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Charles H. Lagerbom

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DIRIGO IN THE ARCTIC: DONALD B. MACMILLAN, HARRISON J. HUNT, AND THE CROCKER LAND EXPEDITION, 1913-1917

BY CHARLES H. LAGERBOM¹

The polar careers of three Maine men intersected in the far reaches of the northern Arctic Ocean at a specific geographic spot on the globe: 83° North Latitude, 100° West Longitude. Called Crocker Land, it had been sighted by polar explorer and Maine resident Robert E. Peary on June 24, 1906. In 1913, Mainer Donald B. MacMillan organized the Crocker Land expedition to explore this land that Peary had sighted. Another Mainer, Harrison J. Hunt, signed on as doctor for MacMillan's venture in 1913. Crocker Land tied them all together, but only one of the three actually stood where it should have been located; another only glimpsed the land from afar; and the third never even got close to it and came to regard its non-existence as an apt metaphor for the entire expedition. Crocker Land became their nexus and colored each one's actions from that point forward. The author is a doctoral student in history at the University of Maine and is researching the connections between Maine and the polar world. He is president of the Antarctic Society, membership chair for the American Polar Society, and author of The Fifth Man: The Life of Henry R. Bowers, published by Caedmon of Whitby in 1999. He can be reached at clagerbom@rsu20.org.

IN 1905-1906, Arctic explorer and Maine resident Robert E. Peary, along with his team, set out to be the first humans to reach the North Pole.² Although this attempt failed, there was one seeming bright spot: Peary believed he had discovered new territory in the Arctic region. While in Greenland, he saw a land mass in the far reaches of the northern Arctic Ocean at a specific geographic spot on the globe: 83° north latitude, 100° west longitude. He named this new frozen land



Longtime Maine resident Robert E. Peary was a well-known Arctic explorer. During his failed North Pole expedition in 1905-06, Peary claimed to have seen a new land mass in the Arctic region, which he named Crocker Land. In a later expedition, Peary and his crew laid claim to being the first humans to reach the North Pole. Courtesy of the Maine State Museum.

“Crocker Land” after George Crocker, a financial backer who had donated \$50,000 to the expedition. Peary, however, did not attempt to reach the new land at this point. Nor did he during his next expedition in 1908-1909, which would be his final attempt at the North Pole. Because reaching the North Pole was the main objective, any thought of exploring Crocker Land was put on hold.³

During that latter expedition, Peary claimed to have reached the North Pole in April 1909. But Peary’s claim of North Pole priority resulted in a dispute with fellow explorer Frederick A. Cook, who also claimed to have reached 90° north. Cook claimed he had reached it in April 1908, a year earlier than Peary. When the Cook-Peary feud erupted, both the press and the public demanded evidence from each to prove that he had indeed reached the North Pole. This brought their other claims of achievement under scrutiny and, as a result, the existence of Peary’s “Crocker Land” emerged as one more piece of the polar controversy. If the new land claim was false, it might call into question

Peary's other claims, most notably attainment of the North Pole.⁴ Two Mainers, Donald B. MacMillan and Harrison J. Hunt, each played a critical role in the search for Crocker Land in the 1910s. Like Peary, these two men's lives in the harsh climate of northern New England undoubtedly helped prepare them for Arctic exploration.

As a member of Peary's last North Pole venture in 1908-1909, Donald B. MacMillan had returned from the north enthused for more exploration and ready to lead his own expedition. He saw the promise of Crocker Land discoveries as his ticket to fame as an Arctic explorer in his own right. Thus he helped plan a new expedition in 1912 to prove the existence of Crocker Land. He enlisted the services of another Mainer, a young doctor from Brewer named Harrison J. Hunt. Hunt had a desire for adventure and saw the Crocker Land expedition as a chance to learn first-hand more about the world.

Like Peary, MacMillan and Hunt were both Bowdoin College men, and all three shared certain characteristics: ambition, stubbornness, resourcefulness, and a physical toughness. Born in Provincetown, Massachusetts, in 1874, MacMillan moved to Freeport, Maine, to live with a sister after the deaths of his father in 1883 and his mother in 1886. He graduated from Freeport High School and attended Bowdoin, graduating in 1898 with a degree in geology. He then became the principal at



Like Robert Peary, Donald B. MacMillan was a Maine transplant and Bowdoin College graduate. MacMillan accompanied Peary on his 1908-09 expedition to the North Pole and returned to the United States eager to lead his own expedition. Beginning in 1913, he led an expedition to the Arctic region in search of Crocker Land. Maine Historical Society Collections.

North Gorham High School for two years at a \$500 annual salary. He later accepted a position to teach Latin and Physical Education at a preparatory school near Philadelphia.⁵

MacMillan retained his connection to Maine by establishing and running a summer camp called *Wychmere* at Bustin's Island in Casco Bay.⁶ It was the first sailing camp of its kind and included some famous pupils, such as Cole Porter.⁷ After getting some publicity for saving some people in a boating mishap, MacMillan caught the eye of local island neighbor, Robert E. Peary, who wrote his fellow Bowdoin graduate a letter enquiring about the possibility of MacMillan teaching his son some outdoor skills.⁸ This connection culminated in MacMillan joining Peary's 1908-1909 North Pole expedition.⁹

Unlike MacMillan, who was a transplant, Harrison J. Hunt was born in Brewer in 1878 and later graduated from Brewer High School. A life-long Mainer, he graduated from Bowdoin College in 1902 and then earned a medical degree from the Maine Medical School, which was affiliated with Bowdoin. His first practice was in Island Falls, Maine. Hunt was an expert athlete; he had been captain of his Bowdoin College football and track teams, the only student to have ever done both. Tough and resourceful, he once cut up a rubber hose to use for cleats on a muddy Bowdoin football field. He was an avid hunter, angler, and canoeist, and displayed aptitude as a sailor, archer, and chess player.¹⁰ Hunt was also quite modest; his daughter later wrote he would have considered publication of his story to be foolishness.¹¹ Although he had a wife and small child at home, Hunt, who had known MacMillan while at Bowdoin, learned of the Crocker Land expedition and applied to be the doctor for the enterprise.¹²

Growing up in Maine helped to shape the character of these men and had a hand in fashioning their hardihood, stubbornness, and respect for the outdoor life. They honed many outdoor skills in the woods of Maine, and this no doubt played a role in their interest and eventual entrance into polar exploration. At a young age they had an affinity for the call of the north, the lure of adventure, and the promise of fame. For MacMillan, an interest in the natural world of the Arctic led him into a career in polar exploration. Hunt wanted an opportunity to see the open stretches of the Arctic, test himself against its rigors and privations, and meet the region's native inhabitants.

MacMillan proposed the Crocker Land venture along with another member of the 1908-1909 Peary expedition, George Borup.¹³ The two had become friends during their northern trip with Peary and had dis-



A Brewer native and Bowdoin College graduate, Harrison J. Hunt volunteered to join the Crocker Land expedition in 1913. As the expedition's doctor, Hunt cared for several expedition members, native Greenlanders, and Danish Greenlanders during his four years in the Arctic region. From Donald B. MacMillan, *Four Years in the White North* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1918).

discussed leading a new expedition together. Borup worked at the American Museum of Natural History in New York and was instrumental in securing museum backing for their venture. The museum's Committee in Charge of Preparations, led by Dr. E.O. Hovey and Herbert L. Bridgman, financed and directed the preparations for the expedition. Borup was endorsed as the expedition's scientific leader, but unfortunately drowned in a freak canoe accident in April 1912 near Crescent Beach, Connecticut. Planning was thrown into chaos until the museum committee decided to postpone the venture until the summer of 1913.¹⁴

MacMillan persevered with the museum committee and eventually was recognized as sole expedition leader, after he made additional personal preparations for overseeing scientific work. Eight men were outfitted with two years' worth of provisions. In addition to the main aim of proving Crocker Land's existence, MacMillan hoped to study the indigenous people of the region, refine his polar skills, explore a variety of sciences, and even plan for the eventual construction of his very own Arctic-worthy ship.¹⁵

By 1913, when the expedition team gathered, the thirty-five year old Harrison Hunt was married with a child. Despite his domestic situation, he decided to join MacMillan's search for Crocker Land, which he considered to be the last of the great American Arctic expeditions. With the advent of motorized transport in the polar regions under explorers Ernest Shackleton and Douglas Mawson, old-style expeditions were becoming scarce. Hunt was intrigued by MacMillan's plans to travel mainly by foot and dog sled once in the Arctic. According to Hunt, MacMillan's expedition would also be one of the last in which the explorers would

live with the native Inuit who still resided in what he termed the Stone Age. He would also most likely be one of the first doctors to extensively travel the territory of these polar natives.¹⁶ Hunt decided to leave his wife and young family for the adventure, but he did so with a broader purpose: to enlarge knowledge about the Arctic region.

Hunt joined the expedition in New York in mid-June 1913 and showed up with a Sponson canoe from Old Town Canoe Company of Old Town, Maine. Expedition members were dismayed to find there were no copies of their contracts with their sponsor, the American Museum of Natural History. The contracts finally arrived two days before their ship, the *Diana*, sailed from Brooklyn. Changes had been requested in contract language, and Hunt believed the museum would be “square” about it, but this proved not to be true, and it was not found out until much later. Hunt wrote:

Dr. Hovey, chairman of the expedition, brought down to the dock the contract with the museum for the members of the expedition to sign, giving them no chance to read it, as if in a great rush.... When I had the opportunity to read the contract, I saw the changes had not been made. Dr. Hovey had not intended to make them. I found out that he had carefully planned the time and circumstances of the presentation of the contract. Mac[Millan] had known and had protested to Dr. Hovey, but had not informed the rest of us.¹⁷

It was the first of many disappointments that would sour Hunt on MacMillan, the museum, and the expedition.

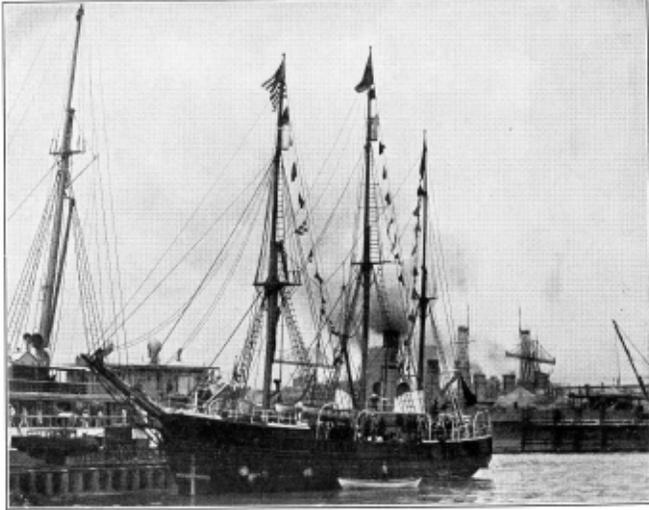
Before the ship sailed on July 2, Hunt also met with Robert Peary, whose sighting of Crocker Land had been the impetus for the coming expedition. Peary was recovering from some bruising congressional hearings in 1910-1911 that had again raised the issue of supplying evidence that he had actually reached the North Pole. His supporters wanted Congress to advance his rank to admiral, as well as provide a pension for his retirement. But the proceedings in Congress only further aggravated the North Pole controversy and sorely tried Peary. Although Congress promoted him to rear admiral and issued a pension, the process was fraught with bitterness and disappointment. This proved especially so when Congress took no official action to declare him as the actual discoverer of the North Pole and put the controversy to rest.¹⁸ By 1913, when he met with the Crocker Land expedition members, he was officially retired from the United States Navy and was devoted to defending his North Pole claim.

Not one to be cowed, Hunt approached Peary and asked him if he were certain that Crocker Land existed. Had he not, perhaps, seen a mirage? The question angered Peary and his response then irked the doctor. Hunt found Peary's reply to be insulting, "as though no one had the right to question his say-so, and who did I think I was anyway. Should I have asked myself if the ideals of the expedition to which I had pledged myself were not also a mirage, a will-o'-the-wisp? Should I have guessed that the purposes of the museum might be subordinated by certain individuals to their own glory or gain?"¹⁹ It was an inauspicious beginning to the expedition.

Things got even worse when the *Diana* ran aground on rocks near Red Bay, Labrador, Canada, on July 15. Hunt wrote that the captain drank and had no command of his crew: "entirely his fault; gave wrong course and went below to sleep." MacMillan agreed the captain should never have left the bridge.²⁰ The ship remained in its precarious position for almost three days while MacMillan and expedition members unloaded as much cargo as they could onto assisting ships or onto the nearby shore. They also tossed overboard fifty tons of coal to lighten the vessel. MacMillan noticed that most of the ship's crew was no help and had already packed their bags to send to shore. With just a few working desperately, their efforts seemed in vain.²¹ MacMillan and Hunt remained aboard for the next forty-two hours, directing the unloading, staying with the vessel, and trying to stay awake. After much labor, they were eventually successful in floating the ship free from the rocks on July 18 and then began the arduous task of reloading the vessel. It was heavy work, but the expedition was saved.²²

They soon transferred to a more reliable sealing ship named the *Erik* and continued northwards to Greenland. Hunt thought the second vessel much better, with a better captain and crew.²³ On August 26, 1913, the expedition finally reached Etah, on the northwestern coast of Greenland, a colonial possession of Denmark located in the Arctic region. From there they planned to cross to Ellesmere Island, Canada, where they hoped to establish winter quarters. Upon arriving at Etah, though, they found there was too much ice further on and they were unable to get to Ellesmere. Instead, they built a winter hut at Etah, which MacMillan named Borup Lodge, in remembrance of his deceased friend and original expedition co-leader. Even before the hut was finished, Hunt was the first of the men to sleep ashore with a sleeping bag upon the ground.²⁴

Under the direction of Jonathan "Jot" Small, whom MacMillan



The Crocker Land expedition set sail from New York on the *SS Diana*, pictured here docked at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. The *Diana* ran aground in Canada and the expedition members transferred to another ship. From Donald B. MacMillan, *Four Years in the White North* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1918).

called their master builder and Hunt called their only competent carpenter, Borup Lodge was quickly built. It stood sturdy for the next four years, remained a stable and comfortable shelter, and only took thirty-five tons of coal to heat for their entire stay. It also provided ample space for expedition members, as well as many native men, women, children, and dogs. There were eight rooms on the ground floor, including a large living room and four bedrooms that doubled as workrooms. The rear of the building housed a workshop, an electrical room with oil-engine and batteries, and a darkroom for developing photographs. The electric lights dazzled the natives, and a telephone connected to some nearby igloos amazed them when they heard tinny voices magically coming from the earphone.²⁵

The *Erik* left on August 30, 1913, and the men worked to prepare for the coming winter. Since Jot, who was also expedition cook, was engaged in building the lodge, Hunt took over the culinary duty and kept the men fed with Arctic rabbits. "I could usually shoot a few every day; the men liked them very much indeed," he reported.²⁶ For boats, the men had Hunt's Sponson canoe, a New Bedford whaleboat, a dory, a flattie, and a motorboat. The native families, who accompanied expedition members to help guide and procure food, also had three kayaks. As soon

as lodge construction was underway, those who could be spared used their watercraft to hunt walrus meat. According to Hunt:

when we saw walrus, the kayaks were sent ahead to harpoon the animal and put a line on him, with a float and a drag. Harpooned, the walrus always dove. When he came up for air, we shot him in the head, killed him, and pulled him in on the harpoon line. When we were offshore hunting walrus and had killed two or three, we would tie them to the motorboat and drag them into the harbor, strand them out at high tide, and cut them up. By the time the harbor was frozen over, we had about 20 walrus for winter food for man and dog.²⁷

As winter approached and the harbor froze over, the crew found little to do. Hunt used the time to hunt rabbits to store for the winter.²⁸ Their nearest non-Inuit neighbors were two Danish traders, Knud Rasmussen and Peter Freuchen, located at Umanak, Greenland, nearly 150 miles to the south. Hunt appreciated their extensive history with the Greenland natives and believed they were likable enough fellows, but considered them poor planners and careless in travel. The Danish men did not believe MacMillan should be able to trade with the natives for fox skins; they were angry about the practice as it cut into their trade business. Nonetheless, they remained friendly and helpful, and certainly enjoyed the Americans' company in the lonely Arctic spaces and long winter nights.²⁹

Everyone seemed to get along for the most part that first winter, and Hunt reported there were no cliques as of yet. Of his fellow expedition members, Hunt wrote:

the men are good companions, when we give in some to each other's idiosyncrasies. Allen [Hunt's roommate Jerome Lee Allen] and I have had no squabbles yet, which cannot be said of the other roommates. Mac sleeps mostly out in a snow igloo, and there is an Eskimo family often in his room. Sometimes I sleep out, too. The house is constantly full of visitors. The air could not be worse. I have urged better ventilation, but with no results. Mac does not take advice in a good spirit.³⁰

By the end of 1913 and in early 1914, the expedition began to move provisions across Smith Sound to Ellesmere Island to cache for the upcoming Crocker Land investigation. Hunt stayed for a time across the sound from Greenland at Peary's old hut on Pim Island, Canada, built for his 1900 North Pole attempt. They fixed it up and used it as a supply dump. Hunt became disenchanted with MacMillan's rule of not allowing white

men to travel with a dog team during this time. MacMillan insisted they walk instead. It may have been his plan to save the dogs for later, but it proved to be an unpopular decision.

The cold weather posed a challenge, but the northern lights were fantastic, especially on one bitter night when it was 50° below zero. Years later when Hunt and his family were camping at Chimney Pond in Baxter State Park in Maine, he awoke everyone to see the northern lights blazing in the sky and recounted when he and Walter Ekblaw had put up a windscreen and settled down for the night out of the wind on their way to resupply Pim Island. With poor snow they could not make an igloo, and so they lay with their backs to each other and shivered through the night. The shivering told Hunt that Ekblaw was still alive. It was a grueling ordeal and Ekblaw commented that he never wanted to go through that again.³¹

MacMillan's plan for travel to Crocker Land included the use of the Inuit native families that had accompanied them, as well as most of his expedition team: Hunt, Jot, Ekblaw, Allen, Maurice Cole Tanquary, and Fitzhugh Green.³² He planned to have teams throughout the winter ferry supplies across the ice from Greenland to the western side of the sound and establish depots. Resupply efforts continued until early spring, when MacMillan's main group, which included himself, Ekblaw, Green, and seven Inuit, crossed the sound on the start of their 1200-mile journey. MacMillan found his supporting parties encamped at some snow igloos in the middle of Hayes Sound:

Some had influenza, some had the mumps, and some had cold feet literally and figuratively; nearly all refused to go on, stating that the dogs were weak, unable to pull an ordinary load, and would probably die on the big glacier of Ellesmere Land, over which we had to cross in order to reach the head of Bay Fiord, seventy-miles to the west... I decided to retreat to Etah and there eliminate the sick, the chicken-hearted... I placed the sick in charge of Hunt and Green.³³

It was not a good beginning, but Hunt distinguished himself when he escorted some of the sick men back to Etah from Pim Island, a distance of fifty miles in one day. MacMillan was astounded that he had made it in one march. Hunt's feet became blistered during the long trek, but he pressed on. He recorded the event in his journal, and later explained the distance he walked in a way in which his family in Maine could easily understand. "I can't believe I walked as far as Bangor to Hancock in one day," he told his daughter.³⁴



Map of Greenland, a Danish colony. The Crocker Land expedition's base of operations was Etah, located in the northwestern part of the island, across the bay from Ellesmere Island, Canada. Expedition members often traveled to Umanak, 150 miles to the south of Etah, to trade and visit with two Danish settlers there. From *Rand McNally World Atlas, Premier Edition* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1932), courtesy of Rand McNally. Map © Rand McNally, License: R.L. 12-S-003.

Despite the rough start, MacMillan remained undeterred and ventured forth again on March 10, 1914. They made better time and eventually crossed Ellesmere Land (later recognized as Ellesmere Island), after which he sent back for a supporting party. On April 11, they reached what MacMillan thought to be Cape Thomas Hubbard, the last bit of land at the tip of Axel Heiberg Island, in far northern Canada.³⁵ There was nothing in front of them except the frozen Polar Sea. Having been further reinforced by Fitzhugh Green and a supporting party, MacMillan planned to use his twenty-five days' worth of provisions to go out and reach Crocker Land. Peary had estimated that Crocker Land was about 120 miles northwest of Cape Thomas Hubbard, so MacMillan estimated he could reach it over the sea ice in about twelve days. By this point, they had covered 580 miles from their winter quarters at Etah and had averaged almost eighteen miles per day. The men were worn down, but the dogs seemed especially affected. MacMillan thought salt in the pemmican was causing the dogs' dysentery, vomiting, and apparent weakness.³⁶

Before they made their way out onto the ice, MacMillan tried, but was unable to find Peary's cairn and record at Cape Thomas Hubbard, although they later were able to locate it on their return. Leaving the land behind, they moved out onto the sea ice in the direction of Crocker Land and made decent time through pressure ridges and then a stretch of smooth ice. At one point they stopped to erect an igloo and make a sounding to determine the depth of the sea beneath them. Relatively shallow depth would indicate their approaching the land mass of Crocker Land. According to MacMillan: "[when] 200 fathoms of wire had been unreeled, [expedition physicist Fitzhugh] Green remarked that we had found a deep hole. When 500 had disappeared, I thought he was right. When 1,000 was reached, we simply looked at each other.... Nearly 2,000 fathoms were lowered into that hole before we gave it up."³⁷ MacMillan reasoned that the weight of a five-pound pick was not sufficient to give an accurate reading and perhaps had been dragged sideways by strong currents. The only other possibility was that they were over deep ocean, which could only mean the continental shelf had dropped off and there was no chance of Crocker Land (or any land) being nearby. The problem with the soundings became moot when the wire broke upon being reeled in and the men lost several fathoms of wire and their pick. Without another sufficient weight for the line, the forty-pound reel of wire they had dragged for over 500 miles was now worthless. They left it on the crest of a high pressure ridge of ice.³⁸

By April 19, they were making good progress; on the following day, they covered thirty miles. On the morning of April 21, Green awoke everyone with shouts of joy. MacMillan believed there could be no doubt about it; they had come upon Crocker Land. "Great heavens! What a land! Hills, valleys, snow-capped peaks extending through at least one hundred and twenty degrees of the horizon," he wrote. But the native men were not so sure and pronounced the scenery before them nothing more than a mist. They kept an eye on the view as they proceeded onwards and noted it gradually changed appearance until it finally disappeared altogether that evening.³⁹

Disappointed that Peary's "discovery" did not, in fact, exist, MacMillan wrote: "As we drank our hot tea and gnawed the pemmican, we did a good deal of thinking. Could Peary with all his experience have been mistaken? Was this mirage which had deceived us the very thing which had deceived him eight years before? If he did see Crocker Land, then it was considerably more than 120 miles away, for we were now at least 100 miles from shore, with nothing in sight."⁴⁰ They continued on until April 22, when MacMillan reckoned they had not only reached the point where Crocker Land should have been, but they were actually thirty miles inland on it. He was crushed: "We were convinced that we were in pursuit of a will-o'-the-wisp, ever receding, ever changing, ever beckoning." He decided to turn back and wrote that his "dreams of the last four years were merely dreams; my hopes had ended in bitter disappointment."⁴¹

Upon their return to land, they spotted Peary's cairn at Cape Thomas Hubbard and endured a grueling climb to reach it.⁴² They then turned to view the scene as Peary had seen it. Conditions were optimal and MacMillan wrote that they could see Peary's mythical Crocker Land even without a glass: "the dark background in contrast with the white, the whole resembling hills, valleys, and snow-capped peaks to such a degree that, had we not been out on the frozen sea for 150 miles, we would have staked our lives upon its reality. Our judgment then, as now, is that this was a mirage or loom of the sea ice."⁴³ Crocker Land appeared to exist, but had fooled them all.⁴⁴ For Donald MacMillan, the confirmation that Crocker Land did not exist represented a turning point in his budding Arctic career. It may have been then that MacMillan embraced his future Arctic work and found his Arctic calling.

The discovery of entire new lands seemed to have become cliché, remnants of an earlier age of exploration, a quaint notion or concept now as distant and nebulous as the Crocker Land mountain mirage.

From this point on, MacMillan seems to have developed a new perspective on the Arctic. In so doing, he embraced the future and distanced himself from the explorer archetype of Peary and others. Fame and fortune became minor concerns when placed against the quest to better understand these polar lands, its processes, and its people. It was along these lines that MacMillan distinguished himself for the next fifty years as he drew upon his background in education, his interest in learning and teaching, and his respect for the historical legacy of the earliest explorers.⁴⁵

By end of May 1914, MacMillan was back at Etah and the truth about the Crocker Land mirage was widely known. Hunt wrote simply that Peary was evidently mistaken and that his original sighting had been a mirage. One wonders if he thought of Peary's reaction to him asking that very question back in the states before the expedition sailed. Regardless, Hunt finished his diary entry with the simple statement that there was no Crocker Land.⁴⁶

For Harrison Hunt, the non-existence of Crocker Land actually meant very little. If anything, it merely confirmed his already-growing sense of having been misled or even duped into this supposedly grand adventure, and his relationship with MacMillan continued to sour. But Hunt was determined he would do his duty and fulfill his obligations to the expedition. Not one to sit idle, Hunt busied himself with his own anthropological studies of the native people around Etah. As he medically ministered to them, he became convinced they were good people, who seemed incapable of being dishonest. He even interviewed two natives who had accompanied Frederick Cook on his polar trip in 1908. Through discussions with them, he ascertained the party might never indeed have been out of sight of land, contrary to Cook's claim, but it was more an anthropological effort rather than one to settle the polar controversy.⁴⁷

Hunt worried about their future. Noting that the native people had saved many a polar explorer's life, he wrote:

they did not ask for us to come; we literally invaded their territory. They welcomed us and shared with us. We will disrupt the equilibrium of their society, and I wonder if we can in any way help them to hold onto their great qualities of self-reliance, originality, and kindliness, as our way of life encroaches on theirs... I worry. They are among the most decent people on the face of the earth. The veneer of civilization has not reached them, and when it does I fear it will spoil them.⁴⁸

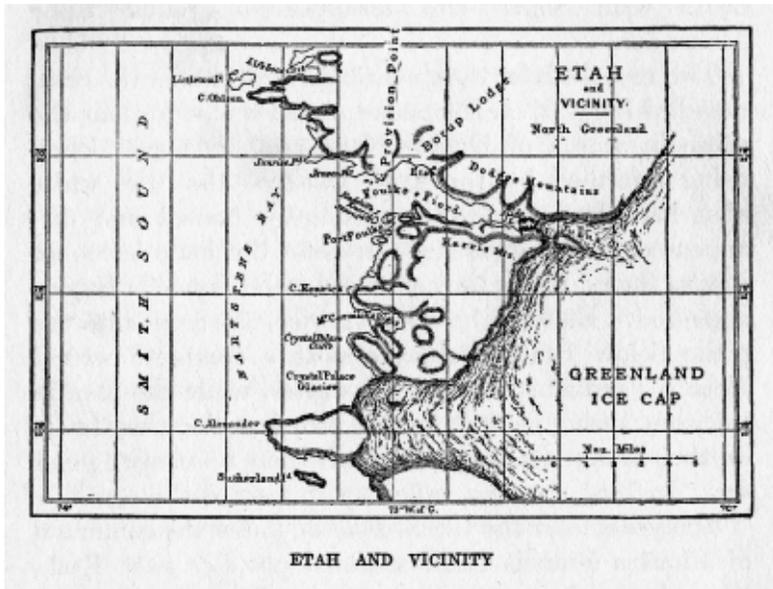
He tried his hand at igloo-making, a skill he had never quite mastered

while growing up in Maine, but found the Arctic snow too soft. "I never was very good at it any way," he wrote. He became quite proficient at seal hunting and also discovered that clams from the stomach of a walrus often tasted like those from Maine. But it was a lonely time, and Hunt wrote of his solitude and longing for his family back home.⁴⁹

With the existence of Crocker Land disproved, there was nothing left to do except stock the lodge for the winter and wait for the relief ship the following summer, in 1915. By this time, expedition members had cooled quite noticeably towards each other. Hunt became increasingly disenchanted with MacMillan's leadership. The relationship became more strained when one of the expedition members killed a native Inuit, and MacMillan did nothing to punish him. The subsequent cover-up made Hunt even more uncomfortable and angry.⁵⁰ According to Hunt, MacMillan was a habitual dissembler; he would tell one person something and then say something entirely different to another. Additionally, the scientific program was a shambles and zoologist Maurice Tanquary was extremely frustrated. Hunt also disliked MacMillan trading their provisions and goods for furs that MacMillan could then sell upon his return to the states. So much sugar was traded that they were afraid they would run out. The provisions, it had been agreed, would be shared alike, but when Hunt came upon MacMillan eating a chocolate bar by himself, he felt betrayed: "things like that made me feel I was not his friend, and when he asked me I told him so. We kept our relations correct, but I found it difficult."⁵¹

Hunt stayed away from MacMillan at Etah. He preferred to be out hunting or administering to local inhabitants. In fact, Hunt did not see much of MacMillan again for the next three years, as the men often found reasons to be apart from each other. In September 1914, Hunt went on a caribou hunt for skins that stretched to two weeks. He returned with forty-two fine skins. MacMillan left for Umanak and points south, to take mail out later in the year, but not before first having all men pose for an official expedition photograph at a dinner gathering in early December 1914. The seven men seated around the table appear reserved, resigned, or somber, including MacMillan seated in the middle. It was to be a long winter.⁵²

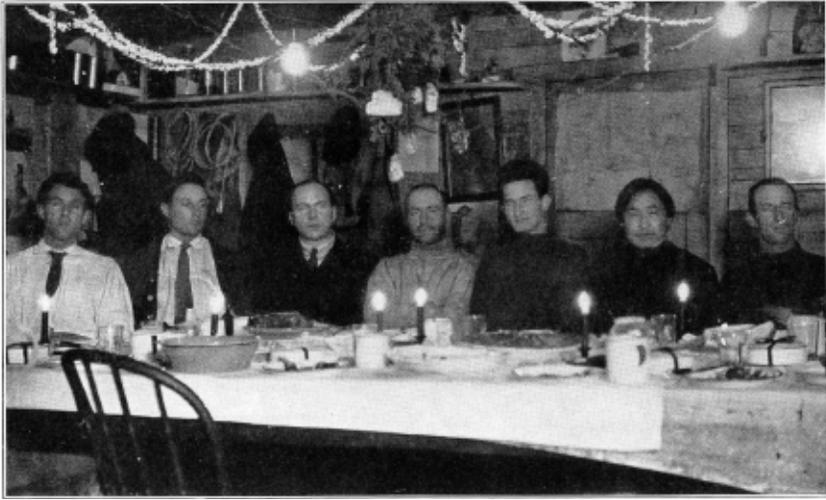
During the Arctic night, Hunt tended to men as they got sick, especially expedition electrician Jerome Lee Allen and Fitzhugh Green. Hunt also found one of his wisdom teeth bothered him, a long-time injury from an illegal punch during a Yale-Bowdoin football game. When the man on watch could not muster the courage to pull Hunt's tooth with the forceps, Hunt traveled five days to Peter Freuchen's place in Umanak



Map of Etah, Greenland, and vicinity. The Crocker Land expedition members built Borup Lodge in Etah upon arriving in 1913. As noted on this map, most of Greenland is covered by an ice cap, and thus only coastal areas, such as Etah, are habitable by humans. From Donald B. MacMillan, *Four Years in the White North* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1918).

to get relief. He got lost, had to double back, and nearly missed the settlement. Hunt wrote that just as he walked up to Freuchen's door, the tooth stopped aching and never bothered him again. The purpose of the trip had come to naught, but the time away from Etah helped.⁵³

By August, the relief ship had still not arrived and had been slowed by extensive ice. The expedition, meanwhile, had run low on supplies, partially due to MacMillan's propensity to trade items for skins. Hunt wrote: "we chose a committee to ration our provisions from then on. I made no bones about how upset I was, and Mac didn't like it. Tank, Ek, Green and Allen got together and decided they would appoint me leader of the expedition if Mac did not go along. I think Mac never knew about this. According to our contract with the Museum, this was mutiny they were discussing."⁵⁴ Fortunately, this was as far as it went, as they had more important matters at hand. The men still had to prepare for winter's onset, especially when no relief ship appeared that fall. By late 1915, Hunt also started experiencing difficulty with his hearing, a malady that grew progressively worse over the years. While out hunting, he also



Christmas dinner, 1914, in Etah, Greenland. After a year and a half in the Arctic, many expedition members had cooled toward each other. From left to right: Harrison Hunt, Fitzhugh Green, Walter Ekblaw, Maurice Tanquary, Jerome Lee Allen, Mene (a native guide), and Jot Small. From Donald B. MacMillan, *Four Years in the White North* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1918), opposite p. 32.

strained his heart but paid no attention to it. Eventually, he noted the condition disappeared.⁵⁵

While returning to Etah from a hunting trip that fall, MacMillan met Hunt at the lodge with some brutal news. He was told other expedition members had cleared out for the relief ship, which had indeed only gotten as far north as Umanak. A few weeks earlier while Hunt was away, Peter Freuchen appeared at Etah with his motorboat, told the men about the relief ship, and ferried them down to the vessel, the *George B. Cluett*. MacMillan and Jot had elected to remain at Etah in order to inform Hunt when he returned, but mainly to spend their third winter there. Hunt was crushed when he realized his chance at departing that year was gone. "I felt pretty low and lonely. Mac and Jot stayed by choice, but I had had enough of that expedition, and particularly of Mac. I was like a caged animal."⁵⁶

As the sound froze over in the winter of 1915, Hunt busied himself making holes in the ice for soundings, which had never been done. While getting supplies the relief ship had deposited at Umanak, MacMillan learned the ship had not made it out of Greenland at all but was frozen in at Parker Snow Bay, halfway between North Star Bay and Cape York. There it would remain for the winter in need of supplies and a

doctor. In November 1915, with no objections from MacMillan, Hunt loaded three sleds with supplies and headed south for the stranded vessel. He never saw Etah again.⁵⁷

Aboard ship, they endured a long, difficult winter as the captain had sold most of the emergency rations for personal profit. With World War I underway in Europe, supplies were sporadic at best from Denmark, so even the Danes at Umanak faced a difficult winter. Whenever he could, Hunt went out hunting to augment food supplies – that is, when he was not taking care of Dr. E.O. Hovey, chairman of the museum committee that had sponsored the expedition. Hovey berthed on the *Cluett* only to find himself stranded aboard a frozen ship in the polar night. Hunt believed Hovey was in no condition to endure an Arctic winter. The man required constant attention.⁵⁸

Hovey indeed proved to be troublesome, and Hunt expressed joy when Hovey elected to take a sled and try to head south. But after fifty miles, Hovey sent back word he had had a heart attack and needed Hunt at once. The doctor was fifty miles farther away tending to a native who had sustained a nasty cut with a killing iron. After taking care of the hunter, Hunt quickly made his way to where Hovey camped. Hovey's imperiousness, especially his disdain for the native inhabitants of the region, grated on Hunt. Hovey, Hunt recalled, "called the Eskimos savages and treated them with contempt. He once remarked to me that all that counted in life was money, anyway. I did not like to deal with him."⁵⁹

Eventually Hunt left the ship to stay with Freuchen at Umanak. This proved lucky for the Dane, who was extremely ill throughout the summer of 1916. Hunt spent several months nursing him back to health, and while there, he helped the *Cluett's* Canadian ice captain, George Comer, excavate what later became known in archaeological studies as Comer's Midden. "We found tools that even the Eskimos there could not identify," Hunt wrote.⁶⁰

Relations among expedition members were further strained when Hovey and MacMillan clashed as to who was actually in charge at this time. For Hunt, this power struggle posed many problems. Hovey had given Hunt permission to clear out with the *Cluett*, but Hunt had thought little of the ship's chances to safely make it out, and so decided to stay. It was a wise choice. Even though she was only five years old at the time, the *Cluett* proved unlucky.⁶¹ It became ice free in July 1916, but none of the expedition's men wanted to try their luck with the leaky, battered ship. She eventually did make it back to safety, but only after much trouble. Expedition members expected the museum to send another ship for them that summer anyway. Finally, on September 13, 1916, the

Danish steamer the *Danmark* arrived at Umanak, but was unable to proceed to Etah. According to Hunt, the museum had tried to save money by allowing the ship to carry freight, but the extra time and stops had delayed the ship getting to Etah until much later in the season. To Hunt, it was another example of the museum's blatant disregard for the expedition. The *Danmark* became stranded at North Star Bay and spent the 1916-1917 winter locked in ice. Expedition botanist Walter E. Ekblaw and Hunt stayed aboard the vessel until they too left for the south in December 1916.

When Hunt finally left Umanak in December, he had MacMillan's written authority to do so. Hunt and Ekblaw were ordered to proceed to southern Greenland and find the first Danish ship that would take them to Denmark in the spring of 1917. Hunt was ecstatic. "We were eager to be off, to be shut of the whole expedition, although sad to say goodbye to our good Eskimo friends, whom we would probably never see again."⁶²

They traveled south along the Greenland shore and made great distances by dogsled, kayak, and canoe from Umanak to South Upernavik, Greenland, where Ekblaw decided to await a summer ship. Not one to remain idle, and determined to put distance between himself and the expedition, Hunt continued on to Agto in southern Greenland and arrived the third week of March 1917. The final leg of his desperate journey was by kayak in dangerous Greenland waters to the Danish settlement of Holsteinborg, Greenland, where he arrived April 22, 1917. During this voyage, he had long hours to ponder the expedition and had become "sore at heart and savage at the great museum whose contract I had trusted, at their failure to send a well-found ship." He continued: "A three-masted auxillary schooner indeed! And with no man on board who had ever been in those waters! The following year a ship with insufficient coal! Both too late in the season! I grew bitter. I was bitter about Mac and Hovey....The great purposes of the expedition to which I had devoted myself for four years became a will-o'-the-wisp that faded before my eyes."⁶³ A ship finally arrived at Holsteinborg; it was the *Hans Egede*, and she brought news of the American entry into World War I.

With little or no money left, Hunt boarded her and made passage to the Danish-controlled Faroe Islands in the Norwegian Sea, halfway between Iceland and Scotland, where he was warned not to make for Copenhagen, Denmark, without a passport. He decided to risk it and, before the ship sailed, spent his last bit of money on a cable to the museum with information about the remnants of the expedition and to ask

for transportation arrangements to be made to get him home from Europe. On June 1, 1917, the ship arrived in Copenhagen, where, after some difficulties, Hunt was allowed some credit for clothes and a meal. The museum also cabled him that the *Neptune* under the command of Bob Bartlett would be dispatched to Etah for the rest of the expedition team. Bartlett was successful and brought out the remaining members of the expedition in the summer of 1917. Hunt boarded the *SS United States* and arrived in New York on June 20, just a few weeks shy of four years from when he left. He could not hear his wife Marion at the dock since he had grown quite deaf, but he recognized her and was content that he was home.⁶⁴

When Hunt was notified that the museum deemed his extended stay to have been voluntary and that no further salary payments would be forthcoming, he wrote a long and angry letter in which he asked for fair treatment. Hovey responded with an angry letter of his own in which he said that Hunt had indeed been allowed to leave early on the *George B. Cluett* but had chosen not to do so and had been, in general, a troublemaker and disloyal to the expedition.⁶⁵ MacMillan, when called upon to weigh in on the matter, diplomatically wrote that the "Doctor's claim for further compensation is based upon his enforced stay in the Arctic regions, not upon my report upon his work or his relations to the expedition."⁶⁶ The museum continued to insist he had stayed voluntarily and so, in disgust, Hunt washed his hands entirely of the affair. Crocker Land, to him, had become synonymous with empty promises and disappointment. After the expedition, Hunt never ventured far from Maine; according to his daughter, "the world's white roof tree" never called him again.⁶⁷ He moved to Bangor and helped start the Urological Section at Eastern Maine General Hospital. In the 1950s, he traveled extensively around the state with the Red Cross Bloodmobile. When he was seventy-six years old, Hunt answered an advertisement for an adventurous doctor for a part-time practice on Swan's Island. He finally retired in 1960 and moved back to Bangor. Harrison J. Hunt died of pneumonia on July 17, 1967.⁶⁸

For Donald MacMillan, his Crocker Land expedition ended with arrival of Bob Bartlett and the *Neptune* on July 31, 1917. They loaded over 200 crates of preserved bird and animal skins, eggs, rocks, and plant specimens, the fruits of MacMillan's four years of labor. And yet, the explorer was not all that enthused to be leaving. He wrote, it was "with a strange feeling of almost homesickness that I watched that northern land dropping below the horizon.... It holds a warm place in my heart."⁶⁹

But he had learned a lot. The experience had taught him some valuable lessons upon which he drew during the rest of his lengthy Arctic career. He took a more active role in the provisioning of his later expeditions, and was more savvy in dealing with sponsors in the future. He also totally oversaw the recruitment of the crew on his future expeditions, oftentimes preferring youth and enthusiasm to age and experience. His relaxed attitude towards Canadian jurisdiction, territorial claims, and animal regulations continued, but his interest in, dedication to, and appreciation for the Arctic had taken a strong hold.⁷⁰ His future expeditions and their members would be notable for their energy, enthusiasm, and love for Captain “Mac.” MacMillan in return assumed a more easy-going yet confident attitude towards his men.⁷¹

In his published memoirs of the expedition, which came out in 1918, MacMillan wrote of its many accomplishments. While it is true he had disproved the existence of Crocker Land, MacMillan had also completed a survey of previously unexplored stretches of the Axel Heiberg Island coastline. He also explored and surveyed Greely Fiord and made first landfall on King Christian Island. MacMillan’s accomplishments also included numerous surveys and the discovery of nine new islands. MacMillan and his men also collected a lot of information during the expedition: ornithological studies, tidal observations, and anthropological data, including 3,000 native words. MacMillan also reported that 5,500 photographs taken and ten thousand feet of motion picture film were shot.⁷² For the next fifty years, MacMillan led over thirty more expeditions to the Arctic, many of them from the helm or icehouse atop the *Bowdoin*, his specially-built schooner, which still travels to the Arctic. He logged over 300,000 miles while chartering new territory, and pioneered the use of radios, airplanes, motion pictures, and electricity in the Arctic.⁷³ For Donald B. MacMillan, the Crocker Land expedition opened a door. He made his final trip to the Arctic with the *Bowdoin* in 1957 and retired to spend the remainder of his days in Provincetown, Massachusetts. He died September 7, 1970.⁷⁴

For Robert E. Peary, the proof that Crocker Land did not exist was one more impediment to establishing his legacy and defending his name. It brought back to the forefront the ongoing polar controversy. Anything about the dispute filled him with a seething anger; no one dared even jest about it in his presence.⁷⁵ Peary took solace in establishing his summer home on Eagle Island in Casco Bay, Maine. He had purchased it for \$500 in 1881 as a newly graduated civil engineer from Bowdoin, but delayed building a cottage until 1904, and it was only after his

final 1908-1909 expedition that the house was modernized and expanded.⁷⁶ Peary used the expansions and renovations at his Eagle Island retreat as a bulwark against the raging polar controversy.⁷⁷

In the halls of Congress, North Dakota representative Henry T. Helgesen submitted legislation to revoke Peary's promotion and retirement.⁷⁸ Although it was unsuccessful, the resultant publicity put the controversy squarely back in the public's eye. Peary also engaged in a public exchange of sharp letters with polar explorer Adolphus Greely.⁷⁹ Greely had just barely survived the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition of 1881-1884 along with five other emaciated, starving survivors. Peary and Greely had long been rivals and were critical of each other. In the summer of 1916, Greely used the pages of the *Boston Herald* to renew this feud.⁸⁰ In less than four years, Robert E. Peary was dead, a victim of pernicious anemia. He was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

The non-existent Crocker Land signified different things to Peary, MacMillan, and Hunt. For Peary, the false claim of discovering new land in the Arctic hurt his reputation. Two fellow Mainers, Donald MacMillan and Harrison J. Hunt, ventured to the Arctic in search of Peary's Crocker Land and discovered that it did not exist. They spent a total of four years in the Arctic region during this expedition, from 1913 to 1917. MacMillan used the Crocker Land expedition as a springboard to embark on a long-lasting polar career. Hunt's experience was not pleasant; he considered the expedition a grueling four-year ordeal that ended in disappointment and frustration. The Crocker Land expedition challenged their tenacity and Maine hardihood but never eclipsed their fundamental sense of self and worth.

NOTES

1. The author would like to thank Dr. Edward K. Morse and Stephen DenHartog, as well as the University of Maine's Fogler Library, the National Archives, the Friends of Peary's Eagle Island, Bowdoin College, the Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum, and the American Polar Society.

2. Peary was born in Cresson, Pennsylvania, in 1856, but moved north after his father died and spent his formative years in southern Maine with his mother. He graduated from Bowdoin College in 1877. After graduating with a degree in civil engineering, his first employment was as town surveyor in Fryeburg. Peary bought Eagle Island in Casco Bay for a summer home and had his polar ship *Roosevelt* built at Verona Island in Bucksport. For the rest of his life, outside his polar expeditions, Peary split his time between Washington, D.C. and Maine. See John Edward Weems, *Peary: The Explorer and the Man* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1967), and Munson Gorham, *Penobscot: Down East Paradise* (Camden, ME: Down East Enterprise, 1959).

3. Robert E. Peary, *Nearest the Pole* (New York: Doubleday, 1907), p. 207; and Weems, *Peary*, p. 223.
4. Robert M. Bryce, *Cook & Peary: The Polar Controversy, Resolved* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997), pp. 545, 596.
5. Everett S. Allen, *Arctic Odyssey: The Life of Rear Admiral Donald B. MacMillan* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co, 1962), pp. 42-43; and Mary Morton Cowan, *Captain Mac: The Life of Donald Baxter MacMillan, Arctic Explorer* (Honesdale, PA: Calkins Creek, 2010), p. 33.
6. Allen, *Arctic Odyssey*, p. 43.
7. Dr. Edward K. Morse, personal communication, January 7, 2010.
8. Allen, *Arctic Odyssey*, pp. 43-44.
9. Like Peary, MacMillan wanted his polar ship, which he named *Bowdoin*, built in Maine. Hodgdon Brothers of East Boothbay built and launched the vessel in 1921. For the next thirty years, MacMillan used the coastal towns of Wiscasset and Freeport as departure points for many of his Arctic expeditions. See Virginia Thorndike, *The Arctic Schooner Bowdoin: A Biography* (Unity, ME: North Country Press, 1995).
10. Donald B. MacMillan, *Four Years in the White North* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1918), p. 4; and Harrison J. Hunt and Ruth Hunt Thompson, *North to the Horizon: Searching for Peary's Crocker Land* (Camden, ME: Down East Books, 1980), pp. viii and flyleaf.
11. He never wrote anything about the expedition other than letters to his family and a journal he kept during its early phase. It was his wife who took notes of his stories when he told them in later years and his daughter who arranged for his story to eventually be published. See Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. ix.
12. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, pp. vii-ix.
13. George Borup was born in 1885 and graduated from Yale College in 1907. As a geologist, he participated in Robert E. Peary's 1908-1909 North Polar expedition. He published a book in 1911 entitled *A Tenderfoot with Peary*. Borup worked as an assistant curator for the American Museum of Natural History's Department of Geology and Invertebrate Paleontology when he was chosen to help organize and lead the Crocker Land expedition, which was originally scheduled to begin in 1912. He drowned in a boating accident on Long Island Sound on April 28, 1912. He is buried in Ossining, New York. See "Death of George Borup," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* 64 (June 1912): 429-431.
14. "Death of George Borup," pp. 430-431.
15. Miriam MacMillan, *I Married an Explorer* (London: Travel Book Club, 1952), pp. 122-123.
16. MacMillan, *Four Years*, p. 4; and Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. viii.
17. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, pp. 7-9; quotation from p. 9.
18. Bryce, *Cook & Peary*, p. 525; and Weems, *Peary*, pp. 290-294.
19. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 9-10.
20. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 11; and MacMillan, *Four Years*, p. 8.
21. MacMillan, *Four Years*, p. 9.

22. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, pp. 10-11; and MacMillan, *Four Years*, p. 9.
23. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 11.
24. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, pp. 12, 14.
25. MacMillan, *Four Years*, pp. 30-31.
26. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 14.
27. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 14.
28. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 16.
29. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 18.
30. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 44. Hunt's roommate, Jerome Lee Allen, was in the U.S. Navy and served as a wireless operator for the expedition. Allen, *Arctic Odyssey*, p. 167.
31. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, pp. 47-48. Walter Elmer Ekblaw (1882-1949) was expedition geologist, botanist, and ornithologist, and a recent graduate of the University of Illinois at the time of the expedition. Allen, *Arctic Odyssey*, p. 166.
32. Fitzhugh Green, Sr. (1888-1947) was expedition physicist and engineer. He was an Annapolis graduate and ensign in the U.S. Navy at the time of the expedition. Maurice Cole Tanquary (1881-1944) was expedition zoologist and a recent University of Illinois graduate. Allen, *Arctic Odyssey*, pp. 167-168.
33. MacMillan, *Four Years*, p. 54.
34. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 50.
35. Cape Thomas Hubbard is located in the present-day Canadian territory of Nunavut and was named by Peary for financial backer and vocal leader of the Peary Arctic Club, Thomas H. Hubbard (1838-1915). Born in Hallowell, Maine, Hubbard graduated from Bowdoin College and was an officer in the Civil War. See Weems, *Peary*, pp. 232, 284; and Edwin C. Hill, *The Historical Register: A Biographical Record of the Men of Our Time Who Have Contributed to the Making of America* (New York: Edwin C. Hill, 1919), p. 193.
36. MacMillan, *Four Years*, p. 73. MacMillan used pemmican, a concentrated mixture of fat and protein made into bricks, to feed the dogs. Different ingredients and their amounts produced a variety of results. MacMillan's pemmican had higher salt content, the possible cause of gastric distress in his dogs. See also R.J.F. Taylor, "The Physiology of Sledge Dogs," *Polar Record* 8 (September 1956): 317-321.
37. MacMillan, *Four Years*, pp. 76-77.
38. MacMillan, *Four Years*, p. 77.
39. MacMillan, *Four Years*, p. 80.
40. MacMillan, *Four Years*, p. 80.
41. MacMillan, *Four Years*, pp. 81, 84.
42. MacMillan, *Four Years*, p. 87.
43. MacMillan, *Four Years*, p. 88.
44. Crocker Land continued to intrigue Arctic enthusiasts. Richard Byrd's polar flights on MacMillan's 1925 expedition kept an eye out for such land and even into the 1930s William H. Hobbs spoke of its possible existence in a Peary biography. As late as the

1950s, interest in Crocker Land continued as some scientists suggested that one of the large ice islands, possibly T-3, may have been what Peary spotted forty years earlier. See William Herbert Hobbs, *Peary* (New York: MacMillan, 1936), p. 298; Steven DenHartog, personal communication, 2009; and P.D. Baird, "D.B. MacMillan – Obituary," *Arctic* XXIV (March 1971), p. 80.

45. Edward Morse, personal communication, 2010; and Cowan, *Captain Mac*, p. 80. This paradigm shift enabled MacMillan to more easily contemplate the use of aviation assets and other innovative technologies in exploration, envision and eventually build a smaller vessel more suitable for research, and embrace an environmental awareness of the north much more pronounced than in earlier explorers. It was a major turning point in his Arctic career and life.

46. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 55.

47. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 33. Cook's two companions became pawns in the Cook/Peary feud, used by both sides to bolster their own and discredit their rival's claims. See Allen, *Arctic Odyssey*, pp. 166, 173-75; Weems, *Peary*, pp. 275, 289-290; and Bryce, *Cook & Peary*, pp. 854, 856.

48. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 29.

49. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 54.

50. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, pp. 56-57. Hunt wrote that after their return, Danish authorities thought it best to play down the situation regarding the killing of the native by Green. Hunt, who had liked and respected the dead native, believed that justice had not been served.

51. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 56.

52. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, pp. 56-57. The December 13, 1914, photo of their dinner at Etah was taken by Donald B. MacMillan, in Hunt and Thompson, *North*, following p. 62.

53. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 63.

54. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 71.

55. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, pp. 72-73.

56. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 73.

57. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 74.

58. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 74.

59. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 76.

60. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 77. Knud Rasmussen, one of the two Greenland Danes with whom the expedition members interacted during their four-year stay, later found the same remains in Canada and coined the term *Thule* for the culture that made them. See Lyle Dick, *Muskox Land: Ellesmere Island in the Age of Contact* (Calgary, Canada: University of Calgary Press, 2001), p. 343; Clark Wissler, *Archaeology of the Polar Eskimo*, volume 22, part 3 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1918), p. 111; and Knud Rasmussen, "The Second Thule Expedition to Northern Greenland, 1916-1918," *Geographical Review* VIII (August 1919): 117.

61. "Grenfell's Ship Launched," *New York Times*, July 2, 1911. *George B. Cluett* foundered at least two more times and was salvaged and refitted for service before she finally went

to the bottom for good during the early 1940s, somewhere between Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

62. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 78.
63. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 102.
64. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, pp. 104-105.
65. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 109.
66. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 110.
67. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, p. 111.
68. Hunt and Thompson, *North*, pp. 112-113.
69. Cowan, *Captain Mac*, pp. 82-83.
70. Baird, "D.B. MacMillan – Obituary," p. 80.
71. See the numerous books and articles by MacMillan crew members, including A.R. Horr, *The Log of the Schooner Bowdoin* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Co., 1947); Miriam MacMillan, *Green Seas and White Ice* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1948); Kennett Longley Rawson, *A Boy's-Eye View of the Arctic* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1926), Philip J. Haigis, "North With MacMillan: Experiences of an Osteopathic Student on an Arctic Expedition in 1937," *Osteopathic Magazine*, December 1937, pp. 7-9, 26-27; George Story Hudson, "Exploring Arctic Wastes in the 'Bowdoin,'" *Motor Boat*, July 25, 1921, pp. 15-17; "MacMillan, Arctic Pioneer, Turns 90," *The Polar Times*, December 1964, p. 14; Miriam MacMillan, "Donald B. MacMillan (1874-1970): Arctic Profiles," *Arctic*, September 1984, pp. 304-305; and Rutherford Platt, "The Most Unforgettable Character I've Met," *The Reader's Digest*, February 1966, pp. 49-55.
72. MacMillan, *Four Years*, pp. 320-322.
73. "Record of Arctic Voyages" in Allen, *Arctic Odyssey*, pp. 314-329.
74. Baird, "D.B. MacMillan – Obituary," p. 80.
75. Weems, *Peary*, p. 285; and Edward P. Stafford, *Peary and His Promised Land: The Story of a Love Affair Between a Man and an Island* (Friends of Peary's Eagle Island, 1998), pp. 21-22.
76. Friends of Peary's Eagle Island, "Peary's Eagle Island Docent Guide," 2007.
77. *Portland Sunday Press and Times*, September 28, 1918; and Stafford, *Peary and His Promised Land*, pp. 1, 10, 20-21.
78. H. J. Res. 287, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., *Congressional Record* 53 (August 2, 1916): 1254.
79. *Boston Herald*, August 9, 1916; August 18, 1916.
80. Weems, *Peary*, pp. 312-313.