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The American Geographical Society (AGS) serves as a case study for considering the nature of “gendered geography” in the nineteenth-century United States. This article links the ideals and programmatic interests of the society—which were fundamentally commercial in nature—with the personal subjectivity of its chief protagonist, Charles P. Daly, AGS president from 1864 until his death in 1899. Daly is presented as an “armchair explorer” who shifted the focus of the society away from statistical representations of the world toward the action-packed narrative descriptions of the world supplied by embodied explorers in the field. The gender dynamics associated with the center versus the field provide a useful way to contrast both sides of Daly’s persona—as a scholar performing detached, careful study yet someone who also derived a great deal of personal authority by staging popular and dramatic spectacles in New York City, speechifying and presenting himself on stage at geographical society meetings with returning heroic explorers. Daly not only served as New York’s most influential access point to the Arctic at the time, he also served as an important node in the reproduction of masculine culture in promotion of a particularly masculinist commercial geography. Key Words: American Geographical Society, Charles Patrick Daly, gender and geography, history of geography, masculinity.

The American Geographical Society (AGS), established in 1851, is the oldest professional geographical organization in the United States. Before the National Geographical Society came along in the 1880s, the AGS, together with the United States Geological Survey and a few universities, carried geography’s only institutional power in the post–Civil War United States (Schulten 2001, 71). Until 1871,
the New York–based AGS was known as the American Geographical and Statistical Society and, as the name implies, its work was cast as both “geographical” and “statistical” in nature. This bifurcation of interests allows a unique window into the study of the relationship between the calculation sciences and geography as field exploration, and on both as particular types of gendered discourses, knowledges, and skills. I examine the relationship between statistics and geography, as perceived by AGS men, and argue that the content of the knowledge they produced was shaped at least in part by the social contours of masculinity and manhood inherent within their milieu.

Taking a look back at the origins and development of the AGS, Charles P. Daly, AGS president for thirty-five years (1864–1899), emerges as key figure in the shaping of American geography more broadly. Historiographers of geography, feminists in particular (e.g., Rose 1993), have introduced a fruitful way of thinking about geography’s history that I use to explore the social spaces of this heretofore little-studied although highly influential geographical society in the nineteenth-century United States. This research is in many ways a sociology—a social geography—of Daly’s worldview. As many critics have observed (e.g., Livingstone 1992; Driver 2001), the projects such learned or scientific societies supported, expeditions they sponsored, public events they held, and documents they published arose out of a particular nexus of intellectual, commercial, and personal interests. My concern is to explore how the knowledge and skills associated with the origins of the organization were understood, took shape, and made publicly available. To do so I center on the biography, interests, and life work of Charles Daly, the first individual to have launched the AGS onto the “world stage” (http://www.amergeog.org).

David Livingstone (1992) reminds us that “the task of geography’s historians, at least in part, is . . . to ascertain how and why particular practices and procedures come to be accounted geographically legitimate and hence normative at different moments in time and in different spatial settings” (28–29). Livingstone emphasizes that it is not enough simply to acknowledge that geography was practiced in particular social contexts, but rather that social conditions “insinuated their way” into the very heart of theorizing. “This suggests,” he writes, “that the geographer’s traditional craft-skills . . . cartographic competence, regional survey, statistical methods and so on, turn out to be rhetorical devices of persuasion by which geographers have reinforced the authority of their assertions” (29; see also Livingstone 1994, 133).

With such admonitions in mind, my narrative hinges on one traditional craft-skill of the geographer—“geostatistics”—a particularly contested one in historiographies of Western geography as well as contemporary U.S. geography (Hannah 2000; Crampton 2003; Crampton and Elden 2006). The first question that arises is why an explicit interest in statistics was eliminated from the AGS’s agenda after its first two decades. I suggest that this had to do with the gender dynamics of the men running this homo-social organization—their so-called crisis of manhood or crisis of masculinity (Kimmel 2005, 63–73)—as much as anything else (also see Rotundo 1993; Bederman 1995). Although scholars of masculinity such as Michael Kimmel (2005, 2006) persuasively argue that this period thrust male masculinity into “crisis,” I am also sympathetic with Gail Bederman’s (1995, 12) position that to call the obsession with manhood during this era a crisis perhaps overstates the case, as gender systems are always in a state of “constant contradiction, change, and renegotiation.” I maintain the notion here, though, to propose that there are certain social spaces within which issues of gender become more punctuated than others, and those of mid- to late-nineteenth-century American geography seem to be one of them.

The “manliness” of the calculation sciences—conducted “at home”—versus narratives of field experience—conducted “away”—take on particular salience with respect to the AGS. Charles Daly’s role in shifting the AGS’s albeit partial emphasis from geographical statistics to field exploration is closely connected to the shifting ideological contours of male masculinity at the time and its public performance. It should become clear that gendered individuals and gendered knowledge are mutually constituted; the differently gendered subject positions of individual actors were intimately connected to both the knowledge they created and the way they outwardly expressed or performed their manhood in their public, professional lives.

By focusing on Charles P. Daly, I realize that I run the risk of reinforcing the “Great Man” tradition of geographical inquiry that Gillian Rose eloquently criticized over a decade ago. Rose (1993, 414) argued that Livingstone’s 1992 The Geographical Tradition (cited earlier) offered a “paternal tradition [that] can be used as a kind of legitimation process, in which would-be great men cite men already-established-as-great in order to
assert their own maturity: what might be described as the ‘dutiful son’ model of academic masculinity.”

Other feminist geographers have likewise noted the paternalism, sexism, and masculinism inherent in histories and historiographies of geography—the gendering of geographers, of the knowledge and science they created, and of the social milieu within which they worked (Domosh 1991; Peake 1994; McEwan 1998; also see Driver 2001). Such scholarship has raised skepticism about so-called dominant traditions in geography, because their authors usually elide the fact that histories or historiographies of geography produce the realm or limits of geography as much as they reflect some preexisting condition of it as a coherent, agreed-on body of knowledge.

My focus here on Charles Daly is thus not without a certain amount of anxiety, particularly because Rose’s admonitions have made relatively little impact on the most acclaimed of the subsequent histories of Western geography in the last decade, although there are notable exceptions (e.g., Driver 2001). My purpose in studying Daly, though, is not to inscribe yet another man or homo-social men’s club into the historiography of geography, although the work will inevitably do that. Rather, it is to highlight and better explore the produced nature of geography, geographical traditions, and geographical imaginations that feminist geographers and others have discussed, particularly in their gendered aspects. Thus what follows is structurally biographical but is much more than a case study of one man. Through study of the early AGS and Charles Daly’s life and contributions to geography I am able to cast light on the gendered nature of the discipline within broader institutional and societal contexts, particularly by asking how challenges to male masculinity helped shape U.S. geography in the later nineteenth century. The AGS, and Daly in particular, turns out to be one important node in the performance and signification of American geography’s hegemonic masculinity.

A substantial body of work has established connections between the valorization and celebration of exploration and fieldwork in geography in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and has shown how it was related to, and constitutive of, ideas of manliness and masculinity. Much of this work, however, focuses on the British context. In mid- to late-nineteenth-century American geography, a different set of parameters was at play. An American empire based on commerce rather than on distant colonies lent a different cast to the relationship among exploration, geographical science, and manliness.

When the AGS and Charles Daly came onto the scene, the country was just beginning to recover from the devastations of the Civil War and the militaristic mindset it engendered: male life as warfare or battlefield (Rotundo 1993, 233). Continental expansion westward in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the “taming” of the American West, also provided a fertile environment for development of an adventurous, “expansive” American manhood (Kimmel 2005, 74–75). The West, as both reality and idea, contained the epitome of masculine culture and manly virtues in the nineteenth-century United States, embodied by, among others, the ambitious, risk-taking speculator of land and resources or the strong, silent cowboy as the quintessential American hero.

Other dramatic social forces likewise shifted ideas of manliness in the second half of the nineteenth century. Rapid industrialization and urban growth, and unprecedented numbers of immigrants from Europe, combined to provoke major structural changes and competition in society, especially in the urban workplace. This is specifically germane to the study of the AGS and its origins in New York City, central node of an exploding American industrial capitalism in the mid-nineteenth century. By 1830 New York was the largest city in the Americas, and as early as 1850, 71 percent of all the U.S. import–export trade passed through New York harbor (Domosh 1996, 12–15). By 1860 New York City ranked first in the nation in population, industrial production, bank deposits, and wholesale trade. The New York business elite who founded the AGS were explicit about the contributions geography could make to commercial development. These men’s “marketplace manhood” (Kimmel 2005, 38), set against other expressions of masculine culture in northeastern U.S. cities (those both more genteel and more valiantly intrepid), combined to shape “commercial” American geography in unique ways.

My discussion begins with biographical details of Daly’s life and background on the founding of the AGS and its members’ interests. Next I discuss relationships between mid-nineteenth-century statistical and other forms of geographical knowledge, emphasizing the ways that both commerce and male masculinity worked through the production of such knowledge. This sets the stage for my analysis of Daly’s “gendered geography”—as a realm of knowledge, a set of skills, a set of discourses, and as phenomena materially produced “on the ground.” It is worth noting that although I cast the AGS as a homo-social male organization—as men indeed held the power and leadership positions
throughout the nineteenth century—from its origins the AGS admitted women as members (unlike London’s Royal Geographical Society [RGS]), and many women appear to have attended meetings. The first woman member was likely admitted in 1869, although by 1893 probably only nine of the 1,400 members were women (although this changed significantly after 1915; see McMannis 1996). In the early twentieth century the AGS began inviting occasional woman mountaineers and explorers as speakers, such as Isabella Bird, May Sheldon, Fanny Bullock Workman, and Annie Peck (the latter two were rivals at the time for the women’s mountaineering climbing record; Wright 1952, 154).

Although it is beyond the purview of this article to draw conclusions about the AGS as a “woman-friendly” organization, Monk (2003) and McMannis (1996) have done so, especially in terms of staffing. For my purposes, I speculate that the earlier “Daly era” may well have set the stage for women’s significant participation at the AGS, especially when considering Charles Daly’s own relatively progressive ideas about women (Hammond 1954).

Charles P. Daly: A Select Biography

Charles Patrick Daly, a little known but influential geographer of the second half of the nineteenth century, appears as a classic example of a self-made man who emerged triumphantly from early-nineteenth-century American mercantile capitalism (Figure 1). Daly was a prominent figure among the New York (and to some extent, European) public in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s, known principally as a judge, community leader, and popularizer of geography. He was a member of the AGS for more than forty years, thirty-five of those as president, from 1864 until his death in 1899 at age eighty-three (Wright 1952, 71–111).

Daly was born on the Lower East Side of New York City in 1816, the son of Irish working-class immigrant parents from Galway. His biographer (Hammond 1954) describes Daly as leaving home and school at age thirteen, after his father died, to earn a living as a mechanic and quill maker, spending three years “at sea” (during which time he is said to have fought with pirates and rescued a nun off the coast of Holland), and coming back to New York, serving as an apprentice to a master carpenter. His membership in a literary society led to employment as a clerk in a law office at age twenty, and by age twenty-three he was admitted to the New York Bar, having served only three of the seven years of apprenticeship customarily required at the time for the bar exam. Four years later he was elected to the New York State legislature. In 1844 at age twenty-eight, Daly was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, on which he served (was elected) continuously until 1885, the last twenty-seven years as Chief Justice (Hammond 1954; M. L. Daly 1962; Knott 1973; Ryan 1999; Pinther 2003). Rotundo (1993, 170–72) pertinently argues that the all-male legal profession was considered one of the two most “learned” of the time (the other, the ministry), its men comprising the “most cultivated” of American society.

Throughout his legal career Daly made some newsworthy decisions, particularly during and in the aftermath of the Civil War. He advised Abraham Lincoln on southern trade at the ports (“privateering”) and on prisoners of war (Hammond 1954, 153–56), but as a Union Democrat he was otherwise opposed to Lincoln. It was Daly’s legal decision in the Astor Place Theater Riots case, however, that gained him a
national reputation, as the case hinged on American troops firing on American citizens, killing twenty-two and resulting in the imprisonment of dozens of others (Bayor and Meagher 1996, 207). Daly’s decision in the case set a new precedent for criminalizing rioting, a decision that only further inflamed already tense ethnic and class conflict in the city among Irish immigrants and their native-born neighbors.

As is well documented, New York City was the preeminent port of entry for immigrants to the United States in the nineteenth century. By midcentury, nearly half of the city’s residents were foreign-born, mostly Irish and German. In 1850, 26 percent of the city’s population had been born in Ireland, making up the city’s largest immigrant block (Bayor and Meagher 1996, 91). Most worked as unskilled laborers: by 1860, 200,000 of the city’s 800,000 people were Irish, comprising 87 percent of the foreign-born, unskilled laborers. Charles Daly was among the Irish in New York, but in many ways not of them. Daly was an on-again, off-again leader of the Irish political machine Tammany Hall and one of the few Irish-born or first-generation Irish Americans to become a successful entrepreneur or professional; only 1 percent of New York’s hundreds of lawyers at midcentury, for example, were Irish (Bayor and Meagher 1996, 20).

In any event, most of the dead and imprisoned in the Astor Place Theater case were Irish immigrants who had protested the performance of a British actor and who were variously described in newspaper accounts as “gang members” and a “drunken Irish mob,” or, by Irish sympathizers, murdered “innocent bystanders.” Daly sided with the likes of Horace Greeley in the case, in justifying military force to maintain law and order. As Daly was well on his way to accumulating a large fortune via land speculations in the Midwest and through investments in the Northern Pacific Railway Company, it is not surprising that his legal verdict reflected interests similar to those of an established New York elite with whom he was increasingly attempting to identify. Further, some of the most vehement anti-Daly rhetoric found in the archives today is that written by Edward Z. C. Judson, who was jailed for a year for his participation in the Astor Place fighting. Judson, also known as Ned Buntline, wrote against Daly on this and other topics in his New York weekly, *Ned Buntline’s Own.*

The Astor Place Theater case gained Daly a reputation for “tough” decisions on the bench, and because it went against working-class Irish (whom Daly supported in other ways), it set the stage for the extensive press coverage he would receive for work in the courts as well as for his geographical work. With only a limited amount of “bad press,” Daly appears for the most part to have been a sweetheart of the New York print media; he was usually depicted in newspapers as one of the city’s most “honored and learned judges.” His addresses before the AGS ranked “foremost among the geographical literature of [the] day” (*The Hour* 1881). As will become clear later, Daly had a deep understanding of and appreciation for the potential of the popular press to advance himself and his many causes. While a rapidly expanding discourse on “exploration of the unknown” could be conveyed through numerous social nodal points—through government reports, scholarly papers delivered at the meetings of the proliferating learned societies, published travel books, journals, magazines, imaginative literature, and so on (after Driver 2001, 28–29)—I am especially interested in how Daly shrewdly coordinated and garnered a great deal of support for his many geographical (and other) projects through newspapers such as the *New York Times, New York Daily Tribune, New York Herald, The World, New York Sun,* and others. He collected hundreds of newspaper articles about himself in twenty-one large scrapbook volumes now held among his other papers at the New York Public Library (NYPL). The burgeoning newspaper industry, and competition among papers, meant that such reportage carried considerable cultural power to influence public opinion in the late nineteenth century (Schneider 1982).

In one interview, with *The Daily Telegraph,* dated 20 November 1885, on the event of his retirement from the bench, Daly confides:

I have been the recipient of much kindness from the press and the general public throughout the many years that I have been in official life. . . . These expressions have often come to me in a very flattering form. I never have sought for the public favor in any other way than by the simple discharge, to the best of my ability, of the duties which my station imposed upon me; yet I have never been wanting for the kindly support and approval of those whose servant I have been.

In addition to his geographical writing (discussed later), Daly wrote several books on the history of the courts, as well as a large and eclectic assortment of works (many issued in pamphlet form) on everything from world’s fairs and markets, Jewish settlement in the United States, antiquity, New York City politics, the Civil War, Christopher Columbus, the Monroe Doctrine, botanical gardens, Shakespeare, theater in
A Statistical-Geographical Society?

The leitmotif of the AGS has always been the support of a sort of “business” geography; its maxim stated early on as “Geographical Exploration is Commercial Progress” (e.g., C. P. Daly 1884, 89). Like London’s RGS in the nineteenth century, the AGS was “part social club, part learned society, part imperial information exchange and part platform for the promotion of sensational feats of exploration” (Driver 2001, 25). Unlike the RGS, the New York business elite who founded the AGS in 1851 were explicit about the contributions geography could make to commercial development, either directly or through the influence of governments. In its early decades, frequent mention was made in society meetings of the various needs of the commercial classes and mercantile community, and projects lacking obvious commercial advantage were discouraged.

The AGS served its own particular niche in bringing geography to businessmen and professionals, men who for the most part were not directly connected either to universities or to federal or state bureaucracies; nor, like the National Geographical Society decades later, did they reach out explicitly to a public or mass audience to legitimate national interests abroad. For the most part, AGS men were wealthy patrons of geographical research and exploration, who advocated research (although rarely practicing it themselves), mostly for the commercial advantages it afforded. Ernesto Ruiz (1975, 24) identified and grouped the known professions of all but nine of the fifty-nine members of the AGS governing board (council and officers) in its first decade, from 1851 to 1861. He grouped these into six categories: fourteen were entrepreneurs (in telegraph, shipping, promotion, land speculation, insurance, and manufacturing); thirteen belonged to the foreign service or were foreign service diplomats; eleven were editors and publishers; ten were specialists in earth science; six were clergymen; and five were lawyers, judges, and politicians. Although the founders of other geographical societies also tended to represent such coalitions of interests, one might nonetheless characterize AGS men as particularly oriented toward business compared to, for example, the RGS, with its much higher representation of founding members who were career diplomats from the British Admiralty and Navy (Driver 2001, 26, 34, 46); or the Paris Geographical Society, comprised mainly of aristocrats and military men “following narrow scientific pursuits,” until its spin-off groups such as the Commission of Commercial Geography likewise turned toward the business community (Schneider 1982, 21–29).

For the industrialist and merchant, “geography” and “statistics” were indispensable tools for locating foreign customers and analyzing the potential of new markets and profits, and the AGS thus became the means toward those ends for many of its founders. The seal of the AGS in its first decades (Figure 2) imaginatively linked these threads of interest, combining the systematic lines of latitude and longitude imprinted on a globe overlaid with the term “Ubique” (“everywhere”)—denoting...
confidence in the ability to order, contain, and dominate space—with that of the book of the Census, denoting a simultaneous statistical control of populations existing within those lines (Michie and Thomas 2003, 1–9).

The AGS first distinguished itself in the mid-nineteenth century through its two principal objectives, the collection and dissemination of information, and serving the business interests of New York. These were accomplished by hosting lectures, developing a research library, and publishing geographical and statistical findings. The original charter of the organization, passed by the New York State Legislature in 1852, defined its purpose as simply “collecting and diffusing geographical and statistical information” (Wright 1952, 82–83) and indicating that members were to have distinguished themselves in one or the other field. The procedure for and logic behind collecting and diffusing particular types of information was largely unsystematic and idiosyncratic, however, and depended on individual members’ interests. Thus, the AGS can be characterized as a loose “center of information compilation” or “center of information exchange.” This organization was of a different nature than Latour’s (1987) more focused “centers of calculation” that required a great deal more ordering, interpretation, and control of information collected (also see Edney 1997). As I discuss later, Charles Daly’s staging of geographical meetings can be viewed as an attempt to comprehensively compile heterogeneous data about the polar regions or the annual state of geographical knowledge (as examples) into coherent descriptive narratives for the public, although he also advanced interpretations of information collected when it suited his purposes.

In addition to collecting and exchanging information, the society’s other main activity was sponsoring expeditions and supporting related exploratory activities, through funding, training, and preparing of explorers; publishing their findings; and acting as a pressure group lobbying governments for the support of particular expeditions. The society’s principal exploratory interests in the nineteenth century were in the western United States, South and Central America, Africa, and the Arctic. Certainly one of their more visible functions was in hosting explorers—providing a venue for their lectures, organizing receptions for them, and publishing their findings. Although businessmen dominated the society’s council, they also recognized the need for explorers to serve on the governing board and thus sought them out and elected them. One such explorer was the Scottish missionary David Livingstone, whose African letters to the AGS were featured at its second meeting.

Whereas much has been written about the roles of other geographical societies in polar expeditions and research (e.g., Bloom 1993; W. G. Ross 1997), very little has been written to date about the AGS and its support of Arctic exploration in the nineteenth century. Certain figures in the annals of Arctic exploration stand out as beneficiaries of AGS support, such as Edwin de Haven, Elisha Kane, Isaac Hayes, and Charles Hall, who were among the American Arctic explorers in the nineteenth century. The AGS’s first two decades have been referred to as the Grinnell Epoch, after the shipping magnate Henry Grinnell, third president of the society (1861–1864, immediately preceding Charles Daly). Grinnell’s personal stake in the whaling industry led him to privately support, in the name of the AGS, two attempts to find the lost Franklin expedition in the 1850s; the first was a U.S. Navy expedition led by Lieutenant De Haven, the second by polar idol of the time, Elisha Kane, whose expedition established what became known as the American route to the North Pole (Wright 1952, 14–70; Ruiz 1975, 143–70; W. G. Ross 1997; Chapin 2004).

The founding members of the AGS set up special subcommittees to support exploration. Others were to collect statistical information from local, state, and national governments, foreign correspondents, and approximately thirty other scientific societies. Explicit interest in the collection of statistics can be seen in
the first volume of the council’s meeting minutes, in which committees were appointed for procuring lectures and papers on topics as diverse as “Regions of Vegetation & Statistics of Lighthouses,” the “Topography of Texas & Statistics of Agriculture,” and the “Statistics of Steam Navigation” (AGS 1854–1915). During the 1860s, when the Civil War halted much of the society’s activities, the most active subcommittees worked on “statistical projects” dealing broadly with fisheries; cotton production and manufacture; iron, gold, and silver; soils; and so on. At this juncture, statistical projects involved the counting and enumerating of resources and populations in the form of figures, tables, and numbers, although not involving any manipulation of those numbers.

The content of the society’s publications and lectures also attests to its statistical interests. Through 1859 the society’s flagship publication, the Journal (both previously and subsequently called the Bulletin), carried separate “geographical” and “statistical” departments (although after 1870 this practice was abandoned). During the organization’s first two decades, 170 papers were read at monthly meetings, and approximately one-fifth of these were considered statistical (Wright 1952, 46). In all, thirty of the 170 papers were statistical, with twelve of those contributed by councilors themselves, a much higher proportion than they contributed to geographical papers. Another twelve of the 170 included but did not focus on numbers, tables, and so on; the remainder focused on a wide-ranging set of topics broadly identified as “geography,” including exploration, ethnography, natural history, meteorology, and astronomy. Considering the diffuse nature of topics considered geography, statistics would appear to be the single most coherent subarea of interest, by the society’s own reckoning.

Anglophone geography in the high Victorian period continued the eighteenth-century preoccupation with filling in the “blank spaces” on maps with empirical description and, of course, the competition in doing so. Importantly, however, it was less a coherent, unified academic field than a set of emerging discourses and practices situated in various contexts and evolving from them. Geography in the nineteenth century included a heterogeneous array of activities, including exploration and travel, navigation, cartographic survey, regional inventory, collection of artifacts, geopolitical taxonomy, and resource compilation, often completed locally through fieldwork and discursively through the production of texts and images about places (Livingstone 1992, 27; Driver 2001).

How and why certain practices and discourses achieved authority, and audiences, is a critical question. The influence of Alexander von Humboldt on American geography of the period is important to recognize, particularly because Humboldtian science was a method numerical in orientation—an attempt to conduct fieldwork and describe the natural world in numerical terms. As many scholars have observed, von Humboldt’s grand synthesizing project entailed precise and accurate measurement and then mapping every feature of the earth, with an aim not just to describe features, but to discover their relationships and the manner by which physical processes interacted. A panoply of instruments was used: barometer, chronometer, telescope, compass, quadrant, sextant, and thermometer. Ethnographic data were also supplied in numerical terms; for example, in comparing technologies of different culture groups. Michael Bravo (1996) describes this kind of work as “topographical mapping”: “[r]eading signs on the surface of the landscape (the sources of rivers, oases, cloud patterns) provided the key for piecing together the landscape’s inner propensities for imperial commerce—the direction and flow of its waters, the moral qualities of its populations and the caravan routes for the traffic in humans,” (347), all of which could be further combined with other forms of geographical knowledge such as that of the manners and customs of local inhabitants. Michael Dettlebach (1996, 287) adds that the result of such work was often encyclopedic, “embracing botany, mineralogy, zoology, geology, meteorology, terrestrial magnetism, atmospheric chemistry and tides, and topography, but only insofar as these were capable of numerical expression, arrangement, and comparison” (italics added).

Significantly, when Charles Daly assumed leadership of the AGS in 1864, one of the first things he did was oversee dropping the society’s “official” statistical orientation. An amended charter of 1871 defined in greater detail the purpose of the organization (Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York 1872), and it was at this juncture that the word statistical was dropped from the organization’s title, despite the fact that the amended charter did not reflect any particular change in emphasis.5

Wright (1952, 44) speculates that the name was changed simply for brevity’s sake, because the new statement retained the previous commitment to statistics. Correspondence about the collection of statistical information such as the federal census did continue to flow through the AGS office. Yet, statistics ceased to be one of the society’s major interests after 1871 (Wright
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1952, 83). Explicitly why this is so remains unclear. Unfortunately, and rather mysteriously, the only volume from a century’s worth of council meeting minutes, the one covering the period from 1866 to 1871, is missing from the AGS archives. This volume would have documented discussions about changing the name of the organization. (It has been missing since the 1880s.) We will never know the discussions or debates that took place at these meetings, although other archival sources give credible evidence as to the perceptions held by Charles Daly and other AGS men regarding the organization’s purpose and function and thus suggest an explanation for the move away from an explicit interest in collecting and disseminating statistics. Although Charles Daly’s conception of geography included counting and enumerating resources globally, he gradually began to associate himself more fundamentally with explorers’ experiences in the field. This shift, as I detail momentarily, occurred simultaneously with the “crisis” in masculinity among elite American men in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Meanwhile, documentary evidence portrays a sense of betrayal among some of the original members of the society when statistics ceased to be a primary interest of its leadership. John Disturnell, for example, a tourist agent and publisher of guidebooks, maps, and railroad distance tables, was one of the group’s founding members and had provided building space for the first AGS meetings. He wrote numerous letters to the society in the 1860s, complaining that the new leaders were “not popular with lovers of exact science.” In a book about New York City, Disturnell (1876, 105) declared that the society’s name change “annul[ed] in part the object of its original founders.” Thus it would seem correct to observe with Wright (1952, 69) that statistics appealed in particular ways to many of the men who established the organization but less so to those who came after: “The avenues of investigation and promotional activity implied by the word ‘and Statistical’ recommended the institution to businessmen . . . who might not have been interested [in a geographical society] had these words been omitted.”

“Colonial” Statistics and Its Advocates

From the mid-eighteenth century, two main types of statistics were regularly collected by the U.S. federal government: those dealing with international trade and the decennial census statistics (Hannah 2000, 30). By the middle of the nineteenth century, various special interests had converged at the federal level to expand collection to three types: (1) census and other official state statistics, developed for administrative control of the state and economy; (2) vital statistics, especially health statistics, stemming from epidemiological research and demographic calculations of insurance actuaries; and (3) “moral statistics,” designed to address urban social problems (Davis 1972; cited in Hannah 2000, 30) such as pauperism, alcoholism, prostitution, mental illness, judicial decisions and rates of incarceration, and levels of education of various social groups, among others.

The interests of AGS men in the society’s first two decades coincided with those of the federal government only in the first of these types, as both institutions were concerned with America’s imperial intentions at home and abroad. The AGS focused largely on economic conditions in the United States, Latin America, and Europe, broadly defined, on everything from soils and agriculture to the postal services. Most statistical data gathered and published centered on enumerating resources such as crop production and manufacturing output; extractive mineral production (including imports and exports of various countries); statistical tables dealing with communication and transportation technologies that would facilitate commercial development (such as development of the telegraph and railroad); and census and population profiles. Attention to these topics came from several influential AGS members. John Jay, one of the founders and subsequently one of its most prominent members and councilors, delivered papers on the statistics of agriculture, showing the deterioration and loss of soil in 1859 and arguing for an improved 1860 agricultural census. Another founder, Archibald Russell, author of Principles of Statistical Inquiry (1839), was assistant to a special committee of the U.S. Senate in preparing the agricultural schedule for the federal census of 1850.

As many scholars have noted, interest in statistics paralleled the expansion of industrial capitalism and the process of enumerating resources, the exact wealth of the state, and target populations, to control them and secure governing of that state. Talal Asad emphasizes the importance of statistics in colonial administration, calling them, in fact, the “strongest language of all” among the discursive interventions of colonialism, as statistical figures and reasoning are employed in the attempt to reconstruct the moral and material conditions of target populations to measure relative “progress” (1994, 78). Kalpagam further argues that accounting was the most important discursive practice of colonial discipline, in that for colonization to proceed, colonial administrators needed standardized measurements
of land, commodities, and money. Statistics were not merely a means of representing the colonized world, according to Kalpagam, “but were crucial in their construction as well, and enabled the development and accumulation of instrumental capability”—that is, of certain kinds of intervention. In that sense, they became the most important language in the narrative legitimization of modernity; for “telling stories about progress, of accumulation of wealth, control of nature, the wellbeing of humanity, and equally to counter those stories as well” (2000, 46–47). Both Asad and Kalpagam underline the relationship between statistics and notions of progress in colonial settings, as both moral and material “progress” presupposes the continuous use of comparative statistics.

Casting statistics as “agents of empire” in this way highlights the nature of statistical knowledge as the enumeration of that which has been, or could be, colonized. Although not devoted to the supposed uplift of target populations through statistics per se, much of the AGS work in its early decades nevertheless followed this colonial science model—or more specifically, a political-economic imperial model of nonterritorial domination over global regions through enumeration and comparison of raw materials, ultimately to benefit domestic manufacturing and industrialization.

From this perspective, statistical modes of representation can be understood as one type of knowledge acquired through exploration and discovery, with “statistics” and “geography” two sides of the same coin, complementarily geared toward economic, political, or cultural control over people and place. As one founder of the AGS noted at the time, statistics is “geography’s kindred and almost inseparable companion” (Thompson 1859, 106). Lectures and papers that quantified and compared resources place to place were common in AGS discourse. John Jay’s paper on American agriculture mentioned earlier, for example, simultaneously enumerated the 1850 U.S. population (23 million), the population employed in agriculture (45 percent), the amount of capital derived from it compared with other industries ($5 billion, “5/6ths of the whole”), taxes funneled through this segment of the economy, areas suitable and unsuitable for agriculture, and so on, compared with such information for the countries in Europe. He concluded, on a Malthusian note, that Europe would quickly come to depend on U.S. agriculture.

The movement, then, of a geographical society away from statistical or mathematical enumeration to concentrate its efforts on field exploration is worth analyzing. It should be made clear here, though, that enumerating statistical data and conducting field exploration are not oppositional geographical exercises (the former might be considered a subset of the latter), but they can construct different representations of the world. Statistics—a mathematical conception of the world—are quite a different form of representation than other forms of exploratory knowledge—such as narrative description, drawings, maps, specimen collections, and so on. Yet statistics and these others all need to be collected in the field, and all need to be compiled, manipulated, and interpreted at a “center.” Nevertheless, the common perception of statistics lays stress on its interpretive aspect—conducted “at home,” at society headquarters, a university, government office, and so on—whereas the common perception of exploration lays stress on the field observation aspect.  

Furthermore, as Edney (1997) notes in his example of colonial India, different values were attached to the field versus centers of compilation, dissemination, and calculation, emphasizing the importance of where geographical information acquires its supposed objectivity. The shift from statistical to exploratory knowledge at the AGS can be seen in this light as a shift from a focus on the interpretive “center” to a focus on the exploratory “field.” Associated with this shift to the field is the accompanying exploratory narrative that often foregrounds and indeed pivots on the embodied experience of the explorer in that field, whereas the experience of compilation or interpretation of statistical facts by the neutral, detached social scientist at the center rarely appears at all in representations of statistics. Thus, associated with these different representations of the field are different protagonists and interpreters of it, each with differently positioned gendered identities. As I discuss in the next section, the (manly) acts of observation in the field were quite different from the (manly) acts of compilation and synopsis, at AGS headquarters or elsewhere.

**Statistics’ “Hard Facts” and Exploration’s “Hard Bodies”**

The American Civil War, U.S. expansionism in the West, industrialization, and immigrants’ and (middle-class) women’s movements in the urban workplace all combined to challenge gender identities that had been associated with elite American men’s cultural and intellectual authority in the Gilded Age (Bederman 1995; Nelson 1998; Hogason 1998; Rotundo 1993; Kimmel 2000).
2006). Kimmel (2005, 63–73) refers to the social effect of these men’s beleaguerment as a “crisis of masculinity.” How manliness and masculinity were shaped in the mid- to late-nineteenth-century United States provides a useful context for analyzing the ideologies, activities, and goals of Charles Daly as AGS president. As scholars of masculinity have discovered—informed as they are by decades of feminist scholarship that have shown a similar case for women—the differently gendered subject positions of individual men were intimately connected to both the knowledge they created and the ways that they outwardly expressed or “performed” their manhood in their public, professional lives.

In his study of American governmentality in nineteenth-century America, for example, Matt Hannah (2000) extends Michel Foucault’s thesis of government discursive formations by usefully focusing on the gender dynamics inherent in the work of Francis Walker, one of the preeminent statisticians in the United States and superintendent of the 1870 and 1880 censuses. (Walker was also Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1871 and, not incidentally, honorary member of the AGS.) To simplify a nuanced analysis, although Walker was known for his impartiality, honesty, loyalty, strength of will, and strict personal work regime in the “rational mastery of national territory” (Hannah 2000, 3, 12, 81), he was also someone with a near obsession with his own manhood. Hannah argues that Walker’s fear of a “besieged masculinity” shaped his views on the census, which he consequently ran rife with military analogies that emerged after the Civil War.

Walker was among the pedigreed, wealthy elite from the northeastern United States whose intellectual authority would, by the later nineteenth century, be challenged and replaced by academic and bureaucratic social science experts. The gender, class, and ethnic or race mobility of various “others” into public social life—especially professional-class white women and immigrant men—challenged the old elite’s sense of social, economic, and cultural control. As Hannah summarizes it, they responded to this potential usurpation by attempting to preserve the familiar gender, race or ethnic, and class hierarchies, and thus means of social control and power, in whatever ways they could. Some strategies were around self-government, and some were directed toward these others. One strategy was to create and empower new coalitions of nativist (“stakeholding”) men as men; coalitions including industrial capitalists, emerging professionals, elite social reformers, and clergy, who would unite themselves against the “unmanly” and dependent immigrants and women (“nonstakeholders”; Hannah 2000, 72, 86–92; Nelson 1998, 103; Rotundo 1993). They did so partly by escaping into homosocial, racially exclusive social settings, including the many historical, geographical, philosophical, and other learned societies that emerged in the nineteenth-century United States as part of larger developments in educational reform and the growth of universities. These homosocial gentlemen’s clubs were also where men “networked” with one another, seeking new business clients and trade. Such networks had particular salience for Charles Daly, not only president of the AGS, but president, councilor, member, and frequent invited lecturer to a number of other learned and reform societies (Hammond 1954).

The overarching concern of these new coalitions of men was to prove manhood through outward, observable, and individual achievements. As Kimmel (2005, 39) describes it, men thus solved their “crisis” of masculinity in a variety of ways:

they went to work, making sure to keep women out of the workplace and ensure it as a homosocial preserve. They went to war...[they] pit[ted] their manly will and resolve against the raging desires and animal lusts that their bodies experienced. And they went west, to start over, to make their fortunes, to escape the civilizing constraints of domestic life.

Although all (emancipated) men could arguably partake to some degree in a communal manhood in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, the self-made man arose as a midcentury American bourgeois cultural ideal in eastern cities. This cultural ideal, concomitant with the rise of the middle class and in line with the basic prerogatives of American capitalism, emphasized independence, personal success, and competition (Rotundo 1993, 1–7, 195–96; Kimmel 2006, 11–53). Kimmel (2006, 11–29) describes the rise of the self-made man ideal as coinciding with the decline of the land-owning “genteel patriarchy” and that of the “heroic artisan” as secure anchors for male identity in the nineteenth century. To him, self-made manhood was built on two things: virtuous character and willpower. Virtuous character meant a strong sense of duty, steadiness, self-control, loyalty, and industriousness. A man could benefit most if he could control and channel his prodigious willpower for use at proper moments and activities. These character traits were performed in their various aspects in the many spheres of social life—the home, church, social clubs, and so on—as well as within various professional contexts.
Carried over into the urban workplaces of the professional classes, these same character traits could be used to prove men’s manhood by applying them to the social problems and issues facing the industrializing society. It is at this intersection that an alignment with statistics’ hard empirical facts and a display of impartiality toward them emerged as important signifiers (“observable achievements”) of one type of masculinity and a means by which one’s insecurity about manhood could be lessened. Dana Nelson (1998, 103) argues that this process articulated a relationship between white men and science itself, showing that white middle-class men’s move from merchant to manager “claim[ed] for its own particular provenance the terms of rational objectivity and scientific, civic management.” As Hannah (2000, 97–98) elaborates, “a new skepticism [emerged] toward (implicitly feminine) ‘lofty ideals’ in favor of the (explicitly masculine) hard empirical facts.” Acquiring and reporting on objective facts and figures, and making meticulous reference to established authorities in support of them, was one way of maintaining one’s impartiality and disinterestedness (and as compared with the expertise intrinsic to those elites embedded in the former patronage system, who required no such outside validation).

In this way, impartiality flowed not from the man but from his methods. Statistical experts thus acquired the necessary credentials and authority that allowed them to interrogate and intervene in social systems that operated through the rationality they embodied (Hannah 2000, 30, 63, 98; after D. Ross 1991). Many scholars have, of course, meanwhile identified the alternative career and educational paths of privileged (white) women entering the public sphere in the later nineteenth century as well; such “public mothers” worked in professions that ideologically aligned them with nurturing and caregiving. To overgeneralize a complicated process, women became social workers (e.g., R. Baker 1994) and men became social scientists.7

Interestingly, Charles Daly’s principal profession was legal: he was a judge and later chief justice in the New York Court of Common Pleas (essentially county court) for forty-one years, and after retiring from the bench he opened his own law practice. One might consider those values, behaviors, and attributes that counted most in the legal professions as similar in many ways to the preceding description of the manly statistician: qualities of judiciousness, neutrality, impartiality, and a particularly strong code of ethical conduct. Men in the all-male legal profession were also to epitomize traits of dominance and reason against “social undesirables” and women (Rotundo 1993, 196); their world of the courtroom centered on the magisterial, patriarchal figures of attorneys and judge, cloaked in robes (Rotundo 1993, 172, 212). As judge, Charles Daly was often labeled “magisterial” in newspaper accounts, yet he also went to great lengths to appear self-deprecating and to avoid any appearance of courting popular favor from the bench. Indeed, as I discuss in the next section, Daly was known for exhibiting the qualities of virtuous character to an extraordinary degree. But what about Kimmel’s other important signifier of masculinity at the time, willpower?

Many scholars of masculinity point to the importance of the Civil War in shaping American men’s notions of manliness in the second half of the nineteenth century. Rotundo (1993, 232–34) argues that the war’s cultural influence worked slowly; in its immediate aftermath the horrors of the war were fresh, reinforcing a new militarism in everyday existence, life as “battlefield” or warfare (see Hannah 2000, on Francis Walker). Yet by the 1880s, memories dimmed and the “benefits” of war stood out, with the martial virtues of intrepidity, courage, strength, endurance, duty, and self-sacrifice valued over the soft, pampered lives of the business and professional classes (Rotundo 1993, 233). As Rotundo importantly adds, however, “the older qualities of manhood such as independence and reason weren’t supplanted, but they were cast in a shadow by more physical, primitive qualities” (1993, 234).

The physical, primitive, “passionate” qualities enshrined in the context of the Civil War align closely with other valued attributes of male culture at the time that likewise focused on the physical body. New attention to male sports culture, rigorous outdoor activities, and narratives of the hardships involved in “frontiering” in the American West provide a few examples. Such activities resonate with a particular type of heroic masculinity that pervaded the Victorian adventure tale itself, a deeply engendered myth about a male hero who was strong, courageous, and persistent, in search of gold, land, or other imperial dreams (Phillips 1997; Morin 1999; Guelke and Morin 2001). As Bloom (1993) points out, the hardship and struggle depicted in such tales of adventure served as “trophies” of masculinity.

Here one should observe that a quite different type of masculinity was required of the explorer in the field compared with that of the manly statistician. The explorer’s masculinity assumed a “hard body”; he embodied strength, fortitude, and glorified athleticism that endured extreme hardship, and in fact thrived on adventure, daring, and danger. This would seem especially
the case for explorers of the Arctic regions and poles, exceptionally cold, dark, barren landscapes on which could be written a hypermasculinized conquest (Bloom 1993, 32). Narrating endurance, unexpected winterings through the long Arctic nights, frostbite, starvation, diseases such as scurvy, and death all functioned to heighten the explorer’s manhood; as Bloom (1993, 6) puts it, such activities “symbolically enacted men’s own battle to become men.” Thus the poles functioned much like other wilderness areas in the later nineteenth century, as male testing grounds, sites within which the discourse of virile, tough, self-controlling masculinity could be recovered and stabilized and used to ward off the feminizing effects of the city. (Bloom’s analysis notwithstanding, of course, a range of discourses of masculinity emerged out of such polar explorations, simultaneously inflected as they were with discourses of national and class identification.8)

This brief outline of cultures of masculinity in nineteenth-century America provides a useful frame for a close examination of Charles P. Daly’s gendered geography and what it says about geographical statistics, field exploration, and the nexus between the two in Daly’s uniquely “armchair” version of geography. In the following sections, then, I examine in some detail the gendered geography he produced via AGS-sponsored activities. Particularly through his staging of elaborate geographical spectacles, Daly associated himself explicitly with masculine exploratory field experiences and, in so doing, “reconciled” various parts of his own manhood. Meanwhile, he served as an important node in the reproduction of masculine culture and ideals among his many New York (and other) audiences.

Charles P. Daly’s Gendered Geography

I treat Charles Daly’s geography as both “imagined space,” a product of how he imagined and represented the particular cognitive content of places of the world to his various audiences, as well as produced, transformed, material space on the ground. In developing an understanding of Daly’s gendered geography, then, I am not simply interested in reading the development of Daly’s personal subjectivity in various spatial contexts for its own sake, although that is an interesting endeavor all its own. Rather, I want to consider the relationship between Daly’s sense of himself and the material effects of his subjectivity, as it were. Daly’s personal subjectivity is closely tied with what became the goals and interests of the AGS, in that he (and others) was able to institutionalize personal and geopolitical ideas and goals. Although much of Daly’s work, and association with the New York press and learned societies, allowed him a great deal of authority to shape the cognitive content of Arctic exploration and central Africa for New York audiences, for example, his work also helped provide the infrastructural support for exploration and, consequently, one means by which colonial race relations and commercial development would take shape in these places.

Daly’s quick ascension from member of the AGS in 1855, to councilor three years later, and to president until his death, says much about his personal appeal to AGS men. Daly’s name was synonymous with the AGS for thirty-five years, in the United States and overseas. With a combination of business acumen, scholarly erudition, and more than a touch of showmanship, Daly was able to revive the society from its hiatus during the Civil War and shape it into a commanding public presence, at least in New York and within geographical circles in other major U.S. and European cities. He greatly expanded the AGS bank account, membership (from a couple hundred in the early 1860s to approximately 1,400 by 1874), and library. The AGS library became the largest privately maintained geographical research library and map collection in the Western Hemisphere, its purpose “for the benefit of the scholar, the merchant, and the statist.” Daly donated 700 volumes from his own personal library (of 12,000 volumes) to the AGS on his seventy-fifth birthday, bringing its total to 14,000 volumes by 1874, in an action praised by numerous New York newspapers. He invigorated the society’s published journal with professional articles (beyond simply reprints of lectures) and increased AGS correspondence with numerous geographical and scientific societies around the world (thirty-four of them in 1877), meanwhile becoming an honorary member or fellow of many (the RGS as well as the Italian, Berlin, Imperial Russia, and Madrid) geographical societies. His guest appearance at the RGS in June 1874 was covered by three London newspapers, one of which reported that Daly was “much cheered on rising to address the company,” and in his remarks spoke of the efforts of the AGS “open[ing] out the resources of the American continent for the uses of Americans and [all] mankind” (NYPL, Scrapbook vol. 6. The papers were The Morning Post, The Daily News, and The London Times, all 23 June 1874. Quote is from The Daily News).

Daly also secured funding for the construction of a new building for the society late in his life. A 26 September 1897 New York Tribune article called Daly
the “oldest living geographer” who had “saved” the organization from dissolution when he took it over, almost single-handedly amassing sufficient funds to undertake the building project ($400,000). The Tribune gushed, “President Daly has not only been the official head of the [AGS] for more than a generation, but he has almost been the society itself, devoting much of his time to his pet educational institution.”

As noted earlier, it was relatively early in Daly’s presidency that the official orientation of the society moved away from its statistical focus. Although I have noted the schism over the neglect of statistical matters during Daly’s tenure, in my readings I detect little explicit concern on his part for doing so. Although many geographical issues of the day attracted his attention, his primary interest was in “exploration of the unknown,” particularly of those “blanket” spaces on the map to the western imaginary, the Arctic and central Africa. His was a geography focused intently on filling in the remaining blank spaces, an enterprise that was both encyclopedic and Humboldtian in nature. Daly spent hours poring over maps and planning the voyages of men supported by the AGS, the federal government, or private entities. The AGS only directly supported one major expedition during Daly’s tenure, though—the so-called final search for the remains of the lost Franklin expedition led by Frederick Schwatka in 1878-1880. Daly’s influence on exploration, however, stretched well beyond this formal type of support. He was a prolific writer on geographical topics, publishing 40 papers and commentary, much of it on the Arctic and Africa, as well as annual addresses on the “state of geographical knowledge” for each year. He privately and publicly hosted and supported the expeditions of many famous and infamous explorers and brought their explorations to a broad audience via AGS publications and special events and meetings coordinated around their visits to New York. These meetings offered Daly the opportunity to increase public interest in exploration, AGS membership, and direct appeals for bequests to the organization.

Daly’s Arctic meetings were enormously popular, drawing crowds of 2,000 or 3,000 spectators to venues such as the New York Historical Society and Cooper Union. He presided over more meetings and receptions devoted to the Arctic than to any other place, including a reception honoring survivors of Charles Hall’s Polaris North Pole attempt in 1874 (especially newsworthy due both to Hall’s death and its extraordinary survival story, which I discuss momentarily). Another such event that received a great deal of press coverage was the 1878 meeting featuring the Earl of Dufferin, governor-general of Canada and president-elect of the RGS (Figure 3), at which was discussed a plan to establish a permanent research station (the Howgate Polar Colony) on the border of the North Polar Sea (Howgate 1878). Such meetings typically opened with remarks by Daly, followed by speeches from each of the principals. These gained Daly considerable notoriety, as did meetings featuring his annual reports and those devoted to explorations of Africa (e.g., of Henry Morton Stanley and Paul Du Chaillu).

It was Daly’s annual addresses, though, lasting roughly from 1865 to 1893, on the “state of geographical knowledge” for the year, for which he received most recognition as a geographer and considerable press coverage in New York newspapers. These addresses were typically delivered at society meetings and published in the society’s Journal. Significant portions of the speeches were devoted to Arctic exploration. These popular discourses were written (and delivered) in accessible, plain language, typically (but not always) without any reference to the sources of information. The addresses enumerated or collated research of the previous year, exhaustively and elaborately detailing scientific advances gained by voyages of discovery, surveys, navigational achievements, and so on, but also covering practically any subject dealing with study of the Earth—ecology, astronomy, and meteorology—or topics simply of interest to him, such as prehistoric archaeology and curiosities found by explorers.

Daly’s annual report of 1880, just to take one example, in its published form in the society’s Journal (C. P. Daly 1880) is 107 pages (single-spaced); in it, Daly identified an approximately equal number of expeditions (there were ninety-one) and significant geographical achievements for the years 1878 and 1879.9 The New York Herald covered the speech in their 24 March 1880 issue, stating that Daly “delivered a long and elaborate address” with stereopticon illustrations. The phenomenal amount of detail in the newspaper article, much of it verbatim from that printed in the Journal, suggests that Daly simply supplied the newspaper with a copy of the address. Although his approach was often encyclopedic—descriptive lists of accomplishments or findings—others of his speeches were more “synthetic”—Humboldtian—in their attempt to integrate and analyze such findings. One example of the latter appears as part of his 1870 annual report, in which he spoke at length (thirty single-spaced printed pages of the Journal, C. P. Daly 1870) attempting to disprove the existence of an open polar sea. In this report, Daly integrated evidence of gulfstream patterns,
seasonal variations in temperature, and eyewitness accounts to attempt to disprove the existence of such open waters (discussed again later).

Although Daly was clearly concerned with social progress via the uplift of immigrants, women, and others of the disenfranchised in other aspects of his career, “geographical progress” meant filling up the blank spaces of the map with physical description—with coastlines, temperatures, wildlife, resources, and so on—and again, such description constituted in large part the content of his speeches. By this measure, Daly concluded in 1873 (C. P. Daly 1873, 65–67) that the world was not more than half known. In 1880 he commented, “As long as there remain large portions of the earth to be discovered or more fully explored the same reasons apply [to do so] that existed in the fifteenth century. . . . Prince Henry, the Navigator’s motto then adopted, ‘Talent de bien faire,’ meant the desire to be useful, and it today expresses the object and aim of geographical societies” (C. P. Daly 1880, 2–4).

Importantly, though, when Daly discussed American benefits from exploration, they were cast as commercial or business in nature. Infused with the Enlightenment ideal of uniting scientific knowledge with progress, Daly overarchingly defined geographical knowledge acquired from voyages of discovery as that which would be commercially useful. The AGS’s raison d’etre to Daly—as directly or indirectly developing resources and trade networks through which to transmit them—interestingly lacks any noblesse oblige rhetoric one might expect to cloak such a bald capitalist-expansionist agenda. In his 1884 annual address Daly explained that he selected exploration of central Africa as his topic for the evening’s speech because such exploration “will be followed by very important commercial results, and already indicates the necessity of adopting . . . a policy [based on the demands of] our future interests and that of other maritime nations” (C. P. Daly 1884, 89). His association with African exploration, particularly his avid political support for King Leopold II’s colonization plan for the Congo, was based on commercial links to be developed there.

Thus, one of the more interesting questions that arises is how one might connect the AGS’s interest
in Arctic exploration to its explicit commercial orientation. How does a commercial- or business-oriented geographical society construct a geography that requires explicit practical use of research findings of the Arctic regions and North Pole, seemingly devoid of commercial potential in its cold, dark expanse of snow and ice? It turns out that there were many potential commercial benefits to polar exploration, many of which Daly also managed to weave through his discourse on exploration. American whalers had been in the Arctic region since midcentury, and a number of related resources were sought, including whale oil, ivory, furs, trophy animals, and minerals such as gold (W. G. Ross 1997, 311–16). Swedish explorers in the Arctic attempted to obtain phosphates for the manufacture of artificial manure. Attempts to find a navigable Northwest Passage were infused with the commercial logic of finding a practical shipping route through which to open trade between Europe and Asia (China and Japan), as were a host of other proposed commercial routes, more or less dependent on, and hopeful of, finding open water passage at the pole. In 1873 Daly outlined one such proposed route: “a staunch steamer could pass from the Scandinavian coast through the Arctic Ocean to Behring Strait and return the same summer” (C. P. Daly 1873, 92–94). Further, competition for trade with Native peoples in the northern regions was also accelerating, following the establishment of the first forts for such purposes in 1830. Some of the most opportunistic explorers of the period foregrounded in classic colonialist rhetoric the improvements to Natives’ standard of living through such trade. Such commercial logic provides the back story to the underlying purpose of Charles Daly’s geography, meaningfully framing as well the manner by which he undertook it.

Creating Spectacle Through Armchair Explorations

Alexander von Humboldt’s effusive words about Daly (quoted earlier) align with the hundreds of accounts of Daly’s subjectivity documented in the archives. Newspaper articles consistently described “a fine gentleman, quiet, unobtrusive, a man of intellectual cast and countenance. . . . A few minutes with him convinces you are with a person of refined and active mind, that you are with a well bred man of the world” (New York Leader, 1 May 1858). Daly is depicted as courteous, gentle, dignified, learned, noble, scholarly, with the highest moral standards, fair-dealing, philanthropic, and industrious. Even his “sweet tenor voice” heard after an evening’s meal made it into the news. The New York Times (1885) wrote of Daly,

To a well-poised mind and a vigor of body which has enabled him to do a tremendous amount of work he has added the peculiar judicial faculty which is best expressed by the term ‘fairness.’ . . . Lawyers have often said of him that he ‘tried the case for both sides’. . . . It is not enough, however, for a Judge to have learning and the judicial frame of mind. He must be honest and fearless and of high principle. Judge Daly has been all of this. . . . he has gone his way doing his duty and faithfully serving the public regardless of praise or blame.

The Albany Law Journal (28 November 1885) concurred, asserting that Daly’s “public and private conduct has been grounded in morality, clothed with dignity and simplicity, and permeated by a hearty good-will toward his fellow-men.”

Within the context of intensifying anxieties over the manliness of elite American men, Daly presents an interesting figure, especially considering his working-class, Irish Catholic immigrant background. On one level he appears as the American prototype of the self-made man, a member of the new bourgeoisie who had “arrived” due to his own diligence and hard work; one among the first men to uproot the foppish, feminized, genteel patriarch ideal embodied by the British aristocracy following the American revolution (Kimmel 2006, 14–20). Yet, Daly also identified himself strongly with the values and habits of that old elite. With no recourse to pedigree, Daly nonetheless attempted to stress an almost aristocratic gentility, developing eclectic and refined intellectual interests such as poetry. The longer Daly remained in public life, the more elevated and romanticized his background became. His physical stature was likewise inflated by reporters; for example, when they depicted Daly as embodying “leonine massiveness” (The Knickerbocker, 15 June 1882). Since Daly was only 5 feet, 8 inches tall, this effect was most likely produced by his long, ample beard and “shaggy eyebrows,” coincident with the larger proliferation of men’s beards and moustaches midcentury as a reaction to fears of feminization (Kimmel 2005, 21).

Through his many reform activities Daly fostered a patrician relationship to New York Irish immigrants, yet assiduously aligned himself against the stereotype of physically rough and primitive Irish manliness. In this patrician capacity Daly seems to have united himself with other men in dutiful service to the unmanly or dependent. Thus, his gentility can be connected both to his personal embodiment and identity, as well
As to the national and class affiliations—modeled after the British aristocracy, perhaps—that he wished to foreground in his professional life. Meanwhile, references to attributes such as his “sweet tenor voice” and his domesticity—the New York Times (15 November 1885) reported that Daly was a “thoroughly domestic man, and when not engaged on the bench or in attending some scientific meeting, he can always be found at home”—align Daly’s gender identity with an almost dandified masculinity. This is nowhere more apparent in the press than in the frequent references to Daly’s extreme loquaciousness. Numerous reports and biographies depict Daly as nothing if not chatty. One debate rebuttal early in his career lasted for three hours, and in the courtroom his attention to minute detail and specificity often delayed proceedings, apparently even for years. As one biographer (Knott 1973, 41–42) described him:

As a judge he was distinguished by one peculiar failing. When presiding at trials or hearing motions he was a most patient and attentive listener, saying little, but in the appellate branch of the court it was impossible to make a continuous and connected argument before him because of his talkativeness.

As I have already noted, his lengthy annual speeches on geography were in print often over 100 pages long (single-spaced). The speeches, many simply listing annual global accomplishments and discoveries, carried a magisterial tone of mastery and control over an information field; they were similar to other speeches and sermons of the period—including those of presidents of other geographical societies—sometimes lasting for hours. Yet the length of his speeches also seems to have bordered on the tiresome or hysterical, a unique combining of the talkativeness associated with femininity (Kimmel 2005, 25) and the more masculinist attempt at mastery and control. The AGS council seemed aware of the tediousness of his work, counseling Daly that he could better reach the public and AGS members through lecturing, rather than in print, and speeches did become his preferred medium (AGS Council meeting minutes for 1862–1865, vol. 5).

How might Daly’s rather ambivalent, perhaps “softer,” masculinity have affected his vision for geography? In one respect, I suggest that he must have de- sated for Daly’s lack of the same. Aside from a couple of years at sea as a teenager (Hammond 1954, 20–21), three short trips to Europe, and one to the American West, Daly traveled outside of the U.S. East Coast very little. He might easily be characterized as an “armchair explorer” who lived the life of adventure vicariously through his many friends and associates and through his staged geographical spectacles. This is not all that surprising or exceptional, as most members of the AGS were industrialists likewise more interested in learning about exotic, far-off places than experiencing them firsthand. If Daly was an armchair explorer, he was an influential one, perhaps mostly by advocating the support of expeditions among the privately wealthy of New York and state and federal governments, but also by influencing the way knowledge derived from expeditions was received by large public audiences. (In addition to the many Arctic explorers with whom Daly associated, he was a close, personal friend of the controversial African explorer Paul du Chaillu, who came to live with Daly after Daly’s wife’s death in 1894.10)

Daly gained a great deal of personal authority through the lectures, speeches, and other geographical spectacles he created, literally casting himself “on stage” with returning heroic adventurers and explorers. His personal authority was further amplified through rhetorical association with explorers he cited in such speeches (cf. Livingstone 1992, 29, noted earlier). Daly’s annual addresses were popular in part because, as executive of the AGS, he had access to knowledge of existing or planned expeditions, scientific advancements, and so on that were not yet available to the public; though generating public enthusiasm for geography and affecting government policy was, after all, his job (Driver 2001, 45). The sheer popularity of these events suggests that they also served as influential nodes in the advancement of particular types of masculinity. The more theatrical or spectacular geography could be made to appear, the more legitimacy such displays of masculinity could garner—to a point. In the case of the RGS, as Driver notes, this theatrical approach carried a significant downside. Joseph Hooker, of London’s Hooker Museum/Kew Gardens, criticized the RGS when he cried, “I hate the claptrap and flattery and flummery of the Royal Geographical, with its utter want of Science and craving popularity and excitement, and making London Lions of the season of bold Elephant hunters and Lion slayers, whilst the steady, slow and scientific surveyors and travelers have no honour at all” (quoted in Driver 2001, 48). Hooker’s observations are instructive, especially when one makes explicit the relative
“gender capital” that men obtained through these very different efforts.

Anxieties of Acquisition and Representations of the Field

Daly’s vicarious “armchair explorations” raise some interesting questions about how field exploration can be represented—via statistics, maps, drawings, narrative description of embodied experience, and so on—and each method’s relationship to manhood and masculinity. On one hand, collecting and discursing on an exhaustive, encyclopedic array of “exploration facts” does not seem all that different in substance or nature from collecting and disseminating the “hard facts” of numerical or statistical tables of the period. In fact, results from voyages of discovery in Daly’s lectures often appeared in the form of lists, collections of facts, “a counting” or “an accounting” of explorers’ accomplishments and achievements. In his annual speech in 1870 (C. P. Daly 1870, lxxxiii–lxxxvi), for example, Daly listed twenty-three (numbered as such) geographical and scientific “events” for that year, which included: the discovery of trees of enormous height and magnitude, some 69 feet in circumference, in Australia; the invention and practical use of a self-registering compass; the discovery, through the spectroscope, of a method for determining the proper motion of the stars; the French expedition up the Mekong River; the completion of the geological survey of New Jersey; the return of Captain Hall from the Arctic, bringing interesting mementoes of the lost Franklin expedition; and the completion of the Pacific railroad.

Daly’s references to technology and instrumentation are particularly noteworthy. Reaching beyond encyclopedic lists toward a more Humboldtian synthesis of earth processes in others of his speeches carried a particular saliency for Daly as an armchair explorer. At such junctures he synthesized reports and measurements taken by those in the field, deriving authority from them, without any direct observations of his own. Yet, lacking in such direct observation, Daly’s ability to make authoritative claims about geographical knowledge would require him to somehow associate directly with those events and experiences that took place in the field. Daly’s speeches on expeditions and surveys in particular are filled with an encyclopedic cataloging and descriptive details of their routes and destinations, including place names and retelling of the difficulties and obstructions they faced. Casting such exploratory and scientific facts as accurate and complete, meanwhile documenting the strenuous embodied experiences and difficulties faced in obtaining them, not only helped ensure the heroic stature of such accomplishments, but also helped Daly associate himself with such accomplishments in the public eye.

For a typical case in point, we might return to the Arctic Meeting of 1874, devoted to honoring the surviving crew of Charles Hall’s ill-fated Polaris expedition. A virtual cottage industry of scholarship exists on the voyages of Charles Hall, his first in 1860–1862, an attempt to find remains of the Franklin expedition; as well as his five years living among the Native Inuit (1864–1869); the shipwreck of the Polaris on his second Arctic voyage; and his poisoning by a crew member and subsequent death (Henderson 2001; Parry 2001). Hall had brought back an Inuit family with him after his first voyage, the famous Joe Ebierring and his wife Hannah (Ipirvik and Tookoolito Taqulittuq), whom he then paraded around Europe and the United States—including featuring them as attractions at the Barnum circus—in attempts to generate interest and funds for his subsequent expeditions. The Ebierrings accompanied Hall on his fund-raising efforts in 1862–1864 and again in 1869–1871, and settled in Groton, Connecticut, before joining him on his second (Polaris) voyage, on which they served as interpreters, guides, culture-brokers, and hunters.

The 1874 AGS meeting honoring the surviving Polaris crew was held at the Cooper Union, with an immense crowd of 3,000 in attendance. The Ebierrings were exhibited on stage alongside Daly and the other principles, and large maps served as a backdrop (this was the Ebierrings’ second appearance at an AGS meeting, the first after Hall’s first voyage). At the meeting, Daly recounted the fate of the Polaris as it attempted but failed to reach the North Pole. The ship got stuck in the ice north of Melville Bay, sprang a leak, and the crew—including Joe and Hannah Ebierring—became stranded on an ice floe for 194 days. (They later adopted the child Punna, who was born on the ice floe.) The nineteen survivors were later rescued off the coast of Labrador, having survived principally by the efforts of Hannah and Joe Ebierring. In his speech, Daly recounted their story, enunciating the following:

[T]hink of it ladies and gentlemen...that nineteen persons in all, men, women, and children, floated upon a cake of ice, in darkness from the 15th of October until the 1st of May—194 days—six months and a half—at one time reduced to a biscuit apiece and a small portion of pemmican; saved from the most horrible of deaths, famine, by the accidental capture of a bear; when you think of them...
the meeting complained that the command of Lieutenant Greely. Yet a writer for faith in the value of such expeditions as that the finding of an open Polar sea, but I have profound course of two decades that logic and scientific evidence proved contrary to firsthand reports of explorers (such as Matthew Maury, Isaac Hayes, and Elisha Kane) that water freely flowed at the North Pole. He remarked at the 1884 Arctic Meeting celebrating the return of the explorers for which he had no direct knowl-
dence Daly faced for making assessments of their publications were also armchair explorers like himself. What use did such information serve?

Daly frequently reiterated, as in the preceding passage, his allegiance to those in the field, even when contradicted by their “field expertise.” Although I have found no documentary evidence to suggest that Daly was particularly plagued by accusations that he lacked experience in the field, evidence does show Daly increasingly troubled and anxious about his inability to construct a coherent narrative for geography; that is, by comprehensively collating and disseminating the geographical knowledge for which he was responsible. For example, by the 1880s he admitted to having trouble managing the exhaustive amount of detail usually provided in his annual addresses. In 1884 Daly claimed that the “work had now become so extensive and involves such a quantity of details, that a complete yearly account of it would, I fear, prove too technical as well as too monotonous for a public address” (C. P. Daly 1884, 89). In that case, he decided to avoid the yearly “account” and instead devoted his annual speech to the much more containable topic of the commercial advantages of central Africa. Similarly, in 1888, Daly claimed that “the field of exploration [has become] so great, and the amount of information to be obtained within a year so extensive, that I [find] it difficult to compress an adequate account of it within the narrow limits of such an address” (C. P. Daly 1888, 1).

Daly appears in these passages as acknowledging the loss of magisterial control over the subject that promised geographical progress in the world—the facts overcame the man. One might ask what happens when a knowledge field becomes too large, too diverse, and still expanding to be discursively conquered and mastered. Such loss of control, combined with Daly’s reputation as workaholic, suggests a correlation of these with the occasional health problems he suffered. Many of his letters begin with apologies for absences due to unspecified health problems, and his wife’s diary substantiates some of them. Maria’s diary entry for 28 May 1879, for example, reports that Daly suddenly collapsed from overwork and was threatened with “congestion of the brain,” an episode described by his biographer as a breakdown (NYPL Archives Vol. 28). The couple subsequently retreated to their seaside home at Sag Harbor, with his doctor forbidding Daly to do any work during his

The reporter proceeded to argue that his readers should believe the direct observers, the real explorers. Daly, meanwhile, as a Humboldtian man of science and drawing on other sources of information arbitrated through the AGS, insisted that there was no evidence for the supposed warm ocean currents beyond a certain northern latitude. He was eventually vindicated on the issue.

Thus floating from the 80th to the 59th degree of north latitude, why, there is nothing like it in the whole history of maritime disaster. (Applause). (Hayes et al. 1874, 94)

Through this recounting of adventure and near-death experiences, Daly aligned himself with the “hard” masculinity of such survivors—and thus these men’s strength, fortitude, and glorified athletic bodies that endured extreme hardship, famine, cold, and darkness. (The fact that some were Native women and children does little to disrupt this gender dynamic as Natives already “belonged” to this natural landscape.)

It is important to recognize here that “mere” armchair explorers were susceptible to being derided or challenged by “real” explorers in the field (or their representatives) as not manly enough, as not doing the real work of exploration. Those whose authority and credibility were challenged might thus attempt to divert such criticism in whatever ways were open to them. For example, it is noteworthy that the AGS published articles on the methodology of fieldwork during Daly’s tenure (such as on how to achieve accuracy during fieldwork [e.g., Hamilton 1852, 77–79]), yet nearly all readers (such as on how to achieve accuracy during fieldwork [e.g., Hamilton 1852, 77–79]), yet nearly all readers of their publications were also armchair explorers like himself. What use did such information serve?

Documentary evidence shows the occasional harsh public criticism Daly faced for making assessments about explorations for which he had no direct knowledge, such as happened with debates over the existence of an open polar sea. Daly maintained over the course of two decades that logic and scientific evidence proved contrary to firsthand reports of explorers (such as Matthew Maury, Isaac Hayes, and Elisha Kane) that water freely flowed at the North Pole. He remarked at the 1884 Arctic Meeting celebrating the return of the Greely expedition that, “I have never had any faith in the finding of an open Polar sea, but I have profound faith in the value of such expeditions as that...under the command of Lieutenant Greely.” Yet a writer for the New York Tribune (22 November 1884) covering the meeting complained that Whenever an explorer ascertained the existence of certain geographical facts by personal observation, some library geographer was certain to come forward with a paper discrediting those findings. Kane and Hayes believed in the open polar sea...Greely confirmed their opinion. But Chief Justice Daly, whose Arctic travels have been made chiefly in the rooms of the American Geographical Society, has undertaken to show a priori argument that what these explorers have seen cannot exist. (first italics added)
convalescence. Such nervous exhaustion or neurasthenia, as it was understood at the time, is discussed by scholars as a “cultural disease of masculinity” attributable to the excessive strains and demands of manhood, particularly the strains caused by, among others, too much thinking, self-sacrifice, and impartiality (Bederman 1995, 99; Rotundo 1993, 191). He eventually died of a ruptured blood vessel, “apoplexy,” in 1899.

Charles P. Daly: A Man of His Times

If some of the anxieties Daly experienced from attempts to contain and master intractable facts eventually physically overcame him (overtaxing his body’s supply of “nerve force”), I would argue that such anxieties could also to a degree be “relieved” through armchair associations with more physically vigorous, adventurous men in the field. Charles Daly’s gentlemanly interest in poetry and theater, his persona as a man of letters, his membership within the New York business and professional elite, and his gentle, patrician attitudes toward the dependent cast his masculinity as especially “soft” compared with that of the courageous and adventurous masculinity displayed by explorers in the field. Physical prowess of the right sort—and as compared with the manliness associated with the controlled rationality of the statistician or judge—worked well in the later nineteenth century as an outwardly visible achievement by which men might shore up a heroic manhood otherwise bordering on the effeminate.

The lengths to which Daly went in staging dramatic geographical spectacles while otherwise embodied in the public eye as the gentle judge compellingly suggests that he must have derived a great deal of personal advantage in orienting the AGS toward the exploratory field. As a man ensconced within the urban center of geographical compilation and dissemination, Daly could reconcile the manhood associated with that center (virtuous character) with the manhood associated with the field (hard body and strength of will), ultimately defining that which constitutes geography as well as augmenting his own legitimate status as geographer in the process. Daly relied on the skills, knowledge, and science available at the center of compilation and dissemination to tame the facts into a coherent narrative for geography and was applauded by newspapers for his “Herculean” efforts to do so. Yet when questions surfaced over the armchair nature of his knowledge or his (in)ability to authoritatively perform Humboldtian synthesis of the facts, he linked himself with explorers in the field who could stand in for his lack of experience. The gender dynamics associated with the center versus the field provides a useful frame for contrasting both sides of Daly’s persona—as a scholar and explorer, performing both the careful knowledge derived from study as well as the sensationalism of the field.

A key figure in nineteenth-century American historiography, Charles Daly embraced particular geographical endeavors and forms of geographical knowledge, outcomes that, I am suggesting, reflected wider societal shifts in values placed on American manhood. Expressions of masculinity that had previously served as secure anchors for elite men’s gender identities were challenged, along with, of course, the power and prestige those identities carried in society, and especially in the workplace. The move by the AGS to overshadow statistical knowledge with explorers’ narratives of adventure in the field can be understood within the context of the increased value placed on men’s physicality, passion, and bodily exploits and achievements (Rotundo 1993, 234), themselves embedded within the larger cultural shifts brought about by the Civil War, American continental expansion in the West, and changes in the urban workplace with regard to competition and “threats” posed by immigrants and women. “Hard facts” and “hard bodies” united in Daly’s and the AGS’s imperialist endeavor to advance commercial geography. The gender dynamics associated with the two sides of geography’s information field—home and away—complement the two sides of Daly’s persona, as a scholar performing detached careful study and the ersatz explorer who derived a great deal of cultural cache by staging dramatic spectacles at the large, well-publicized AGS meetings.

An examination of the social roles, relationships, and professional interests of AGS men illuminates the processes by which gendered geographical knowledge was produced. It is fundamentally the case that by “marking” and socially locating the unmarked white male subjects of geography’s history, men who have previously occupied transparent positions of power seemingly from “nowhere,” we will be better able to understand the social production of geographical knowledge as not only gendered but also as particularly masculinist in nature.

What I find so important about Daly’s embodiment as geographer was his ability to use public events to reinforce and reproduce not only certain types of masculinity but also a masculinist geography. The field of firsts in our historiographies of geography—being the first to find a route or draw a map, going the farthest, or collecting the most, or in Daly’s case, associating himself with those who did, by soliciting funds for

...
their support, writing about them, hosting them, and especially drawing attention to them in speeches and lectures—has been one of the most basic tropes of their deeply masculinist American geographical tradition. (Not incidentally, the AGS continues to concentrate on such firsts; for example, through their "Fliers' and Explorers' Globe" project, which celebrates the achievements of today’s explorers, such as astronauts.) The AGS's early association with American resource development and economic expansion also links to one of the two most important social developments that fostered and codified what we might think of as American “geographical knowledge,” industrial capitalism (the other being war). The geography that Daly and the AGS helped institutionalize—fostering and codifying activities and knowledge that advanced American commercial development—must be recognized as an almost paradigmatic masculinist geography. I would underline again that the AGS, through Daly, served, perhaps more than anything else, as an important “node” in the reproduction of masculine culture—as a center not only for information exchange but for the propagation and reinforcement of masculine ideals in the nineteenth-century United States as well.

Notes

1. Very few scholarly works are available on the AGS, for reasons beyond the purview of this research. They include Wright's (1952) institutional history, which tracks the AGS up to 1951, and Ruiz's (1975) dissertation that covers similar material. Smith's (2003) study focuses on the influential twentieth-century director of the AGS, Isaiah Bowman, beginning around 1915; and several works detail women of the AGS, including Monk (2003) and McMannis (1996). Other works make only brief mention of the AGS (e.g., Schulten 2001).

2. I develop themes surrounding Daly’s Irish ethnicity in more specificity in a larger, book-length project.

3. Schulten (2001, 13, 52–62), in her study of the National Geographical Society, argues that American geography ca. 1880 foregrounded resource development and economic expansion. Of course, there were other geographical societies, perhaps most notably in Brazil and in France, with a focus that was likewise commercial in nature. For discussion of the Commercial Geographical Society of Paris, for example, see Schneider (1982).

4. Driver (2001, 46–47) characterizes the RGS as an information exchange center, or “interest group,” because its concerns and membership were so large and diverse: “a site where competing visions of geography were debated and put into practice”; whereas work of the Linnean Society or Hooker Museum/Kew Gardens, by contrast, could be characterized as a “centre of calculation” (after Latour 1987)—a highly centralized collecting and control center.

5. The amended charter of 1871 read: “The object of said Society shall be the advancement of geographical science; the collection, classification, and scientific arrangement of statistics and their results; the encouragement of explorations for the more thorough knowledge of all parts of the North American continent and of other parts of the world which may be imperfectly known; the collection and diffusion of geographical, statistical, and scientific knowledge, by lectures, printed publications, or other means.”

6. I thank Matt Hannah for his insightful comments on this section; they inspired the basic concept of this article.

7. At the same time, I thank Jeanne Kay Guelke for questioning whether female “school geographers” were less statistically inclined than men. She argues (personal letter correspondence August 2005) that “probably not—deploying statistics might have been a way in which female geography textbook authors such as Emma Willard could register some authority.” Felix Driver furthers points out (personal letter correspondence August 2005) that men as social scientists and women as social workers might be a starting proposition, but this relationship does not fully unlock the complexities of gender and social knowledge in the late nineteenth century. He notes that “social science” enabled as much as it restricted opportunities for middle-class British women to wield their role in the public sphere, in local government, education, medicine, and journalism.

8. For example, Wylie (2002) argues that narratives of competition to be first to reach the South Pole in the early twentieth century, between Norway (Roald Amundsen) and Britain (Robert Falcon Scott), reveal the manner in
which gender and national identities worked together to produce different embodied experiences, landscape vision, and field methodologies (the Norwegian technical and militaristic mode versus the British imperial mode that emphasized strain and celebration).

9. These were categorized under the headings: “Introduction” (work of geographical societies); “General Geographical Work” (which included such topics as the Arc of the Meridian and unsurveyed coasts of the world); “Physical Geography” (covering such topics as meteorology and the severity of recent winters in Europe); and “Ethnological” (discoveries of prehistoric remains at several sites in Asia, Europe, and America); with another thirteen major categories listing work by location: the Arctic, British America, the United States, West Indies, Central and South America, Europe, Asia, Africa, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, New Guinea, and Australia.

10. Letters from du Chaillu (NYPL Archives, Box 12) depict an intimacy between the two friends that likely influenced Daly’s views on exploration of Africa as well as his geopolitics. Daly wrote in defense of du Chaillu as discoverer of the diminutive people (“pygmies”) in the Congo, with the main intent to expose Henry Morton Stanley’s claims to the same as fraudulent.

References


The references are not complete as the text is cut off mid-sentence. The references appear to be from various sources including academic journals, books, and articles. The list is not fully visible in the image provided.
Charles P. Daly’s Gendered Geography, 1860–1890

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