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# The Coldest Crucible - Arctic Exploration in American Culture

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Michael F. Robinson University of Hartford

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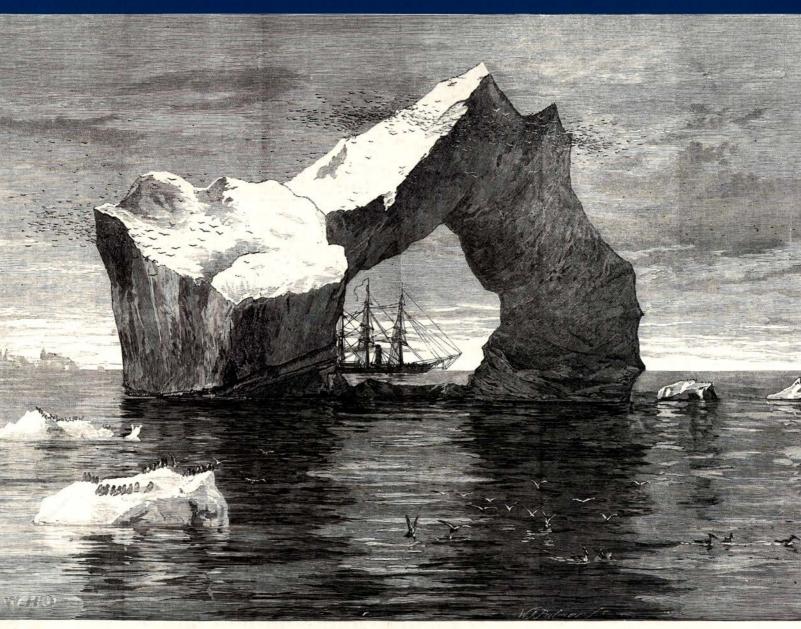
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# ~ The Coldest Crucible =

ARCTIC EXPLORATION IN AMERICAN CULTURE



GIGANTIC ICEBERG SEEN BY THE ARCTIC SHIPS .-- FROM A SKETCH BY AN OFFICER OF THE VALOROUS.

MARCH 14 – JUNE 21, 2009 PORTLAND MUSEUM OF ART



IN COLLABORATION WITH THE OSHER MAP LIBRARY AND SMITH CENTER FOR CARTOGRAPHIC EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MAINE hen Elisha Kent Kane died on 16 February 1857, he was one of the most celebrated men in America. He had come to the public's attention four years earlier when he led an expedition into the Arctic in pursuit of Sir John Franklin. Kane's ship Advance became trapped in the ice, preventing him from returning home as expected the following year. It came as a surprise when Kane appeared in the summer of 1855, two years after his departure, with most of his crew alive. Newspapers rejoiced in Kane's return, chronicling his party's escape from the high Arctic in small whaleboats and its passage down the treacherous Greenland coast. After his return, Kane grew progressively weaker from bouts of rheumatic fever. When he died in Cuba at the age of 37, Americans across the country mourned his loss.

His extraordinary funeral cortège, which took three weeks and passed through six states, offers some measure of his popularity. After leaving Cuba, the cortège traveled up the Mississippi River before heading East by rail to Kane's final resting place in Philadelphia. Along the way, it made dozens of stops for local processions and memorials. In New Orleans, the mayor and a military company escorted his casket to City Hall, where he lay in state. In Cincinnati, he was carried through crowded neighborhoods dressed in mourning and draped with banners. Baltimore greeted Kane with streets thick with "ladies, who numbered thousands in the houses and on the sidewalks." Before burial, his body lay in state in Independence Hall in Philadelphia where thousands paid their respects over three days, including the governor of Pennsylvania, military officers, scientific elites, and members of Congress. Only Abraham Lincoln's funeral cortège, which made its way across the country eight years later, would prove more spectacular.<sup>1</sup>

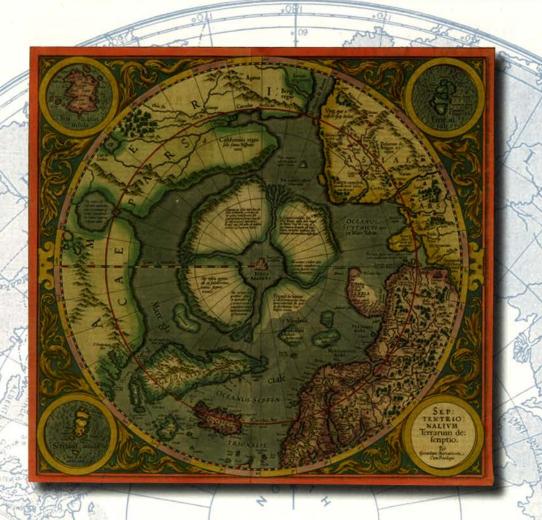


Kane's cortège illustrates a central idea of this exhibition: Arctic explorers were men of consequence in the 19th century. They captured the attention of the nation's scientific and political elite and shaped the ideas and institutions of geography at a time when it dominated American science. Their voyages kindled the fires of Romantic imagination as settlements overran the American frontier. Arctic explorers served as the literary muses for generations of writers including authors such as Washington Irving, Edgar Allen Poe, Walt Whitman, Emily Dickinson, Henry David Thoreau, and Jack London. Painters, too, found inspiration from fur-clad voyagers. Luminous icebergs and lonely ships fill out the scenes of James Hamilton, William Bradford, and the most heralded landscape painter of the era, Frederic Church. Explorers were also the darlings of the world's most powerful publishers, who fell over each other trying to secure rights to their stories.

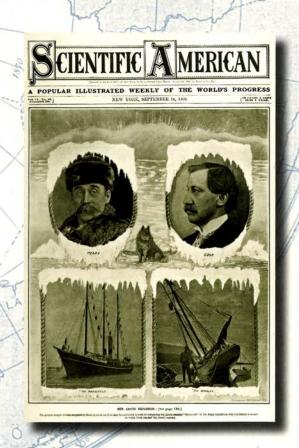
Arctic voyages thrilled—and sometimes galled—readers, who read about them in personal narratives, newspapers, school geographies, family atlases, and dime novels. Millions paid admission to see explorers narrate their journeys (with noisy retinues of Eskimos and dogs) at public lectures, World's Fairs, museums, and massive traveling polar panoramas. Those who managed to miss this deluge still had to weather a blizzard of Arcticana—expedition sheet music, fabric patterns, silverware, buttons, playing cards, postcards, and cigar bands—that settled into the nation's domestic spaces, cluttering the bureaus, mantlepieces, and piano stands of American homes. So while the Arctic never wore the colors of a U.S. state on 19th-century maps, it became a national landscape nevertheless. Its glittering hummocks became the setting of American stories. And its bays and capes, like the men who named them, became words well used in the American vernacular.

Yet it is not merely because explorers enjoyed such popularity then that they should be important to us now. It is also because their popularity is revealing of the times in which they lived. Middle-class audiences who followed explorers associated them, both gloriously and notoriously, with the traits of the nation. In doing so, they gave voice to hopes and fears that seem, at first glance, far removed from the Arctic regions: on the status of the United States as a civilized nation, on threats to its manly character and racial purity, on the blessings of science, on the dangers of progress. The Arctic, in other words, presented a faraway stage on which explorers played out dramas that were unfolding very close to home. What business do these matters have on the decks of icebound ships? They gave meaning to Arctic voyages. Men believed that Arctic exploration touched on issues so important that they were willing to die for the chance to say something about them. They were the threads that, for 60 years, held the fabric of Arctic exploration together.

The Arctic had not always fascinated Americans. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Arctic held little intrinsic meaning for the United States or its citizens. Slowly, however, news of British expeditions to the far north filtered into the nation's cultural consciousness. Idled by the peace that followed the Napoleonic wars, the British Admiralty



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John Ross



renewed its long search for a Northwest Passage over the top of North America. It seemed, at first glance, to be a reasonable project to pursue because a shorter route from the Atlantic to the Pacific would reduce the time and costs associated with voyages around Cape Horn. This goal had launched dozens of vovages since the 16th century. Yet few still hoped to reap the benefits of the Northwest Passage since earlier voyages had all but confirmed that the passage, if it existed and could be found, would be far too perilous to be used as a commercial sea route.

This did not stop Sir John Barrow, second Secretary of the British Admiralty, from seizing upon Arctic exploration for other ends. In public he spoke of the benefits of polar exploration "for the advancement of geography, navigation, and commerce." Behind the scenes, Barrow conceived of the Arctic as a new theater of war, one in which his ships battled icebergs and pack ice rather than French ships-of-the-line. In the Arctic, he observed, British officers could risk their lives for higher, more civilized ends than they did on the fields of Europe. When whalers returned from the Arctic in 1816 and 1817 reporting that normally ice-choked bays were open, he used the news to launch a series of expeditions the following year. Thus began a 30-year period of naval and overland exploration that would send thousands of British men into the Arctic.<sup>2</sup>

The Franklin Expedition of 1845, the jewel of Barrow's polar enterprise, set in motion a series of events that created international interest in the Arctic. After centuries of searching for the Northwest Passage, the Admiralty had high hopes for Sir John Franklin. He was already a tough veteran of three Arctic expeditions. An overland expedition to the polar sea had brought Franklin to the edge of starvation and fame back in England as "The Man Who Ate His Own Boots." He sailed from England with detailed maps of the Arctic regions, identifying promising routes over the American continent. His ships, *Erebus* and *Terror*, with reinforced hulls and steam-powered propellers, had also proven themselves in the polar regions. Thus it was surprising when Franklin did not return from the Arctic in 1846 or 1847. In 1848, with still no word, the Admiralty sent a series of expeditions to look for him, focusing on the northern coast of America and islands off its shores. They found no sign of the expedition. Lack of news deepened the mystery surrounding the lost expedition and fueled public interest. By 1849 the British press had become fixated on the Franklin search, and it had prompted wide coverage in American newspapers and magazines as well.<sup>3</sup>

At the urging of Franklin's wife and with the backing of wealthy U. S. merchant Henry Grinnell, the United States joined the Franklin search in 1850, sending two ships, *Rescue* and *Advance*, into Lancaster Sound under the command of Edwin De Haven. There it found British ships already looking for Franklin. While all the vessels lay together at the mouth of Wellington Channel, a sailor from one of the British ships found three graves on Beechey Island. The dead men had been members of the Franklin party. Nearby lay the detritus of an extensive camp: foundation stones for huts, a forge, and a carpenter shop, meat tins, even a pair of cashmere gloves laid on a rock to dry. Unable to find a written record, the explorers could only make guesses about the camp, the graves, and Franklin's course.<sup>4</sup>

Still, the discovery of Franklin's campsite on Beechey Island gave life to new American plans to explore the Arctic. In particular, it inspired Elisha Kent Kane (medical officer of the De Haven Expedition) to lead his own expedition into the Arctic in 1853. Kane did not find any traces of Franklin, but his party's harrowing escape from the Arctic made him an overnight celebrity back home. When Kane arrived in New York in October 1855, it was to an enormous public welcome. "The report spread throughout the City with the rapidity of a scandal in a country town," reported the *New-York Daily Times*, "... newsboys ran along the street with bright visions of front seats in the Bowery pit for the next week dancing before their eyes, and they shouted loud and long, for they knew they had an extra that would sell."

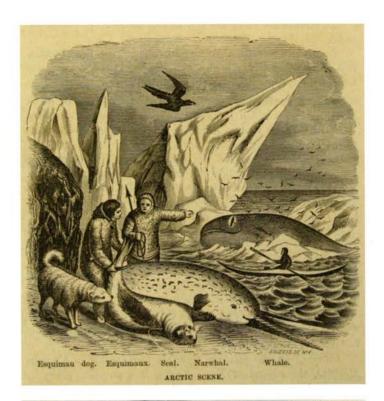
And sell it did. The story of Kane's return was soon wired to other cities up and down the East Coast. He received high praise in the press, which viewed his success in surviving two Arctic winters and then leading an escape from the Arctic in whaleboats as confirmation of his status as a man of character. Perhaps most indelible of all was Kane's two-volume Arctic Explorations, which went through multiple editions and sold over 150,000 copies over the next decades. If it served as a source of inspiration for readers, it also operated as a guidebook for future explorers, who used it to emulate Kane's persona and popular campaigns in the decades to come.<sup>6</sup>

Michael F. Robinson Assistant Professor of History Hillyer College, University of Hartford

#### NOTES

- William Elder, Biography of Elisha Kent Kane (Philadelphia: Childs and Peterson, 1858), 306-307; "The Remains of Dr. Kane," Ohio State Journal, 27 February 1857, 3; Honors to Dr. Kane: Report of the Joint Committee Appointed to Receive the Remains and Conduct the Obsequies of the Late Elisha Kent Kane (Philadelphia: James B. Chandler, 1857); Elder, Biography, 308, 345. Other historians have also read larger meanings into the pageantry of Kane's funeral. See Elder, Biography; Honors to Dr. Kane; Jeannette Mirsky, Elisha Kent Kane and the Seafaring Frontier (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1954) 3-12; David Chapin, "Science Weeps, Humanity Weeps, the World Weeps': American Mourns Elisha Kent Kane," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 123 (1999): 275-301.
- After the voyages of Baffin in 1616, the search for the Northwest Passage slowed but did not come to a halt. James Knight, Christopher Middleton, Samuel Hearne, James Cook, and Alexander MacKenzie also sought the passage in the eighteenth century. Ann Savours, The Search for the North West Passage (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 23-38. Barrow is quoted in Fergus Fleming, Barrow's Boys (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2000), 11.
- Literature on the Franklin search is vast. For some good examples, see
  Trevor H. Levere, Science and the Canadian Arctic: A Century of Exploration,
  1818-1918 (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1993); John Edwards
  Caswell, Arctic Frontiers: United States Explorations in the Far North
  (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956); Ross, "Exploration of the
  Arctic," 244-331; Leslie H. Neatby, The Search for Franklin (London:
  Barker Press, 1970).
- Elisha Kent Kane, The United States Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin: A Personal Narrative (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857), 151-160; "Sir John Franklin and the Arctic Regions," North American Review 71 (July 1850): 180; "The Grinnell Franklin Exploring Expedition," New York Herald, 22 May 1850, 4; "Sailing of the Grinnell Arctic Expedition," New York Herald, 24 May 1850, 4; "Mr. Grinnell's Arctic Expedition," Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 23 May 1850, 2.
- "Reception of the News—Excitement in Town," New-York Daily Times, 12 October 1855, 8.
- Francis H. Smith, My Experience or Footprints of a Presbyterian to Spiritualism (Baltimore: 1860); "Kane, Elisha, Kent," Dictionary of American Biography (1932).







THE ARCTIC EXPEDITION PACKING OF SLEDGES READY FOR A STAR

#### IMAGE INFORMATION

Cover: George C. Leighton (publisher), Gigantic Iceberg Seen by the Arctic Ships—From a Sketch by an Officer of the "Valorous" from The Illustrated London News, 1875, wood engraving,  $11 \frac{1}{8} \times 15 \frac{1}{4}$  inches.

Overleaf, background: Illustrated Newspapers, The Arctic Regions From the Admiralty Chart of 1875, 1875, engraving, 117/16 x 15 11/16 inches (varies).

Overleaf, left: Gerhard Mercator (1512–1594), Septentrionalium terrarum descripto per Gerardum Mercato rem cum privilegio (Map of the Northern Regions by Gerhard Mercator), 1628-1633, hand-colored engraving, 18 3/s x 22 5/16 inches.

Overleaf, right: Scientific American, Our Arctic Explorers from Scientific American, 1909, photomechanical reproductions after photographs (images), 16 % x 1113/16 inches. Reproduced Courtesy of Scientific American, Inc.

Inside, left: after a drawing by James Hamilton, Elisha Kent Kane (Author), Beechy Island: Franklin's First Winter Quarters from The U.S. Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin: A Personal Narrative, 1854, mezzotint with etching in bound volume,  $5\,^{7/6}$  x  $9\,^{7/6}$  inches (plate).

Inside, center: Francis Vallnight, An Island of Ice As It Appeared to Us from the Prow of Thomas Mathew Sam'll Partridge Commander in the Latt. 43.50 N bearing NbW 4 miles by Francis Vallnight, July:25: 1754, ink and watercolor on laid paper, 7 1/8 x 11 1/8 inches.

Inside, top right: Arnold Guyot (United States, b. Switzerland, 1807–1884), Arctic Scene from The Earth and Its Inhabitants: Common School Geography in Guyot's Geographical Series Intermediate Geography, 1870, wood engraving in bound volume, 12  $^{1/4}$  x 10 inches.

Inside, bottom right: The Graphic (England, est. 1869), The Arctic Expedition Packing Up Sledges Ready for a Start from The Graphic, 1875, engraving, 15 % x 23 3/8 inches.

Special thanks to the following lenders to the exhibition:

- · Bates College Library, Lewiston
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- Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine, Portland
- The Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum, Bowdoin College, Brunswick
- · Michael F. Robinson

#### MAPPING THE ARCTIC

Michael Lok (publisher), England, dates unknown Illustri Viro, Domino Phillipo Sidnaeo (Dedicated to the illustrious Sir Philip Sidney), 1582, engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Sebastian Münster, Germany, 1488-1552 Novae Insulae XXVI Nova Tabula, novus orbis (New Islands, the 26th New Map, New World), 1545, engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Bolognino Zaltieri, Italy, active 1555-1576 Il Disegno Del Discoperto Della Nova Franza (Drawing of the Discovery of New France), 1566, engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Abraham Ortelius, Belgium, 1527-1598

 $Typus\ orbis\ terrarium\ (Map\ of\ the\ World),\ 1612,\ hand-colored\ engraving$ 

Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Gerhard Mercator (artist), Netherlands, 1512-1594 Jodocus Hondius (engraver?), Netherlands, 1563-1612 Septentrionalium terrarum descripto per Gerardum Mercatorem cum privilegio (Map of the Northern Regions by Gerhard Mercator), 1628-1633, hand-colored engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Wellington Williams (engraver), United States Samuel Augustus Mitchell, Jr. (publisher), United States, 1792-1868

Map of North America showing its political divisions and recent discoveries in the polar regions, 1860, engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Illustrated Newspapers (publisher)

The Arctic Regions From the Admiralty Chart of 1875, engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

George F. Cram Company (publisher), United States, est. 1867

North Polar Regions with the principal routes of discovery from Cram's Unrivaled Atlas of the World, 1911, offset lithography in bound volume

Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Jesse Olney (author), United States, 1798-1872 Robinson, Pratt & Co. (publisher), United States, est. 1835 The World on a Globular Projection

from A New and Improved School Atlas: To Accompany the Practical System of Modern Geography, 1837, hand colored engraving in bound volume

Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

#### THE FRANKLIN SEARCH

after a drawing by James Hamilton, United States, b. Ireland, 1819-1878

Elisha Kent Kane (author), United States, 1820-1857
Harper & Brothers (publisher), United States, est. 1833
Beechy Island: Franklin's First Winter Quarters
from The U.S. Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John
Franklin: A Personal Narrative, 1854, mezzotint with
etching in bound volume
Courtesy of Michael F. Robinson

George C. Leighton (publisher)

The Yacht "Fox" Wintering in the Pack from The Illustrated London News, October 15, 1859, wood engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

# William Little (publisher)

Sir Edward Belcher's Arctic Exploring Expedition from The Illustrated London News, April 17, 1852, wood engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

### THE ART OF EXPLORATION

Frederic Church (artist), United States, 1826-1900 Sarony Major & Knapp (lithographers), United States, 1857-1867 Louis Legrand Noble (author)

Louis Legrand Noble (author)
D. Appleton & Co. (publisher), United States
Iceberg at Sunset, from After Icebergs with a Painter: A
Summer Voyage to Labrador and Around Newfoundland,
1861, lithograph in bound volume
Courtesy of Bates College Library

after William Bradford, United States, 1823-1892 George C. Leighton (publisher)

Sealers Crushed by Icebergs from The Illustrated London News, October 26, 1872, wood engraving in bound volume Courtesy of Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine

George C. Leighton (publisher)

Gigantic Iceberg Seen by the Arctic Ships—From a Sketch by an Officer of the "Valorous" from The Illustrated London News, September 11, 1875, wood engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

George C. Leighton (publisher)

Arctic Scenery: Cape of Pillars, Crown Prince Rudolf Land from The Illustrated London News, September 11, 1875, wood engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Heinrich W. Klutschak (artist), United States, b. Czech Republic, 1848-1890

George C. Leighton (publisher)

The American Franklin Search Expedition: Crossing Simpson's Strait in Kayaks from The Illustrated London News, January 8, 1881, wood engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

The Graphic (publisher), England, est. 1869 "There's a sweet little cherub that sits up aloft." The Arctic Expedition: The "Crow's Nest" from The Graphic—An Illustrated Weekly Newspaper, Vol. XI – No. 287, May 29, 1875, wood engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for

Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Heinrich W. Klutschak (artist), United States, b. Czech Republic, 1848-1890

George C. Leighton (publisher)

The American Franklin Search Expedition: Reindeer-Hunting in Kayaks from The Illustrated London News, January 8, 1881, wood engraving

Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Arnold Guyot (author), United States (b. Switzerland), 1807-1884

Charles Scribner and Company, United States, est. 1865
Arctic Scene from The Earth and Its Inhabitants: Common
School Geography in Guyot's Geographical Series
Intermediate Geography, 1870, wood engraving in bound volume
Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for
Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Alexis Everett Frye (author), United States, 1859-1936 Ginn & Company, United States

Latitude and Longitude from Frye's Grammar School Geography Part II, Circa 1910, photomechanical wood engraving in bound volume

Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Francis Vallnight, England

An Island of Ice As It Appeared to Us from the Prow of Thomas Mathew Sam'll Partridge Commander in the Latt. 43.50 N bearing NbW 4 miles by Francis Vallnight. July:25: 1754, ink and watercolor on laid paper Portland Museum of Art, Maine. Gift of Winifred Deering in

memory of Roger Deering

## TRIUMPH AND TRAGEDY

Walter Wellman (author), United States, 1858-1934
A.R. Keller & Company (publisher), United States, est. 1892
Boat's Crew from the Farm Attaching the Tow Line to the
America from The Aerial Age - A Thousand Miles by Airship
Over the Atlantic Ocean, 1911, photograph in bound volume
Courtesy of George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections
and Archives, Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine

after M.J. Burns (artist), United States, active 1880s George T. Andrew (engraver), United States George Washington De Long (author) Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (publisher), United States, 1844-1881

The Sinking of the Jeannette from The Voyage of the Jeannette. The Ship and Ice Journals of George W. De Long.

<u>Volume II.</u> 1883, wood engraving on wove paper in bound volume Courtesy of George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections and Archives, Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine

George C. Leighton (publisher)

Arctic Life: Cutting a Way Out of the Ice from Winter Quarters from The Illustrated London News, May 29, 1875, wood engraving

Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

The Graphic (publisher), England, est. 1869
The Loss of the Jeannette: On the March after Leaving the
Ship · Breaking Up Camp from The Graphic, May 20, 1882,
engraving

Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

The Arctic Expedition Packing Up Sledges Ready for a Start from The Graphic, May 29,1875, engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Heinrich W. Klutschak (artist), United States, b. Czech Republic, 1848-1890

The Illustrated London News (publisher)

The American Franklin Search Expedition: Graves of the Comrades of Sir John Franklin from The Illustrated London News, June 25, 1881, engraving

Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

B. Leigh Smith (illustrator), England, 1828-1913 The Graphic (publisher)

The Sinking of the "Eira," August 21, 1881 from The Graphic, September 9, 1882, engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

after John Collier (artist), England, 1850-1934
The Graphic (publisher), England, est. 1869
The Last Voyage of Henry Hudson from The Graphic,
January 7, 1882, engraving
Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for
Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

#### THE PEARYS

## Unknown artist

Rounding the Glacier Continent, Circa 1893 from The Graphic — supplement, engraving Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Nicholson Publishing Company, United States Robert Peary from The Daily Picayune, Vol. LXXIII, No. 225, September 7, 1909, photomechanical reproduction after photograph in newspaper Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for

Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Philadelphia Press (publisher), United States, 1857-1920 Nicholson Publishing Company, United States A Chance for New Enterprise from The Daily Picayune, Vol. LXXIII, No. 225, September 7, 1909, photomechanical reproduction in newspaper Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for

Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Scientific American (publisher), United States, est. 1845 Our Arctic Explorers from Scientific American, Sept. 18, 1909, photomechanical reproductions after photographs in bound volume

Courtesy of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine

Benjamin B. Hampton, United States, active 1900-1920 [Portrait of Robert Peary in furs], 1909, photogravure Courtesy of The Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum, Bowdoin College

[Roosevelt (ship) moored to iceberg], 1910, photogravure Courtesy of The Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum, Bowdoin College

The Flag Peary Nailed to the Pole, 1909, photogravure Courtesy of The Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum, Bowdoin College

[Flag on hummock], 1910, photogravure Courtesy of The Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum, Bowdoin College

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