

**Who Was the Man in the Macintosh?\***  
**or**  
**The Union of Scholar-Gipsies with Moses**

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Riddles tend to become obsessions. Much more so when they teasingly appear before one's eyes every moment of one's working day. As I open my laptop and direct the arrow to the gate "Macintosh HD" the question with which Joyce sometimes teased his friends keeps popping up in my mind: Who was "Whatdyoucallhim, Strangeface, Fellowthatslike, Sawhimbefore, Chapwith"? (Joyce, 1992: 685). A hundred and two years have gone by since that Thursday of June 16, 1904, when "the man in the macintosh" appeared at Paddy Dignam's funeral, and despite persistent investigations and guesswork his "name" and "identity" still remain a mystery.

Should we, therefore, consider the case closed? *Yes*, if we agree with R. M. Adams's view "that Macintosh is absolutely gratuitous and fortuitous ... a mere disturbance of the surface of the narrative" and "the fewer answers we have for the novel's riddles, the better off we are" (Kermode, 1979: 52-53). *No*, if we still believe that *Ulysses* is an over-systematized text and are willing to be seduced by its Coleridgean "concentricals". Seduced, not because it requires, as Kermode states, "a more strenuous effort to believe that a narrative lacks coherence than to believe that somehow, if we could only find out, it doesn't" (53), but because Joyce's riddles recall from the grave of our collective unconscious the repressed hunter or fox who, "scraped in the earth, listened, scraped up the earth, listened, scraped and scraped" (Joyce, 1992: 33), exactly like Dickens's Mr. Lorry who in his fancy would "dig, dig and dig – now with a spade, now with a great key, now with his hands – to dig this wretched creature out" (Dickens, 1987: 47).

This essay, then, aims at resuscitating the enigma and revitalising the educational sport of the "hunt" – a compulsive tendency which, after all, is indelibly inscribed in the DNA of literary

scholars. The "hunt" will proceed in two directions which, by following the scattered shards strewn in the text, may lead to the discovery not of the *real* name and identity of "the man in the macintosh", but to an as yet unexplored constellation of hidden identities and names. By unearthing some of these mysterious shadows the hypothesis will be entertained that the wandering "man in the macintosh", the wandering "word-master" Stephen Dedalus, and the wandering gentleman Jew Leopold Bloom unite into one.

**The man in the macintosh**

"The man in the macintosh" is not the only character in literature whose mysterious identity is designated solely by an article of dress. The question is whether Joyce simply wished to bring to our attention the relation of "The man in the macintosh" to a generic convention,<sup>1</sup> or whether he intended to set us on a hunt for "ancestors" functioning as "doubles" in the fabric of his text. I venture to say that in setting up this game for his readers Joyce may have had such an intention in mind.

Let us therefore begin our hunt with another character in fiction who is identified by an article of dress. This is "The man in black" who appears in G. H. Borrow's novels *Lavengro* (1851) and *The Romany Rye* (1857). Both titles come from the Romany tongue, the first meaning "philologist", "word-master", the second, "the Gypsy Gentleman". As such, "the man in black", who refuses to declare his name and will only identify himself by his office, "*Sono un Prete Cattolico Apostolico*" (Borrow, 1907:14),<sup>2</sup> other than by generic convention, is not directly related to "the man in the macintosh", though thematically he may be seen as being the embodiment of all the negative qualities attributed by Stephen to the corrupt representatives of the Roman Catholic church.

The comparison would have ended here, were it not that the life of the author of these two novels. Certain characteristics which pertain to his “scholar” hero, as well as certain scenes encountered in the texts, coincidentally(?) seem to be “reflected” in *Ulysses* and to relate to our enigma.

G. H. Borrow was an embodiment of Glanvill’s “Scholar-gipsy”. Like Joyce, Borrow was “a ‘Lav-engro’ which in the language of the gorgios [english]<sup>3</sup> meaneth ‘Word-Master’ (Borrow, 1900: 91). He was a formidable linguist, a man with a restless, inquiring mind, and a “wanderer”. Although he came from a respectable Cornish family, he abandoned his studies at law and decided to leave London to tramp. On the high roads he made the acquaintance of a wonderful road-girl, a *mort*, whom he immortalized under the name of Isopel Berners. On his wanderings, Borrow came much into contact with the gipsies and shared their way of life. Thus, the “Romany” world forms the most important subject matter of his two novels which are a mixture of autobiography and fiction. In 1874, he also produced a book on the Romany tongue, *Romano-Lavo-lil, or Word-book of the Gypsie Language*. Let us note here that, by addressing Stephen as “Kinch”, Mulligan designates him as a young member of this tramping community. As the *OED* informs us, *kinchin -cove, -mort*, are terms used by 16th-century tramps for a boy and a girl, respectively, of their community.

As we all remember, in the “Proteus” episode, where according to the Linati schema the “art” foregrounded is “Philology”, the Romany tongue is one among many which mark the discourse of the “Lavengro”, the “word-master” Stephen. Now, the Romany tongue, like the Irish tongue is a “broken language”, spoken by a “broken people”. For, as the mother-in-law of Jasper Petulengro tells Lavengro, the “gorgios” “would have everybody stupid, single-tongued idiots” like themselves, so “they grudge us our very language” (88). Thus, for them English is, as it is for Stephen in *A Portrait*, “an acquired speech” (Joyce, 1949: 452).

Looking carefully at the scene where the Romany tongue is introduced, one may note a

curious similarity with a scene encountered in *Lavengro*. In *Ulysses*, the “word-master” Stephen is walking along the strand with the intention of visiting his Aunt. At some moment, the famous phrase from *Jack the Giant Killer* arises in his mind. Yet not only is the pronunciation of the words “enstranged”, but the traditional “Englishman” is substituted by an Irishman: “Feefawfum. I zmellz de bloodz odz an Iridzman”. At that very moment, “a point, live dog” grows into sight and frightens him: “Lord, is he going to attack me?” (56). The ashplant stick which Stephen is carrying gives him some sense of security. The fearsome dog belongs to a pair of cocklepickers, “red Egyptians ... the ruffian and his strolling mort”. Stephen’s thoughts now focus on their language, “rum lingo”, and he mentally quotes a Rom love poem. He judges that their language is “not a whit worse” than that of Aquinas or of priests: “Monkwords, marybeads jabber on their girdles: roguewords, tough nuggets patter in their pockets” (59). The comparison between “monkwords” and “roguewords” is not due solely to Stephen’s fanciful association of ideas. It results from the very term “rum lingo” which he has used, “rum” being, as the *OED* informs us, a slang variation of “Rom” which also denotes “a poor country clergyman in Ireland”.

Turning now to Borrow’s *Lavengro*, we come upon the following scene: Lavengro, who is now living in Ireland and has been taught Irish by his good friend Murtagh,<sup>4</sup> is on his way to visit his brother. Walking through a desolate landscape he sees a vicious dog “bounding over the dyke” determined, as he thinks, to prevent his “progress”. Lavengro, who is carrying an “ashen stick in [his] hand” threatens the dog when suddenly “a very tall man ... covered with snow ... on one side of whose forehead there was a raw staring wound as if from a recent and terrible blow”, likewise clears the dyke “at a bound” and places himself threateningly before him. It is only when Lavengro addresses him in “a speech full of flowers of Irish rhetoric” that the uncanny, bleeding “Iridzman” nods “a farewell salutation and he and his “fairy” dog are lost from sight” (59-60).

Here, it is significant to note that in the

“Scylla and Charybdis” episode in describing Shakespeare’s departure from Stratford-upon-Avon, Joyce uses the Rom word for “London”, which we have already encountered in “Proteus”: “bing awast, to Romeville” (59). Similarly, Shakespeare “trudged to Romeville whistling *The girl I left behind*” (244). In the “Circe” episode, Stephen himself assumes the position of the gipsy lover for he sings “*ecstatically*” to his supposed “mort” Cissy Caffrey:

White thy fambles, red thy gan  
And thy quarrons dainty is. (694)

If our hypothesis at all holds, then we may consider the brief reference to the Romany world and tongue in the “Proteus” episode as a “prelude” to the enigmatic appearance of the “The Man in the Macintosh” and as a “sign” pointing in the direction of a textual metempsychosis. As we all remember, the man in the macintosh first appears in the “Hades” episode, at Paddy Dignam’s funeral. It is Mr. Bloom’s superstitious gaze which spies “that lankylooking galoot over there in the macintosh” (138) and the desire overtakes him to know who the stranger might be. Mr. Bloom instantly relates the bony figure with the uncanny, the supernatural and death.<sup>5</sup> The man in the macintosh, like Arnold’s “immortal” Scholar-Gipsy, “pops out of nowhere “and in a similar fashion disappears into nowhere without leaving a sign. As Mr. Bloom notes in surprise: “Has anybody here seen? Kay ee double ell. Become invisible. Good Lord, what became of him?” (142). Now, “Kell” is defined in the OED as “gossamer threads forming a kind of film on grass”. Hence, in Mr. Bloom’s lively imagination, the man in the macintosh seems to have popped out of the earth and to have disappeared into earth – or out of and into a grave!

Now, Matthew Arnold’s famous poem “The Scholar-Gipsy”<sup>6</sup> appeared in 1853, that is, two years after the publication of *Lavengro*. In this poem the narrator-poet, lying near a field where “through the thick corn the scarlet poppies peep” (Arnold, 1959: 23) and having by his side Glanvill’s *Vanity of Dogmatizing*, undertakes to retell “The story of the Oxford scholar poor”

(33). This poor Scholar, as we all remember, like G. H. Borrow, on a summer morning, forsook his friends and studies never to return and went to learn the “gipsy lore” (37). “Rumors hung about the countryside” that “the lost Scholar long was seen to stray” but was only seen “by rare glimpses, pensive and tonguetied” (52-4). Shepherds entering “some lone alehouse” would see him seated there, yet “mid their drink and clatter, he would fly” (56-61). Many have seen him “roam”, even the poet himself, but none “have words who can report of [him]” (90). For no sooner do they espy this enigmatic man with the “spare figure”, the “dark vague eyes, and soft abstracted air” (99) than he is gone! The poet, in an apostrophe to the scholar-gipsy, wonders how, although he has long since left this earth and is “in some quiet churchyard laid” (137), he has not “felt the lapse of hours” (141) and is not “number’d with the dead” (153). “Immortality”, Arnold seems to imply, is only gained by those who, blessed with a textual existence, though dead in the body are yet in “circulation”!

Spook or living man, as in this funereal encounter the man in the macintosh will *tramp* through the text, haunting Mr. Bloom’s and the reader’s “brains”. As we remember, references to him occur in the text in various forms: in certain scenes he appears in the “flesh”, in others, as a persistent enigma haunting Mr. Bloom’s mind and only once as a vague, “mnemonic” name-puzzle in Stephen’s thoughts. The man in the macintosh forms part of “epic” catalogues and at some instances he is shown to “fuse” either with Mr. Bloom, or with his grandfather Lipoti Virag. These imaginary “fusions”, as we shall try to argue, are not “whimsical”. For their aim is to relate *Egyptian* with *Jew*.

After Dignam’s funeral, the man in the macintosh disappears only to fleetingly reappear in the flesh in the “Wandering Rocks” episode, where it is the narrator’s all-seeing eye that spots him: “In Lower Mount street a pedestrian in a brown macintosh, eating dry bread, passed swiftly and unscathed across the viceroy’s path” (328). Here, the question arises as to whether the information given to the reader

about the “dry bread” and the skill to cross “unscathed” the path of the prancing horses is provided solely to produce an “effect of the real” or whether it is meant to furnish clues to the solution of our enigma.

Pursuing our hypothesis further and turning to Borrow’s texts for help, we are informed in *Lavengro* that the poor scholar sat at night in his “lonely apartment, with some bread and a pitcher of water” (239), and in *The Romany Rye* that he “would rather exist on crusts and water, he had often done so and been happy” (251), rather than keep “knocking at preferment’s door”, as Arnold also informs us of his scholar-gypsy (35). Thus, in contrast to the citizens of Dublin, the man in the macintosh does not reverently salute the Viceroy and his Lady. He bravely “crosses” their path remaining *morally* and *physically* “unscathed”. “Morally”, because as the Romany Rye observes, “what is the use of a gilt collar, nay, even of a pair of scarlet breeches, to a fox who has lost his tail?” (251), and “physically”, because Lavengro had a passion for the “equine race” and exercised a fascination upon them (11). Here let me just mention that earlier in this episode, as Mr. Bloom is scanning his books, M’Coy wonders what he is buying, and glances over his shoulder, while Lenehan observes: “*Leopoldo or the Bloom is on the Rye*” “Could this observation, besides referring us to the words of a song, just as well imply that Bloom has chanced upon Borrow’s *The Romany Rye*?”

The man in the macintosh will reappear “in the flesh” for the third and last time at Burke’s pub in the “Oxen of the Sun” episode. As upon entering an “alehouse” Arnold’s shepherds would find the Scholar-Gypsy “seated” there, so, as our jolly company enters the pub, there Mr. Bloom espies one of those “who wander through the world”. Once more, he begins to wonder about the identity of “yon guy in the mackintosh” and opens a conversation about him with the barman. I quote at length:

Golly, whatten tunket’s yon guy in the macintosh? Dusty Rhodes. Peep at his wearables. By mighty ! What’s he got? Jubilee mutton. Bovril by James. Wants it real bad. D’ye ken bare socks? Seedy cuss in the Richmomd? Trumpery insanity. Bartle the Bread we calls him. That sir, was once a

prosperous cit. Man all tattered and torn that married a maiden all forlorn. Slung her hook, she did. Here see lost love. Walking Mackintosh of lonely canyon ... Pardon? See him today at a runefal? (560)

If our hypothesis at all holds, then certain puzzling parts in this conversation seem to acquire some explanatory coherence and to advance the “identification” of the man in the macintosh with our scholar-gypsy/ies. Thus, the phrase: “Dusty Rhodes” begins to make some sense for it seems to refer us to an “Oxford” scholar who has left the rarefied premises of the university and has taken to the “dusty” roads. His shabby “wearables” refer us to a tramp, “walking Mackintosh of lonely canyon”, while his drinking of “jubilee mutton” seems to place his “origins” back in Queen Victoria’s times. As for his nickname, “Bartle the Bread”, it refers us both to the already-mentioned spartan eating habits of our Scholar-Gypsy, as well as to his “noble” genealogy. For, as we read in the novel, Lavengro’s father “sprang from a family of gentlemen, or as some people call them “gentillâtres” (5). Thus, before taking to tramping, our hero was “a prosperous cit”, a “Bart”.

As for the romantic love story which is attached to him, this has already been proleptically intimated in the “Cyclops” episode. There, our stranger appears in one of the narrator’s “epic” catalogues enumerating “who loves who”. The man in the brown macintosh is represented as an unfortunate lover since he “loves a lady who is dead” (433).

Now, our scholar-gypsy Lavengro is an unfortunate lover, for the “maiden all forelorn” whom he loves, though not dead, deserts him forever. As we read in *The Romany Rye*, Isopel Berners, the *mort* known as “Belle”, “a tall, mighty female who can knock men down”<sup>7</sup>, this Belle-Bello, with whom he shares his life, then decides to leave for America, never to return. What we therefore “here see” is “lost love”. As for the “deposit of lead in his penis” and the obvious, sexual connotations, let us simply mention that like Mr. Duffy’s platonic relation with Mrs. Emily Sinico in “A Painful Case”<sup>8</sup>, and like Bloom’s to Molly, so was Lavengro’s to Belle. As a matter of fact, rather than making

love to her, he insisted that they pass their time in the Dingle by teaching her Armenian: “Belle, I have determined to give you lessons in Armenian ... to prevent our occasionally feeling uncomfortable together” (390).

As far as his “trumpery insanity” is concerned, let us say here that Barrow did suffer from some such kind of “trumpery insanity”, which, as we read in *The Romany Rye*, consisted in “the mysterious practice of touching objects to baffle the evil chance” (283), very much like Samuel Johnson. In fact, as his friend Theodore Watts-Dunton recounts, “in walking through Richmond Park ... he would step out of his way constantly to touch a tree and he was offended if the friend he was with seemed to observe it”.<sup>9</sup> Is the “seedy cuss” in the mental hospital “Richmond” in any remote way related to the shabby scholar-gipsy walking with his friend “in Richmond Park”, or is this an uncanny coincidence?

Finally, let us note the significance of the anagram – “funeral” into “runefal” – with which the passage ends. Now a “rune”, as the *OED* informs us, is a mark having mysterious or magical powers attributed to it. It also designates “any song, poem or verse”. Could the “anagram” operate here as a sign be related to our enigma? Is it in any way suggesting that the way to an answer may be sought in a “rune” concerned with mysterious, magical powers, in which case what Mr. Bloom saw at the funeral was a spirit from M. Arnold’s runefal tramping through Dublin?<sup>10</sup>

It was mentioned earlier that the enigma of “the man in the macintosh” is not directly related to Stephen. Yet there is one significant moment in the “Circe” episode where several “signs” concerning our hypothesis seem to be coming to a head. This is the moment when “*The Siamese twins, Philip Drunk and Philip Sober, two Oxford dons with lawnmowers, appear in the window embrasure. Both are masked with Mathew Arnold’s face*” (635). Now, at some point, *Philip Drunk*, Stephen’s “reduplication of personality”, wonders: “Who was it told me his name? ... Mac somebody. Unmack I have it. He told me about, hold on, Swinburne, was it, no?” (635).

Turning first to Arnold’s poem, we will remember that years after his departure from Oxford, the Scholar-Gipsy was met “in the country lanes” by “two scholars, whom at college erst he knew” and who inquired him of his “way of life” (42-3). This hypothetical, textual “reduplication” would not mean much were it not for the question raised concerning the identity of “Mac somebody”, the “Mac” being instantly revoked by “Unmack”. Thus, this “Mac somebody” is not, as Stephen at first surmises, “M’Curdy Atkinson” who, by the by, was also among those “*afraid to marry on earth*”, as Mulligan jestfully informs us in the “Scylla and Charybdis” episode (277). This “someone else”, who has told Stephen something about “Swinburne”, and who to all appearances seems to be unrelated to “Mac(k)”, may in truth be very much *related* to our enigma.

Swinburne, as is well known, was an Oxford man who, like the Scholar-Gipsy, left the University before taking his degree. Shortly after the publication of his *Songs of the Springtides* and *Studies in Song*<sup>11</sup> he met Walter, Theodore Watts-Dunton and they became bosom friends. Theodore Watts-Dunton was an important man of letters who had been George Barrow’s friend in his early days. In 1893 he edited *Lavengro* and in 1900 *The Romany Rye*. Influenced by Barrow, Dunton became acquainted with the East Anglian gypsies and made careful study of their folk-lore and superstitions. In 1897 he published a volume of poems, *The Coming of Love*, and in 1898, the romance *Aylwin*. Both texts are in the tradition of George Borrow since they derive their matter from the romantic, passionate Romany life. Thus, “Swinburne” may be seen to function here as a “sign” in support of our hypothesis concerning the relation of “scholar-gypsies” to the “Mac(k)intosh” enigma.

Let us now take a brief look at Mr. Bloom’s glorious coronation. Here, we note that the questions of “doubles”, of “usurpation” and of “imposture” – favourite motifs in Ulysses – are of crucial importance and perhaps lead the way to another generic “double”, namely, Alexandre Dumas’s *The man in the iron mask*.<sup>12</sup> As with the man in the macintosh, the search for the

name and mysterious identity of this legendary man gave rise to a variety of fanciful hypotheses, none of which ever arrived at definitive conclusions. Of the many hypotheses entertained<sup>13</sup>, the one chosen by Dumas was that which held that the man in the iron mask was an identical twin brother of Louis XIV, whom the Queen speedily sent into hiding. Subsequently, the royal “double” was condemned under penalty of death to forever hide his face behind a mask.

Now, as John Howard Parnell, “image of his great brother” (209) is hailing “illustrious” Bloom as a “*successor to [his] famous brother*” (605), suddenly, “*A man in a brown macintosh springs up through a trapdoor*”, disrupts the glorious ceremony, points “*an elongated finger at Bloom*”, and accuses him of hiding a “double” identity, one of which in fact reveals him to be his very own double: “That man is Leopold M’Intosh ... his real name is Higgins”<sup>14</sup> whereupon Bloom instantly orders that the accuser be shot, and “*The man in the macintosh disappears*”, as mysteriously as he had appeared, below ground. Meantime, Bloom, who seems to be situated like Arnold’s poet near a field where “scarlet poppies peep”, “*with his sceptre strikes down poppies*” (607). When his fortunes are reversed and the citizens turn aggressively against him, Bloom defends himself by saying that he is “guiltless”, for the wrongdoer is his “brother Henry” who is his “double” (613).

As mentioned earlier, the question concerning the identity of the man in the macintosh crosses Mr. Bloom’s mind “with desultory constancy” (860), and the emotions which this memory arouses usually relate to the uncanny, fate, prophecy and death. The last significant reference to the enigma occurs in the “Ithaca” episode when Mr. Bloom has returned, Rom-like, like “every cove”, “to his gentry mort” (557-8). The reference is in the form of a double question, since the question posed by the catechist-narrator to the catechumen-reader receives as an answer another “question”. Thus, although formally the narrator’s question has been answered, the enigma remains pending:

What selfinvolved enigma did Bloom risen, going,

gathering multicoloured multiform multitudinous garments, voluntarily apprehending, not comprehend?

Who was M’Intosh?

This type of “question within question” is doubled in the sequel:

What selfevident enigma pondered with desultory constancy during 30 years did Bloom now, having effected natural obscurity by the extinction of artificial light, silently suddenly comprehend?

Where was Moses when the candle went out? (860)

The “selfinvolved” and “selfevident” enigmas seem at first sight to be totally unrelated. Yet if we look more closely at those passages in the text where instances of “fusion” occur between the man in the macintosh, Mr. Bloom and his grandpapa Virag, we will realise that not only are these two enigmas interconnected, but that they also “illumine” and lend support to our hypothesis. For “Wandering Gipsy” and “Wandering Jew” seem to derive from the same origin.

The first instance of “fusion” occurs in the passage already examined in the “Circe” episode. There, the man in the macintosh affirms the bond by naming Mr. Bloom “Leopold M’Intosh” (607). Next, comes the long list of Leopold’s *generatio* where their kinship ties are also confirmed. For the biblical genealogy begins with Moses and proceeds in line to the philosopher Ben Maimun who begets our Scholar-ipsy, “Dusty Rhodes”. From “Dusty Rhodes” the genealogy moves on to “Jones-Smith” and from him to “Jasperstone”, whose issue eventually begets “Szombathely”, who in turn begets “Virag», who begets the last in the line,” Bloom” (615-6).

Looking carefully at this *generatio*, we observe that “Dusty Rhodes” comes between Moses and Leopold Bloom. Now, if we take into account the names of his issue we will note a curious coincidence. For George Borrow, the scholar-gipsy, was given the name “Lavengro” by the Norfolk gipsy Ambrose *Smith* who, in the novel, appears under the name of *Jasper Petulengro*, which in the Romany tongue means a “smith”, “a horse-shoe master”. As a matter

of fact, Jasper is a “Paraoh”, that is a Rommany Kral”, “a Gypsy King” (*Lavengro*, 85, 87), precisely like Haun the “postanulengro, our rommanychie!” ( *FW* 472: 22). Are the name-signs “Jones-Smith” and “Jasperstone” which appear in the *generatio* then purely accidental, or do they serve to enhance our hypothesis about the common origin, the common “kismet” of “Gipsy” and “Jew”? For if *Leopoldi’s generatio* begins with Moses in Egypt and ends in Ireland via Hungary, so does that of the *Egyptians*, or “Gipsies”, who are also known as “Pharaoh’s people”.

The last instance of fusion between “Gipsy” and “Jew” is realised at the vestimentary level. In the “Circe” eposode, Virag Lipoti of Szombathely appears “*sausaged into several overcoats and wears a brown macintosh under which he holds a roll of parchment ... On his head is perched an Egyptian pshent*” (628).

As for the second, “selfevident enigma”, which asks: “Where was Moses when the candle went out?”, let us first mention that Moses is often compared to a burning candle “from which many others are lighted” (Ginsberg, III, 251). Now, when the “candle” of his life was about to go out, and no Angel managed to get his soul, for Moses refused to let go and even chastised Samael, the angry Angel, who came for this purpose with his flaming sword, God finally decided to do the job himself. Although Moses’ soul came to his defense, even saying to God that Moses’ other “candle” had gone out, like *Lavengro’s* and *Bloom’s*, for he had “lived apart from his wife”<sup>15</sup> (Ginsberg, III, 472), God’s mind would

not change. Thus, after having told Moses in what posture to lie down and to close his eyes, God “took Moses’ soul by kissing him upon the mouth” (Ginsberg, 472-3). Moses, like Bloom, now “rests. He has travelled” (870).<sup>16</sup>

I believe that the above textual references lend support to our proposition that the “selfinvolved” and “selfevident” enigmas “illumine” each other. To the first question, therefore, which asks: “Who was M’Intosh?” we might venture to answer that he is a modern parallax of the Scholar-Gipsy, the origin of whose *generatio* is to be traced in Egypt. Like the generator Moses, Dusty Rhodes, the Scholar-Gipsy of the “migratory race”<sup>17</sup> is buried “in a spot that remains unknown” and although his body lies dead in its grave “it is still as fresh as when he was alive” (Ginsberg, 1954: III, 473). For, as Arnold has informed us, he too possesses “an immortal lot” (157)

Here I conclude “lest [I] should not conclude” (*U* 860), although, like Samuel Johnson, fully aware that in my “conclusion ... nothing is concluded” (1961, 94). In the final analysis, what my “sequentiality of improbable possibles” (*FW* 110: 15) did was to answer Joyce’s desire, which was the perpetuation of the *topos* of the *enigma*. All I managed to do was to create a “double enigma”. For if “Macintosh” is a parallax of the wandering Scholar-Gipsy who unites into a trinity with the “word-master” Stephen and the gentleman-Jew Bloom, one may now legitimately ask: “And who pray was the Scholar-Gipsy?” To this, I can only answer together with Matthew Arnold: “Come, shepherd, and again begin the quest!” (10).

## Notes

\* This paper was delivered at the XX International James Joyce Symposium *Joycean Unions*, 11-17 June 2006, Budapest & Szombathely, Hungary. Let me here state that what is entertained as a pure hypothesis in this paper miraculously received full confirmation in Raphael Slepon’s informative paper at the Symposium: “Fweets of Fin: Toward a Web-Based Finnegans Wake Research Tool”; [www.fweet.org](http://www.fweet.org) not only provides us with a list of all the gipsy words appearing in *FW* but, under the heading of “Books”, informs us that G. H. Borrow’s *Romano Lavo-lil* was among the books “Joyce is known to have used as sources for *FW*”. Scenes, incidents and characters, as for example *Lavengro’s* sweetheart “Isopel”, from Borrow’s *Lavengro* and *The Romany Rye* are masterfully interwoven in *FW* as well. One may, therefore, in all justice presume that G. H. Borrow, “The gipsy-scholar” and his works provide us with significant clues as far as the “Macintosh” enigma in *Ulysses* is concerned. No words can express my gratitude to Raphael Slepon – “Raphael” the Angel who is known as the “Rescuer”!

- <sup>1</sup> Miss Dunne, while at work, is secretly reading *The Woman in White*: “Too much mystery business in it” (293).
- <sup>2</sup> The Romany Rye discovers by accident the priest’s name. He is a descendant of “Old Frazer of Lovat ... the prince of all conspirators and machinators” (21).
- <sup>3</sup> See *FW* 3.8 “gorgios”.
- <sup>4</sup> The ardri Muredach of old appears as “Murtagh Gutenberg” in the epic catalogue of the graven, tribal images hanging from the girdle of the giant, in the “Cyclop’s” episode (383).
- <sup>5</sup> Here, it is significant to mention the encounter of Lavengro with the Jew. As a child, Lavengro was a “lover of nooks and retired corners” and in the habit of “fleeing society”. The only person who forms a “favourable” opinion of him and who does not heed the maid’s observation that the child is “weak *here*, pointing to her forehead”, is a travelling Jew who, observing the silent child’s eyes which “shone like [his] own diamonds” and the strange lines which he was tracing on the dust, started back, grew white as a sheet and departed “muttering something about ‘holy letters’”. Thus, from his early childhood, the “scholar-gipsy” is associated with magic, the uncanny and the supernatural. As a matter of fact, the Jew declares that he could easily take him to be “a prophet’s child” (9-10). It is also important to note here that Lavengro is a “Sapengro” that is a charmer of snakes. When he first meets with the gypsies, he is a young child and Jasper Petulengro’s mother decides to make him and her son “brothers”. As the gypsies depart, “the boy Jasper ... turning round ... and then, thrusting out his hand, he said, “Good-bye Sap, I daresay we shall meet again, remember we are brothers; two gentle brothers” (32).
- <sup>6</sup> Arnold’s interest in Gypsies and gipsy life is also expressed in “To a Gipsy-Child by the Sea-shore” and in “Resignation”, lines 108-143. Both poems were written in 1849. Arnold’s dialogic poem “The Strayed Reveller” (1849), which concerns a Youth in Circe’s Palace on an evening in the presence of Ulysses, may also be of some relevance, especially verses 162-206, which refer to a nomadic people, the Scythians.
- <sup>7</sup> Belle, blue-eyed, fair with flaxen hair, is a tall, mighty female who can knock men down (*Lavengro*, 376). Lavengro likens her to “Brynhilda the Valkyrie” (*R. Rye*, 33). Could she in any way be related to Madame Bella-Bello, who has a son at Oxford as well?
- <sup>8</sup> See Kermode, *op.cit.*, p.111, for identification of Macintosh with James Duffy.
- <sup>9</sup> See Borrow, George Henry. *EB*, 11th Edition, vol.IV.
- <sup>10</sup> Let us mention here another “word-master”, Frank Costello who appears in the “Oxen of the Sun”. Costello has abandoned his studies and become a “wanderer” who was now “for the ocean sea or to hoof it on the roads with the Romany folk” (521).
- <sup>11</sup> Let us note here that “song” and “singing” are important in this passage. Florry asks Stephen to sing “Love’s old sweet song” but Stephen says he has no “voice”. “The bird that can sing and wont’t sing”, comments Florry who insists: “And the song?” (634-5).
- <sup>12</sup> A reference to Alexandre Dumas is made in “Scylla and Charybdis” ( 273).
- <sup>13</sup> Some of these fanciful hypotheses held that the man in the iron mask was, alternately, a bastard of the king of England; Ercole Mattioli, an Italian minister; Avedick, an Armenian patriarch; a natural son of Anne of Austria and the Duke of Buckingham, etc.
- <sup>14</sup> The maiden name of Bloom’s mother was Elen Higgins and the young whore Zoe is also a Higgins. As has been noted, references in the text to a Francis Higgins (1746-1802) concern a sometime editor of the *Freeman’s Journal*. Yet there seems to be another Higgins who, like Mr. Bloom, was a sincere social reformer. This was Matthew James Higgins (1810-1868), who wrote under the pen-name *Jacob Omnium* and was famous for his letters to the *Times*. He was also a contributor to the *Cornhill*, and some of his articles were published in 1875 as *Essays on Social Subjects*. Higgins was a friend of Thackeray’s, who wrote a ballad about him entitled “Jacob Omnium’s Hoss: A New Pallice Court Chant”, where the abuses and corruption of the court, judges, barristers and lawyers are exposed, as indeed they are in Bloom’s trial in the “Circe” episode. Let me mention here that the title OMNIUM GATHERUM in the “Eolus” episode, besides designating a 17th-century dance (see “The Table-talk of John Selden” in *Seventeenth Century Prose 1620-1700*, Penguin, 1956, 14), may also serve as an indirect reference to the journalist Jacob Omnium.
- <sup>15</sup> In a debate between Joseph and Moses as to who is the greatest, Joseph says: “I am greater than thou, for my master’s wife could not tempt me to sin.” Moses replied: “Still I am superior to thee for thou didst restrain thyself from a strange woman, whereas I abstained from intercourse with my own wife” (Ginsberg III, 480). Let us note here that in slang “candle” stands for “penis”.

<sup>16</sup> This hypothetical interpretation relates to an earlier passage in *Ulysses* where another “flaming sword” appears to take Mrs. Dedalus’ soul: “bed of death, ghostcandled. *Omnis caro ad te veniet.*” ... He comes mouth to her mouth’s kiss” (60).

<sup>17</sup> Matthew Arnold, “Resignation”, 113.

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## King Frost and the Ice Queen: Gendered Personifications of the North

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It has become increasingly obvious that places have no intrinsic value or meaning, but become meaningful, valuable or worthless according to what cultural and ideological systems are used to interpret them. It seems equally obvious that, as human beings, we normally fail in our attempts to go outside ourselves and imagine ways of understanding the world that are not anthropomorphic or in one way or the other based on human interaction and social systems. The nature-culture scale often applied in definitions of geographical places, for instance, is usually seen as a parallel to the femininity-masculinity scale operating in society. An important pattern used to make sense of place is consequently gender. In its most transparent form the process of gendering place leads to personifications such as Mother Earth, John Bull and Britannia or the feminine cities Venice, Paris and Los Angeles – or with reference to the Arctic or regions in the far North, the powerful images of King Frost and the Ice Queen.

An analysis in terms of gender can certainly not cover all the meanings given to place and space, but it is a helpful tool in uncovering the complexities that attach to place descriptions. This is particularly the case when the North is concerned, since northern regions seem to be gendered in more complex and contradictory ways than southern spaces. Are the symbolic representations of the North male or female? Does the idea that nature is female and culture is male hold in an environment where nature and climate may put the visitor under severe strain and the struggle between man and nature may frequently end in nature's favour? Are the visitors to northern regions masculinised because they are able to conquer a wild and dangerous environment or are they feminised because they allow themselves to be overcome by northern conditions? Is the North feminised in a description that shows women to be well able to cope with the hardship and difficulties a visit to a particular northern location may entail?

The theme of the North as gendered space is

huge, and the question can be approached from a number of directions. An obvious interpretation is that the geographical area itself is gendered – that the physical space of the North is defined as masculine or feminine and valued according to the relative status of male and female at the time of the definition. Other approaches include the question of how an encounter with a wild, dramatic or sublime landscape may influence the projected or experienced gender of the individual who describes the area. Yet other questions may focus on how the work where a geographical description or picture occurs is gendered – an exploration report, for instance, is usually understood as a male genre whereas a romantic novel is normally seen as generically female, regardless of the sex of the writer in both cases.

Since a traditional gender ideology prescribes that women should take up less space than men, the observer's or describer's interaction with the place is determined by gender norms in several ways. Pierre Bourdieu notes that the body's "social physiognomy" is shaped by and expresses the individual's relationship to society through "the space one claims with one's body in physical space," that is, through body language that is "self-assured or reserved, expansive or constricted ('presence' or 'insignificance')." <sup>21</sup> As far as a conventional understanding of gender is concerned, men are generally "present," whereas women are "insignificant," and to some extent this idea may be found in both men's and women's descriptions of places. The notion of the male explorer traversing and mapping the female land is an obvious example of male presence and female insignificance, or from another perspective, male activity and female passivity. It has become more or less a truism in eco-feminist criticism as well as travel theory that the relationship between human beings and nature is a matter of a mastery, paralleled by men's control of women in a patriarchal world. Recent studies of travel writing acknowledge

that this pattern is too simple, however.<sup>2</sup> Seen as virgin land, vast areas of the North certainly fit the paradigm, but as environments frequently described as “active” and dangerous, northern regions are considerably more contradictory. Geographical gender-coding may operate on different levels and in varying ways, and masculine and feminine should not be seen as absolute dichotomies, but as culture-defined perceptions, allowing numerous positions along a continuum.

It has long been recognised that imperialist cultures have orientalised, or in gender terms, feminised, not only physical places but also a region’s inhabitants to justify the need for colonial rule.<sup>3</sup> In nineteenth-century works about Northern Scandinavia, Finland and Russia such feminising tendencies are certainly discernible when the Sami people are depicted. These discourses are however completely at war with descriptions of the Vikings, which instead point to a masculinisation of the Northern European populations. The English travel writer and philologist Samuel Laing (1780-1868) was only one influential voice disseminating the view that the virtues that made Britain successful could be traced back to the Norse Vikings and that the Viking cultures of Norway and Iceland in particular were the sources of English and American liberty.<sup>4</sup> Although the Sami people were often presented in feminine terms at the time, the presentations of the Vikings as representatives of a true, forceful manliness meant that the Nordic North could not be understood as feminine space in any straightforward way.

What is often disregarded when personifications of places are concerned is that, apart from a gender, they are usually also assigned a social position and sometimes even a history. Shu-chuan Yan has shown how, for instance, “Mr. Punch’s masculine imperial gaze” personified the Arctic as an “Ice-Maiden, a ‘Polar Queen,’ a ‘Lady of the Everlasting Silences,’ and ‘Her Polar Majesty’ in the mid-Victorian periodical.<sup>5</sup> Through such operations, Yan argues, the Arctic is feminised in the same manner as other empty/virgin spaces in the map and thus “inextricably linked to the geographical pursuit of empire.”<sup>6</sup> This is a rather one-

dimensional analysis, however, since feminine imagery is mainly seen as proof of an attitude that unreservedly conflates femininity with weakness. It is certainly true that figuring the land as feminine was and probably still is an important strategy in emphasising its availability in imperialist and colonialist discourse, but to assume that the feminisation of the North parallels the feminisation of more southern locations is too simplistic. Yan’s analysis usefully shows the prevalence of female images of the Arctic in mid-Victorian periodicals, but it disregards the fact that the feminine North in these cartoons and descriptions is almost always also the regal North. There is a considerable amount of power invested in the figures, and the female personifications often have more affinity with the idea of the *femme fatale* than that of the innocent maiden in need of protection. This obviously does not mean that the feminine North cannot be conquered, but gaining control of the region is often described in more complex gender terms than when other “virgin” lands are concerned.

In his investigation of artistic representations of the Pacific, Bernard Smith differentiates between “imaging” and “imagining.” According to his definition, “imaging” is what goes on when somebody “constructs an image in the presence of an object from which the image is fashioned.” Painting a scene or an object that is there in front of you would be an example of this type of imaging. Imagining, on the other hand, takes place when somebody “constructs an image while not in direct sensory contact with the object or objects from which the imagery of the imagining is constructed.”<sup>7</sup> Imagining of this kind would be the result when, for instance, artists and writers build their works on other people’s descriptions and depictions of places, but have themselves never experienced the places they paint or write about. Both imaging and imagining are consequently processes of constructing places, and as Smith emphasises, there are continuities as well as discontinuities between the activities. Nevertheless, the impact of the artist’s or writer’s home culture is probably more clearly discernible when imagining is at the chosen approach. The determining influence of the producer’s cultural background

becomes very clear in works that imagine places as people. When a place is personified, all the aspects relating to definitions of people are invoked. Social conventions are embedded in the personifications so that prevalent ideologies of gender, class, race, age etc. are circulated as part of the image. Representations of northern spaces as Ice Queens or Kings Frost are therefore not only examples of how the world is organised according to gender principles, but bring in all the other power ideologies of the time and societies that produced them. There are a number of powerful female symbols of the North in Western culture, from H. C. Andersen's Snow Queen to the Witch in C. S. Lewis's tale of Narnia. There are also numerous symbolic male figures, most of them immensely powerful but also vulnerable to sun and warmth. Because the North is frequently understood as masculine and because even when the region is seen as feminine, it is usually regarded as powerful, the North as gendered space emerges as much more contradictory than the South. Many of these contradictory ideas seem to be based on understanding the North as a matter of climate rather than a spatial entity.

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The (generalised) North is defined through climate and season to a much greater extent than the (generalised) South, so that winter is the reference point even in works set in the summer. In his enormously popular travelogue *Letters from High Latitudes* (1857), Lord Dufferin continually uses the cold climate as a frame of reference, even when his experiences contradict this:

The snow, however, beyond, serving as an ornamental fringe to the distance, plays but a very poor part at this season of the year in Iceland. While I write, the thermometer is above 70°. Last night we remained playing at chess on deck till bedtime, without thinking of calling for coats, and my people live in their shirt sleeves, and astonishment at the climate.<sup>8</sup>

To be truly Northern, Iceland should have been covered in snow and ice, and the country's summer appearance is regarded as uncharacteristic and even slightly disappointing.

As the Canadian geographer Louis-Edmond

Hamelin makes clear, the North is a conceptual as well as a geographical region,<sup>9</sup> and Dufferin's reflection draws attention to the North as concept but downplays the importance of his actual experience. When symbolic representations or personifications are concerned, exact geographical locations are less important than the sense of a conceptual difference between North and South. Margaret Atwood points out that all the way up to the North Pole, the North is a direction, and therefore relative, emphasising that the North "is thought of as a place, but it's a place with shifting boundaries. It's also a state of mind."<sup>10</sup> Just like the South, the North can be thought of as a set of imaginary constructs or a discursive system.<sup>11</sup> Lord Dufferin's comment demonstrates that the degree of wintriness is an important component of the conceptualisation of northern spaces.

The expectation that the North should be more or less synonymous with winter obviously means that it is easy to conflate personifications of the season with personifications of the region. When the English poet Eliza Cook (1818-1889) invokes King Frost in her poem "Christmas Tide" it is clearly the winter and not a region that is intended:

The northern gust may howl,  
The rolling storm-cloud scowl,  
King Frost may make a slave  
Of the river's rapid wave;  
The snow-drift choke the path  
Or the hail-shower spend its wrath  
But the sternest blast right bravely is defied,  
While limbs and spirits bound  
To the merry minstrel sound,  
And social wood-fires blaze at Christmas tide.<sup>12</sup>

The Ice Queen is used in a similar way, to signal the passing of the seasons in the nineteenth-century Baltimore poet John Hill Hewitt's meditation on a summer love:

The ice-queen has touch'd every flower that we loved  
And scatter'd her down o'er the fields while she roved;<sup>13</sup>

In a lecture on the significance of pain, given to the New Hampshire Medical Society in 1865, the reference is rather to the sensation of cold: "the inhabitants of arctic countries would all die

for want of a suitable warning against their deadly enemy, King Frost.”<sup>14</sup> Frequently the reference is to place, however, or to a mixture of place and season, as in the description of Canada in the “autobiography” *Digby Grand* (1853) by G. J. Whyte Melville:

the magic scene on which you gaze has been hitherto veiled to mortal eye; for in these vast solitudes, there are many nooks and corners unknown even to the few Indians who lead their roving hunter’s life by lake and forest; and then, over this world of novelty, the ice-queen throws her glittering mantle, with its pure and diamond-sprinkled folds,<sup>15</sup>

Leading up to the conclusion that England’s climate is superior, Lord William Lennox writes: “Think of Russia, Norway, Lapland, and the Canadas, in winter—where King Frost reigns omnipotent for months, and nothing is heard but the tinkling of the small bells attached to the sledge horses.”<sup>16</sup> In a similar way, Mrs Hannah Pickard describes Sackville, New Brunswick as “the territory of King Winter” in a letter to her sister and in the didactic children’s book *King Frost: The Wonders of Snow and Ice* (1886) Mrs Thorpe continually returns to the idea that all northern regions are ruled by the stern Frost King.<sup>17</sup> A comment on the American treaty with Russia to acquire Alaska in the editorial of the *Daily Tribune* (New York) also highlights the idea of the North as regent:

We simply obtain by the treaty the nominal possession of impassable deserts of snow, vast tracts of dwarf timbers, frozen rivers, inaccessible mountain ranges, with a few islands where the climate is more moderate, and a scanty population supported by fishing and trading with the Indians. Virtually we get, by an expenditure of seven millions in gold, Sitka and the Prince of Wales Islands. All the rest is waste territory, and no energy of the American people will be sufficient to make mining speculations in the 60th degree north latitude profitable, or to reclaim wilderness which border on the Arctic Ocean. We may make a treaty with Russia but we can not make a treaty with the North Wind, or the Snow King.<sup>18</sup>

The North Wind or the Snow King control the weather of the North, as it were, and are in a sense the region’s true rulers. With winter a defining characteristic of the North, symbolic representations are easily transferred from weather and season to place, or from one referent to the other.

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Because of the slippage between definitions of northern spaces and northern climate, describing the North is often a matter of describing the winter, which means that all the metaphorical and symbolic uses of cold, snow, white, ice etc. come into play. In fictional works for adult consumers, the figures of the North are frequently presented as evil and dangerous, as if they belonged in the frozen lake in the Ninth Circle of Hell of Dante’s *Inferno*. A common theme is the capture of a gentle and innocent woman by an older, harsh and cold, male personification of the North. In the now forgotten ballet *The Spirit of the Air*, performed at Drury Lane Theatre in London in 1838, the spirit Azurine is sent to Earth to be tested. If she gives in to human temptations she will lose her immortality, but if she is able to resist, she will be allowed to return to her home in triumph. Her guardian and mentor is the North Wind, or Frigidus Aquilo, who is secretly in love with her. Predictably, Azurine falls in love with a young farmer, despite the machinations of Aquilo, and in the end, this earthly love is victorious and even sanctioned by Azurine’s mother the Queen of the Genii. Frigidus Aquilo, meanwhile, is banished to the hyperborean regions.<sup>19</sup> *The Spirit of the Air* illustrates the difference between a good and a bad relationship, and even though Aquilo and Azurine belong to the same realm as spirits, or genii, Aquilo is too cold to be an acceptable mate for the young girl.

A similar figure appears in Selina Gaye’s long poem *The Maiden of the Iceberg* from 1867. Despite its title, the principal character of the verse-tale is Nevado, King of Icebergs, and the poem opens with a prologue setting the scene for the eternal conflict between Nevado and the Sun. Nevado has changed the dew-drops – who are really water-sprites – into snow-flakes and made them his subjects. The snow-flakes are then sent floating down to the cold earth beneath them, making winter:

They are sent by King Nevado –  
By Nevado, King of Icebergs;  
He has changed them into snowflakes  
By his powerful enchantment,  
By the cold breath of his breathing

Once they lay as sparkling dew-drops  
 On the meadows, in the valleys,  
 In the roses, in the lilies,  
 Sparkling in the happy sunshine;  
 Till the cruel king Nevado  
 Breathed an icy blast upon them,  
 Chilled them, turned them into snowflakes,  
 Into vassals of his kingdom.<sup>20</sup>

The icy, powerful Nevado is clearly a symbol of the North, related to King Frost and King Winter:

He has built his royal palace  
 High among the snowy silence,  
 Of this gleaming land of Winter. (22)

As a poem several levels below the best nineteenth-century poetry, *The Maiden of the Iceberg* can be expected to be even more representative of conventional attitudes. Selina Gaye relies heavily on cultural stereotypes in her text, the most obvious ones perhaps in connection with Nevado's "Constant Feud" with the Sun (2), where the power of the King of Icebergs is shown to be based on enchantment and death, whereas the Sun's power is presented as the power of liberation and love:

Spite of all his dread enchantments,  
 Spite of all his icy fetters.  
 Soon the sun will come and break them,  
 Break the fetters and enchantments,  
 Set them free from King Nevado,  
 Draw them back to warmth and sunshine.

'Tis an ancient Feud I tell of;  
 Constant Feud between Nevado,  
 King of Frost and Snow and Iceberg,  
 And the Sun, the source of glory,  
 King of Love and Light and Brightness,  
 King of Life and love and Glory. (2)

Like *The Spirit of the Air*, Selina Gaye's poem is indebted to the many myths interpreting the circle of the year, where spring or summer is kidnapped by winter and released again when she awakened by true love.

The first part of the verse-tale tells the story of the Nereid, or water-maiden, Nerina and her love for Mervarid, the Child of Sunbeams.<sup>21</sup>

Seeing the northern lights, Nerina mistakes their sparkle for a message from Mervarid and believes that he is beckoning her to come to him. She goes towards the Aurora borealis and vanishes in the twilight, taken captive but also metaphorically captivated by King Nevado. This theme of the North as giving an illusion of warmth, light or kindness is quite common, especially when the region is personified as a woman, when the contrast between conventional ideas of a woman as life-giver and nurturer and the cold and deadly North becomes particularly effective. The underlying message is often that the one who is taken in by the illusion and captured by the chilly North is frozen in every respect – emotionally as well as physically – and loses his or her will to escape and in extreme cases, even the will to live. When Mervarid comes to look for his beloved Nerina he is thus informed by the North Wind that Nerina is perfectly content with her situation:

She was quiet, calm, and happy,  
 Looking at our bright Aurora,  
 At our beauteous Aurora,  
 At the Northern Lights so brilliant.  
 Mervarid, you will not have her!  
 She is happy with Nevado,  
 She is happy in the White Land,  
 She has learnt to love Nevado,  
 She will never leave Nevado!" (21)

When Mervarid finally finds his beloved she has been changed by her sojourn in Nevado's realm. Her beauty has taken on a cold quality and instead of being happy and spirited, she has become quiet and detached:

She it was. Yet, ah! it was not  
 His Nerina; his no longer.  
 Fair she was, but fair as winter,  
 Like a clear cold day in winter,  
 Like the still blue sky of winter,  
 Pitiless, serene, and placid. (29)

Finally, however, Nerina is freed by the sun and united with her Mervarid, just like the personifications of winter are defeated by the representatives of spring in the mythologies of almost every culture.

Although she is only under the enchantment of Nevado and not evil in herself, the captive Nerina can be seen as a variety of the stereotypical Ice Queen, emotionally cold, perfectly calm and completely without love or pity. The White Witch in C. S. Lewis's Narnia chronicles is her direct descendant, the cold woman or cold mother who will seduce you with promises of glory but whose touch will turn you to ice or stone. The pitiless nature of the Witch is highlighted in the description of the boy Edmund's first meeting with her in *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (1950):

[O]n a much higher seat in the middle of the sledge sat a very different person – a great lady, taller than any woman that Edmund had ever seen. She also was covered in white fur up to her throat and held a long straight golden wand in her right hand and wore a golden crown on her head. Her face was white – not merely pale, but white like snow or paper or icing-sugar, except for her very red mouth. It was a beautiful face in other respects, but proud and cold and stern.<sup>22</sup>

Edmund is then given some pieces of Turkish Delight and immediately falls under the White Witch's spell, willing to betray his brother and sisters to stay in her favour. When the female symbols of the North seem to be nurturing and motherly, their actions are frequently revealed to be evil or false in reality. Trusting an Ice Queen will lead to destruction. As Margaret Atwood notes about northern Canada, the North is frequently thought of as "a sparkling fin de siècle *femme fatale*, who entices and hypnotizes male protagonists and leads them to their doom."<sup>23</sup> In her powerful guise, the female North is active and sinister.

There is, however, little room for a truly powerful woman in a conventional gender system. The Ice Queen is therefore often represented as the kind of woman who needs to be defeated and controlled, or alternatively, needs to be made less powerful and more docilely feminine. Unsurprisingly, this feminisation process is usually emblematised as the coming of spring. In *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, the Witch's power is first weakened by the arrival of Father Christmas – together with Frosty the Snowman one of the few wholly benevolent personifications of the wintry North (98-101). The final defeat for the

White Witch is when spring can no longer be denied:

"This is no thaw," said the dwarf, suddenly stopping. "This is *Spring*. What are we to do? Your winter has been destroyed, I tell you! This is Aslan's doing."

"If either of you mentions that name again," said the Witch, "he shall instantly be killed." (112)

Winter is the result of the grip of evil, whereas spring is connected with the Christ-figure Aslan in the story. The feminisation processes that make the North a kinder place are almost always based on the idea that sun, warmth and thaw or their symbolic correspondences kindness and goodness can defeat the negative power invested in the region or its personifications, male or female.

The domestication of the feminine North is the primary theme in Frank Barrett's *The Finding of the Ice Queen*, constituting the Christmas number of the journal *Mirth*, 1878, and surviving in a few bound copies.<sup>24</sup> The story is set in a sketchily described Greenland whose main features are high mountains and frozen rivers, and it suffers from some awkwardness in plotting and cardboard characterisation as well as from its unquestioning advocacy of an English, middle-class attitude to life. The most interesting aspect of the novella is that it so clearly builds on and contributes to the idea of the North as a powerful, incredibly beautiful but ultimately deadly woman. The excitement of the story lies in the enigmatic figure of the Ice Queen, an image that had a sufficiently secure cultural presence in the late 1870s not to require further explanation. This image – or to follow Bernard Smith, imagining – is a constant background in the story and conjures a set of expectations that the narrative then relies on.<sup>25</sup>

The story opens with the well-to-do Mr Anthony Yellowboy being told by his doctor that he is about to eat himself to death and will explode like a balloon if he does not find something that will "worry him into skin and bone."<sup>26</sup> The cure is to get married and start a family, and Yellowboy follows the prescription. His wife dies in childbed, however, and his twin daughters have to be nursed by a sailor's wife, Mrs Bess Block. The birth of Yellowboy's children squashes his brother Nicholas's hopes

of inheriting his considerable fortune, however, and Nicholas therefore convinces Mrs Block's husband Blue Peter and his brother Black Bill to abduct the babies and drown them. After revealing Nicholas Yellowboy's involvement in the plot, Blue Peter dies, and for the next seventeen years Anthony Yellowboy and Captain Tom Harding look for the girls everywhere. Eventually, a destitute Black Bill tells them that instead of allowing herself and the children to be drowned, Bess instigated a mutiny on board the ship and can be found in Greenland, together with one of Yellowboy's daughters – the other one is dead. For a fee, Bill is willing to guide Captain Harding to the place where they live.

Captain Harding is the hero of the story, a representation of the true honest Englishman in contrast to Black Bill, the nefarious Nicholas Yellowboy and the few deluded Greenlanders mentioned in the text:

He was a tall and broad young man, of that unpretending honest sort which is retreating before civilization. There was less affectation in his manner than would be found in an ordinary clerk with a salary of sixty pounds a year. The very briskness of his step would have jarred upon the sensibilities of the well-bred. Such a man like this you will never see crawling along Regent Street chewing a tooth-pick. Tom Harding had not a taste for that fashionable kind of refreshment. He held strength and vigour to be the highest physical attributes of a man, and scorned to affect debility. (19)

The depiction of Harding as the epitome of honest manliness places Barrett's tale in the context of the mid-and late-Victorian gender anxieties caused by such developments as the activities of the suffragettes, the Aesthetic Movement and a widespread sense that the boundaries between masculinity and femininity were slipping. Barrett's description of Harding's no-nonsense character can be seen as a contribution to the debate about "true" masculinity conducted in politics, religion and culture in response to the feared degeneration of masculine virtues in the second half of the nineteenth century. The idea that women are objects in this male economy is introduced in Anthony Yellowboy's promise on the eve of Harding's departure: "If you find her, she shall be yours, and all that I have shall be her dowry" (26).<sup>27</sup> The eventual taming of the Ice Queen

is the logical outcome of this engagement with the foundering Victorian gender order.

The first Greenland village Harding comes to is all but deserted, and an old missionary tells him that the men have all left, trying to find the Ice Queen:

Some say this beautiful creature sits on an ice throne, and sings men to a sleep from which they never wake. She has lovely young maids about her, who too can soothe men into eternal slumber with their fresh young voices. Of my young men, and of the fishers who went in quest of this empress of the unknown, not one has ever returned, nor again been seen. (29)

The passage highlights the beauty of the Ice Queen, but it draws particular attention to her power. Her regal nature is emphasised when she is termed an "empress" seated on a throne, and her affinity with the Sirens – the original *femmes fatale* – is suggested in the information that she sings men to sleep. After receiving this information from the old man, Harding and his men, including the villainous Black Bill, set out for the interior of Greenland. They hope to find Bess and her charge in one of the Dreijord valleys, the warm, all-female Shangri-Las where the women whose husbands and fathers have perished while searching for the Ice Queen live and work together in harmony.

The separatism indicated by these self-sufficient female communities is clearly an unpalatable alternative, and Barrett soon shows that the reasons for their existence is that the proper gender contract has broken down. The men have given up their position in society and even their lives searching for a woman whose only goal is to kill them, and the women have been led to believe that all men are bad. Encountering the mysterious girl Aura on a hillside, Harding is told: "We are taught that it is our duty to shun you; that if we see you at a distance we should run away and hide ourselves; it is wrong to look at you, worse to listen to you, but oh, far worse to speak with you" (39). The origin of this philosophy turns out to be Bess Block whose experiences have certainly made her mistrust men.

Aura is willing to disobey her teacher, however, because in her cold world, Harding appears as the sun: "Your face is grand like the sun – as I looked upon it it seemed to warm my

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(ARCTIC EXPEDITION SAILED MAY 29, 1875.)

heart within me and make it unfold as buds expand when our long winter night is gone” (40). Clearly, Harding is the counterpart of Mervarid in Selina Gaye’s verse-tale and Aslan in C. S. Lewis’s *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*. The representation of the English captain as the sun is immediately followed by a reference to the fertility of buds in spring, which quite transparently suggests that the outcome of the encounter will be the union of the girl of the ice and the man representing sun and warmth. When Harding shows his determination to complete his quest his connection to the sun is even further emphasised:

You’re more than ever like the great powerful sun. When he sets to work to tear down the ice and fling the great rocks from their heights, you know he will finish his work. When a woman says she’ll do a thing she generally – don’t. (42)

There is an obvious contradiction between Aura’s declaration that women do not carry out their intentions, and the initial description of the women-governed Dreijord valleys, and the text suffers from several such inconsistencies on the level of composition. In reintroducing conventional ideas of femininity and masculinity, however, Barrett does not falter.

Barrett’s position regarding class boundaries is equally clear. The woman acting as Aura’s “mother” and the head of the Dreijord-valley tribe is one Ursa, a woman who after such a brief courtship so as to be almost unnoticeable in the text marries the boatswain Benjamin Bunting. As a result of this marriage, Aura somehow becomes a member of the working class and as such, unsuitable as a future wife for Harding: “It were absurd to think of marrying a little savage%were she ever so beautiful%and that savage his boatswain’s daughter” Harding thinks to himself (47). Ben Bunting reaffirms this opinion, telling Aura that marriage to Harding is out of the question: “how could he, a tip-top gentleman and a captain, marry you? Why, you are only a Bo’sen’s daughter” (53). Bunting also explicitly connects the Ice Queen with Queen Victoria, underscoring her status as a ruler:

Cap’n, I’ve heered for a dead certainty that there’s an Empress over there, more beautiful and powerful than anything you can conceive. I should say from the account she’s next best to the queen in our own little island. Wonderful beautiful. (55)

Such repeated declarations concerning the proper relationship between classes and genders both underpin and complicate the constantly present image of the Ice Queen in the text, since in terms of gender, she clearly should be subordinate to men, but in terms of class, she is presented as their superior.

Aura and Ursa try to persuade Harding and his men to desist from their attempt to find the Ice Queen, but they refuse. As a result, the women leave them and the men continue on their own. The closer they get to the believed abode of the Ice Queen, the more dangerous the landscape appears, suggesting “the idea of extinct life. The world was dead, and the white snow was its shroud” (58). The sound of the Aurora borealis almost lulls them to a deadly sleep and makes their “blood run chill with awe” (61), but at last they see the Ice Queen on her throne, guarded by a polar bear:

She was veiled like a bride, and the white folds of her veil were covered with scintillating points. It looked as if a sheet of pliant crystal had been thrown over her: through it the lithe and graceful outline of a maiden was visible. [...] A diadem of glittering icicles was upon her head. (61)

As Shu-chuan Yan shows, the popular way of imagining the Arctic in the mid-Victorian periodical was as a tall queenly woman seated on a throne of ice, with icicles as jewels and polar bears as her protectors.<sup>28</sup> The frontispiece to Barrett’s story depicting the Ice Queen in her regal dress is indeed almost indistinguishable from cartoons in the *Punch* from the same time.<sup>29</sup> (Illustration p.66) The regal attitude turns out to be almost entirely illusory, however when it is revealed that the Ice Queen in Barrett’s tale is willing to renounce all her power for love: “take my crown and let me be your subject. Better to serve a master than to reign unloved” (62). She continues: “Bid me, and I will descend from this throne, and we will live together in humble mortal love. Our empire shall be no larger than our home; my husband shall be my king to obey, my subject to serve and care for” (62). Harding refuses and instead acknowledges his love for Aura, and hearing this admission, the Ice Queen finally reveals herself as Aura in disguise. The polar bear turns out to be Ursa wearing a bear skin, the Arctic incarnation of

Bess Block, the nurse to Anthony Yellowboy's daughters (63). Predictably, then, Aura is finally disclosed to be Aurora Yellowboy. But in spite of their English origins, the women clearly represent the Arctic in the text, with names suggesting the northern lights or Aurora borealis and the polar bear or *Ursus maritimus*. The Ice Queen, on the other hand, turns out to have been nothing more than a story invented by Bess Block to save her and Aura from Nicholas Yellowboy's machinations.

The revelation that the Ice Queen is only a theatrical performance and a tale takes away some of the power of the North, but it is perfectly in tune with Barrett's endorsement of conventional feminine behaviour. Love is not possible until Aura renounces her pseudo-regal position and embraces what Barrett represents as true womanhood. Similarly love for Ursa/Bess relies on her relinquishing her position as head of the Dreijord valley. Aura temporarily plays the role of the powerful woman, but her true self turns out to be the innocent girl whose greatest desires are to obey, serve and care for a husband. At the end of the story she is completely domesticated when she is re-introduced into English society and given her rightful – and to all intents and purposes power-less – place as daughter and wife.

*The Finding of the Ice Queen* is one of the most sustained treatments of the North personified as a woman. In the context of both imperial expansion and late-nineteenth-century gender troubles, it is a gratifying story, since it suggests that the North as well as women are only powerful by perception, and can easily be tamed by civilisation and ordered patriarchy. The Sun of a Western enlightenment will thaw the frozen North, just like Harding's sun awakened Aura's senses. In the end, the female North is

re-inscribed into English bourgeois society. If, as Simon Schama maintains, landscapes are mental representation of what we experience on the inside, it becomes obvious that gendered representations of places are to a great extent determined by the producer's understanding of the gender order and his or her own experienced or desired gender identity.<sup>30</sup> Personifications and descriptions are also influenced by the requirements of genre, the status and presence of gendered stereotypes in society, the importance of previous models and a number of other factors. The powerful but ultimately overthrown figure of the Ice Queen in her various incarnations is quite logical in a society struggling with new ideas of gender relationships. The image cannot be used to support the conventional equation of femininity with passivity or powerlessness, however, since it embodies the problematic idea of feminine power. As the figures of King Frost and Nevado King of Icebergs show, the North is also frequently understood as a masculine space that introduces other complexities, since it seems to contradict the widely accepted notion that land is feminine and the explorer, traveller or conqueror is masculine. The interaction between ideas of place, ideas of gender and ideas of imperialist control seems to be far more multifaceted in representations of the North than when southern regions are concerned. Although some images and imaginings seem to recur across cultures and over time, it is necessary to treat each work about the North as a specific case and refrain from attempts at totalisation. There is no conclusive answer to the question of how the North is gendered, but this does not mean that it is the wrong question to ask. On the contrary, interpreting how northern spaces are gender-coded helps to lay bare their contradictory and intricate meanings.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, transl. Richard Nice (1984; London: Routledge, 1994) 474

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001)

<sup>3</sup> See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978) for the seminal study of orientalising discourses in Western cultures. See also Catherine Nash, "Embodied Irishness: Gender, Sexuality and

- Irish Identities,” *In Search of Ireland: A Cultural Geography*, ed. Brian Graham (1997; London: Routledge, 1998) 112 and Sue Best, “Sexualizing Space,” *Sexy Bodies: The Strange Carnalities of Feminism*, ed. Elizabeth Grosz and Elspeth Probyn (London: Routledge, 1995) 183
- <sup>4</sup> Andrew Wawn, “Samuel Laing, *Heimskringla* and the Berserker School,” *Anglo-Scandinavian Cross-Currents*, ed. Inga-Stina Ewbank, Olav Lausund and Bjørn Tysdahl (Norwich: Norvik P, 1999) 29-59
- <sup>5</sup> Shu-chuan Yan, “Voyages and Visions: Imag(in)ing the Arctic in the Victorian Periodical, 1850s-1870s,” *NTU Studies in Language and Literature* 16 (Dec. 2006): 72
- <sup>6</sup> Yan 75
- <sup>7</sup> Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992) ix
- <sup>8</sup> Frederick Temple Blackwood, Lord Dufferin, *Letters from High Latitudes: Being Some Account of a Voyage in 1856 in the Schooner Yacht “Foam” to Iceland, Jan Mayen, and Spitzbergen* (1857; London: Dent, 1903) 24
- <sup>9</sup> See Louis Edmond Hamelin, *The Canadian North and its Conceptual Referents* (Ottawa: Dept. of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1988)
- <sup>10</sup> Margaret Atwood, *Strange Things: The Malevolent North in Canadian Literature* (1995; London: Virago, 2004) 10
- <sup>11</sup> See Sherrill Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North* (2001; Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 2007) 21-75 for a detailed discussion of the Canadian North as a discursive creation.
- <sup>12</sup> Eliza Cook, “Christmas Tide,” *Christmas with the Poets: A collection of Songs, Carols and Descriptive Verses, Relating to the Festival of Christmas, from the Anglo-Norman Period to the Present Time*, ed. “H. V.” (London: David Bogue, 1852) 170
- <sup>13</sup> John Hill Hewitt, *Miscellaneous Poems* (Baltimore: N. Hickman, 1838) 57
- <sup>14</sup> A. B. Crosby, “The Significance of Pain,” *Transactions of the New Hampshire Medical Society. Seventy-Fifth Anniversary. Portsmouth, June 27 and 28, 1865* (Manchester N. H.: C. F. Livingston, 1866) 28.
- <sup>15</sup> G. J. Whyte Melville, *Digby Grand: An Autobiography* (London: John. W. Parker and Son, 1853) 89. The story was first serialised in *Fraser’s Magazine*.
- <sup>16</sup> Lord William Lennox, *Pictures of Sporting Life and Character*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1860) vol. 1, 5
- <sup>17</sup> Edward Otheman, *Memoir and Writings of Mrs. Hannah Maynard Pickard; Late Wife of Rev. Humphrey Pickard, A. M., Principal of the Wesleyan Academy at Mount Allison, Sackville, N. B.* (Boston: David H. Ela, 1845) 200; *Mrs Thorpe, King Frost: The Wonders of Snow and Ice* (London: Isbister, 1886)
- <sup>18</sup> Editorial, *Daily Tribune* (New York) 11 April 1867: n. p. I am grateful to Roxanne Willis, Harvard University, for providing me with this text.
- <sup>19</sup> “Drury-Lane Theatre,” *The Times* 19 Nov. 1838: 5, col. E
- <sup>20</sup> Selina Gaye, *The Maiden of the Iceberg. A Tale in Verse* (London: Saunders, Otley, and Co., 1867) 1-2. Further references to this work are given parenthetically in the text.
- <sup>21</sup> Gaye 5, note at the bottom says “Mervarid, Child of Light ( Persian).”
- <sup>22</sup> C. S. Lewis, *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (1950; London: Lions, 1990) 33. Further references to this work are given parenthetically in the text.
- <sup>23</sup> Atwood 3
- <sup>24</sup> I use the italicised format of the title since I have used a bound copy of the text and since the text constituted the entire Christmas number of the journal *Mirth* 1878.
- <sup>25</sup> Smith ix
- <sup>26</sup> Frank Barrett, *The Finding of the Ice Queen* (London: Bradbury, Agnew Co., 1878 [?]) 2. Further references to this work will be given parenthetically in the text
- <sup>27</sup> The promise that the hero will be rewarded with the hand of the Princess and half or all of the kingdom is of course also a typical ingredient in folktales.
- <sup>28</sup> Yan 67-78
- <sup>29</sup> See, for instance, “Waiting to be Won,” *Punch* 68 (1875): 241-42, also used in the article by Shu-chuan Yan.
- <sup>30</sup> Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (1995; New York: Vintage, 1996)