

Narratives of Exploration, Sea Fiction, Mariners' Chronicles, and the Rise of American Nationalism: "To Cast Anchor on that Point Where All Meridians Terminate"

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One common tracing of the route to American nationalism follows a path from colonial self-governance and self-sufficiency, to an emerging political consciousness forged in the Revolution, to a sense of rhetorical self-creation, and to the expansion of geographical boundaries fueled by the doctrine of Manifest Destiny. I would like to suggest that several additional contributions to the development of a national identity were made by the popularity and dissemination of narratives of exploration and adventure, of American sea fiction and of mariners' chronicles. In each can be seen a self-posturing that reflected current patriotic attitudes and also helped to shape new attitudes toward nationality and self-definition. They also offered many Americans a realizable if visionary goal with which to confirm their entrance into the international community: the discovery of the Antarctic continent.

Narratives of exploration were enormously popular in early nineteenth-century America. As William H. Goetzmann concludes, exploration narratives "fascinated an astonishing variety of Americans."¹ Many Americans could not read enough in the genre of exploration, travel and adventure: the publication of foreign works in American editions, such as Jean Francois de Galaup La Perouse's *A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788*. . . , (Boston, 1801); of narratives of American exploration and exploitation, such as *Captain Cleveland's Voyage from China to the Northwest Coast of America in 1799*, (New York, 1827); and of the countless literary reviews of narratives of all types in American periodicals all testify to the genre's popularity. An incomplete

sample of American periodicals regularly reviewing narratives of exploration would include the *North American Review*, the *American Journal of Science*, the *American Quarterly Review*, the *Knickerbocker*, *Graham's Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion*, the *Western Literary Review*, the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* and the *Ladies' Companion*, and *Literary Expositor*. Following the common practice of the day, they usually printed extensive extracts from each work and often contained speculative articles on past, present or future exploration.

A catalogue of exploration narratives available to the American public between 1815 and 1830, as revealed by their appearance in just two periodicals, the *North American Review* (Boston) and the *American Journal of Science* (New Haven), would number in excess of fifty—not counting those accounts of American continental exploration (such as those of Sarah Kemble Knight, Lewis and Clark, Timothy Flint, Anne Newport Royall, Timothy Dwight and Henry Schoolcraft).² A writer in the *North American Review* commented as early as 1815 that Americans were awash in exploration narratives. There had already been “so many expeditions by different nations, so many scientifick voyages, and such copious accounts published of the islands and coasts of the Pacifick Ocean”; nevertheless, he continued, we “open every new description of them with avidity.”³ What is surprising is that American interest in continental exploration, an accepted fact of the period following the Louisiana Purchase, rides side by side with American interest in international exploration. The reader of the *North American Review* in 1815-1816 encountered articles discussing David Porter’s *Journal of a Cruise Made to the Pacifick Ocean* and the recently reprinted *A Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck*; one on the *Sketch of the United States of North America . . . from 1600 to 1810; with Statistical Tables, and a New Map*; one reviewing the discovery and conquest of Peru; a letter exploring the extent of Russian settlements in North America; an article on the Sandwich Islands; a review of a new book on Cincinnati; the *Historical Memoir of the War of 1812 in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-1815*; reviews of statistical studies of Maine and the commerce of the United States; and a laudatory review of *A Vocabulary, or Collection of Words and Phrases which Have Been Supposed to be Peculiar to the United States*. Accounts of travel and exploration ministered to readers’ desires to learn more about their own continent and about the larger world as an imaginative extension of the United States. Henry David Thoreau bears witness to this vision in a journal entry: “The whole world is an America, a New World.”⁴

To their nineteenth-century American readers, exploration narratives were educative, escapist, exotic and addictive. Focusing on the authors of narratives, William C. Spengemann argues that

the travel-writer begins to regard the act of composition, not simply as a report of travel completed and of conclusions arrived at prior to the writing itself, but as a particularly

revealing form of travel in its own right; an especially compressed and intensified form of experience, with an unusual capacity both for causing cognitive motions in the mind and for revealing the direction and significance of those motions.⁵

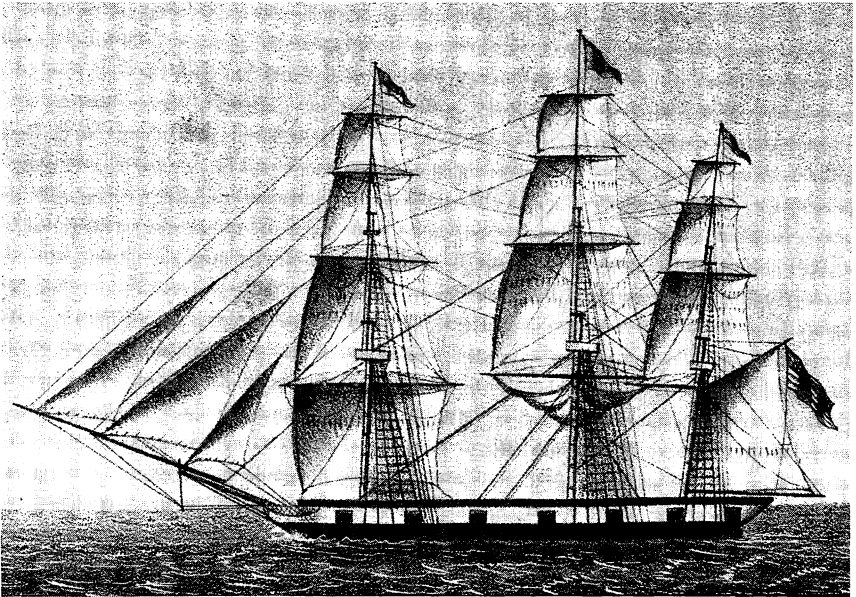
For the reader as well, exploration narratives provided an immediate and intense experience of adventure. A writer in the *American Journal of Science* asserted in 1829 that “we are a nation of travellers,” a claim that gains force if we recognize that Americans often explored new territories—and new areas of themselves—through the act of reading.⁶

Knowledge of the foreign could be acquired and possessed by reading first-hand accounts, the narratives themselves, and, in a crucial secondary fashion, by reading the numerous reviews of narratives in periodicals. As they stimulated and satisfied the desire for knowledge, narratives, reviews and speculative essays also generated feelings of nationalism. Robert V. Bruce demonstrates that during the antebellum period increasing numbers of Americans developed a strong popular faith in science, the result of which was a concomitant spirit of progressive nationalism. “Science appealed to the public’s yearnings for national prestige, cultural betterment, tales of wonder, and philosophical light.”⁷ A writer in the *Port Folio* in 1813 noted that “the glorious achievements of our navy” in the War of 1812 had “kindled a new and holy spirit of nationality, and enabled the humblest citizen among us boldly to say to the world that he too has a country.”⁸ Abby Jane Morrell, wife of the successful Captain Benjamin Morrell, confirms this popular sentiment repeatedly in her account of a voyage with her husband: “To me the most cheerful sight [in foreign ports] was that of the American flag. . . . I rejoiced that this flag had not only been consecrated by bravery, but commemorated by the muse. . . .”⁹ While mythologizing their national successes, perceptive Americans recognized the reality of their inadequate navy; as George T. Davis writes, in 1816 Congress authorized an eight-year, \$1,000,000 naval rebuilding program.¹⁰ William H. Goetzmann concludes that the establishment and maintenance of a Pacific Squadron in the 1820s by the United States Navy illustrated a new sense of nationalism and a new economic imperative.¹¹ And Thomas Philbrick has determined that between 1816 and 1842 the entire American fleet more than doubled in size, an expansion culminating in the public launching in 1837 of the 120 gun *Pennsylvania*.¹²

The American imagination extended a nationalistic perception of the continent as a particularly American province to one of the globe, especially its uncharted seas and lands, as open to American exploitation and influence. Patriotism resulted directly from exploration, while exploration became a direct expression of patriotic feeling. It confirmed that the United States had come of age and would actively participate in the global search for knowledge. A review of John Franklin’s *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea* . . . in the *American Quarterly Review* in 1828 stretched the limits of American involvement: “We are indeed well convinced that the survey of the shores of the

Polar Sea, is very important in a commercial and national point of view. . . . Every thing which enlarges the boundaries of science, confers in the end some benefit."¹³ Exploration contributed to national success and to a nationalistic belief in optimism and progressivism.

In addition, exploration narratives confirmed the national values of individual industry and personal sharpness. The financially successful voyages of American captains such as Richard J. Cleveland, Edmund Fanning, Nathaniel Palmer and Benjamin Morrell in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries proved the correctness of American attitudes: Cleveland's 1799 voyage to China realized a profit of \$60,000, while Fanning's first captaincy of the *Betsey* earned



“The *Betsey* Returning to Port.” From *Voyages Round the World* by Edmund Fanning (1833). Courtesy of Peabody Museum of Salem.

more than \$50,000 for her owners and a smart \$15,000 for himself. Motivated “by the thirst for national honor or personal glory,” as Percy G. Adams reasons, these successes were at once individual and national.¹⁴ As explorers’ narratives were published and read, and as review articles disseminated extracts to a wider audience, the accomplishments of individuals were made, as it were, public property, and thus allowed the reader to perceive abstract national values made tangible and personally realizable. The American reader could share in each explorer’s personal success and could view it as a public demonstration of national success. Wayne Franklin’s assessment of the effect of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century “explorer’s language” is surely applicable to that of the nineteenth: “it becomes the foundation for a centralizing and optimistic structure

in American historiography and American thought”; “each separate plot [becomes] a part of one grand action, all of them converging in the ‘plat’ of nationhood.”¹⁵ Individuals could take pride in the acts of American explorers and entrepreneurs, celebrating national virtues as they identified with each American captain’s success. In the minds of many Americans, the lofty aims of exploration were linked to the earthly goals of commerce, both successes contributing to a stronger sense of national selfhood.

In the early nineteenth century, American readers of these narratives characteristically viewed commercial voyages as voyages of exploration, and voyages of exploration as surveys for commerce. Without a separate scientific corps like the British or the French, most Americans viewed these as interdependent. Linking these motives, typical accounts such as Benjamin Morrell’s *Narrative of Four Voyages to the South Seas and Pacific Oceans* (1832), Edmund Fanning’s *Voyages Round the World* (1833), and Abby Jane Morrell’s *Narrative of a Voyage* (1833) functioned as transitional works in an era still suspicious of fiction yet hungry for wonders. Fanning made explicit his motives. He cherished “the hope of being able to add some new discoveries to the knowledge already in the possession of man . . . and the no less flattering hope of realizing a fortune. . . .”¹⁶ In addition, he took great patriotic pleasure in relating Captain Benjamin Pendleton’s encounter with the Russian explorer Bellinghausen off the South Shetland Islands; when offered assistance and information on what would prove to be the Antarctic continent by these American sealers, the Russians, who had thought they had made new discoveries, gallantly admitted, “we must surrender the palm to you Americans.”¹⁷

Abby Jane Morrell complained that “it is surprising that commerce and letters have been so long divorced. . . . Letters have at all times been the necessary consequence of commercial enterprise. . . .”¹⁸ Re-marrying them herself, she enacted what has by now become a familiar ceremony as she reflected on the future: “Some civilized nations must in time be masters of these remote islands, and it would be well for us to have a share in the influence that may be exercised in this new world abounding in articles of commerce.”¹⁹ In order to insure that Americans will share in the bounty of this “new world,” “individual enterprise, assisted by government,” should mount exploring expeditions; it clearly follows that “their success must of course be a national benefit.” In addition to “the advantage to our commercial people” of increased trade, she too sounded a nationalistic note. “It were well, too, that we should do something for the world whose commerce we enjoy; we have now a name to support, and what have we done to raise its glory?”²⁰

Benjamin Morrell’s *Narrative* is suffused with commercial, visionary and patriotic attitudes. As a work ghost-written by Samuel Woodworth—journalist, playwright, and author of “The Old Oaken Bucket”—Morrell’s *Narrative* itself replicates the joining of the factual to the imaginative. That Morrell’s logbooks were “worked up” by one of the Harper Brothers’ most successful writers, and that the *Narrative* itself was extremely popular, emphasize the representative

nature of “Morrell’s” attitudes.²¹ A work suggestive of common cultural sentiments, Morrell’s *Narrative* deserves close analysis.

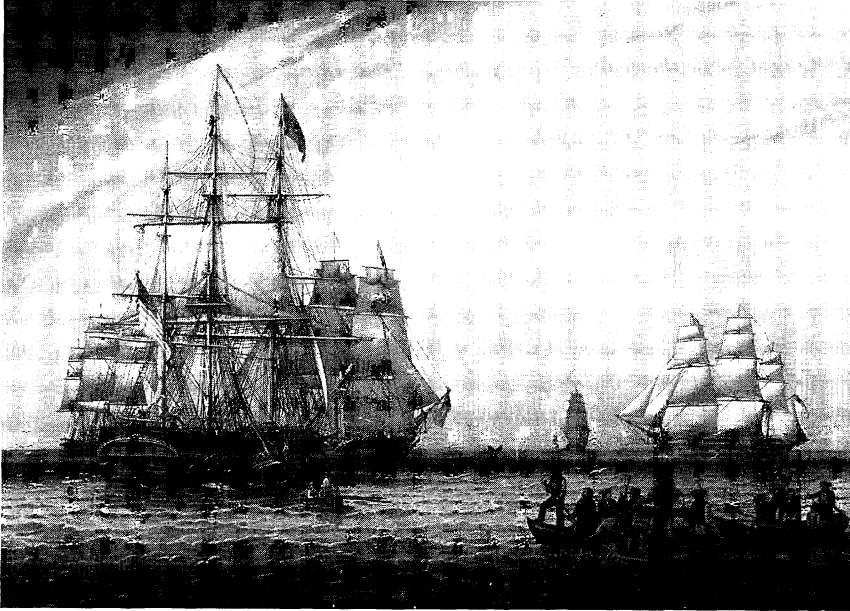
Morrell employed the methodology of chronology and classification in organizing his *Narrative*, offering his reader a first-person account in the manner of the conventional travel book or guide, “a plain but correct narrative”: “July 1st.—At six o’clock P. M., having discharged the pilot, we took our departure from Sandy Hook lighthouse, bearing W.N.W. distant seven leagues, and steered a S.E. course, with a fine breeze on our starboard beam.”²² Here his style is utilitarian, factual and unadorned, a style that impresses the reader with the author’s precision. “This was on the afternoon of Monday, the first day of July, 1822; a year rendered somewhat memorable in the city of New-York,” he wrote, “by the last visitation of that terrible scourge, the yellow fever, which made its appearance about the 1st of August, a month after our departure, and did not stay its ravages until the October following” (30). In this sentence the sincerity and literalness of the writer become clear, desiring to leave nothing out and to communicate his concern for those who did not journey with him but suffered the effects of the disease. He encouraged the reader to remember the year and the month, to recollect his own actions, yet he also encouraged the reader to begin to identify with Morrell: “The favourable auspices under which we commenced our voyage were hailed as auguries of a successful result, and soon banished from our minds every little tender regret which parting interviews might have left lingering about the heart” (30). Like Morrell, the reader was urged to put the past, his own past, behind him, as if it had been a mere sentimental fancy, and join himself to the fortunate schooner *Wasp*.

The identification of American readers with the authors of exploration narratives is crucial, for it prepared the way for wide-spread acceptance of the values, attitudes and goals that the narratives embody and communicate. The inherent authority of the first-person narrative form and style prepared the reader to accept, and maneuvered the reader to adopt, the author’s judgments:

Notwithstanding the length of time which has elapsed since the discovery of the western continent, and the consequent impulse given to the spirit of discovery, it is a remarkable fact that the most interesting section of this terraqueous globe still remains unexplored, and almost totally unknown. It is a reproach to every civilized country, that the people of this enlightened age possess so little accurate knowledge of the seas, islands, and perhaps continents which exist in the polar regions of the southern hemisphere. (29)

Though the rhetoric here is anything but plain, the reader had no other judge than Morrell for whether it was correct. Accepting the *donnée* of first-person narratives of exploration insured accepting the narrator’s speculations. “Many enterprising navigators of the last and present centuries have made highly

laudable, and some of them partially successful, attempts to penetrate the cloud of mystery which still hangs over the Antarctic Seas. But every one has stopped at a certain point, timidly shrinking from the farther prosecution of what they deemed an impractical project” (29). Morrell gave earlier captains their due, noting in passing an important point about exploration: even failures are part of a progressive movement toward ultimate success; although James Weddell did not reach the Antarctic Continent in 1822, he showed the way for others to penetrate deeper and deeper into the Antarctic Seas. An individual’s partial success is never failure.



South Sea Whaling Fishing, 1831, by Robert Salmon. Oil on Panel, 16 1/2 x 23 3/4 in. Gift of Joseph P. B. Henshaw. Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

In addition, Morrell attacked the notion that Antarctic exploration was impractical by conjuring up only to dismiss images of mysterious dread.

Some, it is said, have even been deterred by a superstitious notion that an attempt to reach the South Pole was a presumptuous intrusion on the awful confines of nature,—an unlawful and sacrilegious prying into the secrets of the great Creator; who, they will contend, has guarded the ‘ends of the earth’ with an impassable bulwark of indissoluble ice; on which is written, ‘Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther; and here shall thy proud course be stayed.’ Such an idea would have become the inquisitors of Spain in the days of Columbus. (29)

The mocking tone appealed to the rationality of readers, to their pride in superiority over ancestors, to their spirit of nationalism, to their faith in progressivism and to their desire for knowledge.

Admitting for a moment, however, that such is the fact, and that nothing less than a miracle could open the passage through this formidable barrier, I contend that genius, science, and energy combined can work miracles, and even remove mountains; for what is a miracle but the power of *spirit* over *matter*—the triumph of mind over physical impediments. The march of intellect is irresistible; and were the earth itself one globe of ice, the fire of genius, directed by the wand of science, could melt a passage to its centre. The day is not far distant when a visit to the South Pole will not be thought more of a miracle than to cause an egg to stand on its point. (29-30)

Although the appeal may appear temptingly Emersonian, “to see the miraculous in the common,” it insisted not on transcendence but on common sense in the image of the egg. Americans should not stand in reverent awe before nature; nature is an egg which common sense, genius, science and energy can stand on end. No transcendent truth resulted from such manipulation; rather, the miraculous was de-mythified, stripped of its superstitious power and made available to all as shared knowledge. The Spanish Inquisitor was gone, as was the image of a wrathful God jealously protecting his creative secrets. How could Americans have felt anything but supreme confidence in the resourcefulness, ingenuity and genius that Morrell’s *Narrative* exemplified and imaged forth in its rhetoric? How could they do anything but desire to penetrate “the awful confines of nature”?

To the only free nation on earth should belong the glory of exploring a spot of the globe which is the *ne plus ultra* of latitude, where all degrees of longitude are merged into a single point, and where the sun appears to revolve in a horizontal circle. . . . Would to heaven it [the attainment of the South Pole] might be set among the stars of our national banner! (67-68)

Morrell’s *Narrative* explicitly identified the discovery of the Antarctic continent as a goal—one shared by the practical Edmund Fanning—by which American identity would be confirmed.

American sea fiction of the early nineteenth century was also decidedly nationalistic. As sea fiction and explorers’ narratives evolved along interpenetrating and cross-fertilizing lines, it is not surprising that several important connections exist between these genres. First, as Thomas Philbrick points out of James Fenimore Cooper, whom he credits with the creation of the American sea

novel, "Cooper's three-year service as a midshipman . . . made him view the sea not only as the arena of personal adventure but as the locus of national glory."²³ Implicit in this assertion is the suggestion that Americans were going to sea in increasing numbers from various classes; as this occurred, Americans' attitudes toward the sea would undergo a transformation that would compel some to reveal these new attitudes in literature (Cooper, Dana, and Melville being the obvious examples), and that would additionally engender a greater appreciation of these attitudes among the larger population of readers. Second, as Cooper himself reiterated in *The Notions of Americans* in 1828, "the laboring classes read more . . . of adventure than anywhere else," a kind of reading that encouraged "the restlessness of moral excitement."²⁴ Cooper asserted that Americans read narratives of exploration voraciously, and that there was a moral dimension to these narratives, one that kindled interest in the unknown and exotic, communicated itself to Americans through the act of reading and revealed itself as a nautical twist on Manifest Destiny. Adventure and exploration became cultural goals symbolic of individual and collective fulfillment. Third, Cooper indicated not only the currency of exploration narratives within American culture but also their value to writers of fiction. One did not literally have to review the narratives of William Scoresby and William Parry, as Cooper did for *The Literary and Scientific Repository and Critical Review* in the 1820s,²⁵ to be shaped by them; these works formed one stone in the foundation of the writer's culture, influencing his imagination, providing him with literary models and defining to a great extent the expectations of his reading audience.

The reception of Cooper's early sea novels in the press illustrates popular sentiments. A review of Cooper's *Pilot* in the 1824 *New-York Mirror* identified Cooper as a staunch patriot and generalized upon the attendant nationalism his fiction created.

We have long fixed our eyes on America as the refuge and conservatory of all those principles and institutions which are truly valuable, and which, under the name of Liberty, comprehend the right of free and fair exertion of all the faculties and powers of man, the absence of all fettering restrictions on industry and talent, equal privileges of thought and action to all, and protection in the fullest extent to property of every description. Believing that all this is substantially realized in the United States, we cannot avoid taking a deep interest in every thing which tends to generate a binding national spirit in their citizens, and to awaken in them a well-grounded pride in their own feats, as well as in their institutions.

To Cooper's reviewer, not only did *The Pilot* realize "the just pride and best energies of America" but it "characterized that skill and resolution from which her future glories are to be derived at sea." Dismissing Irving, Smollett and Defoe,

the writer praised Cooper's "truth and force" of description, in which "yet nothing is overwrought"; "but under all this apparent ease, a responsibility may be traced so deep, as if the honour of an infant republic, in her first struggles with the gigantic and confident power of the old empire, depended on the exertions of every individual."²⁶ Language so effusive suggests that Cooper had given expression to deep-seated cultural attitudes. As he did so, Cooper fulfilled a cultural need and effectively codified American attitudes that could then be explored and enjoyed by the reading public. The reviewer identified in Cooper a democratic impulse ("the exertions of every individual"), a moral impulse ("a responsibility . . . so deep"), a national impulse ("the honour of an infant republic"), and a historical impulse ("in her first struggles") that itself affirmed the communal values of the visionary *new* empire—the United States. As a writer himself, he embraced Cooper as a national hero who had answered Sydney Smith's culturally troublesome question, "Who reads an American book?"²⁷

In the *North American Review*, another critic saw *The Pilot* as a stimulus to patriotic generalization:

We have a commonplace, hackneyed sort of enthusiasm, on the subject of liberty, republican principles, etc. . . . But on the subject of our naval skill and prowess, although we are not willing to confess it, we are, yet, real enthusiasts. This is a string to which the national feeling vibrates certainly and deeply; and this string the author has touched with effect.²⁸

Reviews in 1827 and 1828 in the *Paris Globe* also identified the well of nationalism from which Cooper drew. "The author [of *The Pilot*] . . . seems to have wished, in the name of his nation, to take a sort of literary possession of an element of which England long dared to claim a monopoly."²⁹

Cooper writes as citizen and as a philosophical man at the same time. In him one finds human reason that is remarkably free of prejudice, enlightened moral feeling, profound faith in liberty, in equality, in religion, in his country, in the dignity of human nature. . . . Above all, one recognizes in Fenimore Cooper the noble type of an American republican.³⁰

The author of *The Red Rover* was "a sincere patriot" who was able to "pour out his soul, to throw open the gates of his imagination, and to celebrate a country and a cause which was close to his heart."³¹ Though there is certainly here the barely concealed need to affirm vicariously French republican dreams through praise of Cooper, nonetheless Cooper's sea fictions were widely recognized as optimistic expressions of American nationalism. In addition, as popular and critical successes, they indicate a widespread approval of the values (however muddled they may seem to twentieth-century readers) they were seen to exemplify.

Cooper was not alone in writing sea fiction that celebrated American nationalism and the spirit of exploration. In the 1820s a host of writers created an increasing body of patriotic sea fiction that includes *Symzonia* (1820) by "Captain Adam Seaborn," *The Memoirs of Lafitte; or the Barratarian Pirate* (1827), *The Buccaneers* (1827) by Samuel B. Judah, and the sensational or supernaturally charged stories of William Leete Stone, Robert Montgomery Bird, Samuel Hazzard, William Leggett and James Kirke Paulding. Sensational sea fiction continued to grow in popularity throughout the 1830s and 1840s, emphasizing again and again the themes of national pride and individual ability in the works of Charles E. Averill, Benjamin Barker, B. Boyton and "Frank Forester"—Maturin Murray Ballou. Edward G. Cox devotes a chapter of *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel* to "Fictitious Voyages and Travels," while Myron J. Smith and Robert L. Weller in their *Sea Fiction Guide* compile more than 200 pages of nautical adventures.³² As with Cooper's, these works might focus on explicitly patriotic themes such as pre-Revolutionary American piracy, American naval prowess during the Revolutionary War, the exploits of the American navy during the War of 1812, or they might take the theme of exploration itself—as in *Symzonia*—as a means of exemplifying national feelings of pride in present and future prospects. Even in such a sensational work as Robert Montgomery Bird's "The Ice-Island," an account of shipwreck among Arctic icebergs, the emotion of national pride wells up at the conclusion as the narrator spies "the starry flag of my country" on the ships about to rescue him.³³

Beneath these levels of fact and fiction lie the subliterate chapbooks, broadside ballads and mariners' sketches typified by Archibald Duncan's *The Mariner's Chronicle, Being a Collection of the most Interesting Narratives of Shipwrecks, Fires, Famines, and other Calamities Incident to the Life of Maritime Enterprise*. First published in London in 1804, *The Mariner's Chronicle* was quickly pirated and published in Philadelphia in 1806 and again in 1810. Its popularity caused the launching of a veritable armada of American collections. Burton Pollin has carefully established the publication history of *The Mariner's Chronicle* (New Haven, 1834), *The Mariner's Library, or Voyager's Companion* (Boston, 1834), *The Mariner's Chronicle of Shipwrecks, Fires, Famines, and Other Disasters at Sea* (2 vols., Boston, 1834), and R. Thomas' *Interesting and Authentic Narratives of the Most Remarkable Shipwrecks, plus An Authentic Account of the Most Remarkable Events: Containing the Lives of the Most Noted Pirates and Piracies* (New York, 1836, 1837, etc.).³⁴ Keith Huntress has determined that between 1806 and 1857 no fewer than 15 important collections of chronicles were published in the United States, and that one of the main appeals of these chronicles was that they fostered and shaped a sense of nationalism.³⁵ As to diversity of distribution and breadth of influence, he cites the example of the 1806 Philadelphia four-volume Duncan *Mariner's Chronicle* given by Richard Manning to his nephew Nathaniel Hawthorne around 1832; Hawthorne later presented the *Chronicle* to his friend Herman Melville in 1851.³⁶

Although these chronicles and chapbooks might have been designed to appeal to those laboring classes Cooper identified, their influence was not limited to those classes. In addition, although we might assume that they passively reflected cultural attitudes, it is also probable that they actively helped mold cultural attitudes. This would have been especially true in New England seaports, where these popular tales and songs helped American seamen define regional and national stereotypes, develop and refine sets of values to share, and take pride in their identification with a particular group—American seamen. Scholars of American ballads and sea shanties such as Stan Hugill and G. Malcom Laws, Jr., have identified the popularity of songs such as “The Constitution and the Guerriere,” “Paul Jones’s Victory,” “Major Andre’s Capture” and “The Battle of New Orleans”; to recognize their popularity is to begin to recognize nationalistic feelings in the process of codification.³⁷ It is also to understand the various lessons that patriotic songs and even work songs themselves taught. In order to maintain American independence and to insure future national prominence, American seamen had to possess a shared belief in individual bravery and resolution, in the ability of the individual to overcome overwhelming odds, in the need for individuals to work together despite diversity, in the value of perseverance and tenacity, in the inevitable triumph of good over evil, and in the identification of America as a land of metaphysical goodness.

Additionally, as John A. Scott notes of the common work songs of American seamen, “the songs these men created and sang and taught to each other helped them to face and overcome dire, daily peril, to undergo backbreaking toil, to cope with monotony and boredom, to summon inspiration for life from the bottom of their souls, and, above all, to work together.”³⁸ Emphasizing the immediate instead of the ephemeral, popular songs and tales contributed to American nationalism without offering a visionary goal like the discovery of the South Pole. Instead, they provided a common mythology, a communal sense of national identity.

The visionary clearly outdistances the immediate and practical in “Captain Adam Seaborn’s” *Symzonia*. Whether *Symzonia* is a utopian work or a satire, and whether its author is John Cleves Symmes, Nathaniel Ames, or another writer, are still matters of scholarly debate. J. O. Bailey, in his modern edition of *Symzonia*, argues that “the evident intention of the book is to ‘prove’ Symmes’ theory in a matter-of-fact record of discovery of the internal world.”³⁹ What the book seems to prove is a general cultural awareness of Symmes’ theory. A review of *Symzonia* in the *North American Review* assumed as well its readers’ familiarity with Symmes while taking the narrative less seriously: “we take leave, out of justice to merit to say, that we think Col. Symmes fairly entitled to the credit of a theory, which never entered into the head of any other man before; and of which, much as we should expect from the fruit of his lecturing—if he lectures as well as he speculates—we have strong doubts whether it will ever enter into the head of any body again.”⁴⁰ Seaborn claims for America the entire Symzonian Inner

World, dwarfing the achievements of Columbus and revealing the superiority of the United States. *Symzonia* explicitly unites the search for new knowledge characteristic of exploration narratives, popular pseudo-science in John Cleves Symmes' *Theory of Concentric Spheres* (1818), a fictional structure purporting to be an explorer's narrative, and the pioneering efforts of Symmes and Jeremiah N. Reynolds to have Congress authorize a United States Exploring Expedition.

In 1818 Symmes began to promote his belief that the earth was hollow and consisted of concentric spheres; at either pole would be found a hole, through which a United States Exploring Expedition should be sent. Called by some the "Newton of the West," Symmes can be understood as a product of what William Stanton terms "equalitarian contempt for learning" and "cultural patriotism"—democratic anti-intellectualism buoyed by the optimistic belief that the United States would give rise to brilliant individual thinkers perhaps because of their lack of formal education.⁴¹ Even those who, like the mathematician Thomas Johnston Matthews, dismissed Symmes' theory as fancy, recognized in Symmes an effective popularizer of science and an effective agent to stimulate public interest in national support of exploration. In the era that produced the awkward beginnings of a national coast survey, Symmes' attempts to mobilize national forces for exploration helped create in the American mind an acceptance of the idea of American exploration. At the least, Symmes' lecturing and letter-writing made Americans familiar with the notion of a national exploring expedition. Mathematician Matthews himself encouraged the expedition to the Pole, for even "if the region he goes in search of, should prove a fairy land, still his enterprising spirit would be likely to render us better acquainted with the arctic zone."⁴²

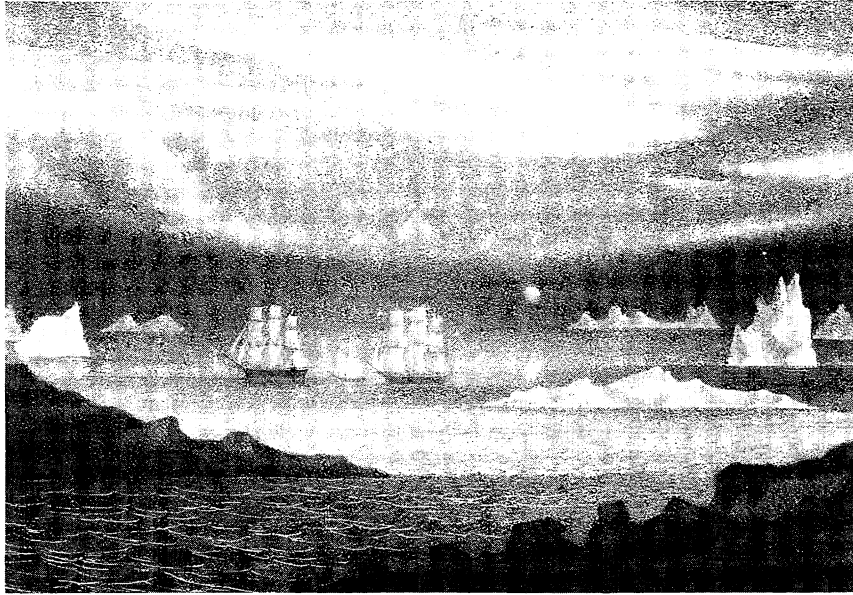
"Captain Adam Seaborn"—that most American of American explorers—completed in fiction Symmes' projected voyage to the South Pole. Though the sights he sees echo scenes from Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner," Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Seaborn dismisses any hint of supernaturalism as outdated superstition. Confident American seamen like Seaborn, Fanning and Morrell had no use for fanciful gothicism. Likewise, though Seaborn refers to Captain Cook, he reserves his highest praise for his inventive countryman, Robert Fulton. A true patriot, Seaborn is on "a voyage of discovery, in the hope of finding a passage to a new and untried world . . . to new fields for the enterprize of my fellow-citizens, [to] supply new sources of wealth, fresh food for curiosity. . . ."⁴³ The Inner Continent had value both as a location of exploitable wealth (e.g., new sealing grounds) and as a source of progressive ideals realized in pure form. To discover Symzonia was to discover a pre-lapsarian world in which the real and the ideal are in harmony, in which morality, intellect and technology sound a dominant chord. Led by Captain Adam Seaborn, Americans could achieve through Symzonia a second opportunity for perfection, a goal as old as the New World itself and one intimately connected to American myths of cultural regeneration and national definition.

On August 3, 1826, Jeremiah N. Reynolds, drawing upon the popular interest in Symmes' theory and in American exploration, initiated a correspondence with Secretary of the Navy Samuel L. Southard. As Richard G. Woodbridge III explains, a letter from Professor Samuel Miller of the Princeton Theological Seminary to Southard verified that Reynolds was no crank though an advocate of Symmes: "Mr. Reynolds . . . proposes in Oct. or Nov. next, to undertake a voyage of observation & discovery *toward the South Pole*. These enterprising adventurers expect to be accompanied by a considerable corps of scientific gentlemen."⁴⁴ Southard's August 7 reply, though cautious, demonstrates that he had at least heard Reynolds in public:

I have heard Mr. Reynolds lecture once & had a short conversation with him and altho' I do not believe his theory [Symmes' Hollow Earth Theory], yet I feel anxious that he should be successful in fitting out his vessels & have every means in his power to render his voyage useful. . . . The voyage, if well conducted, cannot fail to be profitable to science—and we all, individually and nationally, owe a debt which it is time for us to set about discharging. . . .⁴⁵

Southard expressed commonly held American attitudes in his rejection of Symmes and his acceptance of exploration as a national goal. He also illustrates a characteristic pairing of individual with national aspirations. Reynolds wisely made an ally of Edmund Fanning, the New England sealer known as the "Pathfinder of the Pacific" and later the author of *Voyages Round the World* (1833). Nearly twenty years before, Fanning had himself persuaded President Madison to support a United States Exploring Expedition to the South Seas, an expedition that was canceled by the War of 1812. With Fanning's help, Reynolds tied the visionary quest to the practical needs of American sealers, whalers and merchantmen for accurate navigational charts and the establishment of safe harbors—needs that were nationalistic and would themselves foster nationalism. Having dissociated himself from Symmes, Reynolds addressed the House of Representatives in 1828 on "Antarctic Exploration"; a bill authorizing a U.S. Exploring Expedition passed the House, received popular support in the press and resulted in the public launching of the rebuilt sloop-of-war *Peacock*. The *New-York Mirror* rhapsodized that the *Peacock* and its mission reflected the "spirit of the age" and augured "a long career of glory" for the nation. The launching revealed to the populace that America's destiny would be fulfilled as much by "cultivating the arts and sciences in times of peace" as by "energy and valor in times of war."⁴⁶ Despite such public displays of enthusiasm for the expedition, the expedition bill met defeat in the Senate. Discouraged but not personally defeated, Reynolds organized with Fanning the private "South Sea Fur Company and Exploring Expedition" in 1829; sailing with Captains Palmer and Pendleton, Reynolds and the Expedition were minimally successful—Palmer Land was

discovered and named, though the expedition was financially profitless. As Pendleton concluded, had theirs been an officially sponsored United States Exploring Expedition, “the result . . . would have been highly beneficial to the commerce, navigation, whale and seal fishery, &c., of our nation.”⁴⁷



“Palmer’s Land as Seen from the South Shetlands.” From *Voyages Round the World* by Edmund Fanning (1833). Courtesy of Peabody Museum of Salem.

A national exploring expedition was clearly the next step. Fictions including Cooper’s *The Monikins* (1835) and *The Sea Lions* (1849), Poe’s *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (1837-38), and “Peter Prospero’s” “The Atlantis” (1838-39) sent imaginative voyagers to the South Pole, thereby stimulating public interest in a national expedition, but it was largely through the continuing efforts of Reynolds that an actual expedition took shape. In 1835 he presented the first comprehensive analysis of United States interests in the Pacific in his “Report . . . in Relation to Islands, Reefs, and Shoals in the Pacific Ocean, &c.”⁴⁸ In 1836 he again spoke before the House of Representatives, delivering his “Address on the Subject of a Surveying and Exploring Expedition to the Pacific Ocean and South Seas” to an enthusiastic audience. The “Address,” “With Correspondence and Documents,” was published immediately by the enterprising Harper & Brothers of New York. It was favorably reviewed by journals including the *North American Review* and Poe’s *Southern Literary Messenger*.⁴⁹ The *North American Review* stated that “At present there are none, to whom the Pacific is a source of greater interest than to the inhabitants of the United States” (396). “This is

undoubtedly a work, which both for its utility, and the labor required for its accomplishment," the *Review* continued, "may rank with the most extensive and beneficial plans ever conceived. The merit of originating this vast project belongs exclusively, we believe, to our nation" (371). Quoting liberally from the "Address" and from the numerous testimonials Reynolds included—in particular a long list of items from Yale's Professor Benjamin Silliman "deserving of especial interest in your voyage towards the South Pole" (381)—the *Review* concluded that "we question whether an enterprise has ever been undertaken, of more immediate and extensive utility, both to commerce and science, than this" (388). Having made explicit the bonds between nationalism and commerce that will be strengthened by the expedition, the writer penultimately cast the expedition in mythic terms: the men who sail with the expedition "must consider themselves, in fact, as pioneers" (389).

Poe, in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, sounded similar notes: "the public mind is at length thoroughly alive on the subject"; he rehearses "the great national advantages derivable from an exploring expedition" (68) and states that "here is a wide field open and nearly untouched—'a theatre peculiarly our own from position and the course of human events'" (69). The last two pages are entirely quotations from Reynolds' "Address": "Indeed, while there yet remains a spot of untrodden earth accessible to man, no enlightened, and especially commercial and free people, should withhold its contributions for exploring it, wherever that spot may be found on earth, from the equator to the poles!" (70). The call was intellectual, scientific and commercial. "Have we not shown that this expedition is called for by our extensive interests in those seas . . . ?" (70). The call was also patriotic: "Have we not shown, that this expedition is called for by national dignity and honor?" (70). And it was ultimately epistemological: "Who so presumptuous as to set limits to knowledge, which, by a wise law of Providence, can never cease? As long as there is mind to act upon matter, the realm of science must be enlarged; and nature and her laws be better understood, and more understandingly applied to the great purpose of life" (70). As Reynolds concluded in his "Address" to the House in 1836,

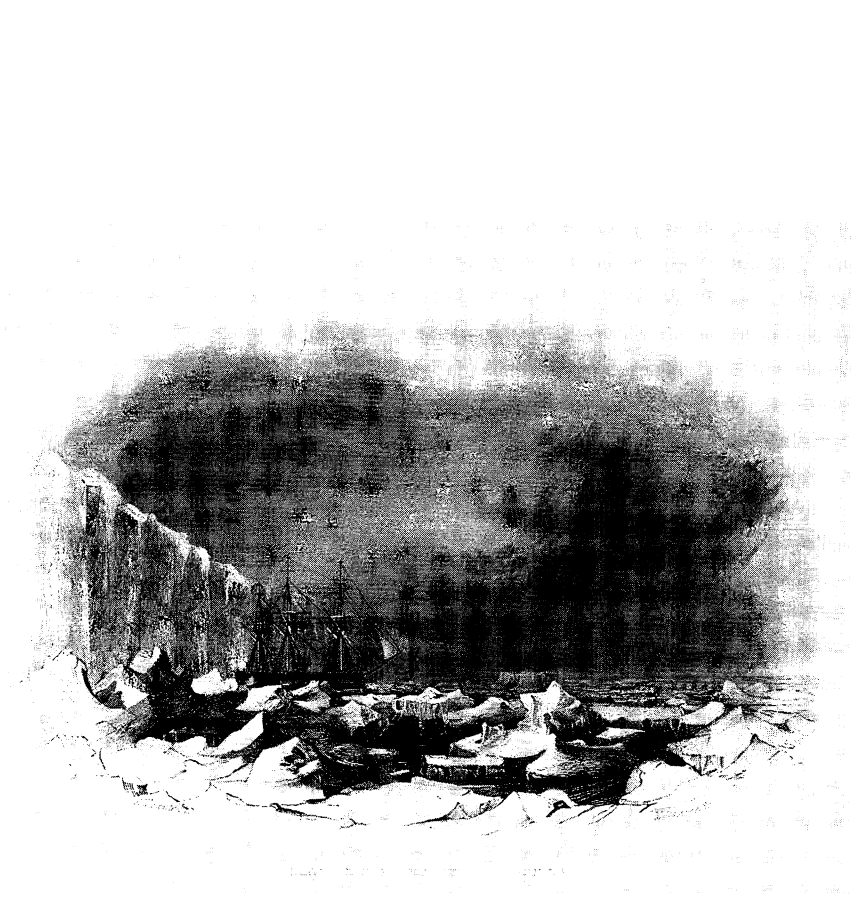
The enterprize should be national in its object, and sustained by the national means,—belongs of rights to no individual, or set of individuals, but to the country . . . pushing their adventurous barks within the Antarctic Circle, and attain the Pole itself; yea, to cast anchor on that point where all the meridians terminate, where our eagle and star-spangled banner may be unfurled and planted, and left to wave on the axis of the earth itself! . . . If this should be realized, where is the individual who does not feel that such an achievement would add new lustre to the annals of American philosophy, and crown with a new and imperishable wreath the nautical glories of our country! (72)

Reynolds focused American eyes on the Antarctic and, by means of his identification of the quest for the South Pole with American selfhood, shaped American hopes and aspirations.

The culmination of these trends in American exploration resulted in the first United States Exploring Expedition, that of Charles Wilkes, 1838-1842, to the South Seas and the Antarctic. Wilkes' was the first national exploring expedition commissioned by Congress. When President Andrew Jackson signed the Expedition's bill in 1836, he marked the convergence of American interest in exploration and exploration narratives, sea fiction and mariners' chronicles, science and pseudo-science and democratic lobbyist politics and patriotic nationalism. The orders to Lt. Charles Wilkes from Secretary of the Navy James Kirke Paulding were clear: "Although the primary object of the expedition is the promotion of the great interest of commerce and navigation, yet all occasions will be taken, not incompatible with the great purpose of the undertaking, to extend the bounds of science, and to promote the acquisition of knowledge."⁵⁰ The *North American Review* revealed the popular belief that the Exploring Expedition's main purpose was the discovery of the South Pole even as it sought to correct the public's misperception: "It seems to be imagined by some, that its final destination is to be within the Antarctic Circle, or at least that it is to cruise principally in the high Austral latitudes . . . but there appears to be no reason (we speak under correction) for giving it much importance as an end of the expedition."⁵¹ Yet as Poe had noted in his *Southern Literary Messenger* article, "the public mind is at length thoroughly alive on the subject." Edmund Fanning had as early as 1833 crystallized the feelings of Americans in a chapter of his popular *Voyages* entitled "Views Upon the Practicability of Sailing or Advancing to the South Pole": "what is there to prevent reaching the South Pole?"⁵² The significance of the Antarctic to the American mind, to a self-conscious and progressive view of American history, to expanded notions of Manifest Destiny and world prominence and to an ideal of national identity, are clear. An optimistic, progressive, patriotic, practical and successful model of America and the American individual is embodied in the confident prose of exploration narratives that became associated with the exploration of the Antarctic.

The United States Exploring Expedition sailed from 1838 to 1842. Lt. Charles Wilkes with six ships and a scientific corps charted sealing and whaling grounds, recorded Atlantic, Pacific and Antarctic Ocean currents, collected tons of specimens, documented the customs, behavior, languages and music of the peoples they encountered, signed treaties and formed a visible American naval presence, made two forays into Antarctic waters and sailed the Antarctic coast for more than 1000 miles. William Reynolds, an officer on the expedition, neatly summarized for himself its cultural significance: "Behold! now a nation, which but a short time ago, was a discovery itself . . . is taking its place among the enlightened of the world, and endeavoring to contribute its mite, in the cause of knowledge."⁵³ Secretary Paulding's instructions to Wilkes suggest the degree to which the United States had, in the official rhetoric of the government, achieved

secure status as an equal nation within the global community: “The Expedition is not for conquest, but discovery. Its objects are all peaceful; they are to extend the empire of commerce and science; to diminish the hazards of the ocean, and point out to future navigators a course by which they may avoid dangers and find safety.”⁵⁴



“Peacock in Contact with an Ice-berg.” From *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* by Charles Wilkes (1845). Vol. 2. Collection of the author.

The nationalism resulting in the U.S. Exploring Expedition was in large measure engendered, fostered and given shape by early nineteenth-century explorers’ narratives, sea fiction and mariners’ chronicles. In the American search for self-definition, they provided a direction and a realizable goal that would enable the public to conceive of the nation as part of an international community. For many Americans, exploration—in fact, in fiction, and in the act

of reading—was a means to secure, confirm and promote individual and national identity. Toward the Pole Americans raced, first in imagination and then in reality.

Notes

1. William H. Goetzmann, *New Lands, New Men: America and the Second Great Age of Discovery* (New York, 1986), 229.

2. Although I recognize how tentative generalizations about nineteenth-century readers must be, I have chosen the *North American Review* and the *American Journal of Science* as representative of two classes of American readers, the interested generalists and the scientifically interested. John B. Mason writes of the *North American Review* that "by 1824 the Review had achieved a circulation of about 4,000, the same as the American circulation of the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review*." In addition, "the Review considered its foremost duty that of encouraging American writers and the developing of a unique American literature," Edward E. Chielens, ed., *American Literary Magazines: the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, (New York, 1986), 290. Frank Luther Mott contends that in 1830 "the North American Review had reached a position of acknowledged power and influence. It was read by the leading men and was available in all the important reading rooms," *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1957), II, 232. Of the *American Journal of Science* Mott concludes that it was "the greatest journal of general science founded during the Period of Nationalism..."; "of the high worth of the *Journal's* contributions to the development of scientific studies in America there can be no question." Mott, I, 151, 305. Robert V. Bruce, in *The Launching of Modern American Science, 1846-1876*, (New York, 1987) states that the *American Journal of Science* functioned as "the nation's main channel of scientific communication," 15.

In a provocative study of *The New-York Magazine of 1790*, David Paul Nord contends that "magazine reading in this era seems to have been a more broadly democratic activity than has usually been supposed. . . . [T]he magazine might be viewed as another arena for popular participation, in this case participation in the formerly elite culture of science and education, arts and letters, virtue and honor, cultivation and character." In Table 5, a content analysis, he estimates that 36.8 percent of the magazine's features were devoted to "Description (travel, exotica, slice of life, etc.)," "A Republican Literature: A Study of Magazine Reading and Readers in Late Eighteenth-Century New York," *American Quarterly* 40 (March 1988) 42-43, 53.

3. *North American Review* 2 (1815), 247-248.

4. Goetzmann, *New Lands*, 229. See Chapter VI, 229-264.

5. William C. Spengemann, *The Adventurous Muse: The Poetics of American Fiction, 1789-1900* (New Haven, 1977), 66.

6. *American Journal of Science* 16 (1829), 321.

7. Bruce, *The Launching of Modern American Science*, 127.

8. Quoted in Thomas Philbrick, *James Fenimore Cooper and the Development of American Sea Fiction* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1961), 1-2.

9. Abby Jane Morrell, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Ethiopic and South Atlantic Ocean, Indian Ocean, Chinese Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean, in the Years 1829, 1830, 1831* (New York, 1833; rpt. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey, 1970), 175. For other nationalistic passages, see pp. 102-103, 113-114, 164, 175, 199 and 225. Although her *Narrative* was ghostwritten by Col. Samuel L. Knapp, the frequency of these sentiments suggests that they are her own and not interpolations by Knapp. See Eugene Exman, *The Brothers Harper* (New York, 1965), 29-30.

Abby Jane Morrell's *Narrative* also raises a series of interesting issues concerning gender. Although Abby Jane Morrell's and Benjamin Morrell's narratives seem to share common patriotic sentiments, each account emphasizes different experiences. Abby Jane Morrell's narrative seems more reflective and less goal-driven than her husband's, more historical and less visionary in its rhetoric and speculations. The desire to improve the lives of American seamen through moral education, or the call for American charts of American harbors are aims differing in degree and perhaps in kind from Benjamin Morrell's hope of "exploring a spot of the globe which is the *ne plus ultra* of latitude. . . ." These differences might be the result of Benjamin Morrell's more obviously active role of Captain as opposed to hers as a passenger, or they could reflect culturally-based gender stereotypes of the activities and concerns appropriate to men and women. Some combination of the two seems most probable, especially as this will allow us to avoid designating either narrative as more representatively "American" than the other.

More intriguing speculation concerns whether gender influenced the perceptions the Morrells recorded. If, as Annette Kolodny argues in *The Land before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the*

American Frontiers, 1630-1860 (Chapel Hill, 1984), men and women conceived of "Nature," "wilderness" and "paradise" in different terms having radically different values (3-13, 53-54), is it possible that Abby Jane Morrell recorded a different version of the (male) explorer's universe? What images, what attitudes, what metaphors, what language and what forms did these alternative (female) fantasies take?

Abby Jane Morrell's narrative also raises questions about American readers. Would male and female readers be equally interested in both accounts, or would readers' interests divide along lines of gender? That both narratives were published by the Harper's Family Library suggests a broad readership, but it would be useful to obtain sales figures. Any speculations even with figures would be complicated because both works were ghostwritten by men. How much Samuel L. Knapp masculinized Abby Jane Morrell's narrative, or how much he feminized it along stereotypic lines, may be impossible to determine. Are, for example, the self-deprecating comments she makes about herself and her sex her own? "The great difficulty we women feel in collecting information, is the want of order and classification of our thoughts. . .," she wrote. "I doubt whether a scientific observer would have had more thoughts than passed through my teeming brain; but he would have known how to arrange them, and have drawn conclusions tending to establish known truths, or elicit new ones . . ." (223).

Last, as so few explorers' narratives have been written during the early nineteenth century by American women (excluding overland accounts), is it possible to generalize about them at all? Other similar narratives need to be located. Later in the century American women did begin to travel extensively and to record their experiences in numerous narratives. Yet their purposes in traveling were most often either to see the sights previously designated as culturally significant (to make the Grand Tour of Europe or the Holy Land), or to engage in missionary work, two motives that seem at odds with the ante-bellum (male) explorers' motives. Are there traditions of female explorers' narratives that parallel, develop along with, or evolve from male explorers' narratives? We might also ask whether there are complementary or competing British and American traditions?

Clearly, these tentative questions are beyond the scope of this study. But by analyzing the explorers' narratives by women in collections such as Harold F. Smith's *American Travellers Abroad: A Bibliography of Accounts Published before 1900* (Carbondale, Illinois, 1969), we may begin to define reasonable speculations and construct more distinct hypotheses.

10. George T. Davis, *A Navy Second to None: The Development of Modern American Naval Policy* (Westport, Connecticut, 1940, 1968), 5.

11. Goetzmann, *New Lands*, 247. See also Ahmed M. Metwalli, "Americans Abroad: The Popular Art of Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century," in Steven E. Kagle, ed., *America: Exploration and Travel*, (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1979), 68-82.

12. Philbrick, *Cooper and the Development of American Sea Fiction*, 85.

13. *American Quarterly Review* 4 (1828), 216.

14. Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1983), 156.

15. Wayne Franklin, *Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers: The Diligent Writers of Early America* (Chicago, 1979), 198, 104.

16. Edmund Fanning, *Voyages Round the World* (New York, 1833; rpt. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey, 1970), 66.

17. *Ibid.*, 436-438.

18. Abby Jane Morrell, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Ethiopic*, 141-142.

19. *Ibid.*, 211.

20. *Ibid.*, 164.

21. For a thorough discussion of Woodworth's authorship and Morrell's popularity, see Burton Pollin, "The Narrative of Benjamin Morrell: Out of 'The Bucket' and into Poe's *Pym*," *Studies in American Fiction* 4 (Autumn 1976), 157-172; and Eugene Exman, *The Brothers Harper* (New York, 1965), 29-30.

22. Benjamin Morrell, *A Narrative of Four Voyages to the South Sea . . . and Antarctic Ocean . . .* (New York, 1832), 30. Subsequent references to Morrell's Narrative will follow quotations parenthetically in the text.

23. Philbrick, *Cooper and the Development of American Sea Fiction*, 42.

24. *Ibid.*, 49.

25. James D. Wallace, *Early Cooper and his Audience* (New York, 1986), 85.

26. Quoted in George Dekker and John P. McWilliams, eds., *Fenimore Cooper: The Critical Heritage* (London & Boston, 1973), 74-75.

27. *Ibid.*, 1.

28. *Ibid.*, 5.

29. *Ibid.*, 130.

30. *Ibid.*, 137.

31. *Ibid.*, 137.

32. Edward Godfrey Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*, 2 (Seattle, Washington, 1938), 470-487; Myron J. Smith and Robert L. Weller, *Sea Fiction Guide* (Metuchen, New Jersey,

1976). See also Philbrick, *Cooper and Sea Fiction*, Chapter V, "An Ocean Unapproachable and Unknown: The Work of Cooper's Contemporaries, 1835-1850."

33. Robert Montgomery Bird, "The Ice-Island," *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine* 1 (1827), 113.

34. See Burton Pollin, *Edgar Allan Poe: The Imaginary Voyages* (Boston, 1981), especially 19-20.

35. Keith Huntress, *Narratives of Shipwrecks and Disasters, 1586-1860* (Ames, Iowa, 1974), xiii, xvi.

36. *Ibid.*, xxx.

37. See Stan Hugill, *Shanties and Sailors' Songs* (New York, 1969), especially 37-39; and G. Malcom Laws, Jr., *Native American Balladry: A Descriptive Study and a Bibliographic Syllabus* (Philadelphia, 1964), particularly 13-14. For similar examples of the process of identity confirmation through song among American prisoners of war during the Revolution, see George G. Carey, ed., *A Sailor's Songbag: An American Rebel in an English Prison, 1777-1779* (Amherst, Massachusetts, 1976).

38. John A. Scott, *The Ballad of America: The History of the United States in Song and Story* (Carbondale, Illinois, 1966), 127.

39. J. O. Bailey, Introduction, "Captain Adam Seaborn," *Symzonia: A Voyage of Discovery* (1820) (Gainesville, Florida, 1965), n. p. See also Hans-Joachim Lang and Benjamin Lease, "The Authorship of *Symzonia*: The Case for Nathaniel Ames," *New England Quarterly* 48 (1975), 241-252; Goetzmann, *New Lands*, 258, 260, 437; Pollin, *Poe: The Imaginary Voyages*, 26 (also notes P. 14.3B, P. 14.18B, P. 24.14D); and William Stanton, *The Great United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842* (Berkeley, 1975), Chapter 2, "Symmes' Hole."

40. *North American Review* 13 (New Series 4, 1), 141. See also the review of *Symmes' Theory of Concentric Spheres in the American Quarterly Review* 1 (March, 1827), 235-253. Additional insight into the popular regard for Symmes can be obtained from "A Chapter on Sharking," by "R.," which appears in the *Knickerbocker* 7 (1836), 14-24. Fishermen cut themselves free from a huge white shark that pulls them seaward. Where is the shark now? "Ask Captain Symmes" (24). Symmes also appears in Joseph Atterley's fanciful *A Voyage to the Moon* (New York, 1827). The *American Quarterly Review*, in considering Atterley's work, reprinted the following passage among numerous extracts: "I returned to the telescope, and now took occasion to examine the figure of the earth near the Poles, with a view of discovering whether its form favoured Captain Symmes' theory of an aperture existing there; and I am convinced that that ingenious gentleman is mistaken," *American Quarterly Review* 5 (March 1828), 73.

41. Stanton, *The Great United States Exploring Expedition*, 11.

42. *Ibid.*, 11.

43. "Captain Adam Seaborn," *Symzonia: A Voyage of Discovery* (New York, 1820; Gainesville, 1965), 13.

44. Richard G. Woodbridge III, "J. N. Reynolds: Father of American Exploration," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 45, (Winter 1984), 109.

45. *Ibid.*, 110.

46. Stanton, *Great United States Exploring Expedition*, 20.

47. Fanning, *Voyages Round the World*, 487.

48. U.S., 23rd Congress, 2nd Session, House Exec. Doc. No. 105, 1835.

49. *North American Review* 45 (1837), 361-390; *Southern Literary Messenger* 3, (January 1837), 68-72. In the following paragraph, page numbers will follow quotations parenthetically in the text.

50. Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, 1845), xxix, 1.

51. *North American Review* 45 (1837), 376.

52. Fanning, *Voyages Round the World*, 473.

53. Stanton, *Great United States Exploring Expedition*, 83.

54. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, 1, xxviii-xxix.