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“The Greely Sensation”: Arctic Exploration and the Press

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Thesis

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On the morning of August 12, 1884, readers of the *Evening Bulletin* from San Francisco were greeted with the sensational title: “A Terrible Story: Charges of Cannibalism Against the Greely Arctic Explorers.”<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, in West Virginia, the *Wheeling Register* produced an even more sensational title the next day, “Torn from Arctic Graves. A Horrible Story of Cannibalism. Can these Things be True?”<sup>2</sup> In the Northeast, *The New Haven Evening Register* printed its own article titled: “The Greely Sensation: The Government Officials Very Reticent Regarding Alleged Cannibalism.”<sup>3</sup> It would appear that a wave of sensation was crossing the nation as papers printed similar stories on the charges of cannibalism. These charges were the latest topic to become publicized by the press pertaining to the Greely Expedition to Lady Franklin Bay in the Arctic. The events and stories of the Greely Expedition unfolded between the pages of a newspaper for the American public. How the press represented the expedition to the American people clarifies our understanding of the press’s and the American public’s interest in arctic exploration in the late nineteenth century.

Adolphus Greely, the leader of this ill-fated venture to the Arctic, was one of the main subjects in these tales of cannibalism as can be seen from the mention of his name in many of the examples above. Greely was a Civil War veteran who joined the Signal Corps as a meteorologist after the war had ended. The Signal Corps was a component of the army that also acted as a weather service after the war.<sup>4</sup> Greely excelled in his capacity at the Signal Corps, contributing heavily to its expansion westward through the development of telegraph lines in Texas.<sup>5</sup> Greely’s

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<sup>1</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, “A Terrible Story,” August 12, 1884

<sup>2</sup> *Wheeling Register*, “Torn from Arctic Graves,” August 13, 1884.

<sup>3</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “The Greely Sensation,” August 13, 1884.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Robinson, *The Coldest Crucible: Arctic Exploration and American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 92.

<sup>5</sup> Leonard Guttridge, *Ghosts of Cape Sabine: The Harrowing True Story of the Greely Expedition* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2000), 16.

pivot from this focus on the Signal Corps to arctic exploration occurred during a trip to Europe where he saw the excitement that the return of the Nares expedition elicited amongst the people of Europe. As Greely said about the occasion, ““The Arctic squadron had reached the Irish coast and with all England I was absorbed in the story they had to tell.””<sup>6</sup> Greely was clearly swept up in the excitement that arctic endeavors tended to cause. A fellow Signal Officer named Henry Howgate, who allowed Greely to peruse his vast library on the Arctic, also nurtured Greely’s interest in the Arctic.<sup>7</sup> This interest, along with Greely’s dual characteristics of being a soldier and a scientist made him the top candidate to be chosen for leader of the arctic expedition to Lady Franklin Bay.<sup>8</sup>

#### History of the Expedition

The Lady Franklin Bay expedition that Greely was chosen for was part of a much larger arctic research plan known as the International Polar Year originally called for by Austrian explorer Karl Weyprecht. Weyprecht’s plan advocated for a series of stationary arctic bases manned by various nations whose goals were to collect scientific data such as temperature, wind speed, and magnetic variation.<sup>9</sup> The Signal Corps championed this plan as a way to prove that they were still an essential part of the military and to silence critics who argued that the Corps was more of a civilian agency than a part of the military.<sup>10</sup> Chief Signal Officer Myer and his immediate successor, Hazen, aggressively pursued and gained support for this plan.<sup>11</sup> Their designated station at Lady Franklin Bay would be the most remote of the stations where the expedition would conduct their research while also trying to fulfill their secondary objective of

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<sup>6</sup> As quoted by Adolphus Greely in Guttridge, *Ghosts of Cape Sabine*, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Alden Todd, “Adolphus Washington Greely,” *Arctic* 38, no. 2 (1985), 150.

<sup>8</sup> Robinson, *The Coldest Crucible*, 92.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

reaching the North Pole or failing that, beating the British in the farthest north record.<sup>12</sup> Yet a third objective of the expedition was to look for the crew of the previous American arctic expedition, the *Jeanette* expedition, still unaccounted for.<sup>13</sup> In June 1881, Greely and Hazen developed the plan of resupply for the expedition where relief ships would be sent in both 1882 and 1883.<sup>14</sup> If the 1882 relief could not get through then they would land a supply cache in a designated area. If the 1883 relief ship could not get through, then it too would leave a supply cache while also leaving a party of men to spend the winter with the cache.<sup>15</sup> With the plans finalized, the expedition was ready to go. On August 14, 1881, Greely and his party reached their designated location and began their research.<sup>16</sup>

Complications emerged. In both 1882 and 1883, the relief ships with supplies failed to reach Greely.<sup>17</sup> General Hazen's secretary, Private William Beebe, undertook the first relief effort in 1882 aboard the *Neptune*. This effort failed to break through the dense ice and Beebe left two supply caches for the expedition as ordered.<sup>18</sup> Lieutenant Ernest Garlington led the next relief effort in 1883 with the ships *Proteus* and *Yantic*.<sup>19</sup> This relief effort turned out to be more disastrous than the last, as the *Proteus* was crushed and sunk by the ice it had been trying to break through.<sup>20</sup> The now stranded relief crew was stuck and could only leave a small cache for Greely's party as they searched out their sister relief ship, the *Yantic*.<sup>21</sup> It took more than a month

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<sup>12</sup> Pierre Berton, *The Arctic Grail: The Quest for the North West Passage and the North Pole, 1818-1909* (New York: Penguin Group, 1988), 436.

<sup>13</sup> Guttridge, *Ghosts of Cape Sabine*, 42.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>16</sup> Robinson, *The Coldest Crucible*, 92.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>18</sup> Berton, *The Arctic Grail*, 449.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 453.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 454.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 458.

for the crew of the *Proteus* to be rescued by their comrades. Once the second relief party returned, a court of inquiry was created in order to ascertain what had happened during the relief expedition.<sup>22</sup> This debacle with the second relief mission proved that reaching Greely would be a more dangerous and daunting challenge than had been previously imagined.

Another part of Greely's original plan was that if no relief made it to him by August 1883, he was to take his crew and retreat south.<sup>23</sup> So in August 1883, Greely's party had begun to head south from their station at Fort Conger with what they needed and left behind things they did not, such as their sled dogs and other unneeded supplies.<sup>24</sup> Greely had planned on finding sufficient supplies at designated points that were agreed upon prior to the launch of the expedition. However, he soon discovered that this was not the case due to the mishaps of the two relief expeditions. The lack of food and supplies led to casualties as the Greely party experienced starvation. Their situation was so dire that a member of the expedition, Private Charles Henry, was executed for stealing food from other members.<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile back in the United States, in January 1884, it was recommended by both the navy and army that three ships be sent in search of Greely. This recommendation stalled as members of Congress debated this recommendation and the necessary funds for such an expedition incessantly.<sup>26</sup> However, this plan was eventually approved a month later and the necessary ships were acquired with one of them, the *Alert*, being a gift from the British government.<sup>27</sup> This next relief expedition was led by Winfield Schley and was entirely

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<sup>22</sup> Guttridge, *Ghosts of Cape Sabine*, 203.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>25</sup> Robinson, *The Coldest Crucible*, 93.

<sup>26</sup> Berton, *The Arctic Grail*, 477.

<sup>27</sup> Berton, *The Arctic Grail*, 478.

comprised and led by naval personnel.<sup>28</sup> This expedition consisted of the ships: *Thetis*, *Alert*, and *Bear*.<sup>29</sup> This expedition managed to find the survivors of the Greely expedition by the remains of the cache that the crew of the *Proteus* had managed to leave when it had sunk. One survivor, Sergeant Long, greeted the rescuers and stated that only seven, including Greely, had survived.<sup>30</sup> Some of the dead members of the expedition were loaded into the relief ships to be taken back to the United States.<sup>31</sup> The seven survivors would be reduced to six since one man, Ellison, required emergency amputation of his ankle stumps to prevent blood poisoning.<sup>32</sup> He did not survive the procedure however. The news of rescued survivors reached the American public in mid July and when the rescue convoy reached port in New Hampshire on August 1, they were greeted by thousands of civilians.<sup>33</sup>

The saga of the Greely Expedition did not end once the survivors reached port. The American people demanded answers. What happened? Who was to blame for the disastrous outcome? Was the expedition worth it? The press was more than willing to find the answers for their loyal readers. In early August, it was reported by the *New York Times* that the relief expedition had discovered signs of cannibalism among the members of the Greely Expedition by the press.<sup>34</sup> As the story broke, other papers undertook their own investigations. One key paper that investigated the allegations was the *Rochester Post-Express*, which had convinced the family of one of the deceased explorers to exhume his body for medical examination. It was discovered that large pieces of flesh had been stripped from his body. Greely and the survivors,

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<sup>28</sup> Guttridge, *Ghosts of Cape Sabine*, 245.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 246.

<sup>30</sup> Berton, *The Arctic Grail*, 480.

<sup>31</sup> Guttridge, *Ghosts of Cape Sabine*, 285.

<sup>32</sup> Berton, *The Arctic Grail*, 482.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 483.

<sup>34</sup> *New York Times*, "Horrors of Cape Sabine," August 12, 1884.

as well as Schley from the relief party, denied this accusation profusely.<sup>35</sup> Yet as the survivors reintegrated into civilization, they began to tell the stories of the expedition and move on with their lives. For example, Greely himself published his book, *Three Years of Arctic Service*.<sup>36</sup> General Hazen, the Chief Signal Officer at the time, was later put on trial for, “conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline.”<sup>37</sup> Hazen eventually faded out of the public eye.<sup>38</sup> Later, Greely became the commander of the Signal Corps where he used his position to try and secure financial aid to the survivors and the relatives of the deceased.<sup>39</sup> This expedition started out with hopes of scientific discovery and ended in disaster.

#### American Arctic Exploration

The expedition took place within the overall history of American arctic exploration. In order to understand the events and reactions to the Greely Expedition, one must look at the history of American arctic exploration prior to the Greely Expedition. This history started with the Grinnell Expedition of 1852 in search of the infamous British Franklin Expedition. This first Grinnell Expedition failed in its goals of finding Franklin but did give rise to America’s first celebrity arctic explorer, Elisha Kane.<sup>40</sup> Kane’s lectures and writings on his experiences in the Arctic excited the American public through his ability to describe every detail of his experience in the Arctic that immersed his audience in the experience.<sup>41</sup> Kane later proposed his own expedition in search of Franklin. Kane argued that Franklin was located near the legendary Open

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<sup>35</sup> Berton, *The Arctic Grail*, 484.

<sup>36</sup> Adolphus Greely, *Three Years of Arctic Service: An Account of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition of 1881-84, and the Attainment of the Farthest North* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1885).

<sup>37</sup> Guttridge, *Ghosts of Cape Sabine*, 302.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 303.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 307.

<sup>40</sup> Fergus Fleming, *Ninety Degrees North: The Quest for the North Pole* (New York: Grove Press, 2002), 8.

<sup>41</sup> Fleming, *Ninety Degrees North*, 9.

Polar Sea that was theorized to exist past the ice of the arctic.<sup>42</sup> However, searching for Franklin gave a convincing excuse to cover his true intention of reaching the North Pole.<sup>43</sup> Kane's expedition set out on May 31, 1853 upon the *Advance*.<sup>44</sup> The expedition was unsuccessful and in 1855, Kane and his party had to leave their ship and head south in whaleboats in order to find help. A relief party that had been sent by Congress later rescued them.<sup>45</sup> Kane's return to American society sparked national coverage and admiration of the man.<sup>46</sup> As Michael Robinson writes, "Kane's return ranked so high as a national news story that it quickly became a benchmark by which the press evaluated other events."<sup>47</sup> Kane's expeditions and his writings clearly had a large influence on the American people and drew their attention northward.

The next important chapter in American arctic exploration was Isaac Hayes's expedition. Hayes had been a member of the Kane expedition of 1853 and upon returning to the United States and seeing the laurels that were thrown upon Kane, Hayes saw arctic exploration as a way to receive his own glory.<sup>48</sup> Hayes departed aboard the *United States* from Boston on July 6, 1860.<sup>49</sup> In 1861, during the expedition, Hayes led a sledge team to try and discover the Open Polar Sea that Kane had searched for and he believed that he had found it.<sup>50</sup> However, Hayes's expedition had failed to beat Kane's point of farthest North and the fact that he returned during the Civil War meant that he was practically ignored by a nation with much larger concerns at the

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<sup>42</sup> Berton, *The Arctic Grail*, 242.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 243.

<sup>44</sup> Fleming, *Ninety Degrees North*, 11.

<sup>45</sup> Robinson, *The Coldest Crucible*, 44.

<sup>46</sup> Fleming, *Ninety Degrees North*, 50.

<sup>47</sup> Robinson, *The Coldest Crucible*, 45.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>49</sup> Fleming, *Ninety Degrees North*, 62.

<sup>50</sup> Robinson, *The Coldest Crucible*, 63.

time.<sup>51</sup> As indicated by the welcome that Hayes received, arctic exploration appeared to drop from national interest once more pressing issues arose. Furthermore, as Robinson notes, “It also suffered because its symbolic appeal as a battle against nature competed too closely with war itself.”<sup>52</sup> This shows that arctic exploration would become suddenly less important when the event that it had been substituting comes back to the focus of the people.

The *Jeanette* expedition occurred prior to Greely’s and the two have been compared at length due to their tragic outcomes. This expedition was led by Lieutenant George De Long and was backed by the owner of the *New York Herald*, James Bennett, with the goal of reaching the North Pole.<sup>53</sup> Long and his crew left San Francisco in July 1879 and promptly became trapped in the ice pack that would hold their ship for two years.<sup>54</sup> Eventually they were forced to try and make it to mainland Siberia in their smaller boats where they were separated in the crossing.<sup>55</sup> Long’s boat party faced mounting casualties as he sent two members to try and find help while he stayed with the rest of the men. Long’s last journal entry prior to his death was made on October 30, 1881 far before his remains were discovered the next spring.<sup>56</sup> Meanwhile, another part of Long’s expedition led by the crew member Melville, made it to a village in Siberia where he sent out a message telling the world where he was and that they required help.<sup>57</sup> Thirty-three men had been sent out on this expedition and twenty of them died on this expedition. The *New York Herald* sent its reporters to Siberia to cover the rescue and the paper profited from this

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<sup>51</sup> Fleming, *Ninety Degrees North*, 79.

<sup>52</sup> Robinson, *The Coldest Crucible*, 63.

<sup>53</sup> Jeannette Mirsky, *To the Arctic! The Story of Northern Exploration from Earliest Times to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 196.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>57</sup> Fleming, *Ninety Degrees North*, 222.

coverage.<sup>58</sup> The results of this expedition renewed American interest in the Arctic primarily because of this tragic outcome and the idea that scandal in the arctic would sell papers.<sup>59</sup>

### The 19<sup>th</sup>-Century American Press

Another important component to understanding the coverage of the Greely Expedition is the history of the American press during this time. At this time, the press was experiencing rapid growth and expansion. The press was growing at a rate of ten percent a year throughout the 1870s.<sup>60</sup> The Greely Expedition occurred precisely when the press was attaining this growth. There were numerous reasons why the newspaper industry exploded in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. America as a nation was changing from its rural roots into a more urbanized society, giving the press a larger audience. Waves of immigrants were also a factor in the growth of the press. This flood of potential new readers incentivized the press to print in foreign languages while also increasing the size and scope of their previous operations.<sup>61</sup> Advancements in printing technology also played a role in the press's increased prominence in American society. For example, the creation of high-speed presses and high-speed delivery systems like gravity chutes.<sup>62</sup> Improvements in technology such as these would clearly enable the growth of the press.

Joseph Pulitzer himself played a critical role in this period, helping to found what was known as new journalism and what would later be called yellow journalism.<sup>63</sup> Joseph Pulitzer was an immigrant from Hungary who immigrated to the United States to join the Union army

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 230.

<sup>59</sup> Robinson, *The Coldest Crucible*, 89

<sup>60</sup> Ted Smythe, *The Gilded Age Press, 1865-1900* (Westport: Praeger, 2003), X.

<sup>61</sup> George Douglas, *The Golden Age of the Newspaper* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), 81.

<sup>62</sup> Douglas, *The Golden Age of the Newspaper*, 84.

<sup>63</sup> Christopher Daly, *Covering America: A Narrative History of a Nation's Journalism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 113.

during the Civil War.<sup>64</sup> After the war, Pulitzer moved to St. Louis where he eventually became a reporter.<sup>65</sup> He eventually found success in the field through his ownership of the *Post-Dispatch* and his focus on getting all the details in the stories he put in his paper.<sup>66</sup>

In 1883, he bought the New York City based paper, the *World*.<sup>67</sup> The *World* was meant for the general public and was known as a popular paper.<sup>68</sup> Pulitzer increased focus on advertisements and circulation in the *World* compared to other New York papers to differentiate his paper against the competition.<sup>69</sup> This focus also included sensationalism, where Pulitzer wanted his stories to take the reader into the story through their senses.<sup>70</sup> This type of reporting was designed to excite the reader's senses and make them experience the story through their senses. It also led Pulitzer to focus on cases of murders or disasters in order to find the sensational story that would pull his readers in.<sup>71</sup> Besides sensationalism, the use of the scandal story was another popular storyline within papers like the *World*. A scandal was defined as an event that went against one of the Ten Commandments.<sup>72</sup> This kind of story would logically be attractive to the masses and would attract many readers. Also, the use of scandals allowed certain celebrities to be brought in front of millions of readers and gave said readers a common topic to discuss and be knowledgeable about.<sup>73</sup> It becomes evident that the Greely Expedition was reported on during an age of scandals and sensationalism that motivated the way the press

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<sup>64</sup> Douglas, *The Golden Age of the Newspaper*, 98.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>67</sup> Smythe, *The Gilded Age Press*, 105.

<sup>68</sup> Douglas, *The Golden Age of the Newspaper*, 96.

<sup>69</sup> Smythe, *The Gilded Age Press*, 114.

<sup>70</sup> Daly, *Covering America*, 122.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>73</sup> Daly, *Covering America*, 124.

reported on the expedition and directly affected how the American people read about and thought of the Greely Expedition.

### Past Scholarship

Scholars have studied arctic exploration since its inception. Within this body of work, there has been attention to the Greely expedition in various ways. Greeley himself published a book on the expedition titled *Three Years of Arctic Service: An Account of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition of 1881-84 and the Attainment of Farthest North*. Notable pieces that have tackled the Greely Expedition are *The Coldest Crucible: Arctic Exploration and American Culture* by Michael Robinson and *The Arctic Grail* by Pierre Berton. Robinson's book goes through American arctic exploration chronologically with chapters focusing on specific explorers or expeditions and their relationship to American culture. Robinson's focus is on the relationship between arctic exploration and American culture as a whole with the Lady Franklin Bay expedition being an obvious component of that analysis. He discusses the press's interest in the events of the expedition and their role in the ensuing scandals but does not focus on the press itself and its variations and mainly uses the press as an example of the interest the expedition garnered as well as to further his point on the changing of the relationship between arctic exploration and American culture. Berton's book is a broad survey of arctic exploration as a whole. It provides a survey of the history of arctic exploration and provides summary information. This book contains but a chapter on the Lady Franklin Bay expedition and on the fallout in the press.

Furthermore, there have been books written solely on and dedicated to the Greely expedition. *Ghosts of Cape Sabine: The Harrowing True Story of the Greely Expedition* by Leonard Guttridge gives an overview of the events of the expedition in more detail than the

previous books and focuses on the chronological events of the expedition and how events played out. Similarly, *Abandoned: The Story of the Greely Expedition 1881 to 1884* by Alden Todd is another in depth look at the events and overall story of the expedition similar to Guttridge's work. There have also been academic articles written on this expedition as well. Examples include, "An Arctic Execution" by Glenn Stein, "Adolphus Washington Greely" by Alden Todd, and "The Arctic Exploits of Dr. Octave Pavy" by Douglas Wamsley. These articles deal with specific members or events within the expedition instead of the entire expedition as a whole. Alden's article is a brief biography of Greely. Stein's article deals with the execution of Private Charles Henry for stealing food and the fallout of this event. Wamsley's article deals with the story of Dr. Octave Pavy, a central figure in the expedition, due to his ambition of obtaining the record of farthest north and his role in keeping the rest of the expedition alive. Logically, due to the expansive history of American arctic exploration, there is a sizeable body of scholarship on the topic with some of it being directed towards the Greely expedition.

The current study focuses exclusively on the press's relationship to the Greely Expedition by close examination of its national and regional coverage. By analyzing a variety of papers that covered the event, one can analyze what type of coverage was given to the expedition and the scope of this coverage. Also, one can determine whether or not it can truly be classified as having gained national coverage and attention and thus becoming an event of national significance in the minds of the American public at the time. In order to get an accurate depiction of coverage across the United States, it is important to have a variety of newspapers as sources from different parts of the country. This project uses the following papers to ensure this diversity: *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (Arkansas), *The New Haven Evening Register* (Connecticut), *Evening Bulletin* (California), *Wisconsin State Journal* (Wisconsin), and the *Wheeling Register*

(West Virginia). This variety in geographic location of papers enables research on how the expedition was covered across the nation and allows for analysis of any variation in coverage based the geographic location. This project is focused on the content, depth, and focus of the articles rather than on the actual number of articles that each paper printed about the expedition. This is to counter the possibility and likelihood that the digital archives are incomplete.

By going through the collected sources thematically one will be able to analyze each paper's take on the expedition, what it focused on, how it is presented to readers, and what is deemed newsworthy about the expedition. Through this analysis of the various papers, it becomes evident that the expedition was indeed covered across the nation with special focus given to particularly scandalous or newsworthy events throughout the course of the expedition. There was, however, steady coverage of the expedition between these events as well. The major events covered by the papers were as follows: the debate regarding the actions of Lieutenant Garlington during the relief expedition of 1883; news and discussion of the finding of Greely in July 1884; accusations of cannibalism by the crew which emerged later that summer; and the story of the execution of Private Henry. We will also review lingering coverage of the expedition through 1885. Through the coverage of these events by these papers, it becomes apparent that there was a deep interest in the expedition by the papers and by extension, their readership.

#### Garlington's Failed Rescue

The first event of the Greely Expedition that shows its sensationalized nature is the press's coverage of Garlington's failed relief expedition and its subsequent fallout. As was previously discussed, Lieutenant Ernest Garlington was an army officer who was tasked with relieving Greely in 1883.<sup>74</sup> While on his mission, one of his ships, the *Proteus*, was crushed in

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<sup>74</sup> Berton, *The Arctic Grail*, 451.

the ice and left Garlington, Captain Pike, and the rest of the men stranded on the ice.<sup>75</sup> Eventually, the other relief ship sent north to find Greely, the *Yantic*, picked up Garlington and his crew.<sup>76</sup> The ill-fated relief effort made it back to St. John on September 13, 1883 with Garlington sending his report of events to Hazen.<sup>77</sup> It did not take long for Canadian newspapers to pick up on this failed expedition. As Guttridge writes, “Newfoundland newspapers meanwhile were having a field day, especially with the disclosure that too few supplies were left for the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition should it have begun its retreat.”<sup>78</sup> American papers were not far behind in tracking this story.

*The New Haven Evening Register’s* coverage of this event included an article from September 14, 1883 with the eye-catching title of “Another Arctic Failure.”<sup>79</sup> The paper is clearly pressing for a negative connotation of arctic exploration for its readers. However, within the article itself, these negative connotations never come to bear and the article is more focused on giving a recount of the event that transpired. The first paragraph details a quick summary of events with only the nuts and bolts of the story. After this, the article gives a much more descriptive scene of what happened when the ship went down.<sup>80</sup> As *The New Haven Evening Register* wrote, “While endeavoring to force her way through the clear water, the Proteus was caught between two immense floes. These, pressing on at both sides, quickly crushed her stout walls. Her hold filled with water and it was soon evident that no efforts would avail to keep her from sinking.”<sup>81</sup> This is clearly a very descriptive telling of what occurred, which allows the

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<sup>75</sup> Guttridge, *Ghosts of Cape Sabine*, 138.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>79</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “Another Arctic Failure,” September 14, 1883.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

reader to visualize and experience what happened on the *Proteus*. Within this description, only one person is named: Lieutenant Colwell. He is made out to be a hero figure because of the focus on his actions saving smaller boats and loading stores onto at least one of them.<sup>82</sup> At the end of the article, it quotes a message sent from Lieutenant Garlington and his report on what happened.<sup>83</sup> It is clear that this article's main focus was on reporting the event of the relief expedition and that the eye catching title was used primarily to entice readers.

Another article by *The New Haven Evening Register* also from September 14, 1883 was titled with the following sub-heading, "The Greely Relief Expedition. Its failure attributed to Lieutenant Garlington's Incompetency."<sup>84</sup> As can be seen from the subtitle, the article's intention is to describe why the commanding officer of the relief expedition, Lieutenant Garlington, is to blame for what happened. As is written, "It seems to be generally conceded by those who have given most attention to the subject that the complete and disastrous failure of the relief expedition was mainly due to the mistake of Lieutenant Garlington."<sup>85</sup> As is evident by this, the paper is using vaguely worded phrases to describe people who believe that Garlington is to blame for the expedition. A possible reason for this could be that the paper is using this as a cover to support its own belief that the fault lies with Garlington. Furthermore, the article describes how Garlington's failure to not land supplies at Smith Sound before pushing further north meant that there was no sizeable supply cache for Greely. The article also argues that if this had been done, then the mission could have continued with the loss of the *Proteus* being a much less significant impediment. At the end of the article, the paper seems to reverse a little bit of its blame on Garlington and say that Garlington's actions might be explained due to orders given to

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, "The Greely Relief Expedition," September 14, 1883.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

him by General Hazen.<sup>86</sup> As can be plainly seen by the focus of the article, the intention of the writer is to show how Garlington was at fault for the outcome of his relief expedition and that there is also possible blame for Hazen as well.

Another article was from October 3 and was titled, “A Pirate Crew.”<sup>87</sup> This title solicits immediate interest in the subject matter with this eye-catching title. The focus of the article is on an interview between the *Republican* and Artificer Moritz, who was on the relief expedition, about the crew of the relief ship *Proteus*. Moritz stated that the crew would steal anything within reach and that they had become drunk soon after the ship sank. Moritz also explains how there were too few soldiers with guns and that Captain Pike could not control them.<sup>88</sup> Captain Pike is quoted in the article as saying to Garlington, “You’ve got a lot of men, but I have a lot of dirty dogs who are too mean to live.”<sup>89</sup> This indicates that the focus of this article is on giving a characterization of the crew sent on the relief expedition. There appears to be no other point to this article other than describing how deficient the character and actions of the crew was and giving a negative connotation to the relief effort.

The last article to be discussed on this topic is from November 14, 1883 and contains the following title and subtitle, “The Greely Inquiry. Lieut. Garlington Before the Proteus Court - Causes of Failure.”<sup>90</sup> The focus of this article is on the inquiry into what happened on the relief expedition with Garlington discussing how the crew of the expedition was not the best and that even Captain Pike had mentioned the unworthiness of this crew for arctic ventures. The second part of the article dealt with Garlington saying that his orders to go up as far north to Greely as

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “A Pirate Crew,” October 3, 1883.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “The Greely Inquiry,” November 14, 1883.

he could and failing to reach Greely, he would deposit a supply cache for Greely.<sup>91</sup> This article clearly connects to the previous one based on its description of the crew and it appears to be an important factor in events according to this paper. Also, the debate over Lieutenant Garlington's orders arises again in the second half.

Overall, the attention of *The New Haven Evening Register* with regards to the *Proteus* relief expedition seems to be focused on recounting the events while still providing a sensationalist touch as evidenced by the titles of the articles as well as the one article solely focused on the crew. The paper appears to mainly be concerned with reporting the facts, although there appear to be hints of it leaning towards blaming Garlington for what transpired.

The *Evening Bulletin* also covered the 1883 relief expedition. This paper's coverage of this event can best be described as focused on determining who was at fault for the failure of this expedition. This focus on blame is seen in numerous articles published by the *Evening Bulletin*. One striking example of this is in an article from September 14, 1883 titled, "The Greely Relief Failure. To Whom the Blame Belongs - Orders of the Commodore of the *Proteus*."<sup>92</sup> What is interesting about this article is that the first two thirds of the article are nearly identical to the article published by *The New Haven Evening Register* on the same day titled "The Greely Relief Expedition."<sup>93</sup> Both articles detailed what they believed Garlington should have done in almost indistinguishable fashion. Just like *The New Haven Evening Register*, this article focused on how Garlington should have dropped off a supply cache before heading north. However, it is unlike the article from New Haven in that it directly quoted Hazen's orders regarding supplies and then proceeds to dissect them by showing how the orders instruct him not to drop off supplies until he

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<sup>91</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, "A Pirate Crew," October 3, 1883.

<sup>92</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "The Greely Relief Failure," September 14, 1883.

<sup>93</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, "The Greely Relief Expedition," September 14, 1883.

is heading southward.<sup>94</sup> The similarities of the two articles indicate a common source. This is backed up by a sub heading in the *Evening Bulletin* article that says, “Specially Telegraphed to the Bulletin.”<sup>95</sup> What this indicates is that it is possible that who ever telegraphed this report to the *Evening Bulletin*, also sent it to *The New Haven Evening Register* or the Connecticut based paper copied the *Bulletin*. Reasons for this include a lack of resources or time for *The New Haven Evening Register*. Another article by this paper that focused on Garlington and what his orders consisted of was sub-titled, “Orders Which the Commander of the *Proteus* Failed to Obey.”<sup>96</sup> As indicated by this sub-title, the majority of the article is focused on Garlington’s orders and his decision not to follow them. The article directly quotes these orders and then launches into a discussion on why Garlington might not have landed supplies before pushing north.<sup>97</sup>

The *Evening Bulletin*’s coverage of this event also includes a more colorful piece related to the relief expedition but it is more of a side story similar to *The New Haven Evening Register*’s piece on the crew of the relief expedition. This article was called, “A Dog’s Arctic Cruise.”<sup>98</sup> As the title suggests, this article focused on a dog, specifically, Captain Pike’s dog Rover. The article goes on to describe how Rover went on the relief expedition and was a much better dog than the sled dogs. Lastly, the article discusses how when the *Proteus* sunk they had to leave Rover behind and that the surgeon on the ship, Dr. J. S. Harrison, said that he guessed that the sled dogs had attacked and eaten Rover after they left him.<sup>99</sup> The purpose of this article appears to be to add character or color to the story of the relief expedition by focusing on a small

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<sup>94</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, “The Greely Relief Failure,” September 14, 1883.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, “The Greely Party,” September 15, 1883.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, “A Dog’s Arctic Cruise,” October 11, 1883.

<sup>99</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, “A Dog’s Arctic Cruise,” October 11, 1883.

and seemingly irrelevant piece of the overall narrative. Whereas previous articles focused on the larger picture and scope of the failure of Garlington's mission, this article takes a more microscopic look at a seemingly inconsequential but still emotionally potent aspect of the overall story. Overall, the *Evening Bulletin's* coverage of the relief expedition also primarily focused on the sensationalistic idea that Garlington had disobeyed orders and that he was to blame for the outcome of his expedition.

The *Wheeling Register* also dedicated space in its paper for news on the Garlington Relief Expedition. In this case, the articles found dealt more with the actual inquiry that was set up to investigate the incident. For example, one article from October 8, 1883 was titled, "Garlington's Coming Report."<sup>100</sup> In this article, it discusses how Garlington had finished his report to the Secretary of War, Secretary Lincoln. The article also states that special attention was to be given to Garlington's explanation about the supplemental orders and Garlington's views on this issue.<sup>101</sup> This article is another example of how this debate over the supplemental orders that Garlington supposedly received is really the centerpiece of this story. Furthermore, this story displays the hallmarks of a scandal story that was discussed in a previous section. This is seen in numerous papers' focus on blaming public figures like Garlington and Hazen. Numerous articles from the *Wheeling Register* dealt with the inquiry process. There are articles that focused on particular days of the inquiry proceedings. For example, in one article dated December 28, 1883 reports that Captain Pike was examined by the inquiry and questioned on the immediate events leading up to the *Proteus* heading further north and the difference in opinion between Pike and Garlington on whether or not open water was a good thing.<sup>102</sup> The purpose of these types of

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<sup>100</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "Garlington's Coming Report," October 8, 1883.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "The Proteus Inquiry," December 28, 1883.

articles appears mainly to just report on the daily operations of this inquiry with little opinion from the writers put in. However, a much more gripping and sensational title from the *Wheeling Register* was printed on November 17, 1883. This article was titled, “Hazen’s Carelessness. Some Startling Facts Disclosed in the Garlington Court of Inquiry.”<sup>103</sup> Just by the title one can see that this article is targeting Hazen and this title will make readers want to know what this carelessness was. The article itself details some of Hazen’s failings such as picking out ships that were not in the best condition for making an arctic voyage.<sup>104</sup> What these articles from the *Wheeling Register* tell us is that interest in the inquiry must have been great enough for this paper to produce articles detailing witness statements and other less sensational details.

The *Daily Arkansas Gazette*’s coverage of Garlington and his relief expedition also advances the idea that this specific component of the Greely Expedition was sensational. The *Daily Arkansas Gazette* continues the trend of focusing on Garlington’s supplemental orders and the debate about whether or not he received them.<sup>105</sup> The fact that so many papers focused on this story about Garlington’s orders shows that it was a story that gripped the American people. This paper also continues the trend of giving its readers reports on the events of the Greely Relief Expedition. For example, there is an article from September 29, 1883 titled, “The Greely Relief.”<sup>106</sup> This specific article reports on the commander of the *Yantic*, Commander Wildes, and his full report given to the secretary of the navy. Through this report, the article then proceeds to summarize the events of the relief expedition.<sup>107</sup> As can clearly be seen by this

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<sup>103</sup> *Wheeling Register*, “Hazen’s Carelessness,” November 17, 1883.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, “The Greely Question,” September 16, 1883; *Arkansas Gazette*, “The Greely Expedition,” September 16, 1883.

<sup>106</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, “The Greely Relief,” September 29, 1883.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

example, the trend of papers using reports from expedition participants in their own summarizations of events is very present.

*Daily Arkansas Gazette* also printed articles reporting on the inquiry. This makes up the majority of articles found and range from October 1883 to February 1884. Some of these were substantive pieces while others were merely paragraphs with a small update. For example, one article from October 26 titled, “A Clear Case Made out by Lieut. Garlington, in-Answer.”<sup>108</sup> In this article, it discusses Lieutenant Garlington’s answers to questions posed to him by Hazen about his expedition. All of the questions posed by Hazen dealt with Garlington’s decision not to land any stores at Littleton Island, the place where he was to place supplies either on the way up or the way. However, due to the degradation of this source, it is impossible to obtain little more than the general nature and content of the article.<sup>109</sup> Even with the state of this source, some important information can be drawn out from it. For example, it furthers the point that was made previously about the importance of Garlington’s decision not to land any stores and how this is clearly the center of a scandal like event. There were also much smaller update articles on this event. For example, on November 11, 1883 and article was published titled, “The Proteus Inquiry”<sup>110</sup> This article gives a brief report on the inquiry’s activities, reporting that Garlington testified about the *Proteus*, Pike, and the crew.<sup>111</sup> This brief paragraph length article appears to be focused on giving a quick update on the inquiry’s proceedings. This is but one example of this type of article whose purpose is to give readers an update on a continually developing story without dedicating full articles to each day’s events. As can clearly be seen from the *Daily*

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<sup>108</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, “A Clear Case Made out by Lieut. Garlington, in-Answer,” October 26, 1883.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, “The Proteus Inquiry,” November 25, 1883.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

*Arkansas Gazette's* coverage, the events of *Proteus* relief expedition gave newspapers plenty to report and plenty of opportunities to sensationalize the news to sell to their loyal readers.

The *Wisconsin State Journal's* coverage of this aspect of the expedition follows the trends of the previous papers. For example, it also dedicates the necessary time reporting on the events of this second relief expedition in a massive article that has subtitles for each of the sections based on their content. After reporting on the relief expedition, it gives another account about the relief expedition from a reporter of the *New York Tribune*.<sup>112</sup> The absolute size of this article is massive, covering two full columns and is indicative of the paper's focus on this event. The most interesting aspect, however, is the use of the *New York Tribune's* material. Some possible explanations for this use include: the extensiveness of the *New York Tribune's* report, a lack of resources available to the *Wisconsin State Journal*, or the need to get this information out to its readers as fast as possible. The *Wisconsin State Journal* also has the small update type articles that are not much more than paragraphs. What is interesting about these articles is that they act to shift blame from Garlington onto other people.<sup>113</sup> One of these articles gives insight into the blame for the relief expedition being transferred onto Hazen. It is dated February 22, 1884 and says, "The finding of the *Proteus* board of inquiry is of a character so damaging to the reputation of Gen. Hazen... that he will very likely be forced to resign."<sup>114</sup> This amounts to a direct attack on a powerful public official, Hazen. The article ends with, "His management of the Greely relief expedition was a continuous combination of blunders of omission and commission; if Greely's party is finally lost, it will be very largely due to Hazen."<sup>115</sup> This direct attack on Hazen's actions also sets up more blame for Hazen in the future should the Greely party perish in

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<sup>112</sup> *Wisconsin State Journal*, "Another Arctic Disaster," September 18, 1883.

<sup>113</sup> *Wisconsin State Journal*, October 2, 1883; *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 22, 1884.

<sup>114</sup> *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 22, 1884.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

the Arctic. There is nothing else to this article other than outright attacking Hazen and it appears that the article goes all in on this charge. This article has some of the hallmarks of being a scandal story that were discussed previously as seen by the focus on the apparent wrongdoing of a public figure. Clearly, the *Wisconsin State Journal's* coverage lines up in numerous ways with previous papers while also supplying further information on how the press handled this event.

Clearly, all these papers considered the events of the Greely relief expedition in 1883 to be so newsworthy as to dedicate numerous articles ranging both in scope and in content. The content ranged from strict reporting on the events to pieces focused on the more colorful aspects of the relief expedition. The coverage ranged from lengthy two columned articles to mere paragraphs. However, no matter how these articles differed, they all showed that this was a story that gripped the press and through it, the American public by providing a story that was read across the nation and clearly indicated a common interest.

#### “Greely Found”

The next event in the saga of the Greely Expedition that received a large amount of news coverage was the rescue of Greely. It had been three years since Greely had left the United States for the Arctic. This would be the third relief expedition sent out to retrieve him, and because of this, the relief effort had a lot riding on it. It was determined that three ships were to be sent: the *Thetis*, *Bear*, and *Alert*. This relief effort was a naval operation through and through with the crew being made up entirely of naval personnel and led by Officer Winfield Schley. They reached the search area by late June. Once there, Schley sent out four separate search teams to different areas where Greely's party might be found. The relief party had not expected to find anyone from Greely's party still alive. One of these search parties however, did indeed find

survivors when they encountered a survivor, Long, waving a flag. He stated that seven remained alive.<sup>116</sup>

The news of survivors and the details of their rescue reached the ears of the press with remarkable speed and the press wasted no time in capitalizing on the news. *The New Haven Evening Register* published an article with the title and subtitle, “Reached Just in Time: Lieutenant Greely Saved.”<sup>117</sup> This clearly displays the excitement of this rescue and it also conveys urgency and heroics on the part of the rescue team. The article places a telegram from Commander Schley to Secretary Chandler at the forefront of the article. In this telegram, Schley reports on the journey of the rescue party, what happened to Greely as he moved south, as well as reported on the death and burial or recovery of members of the Greely Expedition.<sup>118</sup> The reprinting of the official telegram gives the readers a firsthand account of the rescue efforts and the findings of Schley’s party while also providing a valuable primary source to the reader that confirms the authenticity of the paper’s writings. After this telegram, the article reports on the excitement caused by the news as well as the reported reactions from General Hazen as well as the president who had reportedly become quite interested in the rescue.<sup>119</sup> A sub header of this article mentions that the party had broke the farthest north record by eighty miles.<sup>120</sup> It is interesting that they added this seemingly superfluous fact to a story that is focused on the heroic rescue of the Greely Party and the somber discussion of those who died during the expedition. It could be an indicator of how the draw of reaching the North Pole is so strong, that any progress made on this endeavor must be told no matter the overall context of the story at large. It could

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<sup>116</sup> Berton, *The Arctic Grail*, 478-480.

<sup>117</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “Reached Just in Time,” July 17, 1884.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

also potentially have been used as a sort of positive piece of news compared to the amount of death and loss that is featured in this story.

The next day, July 18, *The New Haven Evening Register* published an even more sensational story titled, “The Ice Pilot’s Story. A Graphic Account of the Finding of the Greely Party.”<sup>121</sup> In this article, there is an account of the finding of Greely from a Mr. Norman who is the ice pilot of the relief ship *Thetis*. The article is extremely descriptive and graphic in nature and Mr. Norman’s account puts the reader into the Arctic. For example when Mr. Norman reports on opening the Greely Expedition’s tent he says, “I cut and tore it open, entered and there saw, with horror, the pale, shriveled form of Greely lying in the middle of the camp, encased in his sleeping bag. Ellison with hands and feet chopped off by the frost since the first of the previous year and Beiderbeck was lying down listlessly in front of Greely.”<sup>122</sup> This horrific description takes the reader there and provides a gruesome look into what it was like for the relief party to discover Greely. The nature of this article is much more graphic than the previous one, which treated the news almost a sterile fashion. Towards the bottom, the article has two updates, one from Washington DC and the other from Newburyport, Massachusetts. These discuss the expedition’s return route and a planned reception for Greely in Newburyport.<sup>123</sup> This was added to keep the readers up to date on further developments while the main focus was on the gripping narrative of Mr. Norman.

The *Evening Bulletin*’s coverage of the finding of Greely consisted of numerous articles both on July 17 and 18. A striking title was published on the 17th in bold, black letters, “Greely

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<sup>121</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “The Ice Pilot’s Story,” July 18, 1884.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

Found.”<sup>124</sup> However, this exciting and eye-catching title does not translate to the rest of the article, which reprints the same telegram from Schley that *The New Haven Evening Register* had. Clearly, official reports on events were useful for reporting. It could also be an indication of the public wanting to get news as close to the event as possible. Another article published by the paper on the same day provides a more original piece that details previous events of the expedition such as its mission, the crew, and the previous relief efforts.<sup>125</sup> The purpose of this article appears to be bringing readers up to speed on the history of the expedition. The excitement of the finding of Greely is clearly shown in the last sentence of this article, “In a short time the public will know the utmost about one of the most eventful expeditions ever made within the Polar Circle.”<sup>126</sup> In this quote, one can see the importance of this expedition in the public’s eye since the paper is promising to provide every detail about the expedition to its readers.

More descriptive and sensational pieces were published the next day, July 18. One of these articles provides an in-depth description of the state of Greely and his camp when he was found.<sup>127</sup> This would be another example of taking the reader to the moment Greely was found through descriptive writing. Compared with the articles released by *The New Haven Evening Register*, a pattern becomes apparent. First, on July 17, the articles by both papers focused on getting the news that Greely had been rescued out to the public. To accomplish this in the most efficient method, they transferred Schley’s official telegram to their papers. Then, once the news had gotten out as fast as possible, they focused on giving a more sensational description of

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<sup>124</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, “Greely Found,” July 17, 1884.

<sup>125</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, “Finding of a Fragment of the Greely Expedition,” July 17, 1884.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, “Further Details,” July 18, 1884; *Evening Bulletin*, “The Arctic Explorers,” July 18, 1884; *Evening Bulletin*, “On the Thetis,” July 18, 1884.

events. The prioritization is clear; get the news out first, and then focus on the excitement and drama of the story.

The *Wheeling Register* further shows the pattern of copying Schley's report. However the telegram's content were placed under the generic title, "At Washington."<sup>128</sup> While the two previous papers printed sensational and exciting titles for their articles informing the readers of the Greely rescue, the *Wheeling Register's* portrayal of the news is as if the news is merely a passing story. This could be indicative of a lack of interest in their readership in the story of Greely. However, the *Wheeling Register* did publish a more detailed article the same day titled, "From Night to Light."<sup>129</sup> This article focused on recapping the previous events of the expedition including the previous relief efforts. Clearly, the *Wheeling Register's* reporting of the Greely rescue continues to follow the pattern previously discussed.

The *Wisconsin State Journal's* coverage of the event includes much of the same in that it also uses a telegram as the main method to convey information about the rescue to the reader while adding a small amount of descriptive writing, though not as much as the other papers previously mentioned.<sup>130</sup> We find no articles on Greely's survival in the *Daily Arkansas Gazette* through the database. This is due to the database lacking articles from a part of the time period that this coverage would have probably occurred.

Overall, news of the rescue of Greely follows a trend of dramatic titles coupled with primary material straight from the source, namely the relief expedition. There is also a trend of summarizing previous events of the Greely Expedition as well as an attempt by some papers to provide descriptive and graphic content to take their readers to the Arctic and show them what

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<sup>128</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "At Washington," July 18, 1884.

<sup>129</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "From Night to Light," July 18, 1884.

<sup>130</sup> *Wisconsin State Journal*, "Rescue of the Greely Survivors," July 18, 1884; *Wisconsin State Journal*, "Rescue of the Greely Party," July 18, 1884.

the relief party had found of Greely and his party. Clearly, Greely's discovery was an event worth reporting. And Schley's telegram offered a sensational glimpse into the details of the discovery itself. But there are noticeably fewer articles on this subject compared to the *Proteus* scandal, perhaps because Greely's discovery did not lend itself to the same kind of speculation or spin. It simply happened, and its graphic nature was news while also allowing for payoff of a story that had been ongoing, though it does not end with the recovery of Greely.

### Cannibalism Discovered

Just a few weeks after Greely's rescue and return was announced, an even more sensational scandal rocked newspapers across the country in mid August 1884. The *New York Times* first broke the story on August 12, 1884 with the title, "Horrors of Cape Sabine."<sup>131</sup> As this story received major attention from the public, other papers scrambled to pursue their own investigations and stories in order to give their readers this sensational news. As will be seen in the following coverage, the news caused sensation not just in the United States but spread abroad as well.

*The New Haven Evening Register's* first article that touches on the subject of cannibalism is from August 12, 1884, titled, "Of Arctic Cannibalism." In this story, the paper copies the report from the *New York Times* from the same day stating that there were records from the navy saying that cannibalism had occurred amongst the Greely Expedition and that Secretary Chandler had known this for weeks. It is noted that Schley had requested iron caskets for the dead that were brought back which the paper noted was an odd request and must have been to hide the bodies. It was also reported that as the relief part carried one of the survivors out, he was pleading for them not to eat him. This was told to Schley who had an examination of the bodies

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<sup>131</sup> *New York Times*, "Horrors of Cape Sabine," August 12, 1884.

done and recorded. It was also reported that Greely did not want Schley to disturb the dead. It is also reported that members of the relief expedition denied signs of cannibalism.<sup>132</sup> The report is directly lifted from the *Times* article of the same day, thus indicating the significance placed on the original report and perhaps a lack of time in getting the news out so the report was just reposted. The description of what occurred is highly dramatic for example, “It is reported that the only men who escaped the knife were three or four who died of scurvy. The amputated limbs of men who afterward perished were eagerly devoured as food.”<sup>133</sup> This is highly sensational and graphic in nature. Furthermore, it is also portrayed as a scandalous story because of the attempt to keep the public unaware of what had occurred.

Right below this article was another one that detailed Schley’s and other relief members’ response to the cannibalism story. All of them denied it and denied that there was any attempt to hide anything saying that the iron coffins were due to the decay of the bodies.<sup>134</sup> What is particularly interesting however, is Schley’s quoted response to the accusations, ““This is an outrageous publication and only goes to show to what depths a generally regarded reputable paper will descend to produce sensation. If I were Lieutenant Greely I would sue the paper for libel.””<sup>135</sup> This shows that the press even at the time was regarded as leaning towards the extraordinary and that those who felt attacked would call the press out on it. It also shows a very antagonistic relationship between the press and these naval officials. It was also reported on the next day with, “The Greely Sensation.”<sup>136</sup> This article contain numerous small stories about the possibility of cannibalism from locations including Washington DC; Portsmouth, New

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<sup>132</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “Of Arctic Cannibalism,” August 12, 1884.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “A Denial From Schley,” August 12, 1884.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “The Greely Sensation,” August 13, 1884.

Hampshire; Lincoln, Nebraska and New York. Within these smaller stories, there is discussion on Hazen and Chandler's unwillingness to discuss the accusations of cannibalism. Chandler even going so far as to strongly deny reporters access to interviews with the survivors.<sup>137</sup>

The spread of all these stories from various locations is indicative of how much of a national sensation this news was. What is also of note in this article is the numerous times that this article referenced the original report from the *New York Times*. For example, in the section of the article from Portsmouth, New Hampshire it quotes Chandler as saying, "No reports to the effect stated in the *New York Times* have been received by the navy department. I have read the *Times* report. I decline to say whether it is true or not."<sup>138</sup> The importance of the article published by the *New York Times* is shown throughout this article through the *Register's* reporting on the reactions from it by important figures like Chandler. It is clear that this first article by the *New York Times* was the major source of the cannibalism sensation in its early days. While the *New York Times* was indeed the first to publish the story of cannibalism, papers like *The New Haven Evening Register* wasted no time in getting their own articles and information out. Of particular interest is a story told by one member of the relief crew as he recounted the recovery of the dead from the expedition. He said,

Buried? No. They had been stripped of their clothes as soon as they died and left naked on the ground. Some of the flesh had been cut away from the arms and shoulders. The cuts were rough and jagged, as if done at night, and at a time when the cannibal had to trust his sense of feeling. Long shreds were stripped from the legs in irregular strips,

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

suggesting the thought that the knife had been plunged in and then the fingers had torn away what remained of the flesh. It was awful!<sup>139</sup>

This memorable interview was clearly more focused on obtaining graphic details about the cannibalistic acts instead of a more in depth style reporting on the actual facts of what happened. It is a very descriptive interview from one of the relief crewmembers and could thus be prone to exaggeration or hyperbole. Other than these graphic details, the interview holds no other valuable pieces of information.

The next article from *The New Haven Evening Register* continues to show the importance and dominance of the *New York Times* in reporting on the charges of cannibalism as papers such as *The New Haven Evening Register* followed after the *Times*. On August 14, *The New Haven Evening Register* published an article titled, “Victims of a Blunder.”<sup>140</sup> The first thing that this article does is mention that the *New York Times* had continued its story of cannibalism through its apparent examination of the corpse of Private Charles Henry.<sup>141</sup> The most interesting aspect of this article however is not the in-depth of analysis of bodies that prove that cannibalism occurred, but the fact that this article appears to primarily be focused on reporting what the *New York Times* had reported. Reasons for this could be that *The New Haven Evening Register* did not have the resources to go into the story as much as the *Times*. Another possibility is that since the *Times* was the one to originally publish the story, it may still have had a sizeable lead on other papers when it comes to information on this developing story.

*The New Haven Evening Register* also had smaller articles about the cannibalism scandal. This is seen in an article from August 18, 1884. The main focus of this article is on the arrival of

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “Victims of a Blunder,” August 14, 1884.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

the relief ships to Brooklyn as well a more detailed story of one member of the expedition, Ellison, from an officer from the relief expedition. He reports on a story from Greely about Greely and the expedition refusing to abandon a severely weakened Ellison.<sup>142</sup> The section ends with the relief officer saying, “This does not look like a pack of heartless cannibals. No sir: they are men to the last, every one of them.”<sup>143</sup> This is an interesting segment displaying how at least some members of the relief expedition were very sympathetic to the plight that the Greely Expedition had found themselves in and were possibly unconvinced by the allegations of cannibalism. Also, after this there is a small paragraph piece out of Philadelphia about one of the expedition’s member’s family refusing to exhume the body to look for signs of cannibalism.<sup>144</sup> This is indicative of a continued interest in the story as well as the spread of the story across the nation since this information was out of Philadelphia.

*The New Haven Evening Register* clearly deemed the possibility of cannibalism to be such a significant story that it resorted to reporting on another paper’s coverage of events in order to get this news to its own readership. This reporting on reporting is a clear indicator as to the importance that this aspect of the Greely Expedition received.

The early articles of the *Evening Bulletin* follow a similar pattern to *The New Haven Evening Register* in following the coverage of the *New York Times*. The first article to appear was on August 12 titled, “A Terrible Story.”<sup>145</sup> The first thing this article does is reports on the fact that the *Times* had published a large article stating that it had been discovered that cannibalism occurred. It then reprinted the article from the *Times*. Motivation for this with regards to the same thing being done by *The New Haven Evening Register* has already been

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<sup>142</sup> *New Haven Register*, “At the Brooklyn Docks,” August 18, 1884.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>145</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, “A Terrible Story,” August 12, 1884.

discussed though another reason could be the desire to include some of the sensational aspects from the *Times* article. For example, it reports on the alleged words of one expedition survivor, Gorman, who yelled frantically, ““ Don’t let them shoot me as they did poor Henry! Must I be killed and eaten as Henry was? Don’t let them do it! Don’t! don’t!””<sup>146</sup> This is clearly page turning material that would have gripped the reader and any paper would have desired to include it no matter where it came from.

Another piece dated August 12<sup>th</sup> had further details on the story. These details included reactions to the *New York Times* article from senior governmental officials like Hazen. What is interesting about this article is its reliance and attention to what other papers report. In this article it references the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Commercial*, and *Telegram*. The focus on these papers is in relation to how these papers interviewed or reported on responses to cannibalism from government officials like Hazen and Schley. These responses tended to be a refusal to engage in the story of cannibalism or limit its spread.<sup>147</sup> The reliance on other papers’ reporting is interesting. Either the *Evening Bulletin* did not have the resources or speed to secure interviews of their own or they were taking a larger scope by condensing the other papers’ stories together to get at a larger picture. Either way, it displays significant investment in the story and furthers the sensationalist nature of the Greely Expedition in the press.

An article published on August 13 continues the focus on the stir that the news had caused by referencing the *Times* as well as focusing on the secrecy of governmental officials and the relief crew.<sup>148</sup> Another article however, published the same day is quite different from those that came before. Its title, “The Cannibal Sensation” is counter to the skepticism of the article to

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, “The Arctic Sensational Story,” August 12, 1884.

<sup>148</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, “The Arctic Tragedy,” August 13, 1884.

the sensational nature of the discovery of cannibalism.<sup>149</sup> There appears to be some misunderstanding on the part of the author as to why the news of cannibalism is such a big sensation. As the article says, “But the rumor seems to create some excitement and a thrill of horror, as if none but uncivilized cannibals ever ate human flesh. Whereas there are many instances where ship wrecked sailors have done the same thing. It is not even held as a crime under such circumstances.”<sup>150</sup> The author’s point appears to be that under the circumstances, if cannibalism occurred, it should not be the sensational news that it is. There is also a healthy dose of skepticism that the charges are even true as seen when the author states, “The rumor at present seems to rest on no tangible basis. It has got into the wind and of course it will run its circuit.”<sup>151</sup> This article does stoke the flames of sensationalism, but it also douses them with a healthy dose of skepticism in the truth of these rumors and by saying that even if they were true it would still not be unheard of given the expedition’s circumstances. This article appears to be more akin to an opinion piece due to the lack of progress of the story and the focus on interpreting what the story means.

The sensation continued with the exhumation of Lieutenant Kislingbury’s body in Rochester, New York. It was reported that reporters from the *Post-Express* were onsite for the examination of the body. It was stated that the family of the deceased had grown concerned over the charges of cannibalism that had occurred in the past days and that this concern had been the primary reason to allow a medical examination of the body. The article gives a graphic description of the examination as well as includes the affidavit written by the medical examiners,

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<sup>149</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, “The Cannibal Sensation,” August 13, 1884.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

which discussed signs of cannibalism.<sup>152</sup> An example from the article to show its graphically descriptive nature describes the unveiling of Kislbury's body, "Slowly the blanket was removed. The blackened, fleshless face, showing marks of Arctic soil, bore no semblance to the dead man. The skin was dried to the skull, the sightless sockets and half opened mouth gave the dead man a look of mute agony."<sup>153</sup> This description is written as if it had come straight out of a horror novel and shows how these kinds of descriptions would attract the attention of readers skimming the paper for a good story to take them out of their mundane lives. The article also gives reactions to the news from figures in Washington.<sup>154</sup> It is apparent that the story of cannibalism that started with one article out of New York spread and caused so much commotion that it led to the digging up of a body to confirm the rumors. The same day, a smaller news piece was printed reporting that a medical examiner had asked the sister of Private Henry if his body could be exhumed and examined.<sup>155</sup>

One piece by the *Evening Bulletin* also gives an indication as to international reactions to the news of cannibalism amongst the Greely party. As the article states, "The *Sun's* London cable special of the 15<sup>th</sup> says: A profound sensation has been caused in England by the accounts of the cannibalism practiced by the members of the Greely Arctic Expedition."<sup>156</sup> There is clear importance placed on the effect that the news of cannibalism has had on people outside the United States. This article reports on how the news has caused a sensation where at first the reports were not believed. The article reports on interviews with British Arctic explorers Benjamin Leigh Smith and George Nares. These explorers both publicly refused to give their

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<sup>152</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "The Arctic Disclosures," August 15, 1884.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "The Greely Sensation Still a Subject of Excited Talk," August 15, 1884.

<sup>156</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "The Arctic Explorers," August 16, 1884.

opinions on the issue with Nares saying that he would wait until official reports had been released and that he had the utmost confidence in Greely.<sup>157</sup> This article clearly show that the sensation of cannibalism did not remain in the United States but crossed the Atlantic to another country that was also well versed in Arctic exploration. The coverage for the *San Francisco Bulletin* also indicates a continued interest in the possibility for cannibalism that extended far beyond when the story first broke in August 1884. This is seen in an article from December 14, 1885 titled, "Searching for Proof of Cannibalism."<sup>158</sup> The article describes how samples taken from the stomach of Lieutenant Kislingbury were sent to the British Royal Microscopical Society. However, it could not be confirmed that cannibalism had definitively occurred. The article then calls back to previous reporting on evidence of the flesh being cut away.<sup>159</sup> The article indicates a continued interest in the prospect of cannibalism that extended at least a bit into the future and crossed international borders.

It is apparent by the articles published by the *Evening Bulletin* that if another paper had gotten to the story first, it was easier to report on that paper's findings than conduct their own findings. It is also apparent that there was at least some skepticism early on of the charges of cannibalism even as the story escalated to the point of relatives allowing their dead to be exhumed. Furthermore, there is a small piece of evidence showing continued interest in the story far from when it started.

The *Daily Arkansas Gazette* continued the pattern of following the *New York Times*.<sup>160</sup> This continues to show the importance of being the first to break the news; otherwise papers are forced to report on what other papers have said. Also, the *Daily Arkansas Gazette* published a

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "Searching for Proof of Cannibalism," December 14, 1885.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "Sickening Stories," August 13, 1884.

large piece on the execution of Private Henry, an event later discussed in this paper. However, it contains a small article dealing with the charges of cannibalism by reporting that Greely said that if such a thing occurred, it would have been done so by an individual without Greely's knowledge or approval.<sup>161</sup> What is interesting about this article is that the discussion on cannibalism is almost lost in the larger story of Henry's Execution. One would expect that the cannibalism would be more of a draw to readership than the execution of a private for stealing rations. The reason for this could be that the paper had to juggle both stories that would both undoubtedly attract readers. However, the next day on August 15, the *Daily Arkansas Gazette* published an article on the exhumation of Kislingbury.<sup>162</sup> This article is identical to the one published in the *Evening Bulletin* and indicates a common source as well a belief in getting the news out as fast as possible even if it has to be copied word for word from somewhere else. However, it is different in that at the bottom there is news that another family of a deceased member of the expedition was preparing to exhume the body of their relative.<sup>163</sup> This is another indication that the sensationalism of this story was having real implications to the extent that families were considering whether or not to disturb the rest of their loved ones.

There is an interesting piece in the *Daily Arkansas Gazette* on September 4 titled, "Ate the Last of Him. An Unknown Army Officer Stirring up the Greely Survivors."<sup>164</sup> It was reported that an army officer from Washington DC had seen diaries from the survivors and that he claimed that Brainard had been a lot stronger when rescued than the other survivors. The officer then claimed that Brainard had said that this was because he could stomach cannibalism

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<sup>161</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "Shot for Stealing," August 14, 1884.

<sup>162</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "The Terrible Truth," August 15, 1884.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "Ate the Last of Him. An Unknown Army Officer Stirring up the Greely Survivors," September 4, 1884.

better than the others. The officer also said that when asked as to what happened to Dr. Pavy's body, he responded "' He is all gone. I finished the last of him just before you arrived.'"<sup>165</sup> Brainard profusely denied this.<sup>166</sup> It is interesting that such a wild claim gained traction at all and indicates that the so much excitement was caused by the discovery of cannibalism, that even the wildest claims could become plausible. The coverage by the *Daily Arkansas Gazette* continues to show the grip that this cannibalism story had on the American press and the American imagination.

The *Wheeling Register* also covered the charges of cannibalism extensively. It too had to play catch up the *New York Times* by breaking the news that the *Times* had been the first to announce the charges of cannibalism and that there had been a cover up by naval officials.<sup>167</sup> Besides this large story, numerous smaller stories were published on the same day. For example, one article details both Hazen and an Admiral Nicholson denying what is said in the *Times* article.<sup>168</sup> This is again similar to previous articles from other papers. The rest of these small stories dealt with various reactions to the story either from other high officials, other papers, or members of the relief expedition.<sup>169</sup> These types of stories were continued on August 14<sup>th</sup>.<sup>170</sup> The *Wheeling Register* also reported on the exhumation of Kislingbury.<sup>171</sup> It is clear that the *Wheeling Register* is following the same pattern of coverage as previous papers. However, this changed with a story that was published on August 17. This story detailed a reporter tracking

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "Torn from Arctic Graves," August 13, 1884.

<sup>168</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "The Story Denied," August 13, 1884.

<sup>169</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "Denied Again," August 13, 1884; *Wheeling Register*, "Even So," August 13, 1884; *Wheeling Register*, "But One Way," August 13, 1884.

<sup>170</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "General Hazen," August 14, 1884; *Wheeling Register*, "Out of Their Heads," August 14, 1884.

<sup>171</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "The Facts Established," August 16, 1884.

down a Russian who claimed to be a member of the relief expedition and who also said that he had seen the bodies and that some appeared to be cannibalized.<sup>172</sup>

A different article by the *Wheeling Register* was published on August 22 where the secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, Clements Markham, called American newspapers disgraceful for releasing the news of cannibalism prior to Greely submitting his official report.<sup>173</sup> This is an indication that the news of cannibalism has crossed the Atlantic to other nations and the story drew on experts far and wide. An article dated August 29, reports on an interview given by Frederick Schwatka, of Oregon, another Arctic explorer, where he said that cannibalism was to be expected in these situations and that what was wrong about it was that it was concealed. He then went on to state that this is not the first time that cannibalism had occurred in these expeditions.<sup>174</sup> This is evidence that other experts in the field of arctic exploration were consulted and that their opinions on the issue make the story much less sensational than the press had been portraying it. Interestingly, the *Wheeling Register* also published a story on September 4 about Brainard boasting about cannibalism similar to the one in the *Daily Arkansas Gazette*.<sup>175</sup> It is clear that the *Wheeling Register* followed many of the same stories that other papers did for covering the cannibalism sensation.

The *Wisconsin State Journal* published an article detailing the graphic descriptions of cannibalism on August 15, 1884.<sup>176</sup> What is interesting is that the article is mostly, word for word the same as the article original article from the *New York Times*. It is notable though that this was published three days later than the times signaling either a delay in the news or perhaps

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<sup>172</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "A Sailor's Story," August 17, 1884.

<sup>173</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "Why Indeed?," August 22, 1884.

<sup>174</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "Schwatka on Greely," August 29, 1884.

<sup>175</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "Denied," September 4, 1884.

<sup>176</sup> *Wisconsin State Journal*, "The Greely Party," August 15, 1884.

a slightly muted interest in the subject. The *Wisconsin State Journal* also had an article that was on the topic of cannibalism from August 22. The main focus of this article, however, was on life in the Arctic. The news on cannibalism is relegated to the third column of the article at the end. It reports on Greely's response to cannibalism where he says that he had no knowledge that cannibalism occurred and that it must have been in secret.<sup>177</sup> The fact that the cannibalism related news is at the end of the article could be an indicator that the story was starting to fade away in this region.

Undoubtedly, the story of cannibalism that was broken by the *New York Times* sent shockwaves across the nations. As seen by these papers, there was a scramble to catch up to the *Times* and to use their paper's reporting to titillate their own readership. This story clearly captured the imagination of the public with new articles being printed as soon as new information had become available, made possible by the advances made in the press industry.

#### Private Henry's Execution

Another shocking revelation was made around the same time as the news of cannibalism; Greely had executed Private Henry of the Greely Expedition for stealing food. This news was intimately connected to the cannibalism story in some papers since it was reported that his body had been one of the ones that had signs of cannibalism, though it did receive articles solely dedicated to discussion of the execution.

*The New Haven Evening Register* included the news of Henry's death in its copied article from August 12, from the copied *New York Times* report. The news is a paragraph in the overall story of the horror that was discovered. It describes the circumstances of his death and the state

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<sup>177</sup> *Wisconsin State Journal*, "Arctic Life," August 22, 1884.

of his body when discovered.<sup>178</sup> It was clearly not the focus of the article, but was an element of the overall story. A more focused article on the death of Henry on August 14 with the title, “How Henry Died.”<sup>179</sup> As can be seen by the date of this article, it is right in the midst of the cannibalism sensation. The focus of this article is the official report to Hazen on the execution of Henry on August 11. This report is reposted in the article in full and details Greely’s continual struggle to control Henry’s thieving tendencies since November 1883 to his execution on June 6, 1884. Greely recounts numerous times where food was stolen and the belief that Henry was the thief.<sup>180</sup> Of the description of Greely’s decision to execute Henry and the execution, “In his bag was found a large quantity of sealskin and a pair of sealskin boots stolen a few days before from the hunter. Suspecting complicity on the part of several. I ordered his execution by three of the most reliable men.”<sup>181</sup> He then reports on his reasoning for keeping the information about the execution quiet up until this point.<sup>182</sup> As he states, “To avoid public scandal I ordered that no man should speak of this matter until official report should be made of the facts.”<sup>183</sup> This is a clear indication that Greely was worried about what the press would think of the execution. There is no spin to this article however, and merely reprints the telegram. This could be due to the fact that the press was more interested in the story of cannibalism and thus reserved any sensational reporting primarily for that story.

Henry is mentioned in another article that day where the primary focus is on cannibalism. This is one of the articles where *The New Haven Evening Register* published what the *New York Times* had reported on. In this article, they make the connection that around the time Henry was

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<sup>178</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “Of Arctic Cannibalism,” August 12, 1884.

<sup>179</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “How Henry Died,” August 14, 1884.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

shot, expedition members would have been forced into cannibalism. The report discusses that Henry's body was found a quarter mile from the Greely camp and proceeds to describe what was found.<sup>184</sup> It says, "There was scarcely anything left but a pile of glistening bones stripped of nearly every trace of flesh except some of the lower part of the trunk. The head was missing and could not be found."<sup>185</sup> It is apparent that the stories of cannibalism and the execution of Henry were considered intertwined by the press and it is clear to understand why.

*The New Haven Evening Register* picked up the fate of Henry again on September 23, 1885, more than a year since the news first broke. In this story, the article discusses Greely's and the rest of the survivor's silence on the issue. When pressed on this silence, Greely had stated that he had given an oral report to Hazen behind closed doors as soon he was able to after returning back to the United States. The article then goes into great detail the series of event that lead to Henry being executed all the way through where the paper claims that he was the first to eaten and that the survivors had hoped to hide this information.<sup>186</sup> The article ends with, "The especial aim of Greely is to clear his men of the suspicion that Henry was killed in order to be eaten. The evidence of his crime and conviction will therefore be presented fully and conclusively."<sup>187</sup> What this is saying is that in order to clear the rumor that Henry was killed for cannibalization purposes, Greely presented all the facts leading up to the execution, thus eliminating the need for speculation. It is interesting that this piece was published more than a year after the news about Henry first broke. The reasoning for this could be that Greely's book was published in 1885 and that at this time, news of the book was already being heard. Clearly,

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<sup>184</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, "Victims of a Blunder," August 14, 1884.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>186</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, "Why Henry was Shot," September 23, 1885.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

Henry's execution was newsworthy material for this paper. However, the smaller amount of coverage could be due to the cannibalism news that appeared at the same time.

The *Evening Bulletin's* coverage of the execution of Henry is also rather limited to a few articles or notes. The first mention is in the reprinted *New York Times* piece.<sup>188</sup> Then a small piece dated August 13 where it mentions that there was a rumor that Private Henry was shot and partially eaten. This news was reported as causing a stir in New York.<sup>189</sup> This is then followed by another paragraph detailing a statement from Greely saying that he admitted to executing Henry for theft but he rejected the cannibalistic aspects of the narrative.<sup>190</sup> The way that the death of Henry is intertwined with the news of cannibalism shows how interconnected the two stories were and how it is possible that the news of his execution was lost amongst the shock of cannibalism. However, the *Evening Bulletin* did publish a full article on Henry's death the next day. It is very similar to the way that *The New Haven Evening Register* presented the news in that it published the official report from Greely and not much else.<sup>191</sup> This article was little more than a reprint of the report. The reason for this could be, as said before, that most of the attention at the time was on the charges of cannibalism. Clearly, the *Evening Bulletin* viewed Henry's execution as noteworthy, but perhaps due to the other breaking story related to the Greely expedition, it did not receive as much attention.

The *Daily Arkansas Gazette* also published a few articles about Henry's death. For example, on August 14 it is reported that a special report from New Hampshire discusses an interview with Greely and acts as a collection of various pieces on the story from various locations like New York, Washington, and Portsmouth. The story is intimately connected again

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<sup>188</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "A Terrible Story," August 12, 1884.

<sup>189</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "The Arctic Explorers," August 13, 1884.

<sup>190</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "A Statement from Greely," August 13, 1884.

<sup>191</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "Execution of Private Henry," August 14, 1884.

with the cannibalism story since it was reported that Henry's body had been cannibalized after the execution. The actual story of the execution is treated as a narrative with descriptive language to help the reader visualize the series of events that led to Henry's execution. Furthermore, the article describes the excitement that this news has caused where Henry was buried and that a medical examiner had asked Henry's relatives for permission to exhume the body.<sup>192</sup> The description of Henry's execution is very specific, "They were ordered to shoot him. encountering as little danger to themselves as possible, as Henry was the strongest of the party. They departed on their terrible errand, and their comrades left in camp turned their eyes to the ocean. In a few minutes the breeze bore to their ears the sound of two quick pistol shots."<sup>193</sup> It becomes apparent through this article as well as previous ones that the primary interest of the papers in this story is the narrative leading up to the execution as well as the desire of officials to withhold information on the subject. It is also a piece of the much more sensational cannibalism narrative that is gripping papers at the time. The *Daily Arkansas Gazette* also fully publishes Greely's report to Hazen.<sup>194</sup>

An interesting article published by the *Daily Arkansas Gazette* on October 4, 1884 reported that the will of Henry had just been filed. This will was written by Henry in May 1884 while starving in the Arctic and was witnessed by Lieutenant Kislingbury.<sup>195</sup> It is interesting that Private Henry's will was considered noteworthy considering that it does not provide in further insight into his execution or death. It does show a continued interest in the fate of Henry however. The overall coverage by the *Daily Arkansas Gazette* continues the pattern of it being given less coverage than the other large story at the time on cannibalism.

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<sup>192</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "Shot for Stealing Food," August 14, 1884.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>194</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "Henry's Execution," August 15, 1884.

<sup>195</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "Private Henry's Will," October 4, 1884.

The *Wheeling Register's* coverage of Henry's death follows the previously stated patterns where Greely admits to the execution and discusses Henry's crimes of theft while denying any knowledge of the allegations of cannibalism.<sup>196</sup> The remainder of the coverage is along previously seen coverage focusing on the sensation it caused where he was buried and requests to exhume his body.<sup>197</sup> Due to the lack of any unique coverage, it is possible that this paper did not have the resources to dedicate to this story or that, like other papers, it preferred to focus on the cannibalistic aspects.

Henry's execution was mentioned in the *Wisconsin State Journal's* copied coverage from the *New York Times* in the same paragraph as *The New Haven Evening Register* and the original source, the *New York Time*.<sup>198</sup> No other coverage was found possibly due to missing records from the database. Clearly, Henry's execution as considered important news that needed to be told and investigated. However, due to its connection with the much more sensational story of cannibalism story that was occurring at the same time, it did not receive as much coverage though it was clearly still part of a national interest.

#### Continued Coverage into 1885

Continuing coverage of the expedition and news related to it occurred after the cannibal sensation but it became more and more distant from the events of the expedition itself. *The New Haven Evening Register* continued to cover events related to Greely himself or the expedition as a whole. For example, on November 22, 1884, the paper reported on a reception held in New York for Greely and the surviving members of the expedition. Attention was given at the beginning of the article to the fact that attendance had reached the capacity of the building and

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<sup>196</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "Private Henry was Shot," August 14, 1884.

<sup>197</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "Will Take Counsel," August 14, 1884; *Wheeling Register*, "Referred without Discussion," August 14, 1884; *Wheeling Register*, "Private Henry," August 24, 1884.

<sup>198</sup> *Wisconsin State Journal*, "The Greeley Party," August 12, 1884.

that people had to be turned away from the event. The article then focused on a speech by Greely where he talked about the scientific findings of the expedition, its inadequate preparation, and Greely's words on the men that accompanied him to the Arctic. On this last note is what paper chose to directly quote from Greely.<sup>199</sup> For example when Greely addressed the enlisted men that were under his command,

As to the enlisted men under me – twenty-five years a soldier and an officer – I know that that class of men do not always get the recognition of their work to which they are entitled. But with one or two exceptions all the enlisted men under me were as prompt and cheerful in obedience, as patient under suffering, as courageous and as manly as ever were men who dared and suffered and endured.<sup>200</sup>

The focus on the men, specifically the every-day enlisted men, gives an indicator that both Greely as well the papers, possibly understood that these were the men that the average American would connect with either by attending this reception in purpose or reading about it in their paper. A very different kind of article was published pertaining to Greely on February 2, 1885. This article reports on the House's committee of military affairs withdrawing a previous recommendation for the creation of a post known as the assistant chief signal officer because it was learned that Adolphus Greely would have been chosen for the post. The article also reports that Brainard, from the expedition, had sent a message to a member of this committee.<sup>201</sup> As is reported, Brainard charges Greely "With cowardice and alleging that the shooting of some of the men under Greely was on the orders of the latter, and that by issuing such orders he proved

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<sup>199</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, "From the Arctic Region," November 22, 1884.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>201</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, "Opposition to Greely," February 2, 1885.

himself to be inhuman.”<sup>202</sup> Brainard is clearly referencing the execution of Private Henry while also alluding that there was more to the story and it is interesting that Brainard appears to turn against Greely at this point along with some members of Congress considering how much of a hero he was stated to be just a few months prior. Interestingly, a small, untitled paragraph is published in the *New Haven Register* two days later stating that, “Lieutenant Greely is a man of courage and brains. He has accomplished something. He, therefore, has enemies. At the present he is combating their false assertions through the press.”<sup>203</sup> This small article could be in response to the previous article that clearly disparaged Greely though it is hard, given the lack of context, to connect it directly.

There is evidence that much attention was given to General Hazen in the early parts of 1885. The first piece of evidence is from a small paragraph under the Notes section of January 21. This article states that the Secretary of War was not going to court martial Hazen based off of what Lieutenant Garlington had wanted because of what had happened on his relief expedition.<sup>204</sup> Further reporting on this was not found however, related to this specific event either because this was an isolated event or the database has no record of it for *The New Haven Evening Register*. Hazen received much more attention in the paper through March 1885, when *The New Haven Evening Register* published articles on the court martial of General Hazen on at least eight different days.<sup>205</sup> It was reported that Hazen was court martialed for publicly

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, February 4, 1885.

<sup>204</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “Notes,” January 21, 1885.

<sup>205</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “General Hazen Suspended,” March 4, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, March 4, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, “The Gen. Hazen Inquiry,” March 12, 1885; *New Haven Register*, “Hazen on Trial,” March 12, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, “The Hazen Trial,” March 14, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, “The Great Rush Over,” March 15, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, “Telegraphic Briefs,” March 16, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, “The Hazen Court Martial,” March

criticizing the secretary of war, Lincoln, for not sending another relief expedition to find Greely.<sup>206</sup> These articles primarily report on the charges against Hazen, the background, and general proceedings of the trial with descriptions of arguments.<sup>207</sup> Overall, the story does not appear to lend itself to sensationalism very well given that these articles are two to three paragraphs long each and are rather dry with the only drama being a recounting of the stenographer of the court quitting abruptly one day due to a pay dispute thus ceasing proceedings for that day.<sup>208</sup> This episode ends with Hazen being reprimanded by President Cleveland.<sup>209</sup>

After the General Hazen episode, the news covered a variety of topics. Some of these deal with local connections. For example, on March 20, 1885, under the State News Column, it is reported that an Ensign W.L. Howard from New London was being sent on an expedition in Alaska and that he had previously been a member of the relief party that rescued Greely.<sup>210</sup> His connection to the Greely expedition appears to be a footnote or fun fact about him, though it still displays a local belief that this fact was important. Another local event that was a minor footnote in local Connecticut affairs was a series of ads and minor articles advertising that the artist William Bradford was to be hosting a series of illustrated recitals that would include scenes from

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20, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, "The News in Brief," March 21, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, "Washington Cleanings," March 24, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, "Telegraphic Briefs," April 17, 1885.

<sup>206</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, "General Hazen Suspended," March 4, 1885

<sup>207</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, "General Hazen Suspended," March 4, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, "The Gen. Hazen Inquiry," March 12, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, "Hazen on Trial," March 12, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, "The Hazen Court Martial," March 20, 1885.

<sup>208</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, "The Gen. Hazen Inquiry," March 12, 1885.

<sup>209</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, "Telegraphic Briefs," April 17, 1885.

<sup>210</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, "State News," March 20, 1885.

the Greely Expedition.<sup>211</sup> This is interesting for numerous reasons. First, it continues to show a local interest in anything related to the Greely Expedition even if it is tenuously connected. Second, it shows that the Greely Expedition was so big that it attracted artists to do work for it and that this would be a highly anticipated sort of event. The local engagement continued with another small paragraph under the State News column in June where it was reported that some locals from Noank had placed a bid for a contract to repair the *Bear* from the relief expedition.<sup>212</sup> This yet again shows a local engagement and participation.

As mentioned in the previous section, an article was published in September 1885 titled, “Why Henry Was Shot.”<sup>213</sup> The article gives a brief discussion on previous unwillingness on the part of Greely and other officials to discuss the exact circumstances of Private Henry’s death and notes Greely upcoming book that is in the final stages before being published. It then launches into a narrative of the events leading to Henry’s execution with the sources of this information being unknown but reliable according to the paper.<sup>214</sup> It is interesting that this article came out more than a year after the original story of Henry’s execution broke. The most likely reason for this article being published now is the imminent release of Greely’s book and the press’s hope that it will shed even more light on the circumstances of Henry’s death.

It is clear from these examples that the story of the Greely Expedition was dispersing into a variety of coverage in *The New Haven Evening Register*. The only was the Hazen trial, which appears to have gotten at least some dedicated coverage.

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<sup>211</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “The Bradford Recitals,” May 19, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, “Evening Enjoyments,” May 22, 1885; *The New Haven Evening Register*, “Fine Entertainments,” May 23, 1885.

<sup>212</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “State News,” June 29, 1885.

<sup>213</sup> *The New Haven Evening Register*, “Why Henry Was Shot,” September 23, 1885.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*

The *Evening Bulletin's* coverage after the sensational stories of cannibalism and execution deals with a variety of subjects about the expedition in varying detail. For example, an article was published on October 23, 1885 detailing the rescue of Greely based off of a report from Commander Schley.<sup>215</sup> The article is an example of how even months after the actual rescue, when new reports emerged, it was considered important enough to be put in the paper. There is also evidence of humor among the later coverage. For example a small paragraph stated, "It is recorded against Lieutenant Greely among the jesters that he spent years in the Arctic regions without bringing Mrs. Greely home a seal-skin sack."<sup>216</sup> This is clearly a small humorous piece making light of Greely's experience. More light-hearted pieces were published in late December 1884 detailing what Christmas was like. The catalyst for one of the articles was the printing of parts of Lieutenant Lockwood's diary by the *National Republican*.<sup>217</sup> The other was written by Greely in the *Chicago Current* and then seemingly copied into the *Evening Bulletin*.<sup>218</sup> These articles did not deal with any sort of scandalous or sensational material; rather they were more heartwarming in their descriptions and had a more lighthearted character to them than articles that had been previously discussed.

However, early 1885 consisted of some more sensational in which officers blamed one another for events of the expedition. This includes continued conflict between Chief Signal Officer Hazen and Lieutenant Garlington blaming one another for the events of the second relief expedition.<sup>219</sup> Both of these articles are about a paragraph in length and continue to show the press's interest in higher officials and their charges against one another. The second one from

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<sup>215</sup> *San Francisco Bulletin*, "The Greely Rescue," October 23, 1884.

<sup>216</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "All Sorts of Items," December 5, 1884.

<sup>217</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "An Arctic Christmas," December 26, 1884.

<sup>218</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "Christmas Near the North Pole," December 27, 1884.

<sup>219</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "The Charges Against Garlington," January 1, 1885; *Evening Bulletin*, "Telegraphic Brevities," January 21, 1885.

January 21 is the same article that appeared in *The New Haven Evening Register* discussing the secretary of war refusing to bring up the second relief expedition again by court martialling Hazen.<sup>220</sup> Another article that was printed by the *Evening Bulletin* in early February that also repeats claims by *The New Haven Evening Register* that Greely had issued orders to execute and cannibalize members of the expedition. However, the sum of this story appears to be Greely being denied the role of Assistant Chief Signal Officer.<sup>221</sup>

The *Evening Bulletin* also sporadically published coverage on diaries or lectures from expedition members. For example, on February 9, 1885, the paper published a piece detailing that a portion of Private Henry's journal had been released and also included excerpted paragraphs from it. These excerpts detail intense moments such as Greely pulling a weapon on various other members of the expedition, infighting, the condition of some of the crew, and the belief that there was a belief that Dr. Pavy had stolen someone else's rations.<sup>222</sup> At the end of the article there is a brief note on other diaries and it is stated that, "Extracts from other diaries show a deplorable state of affairs. Insubordination prevailed to a considerable extent, and quarreling, sometimes leading to blows, was not an uncommon occurrence."<sup>223</sup> This is an indication of the paper's interest in the diaries of the crewmembers and what other scandalous or exciting material they might contain. This is further supported by a similar article published a few days later detailing excerpts from Kislisbury's diary.<sup>224</sup> This search for the dramatic is also seen in later reporting on Commander Schley's account of finding Greely in his book.<sup>225</sup> This dramatization is

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<sup>220</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "Telegraphic Brevities," January 21, 1885.

<sup>221</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "A Serious Charge," February 2, 1885.

<sup>222</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "Arctic Sufferings," February 9, 1885.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>224</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "An Arctic Diary," February 11, 1885.

<sup>225</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "Schley's Account of Greely's Rescue," April 4, 1885; *Evening Bulletin*, "The Rescue for Greely," April 11, 1885.

not seen any clearer than the last sentence excerpted from Schley's book, "Yes – seven of us left – here we are – dying like men. Did what I came to do – beat the best record." Then he fell back exhausted. Lieut. Greely, dying like a man, but proud of his exploit and conscious that he had beaten the best record, is a noble type of American grit."<sup>226</sup> Clearly, there was focus on the dramatic when the paper chose what to excerpt. The paper also has a few stories on lectures. Though the interest in lectures seemed to just extend to brief description on what was presented and who presented it.<sup>227</sup>

The *Evening Bulletin* also extensively covered Hazen's trial. The continuing troubles that Hazen faced in early 1885 was summed up by a sentence from the *Lowell Courier* that was posted in the *Evening Bulletin* on February 11, 1885. It stated that, "There is a variety of tastes among men as to what shall amuse them, but Chief Signal Officer Hazen evidently prefers charges."<sup>228</sup> There is clear humor here referencing the trouble Hazen had previously found himself in with regards to the second relief expedition. The news of Hazen's court martial appeared in a small paragraph in the News by Telegraph section on March 3 detailing the charge.<sup>229</sup> The coverage of the actual proceedings of the court martial primarily focused on what was said and each day's events.<sup>230</sup> It appears that a decent amount of coverage existed for Hazen's trial and thus shows that there was considerable attention to this event though most of

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<sup>226</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "Schley's Account of Greely's Rescue," April 4, 1885

<sup>227</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "Sledge Journeys in the Arctic," August 19, 1885; *Evening Bulletin*, "A Survivor of the Greely Expedition," November 11, 1885.

<sup>228</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "All Sorts of Items," February 11, 1885.

<sup>229</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "Gen. Hazen to be Tried by Court Martial," March 3, 1885.

<sup>230</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, "Gen. Hazen," March 4, 1885; *Evening Bulletin*, "Sensation in the Hazen Trial," March 13, 1885; *Evening Bulletin*, "The Hazen Court-Martial," March 17, 1885; *Evening Bulletin*, "The Hazen Court-Martial," March 21, 1885; *Evening Bulletin*, "Hazen to be Reprimanded," April 17, 1885; *Evening Bulletin*, "Hazen's Satisfaction," May 1, 1885.

the articles trended on the small side of one to four paragraphs. The focus of these articles primarily focused on courtroom drama and reported on the various arguments made.

So, although the *Evening Bulletin* included bits of scandalous or sensational material, the coverage was clearly more removed from the expedition itself as it focuses more on sources like diaries and books.

The *Daily Arkansas Gazette* also published numerous articles on Hazen's trial.<sup>231</sup> These like the previous papers followed the events and proceedings of the trial though some new information comes to light. For example, in an article from March 20, it is revealed that those sympathetic to Hazen had filled his table in the courtroom with flowers before the article launched into reporting the day's proceedings.<sup>232</sup> This adds a more personal touch to the article than the usual fact discussion of the proceedings. It was also welcome news that the stenographer, previously mentioned in *The New Haven Evening Register*, had received proper payment.<sup>233</sup>

Other coverage included a diary article, published in early February 1885 that discussed Kislingbury's diary revealing details of Greely being hostile and incompetent.<sup>234</sup> For example, in one of the excerpts it says, "Referring to Greely again he writes: In fact, he does nothing right, and our reaching this place is due only to good fortune, hard work and good management of the men."<sup>235</sup> This clearly places Greely in a negative light and shows that even if he had been portrayed favorably in the past, which would not effect current reporting of him. Further

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<sup>231</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "Hazen Court-Martial," March 14, 1885; *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "The Hazen Trial," March 15, 1885; *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "Floral Tributes," March 20, 1885; *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "Hazen's Trial," March 21, 1885; *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "Hazen's Sentence," April 18, 1885; *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, April 18, 1885;

<sup>232</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "Floral Tributes," March 20, 1885

<sup>233</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "Hazen Court Martial," March 14, 1885

<sup>234</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, "Greely's Conduct," February 12, 1885

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*

reporting by the *Daily Arkansas Gazette* focused on the leave of absence given to Greely in the summer of 1885 and the extension for this leave due to his health.<sup>236</sup> These are paragraph sized in length and do not appear to be of great importance.

The *Daily Arkansas Gazette* also featured an article that reported that Greely was in Scotland giving a talk on the expedition, thanking the British government for the contribution of one of the relief ships, as well as encouraging more expeditions in the future.<sup>237</sup> The article is only a paragraph long. Clearly, besides the Hazen trial, news is beginning to slow and turn into more isolated or sporadic stories covering the expedition.

Coverage by the *Wheeling Register* continued past the cannibalism sensation through a variety of news stories. For example, some of the articles published had more to do with entertainment and references to the expedition. In an article published on September 16, 1885, contained what appear to be short paragraph length stories about young couples under the title, “Smiles for the Ladies.”<sup>238</sup> The paragraph relating to the expedition is as follows:

It was growing very late, but the young man showed no signs of a disposition to take his leave. After relieving herself of several yawns the young lady said: “You have been reading about the Greely expedition, haven’t you?” “I have. Why?” “And you have thought so much about it that you fancy you are now in the Arctic regions yourself.” “What makes you think so?” “Because you seem to be under the impression that you are in a region where the nights are six months long.”<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, “Greely’s Vacation,” July 15, 1885; *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, “Lieut. Greely,” August 7, 1885; *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, “Another Case for Exceptions,” March 14, 1885.

<sup>237</sup> *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, “Lieutenant Greely in Scotland,” November 20, 1885.

<sup>238</sup> *Wheeling Register*, “Smiles for the Ladies,” September 16, 1884.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*

This short narrative provides a look into the average Americans knowledge of the expedition. For example, for this story to work, the readers had to be familiar with the expedition and its coverage as well as get the humor behind it. This story demonstrates that the Greely Expedition was widely known and talked about. A similar section was published on September 28, 1884 except this time, it dealt with small humorous stories about being at the barbers and the small stories were taken from other newspapers.<sup>240</sup> The story relating to the Greely Expedition is as follows:

He was sitting under the barber's razor and had ordered a close shave. Once or twice he tried to pinch the back of his head through the support of the chair, and then his patience became exhausted and he exclaimed to the barber: "See here, young man, you ain't on no Greely North Pole Expedition, and I ain't dead yet!" – *Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph*.<sup>241</sup>

This is another humorous story that references the expedition and shows how widespread, knowledge was of its events. Further public engagement is seen through articles reporting on talks given by members of the expedition. For example, on December 24, 1884, it was reported that one of the survivors was so famous that he was on stage in Washington almost every evening and that he had had the choice between a concert hall, dime museum, and a stage.<sup>242</sup> It was also reported that Greely hosted a talk at the Berkshire Agricultural Society on September 17, 1885 where he described some sort of Arctic sheep and that he suggested the use of these sheep in Berkshire.<sup>243</sup> Greely was also interviewed in December 1885, by another paper, which was reprinted in the *Wheeling Register*. The interview focuses on Greely giving his thoughts that

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<sup>240</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "A Brush with the Barbers," September 28, 1884.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

<sup>242</sup> *Wheeling Register*, December 24, 1884.

<sup>243</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "The Sheep that Greely Saw," September 18, 1885.

the next Arctic expedition would be led by the English and that it was unlikely that anyone would get to the North Pole.<sup>244</sup> Clearly, there was still public engagement with the expedition and its members through interviews and talks.

Hazen's ordeal throughout the early part of 1885 also found its way into the *Wheeling Register*. It is revealed that the charges that Garlington had wanted for Hazen in January 1885 were those of, "lying and conduct unbecoming a gentleman."<sup>245</sup> This is learned in a one-sentence paragraph amongst a variety of other unrelated stories thus showing that it was not very sensational or important news. Hazen's later trial was also covered by the *Wheeling Register* as evidenced by one article from March 13 where it discussed a reporter testifying to the fact that Hazen had blamed the secretary of war for what had happened to the Greely Expedition.<sup>246</sup> However, new information comes to light from an article published in May 1885 stating that Hazen had sued the *New York Times* for libel by accusing Hazen of being to blame for the failure of Garlington's relief mission and that Hazen had tried to avoid an investigation.<sup>247</sup> This is interesting news showing that Hazen was more than willing to fight back against some of the press's reporting on him. Though this appears not to have made much news since the information is relegated to a paragraph amongst a variety of unrelated news.

The last piece of important news that showcases a continued interest in the expedition was an article that is from July 12, 1885 and is titled, "Rewards for Greely Expedition."<sup>248</sup> It is reported that Greely had not received the promotion he was promised and that his book that he wrote had received much demand. The paper suggests that since Schley's book was published

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<sup>244</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "Greely a Man of Grit," December 6, 1885.

<sup>245</sup> *Wheeling Register*, January 15, 1885.

<sup>246</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "Reporter on the Stand," March 13, 1885.

<sup>247</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "Brief Telegrams," May 20, 1885.

<sup>248</sup> *Wheeling Register*, "Rewards for Greely Expedition," July 12, 1885.

first, that was the reason behind low demand and that numerous other books published about the expedition had failed to be profitable. It is suggested that this is a sign that the public's interest in Arctic exploration is fading.<sup>249</sup> This article gives a clear indication that public interest might be turning away from Arctic exploration. It is clear by the coverage in the *Wheeling Register*, that there was a diversity of coverage of the Greely Expedition, although there are also indications of it falling out of favor with the public.

The *Wisconsin State Journal* also contained further coverage of the expedition in areas such as talks given by members of the expedition like Greely.<sup>250</sup> For example, one such article from September 12, 1884 goes into great detail on one such event that occurred in Montreal. It is discussed how Greely's primary focus in the talk was on a paper he had written titled, "Recent Discoveries in Northern Greenland and in Grinnell Land", which discusses the scientific research of the expedition such as describing the flora and fauna that was discovered. The article also describes the positive reaction Greely received for his talk through a good deal of applauding and the excitement of the crowd.<sup>251</sup> It is clear that there was fascination on the scientific aspects of the expedition, though this might skew towards a more educated type of audience than the average paper reader. An interesting small piece of news that was published under the Personalities section of the paper on November 28, 1884 states that, "Lieutenant Greely has promised his wife that he will never go to the Arctic regions again."<sup>252</sup> That is all there is to it. There is nothing else. There might be a little hint of humor in this considering what happened to Greely on his expedition. Another interesting small article was published in December 1884,

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<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> *Wisconsin State Journal*, "Arctic Exploration," September 12, 1884; *Wisconsin State Journal*, "Results of the Montreal Convention," September 12, 1884; *Wisconsin State Journal*, "Personalities," September 25, 1885.

<sup>251</sup> *Wisconsin State Journal*, "Arctic Exploration," September 12, 1884.

<sup>252</sup> *Wisconsin State Journal*, "Personalities," November 28, 1884

which stated that all the people who died on the Greely Expedition, except one, were smokers and that this should come as good news to those who opposed smoking.<sup>253</sup> This is an odd article that takes a minor fact from the expedition and reports on it. The *Wisconsin State Journal*, in similar fashion to previously described coverage, also reported on Hazen's legal entanglements.<sup>254</sup> Clearly, much of the coverage from the *Wisconsin State Journal* is similar to other papers at the time.

### Conclusion

This study set out to determine whether the Greely Expedition received national coverage and the nature of that coverage. Based on the analysis of the five selected papers, it becomes apparent that the coverage of the Greely Expedition was indeed national in scale. It was covered in the Northeast as seen by *The New Haven Evening Register*; it was covered in the South as seen by the *Daily Arkansas Gazette* and *Wheeling Register*; it was covered in the interior of the country, as in the *Wisconsin State Journal*, and it had a following on the West Coast through the example of the *Evening Bulletin*. There was even evidence in some of the aforementioned that news on Greely had crossed international boundaries as well, reaching a readership in Europe.

The presentation of this coverage was varied in nature. The greatest concentration of stories is clearly focused on the sensational aspects of the expedition. However, content ranged from graphic in depth accounts to brief one sentence updates on matters of no apparent significance. The content did not merely focus on the sensational or scandalous as evidenced by the preceding section; there was also coverage related to humor or to miscellaneous facts. This variety in coverage indicates that there was a demand for news on anything pertaining to the

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<sup>253</sup> *Wisconsin State Journal*, December 19, 1884

<sup>254</sup> *Wisconsin State Journal*, "Hazen-McKeever," January 2, 1885; *Wisconsin State Journal*, "Personal," January 16, 1885; *Wisconsin State Journal*, "Gen. Hazen," March 20, 1885.

Greely Expedition. Even the smallest of details were in demand. This great demand could have been instigated by one of the more sensational aspects of the expedition, like Garlington's failed relief. These lurid and exciting aspects of the expedition hooked readers in so that afterwards, the press could print whatever they wanted about the expedition and they would sell copies. The same content was also recycled and reprinted by various papers, indicating its importance to several different news markets. The recycling and reprinting of articles from other papers is also indicative of the great demand for this news. The section on the cannibalism story highlighted this. Numerous papers either quoted or directly reprinted from the *New York Times*, which broke this story. Newspapers needed to get the news out fast, and if a paper did not have the resources to follow up on a story, then the next best thing was to copy another paper that did have the resources.

All this can be understood in the context of the history of the American press and where it was at the time that the Greely Expedition occurred. As previously discussed, the press was growing at an incredible rate, which meant an increase in competition and a heavily saturated market. This increased competition would lead papers to do whatever it took to secure and expand their market share. To do this, it makes reasonable sense to focus on the stories that would attract the most readers. Both sensation and scandal could reasonably be expected to accomplish this goal and the Greely Expedition provided both in spades. Furthermore there was an apparent demand for this news from the American public. This demand from the public would likely be in response to previous expeditions that gathered national attention as well as the increase in urbanization that occurred in the United States. As Americans increasingly became city dwellers, it would be logical that they would find news of exotic Arctic exploration exciting.

Reading about the Greely Expedition would have allowed the average American to escape to the expansive nothingness of the Arctic from the dense and crowded cities of the nation.

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