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# Unpopular Archives

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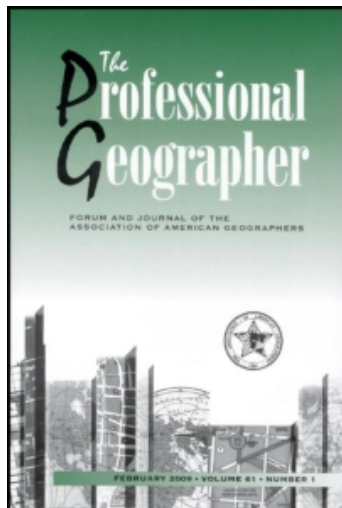
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## Unpopular Archives

Karen M. Morin

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This article explores the “unpopular” archived life of Charles P. Daly, thirty-five-year president (1864–1899) of the New York–based American Geographical Society. This one-time highly prominent judge and civic leader popularized geography among professionals and the public alike. Daly’s popular geography, along with his subsequent containment within the archives, suggests explanations for his dismissal among geographical audiences of today. It is a useful and necessary exercise to trace the neglect of Daly within histories of geography and recapture him for today’s audiences, not only because of his influence on post–Civil War American geography but also because his story can shed light on how “disciplinary remembering” functions in geography. **Key Words:** American Geographical Society, archival research, Charles Patrick Daly, history of geography.

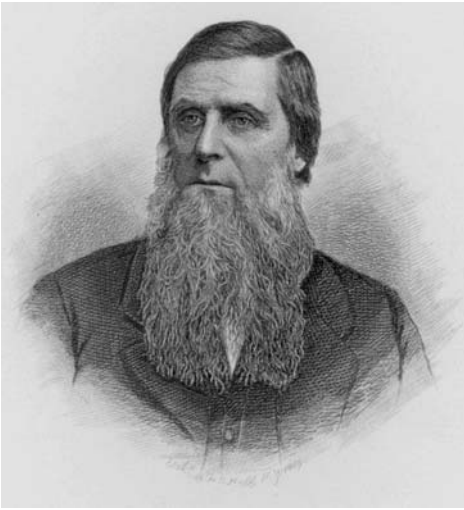
本文探讨担任了三十五年（1864年至1899年）总部位于纽约的美国地理学会主席查尔斯帕特里克达利“不受欢迎”的存档事实。这位曾经非常著名的法官和公民领袖把地理推广于专业人士及类似公众中。达利的流行地理，和随后他被遏制在档案之内的情况，解释了他在今天地理观众中被弃置的原因。追踪达利在地理历史中被忽视的原由和恢复今天观众对他的重视是一个有益的和必要的工作。这不仅是因为他在南北战争后美国地理的影响力，也因为他的故事可以说明“学科记忆”在地理界的功能。关键词：美国地理学会，档案研究，查尔斯帕特里克达利，地理历史。

Este artículo explora la “impopular” vida archivada de Charles P. Daly, presidente durante treinta y cinco años (1864–1899) de la American Geographical Society [Sociedad Geográfica Americana], con sede en Nueva York. Daly, quien fuera un juez altamente destacado y líder cívico, popularizó la geografía por igual entre profesionales y público en general. La geografía popular de Daly, junto con su subsiguiente aislamiento entre archivos, reclaman explicaciones sobre su destierro de las actuales audiencias geográficas. Parece ejercicio útil y necesario explorar el olvido al que Daly fue relegado en las historias de la geografía y rescatarlo para las audiencias de nuestros días, no solo por su influencia en la geografía posterior a la Guerra Civil Americana sino también porque su historia puede arrojar luz sobre cómo funciona en geografía el “recuerdo disciplinario.” **Palabras clave:** Sociedad Geográfica Americana, investigación de archivos, Charles Patrick Daly, historia de la geografía.

In recent years I have been working with the archived correspondence and papers of Charles Patrick Daly (1816–1899), president of the New York–based American Geographical Society (AGS) for thirty-five years, from 1864 until his death in 1899. The AGS is the oldest and was the preeminent professional American geographical organization in the nineteenth century, established in 1851 and active for decades before the National Geographic came along in the 1880s. In its peak years in the

nineteenth century, Daly was the society’s main protagonist, a well-known geographer among public and professional New York audiences as well as within European geography circles (Figure 1). Daly’s business acumen in restoring the vitality of the organization following the Civil War; his scholarly erudition in lecturing and publishing on an eclectic array of geographical, literary, and historical topics; and his talent for promoting geographical spectacles hosted by the AGS all attracted extensive

\*I would like to thank Sharmistha Bagchi-Sen for sticking with this project when it did not seem the popular thing to do. I would also like to thank Mary Lynne Bird and Peter Lewis for allowing me open access to the AGS archives and helping me navigate them. Advice from Mike Heffernan, Charlie Withers, and the anonymous referees helped me sharpen my analysis.



**Figure 1** “Charles Patrick Daly, L.L.D. Chief Judge of the New York Court of Common Pleas. President of the American Geographical Society.” Etching by H. B. Hall, 1869.

attention to the AGS and won him considerable praise from the public, the print media, and New York’s most powerful professional and business communities. He was an influential civic leader, fighting for the “Irish cause” in New York, and instrumental, as state legislator, in establishing New York’s Central Park and the Bronx Botanical Gardens, among others. Daly’s “day job,” though, was as a judge in the New York Court of Common Pleas, a position he held for forty-two years, twenty-seven of them as Chief Justice (Hammond [1954] details his noteworthy legal decisions).

I have often wondered how such a one-time prominent public figure could drift into almost total obscurity today, not only within the geographical community but also within histories of New York City and the legal profession (Pinther 2003). True, Daly had something of a self-deprecating manner that led him to resist certain positions of authority. He resisted attempts to be recruited as mayor or governor of New York or Supreme Court justice, for example, and also opposed the erection of a statue of himself in New York’s Central Park. Yet Daly was a renowned New York judge, community leader, and geographer, appearing hundreds of times in newspapers of his day and before im-

mense public crowds. His disappearance today is interesting not only because he was such a notable figure within his milieu but also because he went to such great lengths to carefully collect and store extensive records of both his personal and professional lives for, presumably, future generations.

The bulk of Daly’s papers are held at the New York Public Library (NYPL) and at the current headquarters of the AGS, on Wall Street in lower Manhattan. The AGS holds two large boxes of Daly’s correspondence. The NYPL papers are in the form of ten large boxes of correspondence; twenty-one large volumes of scrapbooks, primarily of newspaper reportage; three boxes of diaries and notebooks; and another five boxes of correspondence, papers, and diaries of Daly’s wife Maria Daly. As far as I know, only one other individual has consulted the Daly papers to any great extent, Daly’s biographer, Harold Hammond, in the 1950s (resulting in his 1954 *A Commoner’s Judge*. Hammond also edited Maria’s *Diary of a Union Lady* in 1962, a volume reissued in 2000.) Thus, except for my own research on Daly (Morin 2008, 2009), scholarship on him is limited to his biography (Hammond 1954), part of an in-house AGS institutional history to 1951 (Wright 1952b; also see Wright 1952a), and a newsletter article by a former AGS cartographer (Pinther 2003, who took a more cursory look at the NYPL Daly papers more recently).

As I discuss later, as a geographer Daly was known most for his addresses on what he termed the “state of geographical knowledge” for each year. These were “elaborate and highly instructive and entertaining” speeches, as described by the AGS Council in 1873 (AGS 1873, 37), primarily covering field explorations around the globe. These and others of Daly’s geographical events drew enormous crowds and extensive press coverage, popularizing geography among the public and serving the business interests of the New York mercantile class.

Yet, Charles Daly is clearly a neglected figure in historiographies of American geography today. No entries appear on Daly in the likes of Schulten’s (2001) study of geography in America from 1880 through 1950 or in earlier works such as that by Martin and James (1993); nor was there an entry on Daly in *Geographers: Biobibliographical Studies* until my own recent submission (Morin 2009). Daly’s

absence in such historiographies of American geography mirrors the lack of studies about the nineteenth-century AGS itself (substantial works include only Wright 1952b and Ruiz's 1975 unpublished dissertation), at least in comparison to the voluminous record of interest the early National Geographic Society (NGS) has sustained (e.g., Lutz and Collins 1993; Schulten 2001; Rothenberg 2007, to name a few). In fact, when I began research on Daly, I was the first person to check out of my university library its copy of the only book-length institutional history of the AGS (Wright 1952b). That lonely book sat in the library unread for more than fifty years; it had never been loaned out, nor seemingly ever even opened—its pages were still perfectly smooth, slick, and unruffled—a very unpopular book indeed. Although it is outside the scope of this article to examine the relative lack of scholarly interest in the nineteenth-century AGS, the question driving my discussion is related to it: Why did such a prolific and influential figure as Charles Daly fade from public (and academic) consciousness, interest, and scrutiny?

The discussion that follows attempts to answer that question, focusing on both the type of geography Daly practiced and the process of attempting to recover his archived life. My purpose is not to rehearse in any great detail his “recovered life” and work, as I and others have done so or are doing so in other venues. Also, I want to underline that I am not claiming in what follows that some “injustice” has been enacted on Charles Daly via his current invisibility. Rather, in this article my interest is to reflect and comment on Daly as a particular type of popular public geographer within his own milieu and his subsequent containment within the archive, both of which prefigured his “unpopularity” and dismissal among geographical audiences of today. Recent debates about popular geography and archival reason help in analyzing how certain criteria come to have value and importance in constructing histories of geography itself.

I frame my discussion around the question of how an archived life might become socially “popular” versus “unpopular.” Ascribing the term unpopular to Daly and his archived life will undoubtedly be contested, especially because I do *not* use the term to refer to active distaste or disapproval of an individual; nor

conversely do I use “popular” to mean widely liked, admired, or appreciated. Rather, I use the term unpopular in its second, less used sense, to refer to archived lives that have been forgotten, neglected, or dismissed as unimportant; something more akin to “not widely known” by the people at large, or unfashionable. I draw on Lynch and Bogen's (1996) term *popular archive*—as that with a mass audience—and Bonnett's (2003) term *popular geography*—as that with a large public audience outside of academia—to trace Daly's move from a popular geographer in his day to one simply “not sought after” today (by either the public or specialist researchers).

My intervention suggests a number of inter-related social processes at work in Daly's case, both during his lifetime and today. These have to do with the type of geography he practiced—his intellectual contribution to the discipline; the care and preservation of his archived papers; and finally, the power and privilege exercised by researchers in reclaiming lost, invisible, or forgotten lives in those archives. Ultimately it is a useful and necessary exercise to trace the neglect of Charles P. Daly within histories of geography and recapture him for today's audiences—not only because of his important contributions to American geography but also because his story can shed additional light on how “disciplinary remembering” functions in geography (e.g., Lorimer 2003; Withers 2006; Maddrell 2008).

### **The Archive: Politics and Popularity**

It is tempting to say that Charles Daly is not well known or studied within geography today simply because he was just a “minor figure,” but such an appellation would beg the question of how we understand the “making” of history or geography in the first place and subsequently come to label our precursors as important or unimportant to that process. A substantial body of critical scholarship has amply documented the extent to which histories and historiographies of geography *produce* the realm or limits of geography as much as they reflect some preexisting condition of it as a coherent, mutually agreed-on body of knowledge, with particular protagonists central to the narratives (e.g., Driver 1992; Rose 1993). Who becomes a

major and minor figure, who has the authority to speak, what kind of knowledge and skills make for dominant traditions within our discipline, and so on, are important questions about the social construction of geographical knowledge and the worlding of its creators. This, of course, has most relevance to those legions of underrepresented and underrecognized groups of people left out of dominant narratives and traditions, recovered now especially through feminist and postcolonial research. In short, though, declaring Daly (or anyone else) a minor figure before analysis of his life, contributions, or the processes surrounding the preservation and retrieval of his papers in effect precludes study of exactly that which demands it.

The “politics of the archives” has drawn a great deal of scholarly attention on this topic from historians, sociologists of science, and geographers (Bradley 1999; Osborne 1999; Lorimer and Spedding 2002; Withers 2002; Boyer 2004). Such scholars raise questions about whose voices are heard and whose are not. Who controls, establishes, and maintains the archive, and how do they do so? Which materials are preserved in the archive and which are excluded? How do classification systems and structures include, exclude, foreground, or marginalize certain voices? To what extent do the logical hierarchies for classification and arrangement reflect social or political hierarchies? And so on (after Brown and Davis-Brown 1998). The question of authority to create and maintain an archive and present it to the public is basic to all of these questions, and thus a sort of sociology of power pervades the work. And, of course, no straightforward outcome is guaranteed with archival research either; it is never simply a matter of revealing a given truth that is waiting to be found in the archive, so it would be a mistake to think that there could be an archive without a politics of the archive.

As just noted, the recovery of voices heretofore buried or silenced in the archive has become the project of many critical historical geographers and archivists in recent years (e.g., McEwan 2003; Maddrell 2008; and hundreds of others). This retrieval of formerly silenced voices has allowed geographers to meaningfully challenge the connection or identification of the “unpopular” with the powerless: Such scholars have, in a sense, popularized the powerless and thus empowered new voices to speak

for the past. Charles Daly, however, might be unpopular, but he certainly was not powerless, in speaking for himself or for geography. To recapture Daly’s “silenced” voice, then, would not be to somehow democratically redress some past violence enacted against him. He was a well-known and well-regarded figure in his own time and place; he was not denied agency or marginalized; he was, in fact, well published and effectively represented himself through many venues. Rather, Daly’s unpopularity seems mostly to do with views of him as uninteresting or irrelevant to geographers today. Thus, *silenced* can mean many things. Some events and people are silenced or forgotten on purpose, an effacement of violent acts of the past rather forgotten (Foote 1990). Others are silenced by powerful regimes covering their tracks. Still others, though, are silenced because they are considered mundane, commonplace, of no consequence (i.e., unpopular).

Bogen first applied the term popular to archives; to him they were those available on the Web or widely available through mass media. Such media turned a body of documentary evidence into a popular archive when it was subject to mass visitation, reproduction, and dissemination (Lynch and Bogen 1996). Bogen set popular archives in opposition to what he termed “academic” archives, those available only to a privileged few. Using televised court proceedings as an example, he argued that the public in such cases actually have better access to archival information than do the “privileged” sequestered jurors in the trials. Likewise, Lynch’s (1999) “popular archive” is one whose use has proliferated through electronic media, particularly the Internet, and as against the exclusiveness of material accessed through more “scholarly” means.

Lynch and Bogen’s work raises a number of questions, including those about the relationship between popularity and privilege—both the privileged sites of stored documents and the privileged people who have access to them (a topic to which I return later). A number of complementary studies, such as by Withers (2002) and Bradley (1999), call attention to the “arbitrariness” of the archive, that quality of haphazardness, disorder, and serendipity that characterizes the material that finds its way into the archive, the manner by which it does so, and the meanings that will

be read from those stored documents. Withers (2002, 305; after Steedman 1998) wrote that he does not see the archive as a “straightforward expression of power. It is, at least in [his] experience, the result of contingency, of the haphazard accumulation of ‘stuff.’” Brown and Davis-Brown (1998, 20) meanwhile, noted how important the collection development phase is in archival work: Who makes the decisions as to what is and what is not collected? What is merely stored but not catalogued (and hence made intellectually accessible), and what is thrown away? They asked, “Should [the archivist] focus on canons and traditions, or strive for diversity? What constitutes a canon anyway other than to constitute one through such documentation?” They noted that collection is driven by ideological purposes, but pressure also comes from the outside—so it is demand driven. Yet because demand is itself a social construction, one must ask how demand or desire for certain archival materials arises in the first place.

All of these issues are relevant to the archived life of Charles Daly, perhaps most basically the issue of the handling and “containment” of Daly in the archives at the NYPL and AGS. At both sites, little attention has been paid to the upkeep or care of his papers; they are poorly maintained and difficult to access. The contents of the boxes, files, and scrapbooks in the extensive collection of Daly papers held within the Manuscripts and Archives Division of the NYPL are unindexed and undocumented—all described only by dates on a list (e.g., “Box 1, 1829–1843”). This makes negotiating the material a tedious, time-consuming, unenticing process. One needs to essentially read everything to find anything of use and value. (These papers were donated to the NYPL by Daly’s niece on her death.)

The AGS’s archives contain material dating back to 1851, including a comprehensive institutional record in the form of nearly complete sets of handwritten councilor and society meeting minutes but also including an assortment of other valuable documents and artifacts. Most of the society papers are stuffed into a single, small storage room, with materials in file cabinets and boxes stacked to the ceiling and with a small path running through the room. Two boxes of Charles Daly’s correspondence are held there. In the 1950s this material was indexed in a

wooden card catalog box. Because sufficient resources have not been available for keeping the archives in any kind of working order, however, the numbers in this card catalog do not match up with documents in storage. Nor are procedures in place for accessing materials due to the low demand. It appears that it is only by way of the part-time archivist’s memory that particular documents can be located. (Happily, this situation is about to change. In December 2008 the AGS announced a new push to hire personnel to catalog and preserve their valuable archives, explaining meanwhile that the present condition resulted at least in part from three moves in the last twenty-five years; Lewis 2008).

Thus, one rather obvious observation one might be inclined to make is that because the Daly papers are poorly preserved—too difficult and time consuming to access—they are thus not worth the trouble and hence become unpopular. However, this line of thinking sets up something of a tautology: These archives are in poor use because they are in poor condition. The funding question sets up a similar tautology: If the Daly papers were considered more important, money would be there to better maintain them, and their use would increase. However, it might also be the case that the hard-to-access nature of some archives is what gives them renewed popularity (e.g., McEwan 2003). It is also important not to overstate the extent to which the Daly papers have been “neglected,” because it is the case that many major archival collections have substantial unindexed components. Moreover, the “serendipity effect” (Bradley 1999; Withers 2002)—the possibility of finding surprise nuggets of useful information—seems quite applicable in the case of the Daly archives. In the end, poor containment of his papers might be more of a manifestation of Charles Daly’s unpopularity than a cause of it; but certainly such handling has not appreciably enabled or enhanced study of the nineteenth-century AGS.

Another likely explanation for Daly’s unpopularity today (at least among geographers) has to do with the type of geography he practiced and propagated via the AGS, what might be termed popular or public-oriented geography. A number of geographers have recently turned their focus to such geographies, those widely known to the public and set against those of more professional or academic men. Lorimer

(2003), Lorimer and Spedding (2002), and Bonnett (2003), among others, have called for more histories of geography as popular or “ordinary” practice. Although Daly is not among the grassroots practitioners, such as school field instructors, studied by Lorimer (2003), for instance, his geography was popular in its appeal among (principally) New York businessmen, other professionals, and the public. One of Daly’s primary “contributions” to geography was the hold he had over the popular imagination about distant locations such as in the Arctic and Africa. He also exercised considerable power in civic and governmental circles and, through them, affected geographies “on the ground” (Morin 2008, 2009). A quick overview of Daly’s geographical practices in the next section allows an understanding of a particular moment in American geography’s history when geography was produced as a popular practice while just emerging as an academic discipline and how the popular side of that division has often been dismissed as having made few lasting contributions to the discipline.

### From Popular to Unpopular Geographer

Praise for Daly as judge, civic leader, and geographer appeared in hundreds of newspaper articles throughout the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s. In 1876 *The New York Herald* tabloid announced that no other scholar in the country had “given more attention to the geographical science” than Judge Charles Daly (13 October, as quoted in Hammond 1954, 275). During his tenure with the AGS, Daly had turned the society into one with a commanding public presence. He quickly ascended from member of the AGS in 1855 to councilor three years later and to president until his death in 1899. He greatly expanded the AGS bank account, membership, and library. Daly 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, meanwhile becoming an honorary member or fellow of most. His appearance at the Royal Geographical Society in June 1874 was widely covered by London newspapers. Daly secured funding for the con-

struction of a new building for the society late in his life, and an 1897 *New York Tribune* article (“To Have a New Home” 1987) called Daly the “oldest living geographer” who had saved the organization from dissolution when he took it over, to almost single-handedly amassing sufficient funds to undertake the building project (26 September). 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.” Today the AGS describes Charles Daly as the first person to have launched the organization “onto the world stage” (<http://www.amergeog.org>).

It was Daly’s savvy management of the emerging print press that more than anything else helped him popularize the AGS and its programs while contributing to the “public education” of the world beyond. He privately and publicly hosted and supported the expeditions of many famous and infamous explorers (such as Henry Morton Stanley, Robert Peary, and close personal friend Paul du Chaillu) and brought their explorations to a wide audience via AGS publications, staging of special events and meetings coordinated around their visits to New York, and especially via newspaper coverage. Daly’s Arctic meetings were enormously popular public affairs, drawing crowds of 2,000 or 3,000 enthusiastic spectators to venues such as the New York Historical Society and Cooper Union (Morin 2008). The remarkable scale of such live events, as geographical events, is easy to appreciate.

Daly was also a prolific writer on geographical topics, publishing forty papers and commentary on topics ranging from “What We Know of Maps and Map-Making Before the Time of Mercator” (1879) to “The History of Physical Geography” (1890). Although many geographical issues of the day attracted his attention, his primary interest was in “exploration of the unknown,” particularly of those blank spaces on the map to the western imaginary, the Arctic and Central Africa (e.g., Daly 1884). It was his annual addresses, though, lasting roughly from 1865 until 1893, on the “state of geographical knowledge” for the year for which Daly received most recognition as a geographer and considerable press coverage in New York newspapers (e.g., Daly 1870). The addresses

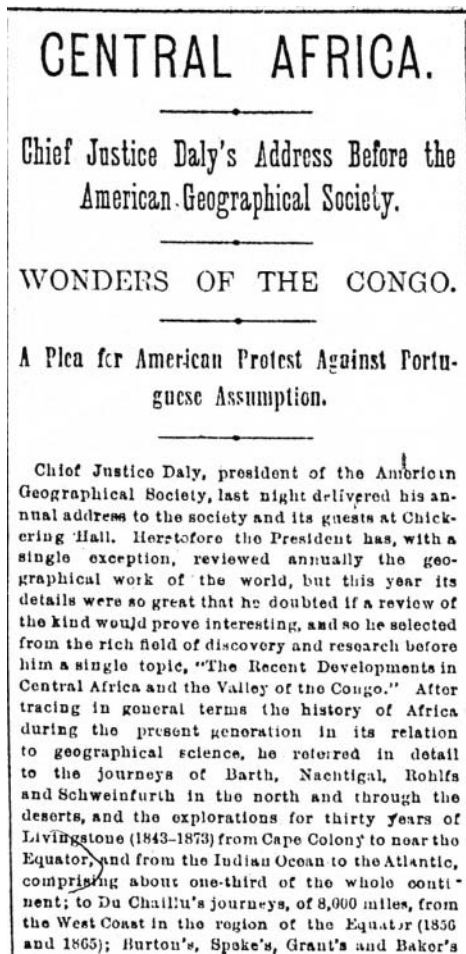


enumerated or collated researches of the previous year, exhaustively and elaborately detailing scientific advances gained by voyages of discovery, surveys, navigational achievements, and other topics of interest (Hammond 1954; Pinther 2003; Morin 2008). These were typically delivered at society meetings, published in the society's *Journal*, and often published verbatim in a host of New York newspapers such as *The New York Times*, *New York Daily Tribune*, *New York Herald*, *The World*, *New York Sun*, *The Times* of London, and others. Daly was also author of numerous biographical, political, literary, scientific, and legal papers, most of them issued in pamphlet form.

Upon his death the society held a special meeting in his memory (AGS 1900), something they had only done for Alexander von Humboldt, Karl Ritter, David Livingstone, and a couple of others (Wright 1952a). A number of sites were named after him in the Arctic, and the society established the Charles P. Daly Gold Medal in 1902, which recognizes "valuable or distinguished geographical services or labors."

The type of geography Daly practiced in his lifetime can be easily cast as popular—both in terms of its nonacademic nature as well as its extensive reach to a broad audience. When Daly discussed American benefits from exploration, they were typically cast as commercial or business in nature, which aligns well with the interests of the professional and mercantile class of men who established the society (Ruiz 1975). Daly's association with African exploration, for instance, particularly his avid political support for King Leopold II's ruthless colonization plan for the Congo, was based on commercial links to be developed there (Figure 2). Daly's leadership in a number of social reform causes in New York City also resonated closely with his work as geographer; one might easily cast him as an early "city planner" in these efforts, such as with respect to his influence in improving the spaces of poor and working class Irish and Jewish immigrants in New York—especially in tenement housing and street sanitation reform.

Daly's interests and agenda fits well with Bonnett's (2003, 56) definition of "popular geography": that which has a mass audience and is developed outside of the higher education academic community—a nonuniversity geography influential in public or civic culture. Although a number of university professors served as



**Figure 2** "Central Africa: Chief Justice Daly's Address before the American Geographical Society." *New York Herald*, 1 April 1884.

AGS councilors in the later nineteenth century, academic geography was tiny in the United States during Daly's most active and influential period. Only a couple of college professors were teaching geography in 1874; for instance, Arnold Guyot at Princeton and Daniel Gilman at Yale. For his part Daly neither drew much on nor influenced much the work of the emerging discipline as it was practiced at schools and universities. This might be particularly surprising with respect to school geography, as Daly in many other capacities strongly identified as a New York civic leader committed to developing

an ethos of civic responsibility among his many constituents. Ultimately Daly's "contribution" was in popularizing field geography while laying the foundation for a successful geographical society that, after his death, would go on to make substantial contributions to academic geography. Meanwhile, close to the end of his life, circa 1895, "geography as exploration" was challenged by many influential figures as a useful or appropriate definition of the subject. William Morris Davis, for instance, countered what he regarded as the populist understanding of geography propagated by the AGS (among others) in support of more "expert" and "scientific" work (Schulten 2001; Rothenberg 2007).

The telling of geography's history has frequently revolved around such late nineteenth-century moves to secure the academic credibility of the subject in a way that has left out of the story popular geographers such as Charles Daly. Of course, there is no particular relation of necessity that Daly himself would disappear from histories of geography today owing to his brand of popular geography. This becomes especially obvious when considering that other popular nineteenth-century American geographers, such as leading men from the National Geographic Society, did not meet the same fate. It is outside the purview of this article to compare the relative histories and fortunes of the AGS and NGS, although quite obviously the latter has sustained an audience of millions around the world today, whereas the former met with a number of unfortunate obstacles in the later twentieth century that damaged its stature within the geographical community and likely diminished the interest that future generations of geographers would have in it. Following the influential career of Isaiah Bowman in the mid-twentieth century (Smith 2003), for reasons that are complicated and multidimensional, the AGS lost a building in Manhattan and was forced to outsource its library to the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. Without a strong institutional presence in U.S. geography circles, it is not surprising that people earlier associated with the institution might drift out of view. That is a given eventuality; however, it is not the end of the story. As the researchers into the lives of more "ordinary" geographers make clear (e.g., Lorimer and Spedding 2002; Lorimer 2003; Maddrell 2008), the writing of geography's history is always a work in

progress. Thus, I close my discussion with some further reflections on the retrieval of Charles Daly for today's audiences.

## The Archive Revisited: Popularity and Privilege

Geography's archive . . . is, simultaneously, something that pre-exists awaiting use . . . and something yet to be, brought into being by virtue of others' prompts. (Johnston and Withers 2008, 5)

One might say that Charles P. Daly's formerly popular geography now rests in currently unpopular archives—those exclusive, scholarly, academic archives available mainly to the privileged few who know how to access them and have the resources to do so (Lynch 1999). The relationship between Daly's popularity in his day and his invisibility at present is an important one with respect to the man and his geographical contributions but also with respect to my own participation in situating the Daly archives as an important site of geographical knowledge. I have drawn attention to a mostly forgotten public intellectual from the geographical stable and with this and other works have begun the process of marking Charles Daly's contribution to geography. Although retelling Daly's story is not entirely reducible to an arbitrary act of power and privilege on my part, it is worth keeping in mind that archives are sites of power: not least the power to tell a particular story from a particular point of view (Withers 2002; Burton 2005). Thus, it is not only the power of the researcher to resuscitate forgotten figures prominent in their day that matters. How that task is carried out is equally important. Critical archivists and geographers have comprehensively addressed this issue: Almost two decades ago, Driver (1992) emphasized the important role of the researcher as intermediary between geography's past and present. Bradley (1999, 113), too, recognized that stored documents "remain passive, inert in their meanings until read and written [about] by the researcher," underlining both the arbitrariness of meanings of those stored documents as well as the authority of the researcher to articulate them. Osborne (1999) further added that "[W]hat is at stake . . . in fact, is a distinctive way of making visible the question of power itself" (59).

In one of his lesser known works, *The Life of Infamous Men*, Foucault (1977) wrote about what might be called mundane men, archives, and power. Foucault describes the archive—medical records, police reports, church documents, and so forth—as an effect of sovereignty. Although Foucault focuses on the never-famous (monks, prisoners, workers), his useful observation for purposes here is that what is important about the archive today is that it requires a “re-animation” through the workings of another kind of sovereignty, which is that of the researcher. Although Foucault was more interested in the power that assigned such lives to the archives in the first place—they “collided with power and provoked its forces” (80)—his observations about researchers’ function in reanimating lives contained in the archives is instructive. He brought into sharp relief the politics of invading lives, of drawing attention to them, of analyzing them in ways that suit our purposes—in short, the power to create *popularity* (Foucault 1977).

Although legions of geographers are unlikely to now clamor for more information about Charles P. Daly from the AGS and NYPL archives, my drawing attention to him and (re)writing him into histories of geography will necessarily affect his “popularity rating.” More important, though, is to pause and appreciate the layers of geographical knowledge produced by and about Daly. Throughout the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s he was a prominent figure and popularizer of geography. His ability to garner wide support for geographical projects near and far, and whose ideas about distant people and places would measurably impact American interventions in those places (Morin 2008, 2009), deserves recognition. Daly’s fastidious collection of a vast array of papers of and about himself; his alignment with a subsequently declining geographical society; the AGS’s and NYPL’s less than ideal means of storing his papers; and especially his popular brand of geography and savvy management of the New York press to draw attention to himself and his many causes all potentially impact Daly’s popularity within contemporary geography. These, combined with my own “sovereign power” (Foucault 1977, 76) to reanimate Daly’s life and work, illuminate criteria that are often used in deciding who gets remembered for their contribution to disciplinary history. ■

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