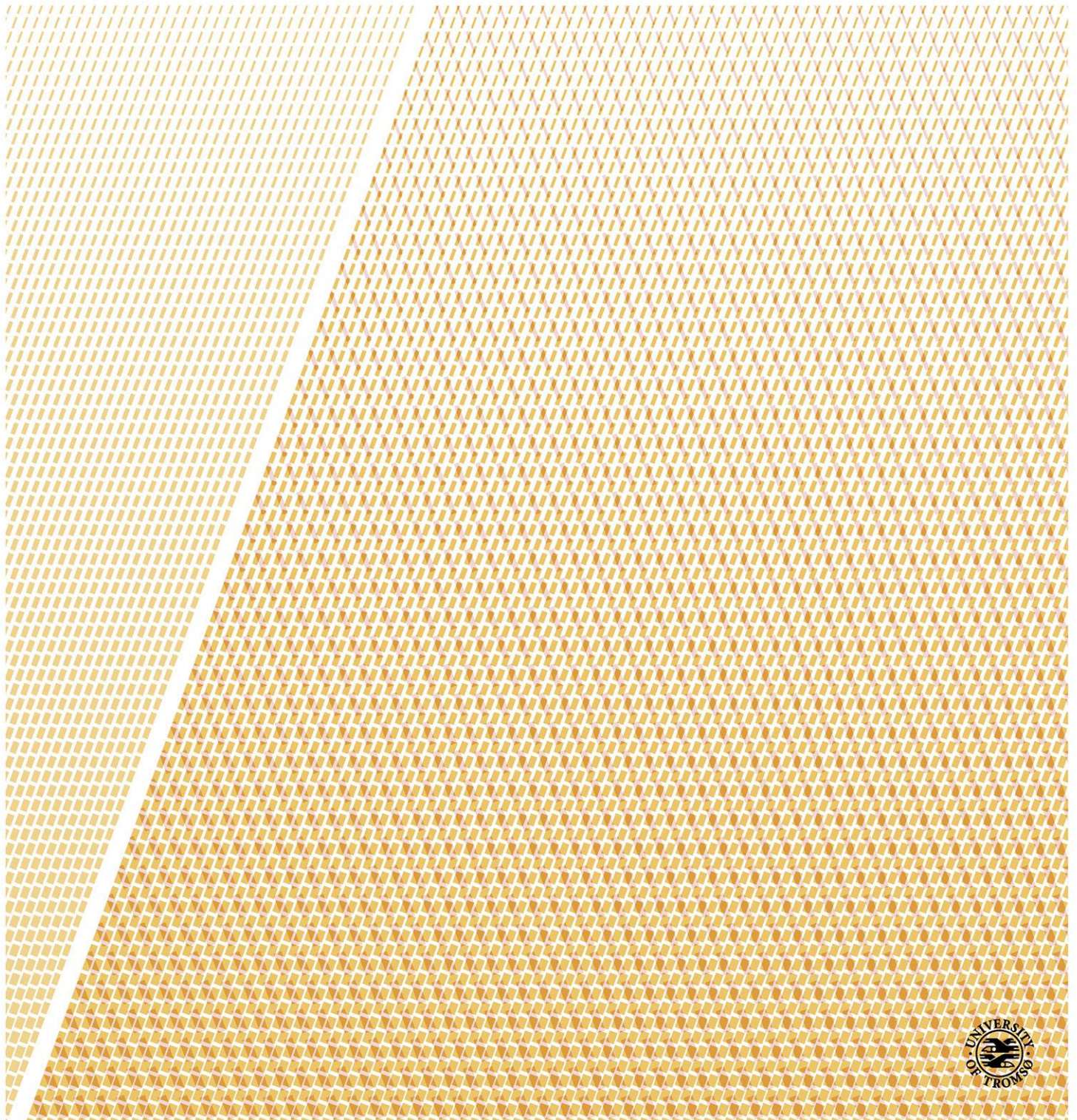


## **Perceptions, Persuasion & Power.**

*The textual shaping of Spitsbergen (Svalbard), 1895-1920:  
an international view.*

—  
**Mary Katherine Jones**

*A thesis for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor – December 2016*





## FOREWORD

Some members of my family did not live to see me submit my thesis, but they would have been pleased and proud: my parents, Den and Helen Jones, and my uncle and aunts, Jim and Pauline Gawler, and Edith Gawler. My brother and his family – David, Gillian, Louise and Mark – have sustained me throughout with their love, support and encouragement.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my master's degree supervisors Peter Graves and Arne Kruse (they also edited my first thesis article) and everyone at the Scandinavian Studies institute in the Department of European Languages and Cultures at The University of Edinburgh, whom I have not had the opportunity to thank publicly before now. My thanks are also extended to the following:

Einar-Arne Drivenes and Narve Fulsås, for their support and patient assistance in their long-term roles as research *samtalepartnere*; Instituttleder Fredrik Fagertun and my other valued colleagues in the Department of History and Religious Studies; Willy Guneriusen, Helen Sagerup and Mayvi Johansen in the Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences & Education at UiT The Arctic University of Norway.

Helle Goldman, Ian Stone and Urban Wråkberg (Editors of *Polar Research*, *Polar Record* and *Polar Journal*, respectively) and the peer reviewers of all my thesis articles.

My unofficial colleagues at the Norwegian Polar Institute: the main librarian Ivar Stokkeland and his predecessor Fred Inge Presteng, as well as picture archivist Ann Kristin Balto and the other members of the Communications Department.

Konstantin Zaikov, for bringing Shidlovskiy's bibliography to my attention, and Olga Komarova for translating the work from Russian to English. Peter Graves, Richard Holt, Jukka Nyysönen and Peder Roberts, for conversations over the years which have benefited my research.

The Norwegian Foreign Office, for research stipends in 1999-2000 (supervised by Nils Magne Knutsen), Autumn 2001 (supervised by Einar-Arne Drivenes) and Autumn 2002 (supervised by Helge Salvesen, who later also suggested changing the format of my thesis from a monograph to an article series). Frankkomitéens polarfond in Oslo, for partial funding of the compilation of my Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database in Autumn 2002. The Polar Libraries Colloquy and its Hubert Wenger award, which enabled me to give papers at conferences in Ottawa (2004) and Edmonton (2008); and the late William Mills, Heather Lane and Shirley Sawtell at the Library of the Scott Polar Research Institute.

Research groups with which I have been associated: Arktiske diskurser (project leaders Henning Howlid Wærp, who also edited my *Nordlit* thesis article, Johan Schimanski and Anka Ryall); Narrating the High North (Einar-Arne Drivenes and Henning Howlid Wærp); and "The Arctic out to 2040" UK Ministry of Defence workshop in February 2008.

The wonderful residents and the staff on Gimle ward at Kroken sykehjem, where I worked as a care assistant from 2010 to 2015; my academic translation and proofing clients from 2003 to the present.

Last, but certainly not least, all my friends in Tromsø, including Tromsø byorkester and TOF Janitsjar; in Scotland and the rest of the UK; and in many other parts of the world. You deserve to be thanked individually, but there are too many of you to do so; I hope you all know that my gratitude is heartfelt and undying. I am so very lucky.

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my colleagues in History and other departments at the University of Tromsø, and in other academic institutions, who were awarded their doctorates whilst I was working on mine:

Doctors

Lena Aarekol,  
Steinar Aas,  
Per Pippin Aspaas,  
Stian Bones,  
Bjørn Petter Finstad,  
Silje Gaupseth,  
Karin Granqvist,  
Anniken Greve,  
Hamadou,  
Sigrun Høgetveit Berg,  
Miriam Jensen Tveit,  
Kristin Jernsletten,  
Harald Dag Jølle,  
Maaike Knol,  
Tanya Kudrjavnseva,  
Birgit Larsen,  
Rolf Inge Larsen,  
Hilde Leikny Jåstad,  
Chih-Chieh Liu (Mia),  
Anne Minken,  
Kari Aga Myklebost,  
Jukka Kalervo Nyyssönen,  
Steinar Pedersen,  
Torbjørn Pedersen,  
Siv Rasmussen,  
Peder Roberts,  
Teemu Sakari Ryymin,  
Christine Smith-Simonsen,  
Silje Solheim Karlsen,  
Marianne Neerland Soleim,  
Ulrike Spring,  
Karolína Stehlíková,  
Oddvar Svendsen,  
Marit Waaseth,  
Njord Wegge,  
Silke Werth,  
Ketil Zachariassen.

Thank you for showing me the way.

*Mary Katherine Jones  
Tromsø, April 2017.*

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### Thesis Article 1

Jones, Mary Katherine. European Perceptions of Spitsbergen, 1895-1900. In eds. Arne Kruse & Peter Graves, *Images and Imaginations: Perspectives on Britain and Scandinavia*. Lockharton Press, Edinburgh (2007): 89-110.

### Thesis Article 2

Jones, Mary Katherine. From explorer to expert: Sir William Martin Conway's 'delightful sense of something accomplished'. *Polar Record* 50/3 (2014): 319-329.

### Thesis Article 3

Jones, Mary Katherine. Thematic and bibliometric analysis of articles about Spitsbergen (Svalbard) in science periodicals, 1905-1914. Accepted (conditional to minor amendments) for publication in *Polar Research* in December 2016. 64 pages (main paper) plus supplementary files as follows:  
Supplementary File 1: Bibliography of Spitsbergen-related journal & yearbook articles published 1905-1914.  
Supplementary File 2: International journals/yearbooks that published articles about Spitsbergen, 1905-1914.  
Supplementary File 3: Who's who in a Spitsbergen context.  
Supplementary File 4: Chronicle of Spitsbergen-related events and activities, 1905-1914.  
Supplementary File 5: Adolf Hoel's handwritten, unpublished bibliography of "Spitsbergenlitteratur (geol.)"  
Supplementary File 6: Key words and phrases in the titles of Spitsbergen articles published 1905-1914.  
Supplementary File 7: Webster (1920) dictionary definitions of scientific disciplines relating to Spitsbergen articles published 1905-1914.

### Thesis Article 4

Jones, Mary Katherine. Charles Rabot's Arctic idée fixe: Spitsbergen coverage in *La Géographie*, 1900-1920. *The Polar Journal* 2/2 (2012): 274-290.

### Thesis Article 5

Jones, Mary Katherine. Spitsbergen Literature Lobby. *Nordlit* 32 (2014): 33-69.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

### Page 31

Tower Bridge, London with ice floes in the foreground. Photograph taken in February 1895.

This photograph was downloaded from a website about the history of Rotherhithe, a residential district downstream from Tower Bridge, on 09.06.2015. The Internet page no longer exists (<http://www.thevintagenews.com/2015/02/24/58-photos-of-londons-river-thames-1895-2000/>); a similar, but less clear photograph is available on the following website (accessed 17.12.2016): <http://www.portcities.org.uk/london/server/show/conMediaFile.5497/The-Thames-frozen-at-Rotherhithe-with-Tower-Bridge-in-the-distance.html>.

### Appendix

1. “Figure 2 (Le Livre et la representation du monde; Moyens divers de communication avec le monde)” [Books and the depiction of the world ; Various ways of communicating with the world] (Otlet 1934: 40).
2. “L’univers, l’intelligence, la science, le livre” [The universe, intelligence, science, books] (Otlet 1934: 41).
3. “La Documentation et ses parties” [Documentation and its constituent parts] (Otlet 1934: 42).
4. “Tableau des types de bibliographie” [Table of bibliography types] (Otlet 1934 : 288).

## ABBREVIATIONS

DNGSA	<i>Det norske geografiske selskaps aarvog/aarbok</i> [Norwegian Geographical Society Yearbook]
GJ	<i>The Geographical Journal</i> (monthly journal of the Royal Geographical Society)
RGS	Royal Geographical Society, London.
SF	Supplementary File: seven such files have been created as addenda to Thesis Article 3, hereafter referred to as SF1, SF2, SF3, SF4, SF5, SF6 and SF7 (cf. Contents, page 4, for full details).
SLL	Spitsbergen Literature Lobby
SPRI	Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge
TA	Thesis Article: five articles comprise the main section of my doctoral thesis, hereafter referred to as TA1, TA2, TA3, TA4 and TA5 (cf. Contents, page 4, for full details).

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

**Contemporaneous:** in the context of this thesis summary, the use of the term “contemporaneous” refers to a period that falls within my research period, 1895-1920. Cf. “contemporary” and “historical”.

**Contemporary:** in the context of this thesis summary, the use of the term “contemporary” relates to the present day, i.e. early twenty-first century. Cf. “contemporaneous” and “historical”.

**Historical:** in the context of this thesis summary, the use of the term “historical” refers to an era prior to 1895 (the start of my research period). Cf. “contemporaneous” and “contemporary”.

**Language:** unless otherwise indicated, the use of the term “language” relates to a language of publication (e.g. Norwegian, French or English). Thus, a phrase such as “use of language” should not be taken to refer to the literary style of a text or an author’s choice of vocabulary.

**Spitsbergen:** the place-name used between 1596 and 1925 to refer to the archipelago in the High Arctic due north of the Norwegian mainland. (The place-name has been applicable only to the largest island of this archipelago since 1925.) “Spitsbergen” is the place-name that I have used in my thesis articles and summary, since my research period extends only as far as 1920, except in Thesis Article 2 where, by editorial decree, “Spitsbergen” signifies events or discussion relating to the largest island of the archipelago and “Svalbard” signifies events or discussion relating to the archipelago as a whole, irrespective of the time frame.

**Svalbard:** cf. “Spitsbergen”, above. The term has been included in the title of my thesis (in parenthesis) to confirm the geographical extent of “Spitsbergen”, the contemporaneous place-name during my research period of 1895-1920.



**THESIS  
SUMMARY**



## 1. INTRODUCTION

My thesis comprises five articles that focus on the presentation in contemporaneous published texts (principally scientific journals) of the High Arctic archipelago then known as Spitsbergen (now Svalbard), during its final quarter-century (1895 to 1920) as a no man's land. I have studied the texts in an interdisciplinary fashion: exploring the historical and geopolitical significance of their narratives; analysing them from a bibliometric perspective; identifying key scientific terms; and focusing on the language of publication and author's nationality. I have internationalized my research as much as possible, focusing on texts published in Norwegian, Swedish, English, French and German, and occasionally other European languages as well.

This thesis summary includes an overview of the five thesis articles (Section 2), an explanation of the time delimitation and periodization of my research period (Section 3), a summary of the source materials used (Section 4) and a discussion of ethical issues (Section 5). Section 6 discusses some of the principal research themes and findings in my thesis research. This includes the applicability of three terms "perceptions", "persuasion" and "power", which have hovered in my mind from the early days of embarking on this research, as I have tried to capture the elusive process by which a reader's innate perceptions of any given topic may be created or shaped by reading a text or texts; how background circumstances, such as nationality or field of expertise, may influence a reader or writer's perceptions; how a writer may convey his/her own perceptions, sometimes subconsciously, but often in a deliberate act of persuasion; and the vexed and almost unanswerable question of whether and how an act of literary persuasion can be said to translate to concrete influence or power. This process creates an ongoing pattern, comprising "reader → writer → text → reader → writer → text", demonstrating how every writer is a reader as well, prone to the influence of his/her peers, and prone to seeking to influence them in turn. A text's international cultural background, its original language of publication and in some cases its status as a translated text all contribute to its capacity for persuasion. The primary actors in this canon of texts – those who authored them, those who constituted their subject matter, and those who did both – embody aspects of the power portrayed in these publications. Power is also inherent in the fields of expertise described, the acts of collaboration undertaken, as well as the criticism delivered by some authors upon others. Another, crucial research finding is precisely the *lack* of power evident in some of the events depicted during this period, the influence of happenstance and coincidence, and the subtle, sometimes almost haphazard way in which one publication could serve as the catalyst for another. Even in such cases, though, the text may still have the power to shape other, future texts, but the form and direction of that power might not be at all what the author intended; here there is

something of a distinction between power and control. A “textual shaping” of Spitsbergen took place between 1895 and 1920, not only in terms of the body of scientific texts published over that period, but also their (perceived, or intended) capacity to influence the future history of this Arctic region. The same is true of the compilation of several Spitsbergen bibliographies at this time, indicating the archipelago’s perceived status as worthy of such an undertaking, but also embodying and revealing (sometimes unconscious) patterns of (perceived, or intended) power in the Spitsbergen texts they catalogued.

Section 6 is followed by an explanation of the historiographical positioning of my research (Section 7), my methodology and theoretical approaches (Section 8), and the further research potential, and trajectory, of a research approach that embraces quantitative bibliometric and linguistic analysis, as well as a qualitative study of Spitsbergen texts and their influence on actors and events (Section 9).

The overall aim of my doctoral research is straightforward: to push back the frontiers of existing knowledge in the specific areas of and approaches to Spitsbergen/Arctic history I have outlined above. In Thesis Article 1 (hereafter TA1), I demonstrated how scientific and touristic developments relating to Spitsbergen have an effect on the region’s international status, and how this is reflected in the textual approach of international geographical and other scientific journals of that time, their outlook, starting to foresee the significance of specific events and comment on them in passing, rather than limiting the discussion to an acknowledgment of what has already happened. I showed how the business of science – whether undertaken by a self-promoting explorer in a hot-air balloon or by scientists collaborating internationally between 1898 and 1902 to achieve the most northerly series of arc of meridian measurements in the world – sometimes came to dominate illustrations in articles about these endeavours, over and above a traditional focus on the landscape of the region.

In Thesis Article 2 (hereafter TA2), I examined the distinction between Arctic explorers, travellers and tourists at the end of the nineteenth century and analysed Sir William Martin Conway’s level of expertise as an explorer, as a historian, as a public figure. I also studied the way in which Conway’s ambivalent perception of the Arctic as a natural environment that compared slightly unfavourably with the Alps and, later, of Spitsbergen as a territory sought after by the scientists and explorers from various nations whom he described in rather disparaging stereotypes, may have served to undermine his expert status as perceived both by his peers and, perhaps, by contemporary Arctic historians as well.

In Thesis Article 3 (hereafter TA3), I examined the history, contemporaneous developments and boundaries of specialist scientific fields relating to Spitsbergen a hundred years ago. Against a

broad natural science background I analysed the nature of Spitsbergen-related geology literature – a major focus in Spitsbergen scientific activity – up to c.1908 and compared that canon of texts with texts focusing on every aspect of geography published between 1905 and 1914, discovering major discrepancies in national domination and linguistic publication trends in the process.

Thesis Article 4 (hereafter TA4) focused principally upon the way in which the influence of *La Géographie* journal editor Charles Rabot in promoting Nordic interests in the polar regions gradually developed during the course of the Great War into a borderline obsession with publicizing Norwegian scientific activity and historical connections with Spitsbergen, and how evident this becomes when the scale and content of everything published between 1914 and 1918 is analysed in a quantitative fashion. Rabot's involvement in the resolution of the Spitsbergen Question was also examined, and contemporaneous and subsequent Norwegian acknowledgment of his influence, whilst at the same time it is clear that the significance of this involvement and influence – Rabot's 'power', if you like – was, and continued to be, notably underplayed in the Norwegian media.

Issues raised in Thesis Article 5 (hereafter TA5) were some of the most elusive of all those contained in my thesis articles. It is almost impossible to measure precisely whether the Spitsbergen Literature Lobby did achieve anything tangible, by bibliometric or any other means. What can be discerned, however, are comparable literary traits between lobbying texts written for a public readership and the 30-page *Statement* submitted by the Norwegian Government to the Peace Conference, which give some indication as to Spitsbergen authors' likely priorities in their efforts to persuade their readership – official or public – of their views concerning the sovereignty of the region. As in previous articles, TA5 examined the perceived status of Spitsbergen scientists and other actors who sought to influence the outcome of the Spitsbergen Question as a political issue.

The issues I address in my thesis summary, taking my thesis research as a whole into account, are addressed on a broader scale in historiographical terms than those addressed in the individual thesis articles. What is the worth of this new direction in which my research is proceeding: creating a bibliographical database, attempting an international comparative analysis of texts, looking at them from a bibliometric perspective and assessing linguistic choice of publication in statistical terms, in a combination of quantitative and qualitative research? Has this approach revealed anything beyond the obvious and the banal? Can such an approach be employed without betraying the individual complexity of over fifteen hundred Spitsbergen-related publications that just happen to have been published within the same 25-year period? And what is the scope for this technique to be developed and pursued further? Where might it lead in the future?

## 2. OVERVIEW OF THESIS ARTICLES

Over and above the abstracts positioned at the beginning of each thesis article, the following section examines the five thesis articles in their totality, rather than as isolated publications, expanding on the introductory comments of the previous section.

### Thesis Article 1: “European perceptions of Spitsbergen, 1895-1900.”

My first thesis article introduced several themes that subsequently built up over the course of writing all five thesis articles. One of these themes is that of perceptions, specifically the *shifting perceptions* that occurred over the five-year time frame of this initial article. These shifting perceptions apply to two principal points of focus in the article as a whole. The first of these is a scientific journal editorial shift from standard reportage *after* the event in Spitsbergen texts published 1895-1900 to providing a forum for greater media exposure *before* an event – this is evident in the coverage of Salomon August Andrée’s balloon expeditions of 1896 and, in particular, 1897. The media position then shifted further, providing a focus *during* the course of events: this was once again of particular benefit to Andrée and the trend may have been influenced by reportage of Nansen’s contemporaneous *Fram* expedition across the Arctic Ocean of 1893-1896. My *Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database* (Jones, forthcoming), discussed in Section 8 of this paper, served as the methodology for identifying this trend in temporal perspectives.

The second principal point of focus reflects another category of *shifting perceptions* imposed upon the reader of Spitsbergen texts of this period, this time due to a changing trend from the *broad visual depiction* of Spitsbergen landscapes to the *foregrounding of individuals* (e.g. Andrée, TA1: 102-103) and of *scientific instruments* (e.g. the arc of meridian expeditions of 1898-1902, TA1: 106) in journal article illustrations. The often informal and self-deprecating writing style of Sir William Martin Conway became part of the Spitsbergen literature scene from the end of the nineteenth century onwards (e.g. Conway 1897). The contrast in the presentation of the author himself and the region in Conway’s writings, compared to those of his Arctic peers, is a third example of the shifting perceptions of Spitsbergen presented to the reader at that time.

This article also focuses on three *differing perceptions* of the region: Spitsbergen as the principal focus in the narrative (e.g. in reports of scientific expeditions); Spitsbergen as a significant focus (e.g. as a point of departure for aerial attempts to reach the North Pole); and Spitsbergen as a marginal focus (e.g. in annual summaries of sea ice in the Arctic). *European perceptions* of Spitsbergen in this paper comprise the citation of texts by European authors, as well as international scientific collaboration in the arc of meridian expeditions and Spitsbergen’s growing status as an

international tourist destination, illustrating a split geographical identity between being almost a part of Europe and still an Arctic region.

Thesis Article 2: “From explorer to expert: Sir William Martin Conway’s ‘delightful sense of something accomplished’.”

The focus on Sir William Martin Conway in my second thesis article incorporated a study of several forms of expertise (this is a theme that crops up in many different guises in the thesis articles). They include *expertise in travel terms*, assessing the different roles of the explorer, the traveller and the tourist in the Arctic. Status by association with other eminent explorers, e.g. Andrée or Nansen, was another means of attaining/enhancing this form of expertise; it was also bestowed by media coverage (e.g. book reviews), by the expeditionary aim of measuring or observing the world (e.g. the cartographical work of Conway’s expeditions) and by the pioneer status of an individual or a group (exemplified in Conway’s concrete achievement of the first crossing of Spitsbergen).

Conway went on to achieve *expertise as a writer* through his travel narratives, his journal articles and his publication of the first history of the region (Conway 1906), particularly the bibliographical and cartographical history reference sections at the end of the volume. Conway demonstrated *expertise in other fields* as well: as an academic/art historian and as a mountaineer, and later on in his life in the fields of museology and politics. His evident and self-confessed *lack of expertise* probably endeared him to many of his readers, but it was a source of irritation to some of his peers (e.g. Nathorst 1897, cf. TA2: 325). This of course reflected an emerging trend in British travel literature of that time, e.g. *Three Men in a Boat* and *Three in Norway by two of them* (cf. TA2: 321). Conway’s ‘failings’ were legion: scientific shortcomings – to be fair, he was standing in for another expedition member overtaken by illness in 1896; approaching surveying as an art as well as a science and rejoicing in the “delightful sense of something accomplished” (Conway 1897: 72); acknowledging his limitations and errors in this field, thus perhaps perceived to be questioning the presumed infallibility of those who had pursued this science in the region before him; not to mention a tactless and rather arrogant expression of his likes and dislikes, e.g. Arctic vs. Alpine (Conway 1897: 2-3, Conway 1906: 263) and the depiction of national stereotypes in Arctic exploration (Conway 1906: 263). Such attitudes potentially jeopardized his perceived status on the professional-amateur scale. His unorthodoxly humorous narrative style (already mentioned in the overview of Thesis Article 1) invited ambiguity in others’ perceptions of his mountaineering achievements, or *lysttur* (excursion or pleasure trip, cf TA2: 323), as the case may be. Although he sometimes insisted on a clear delineation between “them” and “us” in his own favour (Conway 1897: 64-65), he happily transgressed the tourist boundary on other occasions (ibid.: 342-342).

Nathorst questioned the scientific competence of Gregory, Garfield and Conway (cf. TA2: 325); even the inclusion of bibliographical details as an add-on at the end of *No Man's Land* – the feature which Nathorst acknowledged to be the most significant from a scientific perspective – seems to have been the result of happenstance as much as by design on Conway's part.

Another way in which Conway debunked conventional perceptions of the expert status usually afforded by association with the pristine Arctic was his use of “*(de-)Arcticization*”. Thus, Spitsbergen bogs were normalized by being compared with their English counterparts, whereas the ice on the Serpentine in London was exoticized; the Arctic Circle mildly ridiculed and Lofoten presented as “a lovely place for a holiday” (Conway 1897: 30); and – although the thought did not strike me when I was writing the article – Spitsbergen/the Arctic itself appears to be being enhanced in status (or shown to be lacking) when, for example, Conway compares latitude and altitude, and invokes by contrast the landscapes and nature of the Alps, the Karakoram-Himalayas and Africa.

Thesis Article 3: “Thematic & bibliometric analysis of articles about Spitsbergen (Svalbard) in science periodicals, 1905-1914.”

In this article, the last in the thesis series to be written up and published, I took my cue and inspiration from the general readership of *Polar Research* – the journal in which I was seeking to have my paper published – which mainly comprises natural scientists, and consciously adopted what one peer reviewer of the article referred to as a “workaday” approach to my subject matter. The content is both straightforward in presentation and ambitious in scale, commencing with a *thematic analysis* of all the natural and social sciences relevant to Spitsbergen-related periodical texts published a hundred years ago. Categorization of the subject matter is drawn from geography and its contemporaneous subsections: mathematical geography, physical geography, biological geography, and political, historical and commercial geography, as well as science in general.

This is followed by a *bibliometric analysis* of Adolf Hoel's bibliography of Spitsbergen geology texts (Hoel 1908), focusing on the type of publication, year of publication, scientific categories, language of publication, author nationality and place of publication, as well as the information in the listing that Hoel wrote for each text. A second bibliometric analysis of the Spitsbergen texts published in scientific periodicals between 1905 and 1914 likewise focuses on the language of publication, author nationality and place of publication of these texts, as well as comparing these findings, where appropriate, to the substance of Hoel's bibliography of earlier publications.

I worked on this article for about eight years on and off and the process has influenced my outlook on the overall direction and presentation of my research. One magnificent aspect of being



published in *Polar Research* is this electronic journal's policy of providing an almost unlimited platform for supplementary files to the main paper, an opportunity which I seized with both hands. The **complementary information** contained in Supplementary Files 1-7 is encyclopaedic, both in the sense of embracing a wide range of subjects and in providing as many details as possible about each topic. The supplementary files take the form of chronicles which provide the background material for hypotheses examined in Thesis Article 3 and contain so much information that I trust and hope they will inspire further research in the future as well. They include a bibliography of the Spitsbergen-related journal & yearbook articles published 1905-1914, listed by scientific category; a list of international journals/yearbooks that published articles about Spitsbergen 1905-1914; details of all the authors and individuals cited in the titles of these publications; a chronicle of Spitsbergen-related events & activities, 1905-1914; an electronic database comprising Adolf Hoel's unpublished *Spitsbergenlitteratur (geol.)* bibliography (Hoel 1908, noted down in an address book that is now held in the pamphlet collection of the Norwegian Polar Institute library); a listing of key words & phrases used in the Spitsbergen text titles; and dictionary definitions in *Webster* (1920) of scientific terms relevant to the subject matter of the article.

Thesis Article 4: "Charles Rabot's Arctic idée fixe: Spitsbergen coverage in *La Géographie*, 1900-1920."

Like my second thesis article, this one examined several forms of **expertise** demonstrated in different aspects of Charles Rabot's public life. **Rabot the editor** determined the level of Spitsbergen coverage in *La Géographie*, creating an increasing discrepancy between the journal's level of focus on Norwegian activity relating to Spitsbergen versus the actual scope of Norwegian events in the region at the time. He also oversaw a transition from Spitsbergen-related *news items* to *full articles* on this topic. Norwegian events increasingly dominated the journal's coverage of international activity in the region, reaching a peak of emphasis during the Great War.

Associated areas of expertise enhanced **Rabot's facility as a translator**, drawing on his first-hand experience of Arctic travel and translating the polar expedition accounts of Norwegian (and other) explorers. This fund of relevant knowledge also led to the involvement of **Rabot the lobbyist**, both as an author who formed part of the Spitsbergen Literature Lobby and as a spokesman in the international political resolution of the Spitsbergen Question in 1919. All of this led to **Rabot's recognition** by the Norwegian media, who on several occasions acknowledged that he played a part in securing Norwegian sovereignty of Spitsbergen, but the details of his specific input were kept fairly hazy. (Newspaper clippings about Rabot, dating from 1920 to 1956, cf. TA4: 286-287, held in the archives of the Norwegian Polar Institute library, were crucial to this section of the article.)

### Thesis Article 5: “Spitsbergen Literature Lobby.”

The archives of the Norwegian Polar Institute library struck gold once again for this article, in the form of a transcription of Gunnar Isachsen’s diary entries for the Spring of 1919, when he was engaged in the drafting of the Norwegian government’s *Statement* to the Peace Conference in Paris. Isachsen’s diary, providing a ‘behind the scenes’ view of political lobbying in written form, and the final *Statement* itself, are lynchpins in my article’s depiction of the Spitsbergen Question as a political issue, its resolution and the literary aftermath. The section focusing on Isachsen’s diary offers vignettes of primary actors and Isachsen’s comments on the actions of the ‘*experts*’, sometimes clashing with his own ideals regarding ‘*expertise*’. Nor does an individual’s acquisition status, or loss of it, necessarily determine or inhibit a *successful outcome*: Rabot, despite unceremoniously losing his post as editor of *La Géographie* the previous year, was crucial to the outcome of the Norwegian campaign to secure sovereignty over Spitsbergen; Conway made no headway in his attempt to drum up support for British sovereignty over the region, despite his status as a Member of Parliament.

The Spitsbergen Literature Lobby, comprising authors of texts relating to this political issue, relied on (*presumed or perceived*) *expertise* to further the cause by means of published texts in the form of Spitsbergen summaries, histories, cartography, texts addressing the Spitsbergen Question and those concerned with Spitsbergen-related commerce. The success of the lobbyists’ efforts may be at least partly demonstrated by the probable influence of the texts referenced by Elen C. Singh (Singh 1980: *passim*), who coined “Spitsbergen literature lobby” as a term, thus authenticating the concept of the power of the genres of texts listed here in political terms.

In the course of this thesis article, a search for *power* is embodied in issues relating to nationalism & sovereignty, aside from the Spitsbergen sovereignty claims themselves, including assertions of power and sovereignty rights implied in the bibliographical and cartographical listings of that period. Gunnar Isachsen appears to have perceived the influence of Spitsbergen texts (particularly journal articles) to have been due to their existence *qua* published units, and not just due to their actual content. Re-publication may also hint at the *perceived influence* of a text, exemplified by the (strategically-timed?) re-issue of Lord Dufferin’s 1856 expedition narrative (Blackwood 1867, reissued 1918). The alleged *significance* of the region is implied by comparisons with other territories, including comparisons with Irish geology, British glacial conditions and the Rhön mountains in Germany (cf. TA3: 18), as well by the championing of national sovereignty and commercial interests (e.g. Rudmose Brown 1920).

### 3. TIME DELIMITATION & PERIODIZATION: 1895-1920.

#### Thesis Article 1 (1895-1900)

1895 coincided with a British Royal Naval Training Squadron expedition to Spitsbergen (cf. TA1: 89), which combined military exercises with surveying and other scientific interest in Recherchefjorden (Holland 1994). As well as resulting in improved Admiralty charts, the expedition represented renewed interest in and the rising status of the region, also exemplified by tourist development around this time. 1895 also heralded preparations for Conway and Andrée's first expeditions, both of which would put Spitsbergen 'back on the map' in geographical journal terms, the following year (TA1: 95-103). By 1900, the Swedish-Russian arc of meridian expeditions (1898-1902) were underway – the scientific reports were published years after the conclusion of the project as a whole (Anonymous 1904-1925) – speculation was tailing off regarding the outcome of Andrée's second attempt to reach the North Pole by balloon in 1897 and there was an almost complete dearth of Spitsbergen texts published during the period c.1903-1905. The time frame of this first article also coincides with Conway addressing in his first expedition account the issue of Spitsbergen sovereignty ("the Norwegians are the people on whom the task should fall", Conway 1897: 5), a topic that had largely lain dormant since the early 1870s (Mathisen 1954: 20-30).

#### Thesis Article 2 (1896-1918)

This two-decade span of time divides into several shorter time frames: Conway's exploring expeditions to Spitsbergen of 1896 and 1897 (TA2: 320-324); an awakening of his interest in the history of the region, writing articles on various aspects of this topic for *The Geographical Journal* between 1897 and 1903 (for full details cf. References section, TA2: 328) and publishing *No Man's Land*, the first account of Spitsbergen's history (Conway 1906). During the period 1918-1919 Conway, by now a Member of Parliament, lobbied unsuccessfully for British sovereignty of the archipelago (TA2: 327).

#### Thesis Article 3 (1905-1914)

This article's time frame focuses on the decade prior to the Great War. 1905 coincided with the resumption of journal interest in the region, following the dearth of Spitsbergen-related publications c. 1903-1905, mentioned above, and coinciding with American expeditions by Walter Wellman (airship) and William D. Munroe on behalf of John M. Longyear (coal-mining). Scientific media

interest was stimulated by the international scientific activity initiated by Albert I, Prince of Monaco in 1906, the year that marks the commencement of Norwegian scientific engagement in Spitsbergen in this era. Annual expeditions by Norwegian scientists in their own right took place from 1908 onwards. The period 1910-1913 marked a brief heyday of German scientific activity in the region. (All the activities cited here are listed in a “Chronicle of Spitsbergen-related events and activities 1905-1914”, cf. TA3 Supplementary File 4.) This time frame closes with the advent of war, which not only placed substantial limits on scientific and commercial activity in Spitsbergen over the next few years but also affected the geopolitical and economic feasibility and – in most cases – editorial priorities in reporting on it.

The time frame for this article is justified as it stands, but another reason for selecting these dates was my original intention of creating an article that would also straddle the period 2005-2014, comparing the Arctic events and publications of that decade with their Spitsbergen counterparts of a hundred years earlier. This ambitious idea was reluctantly shelved when the scale of analysis demanded by texts published between 1905 and 1914 became apparent.

#### Thesis Article 4 (1900-1919)

This article’s broad time span also breaks down into several segments. *La Géographie* succeeded La Société de géographie’s *Comptes Rendus des Séances* in 1900, under the editorship of Charles Rabot. This new journal’s initial focus on Norwegian activity in Spitsbergen commenced with the involvement of Norwegian scientists in Albert I, Prince of Monaco’s international scientific expeditions to the region in 1906 and 1907. The latter year also marked the first and only reference to “Svalbard” in all the Spitsbergen scientific texts studied in my thesis articles (Isachsen June 1907: 421-432). Rabot published his most insistent coverage of Spitsbergen-related activity in the course of the Great War of 1914-1918, even though the number of journal issues was severely limited during that period. Rabot was relieved of his editorial responsibilities in 1918, serendipitously enabling his extensive involvement in the Norwegian quest for Spitsbergen sovereignty at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

#### Thesis Article 5 (1906-1920, and beyond)

This is perhaps the most chronologically structured of all my thesis articles, but the different time periods into which it divides nonetheless reflect different emphases, styles and formats of publication. The period 1906-1912 was dominated by a succession of bibliographical publications, which appear to have played a role in triggering the Spitsbergen Literature Lobby, in an attempt to resolve the Spitsbergen Question regarding sovereignty of the region. Elen C. Singh cited

Spitsbergen Literature Lobby texts published between 1913 and 1919 (Singh 1980) and my article analyses other lobbying texts from that period as well. The Norwegian government's *Statement* to the Peace Conference was compiled during the Spring of 1919. The final section of this article discusses texts published following the resolution of the Spitsbergen Question and often echoing it in some way. Like Thesis Articles 2 and 4, the time frame of this article more or less ends with the resolution of the Spitsbergen Question, and this forms the basis for 1920 serving as the closing time frame for my thesis as a whole. This temporal boundary is blurred, however, comprising the signing in March 1918 of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which referenced the region's sovereignty, provoking a strong international reaction in Spitsbergen publication terms, but also the Norwegian government's lobbying in the spring of 1919 to secure an agreement that the sovereignty of Spitsbergen should be included within the Paris Peace Conference, and subsequent lobbying of the Spitsbergen Commission in the autumn of that year. The temporal boundary incorporates the decision to award sovereignty of the archipelago to Norway, made by the Spitsbergen Commission in the autumn of 1919 and publicly announced in February 1920, and then the Svalbard Act of 1925, which formally established Norwegian sovereignty in the region (this last event is not discussed in any of my thesis articles). It may even be said to stretch to Charles Rabot's publication in 1935 of a book that once again re-presents issues raised in many of the Spitsbergen Literature Lobby texts.

#### 4. SOURCE MATERIALS

The process of mapping source materials in my *Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database* (Jones, forthcoming) is further described in Section 8, Methodology & theoretical approaches.

##### Five geological journals

In the process of compiling my *Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database*, I examined all the journals listed here comprehensively and systematically for Spitsbergen-related content published 1895-1920: *Det norske geografiske selskabs aarbog* [The Norwegian Geographical Society's Yearbook, hereafter *DNGSA*], published in Kristiania; *The Geographical Journal*, published in London, the monthly journal of the Royal Geographical Society; *La Géographie*, the monthly journal of La Société de Géographie in Paris; *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt* (Dr. A. Petermann's Communications from Justus Perthes' Geographical Institute, published in Gotha, hereafter *Petermanns Mitteilungen*]; and *Ymer*, the quarterly journal published by the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography in Stockholm. The idea was to

provide a comprehensive focus on one geographical journal published in each of five major European languages.

In the case of these five periodicals, database entries included all types of Spitsbergen-related texts and listings: full articles, small articles, a bibliography, correspondence, literature listings, map listings, news items, obituaries, reviews and geographical society proceedings. Other Spitsbergen-related articles also listed in the database were mostly published in other scientific journals and yearbooks, as well as in a few miscellaneous periodicals. Supplementary File 2 in TA3 offers a good idea of the scope and international origin of the periodical articles analysed in this thesis (though limited in that instance to texts published 1905-1914), and the Reference section of each thesis article provides comprehensive information of all the individual articles cited.

### Unpublished sources

The Norwegian Polar Institute Library is at the heart of my doctoral research in several ways: not only has it provided a base for my research study and offered a collection of published texts that is probably unrivalled anywhere in the world, particularly as far as Scandinavian Spitsbergen texts are concerned, but its archives have also been the source of several texts that have illuminated my research findings. These include two unpublished bibliographies compiled by Adolf Hoel (Hoel 1908, 1919). They also include the Statement of issues submitted to the Peace Conference by the Norwegian Ambassador in Paris in the name of the Norwegian Government (Anonymous 1919) and a 16-page typed transcription of Gunnar Isachsen's diary notes relating to the compilation of this document in the spring of 1919 (Isachsen 1919), discussed at length in Thesis Article 5 (TA5: 34-38). The Norwegian Polar Institute's relocation from Oslo to Tromsø was in fact the principal reason why I decided to spend a year studying in Tromsø from 1999-2000.

### Texts as units

Texts published 1895-1920, compiled in my *Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database* and analysed in my thesis articles, comprise different types of publication: a **book** – a summary of ideas accumulated over time, exemplified in this area of research by the expedition narrative; a **thesis** – a summary of accumulated thought over time, presented in an academic context; an **article** – generally a sharpened focus on a particular topic within a field of expertise, appearing in a monthly, quarterly or annually-published journal; a **lecture** – the distribution of knowledge at a particular time and in a particular place, its lifetime extended by being subsequently published in a journal; a **news item** – the announcement of an event that has yet to take place, and/or an update regarding its progress, and/or a report of the event in retrospect; a **book review** – critical information regarding another text; a **literature listing** – the announcement of a text's existence; a **bibliography** – the

compilation of literature listings relating to a specific topic; a **cartographical listing** – the announcement of the existence of a map or a cartographically-related text; **correspondence** – a published letter elucidating or challenging information already made available about an event or text, or announcing an event (duplicating the role of a news item), or presenting new information (duplicating the role of an article in shortened form); **Society minutes** – focusing on a topic as it relates specifically to a group of individuals or an institution.

Texts incorporated in the bibliographies published during my research period include books, theses, articles and lectures. Once a bibliography has been compiled on a particular topic, every subsequent text published in the same field may be viewed as a further addition to the overall oeuvre. What was an ideal one hundred years ago has become a reality in the modern context of electronic databases which have the capacity to be updated on an ongoing basis. The first compilation of the bibliography on any given topic marks a tipping point concerning the perceived significance of that field and its potential political, or economic, or cultural, or other worth in the future. It also represents an elevation in status of authors whose works are incorporated in the bibliography – if only from the perception of the authors themselves. *My Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database* is described in further detail in Section 8, Methodology.

#### Building on the foundations of Clive Holland's encyclopedia

The contents of Clive Holland's *Arctic exploration and development c. 500 b.c. to 1915: an encyclopedia* (Holland 1994) have formed the backbone of my research since my Master's studies at the University of Edinburgh. This "comprehensive chronological record of expeditions, voyages, and historical events in the Arctic from early times to 1915" (*ibid.*: vii) presents historical detail in a bibliometric form, with an absolute consistency of information inclusion and presentation (for details of entry layout in this text, cf. *ibid.*: viii). Holland's intention of pursuing "an unfolding and very detailed history of Arctic exploration and development" (*ibid.*: viii) up to 1950 (*ibid.*: xi; *SPRI Review 2000*) was precluded by his death in 2000, though it is to be hoped that Clive Holland's notes for this project have been deposited in the SPRI archives. A regrettable limitation of Holland's achievements is that his encyclopaedia just predated the trend towards electronic cataloguing and bibliographic databases – though at the same time one wonders whether Holland would necessarily have embraced this possibility – and the encyclopedia, which now out of print, does not (yet) exist in electronic form. A transcription of Holland (1994) as a searchable electronic database would be a significant research tool for those whose research is linked to Arctic history. Holland might be said to stand at the pinnacle of a canon of Spitsbergen and polar-related bibliographical texts that were started one hundred years ago by Conway (Conway 1906), Hoel

(Hoel 1908), J.M. Hulth (Hulth 1909) and A.F. Shidlovskiy (Shidlovskiy 1912), but which were then subsequently built on by others, including the compilation of a *Chronological List of Antarctic Expeditions and Related Historical Events* by Robert K. Headland, also linked to SPRI (Headland 1989); and Gösta H. Liljequist's *High Latitudes: A History of Swedish Polar Travels and Research* (Liljequist 1993). In his turn, Clive Holland has paved the way for further publications of a polar and scientometric nature, including the following: L.J. Conrad's self-published *Bibliography of Antarctic Exploration*, covering expedition accounts from 1768 to 1960 (Conrad 1999); William Mills' historical encyclopaedia, *Exploring Polar Frontiers* (Mills 2003); Mark Nuttall's *Encyclopedia of the Arctic* (Nuttall 2005), followed two years later by Beau Riffenburgh's *Encyclopedia of the Antarctic* (Riffenburgh 2007), both published by Routledge in New York; and *A Chronology of Antarctic Exploration* by Robert Headland (Headland 2009).

## 5. ETHICS

The subject of my doctoral research is relatively non-contentious, aside from the universal academic requirements not to plagiarize the work of others and a general imperative of the historian not to abuse history: Margaret MacMillan cautions that “[s]tories of past glories or of past wrongs are useful tools in the present, but they ... often come at the cost of abusing history. History is also abused when people try to ignore or even suppress evidence that might challenge their preferred view of the past.” (MacMillan 2009: 69). Focusing on the process of comparison as this relates to my analysis of primary texts has made me more aware of several ethical issues relating to equivalence, impartiality and the abuse of history as they relate to my selection and interpretation of source materials.

### How many languages, and which ones?

One personal aspect of my research is my own knowledge of languages: English as my mother tongue; French studied to general degree level; everyday fluency in Norwegian; a reading knowledge of Swedish, as a result of learning Norwegian; and a rusty reading knowledge of German. I decided to exploit my linguistic abilities to the full, incorporating texts in all five languages within the scope of my research. Regretfully, I have had to exclude texts published in Russian, since I lack a reading knowledge of that language. Looking back, I would say that this initial approach was enthusiastic, but flawed: it focused on *my individual expertise* (fluency in English, French, Norwegian, Swedish and German, in roughly descending order of ability), instead



of the *apparent objective requirements* of my research topic and period of focus, which would be best served by fluency in Norwegian, Swedish and Russian, followed by English. (William Barr, in a short article published in *Polar Record* in 1984, criticized an article by a Scott Polar Research Institute colleague: “[i]n confining himself almost entirely to British sources the author has ... compromised the impartiality of his article” (Barr 1984: 194).)

#### Which countries, and how many?

My linguistic capabilities determined the choice of countries from which my research material could be drawn. Norwegian, Swedish and German facilitated the use of texts published in those countries. English incorporated texts published in Britain and the United States, and strategic publication in English elsewhere, e.g. the extensive “Swedish Spitsbergen Bibliography” published in *Ymer* (Hulth 1909). French encompassed texts published in France, but also the Russian use of French as an international language of publication (e.g. the Russian-Swedish Spitsbergen arc of meridian expedition results, 1898-1902). Although one might question the wisdom and sheer logistics of comparing more than, say, three types of research material when analysing *any* historical topic, John Cottingham pushes the argument for the internationalization of research (to its furthest extreme): “If I am to think ethically, I cannot restrict my considerations to those who happen to live next door to me, or in my village, or even in my country or region of the world. ... in so far as it is possible, I have to give impartial consideration to all the inhabitants of the planet” (Cottingham 1983: 90-91).

#### How many researchers?

The ethical question is raised concerning the extent to which one individual can or should take responsibility for interpreting and comparing source material obtained from multiple foreign cultures. In a perfect world, perhaps the comparative analysis that I have undertaken would have been pursued by five researchers representing the five main languages/countries, each able to focus on their own national expertise and compensate for their own limitations and those of their colleagues through collaborative research. The Aurora Borealis research group within the University of Tromsø’s Narrating the High North project, comprising researchers from several Nordic countries, is an excellent example of such cross-national research. But then I wondered: (a) how long would I have to wait for interest in my specific area of bibliometric research to hit international critical mass, and (b) as a British doctoral candidate at a Norwegian university, with an overriding interest in French aspects of my research, where on earth would I fit in anyway? And isn’t my determination to internationalize the perspective of this field of research precisely an

attempt to pull away from an academic tendency to view the field from a national(istic) perspective?

#### Five geographical societies, five geographical journals

Pursuing the idea of analysing texts published in five countries on my own, I originally set about selecting the five journals whose texts would constitute my main source materials (though in the end my citation of Spitsbergen texts published 1895 to 1920 in my five thesis articles has been contained within a somewhat looser framework). Here I encountered worrying discrepancies that might challenge the impartiality and equivalence of my comparative analysis. I wanted to use materials published by the national geographical society for each country, but German geographical societies were regional rather than national, so I chose instead *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, published since 1755 by Justus Perthes' geographischer Institut in Gotha: a publication that also reflected the German emphasis on geography as an established academic field of study, rather than as a scientific topic of public interest, as was the case in much of the rest of Europe at that time. I felt that *Petermanns Mitteilungen* would represent an objective source of information about Spitsbergen, and the 380 items relating to Spitsbergen that were published in the journal between 1895 and 1920 have been useful background source material.

It proved just as difficult to find equivalence between the publications of the National Geographical Societies in France (the geographical society was founded in 1820, with a monthly journal – as opposed to a society proceedings – published from 1900 onwards, incorporating 132 Spitsbergen items), Britain (society founded in 1830, monthly journal, 234 Spitsbergen items) and Norway (society founded in 1889, annual yearbook, 27 Spitsbergen items), and the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography (society founded in 1877, quarterly journal, 196 Spitsbergen items). From the start of my research, I faced seemingly unavoidable but significant compromises in equivalence across the five selected European countries/languages.

#### Adopting an overview

The resolution of the ethical difficulties outlined above has been largely fortuitous. The discovery that Spitsbergen items published in French actually contained significant input by Norwegian scientists helped to compensate for the relative scarcity of Spitsbergen items published by the Norwegian Geographical Society and enabled me to maintain a greater level of impartiality in comparing the Norwegian outlook on Spitsbergen with that of the other countries studied, as well as justifying my study of texts written in French. Writing a series of articles, rather than a monograph, enabled me to present an overview of Spitsbergen texts published over the 25-year period in which

the Spitsbergen items published in the five geographical journals served as the backbone rather than the sole focus of my research. Each article has tended to involve a comparison of some, rather than all, of the potential areas of focus: past/present/future textual focus and pictorial depiction; Sir William Martin Conway and the consequences of his initial bibliography; Adolf Hoel in the context of geological and natural scientific publications; Charles Rabot's representation of Norwegian scientific interests; and the Spitsbergen Literature Lobby. This approach has more or less saved me from drowning in an attempt to analyse more source material than could be contained within a single thesis. Furthermore, this apparent "cherry-picking exercise" – that is, selecting certain aspects of my research field whilst ignoring others – seems to have highlighted a pattern of cross-national awareness, linguistic fluidity and domination, as well as bibliographical citation across the five countries and throughout the research period, which has not only proven worthy of close study, but of which I was quite unaware when I first embarked upon my research.

#### Research ethics and moral conviction: comparing the past and the present

One other aspect of my comparative research represents a potential conflict between standard History practice and what might be termed my own moral conviction. Since I began my doctoral research in 2004, global awareness of and attitudes towards the Arctic have developed rapidly. The political events and unprecedented ice-melting during the summer of 2007 convinced me that the world no longer has the luxury of preserving Arctic history in isolation from contemporary events. The practice of comparing the past and the present by means of historical parallels is an exercise requiring extreme caution; I undertook it in submitting posters to Arctic Frontiers conferences (Jones 2008; Jones & Pedersen 2009). Further inspired by the foundation of the Arctic Futures research project by Peter Arbo and others, promoting research collaboration between the Faculties of Social Sciences, Law and Fisheries at the University of Tromsø, and their online compilation of Arctic scenario information (<http://site.uit.no/arcticfutures/arctic-futures/7-references/>), I had hoped that Thesis Article 3 would compare textual speculation about the commercial and political future of Spitsbergen 100 years ago with current academic and media speculation concerning commercial and political developments in the Arctic over the coming decades. It remains a source of regret that the sheer scale of Spitsbergen-related textual material published 1905-1914 eventually prohibited any comparison with texts published in 2005-2014. A bibliometric approach to contemporary texts about Svalbard and the Arctic remains a long-term research ambition.

Sir William Martin Conway used the British naval phrase "it ain't Arctic" in *The First Crossing of Spitsbergen* to condemn the expedition's errors of judgment, going out into the field without rifle or provisions, and walking unroped on a glacier (Conway 1897: 208, 211). Similarly,

“it ain’t Arctic” to ignore potential ethical problems such as primary text language choice; the equivalence of journals and other source materials; loss of impartiality, stemming from the innate bias of my academic background; or abusing history by selecting and comparing facts and events to fit my case. But a co-ordinated cross-national approach to comparative bibliometric and linguistic research is still in its infancy regarding textual analysis of Arctic scientific literature and bibliographies. Thinking back to Margaret MacMillan’s injunction not to “ignore or even suppress evidence”, then perhaps the best way forward is to be guided by what is logistically feasible, tempering my comparison of the international aspects of my research field with an awareness of the limitations within which I have operated.

## 6. PERCEPTIONS, PERSUASION & POWER

This section draws together different possible perspectives of my thesis under the umbrella of three signifiers: “perceptions”, “persuasion” and “power”. I go on to discuss briefly the use of language, translation and international culture, and how these manifest themselves as forms of persuasion; primary actors in textual terms as manifestations of power; and instances of happenstance, coincidence and catalyst, which undermined certain types of power presented in the texts. I have included these three terms in the title of my thesis because I want to draw the reader’s attention to the complexity of scientific texts about Spitsbergen and their publication between 1895 and 1920: that in many cases their individual and cumulative existence represented rather more than additions to the sum of human knowledge. However, I am aware of the danger of becoming bogged down in the intricacies of these signifiers and their definitions, which are interesting but not the most important aspect of my research findings. The next few paragraphs this summarize briefly the extent to which each term may be applied to Spitsbergen texts of this period and their associated events, referencing matters that are discussed in further detail elsewhere in this thesis summary.

“Perceptions” can refer to what writers experienced and what readers perceived, and how they responded: this is a process that Umberto Eco defines as *The Role of the Reader* (Eco 1979: passim). Eco’s analysis of the semiotics of texts has informed my approach to the primary texts of my research period, and in the same way George Steiner’s *After Babel: aspects of language and translation* (Steiner: 1992) has informed my view of translated texts concerning Spitsbergen, though I have not chosen to analyse my findings through the prism of their works in my thesis articles. *Webster* (1920, the source of all the dictionary definitions quoted here in inverted commas) defines perception as “recognition of truth or fact”, or what we might label these days as objective

perceptions. This type of perception applies to some of the natural science texts published about Spitsbergen (cf. especially TA3: passim); it is applicable to Hoel's bibliography of Spitsbergen literature relating to geology (Hoel 1908); for that matter, I would claim that it is applicable to my own bibliographical database. Perceptions can also be transformed: the issue of shifting perceptions is an important focus in my first thesis article (TA1: 106-107). Other ways in which perceptions can transform or shift is through language, crossing national borders and moving from one language to another, cf. David Bellos's theory of UP/DOWN translation (TA4: 278); news items and book reviews can achieve the same cross-border effect; selective choice of language, e.g. the use of English to publish a Swedish Spitsbergen bibliography as a defensive response to the limitations of Conway's historical narrative (Hulth 1909, Conway 1906, cf. TA2: 327). This may not correspond to Webster's further definition of perception as a "feeling of certainty", but it then goes on to specify "often implying nice observation or *subtle discrimination*" (my italics), which is starting to lead towards the notion of persuasion. Overall perceptions may correspond to "an immediate or intuitive cognition or judgment", but differing perceptions (of focus) occur as well: Spitsbergen as the principal focus, or a significant focus, or a marginal focus in a narrative. There is a struggle throughout this canon of Spitsbergen texts between what we might call innate perceptions and constructed perceptions, or perhaps this might be phrased as conscious perceptions vs. subconscious/unconscious perceptions. An example of this is the work of a number of German scientists during the period 1905-1914 who may perfectly well have published their research findings oblivious to the Spitsbergen Question concerning the sovereignty of the region (TA3: passim). Swedish scientist De Geer seems to fall into the category of a Spitsbergen author who conveyed his scientific findings almost doggedly inconscient (to all appearances) of the political potential of his publications (TA5: 45, 47), in contrast to the overt persuasion employed by authors such as Adolf Hoel, Gunnar Isachsen and Charles Rabot. De Geer's approach seems to correspond to "the power or faculty of having or exercising such perceptions", where Webster appears to be ascribing almost moral or aesthetic perceptions ... to perceptions.

"Persuasion" is shaped by learning and memory, rather than by expectation and attention. Webster refers to the "act of persuading", a reminder that on one level or another, every author sets out to persuade. The term can be an "act of persuading" or a "state of being persuaded"; the definition also extends to manipulated perceptions, "induced opinion or conviction". Michael Gordin discusses the inherent perception of a text as educational, or popular, or informing, or persuading, cracking open the whole notion of what purpose a scientific text was intended to serve around the turn of the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, and what purpose it actually did serve (Gordin 2015: 1-23). "That which persuades" extends to Charles Rabot's editorial bias, the discrepancy

between the level of Norwegian activity relating to Spitsbergen versus the scale of focus in *La Géographie* (TA4: 282-285), and his relentless editorial emphasis on Spitsbergen during the Great War. “That which persuades” can define anything from Rabot the translator to Spitsbergen territorial/sovereignty claims, but it also applies to bibliographical and cartographical listings. Persuasion is not always effective: the reader may be persuaded (which was at least the aim of the Spitsbergen Literature Lobby authors), or not persuaded, e.g. Nathorst’s response to Conway’s scientific prowess, or lack of it (cf. TA2: 325), or wrongly persuaded, e.g. Rabot’s view concerning the territorial ambitions of German Spitsbergen authors in general (cf. TA3: 35). The “power or quality of persuading” may be limited, exemplified by Conway’s persuasiveness in literary/historical terms in 1906, but not in political terms c. 1918 (TA2: 322-323, 325-327). The “state of being persuaded; induced opinion or conviction” gives rise to the push-pull of persuasion and power, which is discussed in more detail in the section on primary actors and expertise.

It should be noted that my use of the term “power” does not derive from Nietzsche’s definition of knowledge as an expression of “*der Wille zur Macht* [the will to power]”; nor from Michel Foucault’s discourse analysis, employing the terms “*pouvoir* [power]” and “*puissance* [force]”; nor from Edward Said’s linking of the theory of discourse with social and political struggle (Selden 1985: 98-105), though these might well be profitable theoretical paths to explore. My analysis of power in the Spitsbergen texts focuses primarily on the concept of expertise in a variety of forms, but also on the concepts of happenstance, or coincidence, or catalyst, which in almost all instances have subverted or detracted from the very power that was being sought, or the perceived power that has been attributed retrospectively.

### Choice of language of publication

The choice of language of publication in this canon of Spitsbergen texts is a frequent indication of conscious persuasion on the part of an author or publisher (including scientific journals). Thesis Article 1 cites/references Spitsbergen texts published in Dutch, English, French, German and Swedish, but not Norwegian (the time frame of this paper predated burgeoning Norwegian scientific activity in the region from 1906 onwards). In Thesis Article 2, the scope of Conway’s proficiency is evident in his citation of works written in English, French, German, Italian and Latin (published in the Netherlands), as well as his references to Norwegian and Swedish publications, albeit with the complaint that he found these hard going. Conway’s academic specialization in seventeenth-century Dutch art clearly awoke his interest in the involvement in and writing about whaling activity in Spitsbergen undertaken by the Dutch at that time. The inclusion of text titles written in Scandinavian (and other European languages) in the “Bibliography of the history and geography of

Spitsbergen” at the end of *No Man’s Land* (Conway 1906) takes the form of a kind of ‘translation’ – even though no English equivalent was provided – by situating unfamiliar vocabulary, e.g. “Geografisk och Geognostisk Beskrifning öfver nordöstra delarne af Spetsbergen och Hinlopen Strait” (Nordenskiöld 1862), in a clearly-identified, accessible scientific context.

One of the main points of focus in Thesis Article 3 is a scientometric study of the apparent influences of the texts’ language of publication (as well as the nationality of the author and place of publication). The article’s findings also illustrate Adolf Hoel’s awareness at a relatively early stage of his career of scientific texts published internationally in his field of expertise, in English, French, German, Norwegian and Swedish. The French aspect of Albert I of Monaco’s Spitsbergen expeditions in 1906 and 1907 could be expected to pique the interest of the readers of *La Géographie*. Thesis Article 4 discusses Rabot’s linguistic facility in Norwegian and Swedish, and his interest in Scandinavian-related Spitsbergen activity, which led to his translation into French of the expedition narratives of Fridtjof Nansen, Otto Sverdrup, Roald Amundsen and other polar explorers. Spitsbergen Literature Lobby texts were published in French, English, Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, Russian and Dutch. Thesis Article 5 discusses the influence of texts in various languages and depictions of national activity in bibliographical form, with a particular focus on French-Norwegian literary and scientific connections.

### Primary actors and expertise

Expertise relating to Spitsbergen during the period 1895-1920 took many forms and I discuss this topic because of the way in which expertise, of a scientific nature and other kinds, generally embodied power – what *Webster* defines as “the possession of sway or controlling influence over others” and the “ability ... to act; the faculty of doing or performing something” – during this era. The majority of those who acquired expertise demonstrated it by *writing* about Spitsbergen; some experts acquired sufficient prominence to be *written about*; Baron Wedel-Jarlsberg and Georges Clemenceau were in the special position of, respectively, *presenting* (but not writing) and *receiving* written information about Spitsbergen. Short biographies of those individuals mentioned in this section are listed in Supplementary File 3 of Thesis Article 3 and their achievements are discussed throughout the five thesis articles.

Scientific expertise in Spitsbergen terms between 1895 and 1920 principally comprised surveying and cartography, geology, oceanography/hydrography and meteorology. Other areas of Spitsbergen expertise exhibited included exploration, the presentation of the region’s history, bibliographical compilations, law and diplomacy, politics and commerce. Other areas of competence, status, eminence and worth were embodied in Spitsbergen actors’ academic status,

their military status, mountaineering prowess and noble/royal origins – and of course the almost ubiquitous status of authorship. One of the representations of power and influence that appears hardly at all in the Spitsbergen texts studied is that of commercial representation, apart from a few texts that focus on mining.

Expert individuals who fulfilled the definition of an “individual invested with authority or having influence” included the following (in alphabetical order): Johan Gunnar Andersson, a Swedish scientist who was perhaps the most internationally published of all the Spitsbergen scientists of this era, but who had almost no profile as a Spitsbergen actor; Salomon August Andrée, an explorer and prolific author and self-promoter; W.S. Bruce, a scientist and author who became involved in Spitsbergen commercial activity and territorial lobbying; R.N. Rudmose Brown, Bruce’s amanuensis, but a botanist and author in his own right, also involved in Spitsbergen commercial activity and lobbying; Georges Clemenceau, French politician, author, former editor and newspaper owner, who was appointed President of the Paris Peace Conference President, and who was lobbied by others; Sir William Martin Conway, explorer and mountaineer, (art) historian, academic, author, bibliographer, politician, museologist and unsuccessful lobbyist; Gerard De Geer, geologist, international academic conference expedition leader, author, academic and lobbyist; Adolf Hoel, geologist, academic, amanuensis figure and lobbyist; J.M. Hulth, librarian and bibliography compiler; Gunnar Isachsen, cavalry captain and expedition leader; Robert Lansing, lawyer, U.S. Secretary of State and Peace Conference delegate; Albert I, Prince of Monaco, oceanographer; Fridtjof Nansen, explorer in a broader Arctic sense, as well as expedition leader to Spitsbergen, hydrographer and diplomat; A.G. Nathorst, geologist and expedition leader; Charles Rabot, editor, former participant in expeditions to Spitsbergen and elsewhere in the Arctic, author, translator, lobbyist and spokesperson; Arnold Ræstad, lawyer and academic; A.F. Shidlovskiy, geographer and bibliography compiler; Arve Staxrud, topographer, army officer and expedition leader; Baron Wedel-Jarlsberg, Norwegian diplomat; Walter Wellman(n), explorer and author; F.C. Wieder, Dutch librarian, bibliographer, author, historian, cartographer and lobbyist; Max, Graf von Zeppelin, explorer and engineer.

There is an ambiguity in the classification of some of the expert individuals listed above: did individuals like Bruce, Clemenceau, Conway, Hoel, Isachsen, Lansing, Monaco, Nansen, Nathorst and Rabot fall into the category of “Renaissance man” or “dilettante/jack of all trades”? Were Andrée, De Geer, Hulth, Ræstad, Shidlovskiy, Staxrud, Wedel-Jarlsberg, Wellman, Werenskiold, Wieder and Zeppelin experts/specialists, or were they just “one-trick ponies”? I raise these questions not to answer them – I consider them in many cases to be unanswerable – but to plant these alternate possibilities in the reader’s mind.



### Happenstance, coincidence and catalyst



Tower Bridge, London with ice floes in the foreground. Photograph taken in February 1895.

The lowest-ever recorded UK temperature of minus 27.2°C occurred in February 1895. This was also the last time that the River Thames froze and it led to about a thousand deaths above the seasonal average in London in the course of a week. *The Times* newspaper reported that between fifty and sixty thousand people went skating on the Serpentine on one day alone (*The Times*, 15.02.1895). The Arctic had – briefly – come to London. A description of ice on the Serpentine in Hyde Park, London during the winter of 1895 frames the opening narration of Chapter XVIII, “The first crossing of Spitsbergen” in Sir Martin Conway’s autobiographical *Mountain Memories* (Conway 1920: 192) and he presents this as a catalyst for his expeditions to Spitsbergen in 1896 and 1897: “I was riding along the bank of the Serpentine in Hyde Park. It was misty and the water had been frozen over. The sheet of ice was broken up and the sun was penetrating the mist and glittering on the ice. The tender evanescent beauty of the scene took sudden possession of me. Thus, perhaps, on a grander scale might arctic visions fashion themselves. At that moment the fates decided for me the two expeditions carried out in 1896 and 1897.” (Conway 1920: 192)

Until I came across a photograph of ice floes on the River Thames (see above), I had dismissed Conway’s depiction of the Arctic localized in London as a stereotypical narrative device,

an example of Conway's late Romantic style. Now I feel obliged to reconsider it as an example – perhaps equally stereotypical – of British understatement, but also as an impetus for Conway's Spitsbergen expeditions, which in turn precipitated his publication of the first history of the region, *No Man's Land* (Conway 1906), even though Conway identified Lord Dufferin's *Letters from High Latitudes* (Blackwood 1857) as a more literary catalyst in his 1896 expedition narrative (Conway 1897: 1).

The historical, bibliographical, cartographical and nomenclature details compiled by Conway, which were set in small print at the end of *No Man's Land*, had originally been intended for publication by the Royal Geographical Society, echoing *The Geographical Journal's* ongoing and impressive global focus on “geographical literature of the month” and cartographical listings. The inclusion of these extra details in *No Man's Land* was a significant factor in commanding respect for this work as a *reference text*, despite the intermittently lightweight and nationalistic bias of its *main narrative* (TA2: 325).

Adolf Hoel, Gunnar Isachsen and Charles Rabot could not have known in advance that, following their literary preparations over a period of 10-12 years (1907-1918), circumstances would arise in the form of the Paris Peace Conference in which they would no longer have to *persuade* the Norwegian authorities of their argument, but find themselves in the position of *formulating their territorial arguments* on behalf of that authority to a yet higher, international authority: the Spitsbergen Commission.

Perhaps the most remarkable instance of happenstance (or coincidence, or catalyst) is the fact that if Gunnar Isachsen, in the aftermath of taking part in the second Norwegian *Fram* exploring expedition to the Canadian Arctic in 1898-1902, had not joined the French Foreign Legion and become fluent in French, and if Rabot had not been fluent in Scandinavian languages and a passionate Scandophile, the textual background for Norway's acquisition of what would become Svalbard would not have been in place and this just might possibly have affected the entire resolution of the Spitsbergen Question. This might be said to be the biggest contention – hypothesis is perhaps too strong a term, at least at this stage of my research – of my entire thesis.

Finally, happenstance may also be said to occur when obscure research materials make themselves known and available, subsequently playing a significant role in affirming and/or developing aspects of the research field in the present and the future. Primary and secondary texts in this category include Gunnar Isachsen's Paris Peace Conference diary notes (Isachsen 1919), Paul Otlet's treatise on bibliography (Otlet 1934), Astrid Emilie Helle's dissertation (1985) and Michael D. Gordin's discourse on the history of the language of science (Gordin 2015).

## 7. HISTORIOGRAPHICAL POSITIONING

Secondary literature relating to the methodological and theoretical approaches of my research is discussed in Section 8. Secondary sources cited or quoted in each thesis article are listed in its reference section; thesis summary references include only works specifically cited in this section. A few reference works appear consistently throughout the thesis articles, Clive Holland's Arctic encyclopedia being the most notable example: as discussed in Section 4, the breadth of information and consistency of presentation that Holland provides makes him my 'go-to' source for Arctic history up to 1915, and I am constantly surprised that he is not cited more widely by Arctic historians in general. Thor Bjorn Arlov's history of Svalbard (Arlov 2003, cited in every thesis article) has been my first port of call for confirmation of events relating to this Arctic region, including his perception of Conway's status as an explorer and a historian (TA2: 322-323) and coverage of Russian hunting and commercial activity on Spitsbergen (TA5: 44). *The Place Names of Svalbard* (Norwegian Polar Institute 2003, cited in TA2: 324 and TA5: 47) has been a crucial means of ensuring the topographical accuracy of my research. References to a contemporaneous dictionary (*Webster* 1920, cited frequently in TA3) became deeply embedded in my thematic and bibliometric analysis of Spitsbergen texts.

Other works of secondary literature have been cited for more specialized reasons. Urban Wråkberg provided clarification in the context of Nathorst's response to the publication of *No Man's Land* (Conway 1906) (Wråkberg 1999, cited in TA2: 326-327 and referenced in TA5: 43) and other aspects of Swedish Arctic history, including Sweden's attempt to claim Spitsbergen for Norway in 1872-73, Andrée's first balloon attempt of 1896, the Russian-Swedish arc of meridian expeditions in Spitsbergen, the Stockholm polar lobby that tried to promote continued Swedish exploration in Spitsbergen, the nationalistic slant of Spitsbergen cartographical publications, the effect upon Sweden of its close cultural bonds with Germany in the aftermath of the Great War, and polar actors who were called upon as 'experts' by their own nations (Wråkberg op. cit., 2002, 2006 and 2012, cited variously in TA2: 320; TA4: 277, 279; TA5: 34, 46, 54). Frode Skarstein's biography of Adolf Hoel added to my understanding of the general awareness of Charles Rabot's promotion of Norwegian scientific activity and political interests (Skarstein 2008, cited in TA4: 275 and TA5: 50). Peter Speak's dissertation on the Scottish Spitsbergen Syndicate, as well as providing details of this organization's activities, also helped to confirm the likely inaccuracy of a Spitsbergen Literature Lobby text cited by Elen C. Singh (Speak 1982, cited in TA5: 42, 55, 56; Singh 1980, see below). Texts not concerned with Arctic history, but nonetheless invaluable sources

of expertise, included Gregor Dallas's biography of Georges Clemenceau (Dallas 1993, cited in TA4: 288), Alfred Fierro's history of La Société de géographie (Fierro 1983, cited in TA4: 275) and Margaret MacMillan's account of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 (MacMillan 2001, cited in TA4: 286 and TA5: 60). MacMillan's conclusions have caused me to reconsider the whole scale of the Spitsbergen Commission within the context of the Paris Peace Conference, though perhaps this author's own possible preconceptions regarding the significance of Spitsbergen/the Arctic at that time should be taken into account as well.

A number of citations on various topics in my research have been limited to the researcher who said it first. Trygve Mathisen's narrative concerning *Svalbard in international politics 1871-1925* (Mathisen 1954) is a case in point: he is cited concerning British de-Arcticizing of Spitsbergen in a territorial claim in 1919 (TA2: 324), Charles Rabot's involvement at the Paris Peace Conference (TA4: 275) and the Spitsbergen conferences held in Kristiania in 1910, 1912 and 1914 (TA4: 281; TA5: 34). Elen C. Singh coined the term "Spitsbergen Literature Lobby" to describe a "spate of publications" concerned with the resolution of the Spitsbergen Question in *The Spitsbergen (Svalbard) Question: United States foreign policy, 1907-1935* (Singh 1980: 94; cited in TA2: 327, TA4: 285, TA5: 33; Singh's findings are also discussed in further detail in TA5: 34, 38-42, 46, 49, 54-55, 61). I have not been able to trace citations of Singh's findings in any other secondary literature and I am at a loss to explain why, other than to note that this female Norwegian researcher, published by Universitetsforlaget in Oslo, wrote in English and carried out her study as a dissertation project at the Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver (Singh 1980: v). Willy Østreng, whose publications date from a slightly earlier period than those of many other researchers in the field of Svalbard history, presents facts that are highly relevant to my research, cited in several thesis articles on topics including the British territorial claim in 1919 (TA2: 324) and the Spitsbergen conferences held in Kristiania (TA5: 34).

The scale of citations from Mathisen (1954), Østreng (1974), Singh (1980) and Wråkberg (1999) is to a certain extent due to an overlap in research subject matter between my thesis articles; the same applies to Geir Ulfstein's published thesis on *The Svalbard Treaty*, the principal source of secondary literature regarding this political event (Ulfstein 1995, cited in TA4: 275 and TA5: 34). Other secondary texts that make up the foundation of particular aspects of my research include Einar-Arne Drivenes and Harald Dag Jølle's *Norsk polarhistorie* (Drivenes & Jølle (eds) 2004, cited in TA3: 7 and TA5: 46, 57) in the field of Norwegian polar history and Roald Berg's *Norge på egen hand: 1905-1920* (Berg 1995, cited in TA4: 275, 286-287 and TA5: 34) in the field of Norwegian political history, including Spitsbergen. In several instances, peer review and editorial recommendations have helped to extend my perspective of the contemporary field of Arctic History

research. This was the case, for example, in TA5, in which three works authored/co-authored by Louwrens Hacquebord are cited regarding European whaling, early territorial conflict in Spitsbergen and the region's economic history (Hacquebord 1984, Hacquebord & Avango 2009, Hacquebord, Steenhuisen & Waterbolk 2003, cited in TA5: 47, 54), as well as two works by Marek E. Jasinski (Jasinski 1991, 1993, cited in TA5: 44) and a chapter by A. Kraikovski, Y. Alekseeva, M. Dadykina & J. Lajus (Kraikovski et al. 2012, cited in TA5: 44) on Pomor/Russian hunting in the region.

A number of secondary texts have significantly influenced the historiographical positioning of my research, although they have not been cited in my thesis articles. One of these is Beau Riffenburgh's published thesis on media (mostly newspaper) coverage of polar exploration undertaken between 1855 and 1910 (Riffenburgh 1993). Although my own work specifically avoids newspaper coverage as being too extensive a textual genre for my 25-year research focus, Riffenburgh's media focus served as a starting-point for my own awareness of how increased travel to Spitsbergen was becoming a commodity for the readership of geographical journal texts, and media publications – particularly from around 1914 onwards – were even becoming a currency of sorts for authors who constituted the Spitsbergen Literature Lobby. The focus on the Arctic and Antarctic sublime in both Riffenburgh and in Francis Spufford's *I May Be Some Time: Ice and the English Imagination* (Spufford 1996) endorsed the idea that examining how Spitsbergen is described (cf., for example, TA3: 9-10 and 17-18, and SF6) can be significant, in addition to charting how often and by whom it was described. Michael Bravo & Sverker Sörlin's *Narrating the Arctic* cultural history anthology (Bravo & Sörlin 2002) inspired in me a belief in the feasibility of undertaking interdisciplinary research between the fields of history and, if not literature, at any rate the study of texts. Other influential secondary texts that have helped to steer my own research include Susan Barr's history of the Norwegian Polar Institute (Barr 2003, 2nd edition 2010), which illuminates the background to the organization whose archives and library collection are at the heart of my research; Margaret MacMillan's brilliant and forceful disquisition on *The Uses and Abuses of History* (MacMillan 2009); and Peder Roberts' focus on geopolitical, territorial aspects of *The European Arctic: science and strategy in Scandinavia and the British Empire* (Roberts 2011). An outstanding recent addition to the region's contemporary natural science canon of texts, the *Geoscience Atlas of Svalbard*, takes into account "the immense amount of existing data ... dispersed in a large variety of publications like scientific articles, books, maps, reports, etc. [which] made it desirable to gather together a representative outline of this material in a new book" (Dallmann 2015: 3). In doing so, the breadth and depth of its geoscientific scope is reminiscent of Adolf Hoel's handwritten bibliography (Hoel 1908) – the atlas even incorporates a bibliography

(Dallmann 2015: 268-279) that includes texts relating to the history of geoscientific exploration – and is akin to Clive Holland’s Arctic encyclopedia (Holland 1994) in the comprehensively detailed presentation of its subject matter.

Whilst I have no interest in studying texts purely on the basis of their author’s gender, notable publications by several female authors have fallen squarely within my field of research. My reason for remarking upon their gender, incidentally, stems – amongst other things – from a discussion with a male colleague who referred in passing to the “hyper-masculinity of Arctic History” and my uneasy sense that this trait has extended to the field of Arctic History research as well. Silje Solheim Karlsen’s doctoral thesis on Nansen’s *Fram* expedition of 1894-1896 and texts published in its aftermath (Solheim Karlsen 2012) has commendably extended the boundaries of research relating to Nansen. I have already mentioned Elen C. Singh’s thesis (Singh 1980), a rare instance of modern secondary literature with a specific focus on U.S. political interests in the region. I should very much have liked to make much more use of the research findings of Astrid Emilie Helle’s dissertation examining relations between France and Norway in the resolution of this political issue (Helle 1985), and plan to do so in the future, but I only discovered the existence of her dissertation at a late stage of my own research. Finally, Margaret MacMillan’s award-winning treatise, *Peacemakers: the Paris Conference of 1919 and its attempt to end war* (MacMillan 2001) provided essential background to this event and I cited the work twice (TA4: 286; TA5: 60) to indicate her utter *lack* of focus on the Spitsbergen Commission, a lack which I am not inclined to perceive as a shortcoming on her part but as an indication of the lack of significance of both the commission and its political outcome in the overall scheme of things – which tends not to be acknowledged in research focusing on the Spitsbergen Question.

The bibliometric and linguistic research perspectives that I have adopted are pioneering in the field of Arctic History and have involved very much treading my own path for the duration of my doctoral studies, but it is certainly the case that I have needed to acquire a secure knowledge of the secondary literature in this field in order to embark on this type of research in the first place. Using a bibliographic approach has provided me with a broad perception of a substantial number of primary texts published 1895-1920. The exercise of creating my own Spitsbergen bibliographical database has also affected my perception of secondary literature relating to this topic in general terms. Rather than challenging the findings of individual researchers in this field, I have found myself swimming against the tide on a couple of large-scale issues, in each case particularly pertinent to contemporary Norwegian/Scandinavian researchers. The first is a tendency to refer to “Svalbard” when referring to events throughout the region’s history before Norway was granted sovereignty of the region. The distinction between “Oslo” (to 1624), “Christiania” (from c.1625),

“Kristiania” (from 1877) and “Oslo” (from 1925) is adhered to much more strongly in present-day historical texts than the distinction between “Spitsbergen” (from 1596 to 1925) and “Svalbard” (1925 onwards). Adolf Hoel – despite his territorial ambitions for the region – was, by contrast, punctilious in his application of these two place-names throughout his three-part history of the region (Hoel 1966). The other issue in contemporary secondary literature that I find myself challenging (at least internally) without – yet – any conclusive rebuttal is a tendency to ascribe Norway’s attainment of Spitsbergen sovereignty to a form of expertise on the part of Norwegian diplomats, officials, scientific representatives and public figures, whereas the process of internationalizing my perspective of this topic in a comparative analysis of texts published in Europe and further afield leads me to doubt whether this is by any means the whole picture.

## **8. METHODOLOGY & THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES**

### METHODOLOGY

My *Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database* (Jones, forthcoming) is in the final stages of being standardized and tidied up, and will become available in the public domain via the UiT Open Research Data site in 2017 (<http://site.uit.no/opensdata/about/?lang=en>). The database currently contains bibliographical details of 1,587 texts relating to Spitsbergen that were published between 1895 and 1920. It lists 602 individuals: authors of Spitsbergen texts and also those whose hopes, actions, findings and achievements were discussed in the texts (biographical details of many of these individuals are listed in Thesis Article 3, Supplementary File 3). The database further lists 196 expeditions to Spitsbergen mentioned in texts published between 1895 and 1920; 44 maps contained within the texts, or cited by the authors; 21 illustrations included in the texts (this is still incomplete); 596 place-names cited in the Spitsbergen texts; 216 publishers involved in disseminating these texts; details of 60 texts that have been reprinted; details of 24 book reviews; and a listing of 13 translated works, which were originally published in another language.

The publication of a historical account, and especially the publication of a bibliography – even if it is never subsequently updated – implicitly creates a structure into which all future events or publications, respectively, of the same type can fit and – in the case of a bibliography – in which future publications of a new type but relating to the same overall topic may be included by adding new categories to the bibliography. This type of publication represents a development within its research field, which has the inherent capacity to look forward even as it looks back, and the implicitly future role of a bibliography is surely an incitement to authors to continue publishing

texts in this field, in the hope of inclusion, or notice, or approval, or influence. The compilation of my own *Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database*, and the focus of my thesis articles on the significance of international texts published between 1895 and 1920, is itself a statement of the perceived historical significance of published items relating to Spitsbergen at this time. This notion of a bibliography acting as a sort of window onto the perspectives of the time of its publication – the choice of whether to include a text or not, whether it ‘fits’, whether it is relevant – seems to me to validate bibliometric study as a rather more creative and open to historical interpretation than is perhaps commonly thought. (I address this issue further in Section 9 on further research potential.) The inclusion/exclusion of texts and categories in a *bibliography* also accords with Michael Gordin’s assertion that the fact of a scientific text being *translated* inherently validates the original work (Gordin 2015: *passim*). I would further note that the exercise of creating the database as a starting-point for my own research has lent a perspective on the achievements of Conway, Hoel, Hulth and Shidlovskiy’s bibliographies that I do not think I would otherwise have obtained.

The *Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database* lists Spitsbergen texts published between 1895 and 1920 in Norwegian, Swedish, English, French or German; texts written in other European languages are included if they are listed in one of the contemporary library databases consulted (see details later in this section). There is no facility to include texts published in Russian or Finnish at present. The scope of the database could be extended as far back as 1596 when this Arctic archipelago was first discovered, and, in theory, forward to the present day. Details of the various tables (sections of information) that comprise this database, along with details of the sources from which information about the texts was obtained – electronic databases, specialist journals, existing Spitsbergen/Arctic databases and other reference sources – are provided below.

**Table 1. Bibliographical Details:** for the most part, this table contains fields that supply items of information generally found in a standard library catalogue or published bibliography.

- A unique database code for each published item
- The author name(s), as printed in the text
- The title of the published item; in the case of a journal item, its volume and issue numbers
- The total number of pages; in the case of a journal item, the first and last page numbers
- The title of the journal in which an item is published (if applicable)
- The ISSN number (if applicable)
- The month and/or year of publication)
- The database(s) from which information concerning a published item has been sourced (if applicable)



- Any other source from which information concerning a published item has been obtained

**Table 2. Individuals:** authors and actors referred to in the texts.

- A unique code for each person
- Name
- Author status: is the individual the author of a text listed in The Spitsbergen Database, or of a Spitsbergen text published outside the scope of the database?
- Nationality
- Gender
- Miscellaneous notes

**Table 3. Expeditions:** text references to expeditions to Spitsbergen and elsewhere.

\*Using expedition codes and other information obtained from Holland 1994.

- A unique code for each expedition\*
- Expedition nationality\*
- Expedition type (commercial, scientific, etc.)\*
- Arctic region(s) visited by an expedition\*
- Expedition leader(s)\*
- Expedition vessel(s)\*
- Year(s) in which an expedition took place\*

**Table 4. Maps** included in the texts and text references to maps of Spitsbergen.

- A unique code for each map
- Date of publication
- Type: map, survey, chart, plan, globe, sketch-map, etc.
- Country of publication
- Author and title of map
- Related publication (e.g. if published within a journal article)
- Spitsbergen location(s) shown on the map
- Related Spitsbergen expedition(s) (if applicable)

**Table 5. Illustrations** included in the texts.

- A unique code for each illustration
- Type: black & white photograph, table, engraving, line drawing, etc.
- Artist/photographer
- Title

- Book or journal page reference
- Related Spitsbergen expedition(s) (if applicable)

**Table 6: Place-names:** Spitsbergen place-names referred to in the texts.

- Spitsbergen place-name
- Place-name's language of origin (for example, "Point Looke Out", a seventeenth-century English place-name)
- Place-name's language of reference in the text, (for example, "Sydkap", a nineteenth-century Swedish/Norwegian place-name for "Point Looke Out")

**Table 7: Publishers** of Spitsbergen texts.

- A unique code for each publisher
- Type of publisher: book, journal, newspaper, map/chart, report, etc.
- Name of journal
- Whether or not a journal is affiliated to a society or organization
- Name of publisher
- Country of publication
- Place of publication

**Table 8: Reprints:** republished books and articles, and their original publication details.

- A unique code for each reprinted item
- Original publication details
- Connection with any published item listed in the *Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database*
- Type of publication: republished book, republished article, second or subsequent edition, extra copies supplied to author, second or subsequent issue of an edition

**Table 9: Reviews:** details of contemporaneous book reviews of database published items.

- A unique code for each review
- Publication details of the journal in which the review was published
- Language in which the reviewed item was published
- Language in which the book review was published

**Table 10: Translation:** books and articles published in translation, and original publication details.

- A unique code for each translation
- Publication details of the text in translation
- Publication details of the text in its original language

- Connection with any other item listed in the *Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database*

### **Information Sources**

Data for the *Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database* has been obtained from a wide variety of sources, including international library databases, specialist journals, specialist bibliographies and other sources of reference, listed below.

#### International Library Databases

- **France** – *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, Paris.
- **Germany** – *Die Deutsche Bibliothek* (Deutsche Bücherei Leipzig).
- **Norway** – BIBSYS Library System, used by more than 100 Norwegian libraries in higher education and research. Many of my initial database entries were drawn from the Norwegian Polar Institute library database, before this was subsumed into BIBSYS. The BIBSYS search engine has now been renamed Oria.
- **Sweden** – LIBRIS (*Det nationella bibliotekdatasystemet*), a national search service for Swedish University and research libraries, and about 20 public libraries; REGINA (*Kungliga biblioteket, Sveriges national bibliotek*), the National Library of Sweden's database.
- **UK** – COPAC (Consortium of University Research Libraries, combining the catalogues of approx. 90 major UK and Irish libraries, including the British Library, many University libraries and specialist research libraries). Initial entries were sourced from the catalogues of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh and the Scott Polar Research Institute (SPRI) Library at University of Cambridge, before both of them were subsumed into COPAC. SPRI had funding to supply free paper copies of its Antarctic catalogue (no electronic access was then available), but were required to charge £25 for paper copies of their Arctic catalogue.
- **USA** – WorldCat (worldcat.org), the world's largest network of library content and services, has improved sufficiently over the years to become a reliable source of bibliographical information, but this was not the case c. 2002 when I began to compile my database, especially as far as journal articles were concerned. At that time I was restricted to the online catalogue of the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. and to a subscription site available via the Norwegian Polar Institute Library called NISC BiblioLine (www.nisc.com), whose spelling of foreign words was comically unreliable.

#### Specialist Journals

- **France** – *Compte Rendus des Séances* (La société de géographie, to 1899); *La Géographie* (La société de géographie, from 1900)

- **Germany** – *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen*
- **Norway** – *Det Norske Geografiske Selskabs Aarbog; Naturen; Norsk geologisk tidsskrift* (1910-1919); *Skrifter utgit av Videnskapsselskapet i Kristiania* (from 1911); *Turistforening* (from 1901)
- **Sweden** – *Bulletin of The Geological Institute of the University of Upsala* (from 1901); *Det kongelige svenska vetenskaps-akademiens handlingar; Nova acta regiae societatis scientiarum upsaliensis* (from 1901); *Sveriges geologiska undersökning årbok* (from 1907); *Ymer* (Svenska sällskapet för antropologi och geografi)
- **UK** – *The Geographical Journal* (Royal Geographical Society); *Scottish Geographical Magazine* (The Royal Scottish Geographical Society)

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One source which I have not yet managed to check is the *Bibliographie géographique annuelle* (1895-1914, 1915/19, 1920/21), which is not available in Norway; it is available in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris and in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

#### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Rosengren's distinction between academic, essayistic and journalistic criticism, carried out by scholars, 'semischolars' and journalists is the framework of my analysis of Sir William Martin Conway's (perceived level of) expertise in his writings in Thesis Article 2 (Rosengren 1990, cf. TA2: 322-323). David Bellos has developed a theory of language translation which provides an apt framework and point of comparison for the way in which information is conveyed from dominant to less dominant cultures, and how the Norwegian language reversed this expected linguistic trend in the specific context of Spitsbergen scientific findings from 1906 onwards (cf. TA4: 278). Michael

Gordin's study of the language of science from ancient times to the present day (Gordin 2015) is the most fortuitous example of secondary literature appearing in print at the precise moment when I needed it. His findings concerning the shifting domination of English, French and German c. 1910, and the shunting of languages backwards and forwards across national borders, are discussed in Thesis Article 3 (TA3: 33-34, 39, 42, 44). Gordin also discusses the first scientific abstract journal in existence, published in Russia in 1824-1831, and how this field slowly took off, with the compilation of an abstract journal for medicine in 1874-1914 and a similar publication for railway engineering (both also in Russia). Commenting on the relative lack of such a bibliometric facility during the nineteenth century, he observes that it was otherwise necessary to "select the main journals in your field and then thumb through each issue, studying the table of contents, reading many of the abstracts, and focusing on the relevant articles ... if an article cited a significant paper in a journal outside the regular set, that would lead to another article, and crawling down the citation chain could enrich your research" or hope that "...some other scientist happened to have a broader bibliographic base and then published about it." (Gordin 2015: passim).

Christine Borgman defines bibliometrics as "the application of mathematics and statistical methods to books and other media of communication" (Borgman 1990: 10). It sheds light on the process of written communication and the way in which an academic discipline develops in written form, by counting and analysing various bibliographic details of the text. William Paisley alludes to the historical potential (and other forms of potential in other research fields, of course) of bibliographical compilation: "The reference list is a humble appendage to a scholarly paper, but citations reveal much about the information environments and intellectual networks in which scholars work.". He defines this as "...the information environments of physicists and chemists" and affirms that "[e]ach decision of the author to include a word, theme, citation, or presentation detail is a concept for analysis." (Paisley 1990: 283, 296).

Pursuing the methodology of my research has raising some troubling questions, to which I have not always found a complete resolution. When is a journal article not a journal article: when it is a primary or secondary expedition report? When it is published in a yearbook, rather than a monthly publication? Does that therefore exclude the Norwegian Geographical Society's yearbook as a viable textual comparison with *The Geographical Journal*, *La Géographie* and *Petermanns Mitteilungen*? Which Norwegian periodical could or should I have used instead? And where does that leave *Ymer*, as a quarterly journal?

Can a two-page article and a 122-page article be considered as comparable items? Probably not, but both types of article are included in my database. Should a distinction be drawn between an article that appears in a scientific periodical and an article (by the same author) that appears in a

magazine? Should a distinction be made between texts available to (as opposed to written for) a general public; those available to members of scientific organizations open to the general public, through that organization's journal; those available to members of an academic organization with restricted membership? Another aspect that ought to be considered, even if it is not possible to draw firm conclusions, is the extent to which the distinctions listed here were recognized and discussed by the authors themselves: Isachsen, for example, must presumably have acknowledged, at least to himself, the worth of publishing a 119-page article about Arctic sailor Sivert Tobiesen's diaries in the Norwegian Geographical Society's yearbook (Isachsen 1916-1919).

When does a pamphlet become a book? In my database I imposed a rather arbitrary 50-page cut-off, but another factor in the publication of a pamphlet rather than a book is also the potential speed of publication, which became significant in the era of Spitsbergen Literature Lobby texts. There is also a potential distinction to be drawn between texts written primarily to be listened to (and then written up afterwards), e.g. *procès-verbaux* of a geographical society meeting, vs. texts which were written specifically for a journal readership: La Société de géographie's transition from publishing *Comptes Rendus* to inaugurating the society's journal, *La Géographie*, in 1900 marks the crossing of this boundary. These are just some of the issues I confronted as I created my *Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database*. Ambiguities remain, particularly in the use of the database as a prism to examine historical and cultural tendencies, and these perhaps belong in the same category as other ethical matters discussed in Section 5.

One other aspect of bibliometric methodology and theory came to my attention at a very late stage of my research. Paul Otlet (1868-1944) was a Belgian lawyer who became interested in matters of bibliographical organization and was centrally involved in the founding of the Universal Bibliographic Repertory in Brussels in 1895. The scope of this institution grew from about 400,000 bibliographical entries in 1895 to 11,000,000 by the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 (Boyd Rayward 1990: ix-xi). Otlet's comprehensive *Traité de Documentation* (Otlet 1934) has never been translated from the original French. Its vast scope indicates how far ahead of his time Otlet was, not only in bibliometric terms but even in being able to envisage developments that have culminated with the foundation of the World Wide Web and all the online bibliographical facilities available to researchers today. Yet the inherent simplicity and naturalness of his conception of the process of knowledge from the universe to the documented publication clearly reflects a mode of thought that would have prevailed during the span of my research period; it was also a great comfort to discover how closely the structure of my own bibliography related to the format envisaged by Otlet. It is for this reason that four illustrations from Otlet's treaty are incorporated as an Appendix to this thesis summary, and Otlet's annotations have been translated into English for the first time.

## 9. FURTHER RESEARCH POTENTIAL

My first priority is to make my *Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database* available to other researchers. Some work needs to be done to reconcile some minor idiosyncrasies and inconsistencies of presentation, and to double-check the standardization of terms, after which the data will need to be formatted, before being uploaded onto the UiT Open Research Data website (<https://opendata.uit.no/>, accessed 09.12.2016). The development of further tables in the database, which will catalogue information about textual contents, geographical scope, time frame, personnel depicted and the citation of other texts, is a long-term objective; these nuanced, qualitative aspects of the database will be added at a later date. Since a bibliography is a living thing, even a hundred years down the line, and Spitsbergen/Svalbard continues to be a topic of current political and historical interest, the database is a valuable resource in bibliographical terms alone, but I hope it will also serve as a catalyst for further historical, political and literary analysis.

I should also like to upload Adolf Hoel's bibliography of Spitsbergen geology literature (Hoel 1908) to the UiT Open Research Data website, with the permission of the Norwegian Polar Institute, which owns the original handwritten compilation. Hoel's bibliography currently exists in paper form as Supplementary File 5 in TA3, where it is analysed in detail (TA3: 25-32) and has been made available electronically to the doctoral committee assessing this thesis; since *Polar Research* is an exclusively electronic journal, readers will have access to the database when TA3 is published, but placing it on the Open Research Data site as well will further enable full, searchable access. (At the time of writing, one History data set of photographed documents accompanying a published article is available on the website, out of a total of 65 data sets relating to a variety of research fields.) As outlined in the paragraph above, Hoel's bibliography is not only a worthwhile primary source in its own right, but also valuable in terms of the potential *interpretation* of its contents. Although the bibliography dates from an early stage in Hoel's scientific career, its scientific perspective may already illustrate (even just subconsciously) the political and cultural aspects, as well, which would later dominate his focus on the region. It is also – as far as I know – Hoel's first attempt to master a polar region and make it literally legible for others. If the unpublished bibliography compiled by – or at least accredited to – Hoel (and Rabot?) in 1919 (Hoel 1919, cf. TA5: 42) were to be assembled and perhaps annotated in electronic database form as well, that would provide an opportunity to compare two perspectives of Hoel's scientific and, by implication, cultural and political views of the region, compiled just over a decade apart.



At my request, Olga Komarova has translated A.F. Shidlovskiy's bibliography of Spitsbergen in Russian history and literature into English (Shidlovskiy 1912, cited in TA5: 42-44). I should like to create a data set for these translated details, as I have done for Hoel's Spitsbergen bibliography, and by uploading them on to the UiT Open Research Data website make this information far more widely available than it is at present.

With the centenary (1920/1925) of the Spitsbergen Treaty and Norwegian sovereignty of Svalbard approaching, it seems timely to make available to an international readership the detailed findings, particularly those sourced in French Government archives, of Astrid Emilie Helle's master's dissertation, *La Question du Spitsberg et les relations entre la France et la Norvège lors de son règlement (1918-1920)* [The Spitsbergen Question and relations between France and Norway during its settlement], by translating it into English. The centenary of Norway sovereignty over Spitsbergen also seems a suitable time to write an article, for which I have already carried out some preliminary research, examining the use and cognizance by the general public and by scientific 'experts' and other figures of authority of "Svalbard" as an Arctic-related term prior to 1920.

There is more research to be done concerning Georges Clemenceau and Charles Rabot's influence at the Paris Peace Conference, looking further into the Société de géographie archives at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris and tracing relevant archive material relating to Clemenceau's role as President of the Paris Peace Conference.

In the course of my doctoral research I contacted Professor Bill Bell, then editor of *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* about having an article published. His response was encouraging, but I was warned that competition was fierce concerning the publication of articles relating to nineteenth- and twentieth-century bibliographies. I was advised to "try to make bibliographies sexy". A comparative analysis of the contents of the Spitsbergen bibliographies compiled between 1906 and 1920, the significance of the inclusion/exclusion of specific texts, and the role of bibliographies – published and unpublished – as a catalyst in the Spitsbergen Literature Lobby process would seem to fit the bill nicely; in addition to charting changing linguistic trends there seems to be a lot of scope for a further examination of bibliographies as political resources.

Charting patterns of citation to be found in Spitsbergen texts published 1895-1920, and commenting on them from a historical and cultural perspective, would be feasible and an ambitious use of the *Spitsbergen Bibliographical Database* facilities, but that would be a mammoth task.

## 10. CONCLUSIONS

A bibliometric and/or linguistic analytical thread is common to all my thesis articles, revealing patterns of publication in the study of over fifteen hundred Spitsbergen texts published over a twenty-five year period. The findings in Thesis Article 1 demonstrate how journal perceptions of Spitsbergen altered between 1895 and 1900, progressing from the publication of news items in retrospect to a running commentary of events (where these were of a duration to permit such attention, such as Andrée's balloon expedition preparations in 1896 and 1897) and the publicity afforded to expeditions which were high-profile enough to be written about in advance. These shifting perceptions were partly due to the increased scale of exploration and scientific events in the region around that time – not only in terms of an increasing number of events taking place between 1895 and 1900, but also in terms of the status of the undertaking where, for example, North Pole balloon and airship expeditions were being attempted. This change in the presentation of Spitsbergen-related activities coincided with increased levels of tourist activity in the region and the installation of telegraph facilities in Spitsbergen – though that begs the question to what extent these technological advances drove the change in presentation and to what extent the change in presentation was responding to an extant increase in public interest in the region. An aptitude for self-publicity on the part of individuals such as Salomon August Andrée also played a part here.

Sir William Martin Conway demonstrated a similar aptitude for self-presentation, especially in his 1896 expedition narrative (Conway 1897). The findings in Thesis Article 2 reveal the progress of Conway's 'expertise' over time, progressing from his perceived limitations as an explorer to his acknowledged authority as a Spitsbergen historian. The bibliometric aspects of *No Man's Land* (Conway 1906) strengthen this latter claim and their inclusion provides an example of 'happenstance', with the occasionally bombastic tone of the main narrative considerably mitigated by the solid research findings of the Spitsbergen bibliography, chronology and cartographical details.

Evidence of solid scientific research is not in doubt as far as the findings in Thesis Article 3 are concerned, but here the authors of many of the texts studied demonstrate a flexibility of expression that expands their portrayal of Spitsbergen beyond the borders of scientific endeavour to encompass historical and political perspectives as well. Patterns of publication emerge in which authors' individual contributions form part of significant patterns of linguistic choice, which – whether they are aware of it or not – contribute to 'taking Spitsbergen out into the world', or to importing national labels and ideas from the outside world to Spitsbergen – and in some instances both. A study of these linguistic tendencies demonstrates that, in the context of Spitsbergen

publications, Norwegian did not follow the rules of the time as an internationally perceived ‘minor’ language; that the emerging dominance of publications in German may have been cause for political alarm, whether or not this alarm was actually justified; and the predominance of Swedish as a scientific language prior to 1905 would not ensure its continuing influence as a decade of rapidly-expanding scientific activity in Spitsbergen wore on. A low-key, unpublished bibliographical compilation of geological literature relating to Spitsbergen, compiled by Hoel in 1908, serves to sharpen the contrast between patterns of publication, in terms of linguistic choice and subject matter, up to and subsequent to the inauguration of Norwegian scientific activity in the region.

The findings in Thesis Article 4 demonstrate how individual Norwegian scientists, particularly Gunnar Isachsen and Adolf Hoel, wrote and acted strategically in their country’s Arctic territorial interests, but often through the international medium of publishing in French, aided by the editor of *La Géographie*, Charles Rabot. The scale of Rabot’s intervention in editorial terms is illustrated by a bibliometric analysis of the journal’s increasingly emphatic focus on Norwegian scientific achievements from 1907 to the end of the Great War. Archived newspaper articles show that Rabot’s involvement in helping Norway to secure its sovereignty of the region was acknowledged at the time, and long afterwards, but the impact of his intervention is not made clear.

The Spitsbergen Literature Lobby’s scale of intervention in the resolution of the Spitsbergen Question dominates the findings in Thesis Article 5. Demonstrations of different types of power are summarized: governmental status; behind-the-scenes influence; ‘expert’ status vs. ‘expertise’; consistent strength vs. intermittent strength. Sometimes authors aim to achieve an effect through the public circulation of their work; texts are written on other occasions – sometimes by the same authors – and their power resides in not being for public consumption at all. Elin C. Singh’s findings suggest that the power of published lobbying texts was quite random in securing the attention of international Peace Conference delegates, and that there was almost certainly a linguistic bias towards French and English as official conference languages. Authorial status is seen to reside in the writers’ published texts, but in some cases also the status enhancement that such publications appeared to confer on individuals’ Spitsbergen-related activity.

The bibliometric and linguistic analysis in my five thesis articles of texts about Spitsbergen that were published between 1895 and 1920 has demonstrated patterns of publication which have not been discussed in this field of research before now, and which are in some significant instances opposed to the linguistic trends demonstrated in the research findings of Michael Goldin’s as these relate to my research period, albeit on a broader scientific scale (Goldin 2015). This is not intended to denigrate Michael Goldin’s research findings in any way, but rather demonstrates how exceptional the circumstances were in which Norway obtained sovereignty of this Arctic region –

an exceptionality that has perhaps too often been taken for granted both in Norway and abroad, thus creating a subconscious academic perception that is worthy of comment in its own right.

The nature of the research undertaken in the course of this thesis overlaps the work patterns and findings of statisticians, of conventionally-trained historians and experts in the fields of literature, of literary criticism, translation studies, and library and documentation science. My research is positioned in the sweet spot where all those areas of expertise converge. I have attempted experimental, preliminary, tentative, “applied” history research, which has resulted in the publication of five solid articles, rather than lots of detailed conclusions. Indeed, I am not sure to what extent it would be an authentic exercise to try to tie the article findings together beyond a certain point. The exercise of completing this thesis summary has brought me to the end of a research process, only for me to realize that I am in fact still right at the very beginning. There was been a long delay in acknowledging to myself the significance of the whole bibliometric aspect of my research, and daring to including this term within the title of Thesis Article 3. More and more, as I embark upon and continue the process of viewing the primary sources as a body of texts to be studied through the prism of scientometric analysis of language, place of publication, nationality of author and bibliographical details, I begin to understand the potential for applying these tools for the purposes of an ever-more qualitative assessment of the historical and cultural implications underlying the production of these texts; the important role of texts and literary styles in political and cultural processes, and bibliometric approaches as a means of charting trends in those processes from a new perspective dawns on me.

There is a gap, I think, between where I have been, academically speaking, and where I want to go. John Law and Peter Lodge observe in *Science for Social Scientists* that the social scientist “encounters an impossible dilemma if comparative analysis is to be attempted. ... there must be agreement within the social science community about what may legitimately be seen as ‘like’ what. ... The danger is obvious – unlike will be compared with unlike if any comparative analysis is attempted, since cultures classify differently.” (Law & Lodge 1984: 232) If this thesis has achieved anything, I hope it has advanced matters to the point where we now need to discuss this conundrum with regard to Spitsbergen-related publications.

## **APPENDIX**

Figures and Table from Paul Otlet's *Traité de documentation: le livre sur le livre, théorie et pratique* [Documentation treaty: a book about books, theory and practice] (1934), including English translations (my own).

“Figure 2 (Le Livre et la représentation du monde; Moyens divers de communication avec le monde)” (Otlet 1934: 40).

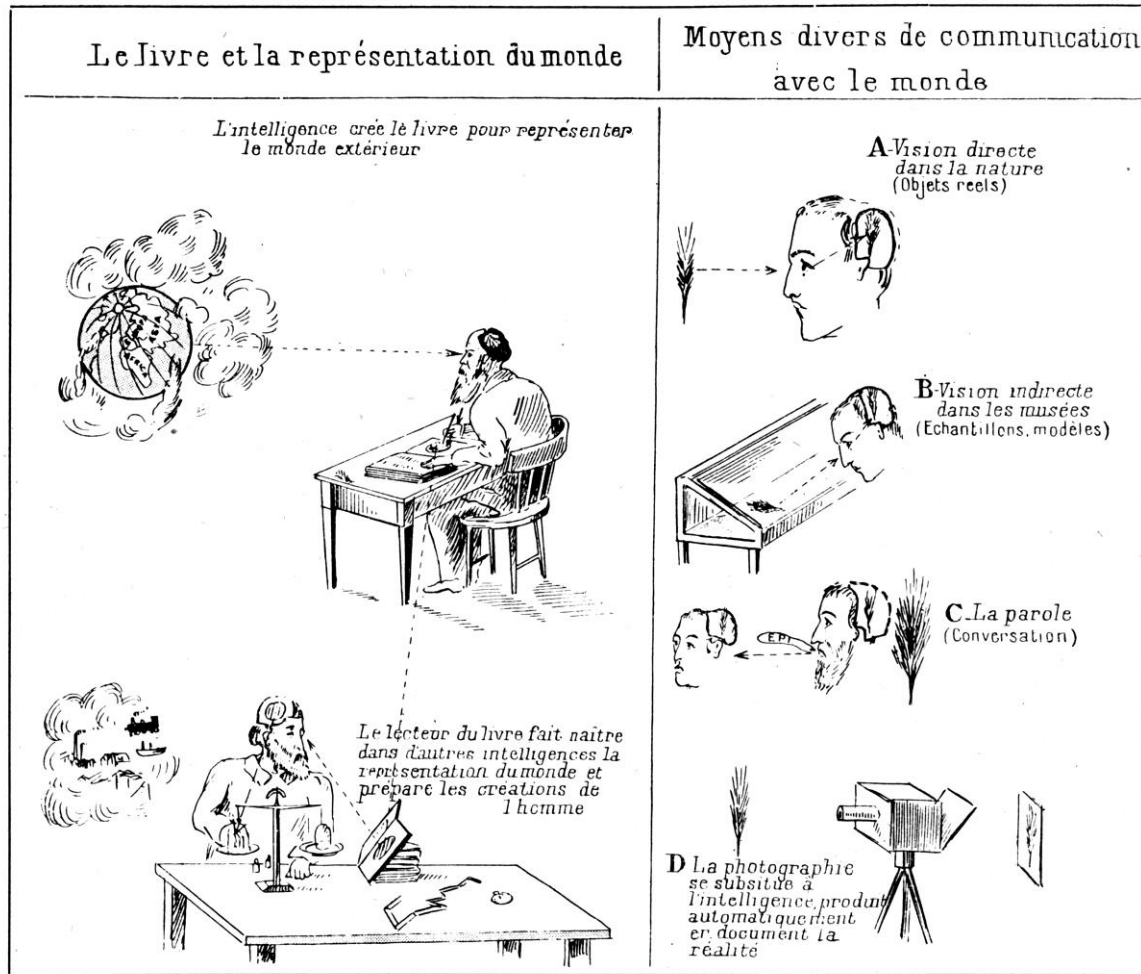
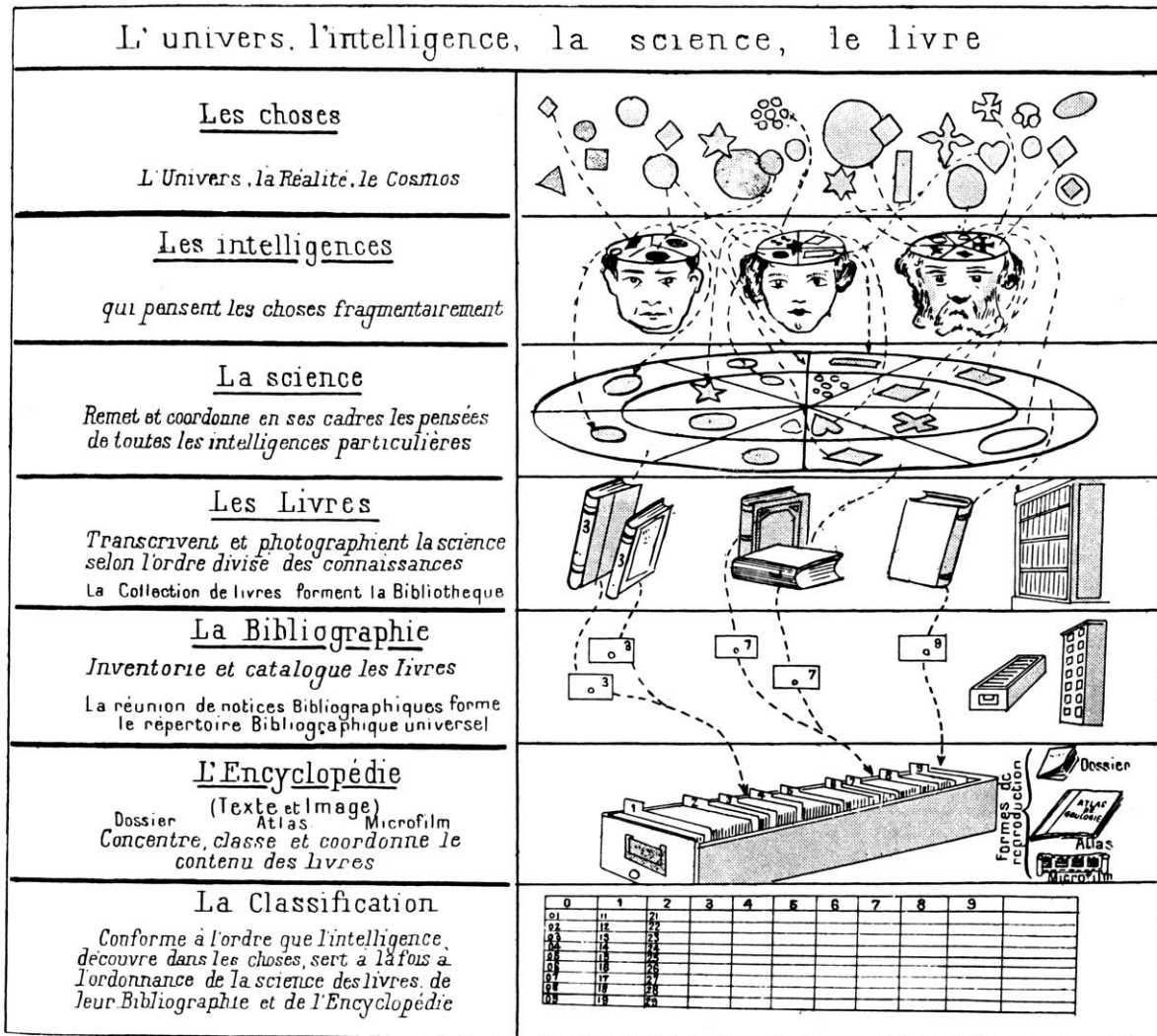


Figure 2

**“Figure 2 (Books and the depiction of the world; Various ways of communicating with the world)” (Otlet 1934: 40).**

Books and the depiction of the world	Various ways of communicating with the world
<p>Intelligence creates books to represent the outside world</p> <p>The reader of the book creates in other intelligences the representation of the world and prepares the creations of man.</p>	<p>A: Direct vision of nature (actual objects)</p> <p>B: Indirect vision in museums (samples, models)</p> <p>C: Speech (conversation)</p> <p>D: Photography is an intelligence substitute, produces automatically and documents reality.</p>

“L’Univers, l’intelligence, la science, le livre” (Otlet 1934: 41).



L'Univers, l'Intelligence, la Science, le Livre



**“The universe, intelligence, science, books” (Otlet 1934: 41).**

The universe, intelligence, science, books

**Things:** the universe, reality, the cosmos.

**Forms of intelligence,** which divine/think about/imagine things in a fragmentary fashion.

**Science** surrenders/delivers and co-ordinates in its frameworks the thoughts of all the individual intelligences.

**Books** transcribe and photograph science according to the divided order of knowledge; book collections make up a library.

**The Bibliography** creates an inventory of books and catalogues them; the collection of bibliographic records forms a universal bibliographic directory.

**The Encyclopaedia** (text and images) – dossier, atlas, microfilm – concentrates, classifies and co-ordinates the contents of books.

**Classification,** conforming to the order which intelligence discovers in things, serves at the same time in the ordinance of the science of books, their Bibliography and the Encyclopaedia.

“La Documentation et ses parties” (Otlet 1934: 42).

La Documentation et ses parties		
A But. Fonction. Travaux et opérations de la Documentation	B Eléments	C Ensemble des éléments
0 <i>Les Etudes en général.</i> Intro-duction Corrélation de la Documentation avec les parties de l'Organisation du travail intellectuel, autres que les livres et la Documentation	 l'Univers l'Artiste l'Artisan le penseur	
1 <i>Etablissement des Publications</i> Rédacteur Auteur Multiplication	 l'Écrivain la Presse le livre	 l'Édition
2 <i>Collectionnement des Publications</i> Bibliothèque		
3 <i>Catalogue et description</i> Bibliographie		
4 <i>Analyse (Abstracts)</i> Contenu Jugement, Critiques		
5 <i>Encyclopédie Documentaire</i> Redistribution des Unités Matérielles		
6 <i>Codification et synthèse</i> Combinaison et fusion des Unités Intellectuelles		
7 <i>La Documentation Administrative</i> Archives		
8 <i>La Muséeographie Documentaire</i>		
00 <i>Utilisation diverse pour l'Etude Documentaire</i> Conclu-sion Lectures, Consultations		

La Documentation et ses parties

**“Documentation and its constituent parts” (Otlet 1934: 42).**

Documentation and its constituent parts

A: Documentation: its Goal, Function, Work and Operation

B: Elements

C: Assembling the Elements

0: Studies in general

Introduction: The Correlation of Documentation with Parts of the Organization of Intellectual Work, Other than Books and Documentation (the Universe, the Artist, the Actor, the Thinker)

1. Preparation of Publications

Editor, Author, Multiplication (the Writer, the Press, the Book; the Publishers)

2. Collection of Publications

Library

3. Catalogue and description

Bibliography (title card)

4. Analysis (Abstracts)

Content, Judgment, Criticism (analysis sheet)

5. Documentary Encyclopaedia

Redistribution of physical units

6. Codification and synthesis

Combination and fusion of intellectual units

7. Administrative Documentation

Archives

8. Documentary museography

00. Diverse Uses for Documentary Study

Conclusion: Readings/Interpretations, Consultations/Citations/References

“Tableau des types de bibliographies” (Otlet 1934: 288).

TABLEAU DES TYPES DE BIBLIOGRAPHIES

A. — QUANT A LA NATURE DES DOCUMENTS BIBLIOGRAPHIÉS (contenu)

Matières	Lieu d'origine des publications	Temps des publications	Formes des documents	Langue des documents	Etendue
a	b	c	d	e	f
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Toutes les matières.</li> <li>2. Une matière déterminée (spécifier par un indice décim.).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tous les pays.</li> <li>2. Un pays déterminé (spécifier par un indice décimal).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tous les temps.</li> <li>2. Rétrospectivement seulement.</li> <li>3. Toutes les dates.</li> <li>4. Certaine date (à spécifier éventuellement par indice décimal de temps).</li> <li>5. Cour. seulem.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Toutes les espèces de docum.</li> <li>2. Une espèce de document.                             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>21. Livres.</li> <li>22. Périodiques.                                     <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>221. Art. de fonds.</li> <li>222. Faits et chroniques.</li> <li>223. Bibliographie et analyse.</li> </ol> </li> </ol> </li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Toutes les langues.</li> <li>2. Une langue détermin. (à spécifier par indice décimal de langue).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Complet.</li> <li>2. Choisie.</li> </ol>

B. — QUANT A LA NATURE DE LA PUBLICATION BIBLIOGRAPHIANTE (contenant)

Types de notices	Ordre de classement des notices	Langues de la publication bibliographique	Forme de la publication bibliographique	Périodicité de la publication bibliographique	Classement des Tables des Matières accompagnant les divers fascicules
g	h	i	j	k	l
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Notice abrégée.</li> <li>2. Notice bibliographiq. complète.</li> <li>3. Notice avec l'indication sommaire du contenu de l'œuvre.</li> <li>4. Analyse, résumé de l'œuvre.</li> <li>5. Notes critiques.</li> <li>6. Faits eux-mêmes. av. sources (informations documentées).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Numérique.</li> <li>2. Alphabétique par auteurs.</li> <li>3. Idéologique.                             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>31. Analytique par mot matière.</li> <li>32. Systématique.                                     <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>321. Par mot.</li> <li>322. Décimal.</li> <li>323. Autres notations.</li> </ol> </li> <li>33. Géographiques (lieu de publ.).</li> <li>34. Chronologiq. (date de publ.).</li> </ol> </li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Notices en plusieurs langues.</li> <li>2. Mixte (international).</li> <li>3. Une langue déterminée (spécifier par l'indice décimal).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sur fiches.</li> <li>2. En volumes.                             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>21. En volumes complets.</li> <li>22. En fascicule.</li> <li>3. En annexe à une autre publication.</li> </ol> </li> <li>4. En manuscrit.                             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>41. Sur feuille.</li> <li>42. Sur fiche.</li> </ol> </li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Paraissant en une seule fois.</li> <li>2. Paraissant périodiquement.                             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>21. Tous les jours.</li> <li>22. Paraissant plusieurs fois par semaine.</li> <li>23. Semaine.</li> <li>24. Quinzaine.</li> <li>25. Tous les deux mois.</li> <li>26. Tous les trois mois.</li> <li>27. Annuellement</li> <li>3. Irrégulièrement</li> </ol> </li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Numérique.</li> <li>2. Alphabétique par auteurs.</li> <li>3. Idéologique par matière (sujet, lieu, temps).                             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>31. Analytique.</li> <li>32. Systématique.                                     <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>321. Mots.</li> <li>322. Décimal.</li> <li>323. Autres notations.</li> </ol> </li> <li>33. Géographique.</li> <li>34. Chronologique (temps de publication).</li> </ol> </li> </ol>

## **“Table of bibliography types” (Otlet 1934: 288).**

- A. CONCERNING THE NATURE OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTS (content)
  - a. **Materials**
    - 1. All materials. 2. A specific material (specify by decimal denotation).
  - b. **Publications’ place of origin**
    - 1. All countries. 2. A specific country (specify by decimal denotation).
  - c. **Time of publication**
    - 1. All time periods. 2. Retrospective only. 3. All dates. 4. A particular date (possibly specify by a decimal number indicating time period). 5. Current only.
  - d. **Documentary format**
    - 1. All documentary types. 2. A particular type of document. 21. Books. 22. Periodicals. 221. Background articles. 222. Facts and chronicles. 223. Bibliography and analysis.
  - e. **Documents’ language of publication**
    - 1. All languages. 2. A specific language (specify by decimal denotation).
  - f. **Extent**
    - 1. Complete. 2. Selected.
- B. CONCERNING THE NATURE OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PUBLICATION (what it comprises)
  - g. **Types of records.**
    - 1. Abbreviated record. 2. Complete bibliographical record. 3. Record with a summary indication of the contents of the work. 4. Analysis, résumé of the work. 5. Reviews. 6. Facts concerning the sources in their own right (documented information).
  - h. **Order of classification of records**
    - 1. Numerical. 2. Alphabetical by author. 3. Ideological. 31. Analytical by word material/keyword. 32. Systematic. 321. By word. 322. Decimal. 323. Other notations. 33. Geographical (place of publication). 34. Chronological (date of publication).
  - i. **Languages of the bibliographic publication**
    - 1. Records in several languages. 2. Mixed (international). 3. A specific language (specify by decimal denotation).
  - j. **Bibliographic publication format**
    - 1. On record cards. 2. In volumes. 21. In complete volumes. 22. In fascicle format. 3. As an appendix to another publication. 4. In manuscript form. 41. In sheet form. 42. In card form.
  - k. **Periodicity of the bibliographic publication**
    - 1. One-off publication. 2. Periodical publication. 21. Daily. 22. Several times a week. 23. Weekly. 24. Fortnightly. 25. Bimonthly. 26. Quarterly. 27. Annually. 3. Intermittently.
  - l. **Classification of the tables of contents accompanying the various fascicles**
    - 1. Numerical. 2. Alphabetical by author. 3. Ideologically by material (subject matter, place, time). 31. Analytical. 32. Systematic. 321. By keyword. 322. Decimal. 323. Other notation. 33. Geographical. 34. Chronological (time of publication).



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**THESIS**  
**ARTICLES**



## THESIS ARTICLES ERRATA

### Thesis Article 1

Article title heading on p. 89: the spelling of “Spitsbergen” has been accidentally Germanicized to “Spitzbergen”. (The title listed in the Contents page is correct.)

### Thisis Article 4

Page 278, footnote 9: the use of small caps to signify “UP” and “DOWN” as technical terms used by David Bellos, referring to specific categories of translation (Bellos 2011: 278), was accidentally omitted during the publication process.

### Thesis Article 5

Page 47: “Léonie Barnardini’s article” should read “Léonie Bernardini’s article”.

Page 63: the correct wording is as follows: “This article is a small act of homage to Elen C. Singh, whose concept of the Spitsbergen Literature Lobby imbues behind-the-scenes activity ... with a form of international complexity that had not been expressed before, and which has **not** been subsequently further explored in other secondary sources cited in this article.”