"Not to Worry"

Cecily Shackleton's Polar Gift Giving and the Oxford University Ellesmere Land Expedition of 1934-35

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L'ère des dernières explorations polaires furent des aventures hyper-masculines, fortement liées à l'expansion impérialiste. Les Occidentales furent exclues des pôles qui étaient devenues des sphères exclusivement masculines. Cecily Shackleton , la fille de Sir Ernest Schackleton. éminent explorateur de l'Antarctique nous a fourni un bel exemple de la pratique du don chez les femmes des régions polaires. L'Université d'Oxford avait subventionné son expédition dans l' île Ellsmere en 1934-35 et son travail bénévole comprenait la logistique, l'organisation et l'émotivité; le fait qu'elle n'ait jamais été reconnue montre bien que l'inégalité règne dans le prestigieux monde de l"exploration en région polaire.

> Behind these dreams of the polar expeditions is a frieze or backdrop of women—no, ladies—who stood elegantly about in their drooping fettered garments, smiling wistfully at these warriors of theirs….
> —Doris Lessing, *The Making of the Representation for Planet 8* (132) (quoted in Rosner 493)

Gift giving cannot be understood without reference to other behaviours; it can be an expression of social relationships (Befu), an exchange with visible outcomes, such as prestige and respect (Heath), an enactment of power dynamics (Bracken), and, especially for this paper, the playing out of women's political inequality (Raymond) in a social and economic system that circumscribes their participation. Here I posit western women's work in polar exploration expeditions as gift giving, shaped by cultural imperatives or dictates in the late polar exploration era, the 1930s. This work took logistical, organizational, and emotional forms and was carried out by the middle and upper class female relatives of Western, mainly British and Norwegian, polar explorers whose expeditions were aimed at advancing European empires and accumulating prestige (Hanrahan *Unchained Man*). (Note that the contributions of Indigenous women to polar exploration are beyond my purview here.)[1] I use the example of Cecily Shackleton of the famous and influential Shackleton family of polar explorers. Cecily carried out extensive unpaid work on her brother Edward Shackleton's Oxford University Ellesmere Land (OUEL) Expedition of 1934-1935. This article is based on archival documents housed at the Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge University, consisting mainly of Shackleton family correspondence and related material such as Cecily's school records and OUEL Expedition documents. A study of Cecily's labour in the hyper-masculine world of exploration (Hanrahan *Unchained Man*; Rosner; Farley) can provide an understanding of polar women's gift giving and the forces that impelled and shaped this gift giving. In this endeavour, I refer to the literature on gift giving from several disciplines (Areni et al.; Fischer and Arnold; Raymond; Bolton; Bracken; Feil; Befu; Heath) as well as Judith Butler's concepts of gender and gender performativity to understand Cecily Shackleton's polar gift giving. I also situate Cecily in the history of upper class British women's public participation in patriarchal capitalism and its ancillary polar exploration through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Hanrahan *Unchained Man*; Hamilton; Braybon; Farley; Herbert; Black; Vickery; Prochaska).

Women are seen as prominent in gift giving (Areni et al.; Fischer and Arnold), and much of women's work, such as surrogate motherhood, is lauded as altruism but it cannot

be separated from women's political inequality (Raymond). An altruistic analysis limits critique of motivation and context and thus serves to distract from gender-based political inequality. Power dynamics—inherent in colonialism (Masco), which included polar exploration—are always involved in gift giving (Bracken). Conditions of oppression, such as those experienced by women in capitalist systems, make gift giving more, not less, likely to occur on the part of those experiencing oppression. In spite of her privileged place in Britain's upper class in the first half of the twentieth century, Cecily Shackleton's gender status made her subject to gender-based restrictions that were imposed and then internalized. Like other contemporary women, including some who tried, Cecily could not take part in trips to the Antarctic or Arctic like her brother and father; her gender constrained the kinds of polar work/gift giving in which she engaged, restricting it to important but unpaid and largely unacknowledged support work.

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How are we to understand gender? And how did Cecily experience it? Gender is a historical idea, not something that is naturally ordained, as Simone De Beauvoir contended. Building on this, Butler asserts that gender is not a stable identity, as has long been assumed, or locus of agency but "an identity constituted in time—an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts" (519). Although notions of gender are increasingly subject to change today, societal ideas about gender were, in the main, fixed in Cecily Shackleton's social and cultural milieu as well as in the psychology of people of her class; fixed ideas are the basis of gender reification, of the actions that make gender real rather than abstract. Thus, gender imperatives don't reflect individual choices: "The gendered body acts its part in a culturally restricted corporeal space and enacts interpretations within the confines of already existing directives" (526). The acts or performativity to which Butler refers occur in reaction to social sanctions and taboo (520). Misperforming one's gender can result in punishments "both obvious and indirect," with our knowledge of this creating anxiety (528) and frequently compelling conformity.

Gift giving is not free of these constraints and therefore cannot be a legitimate reflection of identity as Marianne Neisser saw it; identities, as experienced by the self and others, are social and gendered. Identities need to be understood through the lens of social relations (Feil) and, as noted, through gender inequalities. Cecily's identity was largely constructed by external forces, her behaviour, including her OUEL Expedition work, mirroring the expectations associated with her class and gender. She was socialized into these expectations, which were widely assumed and uncontested, with some exceptions such as the suffragettes. Through her treatment of how early to mid-twentieth century women negotiated domesticity and modernity, Judy Giles allows that men's work mattered but women's housewifely duties were also considered a service to the nation (2004). Cecily Shackleton never married but she found a way to contribute to Britain and its empire.

Born in 1906, Cecily Jane Swinford Shackleton was the middle child of Emily Dorman and Sir Ernest, a celebrated Anglo-Irish polar explorer, famous for making a remarkable small boat journey to rescue his shipwrecked crew, who had been attempted to reach the South Pole (Shackleton, E. *South*; Thepeerage.com). After her father's early death in 1922 when she was sixteen, Cecily finished her schooling and lived with her mother Emily, Lady Shackleton; in 1929, King George V granted the women a grace and favour apartment at Hampton Court Palace (Hampton Court Palace: Factsheet nd, 4).[2] This was the same apartment that Hannah, the mother of explorer Sir Robert Falcon Scott, had occupied until her death (ibid). While almost excluded from most paid work, upper class British women like Cecily did participate in public activities, notably charitable ventures usually aimed at helping the poor and, for some, the suffragette movement through the 1920s (Giles; Vickery; Prochaska). There was no financial remuneration for their work. In the case of the suffragettes, it constituted gender misperformance; agitating for votes for women carried with it a stigma as well as more serious retributions like police violence. One of the very few opportunities for upper class women to enter into paid work came with World War I. Affluent women supported the war effort from 1914, some through military service in certain regiments, others in the management of munitions factories where they were

Emily Shackleton, wife of explorer Ernest Shackleton, with her three children, Cecily, Edward, the youngest, and Raymond, 1914. Unknown photographer. Courtesy: Wikimedia Commons.

known as lady superintendents (Black). This rare occasion for upper class women to make their own money lasted only for the duration of the war and failed to raise their status (Braybon).

Women were explicitly excluded from public roles in polar exploration, an activity that sought to extend European empires and identify natural resources to exploit (Hanrahan *Unchained Man*). Cecily's father once refused three female expedition applicants by bluntly writing there "are no vacancies for the opposite sex on the Expedition" (Rosner 490). The women applicants wrote that they were "strong healthy girls, and also gay and bright and willing to undergo any hardships" and declared "…we do not see why men should have the glory and women none, especially when there are women just as brave and capable as there are men" (ibid). Yet Ernest Shackleton dismissed them without hesitation. These failed women applicants were deviating from the invisible gift giver script and misperforming gender. Shackleton and other European (and American) explorers saw and shaped polar terrain as the domains of elite white men (Hanrahan *Unchained Man*; Farley); uninhabited Antarctica in particular was seen as exclusively male site of heroism and endurance (Rosner 491) Shackleton was typical in that he "embodied a model of manly white explorer integral to the British imperialism" (Farley 232) while. As Victoria Rosner writes, polar exploration was founded in national imaginaries, especially Britain, where Shackleton and Scott operated from (491). With reference to Butler, it can be concluded that polar exploration occurs through male performances adhering to conventions of heroic masculism. The polar tradition is to cultivate myths rooted in these conventions, giving explorers legendary status (Spufford). On some level, the Shackletons recognized the myth-making imperative and Ernest hired a journalist to help shape his Antarctic account, *South*, into an archetypal exploration narrative (Farley 234). Myth and spectacle serve particular interests, as Michael Elmes and Rob Frame explain, "obscuring the interests of the parties it serves" (220). They note that the full story of an expedition—whether to Mount Everest or Ellesmere Island—may be less sensational and less "easily consumed" as tales laced with singular heroic feats centred around one hero without other perspectives (ibid 232).

Although he has been rediscovered recently, and even held up as a model of leadership (ibid), Ernest Shackleton's renown dwindled "relatively quickly" (Farley 240). Shackleton's children, especially Cecily and Edward, seem to have been aware of that and responded by Edward attempting to establish his own exploration career. Cecily's brother Edward (or Eddie to Cecily) followed their father into the field of exploration, in his case travelling to Ellesmere Island in what is now Nunavut, Canada (Edward Shackleton 1937). Although she was too young to contribute to the war effort as expected of women of her class, in the 1930s, Cecily would become, effectively, the chief executive officer of the respected Oxford University Ellesmere Island Expedition, led by Edward, where she did unpaid and almost unacknowledged work. In this capacity, Cecily strategized, organized crew and equipment, identified suppliers and bought supplies, raised money, did troubleshooting and carried out diplomatic efforts, wrote publicity materials, directed publicity efforts, and, significantly, provided emotional support for Edward; she enthusiastically encouraging his emerging polar career, even in the face of the obstacles that always feature in

polar expeditions, such as conflict over individual roles and position titles. She also maintained her home and was responsible for the care of her mother, Lady Emily, who would die in 1936. Lady Emily was frequently unwell with high blood pressure, and the family did not tell her this ("Letter to Edward" March 25, 1935). During the OUEI expedition, Emily had "a very severe fainting attack," Cecily wrote to Edward, assuring him it was not a stroke ("Letter to Edward" June 27, 1935). Cecily, who never married, told Edward not to worry about his wife, Betty, while he was on the expedition: "I promise I will look after Betty and will … keep a motherly eye on her ("Letter to Edward" Monday night, 1935)

Thus, some of Cecily's work was emotional labour. This form of labour, situated mainly in women's sphere, is hard and productive yet under-valued work (Bolton). With its central element of caring, Sharon Bolton rightly conceives of emotional labour as a gift (2000). Added to her considerable logistical work, Cecily's completely unpaid polar contribution must be viewed as gift giving—to her brother and to her country as it used polar exploration to extend its empire, maintain its imperial status, and enhance its prestige internationally. Edward Shackleton's career and legacy, building on Ernest Shackleton's reputation while simultaneously keeping this reputation alive, were Cecily's priority in her work. In this, the younger Shackletons were successful as, in the British tradition of honouring explorers, Edward was given a title by the British monarch as his father had been. Other women who were relatives of explorers played similar roles and engaged in polar gift giving. Among them were Josephine Peary (Herbert 2012), the wife of Sir Robert Peary, who, controversially,[3] claimed the North Pole, and the Pearys' daughter, Marie Peary Stafford (Hanrahan *Unchained Man*); Kathleen Scott, the wife of Sir Robert Falcon Scott, who died trying to reach the North Pole (Herbert); and, before all of them, Jane Franklin, the wife of Sir John Franklin, who was lost in the Arctic (Herbert).

Women living with limited or restricted norms related to gender performance are more involved in gift giving (Fischer and Arnold); these findings certainly apply to polar women. Because she is virtually unknown, the study of Cecily Shackleton offers insights into unilateral gift giving and its interplay with patriarchy and the ever-expanding capitalist enterprise of empire. As the daughter of Sir Ernest, Cecily's milieu was the highest pinnacle of polar exploration, an arena that stretched the performance of masculinity and femininity to their extremes, making female initiative and competence invisible, if not illicit. Her own potential thwarted, Cecily is a striking example of the vital but almost invisible tasks undertaken by polar women

Cecily was responsible for and juggled all numerous tasks for the OUEI Expedition. Ernest Shackleton's only daughter, she emulated her father in some respects. In her 1916 school report from St. Margaret's, where as a member of the British upper class she boarded, ten-year-old Cecily demonstrated an "intelligent interest" in geography ["School Report"]. Cecily's conduct was "good" and her teacher expected that she would "develop with discipline into a character of striking and sterling qualities" ("School Report"). After she left school, Cecily did not enter paid employment and was not expected to. In the early to mid-1930s, Cecily worked full-time as a volunteer for the Oxford University Ellesmere Land Expedition. Today, this position would likely merit the title of Chief Executive Officer and would be highly paid, given the wide spectrum of responsibilities attached to it. The Expedition to Ellesmere Island, currently under Canadian jurisdiction, was the latest in a string of such ventures by the elite and exclusively male Oxford University Exploration Club, their first jaunt taking place in 1921 to British Guiana [Edward Shackleton *Arctic Journeys,* , original spelling]. "We have grown accustomed to bright descriptions of the achievements of the young men from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge," said the Scottish geographer Hugh Robert Mill (Cox and Mill 442). The Expedition was led by Gordon Noel Humphreys, a Cambridge graduate, and, in addition to Britain, it had the "whole-hearted" support of the Danish and Canadian Governments (ibid 441), also drivers of the colonial project. Edward Shackleton acted as organizer and surveyor on the trip.

By the 1930s, the Great Depression had taken hold and polar exploration was waning, as was the once-widespread celebration of Ernest Shackleton. Edward Shackleton

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Edward Arthur Alexander Shackleton, Baron Shackleton; Cecily Jane Swinford Shackleton; Raymond Swinford Shackleton. Unknown photographer. Courtesy: National Portrait Gallery, London.

wrote, "…in these difficult times no large funds are available for exploration, so an expedition must be organized with thrift and providence down the last decimal" (*Arctic Journeys* 193). Cecily fully understood the challenging dynamics of polar exploration in its dying days and felt a sense of urgency. Edward had to emerge as a "heroic explorer" in his own right, to use Rebecca Farley's apt phrase (243), and Cecily supported him in this. Edward Shackleton was able to cement his place in the long narrative of Arctic exploration by writing that expedition members "discovered" new mountains (ibid 315) and that they met with Eskimos [Inuit] whose tribes had been "discovered" by British explorer Sir James Clark Ross in 1818 (ibid 58).

Like her father who refused to consider the expedition applications of women, Cecily herself never seemed to entertain the possibility of challenging the male hegemony that surrounded her and the gendered restrictions under which she labored. Cecily would also have been aware of the icy reception more active and vocal polar women like Kathleen Scott received (Herbert 2012) as well as the severe discipline meted out to the suffragettes, some of whom were her neighbours. In her senior managerial role for the expedition, Cecily was supported by a Financial Committee made up of elite men ("Letter to Edward" March 25, 1935). In line with gender performance for women, Cecily's other pressing concern was providing primary care for her mother Emily whose ill health persisted (Cecily Shackleton June 3, 1935). As a result of this labour-intensive duty, Cecily had few visitors, "lived quietly," and found it all "a bit of a strain for R [her other brother Ray] and me" (ibid). "I am just now very tired" working every day with a great deal to do, she wrote to Edward ("Letter to Edward March 25, 1935). As another indication of personal cost, Cecily herself had "an over-strained heart" and, as a result, was confined to bed for ten days at one point during the expedition (ibid). Her ceaseless gift giving left her little time for her beloved gardening and she did not have time to travel from Hampton Court Palace to London so she arranged Expedition meetings at her home ("Letter to Charles Elton" June 26, 1935). In stark contrast to that of her brother, Edward, Cecily's world was geographically or physically small. Cecily's early promise, her outgoing personality, her interest in geography, and her highly developed organizational abilities were all at odds with this.

The achievement of Cecily's goals for her brother as explorer involved a great deal of analysis and strategizing, for in her view, Edward's promotion was far from straightforward. Subterfuge reigned in the competitive milieu of polar exploration (Hanrahan *Unchained Man*) and Cecily knew that proper recognition of Edward's achievements was not at all guaranteed. Thus, she wrote Edward a lengthy letter on June 3, 1935 from Hampton

Court Palace headed "THE FOLLOWING LETTER WRITTEN IN CONFIDENCE AND WITHOUT PREJUDICE" (ibid). The letter concerns the shaky Depression era finances of the OUEI expedition and Cecily's ongoing attempts to secure much needed funding and deal with the financial demands of the expedition's suppliers of equipment and food. Although she regarded these demands as unreasonable, she agreed to the terms set by Jensen, one of the suppliers, lest the expedition be delayed for a year, "an unthinkable idea" (ibid). She had approached other suppliers, but any of given only £10" and Mr. Hodgson —£3.3" (ibid). Besides finances, Cecily worked to secure public recognition for Edward. She wrote, "DR. HUMPHREYS. Eddie, you must not stand down to him, once the Expedition is home, he ceases to be leader … Dr. H did hardly a thing before the Ex: left and there is no doubt that he is intentionally trying to do you down, and take all publicity and not even acknowledge you as having done anything" (ibid). She contrasted Edward's relative youth to Humphreys' age—there were three years between them—asserting

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these would have charged double Jensen's rate. Meanwhile, there were other serious problems. On one side of Cecily's ledger, the expedition's account was overdrawn by £1,300 with the ship due to cost £500; assets totaled £200 due from the *Times* and £459 for Edward Shackleton's book ("when written") (ibid). Cecily encouraged her brother to contact Lord Tweedsmuir as soon as possible as "he is the future Gov [Governor] General of Canada, perhaps he could find you a post there!" ("Letter to Edward" June 27, 1935). Tweedsmuir had been president of the Oxford Exploration Club from its start (Shackleton, Edward *Arctic Journey* iii). In this suggestion, Cecily demonstrated her keen mind and ability to think strategically and Edward took her advice; it also demonstrated her complete concentration on Edward, rather than herself.

Cecily constantly suffered from lack of time but there had been "no slackness" ("Letter to Edward" June 3, 1935). With money tight, she adopted an almost coquettish tone in directing Edward on his own use of money, "But remember darling … you must see that there is no extravagance, i.e. over-generous presents … you must hold the upper hand in everything" (ibid). This writing style, with its attempt at feminine persuasion and steadfast commitment to a goal, is typical of Cecily throughout the expedition. We can see this as "obedience to an historically delimited possibility" and as a strategy, as Butler uses the word, meaning it is a necessity in a particular culture or circumstance (522). Only a few weeks later, Cecily managed to begin paying down the overdraft ("Letter to Edward" June 3, 1935).

In addition to the negotiations with funders and suppliers, Cecily continued quietly with a semi-public appeal, noting that Sir Percy Cox had collected £90, "Mrs. Ness has the need to secure Edward's future (ibid). As evidence of Humphreys' underhandedness, Cecily points to his articles in the *Times*. Cecily wrote that Humphreys did not even acknowledge Edward as "organizer," although it is actually she who was the organizer, albeit a virtually invisible one. She seeks what she sees as justice for her brother but not for herself, though she is central to any success the expedition might have. The invisibility of female gift giving was mandatory and, in fact, the only route open to Cecily as a woman. Cecily had internalized the societal dictates about gender, becoming an "author of gender" (Butler 522) herself; at times in her letters, there are hints that she seems to have done so knowingly. Invoking the male and therefore authoritative voice of Charles Elton, of the Expedition's Financial Committee, she wrote: "You must make allowances for any bitterness I show, but do not put it all down to the feminine mind plus sisterly affection. I only write as strongly as I do because C. [Charles] Elton is very anxious that you should realize the true position" ("Letter to Edward" June 3, 1935). Again resorting to expected gender performance, as she herself recognizes, Cecily tries to ensure that her efforts are taken seriously.

A talented strategist and planner, Cecily was also concerned about post-expedition speaking tours, fearing that Humphreys and not her brother would dominate the potentially lucrative lecture circuit and the press attention it could receive. She enlisted male allies from the elite circles in which she moved. On June 26, 1935, she wrote to Elton regarding Gerald Christie, Ernest Shackleton's lecture agent. She tried to solicit Elton's support for her brother in the competition with Humphreys, citing the offending *Times* articles ("Letter to Charles Elton" June

Ernest Shackleton, second from left, poses with some members of his crew on the 1907-09 Nimrod Expedition to the Antarctic, led by Shackleton, 1908. Photo: James Murray (1865-1914). Courtesy: Archive of Alfred Wegener Institute for Polar and Marine Research.

26, 1935). She also tried to undermine Humphreys' reputation, especially his reliability, hinting at sharp dealing on his part: "Still wish that we could find out just how it was that Dr. H. was able to alter the original arrangements which Eddie made with the Times. I am glad that Eddie was loyal and generous enough to give way over the matter but I think it was rather a pity in some ways" (ibid). Edward had met with Christie before leaving for the Arctic and "[Christie] has a real interest in Eddie and would be able to make really good engagements for him which would be satisfactory financially to our funds…. I believed it was expected that Eddie would be the lecturer and that it was not likely that any arrangements which he might be able to make would clash with any other lecturer" (ibid). Again and again, Cecily deliberately planned the advancement of her brother's interests and those he represented. Undoubtedly aware on some level of what Butler later described as strict punishment (531). Having internalized the dimension of gender performance, Cecily minimized her own role. She told Edward that he "displayed in abundance" the qualities that "make a modern adventure hero: courage, fortitude, cunning, strength, leadership, and persistence" (Farley 239). She understood that as "expedition leader" (and narrator/publicist), Edward had to be seen as embodying these qualities more fully than the men under his command. She was thrilled when British radio announcers began referring to "Eddie's fans" ("Letter to Edward" Thursday night, 1935). Cecily's gift giving was a lynchpin in her brother's career, but her work and dedication were unknown to the public and possibly even to the other members of the expedition. She seems to have been aware of the fact that, as a woman, she was limited in ways that Eddie was not. As a result, her coping strategy was to embrace a vicarious form of living, making the best of her situation without bemoaning the fact.

Cecily's efforts brought little in the way of exchange. In the introduction to his 1937 book *Arctic Journeys*, Edward Shackleton only briefly acknowledged Cecily's work and that of others. Edward wrote: "In particular the Home Agents of the Expedition, Charles Elton and my sister, Miss Cecily Shackleton, worked tremendously hard to raise funds, and they were very lucky to have had the assistance of Major-General Sir Percy Cox, and Mr. P. K. Hodgson (ibid 34). He repeated his thanks in a footnote (ibid 34-35), which seems fitting in light of the phrase "footnotes of history." He did not mention Cecily in a talk

he gave to the Royal Geographic Society on the expedition (Cox and Mill); in fact, Cox, as Society President, noted that "Lady Shackleton and her daughter have not been able to attend (the talk) tonight, Lady Shackleton being unfortunately not well enough" (ibid 443) Likely used to and even blind to the sort of support Cecily provided him, Edward underestimated his sister's contributions to his polar work and, ultimately, to his career in politics, government, and science, as well as the title of Baron he was given by Queen Elizabeth II in 1955. He was a Labour Member of Parliament and later became the Minister of State for the Armed Forces. Cecily's work was, given her own references to her health, carried out at some cost to herself. Yet it was central to ensuring Edward Shackleton's place in England and in British imperial and polar history and, in this way, shoring up the legacy of their father, Sir Ernest Shackleton and their family—Cecily's chief goal. Cecily's gift giving also contributed to the undermining of Indigenous sovereignty in the Arctic, which was necessary to the exploitation of natural resources by the external forces of capitalism. This exploitation of Inuit lands continues today (Hanrahan "Enduring"). With her talents and intellect, it is an interesting, if saddening, exercise to imagine the Cecily who might have been. What "doing" would this Cecily Shackleton have embarked on had she been able to move outside the fictional performance that was and is gender and see beyond the large oppressive forces that shaped her short life?

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Endnotes

[1]There is, unfortunately, little literature on this topic, a rare exception being Jennifer Niven's *Ada Blackjack: A True Story of Survival in the Arctic*. There is some attention to "Auntie" Kiruk, an Inupiat woman who did essential work on the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1914-1918 in Maura Hanrahan's *Unchained Man: The Arctic Life and Times of Captain Robert Abram Bartlett*.

[2]Grace and favour apartments were gifts of the sovereign and his or her court, often given to royal relatives, former royal staff, and, in some cases, to the relatives of men who had served the British empire in a notable manner. Other residents of the palace around the time of the Shackleton women's tenure included Grand Duchess Xenia of Russia, the sister of the murdered Tsar, and the suffragette Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, whose father had surrendered the Punjab and the Koh-i-noor diamnond to the British Empire (Hampton Court Palace: Factsheet. Historic Royal Palaces, Press Office, London, nd, ca 2016, p. 3). *NOTE: This is a pamphlet I picked up at the palace.*

[3]Peary's claim has never been verified (Hanrahan *Unchained Man*).

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