say on the last two occasions. My memory will not serve me more than that. I have noticed on one occasion at least more than one berg that did not reflect light.

25030. What I meant was – I want to follow your evidence – that of the four or five occasions of which you have spoken, two of them were occasions on which, as I understood you, you have seen ice of this dark colour?
- Yes, but I would like to add that I have seen at the same time other ice – ice of a different colour.

25031. Yes, I see what you mean – there would be other ice of a different colour, but amongst it you saw twice icebergs of this dark colour?
- Of darker colour, yes.

Sir Robert Finlay:
I understood him to say that once he was sure of only.

The Attorney-General:
No, he gave dates, one in 1897 and the other in 1903.

Sir Robert Finlay:
I thought he qualified that.

25032. (*The Attorney-General*.) We will get it right. (*To the witness*.) My friend thinks that you qualified what you said about the twice suggesting that you were certain of one, but not certain of the other occasion?
- I was certain of the "other occasion", but I qualified it only inasmuch as that on the same occasion I saw different coloured ice.

25033. (*The Commissioner*.) Am I to understand that you saw several bergs on these five voyages that you have spoken of?
- Yes, My Lord.

25034. On only one berg on each occasion?
- No, on one occasion there were several bergs. On the first occasion, I remember it was a low lying berg which was evidently a capsized berg.

25035. You only saw one berg?
- That is all I remember.

25036. Then on the second occasion you saw several bergs?
- Yes.

25037. Did you see several on the other three occasions?
- No, My Lord; some of them were just small pieces. I would not call them big bergs, not like the southern bergs.

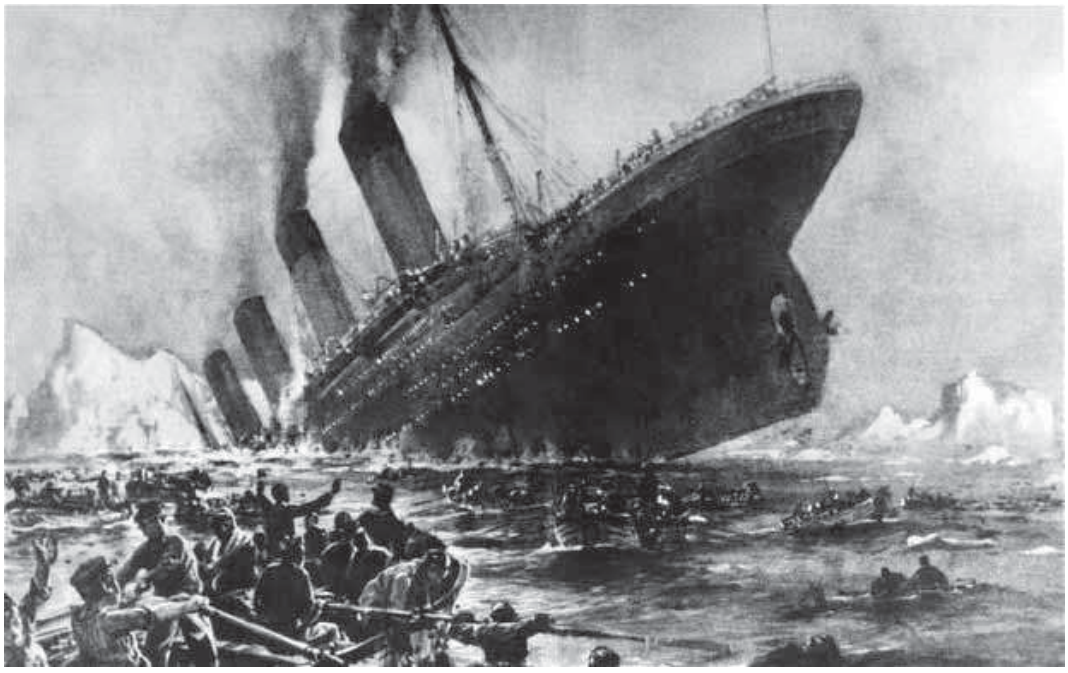
25038. Are they called growlers?
- I have never heard that term applied to them, but I believe it is a well-known term. I have read of such, but we never call them growlers, we call them floe bergs when they were not the height of an actual big berg carved off from the land, but a berg that had capsized, having worn out underneath.

25039. (*The Attorney-General*.) You have spoken of the distance at which you would see bergs. You told us, I think I am right in saying, 10 or 12 miles in the daytime on a clear day, and 5 miles on a clear night?
- Yes.

25040. How far would you see one of these dark bergs on a clear night, assuming it to be 60 to 80 feet high?
- It might be only three miles, depending on the night and depending almost entirely on the condition of the sea at the time. With a dead calm sea there is no sign at all to give you any indication that there is anything there. If you first see the breaking sea at all, then you look for the rest and you generally see it. That is on the waterline. I do not say very high, because from a height it is not so easily seen; it blends with the ocean if you are looking down at an angle like that. If you are on the sea level it may loom up.

25041. That would rather suggest that your view would be that you could detect bergs of that kind better at the stern than you could at the crow's-nest?
- Better, the nearer you are to the waterline. When we navigated in thick or hazy weather there was always one man on the look-out and one man as near the deck line as possible.

25042. That is thick or hazy weather?
- Yes, that is thick or hazy weather, or even clear, just the same.



The Titanic Sinks

25043. What I want you to tell My Lord is, Do you think it is of advantage in clear weather to have a man stationed right ahead at the stern as well as in the crow's-nest?
- Undoubtedly, if you are in the danger zone; in the ice zone.

25044. And supposing you were passing through a zone where you had ice reported to you, would you take precautions as to the look-out? Supposing you only had men in the crow's-nest, would you take any other precautions?
- I would take the ordinary precaution of slowing down, whether I was in a ship equipped for ice or any other, compatible with keeping steerage way for the size of the ship.

25045. You would slow down?
- I would slow down, yes.

And supposing you were going 21 to 22 knots, I suppose that would be better reason for slowing down?
- You have no right to go at that speed in an ice zone.

25046. (*The Commissioner*.) And you think that all these liners are wrong in going at this speed in regions where ice has been reported?
- Where it has been reported I think the possibility of accident is greatly enhanced by the speed the ship goes.

25047. We have been told that none of these liners slow down even though they know that they are going through an ice region – that is to say a region where there are icebergs?
- I have been in a ship which was specially built for ice, but I took the precaution to slow down because you can only tell the condition of any ice you see; there may be projecting spurs and you may suddenly come across them.

25048. What was the speed of the boat you were in?
- She was only six knots at full speed. She was 40 years old.

25049. Do you mean to say that you slowed down a vessel of six knots?
- Yes, I always did.

25050. Then what did you get to?
- We got very near the South Pole, My Lord.

25051. What speed did you get down to?
- We slowed down to about four knots. At her best she did six knots.

25052. At her best she did six knots; that was not the ship that you got near to the South Pole in?
- Yes, that is the ship; she was very old; she was very small.

25053. (*The Attorney-General*.) I still want you to give me your attention with regard to the look-out. You have told me your views with regard to speed. Suppose you had two men in the crow's-nest, and it was a clear night, and you were going through a region in which ice had been reported, would you put any person in the bow for a look-out?
- I would put a look-out man in the bow or as near to the waterline as possible, even on a clear night, but I would only have one man in the crow's-nest.

25054. Your idea would be that of the two men when coming into an ice region, one should go to the bow and one be in the crow's-nest?
- My main reason for saying one man in the crow's-nest is that I think one man gives more attention to the work in hand than two men.

The Attorney-General:
There is a good deal to be said for that.

The Commissioner:
Yes, I think so.

25055. (*The Attorney-General*.) If I follow you correctly your view is, it is better on a clear night passing through an ice region to have a man as near the waterline as possible?
- Yes.

25056. Which would be preferable, the bow or the crow's-nest?
- I would have a man in both, one in the crow's-nest and one in the bow; and if I may say this, I would prefer in a liner to go where there is known danger than to go in a southerly route where you may occasionally get a berg, because some of these bergs drift from the north, very big bergs drift down into navigable waters, where no one would expect to find them; and then a ship comes to damage; whereas if you are looking for danger you guard against it more, or ought to.

25057. I think we have been told they drift from north to south?
- Yes, by the Labrador Current.

25058. One other matter I wanted you to tell us about and that is with regard to the use of glasses for look-out men. You know the point. It has been suggested here that binoculars should be used by the look-out men, particularly if they have had a report of ice. Will you tell My Lord your view about that?
- My Lord, I do not believe in any look-out man having glasses at all. I only believe in the Officer using them, and then only when something has been reported in a certain quarter or certain place on the bow.

25059. The man would pick it up with his eyes and the Officer would find out what it is with the glasses?
- Yes, you have the whole range of the horizon in one moment with your eyes and you localise it by using glasses.

25060. I ought to ask you this, Is there any indication of the proximity of ice by the fall of temperature?
- Unless the wind is blowing from a large field of ice to windward there is no indication at all by the methods that are used now, and it is a very poor thing to go upon, is that change of temperature. The film of fresh water that covers the sea is so thin that by dipping in a bucket you do not pick up that thin cold water; and if the temperature of the air is approximately the temperature of the sea there is practically no haze; it is only when the water is warmer or the air is warmer that the haze occurs. There are no methods that I have heard of before this that can really give you an indication of approaching ice by ordinary temperature methods.

25061. Supposing you were approaching an ice region, that is a region in which you had ice reported to you, and you found the temperature getting colder, would that be any indication to you that you were getting close?
- No, it depends upon whether there was a wind or not.

The Commissioner:

On this occasion we were told that, at all events, from 3 o'clock in the afternoon there was no wind.

25062. (*The Attorney-General*.) No wind, and the temperature fell very much.

The Witness:

Then if there was no wind and the temperature fell abnormally for the time of the year, I would consider I was approaching an area that might have ice in it.

25063. (*The Attorney-General*.) According to the evidence – I am only dealing with one part of it – perhaps the most striking part – during the afternoon on this particular occasion on 14th April of this year, the temperature was reported to be falling, so much so that the Captain ordered the carpenter to see that the water in his tanks did not freeze. Would that be any indication to you?
- If I knew what the mean temperature of that locality was for that month of the year and there was a great variation, then I would certainly think there was some abnormal disturbance in the ice to the north. Of course, that particular night was an abnormal night at sea in being a flat calm; it is a thing that might never occur again.

25064. That is what Mr. Lightoller says. You say apparently it is very rare to get such a flat calm as there was that night?
- I only remember it once or twice in about 20 years' experience – the sea absolutely calm, without a swell, as it was recorded to have been.

25065. And if I followed correctly what you said earlier it would make it more difficult to pick up an iceberg with the eyes?
- Decidedly.

25066. If you had this calm sea?
- Yes, decidedly so.

25067. Although it was a clear night?
- Yes.

25068. There would be no indication of the water breaking round it?
- No, there would be none in a condition like that. It takes very little sea and very little swell, with the northern bergs which are submerged about seven times to one above, for what we call a splash to get up and give you an indication.

25069. We have been told of the phenomenon of the ice-blink?
- Yes.

25070. Would that be effected at all by the night we have had described or is it a variable thing?
- On a night such as you have described, if there was a big field of ice, the blink would most certainly be seen very, very clearly. If there was really what we call big fields, miles and miles of ice, then you would see the edge, what we call the water-sky, that is where the ice-field ends.

25071. But you would not expect to get the ice-blink with an iceberg?
- No, I would not.

25072. Does that mean it does not throw off any of its luminosity?
- Well, it does not reflect any light that there may be, one single berg; it takes ice in the mass to do that, it is like a whole lot of deck lights along the side of a ship; they look one glare instead of isolated things.

Examined by Mr. Scanlan (Barrister).

25073. Just one question, Sir Ernest: Do you frequently find a haze in close proximity to an iceberg?
- Generally when the temperatures are different – the temperature of the water and the temperature of the air.

Examined by Sir Robert Finlay (Barrister for White Star Line).

25074. What was the tonnage of the boat you went to the South Pole in?
- Two hundred and twenty-seven.

25075. How high was it on the forecastle at the stern above the water?
- When we were loaded it was about 14 feet, 14 feet from the forecastle to the waterline. From the crow's-nest it was about 90 feet.

25076. About 90 feet?
- Yes.

25077. Then the comparison you are making is between the height of 90 feet in the crow's-nest on your foremast?
- Yes.

25078. And a height of 14 feet on your stern?
- I do not make a comparison. I say from 90 feet, which is the crow's-nest of the "Titanic", we will say, which equals our crow's-nest, and from the waterline, as near as we can get it. If we could have got right down to the waterline we would have done so. The advantage lies in being as near the waterline as possible. You suffered from a disadvantage, certainly, in the "Titanic" by not being able to get as near to the waterline as we did in the "Nimrod".

25079. If I gather rightly, your view is that if you are near the waterline, it is an advantage in seeing icebergs?
- Yes.

25080. And that is an advantage which a small boat like yours, which most of us have read about, has. You had that advantage in that boat?
- We had that advantage over other vessels to a certain extent.

25081. Your outside rate was six knots?
- Yes.

25082. You slowed down in ice to four knots?
- Yes.

25083. You say you slowed down. I suppose you experienced in going to the South Pole a very great deal of ice?
- Yes, a great deal. We first got into the vanguard of the ice before we got to the heavy pack, and then we got into the region of icebergs, where we had to turn

and twist. Sometimes we would have 8 hours' run, but ice suddenly comes up in front of you, and then you slow down at once.

25084. The pace you speak of, four knots, was when you were in among the ice, turning and twisting, as you have described it?
- Yes, when we were in the ice region. I would not like to compare in any way the North Atlantic, with its comparatively few bergs, with the south, but if I were going 20 knots, I would want to get down to the steerage way just the same as when I am going six knots I want to get down to four knots.

25085. But you do not compare the state of things which you found, as you were approaching the South Pole, where you had to turn and twist among the icebergs and masses of ice, with what prevails in the North Atlantic?
- No, I do not compare it. The point I look at is, when you get a very fast speed, you must slow down, even as we in narrow waters had to slow down in our little ship.

25086. Slow down to four knots?
- We did.

25087. What do your suggest a liner should slow down to?
- I am not qualified to give an opinion, but I should suggest a liner should slow down sufficiently to give her steering way, which is, of course, more than the full speed of my own smaller ship.

25088. What do you estimate would give the vessel like the "Titanic" steering way?
- I am not qualified to say. I do not know enough of the turning movement of ships over 10,000 tons; I should say 10 knots.

25089. (*The Commissioner*.) That would be half-speed, practically?
- Yes, My Lord.

25090. (*Sir Robert Finlay – to the witness*.) Is your suggestion that all liners in the Atlantic should slow down to 10 knots as soon as they know that they may come across an iceberg?
- As soon as they know they are in an absolute iced locality, which they can tell now because of the wireless.

25091. My expression was, "As soon as they know they may come across an iceberg"?
- No, I do not say that.

25092. What do you mean by an absolute ice locality?
- The locality where it is reported and where it is generally known that more than one iceberg will be met – where you are likely to meet masses of ice floating about.

25093. Assume one or two icebergs are reported: Do you say that if the vessel may pass near one of these icebergs she ought to reduce her speed to 10 knots?
- No, I do not. I do not say just for one iceberg or two icebergs or ten icebergs if they are nowhere near one another, but if there is a general indication of ice in the locality within a certain area which is fairly well known, a vessel ought to be slowed accordingly at nighttime.

25094. At nighttime?
- Yes, only at nighttime, unless it is thick in the day.

25095. Can you give me an idea of the extent of the indication of ice that you say should lead to the reduction to 10 knots? You would not reduce for one or two or ten icebergs?
- No, I would reduce if I heard that ice was generally reported, specifically from more than one quarter. I am taking very modern methods - that is, that ice is reported by wireless.

25096. If it is reported, you mean you have something, I will not say equalling, but approaching the collection of icebergs through which you had to thread your way?
- Oh no; the ice is generally know in the Atlantic.

25097. But one or two or ten would not be sufficient. I wish only to understand exactly what you mean by the absolute ice region, which you think should lead to slowing down to ten knots an hour?
- I should say that if ice was reported in any quantity, bergs and floes, when the vessel is anywhere near that latitude and longitude and had a late report of say even the day before, at nighttime she should slow till she was past that latitude and longitude in which icebergs and floe ice were seen.

25098. Do you think that the practice in the North Atlantic has been all wrong for the last 20 or 30 years?
- I do not say that. I say a certain state of things has evolved in the last few years by public desire and competition.

25099. (*The Commissioner*.) You say what?
- I say the state of full speed has evolved in the last few years with the great public desire for speed.

25100. To get to their journey's end?
- Yes.

25101. (*The Attorney-General*.) By competition?
- Yes.

25102. (*Sir Robert Finlay*.) You have been following this case I take it?
- I have to a certain extent.

25103. And you know we have had evidence as to the practice existing among gentlemen who have been in the trade for 25 years?
- Yes; I think the gentlemen that have been in the trade for 25 years have been acting under the instructions of their owners.

25104. Have you any ground for saying that?
- No more than a general feeling that I have had, and the feeling I have had that when the owner is on board you go.

25105. And supposing the owner is not on board?
- I do not want to make surmises and I do not want to lay down any particular rules, but there is a general feeling amongst people at sea that you have to make your passage. If you do not make your passage it is not so good for you. That is only my own personal point of view. I do not know whether I should not refuse to answer this particular question.

The Commissioner:
I think not; you are giving us very useful evidence.

25106. (*Sir Robert Finlay*.) You have been in the North Atlantic trade to some extent yourself?
- I have only been as a passenger. Well, once in 1891 I was across the Atlantic in March.

25107. Were you in command of a vessel?
- No, I was only 17 years old then.

25108. But the other times you speak of in the North Atlantic you have been merely as a passenger?
- Yes, that is all.

25109. But apart from this voyage when you were 17 of ice in the Atlantic, you have had no experience?
- I have had no experience, no, of actual ice in the North Atlantic. I happen to be aware of the conditions, though.

25110. Now with regard to the coldness, the connection of cold with the presence of icebergs. You know, of course, of the Labrador Current?
- Yes.

25111. Is the cold very often due to the Labrador Current?
- I would not say that so much, but I would say the breaking up of the ice was due to the Labrador Current. I mean it comes down with the Labrador Current, but the other current goes up to the north. It is sometimes very clearly defined, but then again these currents sometimes come far out of their usual route.

25112. You would not say, I suppose, that a fall in temperature was anything like a certain indication of the presence of ice?
- No, I would not at all.

25113. Not at all?
- Excepting under very definite conditions, such as a dead calm and a sudden fall in the temperature, because if you are in colder water, and as I said before you have not an equal temperature of the air, then you have a haze. If both the air temperature and the water temperature are the same the effect is that the weather is clear.

The Commissioner:
My recollection is that the fall of temperature began on the Saturday.

The Attorney-General:
Yes, it did; it became more acute on the Sunday afternoon.

The Commissioner:
It gradually fell and fell rapidly, but began Saturday.

The Attorney-General:
Yes. We know very little of the wind on the Saturday.

Sir Robert Finlay:
I think we have information on the morning of the Sunday that there was wind.

The Commissioner:

There was wind of a kind up to three o'clock in the afternoon of the Sunday, and then it fell and became a dead calm.

Sir Robert Finlay:

Yes. The point is the cold had begun before the wind dropped.

The Commissioner:

Oh, it began on the Saturday.

25114. (*Sir Robert Finlay – to the witness*.) I think you said that the importance you would attach to a fall of temperature in this connection was if there was a dead calm?
- Yes. If the sea and the air are about the same temperature I would consider ice; but all those methods such as dipping up water in buckets to get the temperature are no good.

Re-examined by the Attorney-General.

25115. We have been speaking hitherto about icebergs; but supposing you had a wireless telegram to the effect that there were icebergs and a large quantity of field ice in the region which the ship had to cross, would that in any way accentuate the risk which you say would be run?
- The field ice?

25116. Yes?
- I think field ice for a ship of that class of any ocean liner is almost as bad as an iceberg, because going at a speed like that, the kinetic energy is so enormous and field ice is very often 20 feet deep; it is like running on a rock almost.

Mr. Cotter (Barrister):

May I ask one question?

The Commissioner:

Yes.

25117. (*Mr. Cotter*.) Have you any faith in searchlights for picking up ice at nighttime?
- No. I have no faith. If it happened to catch an iceberg I think you would see it all right but outside the actual range in length and width of the arc of light, the Officer may be blinded. It is like going down the Suez Canal.

25118. (*The Attorney-General*.) I did not ask a question about searchlights, My Lord, because I did not know whether Sir Ernest had any experience of them. (*To the witness*.) Perhaps I may ask you, have you had any experience of searchlights for the purposes of detecting ice?
- Not for detecting ice, no.

25119. Have you formed any opinion at all?
- Yes, I have just stated it.

The Attorney-General:

I did not catch it, I beg your pardon.

25120. (*The Commissioner*.) It agrees with the other evidence. (T*o the witness*.) I should like you to answer this. If you can see the berg at a sufficient distance to clear it, is there then any object in reducing speed?

- My Lord, if there is one certain iceberg and one berg alone or two or three bergs, there is no object in reducing speed, but if you are in an area where there is floe ice and bergs which might perhaps be met at any moment, where if you put the helm hard a-port you might run into another one, then there is need.

25121. We have no evidence that the "Titanic" saw what you call floe ice, pack ice, or anything of that kind. There were telegrams warning the ship of the existence of such ice. But taking icebergs if you can see them at sufficient distance to avoid them, is there any object in slowing down?
- I do not consider there is any need to slow down if you can see every iceberg at a sufficient distance to avoid it, but I doubt if you could when you come into such a region.

25122. Now I am going to ask you about that. We have been told that on this night the conditions were very peculiar, that the sea was as flat as a table top and that there was no sort of swell, and therefore nothing that would make a ridge round the waterline of the iceberg on which the eye would fall. We have been told that this iceberg was black, and it has been said that in those circumstances it is very difficult to detect the existence of a berg in time to avoid it. Is that so?
- I agree with that, My Lord. I think it would have been a very difficult thing with a ship going at that speed to have done so.

25123. Do you think the speed makes any difference in picking up a thing?
- I do not know about picking up, but slower speed gives you a longer time from the time you see it at the same distance.

25124. Of course it does. I did not understand your observation. Now, you know these conditions as they have been described – whether accurately or not I do not know – but they have been described to us. How far off do you think the men in the crow's-nest, if they had been attending to their business and not talking to each other, ought to have seen this berg?
- I would not like to put a definite figure on it, but I should think the men in the crow's-nest saw that berg about as soon as you would ordinarily expect a man to see it.

25125. That means they saw it just as the ship was striking the berg?
- Had not some three minutes elapsed from the time it was reported?

The Commissioner:
I think not.

The Attorney-General:
It is rather difficult to say. We know what was done; and we have to estimate the time.

25126. (*The Commissioner*.) She was right on the berg before any time elapsed?
- I should think, My Lord, that in the case of that particular berg it would be a very difficult thing to pick it up at all. A man might have said to his companion, "Do you think you see anything?" but arising out of that I should like to say that all Officers, as far as I know, and Captains of ships in modern times, are only too ready to hear reported from the crow's-nest or wherever it is, any report of any sort even though the light reported is not there.

25127. I am not quite following you I am afraid. Do you want to convey this to me, that the berg would be within 100 feet of the stern of the ship before it would be seen?

- No, I should think a berg of that type would be seen somewhere about perhaps three-quarters of a mile away, not more.

25128. Well, three-quarters of a mile – would it be seen less than three-quarters of a mile?
- It might be; I do not know.

25129. I am putting 100 feet to you?
- I think it ought to be seen long before 100 feet.

25130. What would you say would be the shortest distance that this berg would be seen by the men in the crow's-nest on a clear night?
- The shortest distance from the ship?

25131. Yes, on a perfectly clear night, and under these conditions of a flat sea and possibly black ice?
- I would not like to express an opinion, because I have never actually seen a berg as close to a ship. I have never seen any ice quite exactly like that which was described. I have seen it in the winter time in the ice, but then we were always absolutely stationary.

25132. My difficulty is this, and I am afraid you cannot help me, but I cannot understand how the men in the crow's-nest and the men on the bridge – there were two, I think; one, at all events, on the bridge – failed to see this iceberg until it was practically in contact with the ship?
- I think that iceberg was such a very little thing. It was such a small thing and the condition were so bad, that a man on watch, even two hours on watch, might have his eyes strained, and the Officer, on watch might have his eyes strained, and might just miss that particular berg. In running round the horizon his eyes might hop over this particular thing.

25133. But there were three pairs of eyes; there was a man on the bridge and two men in the crow's-nest?
- I think that is a possibility.

25134. Is it a probability?
- I think it is a probability. I think they might not see such a thing.

25135. Then do you really mean to say that on a fine night with a flat sea the probable thing is that every ship will come in contact with an iceberg that happens to be on its course?
- No, My Lord, I think it is an abnormal case entirely.

25136. I am putting an abnormal case – an extraordinarily flat sea and black ice; do you think if there happens to be an iceberg in the course of that ship she must run up against it although there are three men on the watch?
- The next time somebody may see it a little earlier; it is possible to see it a little earlier but I do not like to express an opinion.

The Commissioner:
You said the probability was the ship would run up against the iceberg.

The Attorney-General:
Your Lordship will remember she is going 700 yards a minute and it would not take long.

25137. (*The Commissioner*.) I know that. (*To the witness*.) Then you know nothing about the turning circle of this ship?
- I do not.

25138. So that you cannot tell how she could avoid it. Well, now I want to know this – do these bergs extend sometimes under the water any considerable distance from the part that is visible?
- It depends; if the berg is capsized it may extend perhaps 200 yards or more, depending on the size of the berg. Some bergs that are five miles long, which are rarely seen in the Atlantic, may extend 200 or 300 yards, what we call a spur, but not more than that.

25139. So that the bottom of a ship might strike an iceberg before it reached what you may call the locality of the part that is uppermost?
- Yes, before it actually struck the part above water.

25140. But you think in an extreme case only 200 yards?
- Yes, an extreme case.

25141. Did you say 200 yards?
- I have seen spurs 200 yards away, but I think a couple of hundred feet would be about the average for a spur. A lot depends upon the sort of ice – what sort of mountain it came off, and how it was formed, and what its specific gravity is, whether it is worn down in the current by the temperature of the water.

25142. But the bottom of the berg may extend under the water any distance, from 200 feet to 600 feet?
- Yes.

25143. Away from the visible berg itself?
- Away from the visible vertical side of the berg.

25144. So that the bottom of the ship might strike a berg any distance from 200 to 600 feet away from the visible berg?
- Yes, that is my opinion, My Lord. There are no doubt other people who have also got perhaps slightly different opinions on it, but in the main, generalising, it is so.

25145. I rather gather from what you have said to me – I am not sure that I ought to ask you this question, but I am going to ask it all the same – that you think it quite possible that the men were keeping as good a look-out as they could?
- Yes, that is what I think.

25146. That is what you want to convey?
- Yes, but I did say earlier and I still say I think it is an advantage to have only one man in the crow's-nest.

25147. It has occurred to me; one knows what men are, when they are standing together they begin to talk sometimes?
- I know I used to in my early days.

25148. Then there is another question I am not sure I ought to ask you. Supposing it had been the invariable practice to navigate ships of this kind, following the usual track to America, at full speed, notwithstanding ice warnings, in your opinion would a Captain who had been brought up in that trade be justified in following

the practice? Now, do not answer that question if you do not like, and I will not ask it, Sir Robert, if you do not want me to ask it. If you have not formed any opinion about it I will not press you to give me an answer?
- We sailors all form opinions, My Lord, like other people, but it opens such a very wide question of relationship between owners and captains, that I am not competent to answer it. I think it would be a natural thing for a captain who has been brought up in a line doing the same thing, to continue doing it. But in view of the fact that there is wireless now, I think any accident could be avoided.

25149. Well, yes, that is quite true. If you are right in saying that the better thing would be to reduce the speed to half-speed, about 10 or 11 knots, and if you are right in saying that this berg might be approached practically without any warning to the look-out, it seems to me you would have an accident all the same, 11 knots or 22 knots; you would have to reduce it to your 4 knots?
- Well, it would be better to do that.

25150. Oh, yes, I quite agree. Now I want to ask you this question. Suppose that it took this ship 37 seconds to turn her two points, and that in that time she would travel 1,300 feet – supposing those to be the facts, and the helm was put hard-a-starboard as soon as the berg was sighted, the berg must then have been sighted more than 400 years off?
- Yes.

25151. That would be so of course?
- Yes.

(The witness withdrew)

‘By Wheel, Tract and Propeller’ –

A Short History of Mechanised Transport in the Antarctic, 1908-1958.

By Stephen Haddelsey.

On the afternoon of 2 March 1958, spectators gathered at Pram Point on Ross Island witnessed history in the making. Approaching them across the sea ice was a motley band of four orange-painted, American-built Sno-cats, their exhausts pumping black smoke into the crisp clean air of McMurdo Sound and the screech and growl of their engines and caterpillar tracks shattering the peace. In itself, the sight of motor vehicles here was in no way unusual. Ever since the austral summer of 1955/56 when the first P2V Neptunes had touched down at the beginning of the United States’ Operation Deep Freeze I, tractors of various types had been commonplace, their rattle echoing across the Sound and their tracks ploughing the pristine snow into grey, slushy troughs. But the four Sno-cats were different. Instead of being involved in the routine and localised activities of the new American facility at Hut Point, towing sledges from the ships to the depots or moving supplies and equipment about the base, these vehicles were part of Vivian Fuchs’s British Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition: the expedition that finally fulfilled Shackleton’s dream of securing ‘for the British flag the honour of being the first carried across the South Polar Continent.’
In the previous 99 days Fuchs and his party had motored a gruelling 2,158 miles, from the Filchner Ice Shelf on the southern shores of the Weddell Sea, across the 14,000-foot Polar Plateau via the South Pole, and then down the Skelton Glacier to the sea ice of McMurdo Sound. During their traverse, they had covered hundreds of miles of completely unexplored terrain; climbed through uncharted mountain ranges; and crossed crevasse fields

more than capable of swallowing the entire convoy. As fuel ran low and engines failed a number of vehicles had been abandoned – but this was always part of Fuchs’s plan. The journey had been an extraordinarily challenging one – particularly for the party’s two engineers, Roy Homard and David Pratt – and during its execution Fuchs and his deputy, Sir Edmund Hillary, had become mired in a controversy that was played out in newspaper headlines the world over. Ultimately, however, and when measured against its own published objectives, the Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition had been a complete success; indeed, it is not too much to claim that it should be viewed as one of the most extraordinary and successful exploratory enterprises of the twentieth century. Moreover, as he switched off the engine of Sno-cat ‘Rock ’n’ Roll’ at the end of his epic trek, Fuchs had demonstrated for once and for all that, despite their extremely chequered history and the opposition of those who championed the old methods of man-hauling and dog-driving, motor vehicles had become the dominant force in Antarctic travel.

‘Sno-cat’

Fittingly, it was Shackleton himself who had pioneered the use of motorised transport in the Antarctic. On 1 February 1908 – almost exactly half a century before Fuchs’s triumphant arrival and at a point roughly sixteen miles from where he completed his trans-Antarctic journey – Shackleton had unloaded an Arrol-Johnston motor car from the *Nimrod* directly on to the sea ice. It was the very first motor vehicle in Antarctica and his

initial plan was that it would be used to haul his supplies from the expedition ship to the hut built by Captain Scott at Hut Point in 1902. The car, a 4-cylinder 15hp model which had been donated by William Beardmore in the hope that the resulting publicity would help to shore up the Arrol-Johnston Company's ailing finances, boasted a number of modifications intended to render it suitable for polar work. In particular, no fan had been fitted to the air-cooled engine and the heat of the exhaust was deliberately diverted to the inlet manifold and to a snow melter intended to provide the car's occupants with an immediately available source of hot water. In addition, the engineers' confidence in their vehicle could be gauged by the fact that they had fitted a second fuel tank, increasing its range to 300 miles. Unfortunately, less ingenuity had been devoted to the far more pressing problem of traction and it very quickly became apparent that the wheel was far from being ideally suited to the work that the car was now expected to undertake. On its first outing, the wheels span in the eight or so inches of soft snow carpeting the sea ice while the vehicle itself remained stationary. After a few hours, the car was swung ignominiously back onto the ship.

Its next outings proved more successful – but only marginally so. On 22 September, a five-man depot-laying party drove out onto the Ross Ice Shelf. The car's engine, ministered to by Bernard Day, worked well, despite the cold – but as soon as the hard, smooth, wind-packed snow gave way to a softer surface, the wheels again lost grip and the party was forced to abandon the car and take up their harnesses. They had covered just 8 miles: less than a tenth of the planned distance. On 29 October, at the beginning of Shackleton's attempt on the South Pole, exactly the same problems were encountered and the car was deserted just a few miles from the Winter Quarters. It would play no further part in the expedition. Judged overall, the first trial of motorised vehicles in the Antarctic had been a pitiful failure, the car's performance woefully short of the 150 miles in twenty-four hours that Shackleton had claimed might be possible before the expedition left England.

Despite his ill-deserved reputation for being a traditionalist, wedded – disastrously – to the romance of manhauling, Scott proved to be a champion of motor vehicles in the Antarctic. After watching the tentative progress of his own experimental tractors, he wrote 'I find myself immensely eager that these tractors should succeed… a small measure of success will be enough to show their possibilities and ability to revolutionise polar transport… it is impossible not to be convinced of their value.' The vehicles he described were the three Wolseley motor sledges taken on his ill-fated *Terra Nova* Expedition of 1910-13. These sledges possessed no steering and no brakes and were powered by four-cylinder, air-cooled engines with a top speed of just 3½mph, compared with the Arrol-Johnston's 16mph. Unlike the Arrol-Johnston, however, the Wolseley tractors were designed specifically for snow work, rather than being lightly modified road vehicles. Of the three sledges, one was lost even before it was tried, breaking through the rotten sea ice during the unloading of the *Terra Nova* to then drop 120 fathoms to the seabed. Its fellows proved highly temperamental with both eventually failing due to big-end failure and overheating. Nonetheless, despite being overloaded and under-powered they had managed to complete journeys totalling 50 miles with payloads of 3,000lb, albeit in very short hops. More importantly, although traction had continued to be problematic, the three Wolseleys signalled the arrival of the first tracked vehicles in the Antarctic.

The Arrol-Johnston 'Dogcart' model, 1902

While Scott battled with his motor sledges, another novel and completely unscheduled experiment was taking place in Adelie Land. Perhaps inspired by the Antarctic balloon flights made by Scott and Drygalski in 1902, when planning his own Australasian Antarctic Expedition (AAE) Douglas Mawson had decided that he would be the first to take an aeroplane to the Antarctic. He believed that powered flight would be much more beneficial to a polar expedition than a vertical balloon ascent, particularly in terms of route surveying – but he also knew that the experiment would be astonishingly daring. After all, Louis Bleriot's pioneering cross-Channel flight had taken place only in July 1909 and no one had ever taken off from snow or ice. However, as Mawson fully appreciated, the use of an aeroplane could generate other, equally important benefits – no matter how successful it might prove in the field.

Mawson had served with Shackleton on the *Nimrod* Expedition and 'The Boss', a self-publicist nonpareil, had long ago impressed upon him the importance of capturing the public imagination when seeking private sponsorship. The newspapers' interest in the Arrol-Johnston motor car had also proved that mechanised transport could be used very effectively for this purpose. With these benefits in mind, Mawson purchased an REP monoplane from the Vickers Company for £955 4*s* 8*d*. He then recruited a pilot, Lieutenant Hugh Watkins of the Essex Regiment, and a civilian mechanical engineer, Frank Bickerton. Unfortunately his grand plans, both for polar flying and for fund raising, came to an abrupt end when the monoplane plunged to earth on 5 October 1911 during a test flight in Adelaide. Although Watkins and his passenger, Frank Wild, sustained only minor injuries the aeroplane was too badly damaged to be repaired before the expedition departed for the Antarctic. Once his fury at this embarrassing calamity had subsided, Mawson decided that, instead of abandoning the broken machine, he would task Bickerton with converting it for use as an 'air tractor sledge'.

Throughout the Antarctic winter of 1912, Bickerton worked on the now wingless aeroplane, straightening its twisted air-frame, repairing the engine, manufacturing a braking system and fitting 'sundry appliances to make it practicable for the usual climate of the country in which it was to work.' By mid-November it was ready for testing – and the first trials proved surprisingly successful. Not only did the machine tow a 700lb sledge up the 1 in 15 snow slope behind the Winter Quarters, it also covered a mile in just three minutes despite a 15mph head wind, making it by far the fastest vehicle test in the Antarctic to date.

But the air tractor proved incapable of living up to the high expectations generated by these early triumphs. On 3 December, Bickerton again piloted it up the snow slope and then headed west with the intention of exploring the coast beyond Commonwealth Bay. Towing a 400lb sledge and carrying three men, the machine covered three miles in an hour – but then the five cylinder engine began to misfire, power fell away and a further two miles were covered only with difficulty. The following day, the engine started reluctantly and once running its pulse remained uneven, with one of the cylinders spurting oil and giving no compression. Finally, at a point about three-quarters of a mile from their last camp, the engine seized, 'pulling up with such a jerk that the propeller was smashed.' With no hope of completing a major repair in the field, the three men

Air Tractor

were forced to abandon the machine and they completed their 300-mile expedition on foot in traditional fashion. On the AAE's departure from the Antarctic on 23 December 1913 the air tractor was abandoned. But its story did not end there: on New Year's Day 2010, an expedition sent by the Australian Antarctic Division discovered its badly decayed remains and plans are now being laid for its recovery and conservation.

Although he may not have known it, Bickerton's air tractor sledge was not quite as revolutionary as he might have thought. Inventors including Count de Lissek and René Legrain had been experimenting with similar designs since at least 1909 and, undaunted by the failure of his motor car, in 1914 Shackleton decided to include a propeller-driven sledge in the equipment for his Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition. In addition, he would take a 'motor-crawler' equipped with Swedish-designed paddle-wheels and powered by a nine horse-power Coventry Simplex engine and two heavy static tractors which would be man- or dog-hauled and then used to wind-in heavily loaded sledges. The Motor Despatch Company of Southwark Bridge Road manufactured the machines to designs worked up by Thomas Orde-Lees in consultation with the Royal Aircraft factory and the company's chief engineer, Alfred Girling. Much like the Arrol-Johnston, the Simplex engines were equipped with small water cisterns, each with a drainage tap. When in use, the cisterns could be packed with snow which would then be melted by the heat of the engine, providing a constant supply of hot drinking water and thereby negating the need to pitch a tent and light a stove whenever a brew was required. The same gadget could also be used as a hot plate and as a drier for damp clothes or sleeping bags. So far as the propeller driven sledge was concerned, it bore little relation to the converted Vickers monoplane used on the AAE and Shackleton was keen to point out that 'It is not an aeroplane; it is a sledge with an aeroplane propeller.' The machine was about 12 feet long, with a 30hp Anzani-type aero-engine positioned at the rear within a metal frame that, in turn, supported the propeller unit and an uncomfortable-looking seat for the 'pilot'. A belt conducted power from the engine to the propeller and the machine was steered by means of pedal-controlled flippers mounted on outriggers.

When Shackleton appeared in front of a committee of the Royal Geographical Society in March 1914, severe reservations were expressed regarding the usefulness of such contraptions. After all, none of the vehicles so far trialled in the Antarctic had materially assisted the expeditions in which they were used – and most had proved embarrassing and time-consuming failures. In a spirited if slightly disingenuous defence Shackleton replied that the sledges were designed primarily to help conserve the energy of his 120 dogs and that none was expected to travel more than 500 out of the 1,800 miles total, not least because it would be impossible to carry sufficient fuel for a journey of longer duration. If and when they became a hindrance, he would immediately abandon them. Backed into a corner by the sceptical and determined probing of the committee members, he also admitted that the machines helped to raise public interest in the expedition, thereby facilitating fundraising. Despite the doubts of the committee, he was determined to use the vehicles and asserted that 'I am right to think it is worthwhile to try the machines because if I can do 200 miles on 500lb weight of petrol… it will be a tremendous asset to me.'

The performance of the sledges was mixed when they were tested in Norway. Shackleton believed that the self-propelled units would be able to haul a 2,000lb load at five or six miles an hour; but on the snowfield under the Harbangerjokul Mountain near Finse, things didn't look so promising. It quickly became apparent that the drive belt of the propeller sledge needed to be replaced with a chain and it would probably be necessary to strengthen the whole design. If Shackleton felt at all disillusioned, he dissembled well, later telling a correspondent from *The Times* that 'the motor-sledges had worked excellently, both on rising and on falling ground, and the results were quite beyond his expectations'. At least one member of the Norwegian press was less convinced, commenting that while the 'propeller achieved an enormous speed… The sledge, however, did not.' Of course, the loss of the *Endurance* in the Weddell Sea in November 1915 meant that Orde-Lees never enjoyed a

proper opportunity to test the effectiveness of the modifications to the design of the Girling propeller sledge. As for the 'motor-crawler' which accompanied Aeneas Mackintosh's Ross Sea Party, it proved a pitiful failure, hardly able to pull its own weight let alone a train of heavily laden sledges. It was finally abandoned as useless close to Hut Point in February 1915. It was later recovered and now rests in the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch, New Zealand.

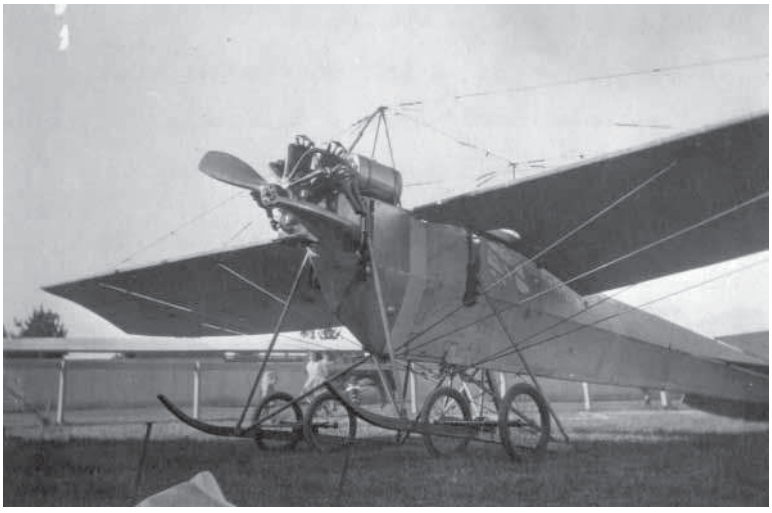
Although, as is so commonly the case, war led to rapid technological advances in many areas, including the development of tracked vehicles, it was not until 1928 that the next attempt was made to trial improved motor vehicles in the Antarctic. Hitherto, every innovation had been the product of British engineers; now, with the United Kingdom's hegemony in the region seemingly on the wane, the baton was passed to the United States – and it was grasped with such enthusiasm and determination that practically every development from this point on was American in origin. The Ford 'Snowmobile' taken south on the first polar expedition commanded by Richard E. Byrd proved hugely successful when compared with its predecessors. Combining skis and tracks, the Snowmobile achieved significantly improved traction and made an important contribution to the unloading of the expedition ship. It also achieved a record-setting journey distance of 75 miles before abandonment. Convinced of the effectiveness of motorised transport, Byrd determined that his second expedition (1933-35), would be entirely mechanised. His equipment included six vehicles: two Snowmobiles, three Citröen cars, and one 'Cletrack' crawler. By the end of 1935, these vehicles had logged around 11,500 miles – though this distance was clocked up during load-carrying journeys between the Bay of Whales and Little America II and was not the result of a push inland.

Ironically, it was the success of the large Cletrack, which weighed 6 tons and could haul up to 5-tons of cargo, that led to Byrd's only real – and extremely expensive – failure in mechanisation. The 'Snow Cruiser', which accompanied his third expedition (the United States Antarctic Service Expedition of 1939-41), weighed a colossal 33½ tons when loaded; it was 55 feet long, 20 feet wide and stood 15 feet high. It contained a laboratory and living accommodation for four men, a year's supply of food and enough fuel to cover up to 5,000 miles (or two and a half times across the Antarctic between the Ross and Weddell seas). It even possessed a roof attachment for a light aeroplane. Once in the Antarctic, however, the Snow Cruiser proved to be an extravagant white elephant, crawling a pitiful 105 miles before it ground to a halt. It failed because its designers, whether through ignorance or arrogance, refused to learn the most important lesson of Shackleton's very first attempt to introduce motor vehicles to the Antarctic: wheels do not provide sufficient traction on the surfaces most likely to be encountered. As one later commentator remarked wryly, 'It was a great pity that more attention was not paid to flotation and traction in the light of previous wheel failure on soft snow.'

Despite this epic failure, the Americans continued to take the lead in the design and manufacture of snow vehicles, their research and development spurred in large part by the desire to exploit the riches of their Arctic territories. One early product was the 'Weasel', a box-like tracked vehicle which also saw use in Finnmark towards the end of the war. According to John Giaever, who served with the Norwegian army and went on to lead the post-war Norwegian-British-Swedish Antarctic Expedition which also used Weasels, 'they were a perpetual source of anxiety for the transport officers. The fan belts broke and the tracks broke.' The French Greenland Expedition of 1949-51 also discovered that they wore out an endless supply of tracks; that they must be handled with extreme caution; and that they could not be relied upon to pull more than 1½ tons. Despite these limitations, a lack of competition meant that the unreliable and unloved Weasel became the mainstay of polar work in the immediate post-war period.

The years leading up to the International Geophysical Year of 1957-58 witnessed an unprecedented increase in activity in the Antarctic with many government-funded expeditions establishing new static bases for the benefit of scientific research. As part of this wider picture, the US government launched Operation Deep Freeze I, during which bases were established at Hut Point, on the Ross Ice Shelf at Little America V, in Marie Byrd Land and, most important of all, at the South Pole. The expedition also introduced the Sno-cat. Designed and built by the Tucker Sno-cat Corporation, this vehicle was intended primarily to facilitate the repair and maintenance of telephone lines in northern Canada and Alaska. Powered by a 200hp Chrysler V8 petrol engine and capable of 15mph, its greatest advantage was its unique traction system, designed to provide almost 100 per cent traction even when turning in soft snow. The vehicle also possessed four independent tracks, one for each of its four pontoons, located at each of the vehicle's four corners in much the same manner as the wheels of a conventional car. When the front pontoons were turned to the right, the rear pontoons automatically turned to the left, so that the vehicle always turned on its own axis, thereby reducing friction and preventing the Sno-cat from ploughing a trough for itself when it turned – a common fault in more conventional tracked vehicles like the Weasel.
Taken in the round, these features made the Sno-cat the obvious choice for Fuchs's 1956-58 Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition. While the expedition's Weasels and its single Canadian-built Muskeg tractor fell by the wayside, the Sno-cats plunged on, with all four eventually completing the crossing – even though, by the end of their 2,000-mile journey, they were held together by lengths of rope, balks of timber and the sheer determination and ingenuity of the two engineers. However, it should be remembered that not all the glory of Fuchs's expedition belonged to the specially designed Sno-cats.

On 14 October 1957 Ed Hillary, Fuchs's lieutenant and leader of the Ross Sea Party, began his own motorised journey: to the South Pole. This trip was not part of Fuchs's carefully laid plans and when news of the resulting 'Race to the Pole' hit the headlines, followed shortly by reports of a damaging split between the two leaders, Fuchs was livid. But, whatever the rights and wrongs of Hillary's decision to pursue his own objectives, his party did become the first to reach the South Pole using motor vehicles and the third to reach the Pole overland after Amundsen and Scott. Even more remarkably, he completed the journey using only lightly modified Ferguson farm tractors of a type that might be found on any number of farms the world over. The only really significant modification was the tractors' conversion to a 'full track', whereby their front wheels were locked and a caterpillar-type track passed around them and the large drive wheels. This rendered the steering wheel obsolete and made it necessary to steer by braking the left and right tracks independently; it also placed additional strain on the engine but, overall, it proved simple and effective. The other noticeable change was the fitting of simple homemade canvas cabs, designed to protect the drivers from the worst of the katabatic polar winds. Despite a number of near-misses when the tractors became caught in the mouths of crevasses and continual difficulty whenever they encountered soft snow, all three of Hillary's tractors made it to the South Pole, arriving there on 4 January 1958.



Vickers REP – Adelaide 1911

With the completion of its main journeys, Fuchs's Trans-Antarctic Expedition can be seen as the culmination of the two linked but distinct threads in the history of motorised travel in the Antarctic. On the one hand, the state-of-the-art Sno-cat was the

direct lineal descendant of Scott's Wolseley tractors: the product of nearly fifty years of design and innovation, the acme of the specially designed snow-vehicle. On the other, Hillary's 'old Fergies' were the last – and by far the most successful – of the whimsical Heath Robinson conversions whose predecessors included Shackleton's Arrol-Johnston and Mawson's air tractor sledge. However, despite their successes, in a very short time both would give way to the one vehicle which has become ubiquitous in the polar regions both north and south, a vehicle which, in its size, lightness and flexibility perhaps bears closer comparison with the husky than with its heavy and often unreliable forbears. That vehicle is the Skidoo – and it is the Skidoo which has come to dominate polar travel in the half century after Fuchs's arrival at Pram Point.

Stephen Haddelsey is the author of four books on polar exploration, most recently *Shackleton's Dream: Fuchs, Hillary & The Crossing of Antarctica* (2012). His new book, *Operation Tabarin: Britain's Secret Wartime Expedition to Antarctica, 1944-46*, will be published by The History Press in April 2014.

Editor's footnote:

In 1934/7 The British Graham Land Expedition, under the leadership of Australian John Rymill, took with it a DeHavilland Fox Moth single-engine aircraft with folding wings and detachable floats. It was flown and protected (from many a storm) by Wilfred E Hampton. It proved remarkably successful in the reconnaissance of the sea ice and spotting danger (unquestionably saving the lives of some of the expeditioners on numerous occasions). Above all, it was used to map parts of Graham Land to a very high level of accuracy (using the land-based surevy + aerial photography method).

The DeHavilland Tiger Moth

Planning the rescue of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party: the leadership controversy.

By Anna Lucas

At the centre of it all was Captain John King Davis, Antarctic veteran. After expressing his concern for ten men stranded at Shackleton's Ross Sea base, and his opinion of contributing factors, he was drawn into the swirling politics of the situation and eventually chosen as Commander of the Ross Sea Relief Expedition. In this controversial appointment, a joint decision made by the Governments of Britain, Australia and New Zealand, he was chosen over acting captain of SY *Aurora*, Lieutenant Joseph Stenhouse, and over expedition leader Sir Ernest Shackleton.
But why?

STENHOUSE

DAVIS

SHACKLETON

Introduction

Shackleton may not have completed his Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (ITAE) 1914–1917 as planned, but any perceived failure was supplanted by equally heroic and dramatic events. His 800-mile voyage in the whaleboat *James Caird* from Elephant Island to South Georgia after his ship *Endurance* was crushed in the ice, and his crossing of the rugged island to seek help to rescue the men he left behind, have inspired several latter-day adventurers, including Trevor Potts, Arved Fuchs, and Tim Jarvis, to re-enact his feats. Intending to cross Antarctica from the Weddell Sea to the Ross Sea, via the South Pole, Shackleton had arranged for a support expedition to lay depots inland from the Ross Sea in anticipation of his advance. Preparations at the Ross Sea base went according to plan until the support vessel *Aurora*, under the command of 28-year-old acting captain, Lieutenant Joseph Stenhouse, was blown out to sea, leaving ten men stranded. Shackleton's focus immediately after successfully rescuing all men from Elephant Island was diverted to the rescue of the Ross Sea party but, in his absence, his command had been usurped and the acting captain of his ship dismissed. This essay examines the developments that led to the controversial change of leadership for the Ross Sea relief expedition.

The ITAE has been well documented and discussed in many publications including Shackleton's *South: the* Endurance *expedition*,[1] and in Captain Frank Worsley's Endurance:

[1] Shackleton, Ernest. *South: the Endurance expedition*. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1919.

Tracks of Endurance and Aurora. Source: Andrew Keith Jack, State Library of Victoria H82.45/2

an epic of polar adventure.[2] The Ross Sea drama has been described in *The South Polar Trail* (1929),[3] *The Ross Sea Shore Party* (1962),[4] *Polar Castaways* (2004),[5] and *The Lost Men* (2006).[6] Boatswain James Paton's diary chronicles the unexpected detachment of *Aurora* from its holdings on Ross Sea ice, its eleven-month passage after being blown out to sea by a strong gale, its entrapment in pack ice and its uncertain voyage to safety. Stephen Haddelsey's *Ice Captain* (2008) is an excellent biography of Lieutenant Joseph Stenhouse,[7] and Shackleton's biographers (Mill, 1923;[8] Fisher, 1957;[9] Huntford, 1985[10]) devote many pages to the Ross Sea episode. These publications and others offer detailed accounts but little has been written from the perspective of Captain Davis. In his first book, *With the* Aurora *in the Antarctic* (1919),[11] Davis made no mention of the Ross Sea relief expedition, but his autobiography,

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[2] Worsley, Frank. *Endurance: an epic of polar adventure*. London: Philip Allan, 1931.
[3] Joyce, Ernest, with an introduction by HR Mill. *The South Polar Trail: the log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*. London: Duckworth, 1929.
[4] Richards, RW. *The Ross Sea shore party, 1914–1917*. Bluntisham: Bluntisham Books, 2003. Originally published Camberidge: SPRI, 1962.
[5] McElrea, Richard, and David Harrowfield. *Polar castaways: the Ross Sea party (1914 –17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*. Christchurch, NZ: Canterbury University Press, 2004.
[6] Tyler-Lewis, Kelly. *The lost men: the harrowing story of Shackleton's Ross Sea party.* London: Bloomsbury, 2006.
[7] Haddelsey, Stephen. *Ice captain: the life of JR Stenhouse. Stroud*: The History Press, 2008.
[8] Mill, Hugh Robert. *The Life of Sir Ernest Shackleton*. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1923.
[9] Fisher, Margery and James Fisher. *Shackleton*. London: James Barrie Books Ltd, 1957.
[10] Huntford, Roland. *Shackleton*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985.
[11] Davis, JK. *With the "Aurora" in the Antarctic 1911–1914*. London: Andrew Melrose Ltd, 1919.

High Latitude (1962), included a diplomatic offering of memories, mellowed by the passage of time, of the events of 1916.[12] A succinct editorial account of the leadership controversy was given by Louise Crossley in *Trial by Ice: the Antarctic Journals of John King Davis*.[13]

Davis' account

In 1916, Davis was master of HMAT A36 *Boonah*, which was transporting Australian troops to Egypt. He was 32 years old, an Englishman of Irish descent, a strong personality with extensive experience in seamanship and in ice navigation. He had sailed with Shackleton on the *Nimrod* Expedition (1907–1909) and with Douglas Mawson on the Australasian Antarctic Expedition (1911–1914). He was well acquainted with administrative procedures, and maintained a keen interest in Antarctic developments.

By April 1916 there had been no news of Shackleton's *Endurance* expedition and Davis was approached by a firm of attorneys, Hutchinson & Cuff, acting for Shackleton's interests, to consider leading a relief expedition to the Weddell Sea to search for the explorers. In his reply Davis stated that he would only consider it if, among other conditions, the expedition were backed by the Admiralty and only if he had complete control of ship, equipment, and personnel.[14] His experiences on Mawson's expedition and the subsequent relief expedition, where he felt Mawson trespassed on his authority aboard, had made him determined to have sole command of his ship. He was also aware of the limitations of a privately-funded expedition compared with a government-backed enterprise; and he believed that the schedule for a relief expedition should be confined to the intended rescue and should not incorporate tangential exploratory interests.

In a series of letters written to his father, Davis outlined developments leading to the Ross Sea leadership decision. Correspondence with his father was always friendly, affectionate and frank. These personal letters, more than his official correspondence, reveal what he felt about the situation into which he was drawn, as bureaucrats wrangled with decisions over funding and allocation of responsibilities.

7 June 1916
On arrival at New York I found a cable from the Admiralty appointing me Commander of an Expedition to search for S. who however turned up the following day at the Falkland Islands so that I am remaining here. We sail from here for Wellington N.Z. about June 15th and are going via Panama, due Wellington about the end of July, then to Auckland, Newcastle, Sydney and Adelaide.

4 August 1916
I see that the people are still on Elephant Island and must say that I did not expect to hear of their rescue until spring when I hope they will be picked up. The "Aurora" is fitting out in Dunedin and will I suppose go South under Stenhouse.

26 August 1916 [Sydney]
[We] will sail with 1400 troops for Durban and Europe ... there is a possibility I may have to go South on the "Aurora" but, unless the invitation is a pressing one, I do not wish to accept.

This implies that he is reluctant to be involved, but also indicates that the possibility of his involvement had already been discussed with him. Less than a month later, he wrote:

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[12] Davis JK. *High Latitude*. Parkville: Melbourne University Press, 1962.
[13] Davis, JK and Louise Crossley (editor). *Trial by Ice: the Antarctic Journals of John King Davis*. Bluntisham: Bluntisham Books; Norwich: Erskine Press,1997.
[14] Davis, JK. Letter to Hutchinson Cuff 14 April 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria. MS 8311-3235/3.

14 September 1916
I have just received a wireless message from the Naval Board saying that I have been approved to command the Aurora Relief Expedition and that I am to proceed to New Zealand on arrival at Port Pirie where we are now bound ... Mr Kinsey is apparently looking after things in Dunedin where the "Aurora" is at present.

There then followed three months of uncertainty and conflict, before his departure to the Ross Sea.

14 December 1916
Shackleton is coming down with us as far as I know. He arrived in Wellington the other day and I had a long chat with him there. He hoped that the Governments would allow him to relieve me but this they decline to do and so an interesting situation has developed ... for my part I would rather they put Shackleton in charge if he insists and let him go by himself. As a discontented passenger he will be a considerable trial.

However I am too busy getting things ready to enter into these matters. I have my orders and must stick to them until they are altered ... We are equipped this time with a powerful wireless set and I hope to keep in touch with Australia and N.Z. for some time after our departure. I hope that the party down South are still alive but from my knowledge of what that country is in March and April do not feel at all easy regarding them.[15]
On the day that *Aurora* sailed out of Port Chalmers, north of Dunedin, for the Ross Sea, he wrote:

20 December 1916
I suppose that S. is not feeling too pleased about things ... As however I have nothing to do with the arrangements and should certainly not agree to accepting the responsibility unless given absolute control I do not anticipate any difficulty ...
Good Bye and a bright tomorrow. Jack.[16]

During these six months, June to December 1916, Stenhouse had been deposed and Shackleton's supremacy overridden; Davis had been appointed as leader. It is not quite correct that Davis had "nothing to do with the arrangements" when his influence is shown in his correspondence with other parties, but while he was a player in the drama, he was more directed than Director. Behind the scenes there had been a flurry of communications between governments, committees, captains and agents, ranging in tone from bureaucratic and diplomatic, to demanding, indignant, stubborn, bullying and cajoling. Not all communications were in writing; discussions alluded to in the correspondence were held at personal meetings. From the available correspondence, diary entries and comments in the press, we can follow the developments, beginning with an overview of the ship's plight.

Drift of SY *Aurora*
On 6 May 1915 during a gale, frozen ice, to which the ship was moored at Cape Evans in the Ross Sea, parted from the shore and *Aurora* was blown out to sea. Members of the stranded Ross Sea Party included the ship's captain Aeneas Mackintosh, who had instructed Chief Officer Stenhouse to make the ship the main base, and who had gone ashore to supervise and participate in depot-laying exercises. Others ashore were: Ernest Joyce, Ernest Wild, John Cope, Keith Jack and Victor Hayward (sledging) and Arnold Spencer Smith, Irvine Gaze, Alex Stevens, and Dick Richards (at the hut).

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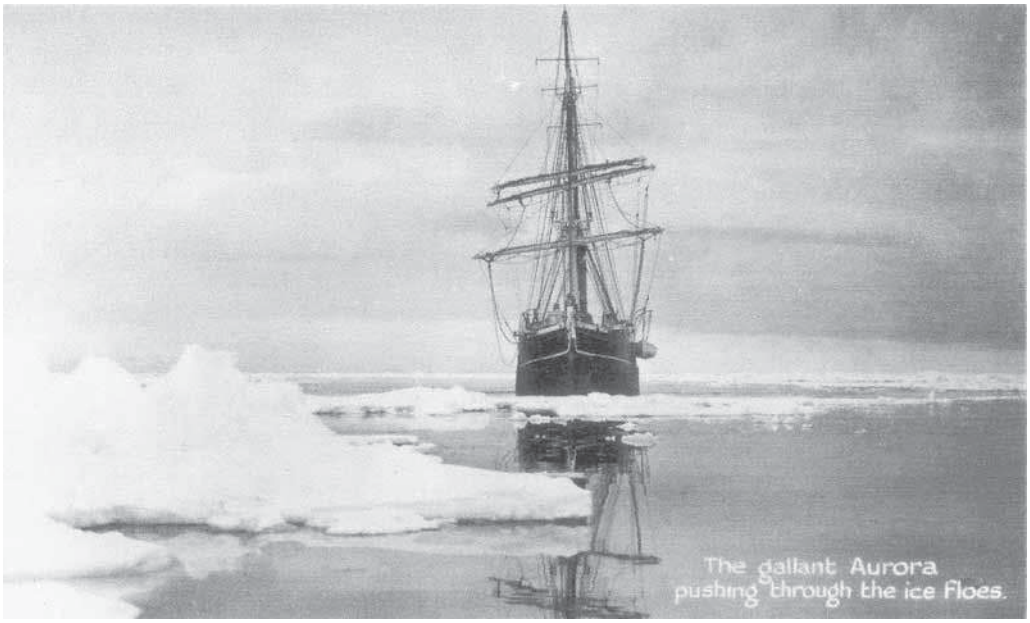
[15] Davis, JK. Letter to James G Davis 14 December 1916. Melbourne, State Library of Victoria. MS 8311-3267/10
[16] Davis, JK. Letter to James G Davis 20 December 1916. Melbourne, State Library of Vict*oria. MS 8311-3267/10

Stenhouse recalled:
We got two anchors ashore and buried them in the heavy stone rubble. We made six steel hawsers fast to the anchors to hold the stern in, while the bow was secured by the ordinary ship's anchors ... All through April I was continually nursing the moorings against the onslaughts of the ice. On May 6th, in the afternoon, a very strong blizzard came on ... the ice broke away from the shore. Our heavy moorings snapped like threads ... As we disappeared in the blizzard the light in the little shore hut ... became dimmer and dimmer until at last I could not see it.[17]

Ice packed around the ship until it was stuck "like an almond in a piece of toffee".[18] During the drift, the enormous pressure of the ice floes shattered the rudder and, for a time, it seemed that the ship may have had to be abandoned. A jury rudder was constructed from material on-board by shipwright Clarence Mauger and other members of the crew, enabling *Aurora* to continue on the voyage to New Zealand once clear of the ice.

James Paton's diary (best read imagining his Scottish accent) describes events during the ship's drift.

21 July 1915
The squeezing our old barque did get was terrible, no one could realize it, yet through it all Mr. Stenhouse, our Chief Officer who is in command, has proved himself a thorough, reliable and energetic seaman. No one could have been cooler than he, everything is ready to abandon ship; for my part I see no reason so far for this precaution, no more does he, yet if it should be that we had to leave in a hurry, and not ready, he would have to stand the blame. He has done well, and I for one am pleased to be under his command.



'SY Aurora' in the ice : Photographer unknown. Port Chalmers Maritime Museum Collection

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[17] Worsley, Frank. *Endurance: an epic of polar adventure*. London: Philip Allan. pp206–208.
[18] This evocative quotation, equally applicable to Aurora's situation, has been attributed to Thomas Orde Lees in reference to Endurance (January 1915) at: www.coolantarctica.com Antarctic Facts/History/Ernest Shackleton (accessed August 2015). Variations have been published, e.g. "stuck like an almond in toffee" at: www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/shackleton/1914/alexandra.html (accessed August 2015); and "frozen, like an almond in the middle of a chocolate bar" (Lansing, 1959) in Endurance: Shackleton's incredible voyage, p43; or "in the middle of a white chocolate bar" (Landis, 2001) in Antarctica: Exploring the Extreme, p232.

3 August 1915
A furious gale is still raging ... what a comfort it is to be frozen in now, with this gale blowing, as it has done for the past week a tremendous sea must have risen, had there been no ice to keep it under control ...

28 August 1915
A spear was passed onto the ice and rove through under the poop rails and out over the other side so as to stick out about 10 feet on either side where it will be well secured for the purpose of hooking on the tackles which will pass round the drum of the wheel – by this means to control the jury rudder.

3 September 1915
I am still of the same opinion that it will be late in December or about the beginning of January before we get free of the ice in which case we will be too late to do anything for the relief of the men at Cape Evans till 1917.

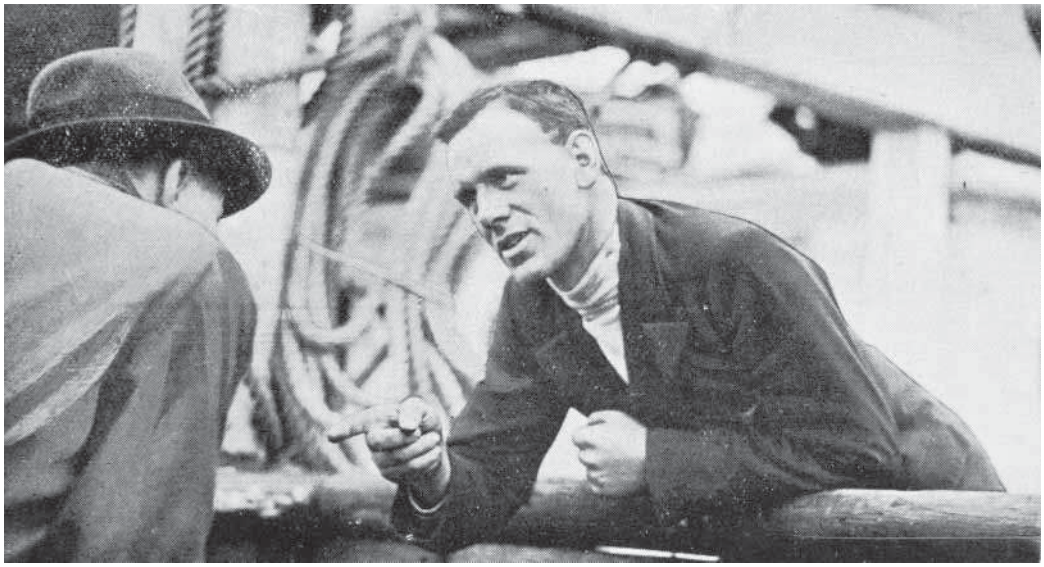
12 November 1915
Latitude 66° 49′ S (19 miles within the Antarctic Circle)

23 December 1915
Twelve months today we left Alexandra Pier, Hobart ...

27 December 1915
Mr Stenhouse tells me that he does not see the slightest prospect of a release before the end of February.

12 February 1916
Ice parted 6.10pm ... the ship bumped heavily and trembled from stem to stern rolling heavily from side to side finally steadying herself with a heavy list to starboard... Great excitement prevailed, a good keep of our seal meat was buried in the snow alongside that had to be got on board besides the wireless. And I am pleased to be able to say that we saved all but the flag pole ... and four of Mawson's old sea anchors.

19 February 1916
The ice appears to be wedged in tight around, not a ghost of a chance for us to force our way through it and not the slightest sign of movement.



Stenhouse interviewed. 'Otago Witness' 12 April 1916 p40: Photo: Hocken Library, Dunedin S14-517

20 February 1916
We have been carried safely over a drift of 1800 miles with only the loss of a rudder so we have much to be thankful for.

29 February 1916
Mr Stenhouse and another of the crew have been on deck with me all night and we have had our work cut out putting fenders over and shifting them about to meet the ice to help shield our ship not from the force of the cruel blows but from the sharp and rugged edges of the ice.

14 March 1916
At 2pm we were coming through what proved to be the last strip of pack ice ....

26 March 1916
Today we have had a very hard day the whole day being occupied in putting over and fixing our big Jury Rudder and I am proud to say it is a big success, Steam was called for at 2pm as the wind had come away from the N and we are now going a little more than half speed allowing 6 tons of coal a day so as to make Port Chalmers on Thursday.[19]

Arrival in New Zealand
Both Shackleton and Mackintosh had informed the press that *Aurora* could be expected to return to Hobart, Australia, "sometime in March" but there had been no news for fifteen months.[20] Journalists optimistically anticipated the return, but instead could only report the reception of a wireless message from Stenhouse giving the position of the ship with a brief account of its difficulties in the ice.[21] The proximity of the distressed ship to New Zealand now made Port Chalmers, rather than Hobart, the obvious destination.

The tug *Dunedin* was sent to meet *Aurora*. Captain Spence took with him "mails, papers and a few stores" for the appreciative men and, in "strong SW winds and choppy sea" with the tug "shipping water over the bow and sides all the time", brought the ship through Otago Heads to arrive at Export Wharf, Port Chalmers, at 11 am on 3 April 1916.[22]

Local reporters interviewed Stenhouse, and accounts of the ordeal were published with dramatic headlines: Months of Constant Danger; Held Helpless in the Ice[23] and Dangerous Condition of the Vessel; Weatherbeaten, Scarred and Broken; Expedition Threatened with Disaster.[24]

Bringing the ship to safety was a great accomplishment. From his diary entries, it is clear that Paton, an older, experienced seaman, held the acting captain in high regard, describing him as "thorough, reliable and energetic". Stenhouse would seem to have been an obvious choice to captain the ship on the relief voyage to rescue the stranded men but, in the next six months, influential wheels were to turn, swinging opinions against him.

After *Aurora's* arrival, the press began to speculate on a relief expedition to the Ross Sea, and also asked "Where is the *Endurance*?"[25] Stenhouse was unaware that, while he was battling for the survival of *Aurora* and the crew, his leader was confronted with even greater challenges

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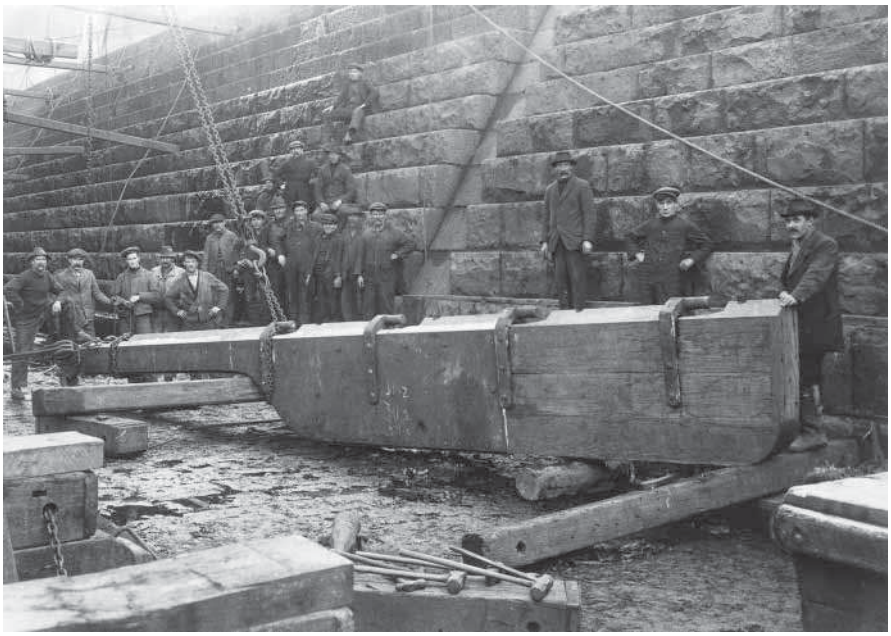
[19] Paton, James. *Diary. Dunedin*: Hocken Library, University of Otago. Misc-MS-0231/B.
[20] Sydney Morning Herald, 15 March 1916, p13.
[21] Mercury (Hobart), 25 March 1916, p4.
[22] Spence, D. *Master of the tug Dunedin*. Report to Otago Harbour Board 12 April 1916. Dunedin: Hocken Library, University of Otago. Shackleton Expedition1916 file/ Otago Harbour Board ARC 0014 AG 200-11/04/4225.
[23] Southland Times (NZ), 5 April 1916. p5.
[24] Otago Daily Times (NZ), 4 April 1916. p3.
[25] The Argus (Melbourne) 19 April 1916, p7 (and several other newspapers).

after the loss of *Endurance*. Nothing had been heard from Shackleton or his team until he arrived at Stromness, South Georgia, on 19 May 1916 to seek help for those stranded on Elephant Island. Just prior to this, the Admiralty had sent a cable to Captain Davis instructing him to lead an expedition to search for Shackleton in the Weddell Sea. These instructions were cancelled when Shackleton reappeared and informed authorities of events.

NEWS OF SHACKLETON. ARRIVAL AT FALKLANDS. London
June 1.
The *London Daily Chronicle* publishes the following message from Sir Ernest Shackleton, dated Port Stanley, Falkland Islands May 31 [1916]:

I have arrived here. My ship the *Endurance* was crushed in the middle of Weddell Sea on October 27, 1915. We drifted for 700 miles in the ice until April 9, 1916. I came away on the 24th leaving 22 men in a hole in the ice cliffs, and proceeded for help to South Georgia with five men in a 22ft boat. At the time of leaving the island all were well, but in urgent need of rescue.[26]

Negotiations for the relief expedition
In May, before Shackleton had notified them of his situation, the British Government had already communicated with the Governments of Australia and New Zealand suggesting that organisation of a relief expedition for the Ross Sea party should be entrusted to a local committee where *Aurora* was being fitted out.[27] In June, when Shackleton was desperately trying to reach his men on Elephant Island, Dr Robert McNab, New Zealand's Minister of Marine, wrote to Joseph Kinsey, a legal representative and shipping agent in Christchurch, advising him that the Governments of Britain, Australia and New Zealand proposed to repair and refit *Aurora* for the purpose of its being sent to rescue the Ross Sea Party. Kinsey was asked to form, with John Mill, stevedore and former mayor of Port Chalmers, the New Zealand Working Committee to oversee repairs and to prepare a plan of action. There would be an Australian Advisory Committee which would consider proposals and forward them to the Commonwealth Government which in turn "would consult with the New Zealand Government to secure joint approval".[28] Kinsey and Mill agreed to form the New Zealand



The jury rudder at Port Chalmers. Photo: Hocken Library, Dunedin S14-520

[26] New Zealand Herald, 2 June 1916, p6.
[27] Sydney Morning Herald 6 May 1916, p8
[28] McNab, R. Letter to JJ Kinsey 12 June 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS 8311-3235/3.

committee and the Australian committee included Rear-Admiral W. Cresswell (chair), Professor D Orme Masson, Captain JR Barter, and Dr T Griffith Taylor, all of whom had Antarctic or maritime associations.[29]

Another very important influence was Leonard Tripp, a Cambridge-educated Wellington lawyer, who had met Shackleton in 1903. Shackleton, returning from Scott's *Discovery* expedition on the relief vessel *Morning* with Captain Colbeck, visited Christchurch and Tripp's brother's property in Canterbury. What was to be a lifelong friendship formed, and Leonard Tripp subsequently acted as Shackleton's legal adviser in New Zealand.[30] When Stenhouse discussed the expedition's finances with him, Tripp took up his cause, lobbying for funds and facilitating matters whenever able. By early June, as a result of Tripp's intercession, the New Zealand Government had granted £500 towards *Aurora's* expenses.

Stenhouse had sent cables to England describing *Aurora's* plight, but without the detail that the Royal Geographical Society or Lady Shackleton sought, perhaps prompting her to write to Davis in early April:

I see Mr Stenhouse hoped to go back – but is he experienced enough to take command – my first thought was of you, for there is no one in whom I have more implicit confidence. Perhaps the "Aurora" will be too badly strained to go back again – I suppose there are experts in Australia or N.Z. who will know about this.[31]

Experts were gathering. Marine surveyors liaised with Stenhouse to assess the damage to the ship. It was put into dry dock on 28 June, and the cost of necessary work was estimated at £6,000.This figure was to escalate as the work progressed and, in a 1917 report to the New Zealand Minister of Marine, the total expenditure on *Aurora* was claimed to be £21,816 (less £1,295 revenue from the sale of surplus provisions, etc. after it returned to Wellington in February 1917).[32]

Stenhouse offered the jury rudder to the Otago Museum in Dunedin, but it was refused. This may have been partly due to its bulk; curator WB Benham deemed it of little interest to the general public. Symbolic of *Aurora's* survival, it remained in Port Chalmers. The Wellington City Council expressed interest in it in 1920 and Captain Doorly, who had Antarctic connections, offered to take it to Wellington on *Paloona*.[33] Plans lapsed, possibly because John Mill did not want it to leave Port Chalmers.[34] After Mill's death in 1926, the rudder was removed and disposed of in a harbourside clean-up.[35]

By July, plans for the relief expedition were progressing. As the Governments were providing the funding, Kinsey felt that they should have control of arrangements, and that the officer-in-charge of the relief voyage should represent those Governments, return directly to New

[29] Captain John Stevenson was also mentioned as an Australian Advisory Committee member; Mr H. Howard was the Committee Secretary.

[30] Ellis, Jane. Shackleton's Connections with Canterbury, 1901–1917. PCAS 15, University of Canterbury, NZ, 2013.Available online as a pdf, accessed 11 August 2015.

[31] Shackleton, Emily. Letter to JK Davis 4 April 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria, MS 8311-3272/8.

[32] Allport, George. Secretary's Report. Maritime Department 1916–1917. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, Microfilm 0528-1.

[33] Doorly, GS. Letter to JP Luke, Mayor of Wellington, 8 September 1920. Port Chalmers Maritime Museum. Folder of newspaper cuttings and papers relating to Antarctica. Doorly had been an officer on SY Morning, the relief vessel for Scott's Discovery.

[34] McCutcheon, I. Letter to Mayor, Port Chalmers Borough Council, 6 August 1981. Annotation: "Mill would not let the rudder go ..." Port Chalmers Maritime Museum. Folder of newspaper cuttings and papers relating to Antarctica.

[35] Church, Ian. Last port to Antarctica: Dunedin and Port Chalmers: 100 years of service. Dunedin: Otage Heritage Books, 1997. p40.

Joseph Kinsey (left) with Captain John King Davis. Photo: State Library of Victoria H90.31/126
In August 1912, Davis offered the editor of the Daily Telegraph (Sydney) a photograph, possibly this one, of Kinsey and himself "discussing the next voyage South" (Alexander Turnbull Library, Microfilm 0528-1). They were likely to have been in similar discussions in 1916.

Zealand after the rescue, and not engage in further diversions or exploratory work. The officer-in-charge should not be under the influence of Mackintosh or Shackleton, but act on the Governments' instructions.

With a trust he was later to regret, Stenhouse gave the Ship's Articles and Register to Kinsey, who wanted to make copies to send to Australia, but who did not return them.[36] [37] Kinsey noted that the name of JR Stenhouse, not A Mackintosh as expected, was on the Register of *Aurora* as master. Stenhouse, he thought, would find the position of authority over Mackintosh and Shackleton difficult, and suggested to McNab that Captain Davis be offered the role. Mistakenly, he was of the opinion that Stenhouse would understand if it were tactfully explained to him why his command was being transferred to Davis. He added that it would be appropriate for the ship to return to Wellington after the rescue because the South Island ports of Lyttleton and Port Chalmers had hosted previous Antarctic-related activity.[38] Was he being generously egalitarian, or not wanting further involvement?

Kinsey and Mill had already written to the New Zealand Secretary of Marine, George Allport, in early July, suggesting that Davis might be available for service, with the Australian Government's approval, to captain a second ship if needed for rescuing Shackleton's men on Elephant Island or at the Ross Sea base.[39]

McNab, while acknowledging Stenhouse's work in bringing the ship safely back to port, agreed that Davis was an excellent substitute as officer-in-charge of the relief expedition. Before agreeing to that recommendation, he wanted to ascertain clearly whether Stenhouse's independence was actually at risk. Could he be given a status that would enable him to make decisions overruling Shackleton and Mackintosh?[40]

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[36] Stenhouse, JR to L Tripp. 13 October 1916. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, Microfilm 0630/95.
[37] Stenhouse JR. Letter to JK Davis 17 October 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS 8311- 3235/5.
[38] Kinsey, JJ. Letter to R McNab19 July 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS 8311-3235/3.
[39] Kinsey, JJ and J Mill. Letter to George Allport 7 July 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS 8311-3235/3
[40] McNab, Robert to JJ Kinsey, 21 July 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS 8311-3235/3

Kinsey agreed to talk to Stenhouse again, but was still worried that the acting captain's loyalty to Shackleton and Mackintosh would hinder his ability to make independent decisions, and to follow the Governments' instructions, should either of his former superiors give a contrary directive.[41] The next day he reported that Stenhouse was very keen to return to the Ross Sea, would accept the instructions of the Governments, and would offer to sail under the command of anyone in whom the committee had more confidence. Kinsey assured Stenhouse that it was not a matter of confidence, and that written authority and instructions would be handed to him before sailing. Kinsey was pleased that the "rather delicate" problem had been resolved, subject to the approval of the Governments involved.[42] He was also aware of the imminent arrival of Captain Davis in Wellington. "I have written to both Dr McNab and Mr Allport and told them you will call upon them – enclosed are my cards of introduction ... Barter is on the Advisory Committee in Australia and I have privately kept him apprised of all I've been doing here – things are in an awful mess."[43]

Shackleton was still in South America, embroiled in rescue operations for the men on Elephant Island, but in New Zealand (and Australia) most of the players in the impending intrigue were now assembled.

In early August, shortly after his arrival in Wellington, Davis met with McNab and was pleased to know that Kinsey, with whom he had worked on previous expeditions, was in Dunedin, organising the relief expedition. Details of the Elephant Island rescue plans from South America were not confirmed, but Davis felt it was a mistake to send *Aurora* that distance when the rescue of the Ross Sea party was urgent. He did not know Stenhouse well and questioned the decisions made by the acting captain of *Aurora* when in the Ross Sea, particularly the decision to move the ship from a safe anchorage in Discovery Bay to Cape Evans, from where the ship was set adrift, when "even a slight acquaintance with the literature of the Ross Sea should have warned them of the risk involved". In a letter to Kinsey, he urged him to insist that whoever went on the relief expedition should read the literature. He advised that 15 December would be an appropriate time to leave and, by keeping eastwards, a reasonably easy passage through the ice could be expected.[44]

This indicates that Davis saw his role then as that of an honorary consultant. He left New Zealand for Australia on HMAT *Boonah*, under instructions to take Australian troops to the war in Europe, but his criticism of Stenhouse's actions may have been more damning than he intended.

On 3 September, Shackleton and the men from Elephant Island arrived at Punta Arenas, Chile, aboard the steamer *Yelcho*. All the stranded men had survived. The following week, after hearing this news, Stenhouse, obviously still thinking as the captain, wrote to Tripp saying that although he had had no word from his leader, he felt sure that Shackleton would arrive in New Zealand to "see the thing through". He added that he thought the best time to leave for Antarctica was in early January.[45] However, two days before Stenhouse wrote to Tripp, a cable had been sent to the Governor-General of Australia, from the Australian and New Zealand committees, recommending the appointment of Davis to take command of the Ross Sea expedition. The committees pressed for an early reply, knowing that Davis was about to leave Australia again.[46]

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[41] Kinsey, JJ. Letter to R McNab 24 July 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS 8311-3235/3.
[42] Kinsey, JJ. Letter to R McNab 25 July 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS 8311-3235/3.In this letter, Kinsey also expresses concern for Stenhouse. "I trust you will have this matter [captain of the relief vessel's orders] fixed up as soon as possible. It would not be fair to Lieutenant Stenhouse to keep him in doubt any longer than necessary."
[43] Kinsey, JJ. Letter to JK Davis 28 July 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS8311-3272/4.
[44] Davis, JK. Letter to JJ Kinsey 5 August 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS8311-3235/3.
[45] Stenhouse, JR to L Tripp. 11 September 1916. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library Microfilm 0630/94.

A few days later, Davis, captaining the troopship SS *Barunga* and en route to Port Pirie in South Australia, received a wireless message from the Naval Board notifying him that he had been approved to command the Aurora Relief Expedition, and to proceed to New Zealand. "I shall be just a little glad of a change of work," he wrote to his father.[47] An Agreement was drawn up in which it was stated the expedition would be under the sole control of Davis, and the announcement of his appointment was made in the press in early October.

Davis received a telegram from Kinsey, dated 25 September: "Congratulations. Great relief that you have accepted command",[48] but the first Stenhouse knew of it was when he read the morning paper in Dunedin, ten days later.[49] Deeply shocked, he went to see Tripp and after contacting the acting Prime Minister, they were referred to McNab, who explained that the British Admiralty and Australia had already agreed on the appointment before New Zealand was asked to approve it. Arrangements had been made before Shackleton's whereabouts had been known. Preoccupied with wartime administration, McNab had allowed the committees to handle arrangements, instead of insisting that authorisation be given by his office. As acting captain, and acting on Shackleton's directions, Stenhouse believed he was still in command, but that forces, including Kinsey, were against Shackleton. He felt his loyalty to Shackleton had prompted Kinsey to bar him from inclusion in most discussions. He may have been right, and Kinsey may have harboured some resentment towards Shackleton stemming from the *Nimrod* expedition, but other factors, particularly the expedition's finances, had shifted the Governments' attitudes. Wartime coffers were depleted. The Australian Government had reluctantly given Mackintosh additional funds before he left, and was now being expected to contribute again. The resources of the New Zealand Government, drawing from a smaller population, were also limited.

Davis, in an explanatory letter to HR Mill, expressed the belief that Mackintosh had been sent out to Australia "with a very difficult and responsible mission and entirely inadequate funds". The Commonwealth Government authorised £400 for refitting, but after *Aurora* sailed it was found that an additional £3 000 had been spent, prompting the Auditor-General to initiate an Inquiry. "As a result of the Inquiry, a good deal of bad feeling was engendered."[50]

While no one disputed the qualifications or ability of Davis to lead the expedition, Stenhouse had support from the press and from his men. Hooke, Donnelly and Thomson wrote a letter of protest to the Mayor of Dunedin after the appointment of Davis. In loyalty to Stenhouse, they would not sign on under Davis, stating that Stenhouse had saved his ship and their lives. *The Star* reminded its readers "that the crippled, ice-wracked ship survived ... due primarily to her commander's skilful seamanship and his unremitting watchfulness and unfailing judgement".[51] The *Otago Daily Times* commented that the fact he "received no hint whatever of any intention to supersede him ... would indicate that Lieutenant Stenhouse has been treated with a studied shabbiness, which gives him a very distinct ground for complaint".[52]

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[46] Official Secretary for the Australian and New Zealand Aurora Relief Committees. Cable to Governor General of Australia 9 September 1916. Canterbury Museum NZ. MS 210 Item 1. "Australian and New Zealand Aurora Relief Committees are agreed that appointment of Captain Davis to take command of joint Government Ross Sea Expedition is best arrangement possible. It is recommended that he be given absolute command. This condition essential. Captain Davis is here and ready to proceed to New Zealand to take charge of fitting out Aurora. This is also strongly recommended. Davis present employment renders early reply necessary."

[47] Davis, JK. Letter to James G Davis 14 September 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria, MS 8311-3267/10.

[48] Kinsey, JJ. Telegram to JK Davis 25 September 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS 8311-3235/4.

[49] Otago Daily Times, 4 October 1916, p4.

[50] Davis JK. Letter to HR Mill 5 July 1922. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS 8311-3235/5.

[51] The Star (NZ) Editorial Notes, 6 October 1916, p4.

[52] Otago Daily Times 11 October 1916, p4.

Tripp became closely involved in the leadership dispute and discussed Shackleton's legal position, as owner of *Aurora*, with other lawyers. Shackleton was not in a financial position to repay the Governments for *Aurora's* repairs and refit. He was not able to arrive in New Zealand in time to oversee the reprovisioning of the ship if the Ross Sea party was to be rescued that summer. The Governments wanted control of the finances and wanted to appoint their own agent, Davis, to command the expedition. Men's lives were at stake and Shackleton, when he arrived, though legally entitled to take possession of his refurbished ship, would have no leverage in negotiations.

After speaking again to the deposed acting captain, Tripp made attempts to resolve the conflict. He wrote to Davis encouraging him to talk the matter over with Stenhouse. "There is no doubt that he has been very cruelly treated ... he was never told at all that you had been appointed and only saw it first of all in the press ... Do see him; he is terribly cut up."[53]

Davis did speak to Stenhouse, but the meeting was less than cordial. Stenhouse challenged the validity of Davis' appointment, and when Davis suggested that Stenhouse resume the position of Chief Officer, he was not prepared to do that, because "until I have authority from Sir Ernest Shackleton or his nominees I will not relinquish command".[54] Davis explained that it made no difference what anyone else said, he—and not Stenhouse—had been appointed by the Governments. Stenhouse had three days to decide and if he did not agree to go with Davis, his services would be dispensed with. Faced with this ultimatum, Stenhouse cabled again to Shackleton. Shackleton told him to do nothing until he arrived.[55] His arrival would not be for two months, however, and Stenhouse was caught in an impossible situation. He felt that he could not "serve two masters".[56]

Davis was obliged to act. The New Zealand committee recognised that he had "made every reasonable effort to induce Lieut. Stenhouse to take up his duties again as Chief Officer but without effect". There was no option, added the committee, but to dispense with his services.[57] Events were summarised in a report:

As Captain Davis had already been appointed to the command, Sir Ernest Shackleton was informed to this effect. Strenuous efforts were made by him and his agents (both in London and New Zealand) to alter this arrangement and to obtain command of the Expedition for himself and command of the "Aurora" for Mr Stenhouse.

The most regrettable efforts to force the situation were made in New Zealand where Mr Stenhouse (after previously promising loyal service under anyone appointed by the Governments) and others of his expedition suddenly declined further service under Captain Davis.

The position, therefore, called for decisive action ... any legal difficulties raised by Sir Ernest Shackleton regarding the ownership of "Aurora" were to be disregarded and the vessel requisitioned for rescue service. The British Government requested that this decision be conveyed to him.[58]

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[53] Tripp, L. Letter to JK Davis 7 October 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS 8311-3235/5.
[54] Stenhouse JR. Letter to L Tripp 13 October 1916. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library Microfilm 0630/95.
[55] Stenhouse JR. Letter to L Tripp 14 November 1916. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library Microfilm 0630/106.
[56] Stenhouse JR. Letter to L Tripp 15 November 1916. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library Microfilm 0630/108.
[57] Kinsey, JJ and J Mill. Letter to JK Davis 18 October 1916. Melbourne State Library of Victoria MS 8311-3235/5.
[58] Australian Advisory Committee Report. January 1917. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria. MS 8311-3235/3.

The Hon. Dr Robert McNab with Sir Ernest Shackleton, December 1916. Guy Photo Studios, Dunedin. McNab NZ Collection. Courtesy of the Heritage Collections, Dunedin Public Libraries.

In November, Davis went to Melbourne to report to the Australian committee and returned with replacement Chief Officer de la Motte and Chief Engineer Gillies, both of whom had served on *Aurora* during the Australasian Antarctic Expedition.

The Australian Naval Secretary cabled Andrew Fisher, the High Commissioner in London, requesting him to act as the Australian representative, supported by Sir Douglas Mawson, and to confer there with the Secretary of State for Colonies and Prime Minister Massey of New Zealand on the matter of the refusal of Stenhouse to acknowledge the appointment of Davis to command the relief expedition. In the opinion of the Australian Government, only two courses were open:
(1) Shackleton to finance, organise and control his own rescue expedition, or
(2) the joint Governments to finance, organise and control an expedition quite independently of Shackleton with their own nominee, Davis, in command.
No middle course would be acceptable.[59]

Shackleton, now more aware of the problems and worried that *Aurora* might sail before he arrived, cabled Tripp asking him to act as his legal agent and if necessary to put an embargo on the departure of *Aurora*.[60] Tripp showed the cable to McNab, who assured him that the ship would not leave without Shackleton, who was the best man to take charge once on the ice. In his reply to Shackleton, still en route to New Zealand, Tripp gave explanations of the Governments' attitudes. Davis had offered his resignation but the Governments would not accept it. Shackleton could go south with *Aurora* under the command of Davis, and be in charge of the shore parties, should any sledging be necessary. Stenhouse could go as Chief Officer, or as Shackleton's assistant.[61]

In December 1916, the final round of arrangements and negotiations began. All were aware of the urgency of leaving New Zealand, with a fully-provisioned ship, in time for the limited summertime access to the Antarctic shoreline, but factional distrust continued to impede

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[59] The Australian Naval Secretary. Cable to Andrew Fisher, High Commissioner in London, 6 November 1916. Canterbury Museum NZ. MS 210 Item 5.
[60] Shackleton EH. (San Francisco) Cable to Tripp. 9 November 1916. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, Microfilm 0630/103.
[61] Tripp, L. Letter to EH Shackleton 8 November1916. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, Microfilm 0630/96–102.

preparations. Shackleton, who had expected to lead the expedition to the Ross Sea to rescue his men—in the ship he legally owned—arrived in Wellington. He was aware of the tensions but did not fully understand why the disagreeable situation had developed.

At McNab's request, Tripp met Shackleton on his arrival in the harbour to explain the situation in greater detail. McNab hoped that Shackleton would agree to Davis retaining command, to travelling to the Ross Sea as a passenger on *Aurora*, to taking charge once on the ice, and for Worsley, Shackleton's captain on *Endurance*, and Stenhouse to go with him. Tripp explained that, although the New Zealand press was sympathetic, wartime altered the focus of their attention. In peacetime, financial and public support would have guaranteed the return of his ship and the restoration of his leadership. Tripp outlined to his friend the arrangements that had been made in his absence by the three Governments, the financial outlay that Shackleton would not be able to meet, the reasons for Davis being chosen and how it would be best for all concerned, especially the stranded men, if he accepted the unpalatable contract being offered. After several hours of discussion, Shackleton acquiesced. "I suppose you are right, Tripp."[62]

That evening, Tripp took Shackleton to meet McNab, who now assumed the role of mediator. When McNab named the committee members, Shackleton recognised likely adversaries. There had been misunderstandings with Kinsey following the *Nimrod* expedition, and members of the Australian committee had links with Kinsey, but the anti-Shackleton inferences were vague, other than that he was the leader responsible for an expedition that had cost Governments dearly. McNab acknowledged that Stenhouse had been unfairly treated, but reiterated the conditions now in place. Shackleton tentatively agreed, said he had the highest opinion of Davis as a seaman (Davis had sailed with him on the *Nimrod* expedition), but insisted that Stenhouse and Worsley accompany him.

Davis, who was planning to sail from Port Chalmers at 6am on 16 December, went to Wellington to see McNab, who asked him to use tact when discussing the situation with Shackleton. The discussion went well, but Davis would not accept the reinstatement of Stenhouse. He had already closed off the Ship's Articles for *Aurora* and had opened a new set of Articles with himself as captain, and the appointment of his choice of officers and seamen.[63]

To break the impasse, McNab asked Stenhouse and Worsley to "make a sacrifice and say they would not go" appealing to their understanding and offering compensation including a passage to England. They agreed. McNab also communicated with the Governor General of Australia and with British authorities proposing that all Governments waive the financial claims they had for the *Aurora* and the relief expedition.[64] He was confident that things would now progress smoothly, but Tripp harboured doubts. "Kinsey may be working behind your back with the object of getting the ship away before matters are settled ... All I want to see is that unknown to you the ship does not get away without your consent and without Shackleton aboard."[65] Worsley suggested that he and Stenhouse could commandeer *Aurora* and sail away to the Ross Sea—with Shackleton onboard.[66] This conjures up images of a gloriously triumphant departure of the pirated ship, with frustrated bureaucrats left in its wake; its return might not have been as glorious.

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[62] Tripp, L. Letter to HR Mill 24 June 1922. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, Microfilm 0630/350.
[63] Davis, JK. Report to the committee. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library Microfilm 0528-1.
[64] Tripp L. Letter to HR Mill 24 June 1922. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, Microfilm 0630/347 –357.
[65] Tripp L. Letter to R McNab 8 December 1916. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, Microfilm 0630/ 127–128.
[66] Worsley, Frank. Endurance: an epic of polar adventure. London: Philip Allan, 1931. p202.

Shackleton welcomed news that the New Zealand and Australian Governments would hand *Aurora* back to him without charge when he returned, but there was no reply from London. In a telegram to Davis he wrote: "I beg you to agree to postpone sailing until the twentieth ... if London agrees in next couple of days I will be in position to raise enough money ... to pay off the Weddell Sea party."[67] Davis agreed.

To the Ross Sea and back

On 20 December 1916, as requested by Shackleton, *Aurora* left Port Chalmers to rescue the Ross Sea party. McNab travelled down for the departure. Afterwards he cabled Tripp with the news that the British Government had concurred with their proposal that *Aurora* would be handed over to Shackleton without any financial claims when he returned from the Ross Sea. "I saw vessel away this morning. Shackleton greatly pleased with news and left in excellent spirits."[68]

In a press statement he congratulated all involved, and commented that members of the New Zealand Government "regret exceedingly that the exigencies of the situation have operated to prevent that brilliant officer, Lieutenant Stenhouse, taking back the *Aurora* to the relief of the men he left there". In an accompanying article it was noted: "There was a good deal more in the *Aurora* difficulty than the Hon. Dr McNab has referred to in his statement to the Press Association." [69]

For Shackleton to embark on this voyage, with little time to have recovered from the effects of the stressful Elephant Island–South Georgia experiences, demanded stamina and determination. To be forced to bow to Governmental dictates, when confronted with the unexpected situation which had developed in his absence, demanded more. The exclusion of Stenhouse and Worsley still angered him, though they travelled to Dunedin to farewell him. Eventually, with Tripp's guidance and McNab's mediation, he was able to summon a degree of magnanimity, suppressing his anger, his pride, and his rights, in the interests of his Ross Sea party.

Shackleton then was adamant that he would officially sign on under Davis. McNab, angered by a cable from Australia demanding this condition, wanted him to sail as a passenger, and tried to dissuade him from signing on to his own ship, suggesting it was bowing to the demands of those who wanted to humble him. Shackleton, aware of the friction caused on a ship if there were two masters, insisted.[70] Davis took command, and SY *Aurora* retraced its course south. Davis would later recall that, after his maritime war experiences, they "seemed to have embarked upon a voyage where, instead of advancing into future time, we were receding into the past" returning to the familiar seas of Antarctica.[71]

On New Year's Day, glad to be in open water after pushing through the pack ice, Shackleton presented Davis with a piece of paper on which was printed Kipling's poem "If". On the back of this, he wrote:

My dear Davis,
These lines hung in my cabin throughout the Endurance's voyage and were with me on the floe. I now hand them to you on this the first day of a New Year which I trust may be of certainty as successful as its dawn promises.[72]

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[67] Shackleton, EH. Telegraph message to JK Davis 11 December 1916. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria, MS 8311-3235/4.
[68] McNab R. Telegram to L. Tripp 20 December 1916. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, Microfilm 0630/141.
[69] The Press (NZ) 21 December 1916, p9.
[70] Tripp, L. Letter to HR Mill 24 June 1922. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, Microfilm 0630/353
[71] Davis, JK. High Latitude. Parkville: Melbourne University Press, 1962. p261.

The following days were not without disappointment; only seven members of the Ross Sea party had survived. Spencer-Smith had died of scurvy on the sledging expedition, and despite extensive searches, the bodies of Captain Mackintosh and Hayward, were not found. The two men had disappeared attempting to return to Cape Evans over sea ice.

Aurora arrived in Wellington on 9 February 1917 with the seven survivors, who were shocked to hear numerous stories of war atrocities and wondered to what sort of world they had returned.[73] Because of war-time concerns, Davis cabled to authorities in code. Initially his message was not understood because the cipher key had been entrusted to McNab who had died on 3 February.[74] A few days later, Davis wrote to his father that he was spending a weekend with Kinsey in Christchurch, but would leave to report to the Australian committee in Melbourne. "Shackleton eventually signed on as a supernumerary officer ... and although a great many people predicted that we should quarrel we did not do so."[75]

Shackleton still had a score to settle with the Australian committee. After meeting with them in Melbourne in March 1917, he cabled Tripp: "Have had committee on carpet for very frank talk. Now feel much better and buried hatchet."[76] Committee member Orme Masson described the meeting to Davis. "He challenged me personally with thwarting his schemes and spoiling his reputation, so I said: "Nonsense, we are all full of admiration." "Then why did you take my job out of my hands?" To which I replied "My dear Shackleton, the boot is on the other foot. You did all you could to take our job out of our hands." After more discussion, they agreed to differ and shook hands over it; and, Masson continued: "after getting halfway down the stairs he rushed back with a grin on his face to shake hands all round again! ... I ought to say that, at our very disputatious committee meeting he said nothing of you personally that was not thoroughly friendly and appreciative. His whole quarrel was with us and Kinsey."[77]

The Government of New Zealand honoured McNab's promise to provide Stenhouse and Worsley with first-class passages to England and sent official congratulations and thanks to Davis for the manner in which he and his men conducted the relief expedition to its successful conclusion "due, we know, to your skilled seamanship, untiring energy and competent handling of what might have been a difficult position". [78]

Polar Medals were awarded to members of the ITAE but, in what some saw as a deliberate slight, the captain and crew of the relief ship were not included in the list. This omission could have been because it was the joint Governments' responsibility, not Shackleton's, to

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[72] Shackleton, EH. Note to JK Davis 1 January 1917, with copy of Rudyard Kipling's poem "If." Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS8311 3272/8.
If you can keep your head when all about you
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
……
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,
And
—which is more
—you'll be a Man, my son!

[73] Richards, RW. The Ross Sea shore party, 1914–17. Bluntishan: Bluntisham Books, 2003, p 42. Originally published Cambridge: SPRI, 1961.

[74] Dominion (NZ), 6 February 1916. p6.

[75] Davis JK. Letter to James G Davis 19 February 1917. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria, MS8311 3267/10 (c).

[76] Shackleton EH. Telegram to L Tripp 17 March 1917. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, Microfilm 0630/180.

[77] Masson, DO. Letter to JK Davis 18 March 1917. Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS8311-3235/5.

[78] Herries, WH, Acting Minister of Marine. Letter to JK Davis 17 February 1917. Melbourne: State Library of Victoria MS 8311-3235/3.

nominate members of the relief expedition, which they controlled. A fresh round of correspondence and lobbying resulted in belated awards.

After the Ross Sea expedition, Kinsey was knighted for his services to Antarctic exploration, Stenhouse continued his naval career, and Shackleton published his account of the ITAE. Davis wrote *With the Aurora in the Antarctic*, a book documenting several voyages, but he discreetly omitted reference to *Aurora's* last Antarctic voyage to the Ross Sea and the controversy surrounding his appointment as Commander.

Conclusion

Regrettably, an acrimonious situation developed during the planning of the Ross Sea relief expedition, but the justification of the joint Governments' appointment of Davis, the outrage in the press, Davis' demands, Stenhouse's loyalty and subsequent bitterness, and Shackleton's anger can all be understood, in hindsight, when considered from the perspective of each player. All three were extraordinarily capable, talented men. In the interwoven strands of the leadership crisis, a picture developed which displayed their colours as each man proudly held to his principles, and was subsequently obliged to accept compromise. Shackleton, whose fearless determination and charm resolved the problems of many situations, had to concede the leadership; Stenhouse, whose sense of duty and whose loyalty to his leader were exemplary, lost the captaincy; and Davis, whose commitment to any endeavour he undertook was total, had to contend with undercurrents of resentment. A combination of loyalty and respect was evident between Shackleton and Stenhouse and, perhaps due to past associations, there was also respect between Shackleton and Davis.

In his autobiography, Captain Davis wrote of Shackleton: "I said good-bye to him in Sydney and was fated never to see him again. My first and last contact with him, separated by an interval of ten years, were alike unforgettable."[79]

Acknowledgements

So many librarians and archivists assisted in sourcing the reference material for this essay; to them, and to the diligent proof-readers, I am very grateful.

[79] Davis, JK. High Latitude. Parkville: Melbourne University Press,1962. p280.

Aeneas Mackintosh

By Anne Phillips and Stephen Scott-Fawcett

[Editor's note: It is gratifying to receive some very nice letters from members who express continued support for the Society and its publications. What impresses me most is the pride felt by families directly connected with polar exploration and Shackleton in particular. **Anne Phillips** is the granddaughter of Aeneas Mackintosh, the leader of the 'Ross Sea Party'. She very kindly sent me three photographs from the family album and a few poignant notes. I hope, in a later issue, to expand on this enigmatic (and sometimes vilified) polar man who, I believe, has been rather overlooked in the plethora of polar books issued over the years – with one notable exception, Kelly Tyler-Lewis's excellent *The Lost Men* (Bloomsbury, 2006). In addition to Anne's brief synopsis I have taken the liberty of reproducing here some readily available 'on-line' information which serves as a basic background].

February1912 - wedding photo of Aeneas and Gladys Campbell. (Family Album)

Here are a few brief details supplied by Anne Phillips:

Name:	Aeneas Lionel Acton Mackintosh
Parents:	Alistair Mackintosh and Annie Lavinia Jane Mackintosh (nee Berkeley)
Born:	1st July 1879 in Tirhut, Bengal (in modern Bihar, India)
Died:	8th May 1916 (he was age 36).
Educated:	Bedford Modern School (not the current 'Bedford School') (1891-94)
Married:	Holy Trinity, Bedford, in 1912 to Gladys Campbell (1888-1972)
Children:	Pamela Aileen Mackintosh (1912-2000)
	Gladys Elisabeth Mackintosh (my late mother) (1914-2011)

Aeneas is survived by two grandchildren and several great-grandchildren.

Aeneas as a child with his mother and siblings. Aeneas is the one standing at the back (left) in a polo-neck jumper. (Family Album)

Aneas Lionel Acton Mackintosh was a British Merchant Navy officer and Antarctic explorer, who commanded the Ross Sea Party as part of Sir Ernest Shackleton's Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, 1914–17.

The Ross Sea Party's mission was to support Shackleton's proposed transcontinental march by laying supply depots along the latter stages of the march's intended route. In the face of persistent setbacks and practical difficulties, Mackintosh's party fulfilled its task, although he and two others died in the course of their duties.

Mackintosh's first Antarctic experience was as second officer on Shackleton's *Nimrod* expedition (1907–09). Shortly after his arrival in the Antarctic, a shipboard accident destroyed his right eye, and he was sent back to New Zealand. He returned in 1909 to participate in the later stages of the expedition; his will and determination in adversity impressed Shackleton, and led to his Ross Sea party appointment in 1914.

Having brought his party to the Antarctic, Mackintosh was faced with numerous difficulties. Confused and vague orders meant he was uncertain of the timing of Shackleton's proposed march. His problems were compounded when the party's ship, SY *Aurora*, was swept from its winter moorings during a major storm and was unable to return, causing the loss of vital equipment and supplies. In carrying out the Party's depot-laying task, one man died; Mackintosh barely survived, owing his life to the actions of his comrades who brought him to safety. Restored to health, he and a companion disappeared while attempting to return to the expedition's base camp by crossing the unstable sea ice.

Mackintosh's competence and leadership skills have been questioned by polar historians. Shackleton commended the work of the party, and equated the sacrifice of their lives to those given in the trenches of the First World War, but was critical of Mackintosh's organizing skills. Years later, however, Shackleton's youngest son, Edward, Lord Shackleton, identified Mackintosh as one of the Expedition's heroes, alongside Ernest Joyce and Dick Richards.

Early life

Mackintosh was born in Tirhut, India, on 1 July 1879, one of six children (five sons and a daughter) of a Scottish indigo planter, Alexander Mackintosh, a descendant from the chieftains of Clan Chattan. Aeneas would, in due course, be named as an heir to the chieftainship, and to the ancient seat at Inverness that went with t.[1] When Aeneas was still a young child, his mother, Annie Mackintosh, suddenly returned to Britain, bringing the children with her. The reasons for the family rift are unknown, but it was evidently permanent.[1] At home in Bedfordshire, Aeneas attended Bedford Modern School. He then followed the same path as had Ernest Shackleton five years earlier, leaving school at the age of 16 to go to sea. After serving a tough Merchant Officer's apprenticeship, he joined the P &O Line, and remained with this company until he was recruited by Shackleton for his *Nimrod* expedition, which sailed for Antarctica in 1907.[1] Before the Expedition's departure Mackintosh was commissioned Sub-Lieutenant in the Royal Naval Reserve.[2]

***Nimrod* expedition**

The *Nimrod* expedition, 1907–1909, was the first of three Antarctic expeditions led by Ernest Shackleton. Its objective, as stated by Shackleton, was to "proceed to the Ross Quadrant of the Antarctic with a view to reaching the Geographical South Pole and the South Magnetic Pole".[3] Mackintosh was recommended to Shackleton as a suitable officer by the P & O Line,[4] and soon earned Shackleton's confidence while impressing his fellow-officers with his will and determination.[5] While the Expedition was in New Zealand, Shackleton added Mackintosh to the shore party, as a likely candidate for the polar march.[6]

Accident

On 31 January 1908, not long after *Nimrod*'s arrival at McMurdo Sound in the Antarctic, Mackintosh was assisting in the transfer of sledging gear aboard ship when a hook swung across the deck and struck his right eye, virtually destroying it. He was immediately taken to the captain's cabin where, later that day, expedition doctor Eric Marshall operated to remove the eye, using partly improvised surgical equipment.[7] Marshall was deeply impressed by Mackintosh's fortitude, observing that "no man could have taken it better."[5] The accident cost Mackintosh his place on the shore party, and required his return to New Zealand for further treatment. He took no part in the main events of the Expedition, but returned south with *Nimrod* in January 1909, to participate in the closing stages. Shackleton, who had earlier fallen out with the ship's master, Rupert England, had wanted Mackintosh to captain *Nimrod* on this voyage, but the eye injury had not healed sufficiently to make this appointment possible.[8]

Lost on the ice

On 1 January 1909, on its return to Antarctica, *Nimrod* was stopped by the ice, still 25 miles (40 km) from the expedition's shore base at Cape Royds. Mackintosh decided that he would cross this stretch of ice on foot. Historian, Beau Riffenburgh, describes the journey that followed as "one of the most ill-considered parts of the entire expedition".[9]

Mackintosh's party, which left the ship on the morning of 3 January, consisted of Mackintosh and three sailors, with a sledge containing supplies and a large mailbag. Two sailors quickly returned to the ship, while Mackintosh and one companion went forward. They camped on the ice that evening, only to find next day that the whole area around them had broken up.[9] After a desperate dash over the moving floes, they managed to reach a small glacier tongue. They camped there, and waited for several days for their snow-blindness to subside. When

Aeneas Lionel Acton Mackintosh (Family Album)

their vision returned, they found that Cape Royds was in sight but inaccessible, as the sea-ice leading to it had gone, leaving a stretch of open water. They had little choice but to make for the hut by land, a dangerous undertaking without appropriate equipment and experience.[9] On 11 January they set out. For the next 48 hours they struggled over hostile terrain, through regions of deep crevasses and treacherous snowfields. They soon parted company with all their equipment and supplies.[9] At one point, to proceed, they had to ascend to 3,000 feet (910 m) and then slide to the foot of a snow-slope. Eventually, after stumbling around in the fog for hours, they fortunately encountered Bernard Day, a member of the shore party, a short distance from the hut.[9] The ship later recovered the abandoned equipment. John King Davis, then serving as *Nimrod's* chief officer, remarked that "Mackintosh was always the man to take the hundredth chance. This time he got away with it."[10]

Mackintosh later joined Ernest Joyce and others on a journey across the Great Ice Barrier to Minna Bluff, to lay a depot for Shackleton's polar party, whose return from their southern march was awaited.[9] On 3 March, while keeping watch on the deck of *Nimrod*, Mackintosh observed a flare, which signalled the safe return of Shackleton and his party. They had fallen just short of their South Pole objective, having reached a Farthest South of 88° 23' S.[11][12]

Between expeditions

Mackintosh returned to England in June 1909. On reporting to P & O, he was informed that, due to his impaired sight, he was discharged.[1] Without immediate prospects of employment, he agreed, early in 1910, to accompany Douglas Mawson (who had served as a geologist on the *Nimrod* expedition and was later to lead the Australasian Antarctic Expedition) on a trip to Hungary, to survey a potential goldfield which Shackleton was hoping would form the basis of a lucrative business venture.[13] Despite a promising report from Mawson, nothing came of this. Mackintosh later launched his own treasure-hunting expedition to Cocos Island off the Panama Pacific coast, but again returned home empty-handed.[1]

In February 1912, Mackintosh married Gladys Campbell, and settled into an office job as assistant secretary to the Imperial Merchant Service Guild in Liverpool. The safe, routine work did not satisfy him: "I am still existing at this job, stuck in a dirty office," he wrote to a former *Nimrod* shipmate. "I always feel I never completed my first initiation—so would like to have one final wallow, for good or bad!"[1] He was therefore delighted, early in 1914, to receive an invitation from Shackleton to join the latter's Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (ITAE aka *Endurance* expedition), which was to attempt the first crossing of the Antarctic continent.[1]

ITAE (Ross Sea Party)

Early difficulties

Shackleton's expedition contained two separate components. The main party would establish a base in the Weddell Sea, from which a group of six led by Shackleton was to march across the continent, via the South Pole. A supporting Ross Sea party (aka Ross Sea Party or RSP), based on the opposite side of the continent in McMurdo Sound, would lay supply depots across the Great Ice Barrier, to assist the transcontinental party on the final stage of its journey. Mackintosh was originally to have been a member of Shackleton's transcontinental party,[14] but difficulties arose over the appointment of a commander for the RSP. Eric Marshall, the surgeon from the *Nimrod* expedition, turned the assignment down, as did John King Davis;[15][16] Shackleton's efforts to obtain from the Admiralty a naval crew for this part of the enterprise were rejected.[17] The post of RSP leader was finally offered to, and accepted by, Mackintosh.[15] His ship would be the *Aurora*, lately used by Mawson's Australasian Antarctic Expedition and presently lying in Australia. Shackleton considered the Ross Sea party's assignment routine, and saw no special difficulties in its execution.[18]

Mackintosh arrived in Australia in October 1914 to take up his duties, and was immediately faced with major difficulties. Without warning or notification, Shackleton had cut the RSP's allocated funds in half, from £2,000 to £1,000. Mackintosh was instructed to make up the difference by soliciting free gifts,[19] and to mortgage the expedition's ship to raise further money. It then emerged that the purchase of SY*Aurora* had not been legally completed, which delayed Mackintosh's attempts to mortgage it.[19] Also, the ship was unfit for Antarctic work without an extensive overhaul, which required co-operation from an exasperated Australian Government.[19] The task of dealing with these difficulties within a very restricted timescale caused Mackintosh great anxiety, and the various muddles created a negative image of the expedition in the eyes of the Australian public.[20] Some members of the party resigned, others were dismissed; recruiting a full complement of crew and scientific staff involved some last-minute appointments which left the party noticeably short of Antarctic experience.[21] The huge efforts of the ship's first officer (later (temporary) captain) , Lieutenant Joseph Stenhouse, to 'muster the troops' and get everything ship-shape for the journey to Ross Island should not be ignored here, also.

Shackleton had given Mackintosh the impression that he would if possible attempt his crossing during the coming 1914–15 Antarctic season. Before departing for the Weddell Sea, he changed his mind about the feasibility of this timescale. Mackintosh was not informed of this change of plan; this misunderstanding led to the underprepared and near-chaotic depot-laying journeys of January–March 1915.[22]

SY*Aurora* finally left Hobart, Tasmania, on 24 December 1914. On 16 January 1915 the shore party landed at McMurdo Sound, where Mackintosh established a base camp at Captain Scott's old headquarters at Cape Evans (Ross Island).[23] Believing that Shackleton might have already begun his march from the Weddell Sea, he was determined to begin depot-laying at once. Joyce, the expedition's most seasoned Antarctic expeditioner—he had been with Scott's *Discovery* expedition in 1901–04, and with the *Nimrod* expedition—protested that the party needed time for acclimatisation and training, but was overruled.[24] Joyce was shocked by the rebuff; he had expected that Mackintosh would defer to him on sledging

matters: "If I had Shacks here I would make him see my way of arguing", he wrote in his diary.[25] The depot-laying journey which followed began with a series of mishaps. A blizzard delayed their start,[26] a motor sledge broke down after a few miles,[27] and Mackintosh and his group lost their way on the sea ice between Cape Evans and Hut Point.[26] Conditions on the Barrier were harsh for the untrained and inexperienced men. Many of the stores taken on to the Barrier were dumped on the ice to reduce loads and did not reach the depots.[28] After Mackintosh insisted, over Joyce's urgent protests, on taking the dogs all the way to 80°S, all died on the journey.[29] The men, frostbitten and exhausted, returned to the old *Discovery* expedition hut at Hut Point on 24 March, but were cut off from the ship and from their Cape Evans base by unsafe sea ice and had to wait, idle, for nearly three months.[30] After this experience, confidence in Mackintosh's leadership was low, and bickering rife.[31]

Loss of *Aurora*

When Mackintosh and the depot-laying party finally reached Cape Evans in mid-June, they learned that SY*Aurora*, with 18 men on board and carrying most of the shore party's supplies and equipment, had broken loose from its winter mooring during a severe storm. Ice conditions in McMurdo Sound made it impossible for the ship to return; the shore party of ten was effectively marooned, with drastically depleted resources.[32][33] However, most of the stores required for the depots had been landed. Mackintosh therefore resolved that the following season's work would be carried out to the full: depots would be laid across the Great ice Barrier all the way to the Beardmore Glacier. The party would seek to make up its lack of supplies and equipment by salvaging the stores left by earlier expeditions, particularly from Captain Scott's recent sojourn at Cape Evans. The entire party pledged its support to this effort, though it would require, wrote Mackintosh, a record-breaking feat of polar travel to accomplish it.[34] However, the long months of preparation were difficult for Mackintosh. The only officer in the party, he found it hard to form close relationships with his companions. His position became increasingly isolated, and subject to the frequent vocal criticisms of Joyce in particular.[35]

March to Mount Hope

On 1 September 1915, nine men in teams of three began the task of hauling approximately 5,000 pounds (2,300 kg) of stores from the Cape Evans base on to the Barrier—the scientist Alexander Stevens remained at base camp, alone. This operation was the first stage in the process of laying down depots at intervals of one-degree latitude (60 nautical miles/110 km/ 69 statute miles), down to Mount Hope at the foot of the Beardmore Glacier. A large forward base was then established at the Bluff depot, just north of 79°, from which the final journeys to Mount Hope would be launched early in 1916. During these early stages, Mackintosh clashed repeatedly with Joyce over methods. In a showdown on 28 November, confronted with incontrovertible evidence of the greater effectiveness of Joyce's methods over his own, Mackintosh was forced to back down and accept a revised plan drafted by Joyce and Richards. The main march southward from the Bluff depot began on 1 January 1916. Within a few days, one team of three was forced to return to base, following the failure of their Primus stove. The other six carried on: Mackintosh, Joyce, Ernest Wild, Dick Richards, Arnold Spencer-Smith and Victor Hayward. The 80° depot laid the previous season was reinforced, and new depots were built at 81° and 82°. As the party moved on towards the vicinity of Mount Hope, both Mackintosh and Spencer-Smith, the expedition's photographer, were hobbling. Shortly after the 83° mark was passed, Spencer-Smith collapsed and was left in a tent while the others struggled on the remaining few miles. Mackintosh rejected the suggestion that he should remain with the invalid, insisting that it was his duty to ensure that every depot was laid.[37] On 26 January, Mount Hope was attained and the final depot put in place.[38]

On the homeward march, Spencer-Smith had to be drawn on the sledge. Mackintosh's condition was deteriorating rapidly; unable to pull, he staggered along, crippled by the growing effects of scurvy.[39] As his condition worsened, Mackintosh was forced at intervals to join Spencer-Smith as a passenger on the sledge. Even the fitter members of the group

were handicapped by frostbite, snow-blindness and scurvy, as the journey became a desperate struggle for survival. On 8 March, Mackintosh volunteered to remain in the tent while the others tried to get Spencer-Smith to the relative safety of Hut Point. Spencer-Smith died the next day.[38] Richards, Wild and Joyce struggled on to Hut Point with the now stricken Hayward, before returning to rescue Mackintosh. By 18 March, all five survivors were recuperating at Hut Point, having completed what Shackleton's biographers, Marjory and James Fisher, describe as "one of the most remarkable, and apparently impossible, feats of endurance in the history of polar travel."[38]

Disappearance and death

With the help of fresh seal meat which halted the ravages of scurvy, the survivors slowly recovered at Hut Point. The unstable condition of the sea ice in McMurdo Sound prevented them from completing the journey to the Cape Evans base.[40] Conditions at Hut Point were gloomy and depressing, with an unrelieved diet and no normal comforts;[40] Mackintosh in particular found the squalor of the hut intolerable, and dreaded the possibility that, caught at Hut Point, they might miss the return of the ship.[41] On 8 May 1916, after carrying out reconnaissance on the state of the sea ice, Mackintosh announced that he and Hayward were prepared to risk the walk to Cape Evans.[42] Against the urgent advice of their comrades, they set off, carrying only light supplies.[43]

Shortly after they had moved out of sight of Hut Point, a severe blizzard developed which lasted for two days. When it had subsided, Joyce and Richards followed the still visible footmarks on the ice up to a large crack, where the tracks stopped.[43] Neither Mackintosh nor Hayward arrived at Cape Evans and no trace of either was ever found, despite extensive searches carried out by Joyce after he, Richards and Wild finally managed to reach Cape Evans in June.[44]

After SY *Aurora* finally returned to Cape Evans in January 1917, there were further searches, equally fruitless.[45] All the indications were that Mackintosh and Hayward had either fallen through the ice, or that the ice on which they had been walking had been blown out to sea during the blizzard.[43]

A memorial to Mackintosh exists on the grave of his mother Annie in the grave yard of St. Johns church in Burgess Hill in West Sussex. The memorial also mentions two of Mackintosh's brothers who died at prematurely in Thailand and Southern Rhodesia and a sister who lived into old age and died in 1962.

Assessment

Mackintosh's own expedition diaries, which cover the period up to 30 September 1915, have not been published; they are held by the Scott Polar Research Institute.[46] The two main accounts available to general readers are Joyce's diaries, published in 1929 as *The South Polar Trail*, and the account of Dick Richards: *The Ross Sea Shore Party 1914–17*. Mackintosh's reputation is not well-served by either, particularly Joyce's partisan record which is described by one commentator as a "self-aggrandizing epic".[47] Joyce is generally scathing about Mackintosh's leadership; Richards's account is much shorter and more straightforward, although decades later, when he was the only member of the expedition still alive (he died in 1985, aged 91), he spoke out, claiming that Mackintosh on the depot-laying march was "tremendously pathetic", had "lost his nerve completely", and that the fatal ice walk was "suicide".[48]

The circumstances of Mackintosh's death have led commentators to emphasise his impetuousness and incompetence.[49] This generally negative view of him was not, however, unanimous among his comrades. Stevens, the party's scientist, found Mackintosh "steadfast and reliable", and believed that the Ross Sea Party would have achieved much less but for Mackintosh's unwavering drive.[47] John King Davis, too, admired Mackintosh's dedication

and called the depot-laying journey a "magnificent achievement".[47] Shackleton was equivocal. In *South* he acknowledges that Mackintosh and his men achieved their object, praises the Party's qualities of endurance and self-sacrifice, and asserts that Mackintosh died for his country.[50] On the other hand, in a letter home, he is highly critical: "Mackintosh seemed to have no idea of discipline or organisation ...".[51] Shackleton did, however, donate part of the proceeds from a short New Zealand lecture tour to assist the Mackintosh family.[52] His son, Edward (later Lord Shackleton) in a much later assessment of the expedition, wrote: "Three men in particular emerge as heroes: Captain Aeneas Mackintosh, ... Dick Richards, and Ernest Joyce."[53]

Mackintosh had two daughters, the second born while he was in Australia awaiting the SY*Aurora's* departure.[1] On the return Barrier journey in February 1916, expecting to die, he wrote a farewell message, with echoes of Captain Scott. The message concludes: "If it is God's will that we should have given up our lives then we do so in the British manner as our tradition holds us honour- bound to do. Goodbye, friends. I feel sure that my dear wife and children will not be neglected."[54] In 1923, Gladys Mackintosh married Lt Joseph Stenhouse (see previous).[55] Mackintosh, who received a silver Polar Medal for his work during the *Nimrod* expedition, is commemorated by Mt. Mackintosh at 74°202'S 162°152'E / 74°333'S 162°250'E (Mount Mackintosh).[2]

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[Editor's note: It might appear that Mackintonish's reputation was mixed. Retrospective opinions (even those of the Party members themselves, let alone polar historians) can be prejudiced, especially bearing in mind Aeneas's (some would say) pointless death on the ice and subsequent events. However, there can be absolutely no doubt that the RSP was hugely under-planned, under-funded and under-manned. Aeneas had to grapple with all these factors in an environment that showed no mercy. That the depots were laid for Shackleton against all the odds is quite remarkable and the stuff of polar history. This, surely, is Mackintosh's greatest legacy]

Endnotes:

[1] Tyler-Lewis, pp. 35–36
[2] *Meet the Crew of Shackleton's Nimrod Expedition". Antarctic Heritage Trust. Retrieved 5 September 2009.*
[3] Riffenburgh, p. 103
[4] Huntford, p. 196
[5] Tyler-Lewis, p. 22
[6] Riffenburgh, p. 141
[7] Riffenburgh, p. 159
[8] Riffenburgh, p. 170
[9] Riffenburgh, pp. 266–68
[10] Tyler-Lewis, p. 108
[11] Shackleton, *Heart of the Antarctic*, p. 339
[12] Riffenburgh, p. 231

[13] Huntford, pp. 323–27
[14] Fisher, p. 300
[15] Tyler-Lewis, p. 27
[16] Fisher, p. 302
[17] Huntford, pp. 371–73
[18] Shackleton, p. 242
[19] Fisher, pp. 397–400
[20] Fisher, p. 399
[21] Tyler-Lewis, pp. 48–53
[22] Tyler-Lewis, pp. 214–15
[23] Tyler-Lewis, p. 64
[24] Tyler-Lewis, pp. 67–68
[25] Tyler-Lewis, p. 68
[26] Tyler-Lewis, pp. 71–72
[27] Tyler-Lewis, p. 84
[28] Tyler-Lewis. pp. 104–05
[29] Tyler-Lewis, p. 97
[30] Tyler-Lewis, pp. 99–100
[31] Tyler-Lewis, pp. 105–06
[32] Bickel, pp. 72–74
[33] *Aurora* drifted in the ice for nine months, moving northward into the Ross Sea and eventually reaching the Southern Ocean. She broke free in February 1916 and reached New Zealand a month later. Shackleton (*South*), pp. 307–33
[34] Tyler-Lewis, pp. 135–37
[35] Tyler-Lewis, pp. 138–44
[36] Tyler-Lewis, pp. 145–62
[37] Tyler-Lewis, pp. 163–71
[38] Fisher, p. 408
[39] Tyler-Lewis, pp. 184–85
[40] Bickel, pp. 205–07
[41] Tyler-Lewis, p. 195
[42] Bickel, p. 209
[43] Bickel, pp. 212–13
[44] Shackleton, pp. 302–03: Joyce's report
[45] Shackleton, pp. 335–36
[46] Tyler-Lewis, p. 346
[47] Tyler-Lewis, p. 25–60
[48] *Arrow, Michelle. "Ross Sea Party". Australian Broadcasting Corporation. Retrieved 13 April 2008.*
[49] Huntford, pp. 413–14, pp. 450–51
[50] Shackleton, pp. 241–42 and p. 340
[51] Tyler-Lewis, p. 252
[52] Fisher, p. 423
[53] Bickel, p. viii
[54] Bickel, pp. 169–71
[55] Tyler-Lewis, p. 271

Ireland's Antarctic Explorers

By Michael Smith

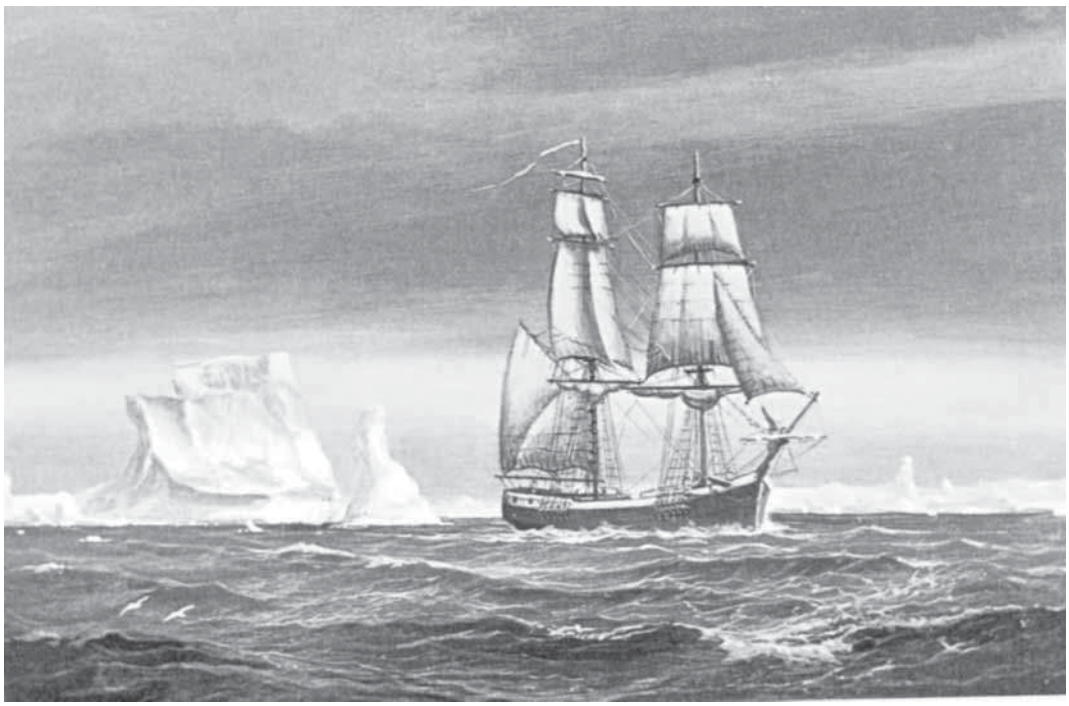
The heroic age of Antarctic exploration, the era synonymous with men like Amundsen, Scott and Shackleton, effectively came to an end in 1922 with the death of Sir Ernest Shackleton. His death also brought an end to a remarkable dynasty of men from Shackleton's homeland of Ireland who, during a century of endeavour, left an indelible mark on the history of Antarctic exploration.

Irish people, most notably Shackleton, stand at the heart of Antarctic history, with almost every noteworthy chapter of the story involving men from this small country on the western fringes of Europe. Few other nations can quite match the same rich heritage and it would be impossible to chronicle the history of Antarctic exploration without saluting the outstanding contribution made by the Irish.

The main age of Antarctic exploration, from the earliest sighting of the coastline, lasted just over 100 years and Shackleton aside, included key Irishmen, such as the mysterious Edward Bransfield whose early voyage began the era of exploration and the quintessential unsung hero, Tom Crean. But there were others, such as Francis Crozier, Robert Forde, Patrick Keohane and the colourful McCarthy brothers who also contributed much.

Regrettably, all these men – without exception - shared the fate of being almost totally forgotten in their native Ireland and to some extent, overlooked by historians generally. Even Shackleton, the most famous of all Irish explorers, was not the celebrated figure he is today and his reputation was not fully restored until some 60 - 70 years after his death.

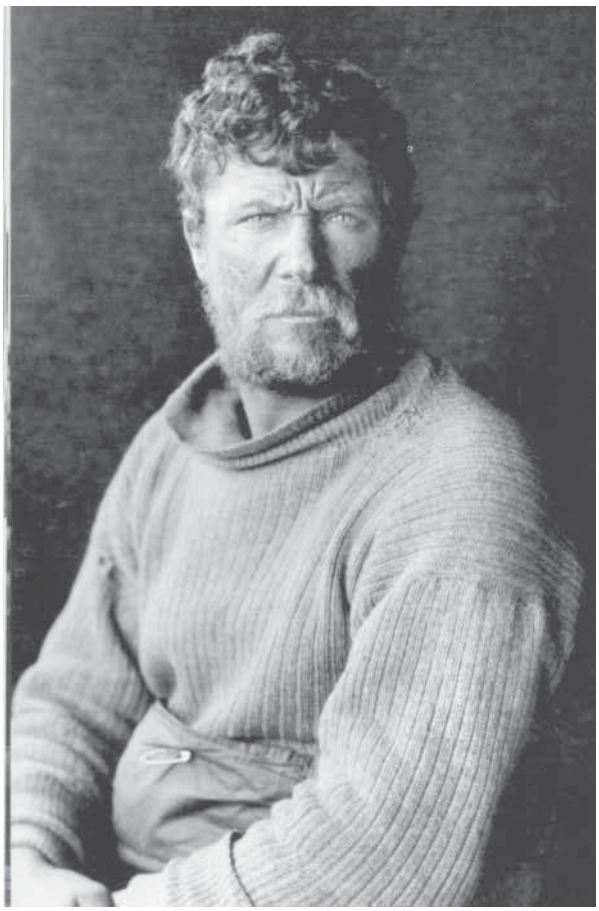
Bransfield is a little known figure who was almost completely overlooked at the time and in the 150 years since his death. Crozier, despite sailing on six journeys to the ice, also disappeared from view and was the only major figure from the navy's rank of Polar commanders of the time who was never awarded a knighthood for his prodigious efforts. Incredibly, Crean



Edward Bransfield's pioneering 1820 voyage in the brig Williams to make the first confirmed sighting of the Antarctic coastline. (From a painting by G.W.G. Hunt, courtesy Richard Campbell)

spent 80 years in the shadows and his Irish contemporaries in the Antarctic – Forde, Keohane and Mortimer and Timothy McCarthy – were equally marginalised and soon forgotten.

Timing was against the Irishmen who made history in the Antarctic. As mentioned, the era of Antarctic exploration, which began with Bransfield in 1820, effectively came to an end on January 5, 1922 with the death of Shackleton. With striking symmetry, the Anglo-Irish Treaty with Britain, which gave independence to 26 of Ireland's 32 counties, was ratified by Dáil Éireann – the Irish Parliament - two days later.



Patrick Keohane, the Petty Officer from Cork, who marched to within 350 miles of the South Pole with Captain Scott in 1911. Keohane was forced to flee Ireland during the war of independence and served in the Navy during two world wars.

Crucially, every expedition to the Antarctic in the century from Bransfield to Shackleton was made while Ireland formed part of the United Kingdom and any association with the British around the time of independence was deeply unpopular and highly dangerous. In varying degrees, every journey to the ice during years of exploration was dressed up in the mantle of Imperial endeavour, partly to help generate public and political support. It hardly mattered that the explorers were not active political figures or buccaneering colonialists. Fridtjof Nansen, the eminent Norwegian explorer, once measured the feats of explorers against the wider political interests of nations and rightly concluded: "It is the man that matters".

Bransfield, Crozier and Shackleton were already dead when the age of exploration ended in 1922 and the survivors from other expeditions were unable to speak openly about their exploits. Apart from Hugh Mill's biography of Shackleton, no books were written about these men and they all remained well away from the public spotlight.

Keohane, who had close links with the coastguard community, fled Ireland during the War of Independence and Crean's brother, a police officer, was shot dead in Cork at the same time. Forde, a protestant, went home to Cork and stayed diplomatically silent. The only man to speak freely about his adventures was the chirpy old sailor, Mortimer McCarthy who lived 12,000 miles away in New Zealand.

Frank Nugent, the Irish mountaineer and Polar historian, wryly observed that for many years their stories were "lost in the selective memories of Irish history writers of the 20th century". Only today, decades after the last explorers passed way, can the stories be talked about openly as Ireland reassesses the role of its explorers.

Ireland's close links with exploring the Antarctic can be traced back to the country's strong seafaring traditions. Over the years Ireland was a mainstay of the British navy, particularly during the long years when poverty at home drove young Irishmen to find work with the army and navy. The names of Irish sailors can be found in the muster rolls for Captain

Cook's historic first voyage across the Antarctic Circle and it is estimated that one in ten of Royal Navy seamen during the Napoleonic Wars came from Ireland.

Both Shackleton and Scott relied heavily on tough, dependable and loyal Irish seamen on their Antarctic expeditions. For example, three of the six-man crew of the *James Caird* – Shackleton, Crean and Tim McCarthy – were Irish and three of the four naval Petty Officers chosen by Scott on the main section of the *Terra Nova* expedition – Crean, Forde and Keohane – hailed from the province of Munster in the south of the country.

The story of Ireland's role in Antarctic began with Edward Bransfield, perhaps the most enigmatic of them all. He was another skilled seafarer from the small port of Ballinacurra in County Cork whose single journey of discovery to the ice in 1820 launched the century of Antarctic exploration. But we know precious little about Bransfield, apart from the fact that he was press-ganged into the Royal Navy during the Napoleonic Wars, made the first confirmed sighting of the Antarctic coastline and subsequently faded into obscurity. No portraits or photographs of Bransfield have survived, no statues have been erected to commemorate his pioneering voyage and until now no books have been written about him.

Bransfield entered Antarctic history late in 1819 when *Williams*, a small merchant vessel under the command of William Smith, spotted some uncharted islands to the south of Cape Horn during a routine trade voyage to South America. Smith dutifully reported the findings to the British naval authorities in Chile and Bransfield, an experienced ship's Master, was ordered take *Williams* south to verify Smith's reports and claim any new land for the King.

The voyage south in *Williams*, a two-masted 216-ton brig, was an epic feat by any standards. Bransfield sailed unaccompanied into unknown waters with a crew of 30 men on a journey of more than 2,000 miles from Valparaiso which first charted the undiscovered South Shetland Islands. Satisfied with his initial discoveries, Bransfield turned south into the stretch of water between the South Shetlands and the Antarctic Peninsula. The channel, which is about 200 miles long and 60 miles wide, is today known as the Bransfield Strait and a regular thoroughfare for tourist ships to Antarctica.

Williams drove south amid icebergs and continuous banks of fog before land was suddenly sighted on January 30, 1820. One Midshipman described the sight as a mixture of "immense mountains, rude crags and barren ridges covered with snow." Further probing uncovered more of the rocky north western chunk of the Peninsula which was named Trinity Land and a 2,500 ft peak was later called Mount Bransfield.

However Bransfield's achievements were soon engulfed in controversy. Unknown to the crew of *Williams*, two Russian vessels under Thaddeus von Bellingshausen had also entered Antarctic seas on the other side of the continent. On January 27, three days before Bransfield's sighting, von Bellingshausen's ships came within 20 miles of what is today called Dronning Maud Land and reported "ice mountains" and "continuous ice". Crucially, von Bellingshausen did not distinguish the sightings as land. The Russian was apparently unable to confirm his sighting as new land.

The heated dispute about whether it was Bransfield or von Bellingshausen who first saw Antarctica continues into present times. Most historians support the Russian's case, but while von Bellingshausen was unsure about his discovery, Bransfield was clear and can reasonably be celebrated as the person who made the first definite and confirmed sighting of the continent.

To add to the debate, some of Bransfield's official records were lost and the navy, for reasons which are unclear, turned down his appeal to make a second journey south to explore the new territories. In frustration, Bransfield left the navy, quietly built a career in the merchant

fleet and drifted into the twilight. He moved to Brighton in 1848 and died there in October 1852.

After nearly 150 years of obscurity, Bransfield's tomb in the corner of a Brighton cemetery was refurbished in 1999 and now includes the unequivocal declaration: "The First Man to See Mainland Antarctic in January 1820".

Two decades after Bransfield led the way, Francis Crozier of Banbridge, County Down, mapped large chunks of the seas and the continent during the 19th century's greatest voyage of maritime discovery (see James Caird Journal, No 5).

Crozier's outstanding four-year journey with James Ross in the *Erebus* and *Terror* between 1839 and 1843 pioneered the route south for the voyages of Shackleton, Scott and Amundsen in the heroic age 60 years later. Many of the familiar names on the Antarctic map – Cape Crozier, McMurdo Sound, Mount Erebus and Ross Island – were named by Crozier and Ross. Crozier, who made six journeys to the ice during a lifetime at sea, subsequently died on the ill-fated Franklin expedition of 1845 which disappeared in search of the North West Passage.

Almost 60 years would pass before the *Discovery* expedition under Robert Scott, the first major attempt to explore the deep interior of the continent and the venture which served as the Antarctic apprenticeship for Shackleton and Crean.

Robert Forde, the rugged sailor from Cork who was invalided out of Scott's expedition after suffering severe frostbite in temperatures of -73.3° F (-58° C) but lived to be one of the expedition's last survivors.

Less well known from the same era are Robert Forde and Patrick Keohane who served on Scott's disastrous last expedition (1910-13) and Mortimer and Timothy McCarthy, the brothers who sailed with both Scott and Shackleton – but never together.

The experience of Forde, a seasoned naval petty officer who hailed from West Cork, typified the rigours and durability of Antarctic exploration. He was invalided out of Scott's *Terra Nova* expedition after suffering severe frostbite in temperatures down to a paralyzing -73° F (-58° C). But he stayed long enough to erect a stone shelter which is still standing after 100 years and is now protected as a site of historical interest. Forde's personal keepsake was a permanently disfigured hand which forced him to wear gloves for the rest of his life. Forde died in 1959, one of the last survivors of Scott's shore party.

Patrick Keohane, a seaman to his fingertips, sprang from the rugged Seven Heads Peninsula in Cork and marched to within 300 miles of the South Pole with Scott in 1911. Keohane was brought up by the sea and his father, who was coxswain of the local lifeboat, earned fame in 1915 as the first vessel to reach survivors of the torpedoed passenger ship, *Lusitania*.

Less well known is that the only major argument recorded during the expedition's over-wintering

The ice slope Shackleton, Worsley and Crean descended during the perilous crossing of South Georgia in 1916. After being caught in the open without shelter, the men fashioned a makeshift toboggan from a length of rope and rode down the slope to avoid being frozen to death. (Con Collins)

at Cape Evans in 1911 erupted between Keohane and the middle-class naval officers and scientists over the controversial issue of Irish nationalism. By a cruel irony, Keohane was forced to flee Ireland with his family in 1920 because of his coastguard connections and service in the Royal Navy.

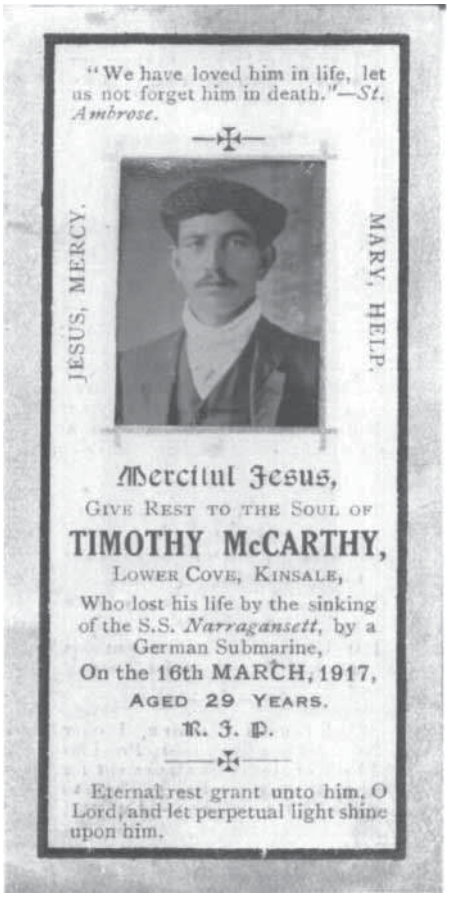
It was Keohane and Lieutenant Atkinson who made the last unsuccessful attempt to trace Scott's doomed party on the journey back from the Pole in fearsome conditions. Months later he was among those who found the frozen corpses Scott, Bowers and Wilson. Keohane served in two world wars and provided first-hand accounts of the expedition to the makers of the 1948 film, *Scott of the Antarctic*. His only child was named Nova after Scott's vessel, *Terra Nova*.

Perhaps the most colourful of the Irish contingent at this time was Mortimer McCarthy from the seaport of Kinsale, County Cork who ran away to sea at the age of 12 and joined Scott's expedition the day before the ship sailed south. He was another highly accomplished seaman made three harrowing voyages to the Antarctic in *Terra Nova* and was still working on ships in his early 80s. Mortimer, an old sea dog with a flowing moustache and a fondness for whisky, made a nostalgic return visit to the Antarctic in 1963 and at 80 years of age was the oldest man ever to set foot on the continent. He died in tragic circumstances in 1967, aged 85, among the last survivors of the *Terra Nova* expedition.

One of Mortimer's more sombre tasks was to collect the Polar Medal awarded his younger brother, Timothy who served Shackleton with great distinction on the *Endurance* expedition. Tim, another highly skilled sailor, was brought up handling small boats in the busy waterways around Kinsale harbour and was a key figure during the voyage of the *James Caird* in 1916. It was Tim who first sighted South Georgia at the end of the epic *Caird* journey and Shackleton paid full tribute to his abilities. He once wrote: "McCarthy, the best and most efficient of the sailors, always cheerful under the most trying circumstances..."

Mortimer McCarthy, aged 80, made a nostalgic return to the Antarctic in 1963, exactly 50 years after his last voyage. Mortimer (standing, left) is pictured with two other Terra Nova veterans, Bill cDonald (centre) and Bill Burton. (McCarthy family)

Sadly, Tim McCarthy was killed in March 1917 later when a German U-boat sank his oil tanker 350 miles off the Irish coast. The McCarthys were one of only two sets of brothers to serve in the Antarctic with Scott and Shackleton, the others



The memorial card for Tim McCarthy, who sailed in the James Caird with Shackleton but was killed in 1917 when his ship was sunk by U-boat. Tim, brother of Mortimer McCarthy, was only 28 when he died, though the card gives his age as 29. (McCarthy family)

being Frank and Ernest Wild. By a cruel twist of fate, both families each lost a brother in the war when Ernest "Tubby" Wild, a member of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party, was killed by typhoid in 1918.

It was not until the early 1990s, long after all the old explorers had died, that Ireland began to reassess and celebrate the feats of these men. Appropriately, it was country's modern day adventurers who led the commemoration by retracing the steps of the pioneers.

The first step came in 1996 with the *South Aris* expedition (south again) which set out to retrace the journey of the *James Caird* and make the crossing of South Georgia in memory of Shackleton, Crean and Worsley. A replica of the *James Caird*, named *Tom Crean*, was built but unfortunately the party had to abandon the vessel in ferocious Southern Ocean storms. Fortunately, four of the party were able to complete the traverse of the island.

Mike Barry, an accomplished mountaineer from Tralee in Kerry and member of the traverse team, was driven by an even bigger ambition. Barry wanted to complete the task begun by the likes of Shackleton and trek overland to the South Pole itself. Quietly, without fuss or the fanfare of sponsorship and publicity, the 50-years old Barry walked 731 miles from Hercules Inlet and reached the South Pole on January 21, 2004 – the first Irishman to reach the Pole on foot.

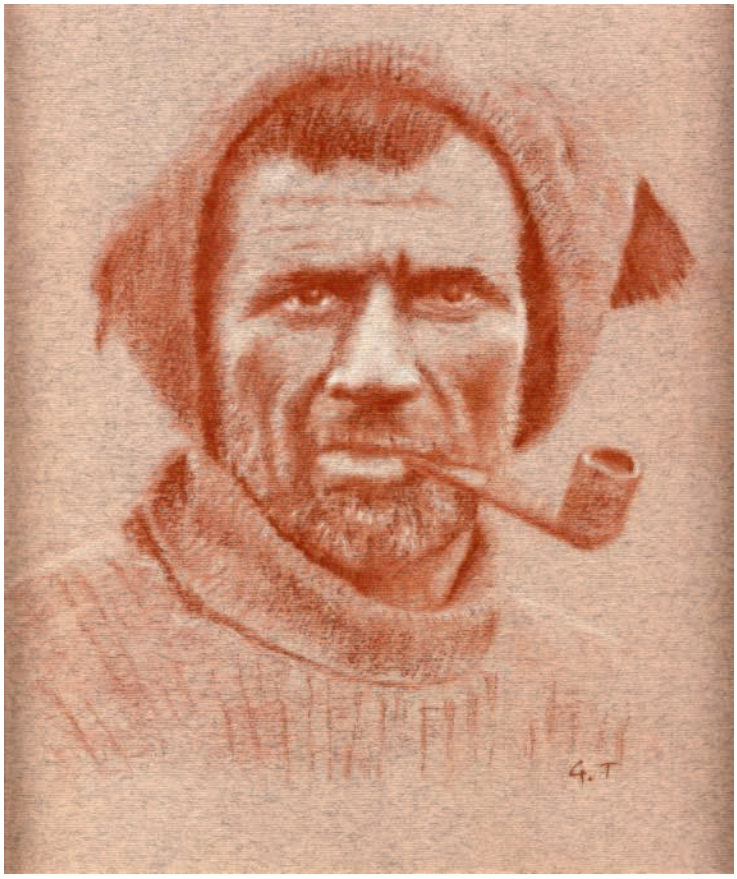
Tom Crean, the stalwart who served on three expeditions to the Antarctic, photographed for the last time in the late 1930s outside his home, the South Pole Inn, Kerry.

Shackleton, Crean and all the other Irish characters who left such an indelible mark on history would doubtless be the first to salute his achievement which commemorated decades of great endeavour by generations of Irish explorers in the Antarctic.

Great Endeavour – Ireland's Antarctic Explorers by Michael Smith, published by The Collins Press, Cork: www.collinspress.ie

Michael Smith has written and lectured extensively about the history of Polar exploration. His books include a biography of Sir Ernest Shackleton written for younger readers: *Shackleton*: *The Boss* (Collins Press, 2004).

Other books:
An Unsung Hero - Tom Crean (Collins Press/Headline, 2000);
I Am Just Going Outside – Captain Oates (Spellmount 2002);
Sir James Wordie – Polar Crusader (Birlinn, 2004);
Captain Francis Crozier – Last Man Standing? (Collins Press 2006);
Tom Crean – An Illustrated Life (Collins Press, 2006).
FOR CHILDREN:
Tom Crean – The Iceman (Collins Press, 2003)
CONTRIBUTING AUTHOR: *Shackleton: The Antarctic & Endurance* (Dulwich College, 2000)
Contact: www.micksmith.co.uk



Tom Crean Portrait by Ghislaine Tillier

Sir Ernest Shackleton in Dublin

By Neale Webb

> 'The occasion which has brought together this concourse is one of exceptional interest. We have assembled, in the first place, to greet and welcome a distinguished explorer, an Irishman (applause), who has come to the Irish capital to narrate some of his experiences 'Nearest The South Pole'. The narrative is certain to secure attention, and their admiration. For apart from any scientific results, an achievement, such as that which has been performed, implies the possession and exercise of qualities of enterprise, courage, pluck and endurance, which deserve to be appreciated, and which no people appreciate more than the Irish (applause).
>
> **I have great pleasure in introducing Sir Ernest Shackleton'**.
>
> *The Irish Times* 15 December 1909.

The venue was the large hall of the National University, Earlsfort Terrace which is now the National Concert Hall. The date was the 14 December 1909. The man performing the introductions was the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl of Aberdeen. The occasion was a lecture being given by Sir Ernest Shackleton on his *Nimrod Expedition* of 1907-1909 when he had got to within 97 miles of the South Pole. *The Irish Times* on the following day reported that 'There was a very large attendance, every available seat in the hall being occupied'. It was no wonder. The Irishman in question, Sir Ernest Shackleton, was at the time one of the most famous men in the world.

Family Background

Ernest Henry Shackleton was born on 15 February 1874 at Kilkea House, between the towns of Athy and Castledermot in Co. Kildare. He was the fifth generation of Shackletons to be born in Ireland. The first Shackleton to come to Ireland was Abraham Shackleton, a Quaker, who came from Yorkshire in 1720 as tutor to a Quaker family living near Carlow. He went on to found a school at Ballitore in Co. Kildare that was to achieve an international reputation. Among the pupils would be the statesman Edmund Burke (1729-1797), the revolutionary Napper Tandy (1737-1803) and the future Cardinal Paul Cullen (1803-1878).

Neale Webb in the doorway of Kilkea House, Shackleton's birthplace.

Ernest's father, Henry, had studied Art at Trinity College (Dublin) but was farming land leased from the Duke of Leinster when Ernest was born. Ernest's mother, Henrietta Gavan, was descended on one side from the Gavan family of Co. Cork and on the other side from the Fitzmaurice family of Co. Kerry. In 1880 Henry Shackleton decided to give up farming and to study medicine. He moved to Dublin to study at Trinity College and his family lived for

four years at 35 Marlborough Road in Donnybrook. If you travel up Marlborough Road from the junction with Morehampton Road you can see the house on the right hand side. A plaque on the wall reads...

> Antarctic Explorer Ernest Shackleton 1874-1922 lived here 1880-1884.
> Leader of Men.

As soon as Henry Shackleton qualified as a doctor in 1884 he left with his family to start a medical practice in London. The family settled in the Sydenham area of South London and Ernest was sent to school at nearby Dulwich College. He was an inattentive pupil however and his Irish accent gained him the nickname of Mickey with which he signed many of his letters to the end of his life. In 1890 he left school to enter the Merchant Marine and served for the next ten years on sailing ships travelling the world.

To the Antarctic

His interest in the Antarctic began when he joined the *Discovery Expedition* of 1901-1903. This was the first major expedition of what came to be known as The Heroic Age of Antarctic Exploration. The expedition was led by Captain Robert Falcon Scott and it included a Southern Party comprising Ernest Shackleton, Captain Scott and Dr. Edward Wilson. Unfortunately this Southern Party got less than half way to the South Pole and Ernest Shackleton was subsequently invalided back to Britain having suffered badly from scurvy during his four months on the ice.

As a result of this experience and a subsequent falling out with Captain Scott, Ernest Shackleton decided to organise his own privately funded expedition to the Antarctic. This was his *Nimrod Expedition* of 1907-1909 when he and three companions made it across the Ross Ice Shelf, up the Beardmore Glacier and across the Polar Plateau to within 97 miles of the South Pole. Wisely, at this point, he decided to turn back and was able to rendezvous with his ship and return just before the winter ice closed in.

Return to Dublin

This then, was the background to his 'celebrity' trip to Dublin in December 1909. Newspapers from the time give a wonderful depiction of how a 'local' celebrity, newly knighted by the monarch, was received by the great and good of Edwardian Dublin. Events of 15 December began for Ernest Shackleton with a luncheon at the Corinthian Club. *The Irish Times* next day reported the day as follows:

> Sir Ernest Shackleton was yesterday afternoon the guest of members of the Corinthian Club by whom he was entertained to luncheon in the Aberdeen Hall of the Gresham Hotel in Dublin. The occasion was one of very considerable interest and a very large party of the members of the Club and their guests – including several ladies – assembled to do honour to the celebrated Antarctic explorer.

Sir Ernest Shackleton

> Sir Charles Cameron C.B., President of the Club, occupied the chair. To the right of the Chairman were Sir Ernest Shackleton, Lady Trimlestown, the Moderator of the General Assembly, the Honourable Lady Lyttleton, the Most Reverend the Bishop of Meath, the Countess Von Resetas, Sir Lambert Ormbsy and Miss Rich. To the left of the Chairman were the Marchioness of Headfort, Lord Trimlestown, Mrs. R. R. Cherry, Lord Killanin, Lady Gilbert, General the Right Honourable Sir Neville Lyttleton, County Court Judge Todd and Miss Thompson.
>
> During the luncheon Mrs. Power O'Donoghue recited an interesting ode which she had just composed.
>
> During the course of the afternoon a very enjoyable programme of music was contributed by Messrs George Shellard, John Horan, Randal Woodhouse, Miss Agnes Treacy, Miss Lena Munro and Miss Queenie Eaton. Brother Corinthian Dr. Jose officiated at the piano.

The lecture itself later in the evening was also a great success. Ernest Shackleton was apparently an excellent lecturer. When, on a later occasion, he gave a lecture at the Philharmonic Hall in London, the *London Times* reported as follows:

> There was a large audience at the Philharmonic Hall yesterday when Sir Ernest Shackleton, for the hundredth time, told the thrilling story of his last polar expedition, illustrated by films and pictures. This entertainment has become one of the most popular in London and thousands of people have listened with the closest attention to the wonderful tale of adventure and endurance. Sir Ernest makes no attempt at an elaborate lecture. He just talks in simple homely language relieved by jokes and witticisms and yet he succeeds in making his story 'live' keeping his audience almost too enraptured to cheer.
>
> Sir Ernest makes a point of inviting questions and yesterday he had several. Much merriment was caused by one question. 'Was there any use for a properly trained nurse?' The lecturer contented himself with saying that women had never been taken on any Antarctic trip yet.

Ernest Shackleton made a second lecture visit to Dublin on 22 February 1911. This time the lecture took place in the Round Room of the Rotunda. *The Irish Times* reported as follows:

Last evening in the Round Room, Rotunda, Sir Ernest Shackleton delivered a lecture dealing with his voyage of discovery to the South Pole. The attendance which was large included the Lord Lieutenant and the Countess of Aberdeen. Both before and after the lecture, vocal and instrumental items were rendered by distinguished artists including Miss Lily Christie, Miss Kathleen Hayes, Mr Dan Jones and Mr J C Doyle. Madame Lucy Donnelly acted as accompanist. The lecture was illustrated by numerous lantern slides and by cinematographic films. Messrs Thomas Mayne and Son, 19 Lord Edward Street had charge of the lantern and discharged their task without a hitch.

Further Antarctic Adventures

The next major expedition of the Heroic Age was the *Terra Nova Expedition* of 1910-1912 led by Captain Scott. This is the expedition immortalised in the 1949 movie *Scott of the Antarctic* when Scott's party reached the South Pole only to find that they had been beaten to it by the Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen. Scott and his four companions were then to die tragically on their return journey from the South Pole.

Photograph of Sir Ernest Shackleton given to his daughter, Cecily, and signed 'Micky', his nickname (1918).

Shackleton's next expedition was the famous *Endurance Expedition* of 1914-1916 whereby Shackleton hoped to cross Antarctica from the Atlantic side to the Pacific side, passing the South Pole on the way. As it happened his ship the *Endurance* was destined never to make landfall and was caught in the ice of the Weddell Sea where it was crushed and sank. Shackleton and his compliment of 27 men had first to camp out on the ice and then take to the lifeboats. They landed on the remote outcrop of Elephant Island from where Shackleton embarked with five others in one of the lifeboats, the *James Caird*, to sail the 800 miles back to the island of South Georgia. The crew, which included Tom Crean from Co. Kerry and Tim McCarthy from Co. Cork, endured horrendous conditions in the Southern Ocean but eventually made landfall twenty days later on the uninhabited west coast of South Georgia. After resting for a few days Shackleton, Crean and Worsley, the ship's captain, crossed the mountain peaks of South Georgia on foot until they reached a Norwegian whaling station on the east coast of the island. Then, after three unsuccessful attempts, Shackleton obtained the use of a Chilean steam tug called the *Yelcho* which was able to get through the ice to Elephant Island and rescue all his remaining men.

such an heroic rescue it might be thought that Shackleton would be acclaimed by the public back in Britain and Ireland. However when he returned to Britain in 1917 the First World War was still raging and millions of heroes were fighting and dying on the battlefields of Europe. In addition Shackleton's health never fully recovered from his Antarctic exploits. When in January 1922 he returned to South Georgia in a small ship called the *Quest* he suffered a heart attack and died aged only forty seven. He is buried on the island of South Georgia in the whalers' cemetery at Grytviken.

Shackleton's tombstone in the whalers' graveyard at Grytviken on South Georgia

The Legend

It is interesting to note that for the next fifty years Ernest Shackleton was largely forgotten. Throughout this period the British nation had their hero in Captain Scott. Scott was after all an Englishman who had not turned back but had reached the South Pole and had died heroically in his tent. As for Ireland some significant dates tell it all. The week that Shackleton spent on Elephant Island preparing the *James Caird* for the rescue mission to South Georgia was in fact Easter Week 1916. Also Shackleton died in January 1922 a few weeks before Irish independence. Ireland had its new heroes and they did not include the man who had brought the Union Jack to Antarctica.

Fortunately however, the legend of Ernest Shackleton has undergone a huge change for the better both in Ireland and the world since the 1970s. Recent years have seen the production of numerous books and television programmes. In Ireland, an exhibition of photographs and artefacts can be seen at the Ferry Terminal Building in Dun Laoghaire and there is also an excellent weekend of lectures every year at the Shackleton Autumn School in Athy, Co. Kildare.

Now in Ireland we naturally claim Sir Ernest Shackleton as a great Irish hero but across the Irish Sea he is always claimed as British. While of course there was a huge British dimension to his life and career, it is necessary from time to time to remind our neighbours of his Irish dimension too. Whenever I have the opportunity of welcoming Shackleton admirers to Ireland I always like to bring them on a tour of Shackleton landmarks in the Dublin area.

Dublin Land Marks

Firstly, of course, there is the plaque on the wall of 35 Marlborough Road. There is also a plaque on the wall in the foyer of the National Concert Hall to mark his 1909 lecture there. However there are other landmarks which stand as a testament to the contribution of the extended Shackleton family to the Dublin area. Many people will remember for instance Shackleton's Mills in Lucan, first acquired by George and Abraham Shackleton in 1859. Indeed in 1907 when Ernest Shackleton was embarking on his *Nimrod Expedition* his first cousin, Ebenezer Shackleton, was President of The Irish Flour Millers Association. The mill on the Liffey outside Lucan ceased production in 1998 but if you drive up the Lower Lucan Road past the Strawberry Beds you can still see the name Shackleton proudly displayed on the old factory gates. The property has since been acquired by Fingal County Council as have the nearby Shackleton's Gardens at Beech Park in Clonsilla. As soon as funds permit it is intended to restore both properties as a major heritage enterprise of benefit to the local community and to visitors to the Liffey Valley.

The plaque outside
35 Marlborough Road, Donnybrook

There are of course black sheep in every family and in the case of the Shackleton family this was Ernest's younger brother Frank. He had fought with the Irish Fusiliers in the Boer War and was subsequently appointed 'Dublin Herald' at the Office of Arms in Dublin Castle. His role, in part, was to assist in the protection of the regalia of the Grand Master of the Order of Saint Patrick – popularly known as the 'Irish Crown Jewels'. When these jewels disappeared from the Castle in 1907 many people pointed the finger at Frank Shackleton although his involvement was never proved. Frank was however later involved in a financial scandal which led to him serving a term of imprisonment for fraud. After his release he changed his name to Frank Mellor and died in England in 1941.

The front gate at Shackleton's Mill, Lucan

Finally a visit to the Quaker Graveyard at Temple Hill in Blackrock will show that buried there are nineteen members of the Shackleton family together with sixty members of the Webb family – including my own parents and my elder brother. Both the Shackleton and Webb families have been prominent in the Quaker community in Ireland for many years and there were many inter-marriages. My grandfather James Henry Webb was a cousin of Ernest Shackleton both being directly descended from Richard Shackleton of Ballitore. Also my great-grandfather Thomas Henry Webb was a first cousin of Alfred Webb who was an Irish Party MP at Westminster and Hon. Secretary of the Irish Party Funds. When Alfred Webb died in 1908 a telegram from John Redmond was read at his graveside in Temple Hill. Alfred Webb was married to Elizabeth Shackleton also from Ballitore and she was in turn a first cousin of Henry Shackleton, Ernest Shackleton's father.

A Postscript

As a postscript I will just relate one more anecdote. In 2006 I travelled on a Russian icebreaker to Antarctica along with a group of intrepid Antarctic travellers. When I made my booking I pointed out that Ernest Shackleton had been a cousin of my grandfather, only to find that my presence was featured in the advertising material for the expedition and that I was regarded as a minor celebrity on board. During the trip we were able to visit Scott's hut at Cape Evans as well as Shackleton's hut at Cape Royds. I was asked to do a short piece to camera in front of Shackleton's hut for the expedition video. I pointed out that I had been to Shackleton's birthplace at Kilkea House in Co. Kildare, to his grave at Grytviken on South Georgia and that now I had been to 'where he worked'. I also pointed out the many aspects of his life which made up his Irish dimension and I emphasised how proud we were to honour him as one of our fellow countrymen.

***Neale Webb** is a Chartered Accountant and lives in Blackrock.*
This article first appeared in Obelisk *(2015).*

Pictured at the unveiling of a plaque in the foyer of the National Concert Hall to commemorate Shackleton's lecture there in the 1909 are Hon. Alexandra Shackleton (granddaughter of Sir Ernest Shackleton) and Simon Taylor (CEO of the National Concert Hall). Simon Taylor is the son of the Reverend Marcus Taylor, rector of St. Brigid's Church, Stillorgan from 1947 to 1986.

Songs for Marooned Men –

some research on the lighter, musical, side of polar journeys.

After some research by numerous good folk the following have emerged (for those of you with access to the internet, some useful links are given for your enjoyment):

HURLEY: ***Argonauts of the South***

- Page 263 *'Hussey generally treats us to a half hour's banjo serenade in which our choristers join their voices.' 'Hussey, brightening the atmosphere with his witty rallies and sparkling repartee, leading the songs with his clear notes, and giving body to the choruses with his banjo, was the life and soul of the party, and with "the common tunes… that make you laugh and blow your nose." Yes! He "tore our very heart-strings out with those*."
- Pages 269-270 Midwinter Concert 1915: 36 items, half of them 'topical songs'. '*The programme may not have been high art, but Covent Garden has held no more appreciative audience.*' **"The Village Blacksmith"** was translated into "The Snuggery Cook". It is classed as 'a Victorian parlour song'. Words H. W. Longfellow first published in the November 1840 issue of *The Knickerbocker*, reissued in *Ballads, and Other Poems*, 1841. Song composed 1854. Music by Willoughby Hunter Weiss (1820 – 1867).The title character of "The Village Blacksmith" is presented as an "everyman" and a role model: he balances his commitments to work, the community, and his family. Noted as being strong, he works by the sweat of his brow and does not owe anyone anything. Children coming home from school stop to stare at him as he works, impressed by the roaring bellows and burning sparks. On Sundays, the blacksmith, a single father after the death of his wife, takes his children to church, where his daughter sings in the choir. He goes through his life following the daily tasks assigned to him and has earned his sleep at night.

Music at www.victorianweb.org/mt/parlorsongs/13.html Duration 3'28"
With orchestra, slower www.youtube.com/watch?v=XZZD2Qejj2w

- Pages 269-70 **"Solomon Levi"** *'has nothing on the substituted words, "Franky Wild-O!"'* [Music (with variant text) at **www.loc.gov/resource/sm1885.07548.0/?sp=2** http://musicofyesterday.com/sheet-music-s/solomon-levi]

O Franky Wild-O! Tra-la-la-la-la-la!
Mister Frank Wild-O! Tra-la-la-la-la-la;
My name is Franky Wild-O; my hut's on Elephant Isle,
The wall's without a single brick, the roof's without a tile;
But nevertheless, I must confess, by many and many a mile
It's the most palatial dwelling-place you'll find on Elephant Isle.

Upon an Isle whose icy shores are washed by stormy seas,
Here dwells beneath two upturned boats in comfort and in ease,
A grimy crew of twenty-two who've drifted many a mile
And oft at night within each bag a face beams with a smile.

CHORUS
Drowsy reflections of rich plum cake,
It is tucking into almond icing and duffs enticing,
Which mortal baker could scarcely bake!

[There were m**ore verses**: **www.enduranceobituaries.co.uk/hussey.htm]**

As might be expected, food formed a fertile subject for topical wit, and the following ballad was soulfully rendered by James to the lilting melody **"Egypt *(my Cleopatra)*"** '. [Composer /arranger? Clare Kummer: Date: early 20thC (c 1903): Publisher: Chappell & Co. Singer/composer: Harry Tally

ORDE-LEES Diaries: *Elephant Island and Beyond*

- Page73 (Midwinter's Day 1915 party, see above) *'Marston....was beautifully made up as an old yokel farm hand in a smock with fur whiskers, in which guise he sang* ***"Widdicombe Fair"*** *with fine action...'*
  Widecombe Fair, also called **Tom Pearce** (sometimes spelt "Tam Pierce"), is a well-known Devon folk song about a man called Tom Pearce, whose horse dies after someone borrows it to travel to the fair in Widecombe with his friends. The song was published by Sabine Baring-Gould in the book *Songs and Ballads of the West* (1889–91) (referring to the West Country), though it also exists in variant forms.[2] The title is spelt "Widdecombe Fair" in the original publication, though "Widecombe" is now the standard spelling of the town Widecombe-in-the-Moor. The ghostly 'Grey Mare' of the song may in fact refer to a lost folk custom similar to the Mari Lwyd or Hobby Horse of Welsh and Cornish tradition.
  'and later as a human derelict he favoured us with a bloodcurdling rendering of the gruesome song entitled ***"Jimmy Hall"***.
- ***Rickinson*** *(chief engineer) attired as a rather sprightly dame rendered a love ballad, appearing in the second half of the programme as a horrid little dwarf when he sang Sam Mayo's song,* ***"Push It Under the Door"***.
- ***Hussey****, who was splendidly got up as a white-eyed negro accompanied all the songs on his banjo ...*
- ***Wordie*** *gave an amusing skit on a Scotchman trying to tune up his bagpipes,*
- ***Clark*** *in a kilt sang a* ***Scotch Ballad****.*
- ***Kerr and Greenstreet*** *sang* ***"Le Diddley Iddley Um"*** *as a duet...'* (no evidence yet for text/music, except late extant Chas 'N Dave song). *Kerr also sang* ***"Spagoni the Torreador"***
- ***Worsley*** *obliged with* ***an excellent little topical song****,*
- ***Cheetham*** *did the same in his own quaint way, the carpenter intoned* ***two Scotch dirges*** *without music...*
- Page 242 (Midwinter's Day 1916): *'****Hussey*** *is indefatigable with his banjo and it really does, as Sir Ernest said, supply brain-food; not intellectual food, but music hath charms altogether unique on Elephant Island'. 'Wild, with his fine bass voice, sang a charming Negro ditty,* ***"Massa's Gone Away"*** *and two* other songs'.* [Collected by: Miles Krassen Composed by: Henry Clay Work].
  - (1)"**Jim Crack Corn**" or "**Blue Tail Fly**" is an American song which first became popular during the rise of blackface minstrelsy in the 1840s. Over the years, several variants have appeared. Most versions include some idiomatic African English. On the surface, the song is a black slave's lament over his white master's death in a riding accident. The song, however, can be—and is—interpreted as having a subtext of celebration about that death and of the slave's having contributed to it through deliberate negligence or even deniable action.
  - **(2) "The Golden Vanity" —** From W. Bolton, Southport, Lancashire; noted in 1906 by Ann Gilchrist. In some versions of this widespread and well-known ballad with many versions, the enemy is Turkish, Spanish or French. Fundamentally, it is a story of betrayal and rarely does it have a happy ending. Sometimes the boy drowns and his ghost returns to sink his own ship. Some cite the hero as being Sir Walter Raleigh. The cabin boy of *The Golden Vanity* ranks alongside *John Henry* as one of the indestructible folk heroes. This is a very early ballad, known originally as *Sir Walter Raleigh Sailing in the Lowlands*, and, as such it was collected by Samuel Pepys. Paddie ignores the Scottish version of the song which gives the boy a happy ending. Also known as *The Sweet Trinity*, or *The Lowlands Low* and **"Captain Stormalong"** (lyrics anon). This capstan shanty was originally sung around the pumps and later used as a

capstan shanty. There is no doubt it is of African-American origin. It dates to at least the 1830s and 1840s.

'How,** sang '**A Sailor's Alphabet' and '**Every Night**'*, (the former has been recorded by Fairport Convention, the latter is a typical music hall song - possibly also known as **'He goes there every night'**)

- ***Wordie** croaked the one and only item of his repertoire, **"The [A] Son of a Gambolier"**.* The source for the lyrics comes from an old English and Scottish drinking song of the same name. It was intended once as a lament to one's own poverty, the character of the *Gambolier* being "a worthless individual given to carousing, gambling, and general moral depravity." The song lyrics became reasonably popular in the 1800s to several musical settings at the end of the nineteenth century.

  ***James** rendered a splendid topical song, '**Elephant Isle**'*
  (ie the one about Frankie Wild-O!).

HUSSEY

- Hussey recorded that among their favourite songs were: '**Swanne River',** '**Massa's in the Cold Ground', 'Little Brown Jug'** and '**John Peel'** These songs are all current in songbooks today.
  ['**Massa's in de Cold Ground'** (1852): Stephen Foster wrote this beautiful song for the wildly popular minstrel stage, but the sentiments expressed in the lyric transcend the plantation setting. In writing about slaves possessing deep and tender feelings, Foster was far ahead of his time - but the lyric tells of a devotion and love truly universal in character.
- **Massa's in de Cold Cold Ground**" is a minstrel song by Stephen Foster (1826-1864) published by Firth, Pond & Co. of New York in 1852. Foster followed up the success of 'Old Folks at Home' with two more blackface songs: 'Farewell My Lily Dear' in Dec 1851 and 'Massa' seven months later. 'Massa' closely resembles 'Old Folks' in its D major key, its 4/4 time, its six phrase structure, and its leap from D to high D in the opening measures. Emerson thinks the title may have been suggested by the Thomas Moore ballad 'When Cold in the Ground'. In 'Massa', slaves are crying for a deceased slave owner - rather than the slave owner and his wife crying for a deceased slave. Massa is Foster's father, William Barclay Foster, who died not a wealthy but a poor man. Emerson writes '[Stephen's] lyrics are both patricidal and anticipatory, a compound of guilt and grief.' Another "Cold" (cold, cold ground) was added to the title following the American Civil War. (Ken Emerson. 1998. *Doo-dah!: Stephen Foster and the rise of American popular culture*. Da Capo Press. pp. 184-

. . . . . .

Then there were the songs that the men composed themselves. These usually took the form of the men ridiculing one another.

- **Kerr**: 2nd Engineer A.J. Kerr was one of the least musically gifted of the men and a short song was composed especially for him:
  When faces turn pale' neath the soot and the grime;
  When eyes start in terror as if caught in some crime;
  When we beg on our knees to be let off this time;
  Then you know that Kerr's threatened to sing.

- **Clark**: The Scotsman Robert Clark who it seems was always slow to grasp a joke, and told jokes too deep for others to understand, was immortalized in the following verse:

When such silence reigns you could hear a pin fall,
When we lie round in pain quite unable to crawl,
When a sense of depression hangs over us all,
Then you know that Clark's just made a joke!

From Seb Couthard's website (see: www.sebcoulthard.com/sound-of-history.html

LYRICS
The Village Blacksmith (orig. wds H.W. Longfellow)
Under a spreading chestnut-tree
The village smithy stands;
The smith, a mighty man is he,
With large and sinewy hands;
And the muscles of his brawny arms
Are strong as iron bands.

His hair is crisp, and black, and long,
His face is like the tan;
His brow is wet with honest sweat,
He earns whate'er he can,
And looks the whole world in the face,
For he owes not any man.

Week in, week out, from morn till night,
You can hear his bellows blow;
You can hear him swing his heavy sledge,
With measured beat and slow,
Like a sexton ringing the village bell,
When the evening sun is low.

And children coming home from school
Look in at the open door;
They love to see the flaming forge,
And hear the bellows roar,
And catch the burning sparks that fly
Like chaff from a threshing-floor.

He goes on Sunday to the church,
And sits among his boys;
He hears the parson pray and preach,
He hears his daughter's voice,
Singing in the village choir,
And it makes his heart rejoice.

It sounds to him like her mother's voice,
Singing in Paradise!
He needs must think of her once more,
How in the grave she lies;
And with his hard, rough hand he wipes
A tear out of his eyes.

Toiling,—rejoicing,—sorrowing,
Onward through life he goes;
Each morning sees some task begin,
Each evening sees it close
Something attempted, something done,
Has earned a night's repose.

Thanks, thanks to thee, my worthy friend,
For the lesson thou hast taught!
Thus at the flaming forge of life
Our fortunes must be wrought;
Thus on its sounding anvil shaped
Each burning deed and thought.

Solomon Levi
Oh, my name is Solomon Levi
I am a velly good man
I'll sell you a suit of klo-zes,
So sheep as ever I can.

My wife's name is Rachel,
She's nothing but a sham,
And every time she gets a chance
She slugs me if she can.

So help me Jimminey Moses
To sell you a suit of klo-zes;
I live way up on Market Street
Number One hundred Twenty-nine.

And it's kal-uh-ma, kal-uh-ma cinda,
I will meet you at the kavinda,
Kal-uh-ma cinda cinda cinda,
A-hosta, ka-zista, ka-zay!

Spoken: There was a loafer came in the store one day,
and said, "Solomon, have you any nice cutaway suits?"
I said, "Yes," and he tried on the coat. Just then he
cut out of the back door, and I hollered to my son John,
"John, get the gun and shoot him in the leg so you don't
spoil the coat." Just then my wife Rachel appeared at the window singing,
"Oh, it's kal-uh-ma, kal-uh-ma cinda,
I will meet you at the kavinda,
Kal-uh-ma cinda cinda cinda
A-hosta, ka-zista, ka-zay!"

[It was traditional to make up other variants of the words, so fitting 'My name is Franky Wild-O!' came naturally. They had to add the -O! To make it fit 'Lev-i'.
vs. 1 My name is Solomon Levi, at my store in Chatham street,
There's where you'll find your coats and vests,
And ev'rything else that's neat;
I've second-handed Ulsterettes,
And ev'rything that's fine,
For all the boys they trade with me
At One hundred and forty-nine.

CHORUS: Oh, Mister Levi, Levi,
tra, la, la, la;
Poor Sheeny Levi,
Tra, la. la, la, la. la, la, la. la, la, la.
(+CHORUS REPEAT vs 1)

My name is Solomon Levi, at my store in Chatham street, (variant: Salem street)
There's where you'll find your coats and vests,
And ev'rything else that's fine,
I've second-handed Ulsterettes,....

vs. 2 But when a bummer comes inside my store in Chatham street,
And tries to hang me up for coat and vest and pants complete,
I kicks that bummer out of my store.
And on him sets my pup,
For I won't sell clothes to any man
That tries to hang me up

Cho.: Oh, Mister Levi, Levi, etc]

At a Minute to Seven, Last Night (Push it Under the Door)
Written and composed by ***Worton David & Sam Mayo;***
performed by ***Sam Mayo*** *(1875-1938)*

Hush! What do you think? I'm as scared as a mouse
The people say we've got a ghost in the house
I made up my mind I would settle that ghost
So armed with a flat-iron, I took up my post

Chorus: *At a minute to seven last night*
I had a most terrible shock
At a minute to seven last night
It was close upon seven o' clock

I once bought a horse and it did make me grin
He was a fine horse, but he looked a bit thin
I said to the horse-dealer, 'Send him tonight
Round to my house' And he answered, 'Alright'

Chorus: *But what if there's nobody in?*
To bring it back would be a bore'
He said, 'What if there's nobody in?'
I said, 'Push it under the door'

I once went to law with the man next to me
I was bitten one day by his dog, don't you see
He took a piece out of me, where I can't say
The Judge looked at me in a kind-hearted way

Chorus: *And said, 'Has this dog bit you before?'*
He really was thoughtful and kind
He said, 'Has the dog bit you before?'
I said, 'No Sir, he's bit me behind'

The wife had some lobster for supper last night
And dreamt about harems and Turkish delight
Said she, 'It was horrible!' there on her knee
Were six girls, who took her the Sultan to be.

Chorus: *And they tickled her here and then there*
Said she, 'I was horrified quite'
They tickled her here and then there
I'm having some lobster tonight.

A ticket inspector I once used to be
Upon the South Eastern, you may have seen me
One day a young lady said, 'I'm full of woe
I've swallowed my ticket though how I don't know.

Chorus: *I said, 'I can't help that, my dear*
I've got to attend to my 'biz'
I said, 'I can't help that, my dear
I must punch it wherever it is.

When Adam met Eve it is rumoured that she
Had on her new whitsuntide clothes, so had he
'Have we met before?' to the maiden he cried
Said she, 'Not till now sir, but still' she replied,

Chorus: *'We'll see more of each other, I hope'*
As to twinkle her eye she began
'We'll see more of each other, I hope'
Said he, 'I don't see how we can.'

Once as a postman I tried for a berth
The Postmaster said, 'Well, let's see what you're worth.'
I answered his questions, well, all except one
Which was, 'How far is it from the earth to the sun?'

Chorus: *How far from the earth to the sun!*
I fainted and fell to the ground
How far from the earth to the sun!
I said, 'Put someone else on that round.'

Last Christmas Eve, at a Ball I went to
I was dancing a waltz, and had nearly got through
When a fellow came up with a long solemn face
Said he, 'Come away, sir, from this awful place.

Chorus: *'To the devil you're dancing, my boy*
This dancing is life's greatest curse
To the devil you're dancing, my boy.'
I said, 'Never mind, I can reverse.

For an extensive listing of the lyrics of the many songs mentioned here take a look at Seb Couthard's website: **www.sebcoulthard.com/sound-of-history.html**

Shackleton's Children

Stephen Scott-Fawcett FRGS

Emily Shackleton with (from left to right): Cecily, Edward, Raymond (c1915)

Raymond Swinford Shackleton (2 February 1905 – 13 May 1960) was an engineer and the eldest child of Ernest Henry Shackleton and Emily Mary Shackleton (nee Dorman). He was educated at Harrow School. He married Doreen Brenda Cicely Green, daughter of the late Frederick Algernon Green and Elizabeth Green, on September 17th 1938, in London.

They had two children:
1. Ernest Nicholas Swinford, born August 14, 1939 in London; educated at Harrow School. He became employed until 1963, when he went into partnership with the John Lewis chain of department stores. He has held a number of positions including personal (sic) work; served two years in the National service and was commissioned in The Queen's Royal Regiment.
2. Richard Mark Yelverton, born May 2, 1944 was educated at Westminster School , London and the University College at Oxford."

Edward Arthur Alexander Shackleton, Baron Shackleton, KG AC OBE PC FRS FRGS FRCGS (15 July 1911 – 22 September 1994), was a British geographer and Labour Party politician. He was born in Wandsworth, London and was the younger son (and child) of Sir Ernest and Emily.

Edward was educated at Radley College and Magdalen College, University of Oxford. He was a member of the 1932 Oxford University Exploration Club expedition to Sarawak in Borneo organised by Tom Harrisson. During this trip he was the first to attain the peak of Mount Mulu.

In 1934 Shackleton organised the *Oxford University Ellesmere Land Expedition* and chose Gordon Noel Humphreys to lead it. He accompanied the party as the assistant surveyor to Humphreys. The expedition was eventually responsible for naming Mount Oxford (after the University of Oxford) and the British Empire Range.
On leaving university, he worked as a Talks Producer for the BBC in Northern Ireland – an experience that turned him away from the Conservative Party towards the Labour Party.
After wartime service in the RAF, Shackleton was appointed an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in 1945.

In the 1945 General Election Shackleton stood, unsuccessfully, for Labour at Epsom and in the Bournemouth by-election of the same year. In 1946, he was elected as Labour Member

© National Portrait Gallery, London. Photographer unknown. Cecily Jane & Raymond Swinford Shackleton c 1910.

of Parliament for Preston in another by-election. In 1950, he was elected MP for Preston South and re-elected in 1951. In the 1955 General Election he was defeated but was made a life peer as **Baron Shackleton**, of Burley in the County of Hampshire (11th August 1958). In Harold Wilson's government, he served as Minister of Defence for the RAF (1964–1967); Minister without Portfolio (1967–1968) and Paymaster General ,1968. He was Leader of the House of Lords from 1968 to 1970 and, subsequently, Opposition Leader of the House of Lords.

In 1971, Edward was elected President of the Royal Geographical Society.

Lord Shackleton was appointed a Knight Companion of the Order of the Garter in 1974. In 1994 he became a Life President of the newly-founded James Caird Society, an appreciation society for Sir Ernest, his father. The Society was named after the boat in which his explorer-father and some of his crew escaped from Elephant Island.The boat itself was named in honour of James Key Caird (1837–1916), jute baron, philanthropist and major sponsor of the *Endurance* expedition.

For a great many years (between 1962 and 1994 (upon his death)) Shackleton acted, as patron of the British Schools Exploring Society (B.S.E.S.).
In 1989 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society under Statute 12 (effectively an honorary member).
In 1990 Shackleton was appointed an honorary Companion of the Order of Australia (AC), Australia's highest civilian honour, "for service to Australian/British relations, particularly through the Britain–Australia Society.

Lord Shackleton was Pro-Chancellor of the University of Southampton and was deeply interested in the development of geography there. A portrait photograph of Lord Shackleton was unveiled by his daughter, The Hon. Alexandra (Zaz) Shackleton, in December 1997 - in the University's 'Shackleton Building'. This houses the Departments of Geography and Psychology faculties.

In 1938, Shackleton married Betty Homan. They had two children:
1. The Hon. Charles Edward Ernest Shackleton and
2. The Hon. Alexandra Shackleton (our current and esteemed JCS President).

Cecily Jane Swinford Shackleton (23 December 1906 – 29 October 1957).
In contrast to her brothers very little is known of her life except that she remained unmarried and died young of heart disease (Ed -a possible genetic precondition from her father?). I have it on very good authority that she was of a rather 'difficult' predisposition and somewhat dominated her younger brother during childhood. She was Godmother to our President, The Hon Alexandra Shackleton.

© National Portrait Gallery, London.Photographer unknown.
Cecily Jane Swinford Shackleton c 1910

It can be seen that one of Ernest and Emily's children, at least, went on to achieve remarkable things and this particular legacy is to the great credit of all concerned, not least Zaz Shackleton who is justifiably proud of her father's, as well as her grandfather's, huge achievements in life.

© National Portrait Gallery, London. Photographer unknown
Edward, Cecily and Raymond Shackleton c 1925.

The famous Savile Lumley Great War poster – was this based on Shackleton?
Was this a media/Establishment slur on his character?
If so, this did a great disservice to the Boss as, after all, he had offered
his ship and crew to the war effort before Churchill issued his order 'Proceed'.

Ice in the Rigging: Ships of the Antarctic, 1699–1937

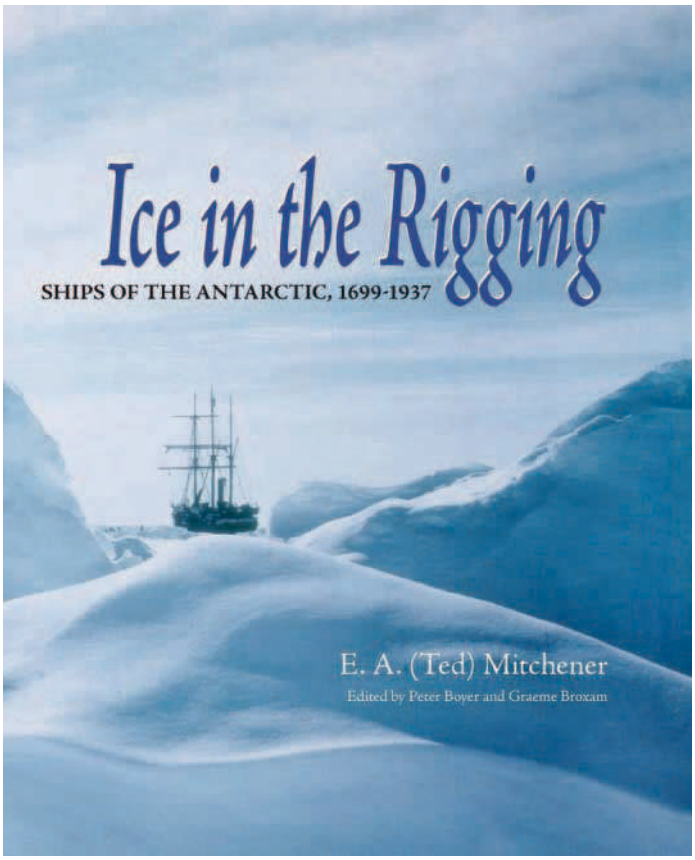
by EA (Ted) Mitchener

Hobart: Maritime Museum of Tasmania (2015).
Hardcover with dust jacket. Pages xxii + 354, RRP: AUD 75.00, ISBN 978-0-646-93455-6

Reviewed by Anna Lucas

This book, explained the author in the Introduction, was a long time coming together. By taking the time to peruse this Introduction, the reader will be rewarded with insights into the author's journey, from a trainee shipwright with the Royal Navy to leader of Davis station with the Australian Antarctic Division. He helped build a weather station for the International Geophysical Year (1957–58) on the sub-Antarctic Campbell Island, worked on the wooden sailing vessel *New Endeavour* in sub-tropical waters, and was involved with the restoration, in Sweden, of the tall ship *Eye of the Wind*. Mitchener's experiences, the contacts he made, and his background reading of the extensive literature in libraries on Antarctic bases, fuelled his passion for Antarctic ships, and facilitated his research. He acknowledged recent publications like Robert Headland's *Chronological List of Antarctic Expeditions and Related Historical Events* (1990) and Rorke Bryan's *Ordeal by Ice: Ships of the Antarctic* (2011), but felt there was a gap in the literature. There was little, he wrote, "highlighting the improvements in maritime technology that changed human contact with Antarctica from one of high risk and happenstance to one of modern industrial and scientific efficiency". Gradually, when on leave from his work, he collated information, photographs, plans and maps to include in this book; travelled to archives in many countries; and wrote with authority, and with first-hand experience, of ships and the Southern Ocean.

The published result is much more than a list of ships. The content focuses on sailing ships and ships with auxiliary power, and includes the vessels of British, European, Scandinavian, Russian, American, Asian and Antipodean expeditions—exploratory, scientific and commercial ventures—from the pink-hulled *Paramour* (1699) to the British Graham Land Expedition's *Penola* (1937). "Pink-hulled" and other terms, which may be unfamiliar, are explained in the glossary of maritime terms. The early ships, the Empire builders, the ships of science, the whalers and sealers, those whose men were focused on reaching the South Pole, those of patriots and adventurers are all represented. The Heroic Era ships, including *Belgica*, *Pourquoi Pas?*, *Discovery*, *Terra Nova*, *Morning*, *Fram*, *Nimrod*, *Aurora*, *Endurance*, and *Quest*, appear. An illustrated summary of each ship's history is given, with references to ship's logs and personal diaries, and with a concise table of its type, tonnage, dimensions, builder, engine (if applicable), owners and the ship's fate. In other accounts, we often read of the construction of a ship and its



voyages; less often do we read of its fate. This detail, whether the ship ended its days in glory, in wreckage or in other circumstances, can be surprising and reveals the longevity—or limitations—of the vessel.

I thought of ships I expected to be included, to see if they were—and they were. Even *Endeavour*, the Government fishing trawler, which made only one voyage to Macquarie Island and disappeared without trace in 1914, was mentioned. In the Epilogue, the author noted that much larger ships mysteriously disappeared but pointed out that, after *Penola's* return from Graham Land, the introduction of aircraft-carrying ships and icebreakers in the late 1930s and the 1940s signalled the end of an era in Antarctic shipping.

Appendices include Antarctic maps showing the tracks of ships, and a gazetteer of real places (e.g. Wiencke Island, discovered by Adrien de Gerlache (1897–99) and named after Carl Wiencke a crewman lost during that expedition), and imagined places (e.g. Pagoda Rock: a mythical obstacle to navigation, probably an iceberg, reported by the captain of *Pagoda* in 1845). There are glossaries of maritime and ice terminology, whaling statistics, and interesting notes, written by a master shipwright, of the refitting of *Erebus* at Chatham dockyard in 1839. "The bow, internally, is fortified with a solid mass of timber eight inches moulded, canting from abreast the foremast to the stemson ..." he wrote in a detailed report explaining the process.

Ice in the Rigging is a well-researched and beautifully-presented book of stories and references. Entries for individual ships are arranged in a roughly-chronological order, there's a bibliography, and separate indices for ships and aircraft, for people and for places. It is a book to dip into or to savour at length, and is dedicated to an acknowledged master of ice navigation, Captain John King Davis.

Ted Mitchener died in 2014, while his book was being edited. It was completed by his "publishing committee", as he called them, and they have maintained his style. He wrote in the language of a mariner, sure of his subject, communicating with fellow-mariners and maritime and Antarctic enthusiasts, in a very readable book. It is a book of which he could be proud. It will take its place on the shelves among other important resources for researchers of Antarctic and maritime history and, just as importantly, it is a book to enjoy.

Anna Lucas

Tom Crean

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The image of Shackleton standing on the bow of SY *Discovery* is from the National Library (NZ).

The colourised Shackleton/Crean portraits are courtesy of Peter Vass.

Shackleton standing on the bow of SY Discovery (Second left)

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