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Maritime

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#### Introduction

For an island on which no point is farther than seventy miles from the coast, it is not surprising that the sea carries such cultural weight in Britain. In the study of Victorian literature and culture, the "maritime" encompasses any aspect of Britain's engagement with the sea, from the Royal Navy to the development of marine science to seaside leisure to the sea's facilitation of Victoria's global empire. Victorian Britain participated in a maritime world at the conclusion of the Age of Sail, two decades after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, during which Britain was safe because it ruled the waves. Victorian literature typically does not just suggest but rather forcefully tells its reader that the sea is a properly British realm, even as exciting recent criticism has proven the "maritime" to be a space in which formerly rigid ideas about Victorian literature and culture can be challenged. The topics in this article were chosen because they represent the main threads of disciplinary studies in the Victorian maritime and because they form a tapestry in which their individual aims and poetics are inextricable from one another. For example, a number of important developments in marine science (see the section on Marine Science) were accomplished by Royal Navy surgeons acting as amateur naturalists (see the section on the Royal Navy) while practicing medicine aboard whaling ships (see the section on Whaling). The canon of Victorian maritime literature aligns closely with that of Victorian literature in general. Underpinned by their Romantic predecessors (for whom the sea was also a central figure), nearly all of the major Victorian writers and genres engaged the maritime. Nautical melodrama on stage such as Gilbert and Sullivan's HMS Pinafore (1878) entertained Victorian audiences. The poets approached the sea from myriad perspectives including Matthew Arnold's "sea of faith" in "Dover Beach," Tennyson's slumbering monster in "The Kraken," John Masefield's ultra-canonical "Sea Fever," as well as verse by Richard Swinburne, William Morris, Oscar Wilde, Robert Browning, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, among others. Prose fiction of the sea is diverse in the period as well. Charles Dickens, Elizabeth Gaskell, T. S. Eliot, Anthony Trollope, William Collins, William Clark Russell, William Thackeray, Rudyard Kipling, Robert Southey, Lewis Carroll, H. G. Wells, Stephen Crane, and others visited and revisited the sea as a setting or agent in their work. Lastly, Joseph Conrad writes in Youth (Blackwood, 1902; p. 3) that such a narrative "could have occurred nowhere but in England, where men and the sea interpenetrate, so to speak."

#### **Journals**

Although no society or journal exists solely for the study of Victorian maritime literature (or the Victorian maritime in general), several journals of maritime studies regularly publish Victorian scholarship. The publications the *Journal of the Hakluyt Society*, the *Mariner's Mirror*, and the *Northern Mariner* are associated with scholarly organizations. All references listed in this section are interdisciplinary in nature, but the *Nautilus* generally publishes the most literary scholarship.

#### Coriolis: Interdisciplinary Journal of Maritime Studies. 2010-.

Interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed journal focusing on human interaction with the sea, with full-text PDFs on its website.

#### International Journal of Maritime History. 1990-.

Peer-reviewed, interdisciplinary and international in scope. Published by the International Maritime Economic History Association at the University of Hull, UK.

#### Journal for Maritime Research, 1999-.

The National Maritime Museum's biannual journal focuses on the British maritime throughout history.

#### The Journal of the Hakluyt Society. 2006-.

Peer-reviewed open-access electronic journal. Although published only occasionally, the archives (available for free download online) contain a fair amount of Victorian material. The Hakluyt Society is active in organizing lectures and also publishes manuscripts on the history of travel and exploration (including scholarly editions of primary sources).

#### The Mariner's Mirror, 1911-.

Open-access journal archive, hosted by the Society for Nautical Research. Includes one hundred years of materials and is searchable by period, location, and series of curated "Popular Topics" (including Nelson and the East India Company, respectively). Also available online by subscription.

#### The Nautilus: A Maritime Journal of Literature, History, and Culture. 2010-.

Annual peer-reviewed journal on humanities and the sea; the most literary of all the maritime studies journals.

#### The Northern Mariner. 1991-.

Quarterly journal co-published by the North American Society for Oceanic History (NASOH) and the Canadian Nautical Research Society. NASOH also publishes books on maritime topics and hosts a large, annual interdisciplinary conference; not limited to North American scholars or topics.

#### **Archives**

When historical primary source material in the Victorian maritime is desired but impractical (as for student papers), a number of recently digitized collections afford the opportunity to conduct archival research online. The periodical databases listed (British Library Newspapers, Part 1: 1800–1900, 19th Century UK Periodicals, and The *Times* Digital Archive) are enormous and general, so a

keyword search is advisable, but all are treasure troves of information on ship sailings, sightings of sea monsters, fishing reports, and more.

#### British Library Newspapers, Part 1: 1800-1900.

Online database created for the British Library. Over two million fully digitized pages of national and regional UK newspapers, searchable by date ranges and keywords. Subscription required.

#### **National Maritime Museum Collections.**

The National Maritime Museum in Greenwich (UK) has digitized or photographed an enormous amount of material from its collections on this portion of its website designed for researchers. Browse documents, art, photographs, and objects by period, exhibition, or search by keywords.

#### Navy Records at the National Archives.

An immense amount of primary source documents is available online through the National Archives, including officers' service records (1756–1931), next of kin claims for unpaid Royal Navy pensions (1830–1860), and the logs and journals of ships of exploration (1757–1904).

#### 19th Century UK Periodicals, Parts 1-2.

Online database of periodicals primarily focused on Victorian life. When researching maritime topics, the sections on empire and travel are particularly helpful. Searchable by date ranges and keywords. Subscription required.

#### The Times Digital Archive.

Fully digitized archive of the newspaper beginning in 1785, searchable by date ranges and keywords. Subscription required.

# **Anthologies**

No scholarly anthology of Victorian maritime literature exists. Lamb, et al. 2000 (cited under South Seas), a primary source anthology specifically focused on the Southern Hemisphere, is the most scholarly on this list but is limited to European encounters with the Southern Hemisphere. Although the Oxford volumes—Palmer 1986, Raban 1992, and Tanner 1994—are intended for a general audience and give a good overall sense of the literature with solid introductory remarks, particularly Raban 1992. Manley 1883 and Morris and English 1892 have been included to give a sense of contemporaneous anthologies of Victorian sea literature.

#### Manley, John Jackson, ed. Literature of Sea and River Fishing. London: William Clowes, 1883.

Published for the 1883 International Fisheries Exhibition in London. Discusses the history of British writing on angling.

Morris, Harrison S., and F. F. English, eds. Where Meadows Meet the Sea: A Collection of Sea Songs and Pastoral Lays. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1892.

An interesting anthology published in 1891 and again in 1892 which intersperses the Victorian (and some Romantic) poetry of the sea with that of the rural, giving a strong sense of these two uniquely British realms. Includes original illustrations and a short introductory essay by the editor. Kessinger Publishing has also issued a facsimile.

Palmer, Roy, ed. The Oxford Book of Sea Songs. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Now out of print but widely available secondhand; the only true compendium of this important genre of sea literature. Also includes actual sheet music whenever possible.

Raban, Jonathan, ed. The Oxford Book of the Sea. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Wide-ranging anthology of maritime literature in English with a good deal of 19th-century material and a thoughtful, detailed introduction on what the sea has signified in English-language literature.

Tanner, Tony, ed. The Oxford Book of Sea Stories. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Emphasis on short fictional narratives of men at sea. Mostly English and American stories from the 19th and early 20th centuries. Of special Victorian interest are contributions by Kipling, H. G. Wells, and John Masefield. Includes an excellent introduction, part of which draws on Raban 1992.

#### Reference Works

The terminology of seafaring in general can be difficult to discern, and the archaic language of 19th-century seafaring can be particularly alienating for modern readers. Important companions to understanding Victorian maritime literature are Belcher and Smyth 1867, the "original" Victorian nautical dictionary, and Dear and Kemp 2005. Chapman 2014 goes into more detail on the use of nautical slang in fiction, but briefly, and Betjeman 1969 gives a good visual sense of the context of the literature.

Belcher, Edward, and William Henry Smyth, eds. *The Sailor's Word: A Complete Dictionary of Nautical Terms from the Napoleonic and Victorian Navies*. London: Blackie, 1867.

The most recent version of the Victorian maritime dictionary by Royal Navy officers Edward Belcher (1799–1877) and William Henry Smyth (1788–1865), who was also an important hydrographer and geographer. Students will find much more than strictly naval terminology, including over 12,000 definitions of all things pertaining to the English at sea. The most recent printed version is *The Sailor's Word Book: The Classic Source for Over 14,000 Nautical and Naval Terms* (London: Conway Maritime, 2009).

Betjeman, John. Victorian and Edwardian London from Old Photographs. London: Batsford, 1969.

Some interesting visual material, including a photograph of clipper ships at the South-West India Dock (Plate 158). The photograph is also available online on the Victorian Web.

## Chapman, Raymond. Forms of Speech in Victorian Fiction. New York: Routledge, 2014.

See chapter 8, "Class and Occupational Speech" (pp. 170-192), for a discussion of the uses of nautical slang in literature.

# Dear, I. C. B., and Peter Kemp, eds. *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea*. 2d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Comprehensive, fully cross-referenced glossary of nautical terms and the people, places, ships, and events that have shaped maritime history and literature.

# Theory

The references in this section do not specifically discuss the Victorian maritime, but they are helpful in building a foundation for understanding how the sea functions in literary studies. Foucault 1986 is dense but provides the most theoretical (if abstract) framework. Auden 1950 is more literary, honing in on the metaphor of the ship's voyage in English literature. Foulke 2002 looks at several examples in building a sense of what the "sea voyage narrative" is. Cohen 2006 was the first to theorize the sub-environments within the sea narrative, and Mentz 2009 focuses on this "new thalassology" (study of the sea) in English literature.

#### Auden, W. H. The Enchafèd Flood, or Romantic Iconography of the Sea. New York: Random House, 1950.

Poet Auden adapted this seminal three-chapter book from a series of lectures given in March 1949. He begins by exploring the revolutionary potential of the sea (versus that of the desert) in Romanticism. He argues for the ship as a symbol of humankind from a number of angles and often specifically discusses *Moby Dick* (which sold better in Britain than in the United States).

Cohen, Margaret. "The Chronotopes of the Sea." In *The Novel*. Vol. 2, *Forms and Themes*. Edited by Franco Moretti, 647–666. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Cohen's "chronotopes" provide a local taxonomy of the maritime genre: blue water (open ocean), brown water (murky river), white water (dangerous rapids), the island (being surrounded by water), the shore (interstices of land and sea), and the ship (unstable "land" on which we take to the sea).

#### Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces." Translated by Jay Miskowiec. Diacritics 16.1 (1986): 22–27.

Foucault's famous (although also famously difficult) essay on heterotopias (those spaces not governed by traditional hegemonies), in which the ship at sea is "heterotopia par excellence."

Foulke, Robert. The Sea Voyage Narrative. New York and London: Routledge, 2002.

Treats the maritime as a unique genre and explores the elements of voyage narratives beginning with Homer.

Mentz, Steve. "Toward a Blue Cultural Studies: The Sea, Maritime Culture, and Early Modern English Literature." *Literature Compass* 6.5 (2009): 997–1013.

Looks at the "new thalassology" ("thalassos" is the Greek word for sea) or new directions in maritime studies, which in many ways signal a departure from historicism.

#### **General Maritime Criticism**

Much of the best general literary criticism on the maritime (especially of the 19th century) has been published within the last twenty years and is representative of the interdisciplinary approaches supported by both maritime and Victorian studies. Whereas Blum 2008 takes a literary perspective on the nonfiction narratives of sailors, Burton 2002 and Peck 2001 look at their fictional counterparts. Edwards 1990 and Isham 2004 discuss the voyage aesthetic at large, and Cohen 2010 provides a comparative study. Burton 2002 and Döring 2002 are excellent essays on sailors of the Victorian maritime era. Mathieson 2016 is a recent addition to the criticism, which looks at the sea as a force of creative production.

Blum, Hester. *The View from the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Examines the first-person narratives of American sailors in the 19th century, with implications for Anglophone maritime literatures in general.

Burton, Valerie. "'As I wuz a-rolling down the highway one morn': Fictions of the 19th-Century English Sailortown." In *Fictions of the Sea*. Edited by Bernhard Klein, 141–156. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002.

Discussion of literary perceptions of the ordinary English "Jack Tar" sailor.

Cohen, Margaret. The Novel and the Sea. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Although Cohen primarily writes about French literature, her nuanced and craft-focused comparative survey of 18th- and 19th-century English seafaring novels (beginning with a fresh look at Cook's voyage narratives) is the most recent truly imperative academic study of maritime literature.

Döring, Tobias. "The Sea Is History: Historicizing the Homeric Sea in Victorian Passages." In *Fictions of the Sea*. Edited by Bernhard Klein, 121–140. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002.

Taking its name from Derek Walcott's poem, this chapter provides historical content for the Victorian maritime's classical allusions.

Edwards, Philip. The Story of the Voyage: Sea Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge

#### University Press, 1990.

Edwards's literary and well-researched book is valuable to students and scholars of Victorian maritime literature because it provides a model for analyzing voyage-based sea narratives and its scope provides context for maritime concerns in the 19th century.

Isham, Howard. Image of the Sea: Oceanic Consciousness in the Romantic Century. New York: Peter Lang, 2004.

The maritime aesthetic, or "oceanic consciousness," of the 19th century is explored as a product of the Romantic literary imagination, which goes on to inform Victorian and Modernist portrayals of the sea. Chapter 6, "The Victorian Sea" (pp. 251–302), will be of particular interest.

Mathieson, Charlotte, ed. Sea Narratives: Cultural Responses to the Sea, 1600-Present. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Although the time period covered is long, Mathieson is a Victorianist by trade and published the collection of essays based on a 2014 conference of the same name held in Warwick. Essays reflect on the relationship between the sea and literary production.

Peck, John. Maritime Fiction: Sailors and the Sea in British and American Novels, 1719-1917. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Explores the connection between fiction and the crafting of national identity on both sides of the Atlantic in the 18th and 19th centuries. Of particular importance to Victorian literary studies are chapter 4 ("Dickens and the Sea") and chapter 7 ("Mid-Victorian Maritime Fiction"), the latter discusses Gaskell, Trollope, Collins, and Eliot.

# The Sea and British Literary Identity

Victorian maritime literature cemented seafaring as inextricable from British national, historical, and literary identity. Morse 2011 discusses the cultural metaphor of seafaring, whereas Behrman 1977, Klein 2006, and Parker 2011 underscore the importance of the sea in crafting this Victorian identity (as does Ho 2014, adding the dimension of retrospective empire).

Behrman, Cynthia Fansler. Victorian Myths of the Sea. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1977.

Although somewhat difficult to find, Behrman's thematic approach explores a "national myth" of seafaring. Of particular interest to students of Victorian maritime literature will be chapter 2, "The English Romance with the Sea."

Ho, Elizabeth. "The Neo-Victorian-at-Sea: Towards a Global Memory of the Victorian." In *Neo-Victorian Literature and Culture: Immersions and Revisitations*. Edited by Nadine Boehm-Schnitker and Susanne Gruss, 165–178. New York and London: Routledge, 2014.

Examines the contemporary popularity of the Neo-Victorian sea narrative (such as Andrea Barrett's *Ship Fever* and *Servants of the Map*) as it reinforces the transnational "empire of the seas" with postcolonial implications.

Klein, Bernhard. "The Natural Home of Englishmen': Froude's *Oceana* and the Writing of the Sea." In *Landscape and Englishness*. Edited by Robert Burden and Stephan Kohl, 103–122. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006.

Victorian maritime literature in light of the 1880s traveling imperialist panorama Oceana, or England and Her Colonies.

Morse, Deborah Denenholz. "'Nothing Will Make Me Distrust You': The Pastoral Transformed in Anthony Trollope's The Small House at Allington (1864)." In *Victorian Transformations: Genre, Nationalism, and Desire in Nineteenth-Century Literature*. Edited by Bianca Tredennick, 45–60. Farnham, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011.

Examines Trollope's use of nautical metaphor (as opposed to the pastoral, for instance), especially without regard to reorientation and losing one's bearings.

Parker, Joanne. "Ruling the Waves: Saxons, Vikings, and the Sea in the Formation of an Anglo-British Identity in the Nineteenth Century." In *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Sebastian I. Sobecki, 195–206. Cambridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2011.

Discusses the necessity of the sea in unifying Scotland, Ireland, and England in the 19th century, including the proclaimed "Saxon" origins of the Royal Navy, the invocation of the "naturalness" of seafaring in the Middle Ages, and the Victorian national identity as "modern Vikings."

#### Wrecks and Disasters

Abundant primary sources are available on shipwrecks and "disasters," as they were called; searching a sunken ship's name, for instance, on one of the websites cited under Archives should yield excellent results. Landow 1981 provides a theoretical framework through which to explore shipwrecks in general, and Reid 2013 discusses the Victorian cultural understanding of shipwrecks. Allingham's online article Wilkie Collins's *No Name* (1862), Beattie and Geiger 2014, and Craciun 2011 concern the most significant maritime disaster of the 19th century—that of Sir John Franklin's ships *Erebus* and *Terror*, which disappeared during his search for the famed Northwest Passage.

Allingham, Philip V. "Wilkie Collins's *No Name* (1862): Charles Dickens, Sheridan's *The Rivals*, and the Lost Franklin Expedition." The Victorian Web.

Open-access Victorian online article on Collins's use of allusion to the lost Franklin voyage in his 1862 novel No Name.

Beattie, Owen, and John Geiger. Frozen in Time: The Fate of the Franklin Expedition. Vancouver, BC, and Berkeley, CA: Greystone, 2014.

Thorough anthropological and forensic study of the voyage's fate along with the cultural implications for Victorian society. Reissued in 2014 after the discovery of the wreck of HMS *Erebus*.

Craciun, Adriana. "Writing the Disaster: Franklin and Frankenstein." Nineteenth-Century Literature 65.4 (2011): 433-480.

Examines continuities between John Franklin's narrative of his first disastrous expedition in 1823 to Mary Shelley's 1818 text of *Frankenstein* with repercussions for the study of authorship in the Victorian marketplace.

Landow, George P. *Images of Crisis: Literary Iconography 1750 to the Present*. Boston and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

Landow argues that writers (including the Victorians) have used the image of shipwrecks to question, destabilize, or utterly reject Christian beliefs. He breaks down the "paradigm" or "typology" of a shipwreck into substages and subtypes (losing sight of the destination, drifting, the lone swimmer in the water, and the castaway) to explore crises (especially spiritual crises) in the Christian "voyage" of life.

Reid, Kirsty. "Shipwrecks on the Streets: Maritime Disaster and the Broadside Ballad Tradition in Nineteenth-Century Britain and Ireland." In *Shipwreck in Art and Literature: Images and Interpretations from Antiquity to Present Day*. Edited by Carl Thompson, 133–149. New York: Routledge, 2013.

An interesting look at the material culture and popular interaction with the notion of shipwreck in the 19th century.

# The Royal Navy

The Navy Records at the National Archives (cited under Archives) are an excellent way for students and scholars to immerse themselves in the primary source historiography online. Behrman 1977 considers the Royal Navy as a symbol in Victorian Britain, whereas Reed 2011 looks at the masculinity of those statements (although he does not engage Behrman directly).

Behrman, Cynthia Fansler. "The Myths of the Navy." In *Victorian Myths of the Sea*. By Cynthia Fansler Behrman, Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1977.

Part 4 (chapters 8 and 9) concerns the symbolism of the Royal Navy and the changes to the admiralty during the Victorian era.

Marder, Arthur J. The Anatomy of British Sea Power: A History of British Naval Policy in the Pre-Dreadnought Era, 1880–1905. New York: Knopf, 1940.

Remains the authoritative text on the technologies and strategies of the late Victorian navy in the decades before World War I.

Reed, John R. The Army and Navy in Nineteenth-Century British Literature. New York: AMS, 2011.

Looks at changing attitudes about the military in Britain in the 19th century (from lowly sailor to pride of England, essentially), particularly with regard to masculinity.

# **Empire**

Taylor 2013 provides many facets of a historiographic prism through which to view Victoria's vast maritime empire, whereas Baker 2010 and Forman 2013 provide literary and imaginative context.

Baker, Samuel. Written on the Water: British Romanticism and the Maritime Empire of Culture. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010.

Although Baker is interested in a different sort of empire than in the Victorian sense, his analysis of the Lake Poets (and his contention that they invented what we now consider modern culture) lays the groundwork for understanding how Victorian Britain used the sea to build its physical and cultural empire.

Forman, Ross G. China and the Victorian Imagination: Empires Entwined. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

An analysis of the impact of East Asian markets on the proliferation of the British Empire, including treaty ports, fears of an "Asian invasion" of Britain, and the literature of Limehouse (London's small early Chinatown where Chinese sailors could find the comforts of home).

Taylor, Miles, ed. The Victorian Empire and Britain's Maritime World, 1837–1901. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

A collection of essays exploring different perspectives on the maritime aspect of Victoria's empire, including less-expected topics such as British children travelers (pp. 129–148). Concludes with an essay on the Victorian maritime's place in the world by Jeremy Black ("Victorian Maritime Empire in its Global Context," pp. 167–188).

#### The South Seas

The Southern Hemisphere carried much cultural weight in the 19th century as a geographically and culturally primitive space quite literally upside down from Europe, but the references in this section complicate these black-and-white notions from several perspectives, including the postcolonial. Lamb, et al. 2000 is a primary source anthology, whereas Edmond 1997, Lamb 2001, and Smith 1998 present critical and literary history that at times read like excellent narratives.

Edmond, Rod. Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Represents the full range of European attitudes on South Pacific cultures and the way in which those fears and fascinations reflected Western cultural anxieties in the 19th century. Discusses European and American factual and fictional narratives, with special attention on the Polynesian body (disease, sexuality, and cannibalism, in particular).

Lamb, Jonathan. Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680–1840. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Examination of European explorers' journals of the South Pacific and their popular readership. Lamb's analysis of scurvy as

degenerative of one's entire identity suggests, in so many words, that men return from the South Seas somehow irreparably damaged.

Lamb, Jonathan, Vanessa Smith, and Nicholas Thomas, eds. *Exploration & Exchange: A South Seas Anthology, 1680–1900*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Primary source narratives of exploration organized by theme: adventures and explorers, beachcombers and missionaries, and literary travelers. Emphasis on the "mutuality of impact" between European and Pacific cultures.

Rennie, Neil. Far-Fetched Facts: Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.

Rennie's seminal work is typically more closely aligned with studies of the literature of travel, but the "idea" of the South Seas is so inextricable from its maritime context that his work is required reading for anyone working in this area.

Smith, Vanessa. *Literary Culture and the Pacific: Nineteenth-Century Textual Encounters*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

A groundbreaking work that explores the intellectual and material agency of Pacific Islanders even in imperialist writings. Although much of the book focuses on the Pacific writings of American R. L. Stevenson, the arguments ring true for studies of Victorian England and western Europe.

# **Whaling**

Beale 1839 gives a rich sense of the scientific climate in which the practice of whaling was considered in this period (and is a good reminder that some of the first cetologists were Royal Navy surgeons embarked on whaling vessels). Vlasopolos 2007 discusses the whale as an economic, cultural, and literary commodity in the 19th century, and Redman 2004 is a compendium of information about what happens to the remains of those whales brought to Britain as an object of material cultural fascination. Additionally, researchers interested in British whaling would be remiss in excluding American texts (*Moby Dick* was more popular in England than in the United States). American sea literature was voraciously consumed in London, including James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, Richard Henry Dana, and even Edgar Allan Poe. In addition, much information was exchanged among British and US ships' crews, owners, and underwriters in the whaling world of the 19th century.

Beale, Thomas. The Natural History of the Sperm Whale: To Which Is Added a Sketch of a South-Sea Whaling Voyage. London: John van Voorst, 1839.

One of the most (if not the most) important cetological texts of the 19th century, mentioned often thereafter. Melville quotes extensively from Beale in *Moby Dick*.

#### British Arctic Whaling. Maritime Historical Centre, University of Hull, UK.

The Maritime Historical Centre at the University of Hull hosts a research unit about British Arctic whaling with an excellent overview and annotated bibliography.

#### Redman, Nicholas. Whales' Bones of the British Isles. Teddington, UK: Redman & Redman, 2004.

A catalogue and (at times, narrative) history of the skeletal remains of whales in decorative and practical uses around the British Isles since the time of the prehistoric settlement at Skara Brae, many of which were brought home by whale ships. Also includes an excellent discussion of some of the most famous whale carcasses displayed in Britain in the 18th and 19th centuries (which, after the construction of the railway system, could cover more ground before putrefaction) and what became of their bones. Lists 992 bones in 664 locations around the British Isles.

Vlasopolos, Anca. "Pacific Harvests: Whales and Albatrosses in Nineteenth-Century Markets." In *Victorian Animal Dreams:* Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture. Edited by Deborah Denenholz Morse, 167–178. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007.

History of the economic cultures of the prized whale.

## **Marine Science**

Victorian interests in "maritime zoology" and the period's insistence on material culture met in the 1850s when public aquaria opened at the Great Exhibition and London Zoo "Fish House," further "popularizing" Victorian marine science. Included in this list are Gosse 1854, the first manuscript on aquarium-keeping, and Stott 2000, which looks at this new phenomenon from a literary perspective. Smith 2009 looks at Charles Darwin's barnacles (collected during the 1831–1836 voyage of the HMS *Beagle*) in visual culture, Beer 2009 is the most significant text on Darwin and fiction, and Williams 2013 takes a broader look at naturalists working on ships. The Victorian period (and its obsession with taxonomy) is often credited with inventing "popular science" (that is, making fashionable—and accessible—a new degree of scientific literacy, at least in the middle and upper classes). The study of maritime environments (and its attendant material culture) was central to this proliferation, and it is also helpful to remember that in this period science and humanities were mutually informative (rather than the polar opposites they are considered in modern classification of disciplines).

#### Beer, Gillian. Darwin's Plots. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Seminal literary criticism connecting Darwin's voyages of scientific discovery with Victorian literature, especially that of George Eliot, and the ways in which Darwin's *Origin of Species* unsettled Victorian societal norms.

Bernstein, Susan David. "Designs after Nature." In *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture*. Edited by Deborah Denenholz Morse and Martin A. Danahay, 65–80. London: Ashgate, 2007.

Includes discussion of aquatic symbolism in Kingsley's *The Water-Babies*.

#### Gosse, Philip Henry. The Aquarium: An Unveiling of the Wonders of the Deep Sea. London: J. Van Voorst, 1854.

In this book, the first on the subject, Gosse invents the term "aquarium" and reflects and inspires the new Victorian passion for all things oceanic including aquaria and the seaside.

Smith, Jonathan. Charles Darwin and Victorian Visual Culture. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

The book as a whole argues that Darwin's visual observations served to challenge Ruskin's ideas about aesthetics.

Stott, Rebecca. "Through a Glass Darkly: Aquarium Colonies and Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Marine Monstrosity." Gothic Studies 2.3 (2000): 305–327.

Examination of the proliferation of public and private aquariums alongside the constructions of monster narratives, as in Verne, Wells, Stoker, and Conrad.

Williams, Glyn. Naturalists at Sea: Scientific Travellers from Dampier to Darwin. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013.

Discusses the scientific elements of expeditions of discovery, including the difficulties of carrying out scientific work at sea (and disseminating that work once back in port).

#### **Sea Monsters**

The 18th and 19th centuries might be considered a heyday for sea monsters in Britain, both at sea (see the section on Whaling) and when the skeletons of ancient ("pre-Adamite") marine reptiles were unearthed during construction of the British railway. Glendening 2009 and Rudwick 1992 provide valuable criticism of these developments as they pertain to the art and literature. Lee 1883 and Oudemans 1892 are valuable primary source material for understanding the Victorian conceptions of monstrosity at sea, and Lyons 2010, Welch 1976, and Stott 2000 (cited under Marine Science) provide context.

Glendening, John. "The World-Renowned Ichthyosaurus": A Nineteenth-Century Problematic and Its Representations." *Journal of Literature and Science* 2.1 (2009): 23–47.

Discusses literary allusions to monstrous "fish-lizards," including in Verne, Punch, Dickens, and Hardy.

Lee, Henry. Sea Monsters Unmasked. International Fisheries Exhibition, London, 1883. London: William Clowes, 1883.

A long pamphlet published for the 1883 International Fisheries Exhibition in London. Catalogues a variety of "monster" sightings with the aim of providing "rational" explanations (most notably that sightings of sea serpents may actually be a single tentacle of an enormous octopus or squid).

Lyons, Sherrie. Species, Serpents, Spirits, and Skulls: Science at the Margins in the Victorian Age. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010.

Looks at "fringe" Victorian science, including a discussion of sea monsters.

#### Oudemans, A. C. The Great Sea-Serpent: An Historical and Critical Treatise. London: Luzac, 1892.

Contemporaneous investigation of the presence of monstrous sea serpents; often quoted in the secondary literature. Includes reports of 187 appearances, the suppositions and suggestions of scientific and nonscientific persons, and the author's conclusions. With 82 illustrations.

Rudwick, Martin J. S. Scenes from Deep Time: Early Pictorial Representations of the Prehistoric World. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

First-rate scholarly discussion of the 19th-century popularization of material culture of the recently discovered prehistoric sea monsters, including ichthyosaurus.

Welch, James Donald. "Tennyson's Landscapes of Time and a Reading of 'The Kraken." Victorian Poetry 14.3 (1976): 197–204.

A seminal piece of criticism on "The Kraken," exploring the poem in terms of the geological climate of the 1820s.

#### The Seaside

Gillis 2012 provides a broad theory for the importance of the seaside as a human invention, and Hanson 2005 is an interesting geographic approach to the canon of beach and seaside literature. DeWitt 2013 and King 2005 discuss specific authors' employments of the coastal environment. Smith 2009 is particularly interested in Victorian visual culture, but the intersection with the literary is helpful in also viewing the seaside as a fashionable space for acting out popular science, leisure, and gazing at those waves which Britannia "rules."

Banerjee, Jacqueline. "The Seaside in the Victorian Literary Imagination." The Victorian Web.

Brief literary history of the British seaside as a Victorian invention; includes rich illustrations from *Punch*, *Illustrated London News*, and others.

Beaven, Brad, Karl Bell, and Robert James, eds. *Port Towns and Urban Cultures: International Histories of the Waterfront, c. 1700–2000.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Multiple essays devoted to Victorian port town cultures and coastal industry (as opposed to the recreational seaside).

DeWitt, Anne. Moral Authority, Men of Science, and the Victorian Novel. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

See particularly chapter 2, "Moral Uses, Narrative Effects," in which DeWitt uses Eliot and Gaskell as a means to discuss G. H. Lewes's writings on literature and the seaside in the 1850s.

Gillis, John. The Human Shore: Seacoasts in History. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Intermittent discussion of 19th-century Britain and what this important zone between land and sea represents to an island nation.

Hanson, Gillian Mary. Riverbank and Seashore in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century British Literature. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2005.

Part 1 deals with riverbanks and inland waterways, and Part 2 focuses on the seashore, divided into the "rural" seashore and the "urban" seashore.

King, Amy M. "Reorienting the Scientific Frontier: Victorian Tide Pools and Literary Realism." *Victorian Studies* 47.2 (2005): 153–163.

Discussion of the Victorian interest in beachcombing and observing tide pools in light of the "realistic" styles of Southey and Eliot.

King, Amy M. "Victorian Natural Science and the Seashore." In *Oxford Handbook of Victorian Literary Culture*. Edited by Juliet John, 438–457. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

The newest (and best) overview of the Victorian seashore as it pertains to Victorian literature and culture in light of the public and professional practice of science.

Kluwick, Ursula, and Virginia Richter, eds. *The Beach in Anglophone Literatures and Cultures: Reading Littoral Space*. New York and London: Routledge, 2016.

A new collection of essays focusing on the beach as an interstitial space between land and sea, focusing on the 1800–2000 period, including an excellent introduction from the editors on theorizing this space.

Smith, Jonathan. Charles Darwin and Victorian Visual Culture. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

See, in particular, the subsections "Depictions of the Seaside in the 1850s" (pp. 68–77) and "The Visual Natural Theology of Philip Gosse's Seaside Books" (pp. 77–91). (For Gosse's invention of the term "aquarium," see Gosse 1854, cited under Marine Science.)

# **Transatlantic Technologies**

Two new maritime technologies contributed to an unprecedented transatlanticism in the 19th century—the move from sail to steam-powered ships and the laying of the submarine telegraph cable. The demise of the Age of Sail not only comprised a transition from sail to steam but also from wooden to iron ships, stirringly emblemized by J. M. W. Turner's famous *The Fighting Temeraire*. Nineteenth-Century Ships, Boats, and Naval Architecture and Engineering is an overview of new Victorian naval engineering, and Winter 1994 looks at the cultural implications of the shift from wood to iron, sail to steam.

Allingham, Philip. "The Laying of Submarine Cable—The Triumph of Brunel's 'Great Eastern' on 27 July 1866." The Victorian Web.

Outline of the laying of the deep-sea telegraph cable, including its myriad literary engagements.

Nineteenth-Century Ships, Boats, and Naval Architecture and Engineering. The Victorian Web.

Overview, including links to information about specific ships.

Winter, Alison. "Compasses All Awry': The Iron Ship and the Ambiguities of Cultural Authority in Victorian Britain." *Victorian Studies* 38.1 (1994): 69–98.

Discusses the navigational and cultural complications of setting sail in an iron ship.

#### Gender

The earliest discussions of gender in British maritime literature were largely congratulatory accounts of Jack Tars' rugged masculinity (and, to be sure, they were a hearty lot), but recently more nuanced ideas about gender and seafaring have taken center stage. Reed 2011 traces developing notions of a seafaring military masculinity in literature about the Georgian and Victorian navies. Creighton and Norling 1996 directly challenges assumptions of Wallace 1925 about maritime masculinities and introduces the reader to some of the women who made the maritime world their occupation, including female sailors, wives aboard ships, and women who worked in the littoral spaces. Foster and Mills 2002 and Lawrence 1994 look at some of these narratives from the perspective of travel writing.

Creighton, Margaret, and Lisa Norling, eds. *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1920.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

With this groundbreaking collection of essays, Creighton and Norling seek to challenge the (exceedingly well-articulated, and thus reproduced here) "view of the ocean as a single-sex masculine space, in contrast to the feminized and domesticated society on land [which] reflected the 19th-century projection of bourgeois social mores onto a time-honored division of labor" (p. ix). Essays look at topics such as transvestite heroines, captains' wives at sea, and the conflation of gender with race and class of English and American sailors.

Foster, Shirley, and Sara Mills, eds. *An Anthology of Women's Travel Writing*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2002.

Primary source texts by women travelers with an emphasis on Victorian Britain, organized by theme ("Women Writing about Women," "Women and Knowledge," "Women and Space," and "Adventure and Gender"). Even their accounts of overland travels resonate in helpful ways for theorizing the voyage narrative genre.

Lawrence, Karen R. Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University

#### Press, 1994.

First-rate criticism that examines recently rediscovered texts by British female travelers and writers from the 17th century on, examining how the act of travel reinterprets the limits and conceptions of femininity in Britain.

Nash, Andrew. William Clark Russell and the Victorian Nautical Novel: Gender, Genre, and the Marketplace. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014.

Takes Russell's sea fiction (exceedingly popular in Victorian Britain) as a body of text for examining Victorian gender and the literary marketplace.

Reed, John R. The Army and Navy in Nineteenth-Century British Literature. New York: AMS, 2011.

Looks at changing attitudes about the military in Britain in the 19th century, particularly with regard to masculinity.

Wallace, Frederick William. Wooden Ships and Iron Men: The Story of the Square-Rigged Merchant Marine of British North America, the Ships, Their Builders and Owners, and the Men Who Sailed Them. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1925.

Although Wallace's interest is mostly pre-Victorian, the book is required reading for those interested in the Age of Sail and, in terms of gender, establishes the baseline assumptions about seafaring masculinity challenged in Creighton and Norling 1996.

back to top

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# Oxford Bibliographies Your Best Research Starts Here



Maritime Kelly Bushnell

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#### Introduction

For an island on which no point is farther than seventy miles from the coast, it is not surprising that the sea carries such cultural weight in Britain. In the study of Victorian literature and culture, the "maritime" encompasses any aspect of Britain's engagement with the sea, from the Royal Navy to the development of marine science to seaside leisure to the sea's facilitation of Victoria's global empire. Victorian Britain participated in a maritime world at the conclusion of the Age of Sail, two decades after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, during which Britain was safe because it ruled the waves. Victorian literature typically does not just suggest but rather forcefully tells its reader that the sea is a properly British realm, even as exciting recent criticism has proven the "maritime" to be a space in which formerly rigid ideas about Victorian literature and culture can be challenged. The topics in this article were chosen because they represent the main threads of disciplinary studies in the Victorian maritime and because they form a tapestry in which their individual aims and poetics are inextricable from one another. For example, a number of important developments in marine science (see the section on Marine Science) were accomplished by Royal Navy surgeons acting as amateur naturalists (see the section on the Royal Navy) while practicing medicine aboard whaling ships (see the section on Whaling). The canon of Victorian maritime literature aligns closely with that of Victorian literature in general. Underpinned by their Romantic predecessors (for whom the sea was also a central figure), nearly all of the major Victorian writers and genres engaged the maritime. Nautical melodrama on stage such as Gilbert and Sullivan's HMS Pinafore (1878) entertained Victorian audiences. The poets approached the sea from myriad perspectives including Matthew Arnold's "sea of faith" in "Dover Beach," Tennyson's slumbering monster in "The Kraken," John Masefield's ultra-canonical "Sea Fever," as well as verse by Richard Swinburne, William Morris, Oscar Wilde, Robert Browning, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, among others. Prose fiction of the sea is diverse in the period as well. Charles Dickens, Elizabeth Gaskell, T. S. Eliot, Anthony Trollope, William Collins, William Clark Russell, William Thackeray, Rudyard Kipling, Robert Southey, Lewis Carroll, H. G. Wells, Stephen Crane, and others visited and revisited the sea as a setting or agent in their work. Lastly, Joseph Conrad writes in Youth (Blackwood, 1902; p. 3) that such a narrative "could have occurred nowhere but in England, where men and the sea interpenetrate, so to speak."

## **Journals**

Although no society or journal exists solely for the study of Victorian maritime literature (or the Victorian maritime in general), several journals of maritime studies regularly publish Victorian scholarship. The publications the *Journal of the Hakluyt Society*, the *Mariner's Mirror*, and the *Northern Mariner* are associated with scholarly organizations. All references listed in this section are interdisciplinary in nature, but the *Nautilus* generally publishes the most literary scholarship.

#### Coriolis: Interdisciplinary Journal of Maritime Studies. 2010-.

Interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed journal focusing on human interaction with the sea, with full-text PDFs on its website.

#### International Journal of Maritime History. 1990-.

Peer-reviewed, interdisciplinary and international in scope. Published by the International Maritime Economic History Association at the University of Hull, UK.

#### Journal for Maritime Research. 1999-.

The National Maritime Museum's biannual journal focuses on the British maritime throughout history.

#### The Journal of the Hakluyt Society. 2006-.

Peer-reviewed open-access electronic journal. Although published only occasionally, the archives (available for free download online) contain a fair amount of Victorian material. The Hakluyt Society is active in organizing lectures and also publishes manuscripts on the history of travel and exploration (including scholarly editions of primary sources).

#### The Mariner's Mirror. 1911-.

Open-access journal archive, hosted by the Society for Nautical Research. Includes one hundred years of materials and is searchable by period, location, and series of curated "Popular Topics" (including Nelson and the East India Company, respectively). Also available online by subscription.

#### The Nautilus: A Maritime Journal of Literature, History, and Culture. 2010-.

Annual peer-reviewed journal on humanities and the sea: the most literary of all the maritime studies journals.

#### The Northern Mariner, 1991-.

Quarterly journal co-published by the North American Society for Oceanic History (NASOH) and the Canadian Nautical Research Society. NASOH also publishes books on maritime topics and hosts a large, annual interdisciplinary conference; not limited to North American scholars or topics.

## **Archives**

When historical primary source material in the Victorian maritime is desired but impractical (as for student papers), a number of recently digitized collections afford the opportunity to conduct archival research online. The periodical databases listed (British Library Newspapers, Part 1: 1800–1900, 19th Century UK Periodicals, and The *Times* Digital Archive) are enormous and general, so a keyword search is advisable, but all are treasure troves of information on ship sailings, sightings of sea monsters, fishing reports, and more.

#### British Library Newspapers, Part 1: 1800-1900.

Online database created for the British Library. Over two million fully digitized pages of national and regional UK newspapers, searchable by date ranges and keywords. Subscription required.

#### **National Maritime Museum Collections.**

The National Maritime Museum in Greenwich (UK) has digitized or photographed an enormous amount of material from its collections on this portion of its website designed for researchers. Browse documents, art, photographs, and objects by period, exhibition, or search by keywords.

#### Navy Records at the National Archives.

An immense amount of primary source documents is available online through the National Archives, including officers' service records (1756–1931), next of kin claims for unpaid Royal Navy pensions (1830–1860), and the logs and journals of ships of exploration (1757–1904).

#### 19th Century UK Periodicals, Parts 1-2.

Online database of periodicals primarily focused on Victorian life. When researching maritime topics, the sections on empire and travel are particularly helpful. Searchable by date ranges and keywords. Subscription required.

#### The Times Digital Archive.

Fully digitized archive of the newspaper beginning in 1785, searchable by date ranges and keywords. Subscription required.

# **Anthologies**

No scholarly anthology of Victorian maritime literature exists. Lamb, et al. 2000 (cited under South Seas), a primary source anthology specifically focused on the Southern Hemisphere, is the most scholarly on this list but is limited to European encounters with the Southern Hemisphere. Although the Oxford volumes—Palmer 1986, Raban 1992, and Tanner 1994—are intended for a general audience and give a good overall sense of the literature with solid introductory remarks, particularly Raban 1992. Manley 1883 and Morris and English 1892 have been included to give a sense of contemporaneous anthologies of Victorian sea literature.

#### Manley, John Jackson, ed. Literature of Sea and River Fishing. London: William Clowes, 1883.

Published for the 1883 International Fisheries Exhibition in London. Discusses the history of British writing on angling.

# Morris, Harrison S., and F. F. English, eds. Where Meadows Meet the Sea: A Collection of Sea Songs and Pastoral Lays. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1892.

An interesting anthology published in 1891 and again in 1892 which intersperses the Victorian (and some Romantic) poetry of the sea with that of the rural, giving a strong sense of these two uniquely British realms. Includes original illustrations and a short introductory essay by the editor. Kessinger Publishing has also issued a facsimile.

#### Palmer, Roy, ed. The Oxford Book of Sea Songs. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Now out of print but widely available secondhand; the only true compendium of this important genre of sea literature. Also includes actual sheet music whenever possible.

#### Raban, Jonathan, ed. The Oxford Book of the Sea. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Wide-ranging anthology of maritime literature in English with a good deal of 19th-century material and a thoughtful, detailed introduction on what the sea has signified in English-language literature.

#### Tanner, Tony, ed. The Oxford Book of Sea Stories. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Emphasis on short fictional narratives of men at sea. Mostly English and American stories from the 19th and early 20th centuries. Of special Victorian interest are contributions by Kipling, H. G. Wells, and John Masefield. Includes an excellent introduction, part of which draws on Raban 1992.

#### Reference Works

The terminology of seafaring in general can be difficult to discern, and the archaic language of 19th-century seafaring can be particularly alienating for modern readers. Important companions to understanding Victorian maritime literature are Belcher and Smyth 1867, the "original" Victorian nautical dictionary, and Dear and Kemp 2005. Chapman 2014 goes into more detail on the use of nautical slang in fiction, but briefly, and Betjeman 1969 gives a good visual sense of the context of the literature.

# Belcher, Edward, and William Henry Smyth, eds. *The Sailor's Word: A Complete Dictionary of Nautical Terms from the Napoleonic and Victorian Navies*. London: Blackie, 1867.

The most recent version of the Victorian maritime dictionary by Royal Navy officers Edward Belcher (1799–1877) and William Henry Smyth (1788–1865), who was also an important hydrographer and geographer. Students will find much more than strictly naval terminology, including over 12,000 definitions of all things pertaining to the English at sea. The most recent printed version is *The Sailor's Word Book: The Classic Source for Over 14,000 Nautical and Naval Terms* (London: Conway Maritime, 2009).

#### Betjeman, John. Victorian and Edwardian London from Old Photographs. London: Batsford, 1969.

Some interesting visual material, including a photograph of clipper ships at the South-West India Dock (Plate 158). The photograph is also available online on the Victorian Web.

#### Chapman, Raymond. Forms of Speech in Victorian Fiction. New York: Routledge, 2014.

See chapter 8, "Class and Occupational Speech" (pp. 170–192), for a discussion of the uses of nautical slang in literature.

# Dear, I. C. B., and Peter Kemp, eds. *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea*. 2d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Comprehensive, fully cross-referenced glossary of nautical terms and the people, places, ships, and events that have shaped maritime history and literature.

# **Theory**

The references in this section do not specifically discuss the Victorian maritime, but they are helpful in building a foundation for understanding how the sea functions in literary studies. Foucault 1986 is dense but provides the most theoretical (if abstract) framework. Auden 1950 is more literary, honing in on the metaphor of the ship's voyage in English literature. Foulke 2002 looks at several examples in building a sense of what the "sea voyage narrative" is. Cohen 2006 was the first to theorize the sub-environments within the sea narrative, and Mentz 2009 focuses on this "new thalassology" (study of the sea) in English literature.

#### Auden, W. H. The Enchafèd Flood, or Romantic Iconography of the Sea. New York: Random House, 1950.

Poet Auden adapted this seminal three-chapter book from a series of lectures given in March 1949. He begins by exploring the revolutionary potential of the sea (versus that of the desert) in Romanticism. He argues for the ship as a symbol of humankind from a number of angles and often specifically discusses *Moby Dick* (which sold better in Britain than in the United States).

Cohen, Margaret. "The Chronotopes of the Sea." In *The Novel*. Vol. 2, *Forms and Themes*. Edited by Franco Moretti, 647–666. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Cohen's "chronotopes" provide a local taxonomy of the maritime genre: blue water (open ocean), brown water (murky river), white water (dangerous rapids), the island (being surrounded by water), the shore (interstices of land and sea), and the ship (unstable "land" on which we take to the sea).

#### Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces." Translated by Jay Miskowiec. Diacritics 16.1 (1986): 22-27.

Foucault's famous (although also famously difficult) essay on heterotopias (those spaces not governed by traditional hegemonies), in which the ship at sea is "heterotopia par excellence."

#### Foulke, Robert. The Sea Voyage Narrative. New York and London: Routledge, 2002.

Treats the maritime as a unique genre and explores the elements of voyage narratives beginning with Homer.

Mentz, Steve. "Toward a Blue Cultural Studies: The Sea, Maritime Culture, and Early Modern English Literature." *Literature Compass* 6.5 (2009): 997–1013.

Looks at the "new thalassology" ("thalassos" is the Greek word for sea) or new directions in maritime studies, which in many ways signal a departure from historicism.

#### **General Maritime Criticism**

Much of the best general literary criticism on the maritime (especially of the 19th century) has been published within the last twenty years and is representative of the interdisciplinary approaches supported by both maritime and Victorian studies. Whereas Blum 2008 takes a literary perspective on the nonfiction narratives of sailors, Burton 2002 and Peck 2001 look at their fictional counterparts.

Edwards 1990 and Isham 2004 discuss the voyage aesthetic at large, and Cohen 2010 provides a comparative study. Burton 2002 and Döring 2002 are excellent essays on sailors of the Victorian maritime era. Mathieson 2016 is a recent addition to the criticism, which looks at the sea as a force of creative production.

Blum, Hester. *The View from the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Examines the first-person narratives of American sailors in the 19th century, with implications for Anglophone maritime literatures in general.

Burton, Valerie. "As I wuz a-rolling down the highway one morn': Fictions of the 19th-Century English Sailortown." In *Fictions of the Sea*. Edited by Bernhard Klein, 141–156. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002.

Discussion of literary perceptions of the ordinary English "Jack Tar" sailor.

Cohen, Margaret. The Novel and the Sea. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Although Cohen primarily writes about French literature, her nuanced and craft-focused comparative survey of 18th- and 19th-century English seafaring novels (beginning with a fresh look at Cook's voyage narratives) is the most recent truly imperative academic study of maritime literature.

Döring, Tobias. "The Sea Is History: Historicizing the Homeric Sea in Victorian Passages." In *Fictions of the Sea*. Edited by Bernhard Klein, 121–140. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002.

Taking its name from Derek Walcott's poem, this chapter provides historical content for the Victorian maritime's classical allusions.

Edwards, Philip. The Story of the Voyage: Sea Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Edwards's literary and well-researched book is valuable to students and scholars of Victorian maritime literature because it provides a model for analyzing voyage-based sea narratives and its scope provides context for maritime concerns in the 19th century.

Isham, Howard. Image of the Sea: Oceanic Consciousness in the Romantic Century. New York: Peter Lang, 2004.

The maritime aesthetic, or "oceanic consciousness," of the 19th century is explored as a product of the Romantic literary imagination, which goes on to inform Victorian and Modernist portrayals of the sea. Chapter 6, "The Victorian Sea" (pp. 251–302), will be of particular interest.

Mathieson, Charlotte, ed. Sea Narratives: Cultural Responses to the Sea, 1600-Present. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Although the time period covered is long, Mathieson is a Victorianist by trade and published the collection of essays based on a 2014 conference of the same name held in Warwick. Essays reflect on the relationship between the sea and literary production.

Peck, John. Maritime Fiction: Sailors and the Sea in British and American Novels, 1719-1917. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Explores the connection between fiction and the crafting of national identity on both sides of the Atlantic in the 18th and 19th centuries. Of particular importance to Victorian literary studies are chapter 4 ("Dickens and the Sea") and chapter 7 ("Mid-Victorian Maritime Fiction"), the latter discusses Gaskell, Trollope, Collins, and Eliot.

## The Sea and British Literary Identity

Victorian maritime literature cemented seafaring as inextricable from British national, historical, and literary identity. Morse 2011 discusses the cultural metaphor of seafaring, whereas Behrman 1977, Klein 2006, and Parker 2011 underscore the importance of the sea in crafting this Victorian identity (as does Ho 2014, adding the dimension of retrospective empire).

Behrman, Cynthia Fansler. Victorian Myths of the Sea. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1977.

Although somewhat difficult to find, Behrman's thematic approach explores a "national myth" of seafaring. Of particular interest to students of Victorian maritime literature will be chapter 2, "The English Romance with the Sea."

Ho, Elizabeth. "The Neo-Victorian-at-Sea: Towards a Global Memory of the Victorian." In *Neo-Victorian Literature and Culture: Immersions and Revisitations*. Edited by Nadine Boehm-Schnitker and Susanne Gruss, 165–178. New York and London: Routledge, 2014.

Examines the contemporary popularity of the Neo-Victorian sea narrative (such as Andrea Barrett's *Ship Fever* and *Servants of the Map*) as it reinforces the transnational "empire of the seas" with postcolonial implications.

Klein, Bernhard. "The Natural Home of Englishmen': Froude's *Oceana* and the Writing of the Sea." In *Landscape and Englishness*. Edited by Robert Burden and Stephan Kohl, 103–122. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006.

Victorian maritime literature in light of the 1880s traveling imperialist panorama Oceana, or England and Her Colonies.

Morse, Deborah Denenholz. "'Nothing Will Make Me Distrust You': The Pastoral Transformed in Anthony Trollope's The Small House at Allington (1864)." In *Victorian Transformations: Genre, Nationalism, and Desire in Nineteenth-Century Literature*. Edited by Bianca Tredennick, 45–60. Farnham, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011.

Examines Trollope's use of nautical metaphor (as opposed to the pastoral, for instance), especially without regard to reorientation and losing one's bearings.

Parker, Joanne. "Ruling the Waves: Saxons, Vikings, and the Sea in the Formation of an Anglo-British Identity in the Nineteenth Century." In *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Sebastian I. Sobecki, 195–206. Cambridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2011.

Discusses the necessity of the sea in unifying Scotland, Ireland, and England in the 19th century, including the proclaimed "Saxon" origins of the Royal Navy, the invocation of the "naturalness" of seafaring in the Middle Ages, and the Victorian national identity as "modern Vikings."

#### Wrecks and Disasters

Abundant primary sources are available on shipwrecks and "disasters," as they were called; searching a sunken ship's name, for instance, on one of the websites cited under Archives should yield excellent results. Landow 1981 provides a theoretical framework through which to explore shipwrecks in general, and Reid 2013 discusses the Victorian cultural understanding of shipwrecks. Allingham's online article Wilkie Collins's *No Name* (1862), Beattie and Geiger 2014, and Craciun 2011 concern the most significant maritime disaster of the 19th century—that of Sir John Franklin's ships *Erebus* and *Terror*, which disappeared during his search for the famed Northwest Passage.

Allingham, Philip V. "Wilkie Collins's *No Name* (1862): Charles Dickens, Sheridan's *The Rivals*, and the Lost Franklin Expedition." The Victorian Web.

Open-access Victorian online article on Collins's use of allusion to the lost Franklin voyage in his 1862 novel No Name.

Beattie, Owen, and John Geiger. *Frozen in Time: The Fate of the Franklin Expedition*. Vancouver, BC, and Berkeley, CA: Greystone, 2014.

Thorough anthropological and forensic study of the voyage's fate along with the cultural implications for Victorian society. Reissued in 2014 after the discovery of the wreck of HMS *Erebus*.

Craciun, Adriana. "Writing the Disaster: Franklin and Frankenstein." Nineteenth-Century Literature 65.4 (2011): 433-480.

Examines continuities between John Franklin's narrative of his first disastrous expedition in 1823 to Mary Shelley's 1818 text of *Frankenstein* with repercussions for the study of authorship in the Victorian marketplace.

Landow, George P. *Images of Crisis: Literary Iconography 1750 to the Present*. Boston and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

Landow argues that writers (including the Victorians) have used the image of shipwrecks to question, destabilize, or utterly reject Christian beliefs. He breaks down the "paradigm" or "typology" of a shipwreck into substages and subtypes (losing sight of the destination, drifting, the lone swimmer in the water, and the castaway) to explore crises (especially spiritual crises) in the Christian "voyage" of life.

Reid, Kirsty. "Shipwrecks on the Streets: Maritime Disaster and the Broadside Ballad Tradition in Nineteenth-Century Britain and Ireland." In *Shipwreck in Art and Literature: Images and Interpretations from Antiquity to Present Day*. Edited by Carl Thompson, 133–149. New York: Routledge, 2013.

An interesting look at the material culture and popular interaction with the notion of shipwreck in the 19th century.

# The Royal Navy

The Navy Records at the National Archives (cited under Archives) are an excellent way for students and scholars to immerse themselves in the primary source historiography online. Behrman 1977 considers the Royal Navy as a symbol in Victorian Britain, whereas Reed 2011 looks at the masculinity of those statements (although he does not engage Behrman directly).

Behrman, Cynthia Fansler. "The Myths of the Navy." In *Victorian Myths of the Sea*. By Cynthia Fansler Behrman, Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1977.

Part 4 (chapters 8 and 9) concerns the symbolism of the Royal Navy and the changes to the admiralty during the Victorian era.

Marder, Arthur J. The Anatomy of British Sea Power: A History of British Naval Policy in the Pre-Dreadnought Era, 1880–1905. New York: Knopf, 1940.

Remains the authoritative text on the technologies and strategies of the late Victorian navy in the decades before World War I.

Reed, John R. The Army and Navy in Nineteenth-Century British Literature. New York: AMS, 2011.

Looks at changing attitudes about the military in Britain in the 19th century (from lowly sailor to pride of England, essentially), particularly with regard to masculinity.

## **Empire**

Taylor 2013 provides many facets of a historiographic prism through which to view Victoria's vast maritime empire, whereas Baker 2010 and Forman 2013 provide literary and imaginative context.

Baker, Samuel. Written on the Water: British Romanticism and the Maritime Empire of Culture. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010.

Although Baker is interested in a different sort of empire than in the Victorian sense, his analysis of the Lake Poets (and his contention that they invented what we now consider modern culture) lays the groundwork for understanding how Victorian Britain used the sea to build its physical and cultural empire.

Forman, Ross G. China and the Victorian Imagination: Empires Entwined. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

An analysis of the impact of East Asian markets on the proliferation of the British Empire, including treaty ports, fears of an "Asian invasion" of Britain, and the literature of Limehouse (London's small early Chinatown where Chinese sailors could find the comforts of

home).

Taylor, Miles, ed. The Victorian Empire and Britain's Maritime World, 1837-1901. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

A collection of essays exploring different perspectives on the maritime aspect of Victoria's empire, including less-expected topics such as British children travelers (pp. 129–148). Concludes with an essay on the Victorian maritime's place in the world by Jeremy Black ("Victorian Maritime Empire in its Global Context," pp. 167–188).

#### The South Seas

The Southern Hemisphere carried much cultural weight in the 19th century as a geographically and culturally primitive space quite literally upside down from Europe, but the references in this section complicate these black-and-white notions from several perspectives, including the postcolonial. Lamb, et al. 2000 is a primary source anthology, whereas Edmond 1997, Lamb 2001, and Smith 1998 present critical and literary history that at times read like excellent narratives.

Edmond, Rod. Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Represents the full range of European attitudes on South Pacific cultures and the way in which those fears and fascinations reflected Western cultural anxieties in the 19th century. Discusses European and American factual and fictional narratives, with special attention on the Polynesian body (disease, sexuality, and cannibalism, in particular).

Lamb, Jonathan. Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Examination of European explorers' journals of the South Pacific and their popular readership. Lamb's analysis of scurvy as degenerative of one's entire identity suggests, in so many words, that men return from the South Seas somehow irreparably damaged.

Lamb, Jonathan, Vanessa Smith, and Nicholas Thomas, eds. *Exploration & Exchange: A South Seas Anthology, 1680–1900.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Primary source narratives of exploration organized by theme: adventures and explorers, beachcombers and missionaries, and literary travelers. Emphasis on the "mutuality of impact" between European and Pacific cultures.

Rennie, Neil. Far-Fetched Facts: Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.

Rennie's seminal work is typically more closely aligned with studies of the literature of travel, but the "idea" of the South Seas is so inextricable from its maritime context that his work is required reading for anyone working in this area.

Smith, Vanessa. *Literary Culture and the Pacific: Nineteenth-Century Textual Encounters*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

A groundbreaking work that explores the intellectual and material agency of Pacific Islanders even in imperialist writings. Although much of the book focuses on the Pacific writings of American R. L. Stevenson, the arguments ring true for studies of Victorian England and western Europe.

# Whaling

Beale 1839 gives a rich sense of the scientific climate in which the practice of whaling was considered in this period (and is a good reminder that some of the first cetologists were Royal Navy surgeons embarked on whaling vessels). Vlasopolos 2007 discusses the whale as an economic, cultural, and literary commodity in the 19th century, and Redman 2004 is a compendium of information about what happens to the remains of those whales brought to Britain as an object of material cultural fascination. Additionally, researchers interested in British whaling would be remiss in excluding American texts (*Moby Dick* was more popular in England than in the United States). American sea literature was voraciously consumed in London, including James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, Richard Henry Dana, and even Edgar Allan Poe. In addition, much information was exchanged among British and US ships' crews, owners, and underwriters in the whaling world of the 19th century.

Beale, Thomas. The Natural History of the Sperm Whale: To Which Is Added a Sketch of a South-Sea Whaling Voyage. London: John van Voorst, 1839.

One of the most (if not the most) important cetological texts of the 19th century, mentioned often thereafter. Melville quotes extensively from Beale in *Moby Dick*.

#### British Arctic Whaling. Maritime Historical Centre, University of Hull, UK.

The Maritime Historical Centre at the University of Hull hosts a research unit about British Arctic whaling with an excellent overview and annotated bibliography.

#### Redman, Nicholas. Whales' Bones of the British Isles. Teddington, UK: Redman & Redman, 2004.

A catalogue and (at times, narrative) history of the skeletal remains of whales in decorative and practical uses around the British Isles since the time of the prehistoric settlement at Skara Brae, many of which were brought home by whale ships. Also includes an excellent discussion of some of the most famous whale carcasses displayed in Britain in the 18th and 19th centuries (which, after the construction of the railway system, could cover more ground before putrefaction) and what became of their bones. Lists 992 bones in 664 locations around the British Isles.

Vlasopolos, Anca. "Pacific Harvests: Whales and Albatrosses in Nineteenth-Century Markets." In *Victorian Animal Dreams:* Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture. Edited by Deborah Denenholz Morse, 167–178. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007.

History of the economic cultures of the prized whale.

#### Marine Science

Victorian interests in "maritime zoology" and the period's insistence on material culture met in the 1850s when public aquaria opened at the Great Exhibition and London Zoo "Fish House," further "popularizing" Victorian marine science. Included in this list are Gosse 1854, the first manuscript on aquarium-keeping, and Stott 2000, which looks at this new phenomenon from a literary perspective. Smith 2009 looks at Charles Darwin's barnacles (collected during the 1831–1836 voyage of the HMS *Beagle*) in visual culture, Beer 2009 is the most significant text on Darwin and fiction, and Williams 2013 takes a broader look at naturalists working on ships. The Victorian period (and its obsession with taxonomy) is often credited with inventing "popular science" (that is, making fashionable—and accessible—a new degree of scientific literacy, at least in the middle and upper classes). The study of maritime environments (and its attendant material culture) was central to this proliferation, and it is also helpful to remember that in this period science and humanities were mutually informative (rather than the polar opposites they are considered in modern classification of disciplines).

Beer, Gillian. Darwin's Plots. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Seminal literary criticism connecting Darwin's voyages of scientific discovery with Victorian literature, especially that of George Eliot, and the ways in which Darwin's *Origin of Species* unsettled Victorian societal norms.

Bernstein, Susan David. "Designs after Nature." In *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture*. Edited by Deborah Denenholz Morse and Martin A. Danahay, 65–80. London: Ashgate, 2007.

Includes discussion of aquatic symbolism in Kingsley's *The Water-Babies*.

Gosse, Philip Henry. The Aquarium: An Unveiling of the Wonders of the Deep Sea. London: J. Van Voorst, 1854.

In this book, the first on the subject, Gosse invents the term "aquarium" and reflects and inspires the new Victorian passion for all things oceanic including aquaria and the seaside.

Smith, Jonathan. Charles Darwin and Victorian Visual Culture. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

The book as a whole argues that Darwin's visual observations served to challenge Ruskin's ideas about aesthetics.

Stott, Rebecca. "Through a Glass Darkly: Aquarium Colonies and Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Marine Monstrosity." *Gothic Studies* 2.3 (2000): 305–327.

Examination of the proliferation of public and private aquariums alongside the constructions of monster narratives, as in Verne, Wells, Stoker, and Conrad.

Williams, Glyn. Naturalists at Sea: Scientific Travellers from Dampier to Darwin. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013.

Discusses the scientific elements of expeditions of discovery, including the difficulties of carrying out scientific work at sea (and disseminating that work once back in port).

#### **Sea Monsters**

The 18th and 19th centuries might be considered a heyday for sea monsters in Britain, both at sea (see the section on Whaling) and when the skeletons of ancient ("pre-Adamite") marine reptiles were unearthed during construction of the British railway. Glendening 2009 and Rudwick 1992 provide valuable criticism of these developments as they pertain to the art and literature. Lee 1883 and Oudemans 1892 are valuable primary source material for understanding the Victorian conceptions of monstrosity at sea, and Lyons 2010, Welch 1976, and Stott 2000 (cited under Marine Science) provide context.

Glendening, John. "The World-Renowned Ichthyosaurus": A Nineteenth-Century Problematic and Its Representations." *Journal of Literature and Science* 2.1 (2009): 23–47.

Discusses literary allusions to monstrous "fish-lizards," including in Verne, Punch, Dickens, and Hardy.

Lee, Henry. Sea Monsters Unmasked. International Fisheries Exhibition, London, 1883. London: William Clowes, 1883.

A long pamphlet published for the 1883 International Fisheries Exhibition in London. Catalogues a variety of "monster" sightings with the aim of providing "rational" explanations (most notably that sightings of sea serpents may actually be a single tentacle of an enormous octopus or squid).

Lyons, Sherrie. Species, Serpents, Spirits, and Skulls: Science at the Margins in the Victorian Age. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010.

Looks at "fringe" Victorian science, including a discussion of sea monsters.

Oudemans, A. C. The Great Sea-Serpent: An Historical and Critical Treatise. London: Luzac, 1892.

Contemporaneous investigation of the presence of monstrous sea serpents; often quoted in the secondary literature. Includes reports of 187 appearances, the suppositions and suggestions of scientific and nonscientific persons, and the author's conclusions. With 82 illustrations.

Rudwick, Martin J. S. Scenes from Deep Time: Early Pictorial Representations of the Prehistoric World. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

First-rate scholarly discussion of the 19th-century popularization of material culture of the recently discovered prehistoric sea monsters, including ichthyosaurus.

Welch, James Donald. "Tennyson's Landscapes of Time and a Reading of 'The Kraken." *Victorian Poetry* 14.3 (1976): 197–204.

A seminal piece of criticism on "The Kraken," exploring the poem in terms of the geological climate of the 1820s.

#### The Seaside

Gillis 2012 provides a broad theory for the importance of the seaside as a human invention, and Hanson 2005 is an interesting geographic approach to the canon of beach and seaside literature. DeWitt 2013 and King 2005 discuss specific authors' employments of the coastal environment. Smith 2009 is particularly interested in Victorian visual culture, but the intersection with the literary is helpful in also viewing the seaside as a fashionable space for acting out popular science, leisure, and gazing at those waves which Britannia "rules."

Banerjee, Jacqueline. "The Seaside in the Victorian Literary Imagination." The Victorian Web.

Brief literary history of the British seaside as a Victorian invention; includes rich illustrations from *Punch*, *Illustrated London News*, and others.

Beaven, Brad, Karl Bell, and Robert James, eds. *Port Towns and Urban Cultures: International Histories of the Waterfront, c. 1700–2000.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Multiple essays devoted to Victorian port town cultures and coastal industry (as opposed to the recreational seaside).

DeWitt, Anne. Moral Authority, Men of Science, and the Victorian Novel. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

See particularly chapter 2, "Moral Uses, Narrative Effects," in which DeWitt uses Eliot and Gaskell as a means to discuss G. H. Lewes's writings on literature and the seaside in the 1850s.

Gillis, John. The Human Shore: Seacoasts in History. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Intermittent discussion of 19th-century Britain and what this important zone between land and sea represents to an island nation.

Hanson, Gillian Mary. *Riverbank and Seashore in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century British Literature*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2005.

Part 1 deals with riverbanks and inland waterways, and Part 2 focuses on the seashore, divided into the "rural" seashore and the "urban" seashore.

King, Amy M. "Reorienting the Scientific Frontier: Victorian Tide Pools and Literary Realism." *Victorian Studies* 47.2 (2005): 153–163.

Discussion of the Victorian interest in beachcombing and observing tide pools in light of the "realistic" styles of Southey and Eliot.

King, Amy M. "Victorian Natural Science and the Seashore." In *Oxford Handbook of Victorian Literary Culture*. Edited by Juliet John, 438–457. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

The newest (and best) overview of the Victorian seashore as it pertains to Victorian literature and culture in light of the public and professional practice of science.

Kluwick, Ursula, and Virginia Richter, eds. *The Beach in Anglophone Literatures and Cultures: Reading Littoral Space*. New York and London: Routledge, 2016.

A new collection of essays focusing on the beach as an interstitial space between land and sea, focusing on the 1800–2000 period, including an excellent introduction from the editors on theorizing this space.

Smith, Jonathan. Charles Darwin and Victorian Visual Culture. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

See, in particular, the subsections "Depictions of the Seaside in the 1850s" (pp. 68–77) and "The Visual Natural Theology of Philip Gosse's Seaside Books" (pp. 77–91). (For Gosse's invention of the term "aquarium," see Gosse 1854, cited under Marine Science.)

# Transatlantic Technologies

Two new maritime technologies contributed to an unprecedented transatlanticism in the 19th century—the move from sail to steam-powered ships and the laying of the submarine telegraph cable. The demise of the Age of Sail not only comprised a transition from sail to steam but also from wooden to iron ships, stirringly emblemized by J. M. W. Turner's famous *The Fighting Temeraire*. Nineteenth-Century Ships, Boats, and Naval Architecture and Engineering is an overview of new Victorian naval engineering, and Winter 1994 looks at the cultural implications of the shift from wood to iron, sail to steam.

Allingham, Philip. "The Laying of Submarine Cable—The Triumph of Brunel's 'Great Eastern' on 27 July 1866." The Victorian Web.

Outline of the laying of the deep-sea telegraph cable, including its myriad literary engagements.

Nineteenth-Century Ships, Boats, and Naval Architecture and Engineering. The Victorian Web.

Overview, including links to information about specific ships.

Winter, Alison. "Compasses All Awry': The Iron Ship and the Ambiguities of Cultural Authority in Victorian Britain." *Victorian Studies* 38.1 (1994): 69–98.

Discusses the navigational and cultural complications of setting sail in an iron ship.

#### Gender

The earliest discussions of gender in British maritime literature were largely congratulatory accounts of Jack Tars' rugged masculinity

(and, to be sure, they were a hearty lot), but recently more nuanced ideas about gender and seafaring have taken center stage. Reed 2011 traces developing notions of a seafaring military masculinity in literature about the Georgian and Victorian navies. Creighton and Norling 1996 directly challenges assumptions of Wallace 1925 about maritime masculinities and introduces the reader to some of the women who made the maritime world their occupation, including female sailors, wives aboard ships, and women who worked in the littoral spaces. Foster and Mills 2002 and Lawrence 1994 look at some of these narratives from the perspective of travel writing.

Creighton, Margaret, and Lisa Norling, eds. *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1920.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

With this groundbreaking collection of essays, Creighton and Norling seek to challenge the (exceedingly well-articulated, and thus reproduced here) "view of the ocean as a single-sex masculine space, in contrast to the feminized and domesticated society on land [which] reflected the 19th-century projection of bourgeois social mores onto a time-honored division of labor" (p. ix). Essays look at topics such as transvestite heroines, captains' wives at sea, and the conflation of gender with race and class of English and American sailors.

Foster, Shirley, and Sara Mills, eds. *An Anthology of Women's Travel Writing*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2002.

Primary source texts by women travelers with an emphasis on Victorian Britain, organized by theme ("Women Writing about Women," "Women and Knowledge," "Women and Space," and "Adventure and Gender"). Even their accounts of overland travels resonate in helpful ways for theorizing the voyage narrative genre.

Lawrence, Karen R. Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.

First-rate criticism that examines recently rediscovered texts by British female travelers and writers from the 17th century on, examining how the act of travel reinterprets the limits and conceptions of femininity in Britain.

Nash, Andrew. William Clark Russell and the Victorian Nautical Novel: Gender, Genre, and the Marketplace. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014.

Takes Russell's sea fiction (exceedingly popular in Victorian Britain) as a body of text for examining Victorian gender and the literary marketplace.

Reed, John R. The Army and Navy in Nineteenth-Century British Literature. New York: AMS, 2011.

Looks at changing attitudes about the military in Britain in the 19th century, particularly with regard to masculinity.

Wallace, Frederick William. Wooden Ships and Iron Men: The Story of the Square-Rigged Merchant Marine of British North America, the Ships, Their Builders and Owners, and the Men Who Sailed Them. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1925.

Although Wallace's interest is mostly pre-Victorian, the book is required reading for those interested in the Age of Sail and, in terms of

gender, establishes the baseline assumptions about seafaring masculinity challenged in Creighton and Norling 1996.

back to top

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