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Mimic-Women: Twentieth-Century American Women On The Edges Of Exploration

Michele R. Willman

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MIMIC-WOMEN: TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICAN WOMEN ON THE EDGES
OF EXPLORATION

by

Michele Rae Willman
Bachelor of Arts, Concordia College, Moorhead, MN, 1993
Master of Arts, North Dakota State University, 2008

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

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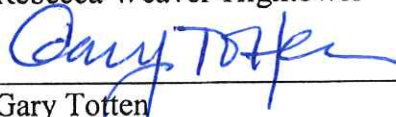
August

2017

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Rebecca Weaver-Hightower

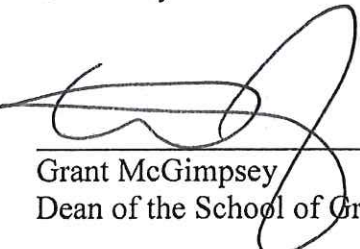

Gary Totten



Michael Beard


Chris Nelson


Sarah Mosher

This dissertation is being submitted by the appointed advisory committee as having met all of the requirements of the School of Graduate Studies at the University of North Dakota and is hereby approved.


Grant McGimpsey
Dean of the School of Graduate Studies


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Michele R. Willman
27 July 2017

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ABSTRACT

Women have been involved in exploration as adventurers, discoverers, mountaineers, and botanists for centuries. Yet, women have largely been unrecognized as explorers. This project shows that women in exploration have had to practice physical and rhetorical strategies to overcome historical and traditional gender biases in exploration and its related fields. Expanding on Homi Bhabha's explanation of colonial mimicry, I argue that twentieth-century American women explorers practiced a form of gender-based mimicry to make their presence in exploration possible. At times, they mimicked their male explorer-counterparts such as when they inhabited the imperial gaze. At other times, they employed gendered rhetorical strategies, such as the use of self-effacement. Taken together, these strategies allowed women of the time to work in the male-dominated field of exploration while carving out a place in the field for the women who followed.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: EXPLORING WOMEN AS MIMIC-MEN

Modern day outdoor enthusiast, explorer, travel writer, meteorologist, and climate scientist Felicity Aston wrote two articles for *Geographical* magazine in 2006, lamenting the women's outdoor clothing market's lack of attention to women's garments. In the end, she concedes that clothing makers are beginning to manufacture weather-appropriate and properly-fitting clothing and gear for women and congratulates them for moving in the right direction. Despite what she sees as a promising trend, however, Aston admits that in her experience "many women, including myself, abandoned women's products altogether and made do with men's outdoor gear instead. It didn't fit perfectly, but it was reliable and up to the job" ("Outdoor Clothing for Women" 88). In the twenty-first century, as Aston points out, women's outdoor clothing continues to be inadequate for the difficulties and challenges of exploration, particularly polar exploration. Her observations and complaints about clothing highlight a centuries-long trend for Exploring Women, that is, their bodies do not fit in the spaces of exploration. Aston's anecdote confirms that exploration has been, and remains, a space reserved for male bodies.

With this in mind, I presented a paper focused on the clothing choices and limitations of early women explorers and how this impacted their work in exploration on a conference panel titled "Art and Science in Exploration" at the Midwest Modern Language Association. My presentation focused on how twentieth-century Exploring Women, including Arctic explorer Louise Arner Boyd and Harriet Chalmers Adams,

first president of the Society of Women Geographers, performed gender through their choices of clothing and accessories, which affected how their work was presented and perceived. I first described why feminine clothing and accoutrements were appropriate when these women talked about their work, for example, as opposed to the more rugged, weather-friendly clothing they wore while exploring, and I referenced an interview about Adams' work that described her as "petite, dainty, dressed in a happy combination of smartness, becoming lines and color, and common-sense" (Wharton 25).¹ Meanwhile, the participant next to me awed the audience with harrowing tales of British naval officers facing deprivation while pursuing their scientific work in the name of "The Crown." After the presentation, an audience member asked if the women I was talking about were actually explorers. When I answered that, yes, they were explorers, but that I see marked differences between women's and men's exploration, the inquisitor's rebuttal amounted to, "But they didn't use sextants!" Well, no, I admitted, not so much, not always. This conference exchange, along with the stories of modern-day explorers like Aston and others, demonstrates the gendered understanding of exploration as a masculine activity with explorers performing prescribed activities with historically masculine instruments of the trade, and reinforces my belief that a discussion of gender and exploration is warranted and, indeed, overdue. This project remedies this oversight through its analysis of a range of texts composed by women travelers whom I describe as "Exploring Women." I use this term to separate women explorers from their male counterparts and from other women travelers as I will argue that Exploring Women used

¹ I use the term "accoutrements" to describe not just clothing, but all the accessories that were necessary for exploration. In some cases, these were gendered as well with scientific equipment, for example, reflecting traditional masculine exploration. Women explorers, on the other hand, were expected to retain some sense of femininity in their dress and presentation, making skirts, in some cases, just as necessary to exploration.

specific rhetorical strategies that allowed them to work in masculine discourses related to exploration. I suggest that Exploring Women employed strategies of colonial mimicry in their narratives where they both colluded with and undercut masculine discourses of exploration and imperialism. In a juxtaposition of participation and exclusion, they both emulated and set themselves apart from male explorers to justify and make their work possible within the multiple masculine gendered discourses of exploration where patriarchal power structures were at work and to portray themselves as serious explorers. This mimicry by Exploring Women reveals the fragility of the masculine discourses of exploration in which they worked by showing that since women could never fully attain the status of male explorers within the exploratory tradition, exploration has been flawed by a singular, limited point-of-view.

My use of the term “masculine discourses” requires that exploration narratives by women be understood within the context of discourses that were created by men, about men, and for men.² Women, as I point out in this project, were always working within this construct of exclusion. The responses of Exploring Women to these structures manifested in their exploration narratives. Likewise, Susan Morgan uses the term “masculine gendered discourse” to explain the masculine-centric framework surrounding the colonial context and its impact on texts written within that context. For example, she

² Further, I use the term “masculine discourses” to indicate fields such as exploration and its related rhetorics where patriarchal power structures have disproportionately favored males and stereotypically masculine traits. I consider David Spurr’s work on colonial discourses in *The Rhetoric of Empire* in this analysis and acknowledge the sometimes unwieldy nature of my use of the term “masculine discourses.” Yet, this term, for this project, encompasses those fields and rhetorics that have been historically, culturally, and socially relegated to male bodies and masculine-generated ideas, rules and restrictions. To exist, move, and work in these places, women and others not-identified as male have been at a disadvantage of power, voice, and presence. “Masculine discourses,” for the purposes of this project, encompass travel and mobility (broken down into discussions of space and the other), scientific disciplines and imperialism (where I focus on surveillance and appropriation).

explains, texts written in a colonial context “cannot be approached without first knowing something of the history, as it was rhetorically constructed by British men, about their own presence and activities” (11). In the chapters that follow, I examine the discursive strategies that Exploring Women employed to practice exploration, including in the physical and rhetorical spaces of exploration, their relationship to others and to the Other, their professional positions in the sciences, and their relationship to the imperial discourses of surveillance and appropriation. I describe significant differences in men’s and women’s exploration experiences and narratives such as in accessibility, funding, inclusion, and perception to the gendered discourses in which they worked throughout this study. Finally, I reveal how this marginalization of Exploring Women shaped how Exploring Women presented themselves as explorers, carried out their work, and created a legacy of women’s exploration for the twenty-first century.

Although these Exploring Women attempted to mimic their male counterparts, they ultimately developed their own unique approach to the field of exploration. This approach is largely the result of their gender and resulting marginalization from the field and its related masculine discourses that were not created by or for women. In traveling and writing as they did, Exploring Women were challenging, resisting, and coping with the masculine rhetoric of exploration which affected their representation and understanding of themselves and their tasks. Embedded as they were in these discourses, Exploring Women, I will show, use mimicry by employing masculine tropes of exploration (such as the “seeing eye” as described by Mary Louise Pratt) while also creating gendered tropes unique to women’s narratives (such as self-effacement). An ambivalence toward their male counterparts shows in the desire of Exploring Women to

both become like male explorers by copying their dress or their language, yet also to consciously separate themselves from them, to become explorers in their own way. This push and pull creates Exploring Women “*as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite*” (Bhabha 122, emphasis in original). That is, though Exploring Women upheld many of the traditional ideals of exploration, discovery, and imperialism simply through their aspirations and participation in it, they were *never quite* successful in emulating their male counterparts and *never quite* found themselves accepted into the professional and social circles of exploration. Despite the constraints imposed by working in masculine discourses, however, Exploring Women seized opportunities to assert themselves and to claim their place as the creators of their own narratives. The term “Exploring Women,” then, both reminds and emphasizes that these women were wearing the hats of both “explorer” and “woman” at times and in places where these identities did not necessarily co-exist well. My reading of the narratives of Exploring Women investigates this coming together of “woman” and “explorer,” which has been often underestimated and misunderstood. This project contributes a more in-depth investigation of the texts of these Exploring Women than has been considered and adds to both the understanding of women as travel writers and women as part of the imperial enterprise. As I show, Exploring Women had unique perspectives on travel and imperialism that are worthy of further investigation and that show how women both worked within and pushed against the masculine discourses at work in travel, exploration, and imperialism.

I focus on the narratives of early twentieth-century American Exploring Women because of the increased options for mobility for women at this time, the increasing

freedoms and leadership roles for women in exploration, and the changes in the professionalization of disciplines related to exploration. This project specifically considers South American explorer and prolific writer for *National Geographic Magazine* Harriet Chalmers Adams, African explorer and specimen-collector Delia Akeley, mountaineer Annie Smith Peck, pilot Anne Morrow Lindbergh, and Arctic explorer Louise Arner Boyd. Though these women pursued disparate goals in far-flung destinations, they had in common a dedication to their goals and the strategies they employed to carry out their work in exploration. American women explorers like these have been largely overlooked in comparison to their British counterparts such as Mary Kingsley and other Victorian travelers, who have been studied with the wave of newly mobile Victorian women moving out of the home and into the world. They have also perhaps been ignored due to the seemingly closer ties of others to British imperialism and exploration like twentieth-century British explorer Gertrude Bell, who was instrumental in mapping much of the British colonies in the Middle East, and British-Italian explorer Freya Stark who wrote more than two dozen volumes of her travel over decades of the twentieth century. Yet, attention to American exploration is warranted at the turn of the last century as a result of the shift in empire from Europe to America that was occurring

during the early decades of the century.³ Post-Spanish-American War (1898), the United States had cemented its place as a player on the global scene.⁴

As an illustration of the work American women were doing in exploration in the early twentieth century, Louise Arner Boyd, a native Californian and wealthy socialite, led several nautical expeditions in the 1920s and 1930s that resulted in mapping a significant portion of the Greenland coast. Her work and narratives demonstrate the extent and limitations of Exploring Women within this frame of twentieth-century America. Boyd made multiple trips to the Arctic during her career in exploration and explains, “Seven times since August, 1924,” Boyd exults, “when I had my first taste of the far north on a trip to Spitsbergen and the edge of the pack ice to the northwest on a small Norwegian tourist steamer, I have taken expeditions into the Arctic” (*Northeast Greenland* 1). This opening sentence of her third book for the American Geographical Society (AGS) suggests confidence and pride in her decades of experience. Yet, that was not always the case for Boyd. Though when she wrote these words she had received some recognition for her years of dedication to exploration, she began her life’s work by more-or-less “playing” at exploration. In 1924, she “discovered” the Arctic on a “small

³ M. Kathryn Davis calls for further study of American women explorers in her biography of American explorer Harriet Chalmers Adams. She states, “While the analyses of British women travelers and writers is important as a starting point for considering the work of American women, we need a separate study of American women explorers in the context of their history, place and culture” (“Remembering an American Geographer” 53). This project answers this call by looking at a broader spectrum of American women explorers than Davis was able to in her study of Adams and analyzing them within the society and culture within which they were working, particularly in regard to masculine discourses at work at that time and place.

⁴ In an interesting intersection, explorer and specimen-collector Delia Akeley hunted with the hyper-masculine president, Theodore Roosevelt, leader of the Rough Riders and hero of the Spanish-American War, in Africa in 1909-10. Roosevelt was on a hunting and specimen-collecting expedition for the Smithsonian Institution. Roosevelt, in addition, was largely responsible for casting U.S. eyes to Central America and beginning construction on the Panama Canal, which figures largely in Annie Smith Peck’s narratives.

tourist ship” (Olds 234). Finding this fascinating, yet not entirely fulfilling, in 1926 and again in 1928, she gathered some wealthy friends to accompany her, chartered the *M.S. Hobby*, and went to shoot polar bears in the Arctic.⁵ In 1931, she recruited crew members and chartered the *Veslekari* as a research vessel to study the east coast of Greenland. In these early days, Boyd, as an outsider to the exploratory disciplines within which she was working, could only mimic her fellow male explorers. Later, she set herself up as a credible explorer in her own right by using her skills as a photographer to document her expeditions and to assist the team’s surveyor in a mapping process called photogrammetry, which produced higher quality maps than had been created of the region to date. Boyd’s work in exploration shows the lengths she went to and the strategies she employed to mimic her male counterparts in order to become like her male explorer predecessors. Yet, as I show, gender kept Exploring Women like Boyd as “almost, but not quite” the same as their male counterparts. This, in turn, led them to mimic their male counterparts while also developing their own approaches to working in exploration.

Exploring Women “On the Move”

While women travelers like Boyd have been seen as “permanently planted, tenaciously fixed, utterly immobile,” the reality, according to Sidonie Smith, is that “women have always been and continue to be on the move” (X). In *Moving Lives*, Smith (2001) explains the realities of women’s mobility through their use of modern machinery

⁵ Her 1928 voyage was disrupted in its infancy by the disappearance of Roald Amundsen whose plane had gone down somewhere in the Arctic in a search for another downed pilot, Italian Umberto Nobile. Boyd and her crew participated in the search efforts, rather than follow their planned itinerary.

in the early twentieth century, a significant time for women on the move. Yet, women have had to work against social and cultural forces that opposed their mobility on the basis of gender in order to gain this momentum. With my focus on exploration, this project speaks to the difficulties women faced in getting their journeys off the ground, the questions and issues that arose for them as women travelers, and the strategies they employed to carry out their work as Exploring Women and scientists. To explore, women first had to get moving. Mobility, for women, demanded an overcoming of social constraints, but also had more practical concerns. Without the legal and financial protection available to men, mobile women were either on their own or relied, in many ways, on men's approval and assistance or, at the least, their wary indifference.

My focus here on challenges that women had to overcome to travel and the differences in women's and men's exploration narratives is not unique. Travel writing critics have contemplated this question with varying conclusions. Critics such as Sara Mills, Susan Blake, and others have pointed out differences in women's and men's travel narratives. Mills describes the dilemma of the female traveler as that of being "caught between the conflicting demands of the discourse of femininity and that of imperialism. The discourses of colonialism demand action and intrepid, fearless behavior from the narrator, and yet the discourses of femininity demand passivity from the narrator and a concern with relationships" (*Discourses of Difference* 21-2). Blake, on the other hand, focuses on the relationship between the traveling self and the other in women's travel narratives. I acknowledge these differences in men's and women's travel narratives and maintain that the narratives of Exploring Women are an ideal place from which to analyze them. Exploring Women were working at the crux of the masculine discourse of

exploration, yet, as women, had to maintain a level of femininity in their writing and in the presentation of their work. That is, exploration narratives by women and about women differ from the traditional exploration narratives of male explorers.

Despite the richness of women's exploration narratives, critics, even travel writing critics, have not focused on these narratives in the ways that I undertake. For instance, Mills (2005) addresses spatiality and gender in detail as they relate to travel and colonialism, yet leaves out any substantial discussion of women's exploration. Other critics, as well, focus on women as travelers, but not on women as explorers. I find that those critics who do touch on Exploring Women to some extent focus on earlier travelers than does my study, particularly on the Victorians like Mary Kingsley (1862-1900) and Isabella Bird Bishop (1831-1904), or create biographical studies, many geared toward young readers, which focus on the explorers' often-sensationalized lives.⁶ Instead, I focus on the writing of Exploring Women themselves and look at how they adapted, navigated, and responded to working in masculine discourses and institutions in their own words.

⁶ All of the women of this study have been written about to some extent, largely in biographies or anthologies of traveling women. For example, Dea Birkett's *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers* and *Off the Beaten Path: Three Centuries of Women Travellers* give overviews of traveling and exploring women. Elizabeth Fagg Olds, in *Women of the Four Winds* gives overviews of the lives of four women explorers, including Louise Boyd, whom, she argues deserve to be reinstated and recognized as explorers, not due to their texts which she quotes to some extent without references, but due to their exceptional lives (4). Others have provided biographical sketches of women travelers and explorers for a largely juvenile audience such as Margo McLoone and Durlynn Anema, and Jacquelyn McLean. Other scholars have provided literary analyses of women explorers, like Cheryl McEwan who focuses on Mary Kingsley and other Victorian travelers in West Africa. Though informative, I assert that general overviews and biographical approaches fail to adequately address how the work of Exploring Women straddles multiple masculine-centric discourses and the strategies they employed to carry out their work in exploration. My analysis provides insight into the gendered nature of exploration and related discourses and how women worked within these discourses.

Exploring Women in a “White Man’s Game”

Unlike other traveling women, such as missionaries or wives of imperial officials, I argue that Exploring Women dove more deeply into masculine spheres and, in doing so, moved beyond many of the accepted norms for women travelers. As explorers, they had to lead expeditions, obtain financing, gather supplies, and find teams of experts to accompany them, tasks unfamiliar to many other traveling women. As Exploring Women, they encountered resistance when carrying out this work and employed strategies in their narratives, often mimicking their male counterparts to claim their place as explorers.⁷

The use of “exploration” in English as “the action of travelling to or around an uncharted or unknown area for the purposes of discovery and gathering information” and as “the action or activity of going to or around an unfamiliar place in order to learn about it” dates to the first third of the sixteenth century, but became more common in use in the late eighteenth century (“Exploration”).⁸ Significantly, these definitions refer to the necessity of “travelling” or “going to” in order to explore. Yet, for the women of these times this simple act of “going” was prohibitive due to women’s lack of mobility as discussed in the previous section. Tying exploration to travel could, in itself, be exclusionary for women. Pratt points out in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992) that scientific exploration, in particular, became for Europeans in the late eighteenth century “a magnet for the energies and resources of intricate alliances

⁷ McEwan in her study of women travelers in west Africa clarifies, as well, that “During the nineteenth century the empire was perceived as a masculine preserve and the literature of empire was a male-dominated, heroic literature” (3). I extrapolate this idea to another time and place: early twentieth-century American empire.

⁸ Additional uses of the term exploration include “to examine thoroughly” from the 1500s and as a physical inspection of a part of the body, dating from the early nineteenth century (“Exploration”).

of intellectual and commercial elites all over Europe. Equally important, scientific exploration was to become a focus of intense public interest, and a source of some of the most powerful ideational and ideological apparatuses through which European citizenries related themselves to other parts of the world” (23). Certainly, exploration, in this sense, has been unabashedly Eurocentric and male-centric with white European men “discovering,” but often being led to, new territories to make these discoveries. Ironically, they were often tipped off by the very people who lived there and who were already aware that such “discoveries” existed. Despite the irony in this discovery, explorers by “seeing” could claim new territories, species, and even cultures. Yet, Pratt further explains, “[t]he masculine heroic discourse of discovery is not readily available to women, which may be one reason why there exists so very little European women’s exploration writing at all” (213). This discourse of discovery, as Pratt acknowledges, assumes a male narrator, a view from his perspective, and claims staked based on his position of power. However, some women’s exploration writing does exist and challenges these perspectives and understandings of traditionally masculine exploration narratives by showing how women responded to these masculine discourses of exploration. Women’s exploration writing displays some of the features of male exploration narratives, yet simultaneously undercuts them, destabilizing the traditional notions of exploration. Replacing the white European male narrator with an Exploring Woman shows that some of the historical and cultural assumptions of exploration don’t always apply.

In her critique of the *National Geographic Magazine*, Tamar Rothenberg (2007) explains how women explorers stood in contrast to the definition of exploration which

was explicitly tied to masculinity (18, 52). Women's work in geography, for example, was considered too subjective and inferior compared to the perceived objectivity of men's exploration texts, a sentiment echoed by Mona Domosh who explains that male explorers dismissed the knowledge of women explorers as not geographic enough, even deliberately shutting it out of the definition of geography (Rothenberg 141-2). In her chapter on American explorer Harriet Chalmers Adams, who wrote for *The National Geographic Magazine* for over thirty years as a contributor, Rothenberg explains that "Exploration, with the social goal of acquiring scientific knowledge and the personal goal of proving one's physical and mental strength, was, despite exceptions to the rule, explicitly coded as a white man's game" (140). She captures here two of the tropes that coded exploration as inherently male: acquiring scientific knowledge (and I would add accepted and recognized scientific knowledge, that is, knowledge valuable to male scientific minds) and proving one's manliness through overcoming hardship. Exploring Women recognized the importance of these tropes and adapted accordingly, in some cases acting within the traditional expectations for male explorers and, at other times, forging their own way.

Defining which women travelers fit into the category of "explorer," then, can be problematic. Marion Tinling, in an earlier attempt to bring Exploring Women to light, laments the difficulty in determining which women to include in her "sourcebook" of women explorers and travelers:

Nor was it easy to decide who is and who is not an explorer. I looked for women who went into unknown territory, sought new information, and brought back fresh ideas; women who had some conception of what to expect, and whose minds were

open enough to accept different points of view. They were willing to absorb the atmosphere of a country and to experience fully the lives and emotions of other peoples. The most successful tried to speak the language of those they visited, to eat the local food, and to live pretty much as the natives did. While a few were unable to rid themselves of religious and racial prejudice, not one was unchanged by exposure to the world beyond her circle. All kept some account of the things they saw. Many were publicly recognized and honored for their contributions.

(xxv)

While some of these criteria (went into unknown territory, sought new information, were recognized for their contributions) seem applicable to the traditional view of the male explorer, others seem decidedly less so (experience fully the lives and emotions of other people, speak the language). Tinling, then, creates a tall order for *Exploring Women* to fulfill, but she manages to narrow her anthology to 42 women of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that she deems fit with these criteria.

Despite Tinling's attempt to include women in a definition of explorers, the term "explorer" has historically been a patriarchal term used to define masculine endeavors performed by masculine bodies. These additional criteria seem applicable to *Exploring Women* who, when becoming explorers, still had to remain women. That is, they could act like explorers, but with different expectations based on gender. Women traditionally lacked the formal education, training, and professional credentials to become explorers in the traditional sense while ties to home, family obligations, lack of financial independence, and social constraints were barriers to their ability to travel and participate in exploration. To count women travelers among explorers—women who may not

themselves have applied this term to what they were doing—changes how we define the terms explorers and exploration and how we see women in relation to imperialism.

Through looking at the exploration narratives of twentieth-century American women, I propose that Exploring Women were doing many of the same things that male explorers were doing: leaving the familiar to travel into unknown places (to them), observing and cataloging what and who they saw there, bringing back knowledge, photographs, and objects to represent and share their journey, and playing a part in the imperial machine. Yet they were always, not quite, explorers in the sense that their actions functioned as a mimicry of masculine exploration where the “discursive process by which the excess or slippage produced by the ambivalence of mimicry (almost the same, but not quite) does not merely ‘rupture’ the discourse, but becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the colonial subject as a ‘partial’ presence” (Bhabha 123). What I mean to say is that as Exploring Women did not fit into the existing discourses of exploration which were created and maintained as masculine, their entrance, never-the-less, into these discourses, disrupts their very definition. Exploring Women both *resembled* male explorers and were a *menace*, a disruption to exploration as it was understood throughout most of the twentieth century (Bhabha 123). If Boyd, California socialite, could style herself as an explorer, then how does that change the very definition of an explorer? Exploring Women worked, in most cases, in environments that were unfriendly at best and frequently hostile. They did not have the financial backing, strategic support, or professional memberships or educational opportunities of their male counterparts such as Roald Amundsen and Robert Scott, rivals in their race to the South Pole, or Arctic explorer Robert Peary, or Ernest Shackleton, famous for bringing his crew home safely

after being stranded on the Antarctic ice shelf. Nevertheless, these women did explore. However, they practiced their profession differently than the male explorers who had defined the field by strategically mimicking these same male counterparts in order to gain acceptance as explorers.

Given the skepticism I initially encountered about women as explorers, I emphasize that, though their work may look different to some, women travelers were carrying out the work of exploration. Yet, while doing so, they used strategies of mimicry to overcome the barriers they faced as women. Rothenberg (2007) points out that Exploring Women were labeled differently by their colleagues and the public as opposed to how they labeled themselves. In reference to explorer Harriet Chalmers Adams, she writes: “While Adams billed herself as an explorer, a designation echoed by the newspapers who covered her lectures and exploits, her editors at the *Geographic* differentiated between scientific explorer-investigators and travelers. Peary, Macmillan and Chapman, whom the Society funded, belonged to the former category. Adams was placed in the latter” (143). In other words, women were travelers or, sometimes, adventurers, while scientific-explorer-investigators were men. Other women, like Anne Morrow Lindbergh shirked the title of “explorer” altogether, barely even referring to herself as a pilot in her narratives, often portraying herself as second fiddle to her famous spouse. Yet these women, despite their protests in some cases, acted as explorers.

Why Twentieth-Century Americans?

My attention to American women of the early twentieth century is significant as previous studies have not brought these women together and examined them in this way.

First, this focus fills a void in scholarship on women travelers and travel writers, much of which has focused on the nineteenth century and earlier.⁹ Second, this time period from the first decade of the 1900s into the 1930s sees the beginnings of a shift from European, particularly British, to American imperialism, making an investigation of *American explorers at this time* particularly worthwhile.¹⁰ Mountaineer Annie Smith Peck, for example, traveling through Panama in 1904, observes how “Great changes had occurred since my previous trip. Now the steamship line was in the hands of the United States Government” having been purchased from the French Company (124). Peck experiences firsthand how U.S. imperialism changed travelers’ experiences of transportation and the wider world. Yet, despite the emergence of this new imperial power, these women and their male counterparts still relied on approval from the British imperial machine to gain credibility for their endeavors, including seeking membership in long-established organizations such as the Royal Geographical Society (RGS, founded in 1830). Also, the American Exploring Women of this study typically traveled not in parts of the emerging American empire, but in the remains of preceding empires, particularly areas that were historically part of the British Empire.¹¹ In other cases, they traveled to colonies or

⁹ Other critics who have focused on twentieth-century travelers see them as significant for different reasons. Sidonie Smith, for example, focuses her book *Moving Lives: Twentieth-Century Women’s Travel Writing* (2001) on this period due to technological innovations that influenced women’s mobility giving them a new-found ability to move beyond the domestic sphere.

¹⁰ George Marvin in “The Greater America” (May 1914) dates April 1914 as “the sixteenth anniversary of the United States as a World Power” dating the rise of the U.S. as an imperial power to the Spanish-American War. In this same issue, Harriet Chalmers Adams contributed the article “Snapshots of Philippine America: characteristic pictures of the islands, that illustrate the progress they have made under the rule of the United States--good roads, good schools, sanitation, and orderly government in terms of the daily life of the people.” Adams visited the Philippines on her 1913-14 quest to visit every current and former Spanish colonial possession. She notes the dominating influence of the U.S. in her article. By the time of her visit, she writes, “upper class Filipinos speak English and live as much as we do : that the masses already bear the imprint of our rule” (32).

¹¹ Susan Kollin, for example, situates Lindbergh’s first travel narrative in the context of Walter LeFebvre’s *The New Empire* when she writes: “The title of Lindbergh’s narrative, *North to the Orient*, also restaged the

former colonies of other European imperial powers. Adams and Peck traveled in South America while Boyd traveled in the Arctic, particularly in Greenland, a Danish colony at the time. Yet, these areas, at the time these women were traveling, were attracting growing American interest.

Moreover, Exploring Women of this time period were contending with a shift in women's roles which allowed for more and more women to be working and traveling outside of the home, yet they continued to face opposition to women's rights and equalities, as reflected in their narratives.¹² In addition, exploration itself was facing a significant shift. As geography, geology, botany, and other scientific fields became more professionalized, the role of the amateur botanical collector—who was often a woman—was being diminished in favor of those (men) with degrees, professional affiliations, and academic positions. The Victorian lady traveler with her thick skirts and collecting baskets was being replaced by professional explorer-scientists with established relationships to scientific and learned societies and newly minted academic subjects like geography.¹³ American Exploring Women needed to adapt to these changes or be left behind; they did so by strategically mimicking their male counterparts.

'magic' of travel by locating the flight in political history of international travel and in the West's projects of global expansion. The book situated Lindbergh in a long line of European explorers who searched in earnest for the Northwest Passage, the famed waterway to the riches of the Far East. Recounting the list of these adventurers from Magellan, Sir High Willoughby, and Sebastian Cabot, to Frobisher and Davis, Lindbergh entered the company of various impressive and distinguished explorers" (117). Significant here is Kollin's acknowledgement that Lindbergh's American narrative situates her, looking back, within the history of British and European exploration and, looking forward, toward a U.S. role in global imperialism.

¹² U.S. women gained suffrage in 1920, during the period that the women of this study were traveling.

¹³ Early twentieth-century Exploring Women were also traveling and exploring in the wake of the admission of a handful of women into the Royal Geographical Society in 1892 and in the midst of the admission of several hundred more in 1911-1913. These newly admitted women, some of whom are included in this project, represented a crack in that towering echelon of British male dominance of the globe. Despite this historical event, however, these women became part of, yet remained separate from, the masculine scientific and exploration communities of their day.

In this project, I read narratives by Harriet Chalmers Adams, Delia Akeley, Annie Smith Peck, Anne Morrow Lindbergh, and Louise Arner Boyd, all of whom had in common their American roots, their presence in the middle or upper classes, their (mostly) lifelong interests in travel and exploration, their production of exploration narratives that share their insights and discoveries with the world, and their traveling and writing in the decades between 1900 and 1940. Though very few women were working in exploration at this time, other women could be included here such as Mary Jobe (second wife of Carl Akeley) and Fanny Bullock Workman (mountaineer and rival to Annie Smith Peck). Yet the women of this study are representative of women working in the exploratory tradition in major geographical areas of exploration at the time (Africa and the Arctic) and new areas opening up to exploration (aerial survey). These Exploring Women traveled the globe reaching South America, a destination for Adams, Peck, and Lindbergh; Africa, where Akeley shot elephants and “made friends” with pygmies; and polar regions, where Boyd mapped much of the coast of Greenland; while Lindbergh surveyed flight paths above the Arctic Circle in Canada before traveling on to Asia. Though I acknowledge the differences in colonial and imperial contexts in different historical and geographical settings, I focus on traits and similarities that I see across the texts of several women explorers, traveling to different places, over these decades.¹⁴ Lindbergh, Akeley, and Adams traveled with their spouses on at least some of their

¹⁴ Many critics believe travel writers should be categorized and studied by geographical area rather than by gender or in addition to gender. Susan Morgan, Morag Bell, Cheryl McEwan and others argue that it is important to have a geographical or spatial focus when analyzing travelers because of the differences between different geographical areas of the globe and the differences in colonial policies and impact in different areas. McEwan argues that it is important to be aware of factors other than gender, such as class, and to be aware of differences in geographical areas. McEwan, writing with Alison Blunt in *Postcolonial Geographies*, reiterates this argument.

journeys while Peck and Boyd hired expert crews to accompany them. Akeley later traveled “alone,” with a crew of 70-some porters and a few guides, on further African expeditions. Their texts that I examine here reflect these varied destinations and situations: Peck’s *A Search for the Apex of America* (1911), Adams’ articles published largely in *The National Geographic* from 1907 to the late 1920s, Akeley’s *Jungle Portraits* (1930), Lindbergh’s two travel books, *North to the Orient* (1935) and *Listen the Wind!* (1940) and Boyd’s publications for the AGS, *The Fjord Region of East Greenland* (1935) and *The Coast of Northeast Greenland* (1948).¹⁵ Despite their disparate destinations and motivations, the narratives of these women show that they all contended with and responded to the masculine discourses and institutions within which they did their work by developing strategies of mimicry to participate in and separate themselves from it.

Critical Approach

My primary framework in this study is postcolonial theory which speaks to my focus on exploration and imperialism. I combine this theoretical framework with American texts in ways which have not been previously considered. Yet, I show the advantages of postcolonial theory in analyzing these texts that center around conquest and mobility within the context of an emerging American imperialism. This framework is beneficial to this project as it allows for an analysis of travel and imperialism, both central to exploration as well as the masculine discourses at work in these texts and their impacts on *Exploring Women*. In particular, I rely on the work of Homi Bhabha and his

¹⁵ The publication date of *The Coast of Northeast Greenland* reflects a delay in publication due to the outbreak of World War II.

essay “Of Mimicry and Men: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse” from *The Location of Culture* (1994) when I argue that Exploring Women used strategies of colonial mimicry to work within the masculine discourses of exploration and imperialism. Colonial mimicry as Bhabha originally describes it is imbedded in the relationship of colonial subject to the colonizer and colonizing forces and refers to relationships of race and culture. For my purposes, mimicry is significant in the gender relationships of Exploring Women to their male explorer counterparts and to the wider discourses of exploration and imperialism, which imposed a system of power that favored the attributes, characteristics, and capabilities of male explorers. To work within this system as explorers, Exploring Women needed to *be like* their male counterparts, but, as women, they developed their own unique approach to this male-dominated profession. They, as did colonial subjects in Bhabha’s explanation of colonial mimicry, adopted the ways of those in positions of power, to a point. In some cases, they were unable to fully embrace the ways and discourses of their male colleagues. In other cases, they made deliberate departures from them in attempts to determine comfortable, but still acceptable, means of working in exploration. This in-between-ness of almost-but-not-quite created a tension and ambivalence in the work of Exploring Women. This “excess or slippage,” the not-quite space, is where we find Exploring Women working in this study.

With my focus on women explorers, I further rely on feminist postcolonial theory which, in addressing the concerns of Third World or postcolonial feminists, argues that the perspectives of non-Western women have been marginalized in both feminist and postcolonial studies. In my study this perspective allows for critique of imperialism as

well as women's gendered roles within it, including the roles of women in exploration. Reina Lewis and Sara Mills (2003) explain that their collected volume on feminist postcolonial theory, while not an "alternative orthodoxy" to postcolonial theory, intends to remedy "the marginalisation and exclusion of a separate trajectory of feminist thought about race, power, culture, and empire" (1-2). In doing so, feminist postcolonial theory both "racialize[s] mainstream feminism theory and ... insert[s] feminist concerns into conceptualisations of colonialism and postcolonialism" (3). Though the women of this study are all Western, white, middle- to upper-class women, I use this lens to critique how these women were both complicit in and disrupted Western, white male perspectives and roles in imperialism, particularly in exploration. This kind of critique focuses on gender without losing sight of additional points of marginalization that are at work in these narratives. Further, working within a framework of feminist postcolonial theory when analyzing the narratives of white Western women reframes traditional Western feminism's fixation on white, middle-class Western women to include a broader perspective that includes race and class.¹⁶

Feminist postcolonial theory also introduces a consideration of the field of feminist geography, a sub-discipline of human geography. According to Lise Nelson and Joni Seager (2004), feminist geography has four distinguishing features: It is "allied with diverse political movements and commitments," is interdisciplinary, "demonstrates that oppressions are embedded in, and produced through, material and symbolic space and

¹⁶ In *Gender, Geography and Empire*, McEwan details ways in which white women, specifically women travelers in West Africa in the nineteenth century were empowered on the basis of race and class though only a few were allowed to break out of traditionally feminine roles. In my study of twentieth-century women travelers, I suggest the possibility for Exploring Women to break out of traditional gender roles as strategic mimics of male explorers.

place,” and “asserts the importance and salience of foregrounding women as a subject of study and ‘gendering’ as a social and spatial process” (6-7). Feminist geography, with its focus on gender and spatial relationships, encourages a critique of exploration that considers not only gender differences, but how these differences are arrived at and the impacts they have socially and culturally, not just for women.¹⁷ That is, feminist geography encourages a critique of how Western perspectives of the world were constructed from a masculine frame of reference. *Exploring Women* challenge this point of view. Indeed, scholars of feminist geography have been the ones to question the gendered nature of exploration and have largely considered the narratives of the women of this study as well as those of other women travelers, rather than literary scholars. Some of the most in-depth research on Harriet Chalmers Adams, for instance, has been conducted by Kathryn Davis, a scholar of geography. Alison Blunt, geographer, focused on British explorer Mary Kingsley in *Travel, Gender and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (1994), as did Cheryl McEwan in *Gender, Geography, and Empire* (2000).

While the framework of this study remains primarily postcolonial, feminist geography’s focus on spatial and gender issues is clearly useful to a discussion of *Exploring Women* working within masculine discourses. For instance, in my discussion

¹⁷ I rely on feminist geographers Mona Domosh and Joni Seager and their book *Putting Women in Place: Feminist Geographers Make Sense of the World* (2001), McEwan’s study of Mary Kingsley and other women travelers in *Gender, Geography and Empire: Victorian Women Travellers in West Africa* (2000), and the work of Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, particularly in the collection *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies* (1994). Rose asserts that “to think geography” requires one “to occupy a masculine subject position” (4). An examination of Boyd’s work, for example, can reveal how challenging it was for her, as a woman and a non-professional, to “think geography” in the highly masculinized sphere of polar exploration.

of Exploring Women's relationships to physical and rhetorical space in Chapter 2, feminist geography provides a framework for understanding women's relationships to these spaces which have been created according to patriarchal frameworks. As an example of how feminist geography can be useful, I turn to Domosh and Seager who, writing from a feminist geographical perspective, argue that women's mobility differs from men's mobility because women are moving through and functioning in spaces constructed largely by patriarchal societies and structures and that, as such, women have different relationships to those spaces than do men. In addition, they argue, "When the 'wrong' bodies are in the 'wrong' places—when women walk into male spaces or vice versa—this is often translated into a challenge to norms of feminine or masculine behavior" (111). That is to say, women's bodies are marked by their gender and that, since physical spaces are understood as appropriate for and accessible to certain genders, female bodies moving within those gender-marked spaces are also marked. In the case of Exploring Women, female bodies, what Domosh and Seager refer to as the "wrong bodies," were working in masculine spaces of exploration and imperialism (111). This perspective provides a background for my discussion of the strategies that Exploring Women use to work within these masculine discourses. In their narratives, Exploring Women surmount this transgression of occupying or passing through spaces designated by and for men. The strategies they employ in their texts, I argue, respond to the masculine-centric discourses controlling these spaces.

To further illustrate how a consideration of feminist geography advances this project, I turn to the problematic representation of landscape as feminized in imperial discourses. Within a feminized landscape, men and women explorers have a distinctly

different relationship to this space as well as to the language of conquest that typically accompanies it. Explorers are seen to enter upon a “virgin” landscape, to “penetrate” new lands, or to observe “fertile” spaces “ripe” for conquest or settlement. This language created colonial space as gendered and excluded women, in particular Exploring Women, who were intent upon discovery, information gathering, and collecting as part of their work as explorers. Feminist geography as a secondary framework allows for critique of these masculine perspectives of looking at, “seeing,” and labeling space, both physical and rhetorical spaces, in which Exploring Women carried out their work.

Chapter Overview

I organize this dissertation topically, rather than restricting each chapter to specific writers or texts. This organization allows for focus on the masculine-centered discourses that Exploring Women needed to navigate to carry out their work and the strategies of mimicry they employed within each rhetorical space. This choice of organization also forces a non-biographical reading of the women presented here, focusing on their narratives rather than sensationalizing their lives. Each chapter, therefore, covers several explorers, texts, locations, and sometimes several decades.

In my second and third chapters, I focus on exploration as it relates to travel. Chapter 2, “Practicing Exploration: The Body in Space,” investigates how Exploring Women navigated masculine tropes of travel and mobility. I begin by looking at how Exploring Women modify and mobilize the concept of domestic space in their narratives. I follow that with an examination of how Exploring Women respond to working in spaces of exploration that are decidedly masculine, particularly using rhetorical moves of self-

effacement. Physical responses to working in masculine spaces play out in the narratives, for example, in how Exploring Women made choices about their clothing and accoutrements.

In the third chapter, “Sharing the Limelight: The Self and the Other,” I focus particularly on how Exploring Women discuss and relate to their traveling companions who could both help and hinder their work. Traveling companions were of particular importance to Exploring Women of the time period that I discuss, as these women were both heavily dependent on and in competition with male explorers. Several of the women of this study were married to male explorers; others traveled with male explorers or scientists and depended on these individuals to help them accomplish their work. These relationships at times provided benefits for Exploring Women, but could also hinder their work as explorers. Exploring Women take multiple approaches to revealing and discussing the existence of their companions on their expeditions as these individuals impact the credibility and effectiveness of these women as explorers.

In this chapter, I also discuss non-Western “Others,” in this chapter, those who, like Exploring Women, are racially and culturally different from the traditional Western male narrator and who have been excluded or marginalized from the dominant social group in the imperial endeavor. I investigate how Exploring Women position themselves in relation to the foreign Other, that is, how they see, interact with, and talk about indigenous people that they encounter on their travels. Their perceived and actual social position in relation to these individuals and groups impacts their credibility for themselves and their readers and shows how they worked within masculine discourses related to exploration.

In the fourth chapter, “Amateur or Professional?: Exploring Women in the Sciences” I examine how Exploring Women worked within scientific disciplines. Though these women worked in multiple scientific fields at varying levels of expertise, I focus on two issues of particular significance to Exploring Women. First, I look at botany as a traditional “woman’s” science, that allowed Exploring Women to gain credibility and authority, but also relegated their work to occupations more traditionally acceptable for women. Second, I focus on Exploring Women’s varied relationships with scientific and professional organizations and how these relationships impacted their ability to work in exploration. For example, women were excluded from membership in the organizations that provided much of the financing for expeditions. Though in the time period that is the focus of this study significant changes were happening in both professional institutions and learned societies, such as the admission of women to the RGS, women were still frequently relegated to the margins within these organizations.

The final two chapters, Chapter 5, “Exploring Women See the World,” and Chapter 6, “Exploring Women Bring Home the World,” focus on Exploring Women and imperialism. Though imperialism and exploration are intertwined in several ways, in Chapter 5 I focus specifically on the trope of surveillance which Exploring Women navigate in significant ways. I begin this discussion with a comparison of the concepts of surveillance and surveying emphasizing that, both as a *profession* and as a *visual concept*, surveying has excluded women. While Exploring Women, at times, utilize the trope of the “seeing eye” to claim their discoveries and the landscape as their own, much as male explorers did, for Exploring Women this was complicated. The “seeing eye” is understood to parallel a Western, white, male perspective. To achieve their ends,

Exploring Women had to learn to work within and exploit this perspective, or find an alternative one. That is, they could attempt to adopt this perspective of the “seeing eye,” but, due to their gender, were not quite able to do so. I scrutinize how Exploring Women both utilized and manipulated the imperial gaze, both attempting to mimic their male counterparts, and then acknowledging their inability to fully adopt this point of view.

Chapter 6, “Exploring Women Take Home the World,” focuses on the trope of appropriation, particularly the task of collecting. Women, often counted among possessions themselves, have a fraught relationship with appropriation particularly as it relates to imperialist discourses. Despite this, Exploring Women participated in multiple aspects of collecting and archiving in the context of their explorations. I focus here on botanical collecting and big game collecting as well as knowledge collection. In the last part of the chapter, I extend this discussion of appropriation to the ambiguous relationship of Exploring Women with mapping and naming where they both attempted to gain recognition for their achievements and discoveries, yet remained appropriately modest due to their gender and lack of experience and expertise in comparison to their male counterparts.

Finally, in Chapter 7, “Afterword: Modern-Day Explorers and the Legacy of Women’s Exploration” I bring this discussion forward into the twenty-first century to show the legacy that exploring foremothers had on modern-day Exploring Women and their work and how Exploring Women are faring in discourses and spaces that continue to be masculine-centric. I highlight the work of American Ann Bancroft and her exploring partner, Liv Arneson, to show the similarities between today’s Exploring Women and their counterparts from one hundred years ago.

CHAPTER 2

PERFORMING EXPLORATION: THE BODY IN SPACE

Returning to her camp after a long day observing flamingos at Lake Hannington, Kenya, explorer Delia Akeley describes the scene:

It was long after dark when the porters and I returned to camp on that memorable day at Lake Hannington. As we stumbled over the hot rocks toward the tents, I could see in the light of the kitchen fire Abdulla, the cook, bending over the steaming pots. The tent boys, dressed in clean white kanzus and red-tasseled caps, were gathered about him, waiting for my arrival to serve dinner. By the light of a lantern hanging in the veranda of my tent I could see the table with its white cloth and three camp chairs waiting for their owners.

In the background under the acacia trees the tiny tents of the porters could be seen by the light of many fires. The hot, sultry air was filled with the odor of wood fires and cooking food. The sound of melodious voices raised in conversation, snatches of song, and now and then bursts of happy laughter, told us that the comedian of our safari was entertaining his companions.

I found Mr. Akeley and Mr. Stephen sitting silently, as hungry men will, before their tents. (153)

In this scene, Akeley paints a warm, domestic scene where she, the lady of the house, swoops in to the kitchen to oversee the dinner preparations for her husband and guest. The setting could almost be mistaken for her comfortable middle-class drawing room in

Chicago. Yet, Akeley finds herself in the wilds of Kenya on the hunt for specimens for the American Museum of Natural History. In describing this scene as she does, Akeley creates for the reader a sense of transported domestic space. That is, she re-creates an idealized domestic space in an alien and exotic place: She is the lady of the house; Abdulla is her cheery cook surrounded by happy servants; her husband and guest await her intervention so they can all be served. In creating this domestic haven, Akeley is responding to masculine discourses that both produce and define mobility and space. To make her presence in this camp in Kenya acceptable, she has transported the familiar, orderly, feminine domestic to this foreign location and has placed herself at the center of it.

Akeley's transplantation of domestic space in this example illustrates just one of the ways that *Exploring Women* relate to the masculine discourses of space in which they are working. This chapter begins the larger argument about *Exploring Women* and mimicry by focusing on *Exploring Women*'s responses to space and mobility. This chapter focuses first on how *Exploring Women* shift the physical location of domestic space which allows them to adhere to gendered expectations rather than mimic their male counterparts. Second, this chapter shows how they practice a discourse of self-effacement where, rather than mimic their male counterparts, they choose instead to downplay their accomplishments related to exploration. Third, it shows how they code-switch in their dress and appearance, using mimicry strategically to adapt to spaces and situations that call for alternate personas. This analysis adds to current criticism by scholars of travel writing and gender who have attempted to parse out differences between men's and women's travel texts, such as Mills who acknowledges that "because

of the discursive frameworks which exert pressure on female writers, there may be negotiations in women's texts which result in differences which seem to be due to gender" (*Discourses* 6). This chapter shows how Exploring Women were particularly poised to interact with and respond to masculine discourses surrounding exploration as well as travel and imperialism. By paying attention to the rhetorical strategies Exploring Women use, it is possible to better understand women's responses to working in physical spaces and rhetorical discourses that have historically been non-inclusive. As Susan Roberson (2001) points out:

While much of the traditional discussion of travel presupposes a male voyager and constructs paradigms of travel based on the free, adventure-seeking male, we must remember that this model does not apply to all journeyers. Relations to place, power, and identity, often based on racial, class, and ethnic backgrounds, make up part of the baggage that the traveler carries. Likewise, women tend to experience travel and mobility differently than do men, in large part because of women's traditional ties to home, family, and domesticity, and because of their sexual vulnerability and objectification at the hands of men. (xiv)

I argue that this difference is particularly apparent for Exploring Women who needed to navigate multiple masculine discourses to complete their work. Exploration, with its ties to mobility and space, its journeying from home to away and back to home, and its connections with imperialism, has predominantly been an endeavor exclusive to men who were culturally, socially, and financially poised to enter into this field. This dichotomy of masculine and feminine spaces has been created, imposed, and upheld by a patriarchal power structure. Women like Akeley who ventured into this space needed *to adapt*

themselves or to adapt the space through their physical and rhetorical choices. That is, they could mimic male explorers or attempt to create the space of exploration as a feminine space. In the above example, Akeley transplants the atmosphere of her Midwestern drawing room to Kenya, transforming her safari camp into her own domestic space, adapting the space to suit expectations for her gender.

Narratives of Exploring Women like Akeley's show how gendered constructions of mobility and space come from long-standing social, cultural, and historical precedents that are difficult or impossible for Exploring Women to ignore or escape. The movement into and through the space of masculine discourses has been unwelcoming to female bodies. This movement is not limited to the physical, however. To speak to this double meaning of movement, both physical and rhetorical, I examine the bodies of Exploring Women in both geographical and discursive space.

This discussion of space is divided into three parts in this chapter. This first section addresses Exploring Women's movement through and transformation of space as both literal and metaphorical. Exploring Women physically moved out of the sphere of domestic space, typically relegated to the female body, and into public space. They also moved from discourses of female domesticity into masculine discourses related to exploration. By looking at their moves in both ways, this section demonstrates that Exploring Women made choices, both deliberate and unintentional, in their narratives to justify their move into these physical and rhetorical spaces that excluded them by nature of their gender. Akeley, for example, moved from the role of museum curator's wife into that of a hunter, photographer, and ethnographer in the African jungle. Anne Morrow Lindbergh, ambassador and senator's daughter, moved from the drawing room of her

well-to-do New England family home and created a domestic space in the cockpit of her plane.

The second section focuses on narration and explain how Exploring Women made rhetorical choices involving self-effacement and erasure of the female body in their texts to ease their movement through these discourses. In these cases, rather than mimic the rhetorical choices of male explorers, Exploring Women chose an alternate path. This further emphasizes their need to modify their presentation of themselves and their message as woman explorers to carry out their work. One of the ways that Exploring Women downplay or highlight their female body in masculine spaces is through their clothing and accoutrements which is analyzed in the third and final section of this chapter. As I illustrate, finding reliable and appropriate gear that actually fits has been both important to and difficult for Exploring Women. I explain in this section how clothing and accoutrements function not only as practical necessities, but as expressions of identity that allow for a cultural code-switching in the performance of exploration. This code-switching allowed Exploring Women to survive in the harsh environments where they worked while—in mimicking the dress of their male counterparts in certain situations but not in others—catering to the expectations of their audiences and sponsors back home who had expectations about their gender. This further shows how Exploring Women made strategic choices about their personas in their narratives so they could work in masculine discourses of exploration. Harriet Chalmers Adams, for example, recommended breeches for horseback riding in the Andes, but dressed in “feminine” clothing for her many lectures; Lindbergh made sure to wear nylon stockings when encountering reporters. Perceptions of gendered identity could sometimes be modified

with the addition of some bows and ruffles. The performance of exploration, from “explorer” into “woman explorer,” could shift in the different spaces Exploring Women occupied. Exploring Women knew this and responded in their narratives. This chapter shows that by navigating the gendered nuances of space and place, Exploring Women could mimic male explorers at strategic times to enable their work in masculine discourses of exploration that were inaccessible without these concessions.

The Traveling Body and Domestic Space

In the opening to the chapter titled “My Little Room” in her second aviation narrative, *Listen! The Wind* (1938), Anne Morrow Lindbergh describes how, after miles and months spent in its confines, the rear cockpit of her Lockheed Model 8 Sirius has morphed into her own personal, domestic space.¹⁸ She writes: “It is strange how one’s place of work, anywhere, becomes an all-important world—how it becomes, even more than that, a shelter and a home, enclosing and buttressing you on all sides, giving you a sense of security, no matter how precarious it may actually be—even hurtling blindly through the air” (222). This contrasts her view of the cockpit as a forbidding and alien place at the beginning of her transatlantic flights. Here, Lindbergh has come to own this space by becoming familiar with its nooks and crannies, arranging it to her liking, and infusing it with a sense of peace and calm even as her body and her space are precariously perched miles above an endless stretch of ocean. In short, Lindbergh has transformed the rear cockpit into domestic space. Like Lindbergh, in confronting the

¹⁸ Lindbergh’s “My Little Room” is reminiscent of contemporary Virginia Woolf’s *A Room of One’s Own* in that both act as a refuge in a way that allows women to pursue their chosen profession amongst male-dominated discourses and power structures.

space of exploration as gendered masculine, Exploring Women modified the location of domestic space to justify the presence of their female bodies in spaces that were not made for them physically or rhetorically. Transporting domestic space from home through the transformation of spaces could be insulating, that is, it could make the Exploring Woman feel safer in a cocoon of her own creation, but it could also result in isolating her from experiences of exploration and from those whom she encountered on her expeditions.¹⁹ Lindbergh's rear cockpit became a place of refuge, a domestic space that she could take with her and retreat to when needed.

Similarly, explorer Harriet Chalmers Adams forged her domestic space on horseback, of all places, in the thin air of the high Andes. In contrast to Lindbergh's transformation of a previously unfamiliar and uninviting space, Adams writes about her childhood penchant for riding with her father in her native California and how horseback was already a place of refuge and familiarity. She learned to shoot, hunt, and fend for herself in the saddle. Navigating this space was second nature for her before her expeditions and was a place where she could be herself.²⁰ Other Exploring Women entering spaces that were traditionally reserved for men, like Delia Akeley, also transformed their new environments into domestic spaces, or brought domestic spaces

¹⁹ Halia Koo (2007) argues that in her travel narratives Lindbergh remained isolated from experiences with the Other. In comparing aviation narratives by Lindbergh and Antoine de Saint-Exupéry that took place in similar cultural and historical contexts, Koo writes: "Just as the plowman needs constant physical contact with his plow and his oxen, and just as the poet's pen and writing are an extension of his hand and mind, the plane becomes in [Saint-Exupéry's] *Terre des hommes* part of the aviator's body" ("Construction of the Other" 34). Koo makes the point here that Saint-Exupéry connected with the plane in a way that Lindbergh did not. Saint-Exupéry, she says, used it as an extension of himself to "give a global view of the world" (34). While for Lindbergh, flying does not aid her human relationships, particularly with the foreign Other. Yet, this chapter points out that Lindbergh's cockpit does serve as an extension, not of her body, but of her domestic space.

²⁰ M. Kathryn Davis writes that "By the end of her life, Adams had traveled more than 100,000 miles in South America, mostly on horseback, and spent time in every country" reinforcing the suggestion that the saddle served as Adams' transported domestic space ("Remembering an American Geographer" 52).

with them on their expeditions, in order to justify their presence in the masculine spaces of exploration.

For the Exploring Women of the early twentieth century who are addressed here, domestic space remained the domain of the feminine, while public spaces, including cities, workplaces, modes of transportation, even foreign destinations, belonged to men. The home remained, in name at least, the domain of the female. “The association of home with women and femininity is so commonplace that it is often considered natural,” write Domosh and Seager (1). They argue that, particularly with the onset of the eras of industrialization and capitalization as “work” moved out of the home, masculine and feminine worlds were increasingly separated with women becoming more and more strongly associated with the home and community and men with the world of work outside the home. “[P]roduction’ was separated from ‘reproduction,’ with men as wage-earners and women as caretakers in charge of reproductive tasks for the family,” they write (4). This dichotomy became so commonplace by the early twentieth century that it was necessary for Exploring Women to respond to these associations in their narratives.²¹ In contrast, places of exploration such as jungles, mountain tops, and Arctic tundras, even

²¹ It is worthwhile to keep in mind the class- and race-centric nature of these divisions of space. Anne McClintock (1995) questions the validity of this dichotomy and points out that domestic versus public space becomes complicated when considering women of lower classes, like domestic servants, who are frequently residents of, or temporary visitors to, traditional masculine spaces when doing menial work or providing other services that the male occupants of those spaces require such as cleaning or sex work. Examples like McClintock’s show that the separation of gendered spheres is largely based on a middle-class model and doesn’t take into account those who regularly crossed gendered boundaries: women who complicate the issues of male/female power within the home when the middle-class home also acts as a place of paid work. Others also oppose this dichotomy when considering women of color, as postcolonial feminism does. In addition, this dichotomy has been largely Euro-centric, and has been particularly key to discussions of British women. This project allows for an understanding of the limitations of the Western-centric nature of this discussion of gendered spaces while also recognizing the cultural assumptions that Western Exploring Women brought into both their travels and their writing. To further counteract the Western-centric construct of these gendered dichotomies of public and private space, this analysis is situated in multiple geographic and historical contexts.

as their landscapes were gendered feminine, were seen as so aberrant for women that they needed to domesticate these spaces in order to justify their presence in them.²² Traveling women leaving domestic spaces have historically been seen as disruptive to the established social order, sexually promiscuous, and even a disturbance to the establishment of national identities.²³ This is true for *Exploring Women*.

A conversion of space thus became necessary for *Exploring Women*, even in the early twentieth century when women were making progress in increasing their mobility beyond traditional domestic spaces. This idea of domesticating colonized areas by introducing a woman's touch is not new as women's presence in colonial areas was often viewed as "civilizing." Yet, *Exploring Women* were doing something different. Rather than acting as imperial agents in civilizing missions, they were entering the male domain of exploration and using the transformation of space in order to justify their own presence there. That is, they were not sent as feminizing agents, but subverted this concept for their own purposes. This allowed them to be present in spaces that were otherwise off-limits.

²² Annette Kolodny (1984) and others discuss the landscape as feminized. McClintock asks "What is the meaning of this persistent gendering of the imperial unknown [as female]?" (24). Birkett discusses how exploration was viewed as so unnatural for women that "A woman traveler could only conquer and penetrate by ignoring the fact of her sex, aligning herself entirely with the white male explorer..." (137).

²³ Domosh and Seager argue that women in colonial spaces were particularly hindered with these stereotypes. As British and other Western women moved into colonial spheres, their presence signaled a shift in imperial thinking from that of conquering to civilizing and domesticating colonized people in the form of missionary work and as role-model wives for uncivilized, promiscuous colonized women. Women became increasingly responsible for and associated with morality and the civilizing mission both at home and abroad and were also burdened with the label of the symbol of nationalism and the nation. Though recruited for the civilizing mission, branching out into the colonial world was not without problems as women who moved out of established domestic spheres disrupted the social order. The "'wrong' bodies in the 'wrong' places" challenged the norms of geographical gender separation and the norms of masculine and feminine behavior (111). Women outside of their established realm also suggested sexual promiscuity, conflicting with the need for women to bring morality and civilization to colonized areas and to colonized women.

The Transformation of Unfamiliar Domestic Space

Anne Morrow Lindbergh, pilot, radio operator, and wife of Charles Lindbergh, relocated “home” when she transformed the rear cockpit of her aircraft into “my little room” (221). In her two travel narratives, *North to the Orient* (1935) and *Listen! The Wind* (1938), Lindbergh catalogs two months-long air-travel trips with her aviator-husband to survey proposed flight paths at a time of burgeoning American air travel. Lindbergh, a pilot in her own right, served as co-pilot and radio-operator on the flights. By shifting the location and definition of the domestic in order to overcome the barriers of gendered space, Lindbergh acts contrarily to a female traveler who simply leaves or abandons domestic space. Instead, as an Exploring Woman, she, metaphorically, acceptably, and comfortably, brings her domestic space with her.

Though over the course of her travel narratives Lindbergh comes to own this space, the cockpit was not always Lindbergh’s comfortable “little room.” She reveals how she initially felt uncomfortable in the rear cockpit behind Charles, a cramped and drafty space, where she fumbled around in the dark and often inhospitable weather to “man” the radio. She domesticated this space not by employing a traditionally feminine skill like home decorating, but by “learning to operate our radio,” her “most important” work on the flight (*North* 29). Though acquiring the skills to operate this technology and becoming comfortable with the space in which it occurs does not, of itself, indicate a process of domestication, Lindbergh’s ability to learn and become adept at the radio in this very specific space illustrates a civilizing of this space, making it manageable, as well as comfortable and familiar. To serve as radio operator for both long-distance

survey flights, Lindbergh trained on the radio and passed the certification examination prior to the flight to the Orient. Her initial nervousness in this new role is evident in *North to the Orient* (1935) when she drops one of the radio tuning coils she needs before even sending her first message and watches it “rolling back into the dark unknowns of the fuselage” (43). These first few days of flight and her first experiences of operating the radio while in the air stretch her abilities. She holds the coils (she kept track of six sets each with a different frequency) “in my lap as there was no other place to put them” (42). Trying to fit the unneeded coils back into the box at her feet is like “trying to fit a lamp’s plug into a socket in the dark” (43). In these early days, she has not yet arranged the space to accommodate her needs; nothing has a place and she is unable to operate the radio instinctively. She hasn’t yet tamed her space. Yet, she assures the reader that “Later I could pick the correct coils by feeling them as, for example, 500 had the most turns of fine wire” (43). This assurance shows that the situation does improve, that she does become efficient at operating the radio effectively, and she does transform this space into something workable. She domesticates it.

In *Listen! The Wind* (1938), Lindbergh’s increased comfort with her surroundings in the airplane and her adeptness at managing the workings of the radio show how she has come to own her space, “My Little Room.” She is much more at ease with her skills and can operate the radio adeptly by touch as well as by sight. She can find the coils in the dark of night or with her eyes closed, and she knows by feel and by instinct that she has the right one. “Without sight,” she writes, “my fingers also knew the precise shape and spin of the small screws to open the radio boxes . . . I could even change the coils by touch alone, running my finger over the polished spool and the ribbed surface of tightly

wound wires, judging by the number of turns the wave-length of the coil” (228). No more fumbling with and dropping the coils. Her tone of panic has changed to familiarity and a sense of empowerment. Her competence at the job that she once proclaimed she would be incapable of fulfilling has transformed her space.

Even more than becoming an adept radio operator, the detailed description of the transformation of Lindbergh’s tidy cockpit, her extended self, shows her transformation of domestic space. In *Listen! the Wind*, Lindbergh scrutinizes her belongings intensively because of the need to reduce the weight of the plane for its takeoff from Bathurst (now Banjul, Gambia) due to unfavorable winds and a need to conserve fuel on the transatlantic flight. Finally able to take off with a lighter load and enough fuel for the journey, Lindbergh inventories the items in her rear cockpit in minute detail and explains to the reader how she uses them as the plane is hurtling toward the South American coast.

This little cockpit of mine became extraordinarily pleasing to me, as much as a furnished study at home. Every corner, every crack, had significance. Every object meant something. Not only the tools I was working with, the transmitter and receiver, the key and the antenna reel; but even the small irrelevant objects on the side of the fuselage, the little black hooded light, its face now turned away from me, the shining arm and knob of the second throttle, the bright switches and handles, the colored wires and copper pipes: all gave me, in a strange sense, as much pleasure as my familiar books and pictures might at home. The pleasure was perhaps not esthetic but came from a sense of familiarity, security, and possession. I invested them with an emotional significance of their own, since

they had been through so much with me. They made up this comfortable, familiar, tidy, compact world that was mine. (222-3)

Lindbergh stresses the familiarity of the objects surrounding her in her cockpit which gives her both pleasure and comfort. Mechanical items become aesthetic objects: a “shining arm and knob,” and “bright switches and handles” provide color and beauty in her new space. She finds that it is not the particular objects themselves, but her attachment to them and what they provide for her emotionally that creates her comforting, domestic space. Other items are more obviously reminiscent of the domestic. In addition to items of the trade, Lindbergh has brought with her a small bundle of personal articles, clothing and toiletries, and sandwiches for the journey. Along with her many professional jobs on the flight she remains the caretaker of the lunchboxes. Lindbergh keeps her head down for much of the flight, allowing her to focus on her transplanted domestic space, and hundreds of miles have been crossed before she even looks out of the cockpit into the clouds and fog.

Earlier in the narrative, during an extended delay at Cape Verde, Lindbergh’s cockpit serves as a place of refuge. In this case, her domestication of “My Little Room” allows it to serve as a place where she can get away, re-establish control, and take comfort in the familiar. While delayed on the island, questions arise over where the Lindberghs will sleep. After sharing a meal with the Chef, who oversees the virtually abandoned French seaplane base, and his wife, a young woman with Italian heritage, the residence of the former governor is suggested as a possible resting place, but upon inspecting it, the Chef’s wife declares, “It is too dirty—all too dirty—” for the Lindberghs to stay the night there (*Listen* 42). The room is filled with Cape Verde’s

endless grains of sand blown in from the Sahara and is littered with abandoned French-language newspapers. Its apparent neglect reinforces feelings of unease and isolation that Lindbergh experiences on the island. Alternatively, the Lindberghs are invited to stay in the Chef's own bed (but it is suspected that he has tuberculosis) or another bedroom in the Chef's house (but it turns out to be infested with bedbugs). Trying to settle down for the night in the guest room, Lindbergh describes how she "shrank from touching the bed, the walls, the table" (63). By standing in the middle of the room "there was only one point of contact, with the floor, and if I walked up and down nothing could climb up my legs" (63). The Lindberghs decide to retreat stealthily in the night to sleep in the plane. Once out of the room, Lindbergh declares, "I felt released. . . . We were free" (65). She removes her physical body from the bed, the room, the house, even the island itself, to seek refuge in the plane. This act reinforces her inability to inhabit this foreign space and her need to return to the domestic space that she has cultivated in the plane. This familiar domestic space also serves as an antithesis to the non-Western, racially ambiguous space of the island. Physically removing her body from othered spaces and returning to the plane underscores the plane as a site of refuge, of identity, and as a comfortable domestic space, in contrast to the foreign locations which distress Lindbergh's sense of identity. Her domestication of this cockpit space allows her to occupy this othered space of exploration, but to remain safely, separate from it.

A few details of this example are particularly significant. While on the surface Lindbergh has a simple and understandable aversion to bedbugs and "dirty" accommodations, her antipathy to this place reflects her wider unease about being in a hybrid space where the foreign inhabitants and "dirty" habitations reinforce her sense that

she does not belong and does not wish to belong. Lindbergh spends much of her time on Cape Verde, for instance, attempting to determine the racial and ethnic make-up of the Chef and his wife. She comes across as uneasy and standoffish when she is unable to reconcile her position amongst such a racially and ethnically diverse population as exists on Cape Verde. Her rear cockpit becomes especially important as her home away from home, her retreat, where she can get away from bedbugs, but also from racial otherness. As an Exploring Woman, this retreat functions for Lindbergh as a way to keep her distant from the people and experiences of exploration. She is simply able to remove herself from this unhealthy, unhappy environment to her domestic space. But even more so for Exploring Women this transformation of domestic space on the expedition shows that while Lindbergh feels that she does not belong on this island, she has brought along her own space where she does belong; this transformed domestic space makes it acceptable for her physical body to be in the space of exploration.

The Transformation of the Familiar as Domestic Space

While Lindbergh transformed a space that was initially unfamiliar and even hostile into “My Little Room,” Harriet Chalmers Adams, explorer, writer for *The National Geographic Magazine*, and first president of the Society of Women Geographers, performs a less drastic, but more unusual, transformation of space. She relocates her domestic space from her childhood home in California to the space of exploration by utilizing the mode of transportation most familiar and comfortable to her, the saddle, a mode of transport that was already her own with her vast experience with

this equestrian equipment.²⁴ She fondly recalls riding through the hills of California with her father in an interview conducted by Elna Harwood Wharton in *The Forecast* (America's Leading Food Magazine) in 1930:

‘Before I was fourteen,’ said Mrs. Adams, ‘I had completed, on horseback, the exploration of the entire Sierra Nevada Mountain chain with my father. I was born in California, and my father, who was a Scotch engineer, took me about with him a great deal. He taught me to ride, shoot, swim, and fish. We visited Indians in their primitive state. My mother, when a girl in El Dorado county during the gold rush, was the first white woman they had ever seen. I never went to school after I was eleven, but I had private tutors in between trips in the saddle.’ Which suggests that education is of many kinds, and sometimes may be furnished entirely by agencies not on the list of boards of education. (25)

While for other women, the saddle might seem like the least likely of domestic spaces, for Adams, whose early education was literally conducted on horseback, this setting serving as her drawing room and her schoolroom, an extension of, if not precisely, her own domestic space. As an explorer, she credits her ability to sustain her rugged travels on horseback due to these childhood experiences riding with her father. Adams assures her readers that, on her expeditions, horseback is not only a necessity in the high

²⁴ Rothenberg also maintains that Adams made the domestic portable, but with her tent. She argues that “Rather than play up her own exceptionalism, Adams instead recast exploration as a natural activity for women. Without removing ‘woman’ from her ‘natural’ domestic sphere, by her husband's side, Adams rendered the domestic portable (the tent) and conversely placed ‘exploring woman’ in a space no longer necessarily masculine. Indeed, she argued, being a woman could have its advantages. If a woman accompanied a man in adventurous travels in out-of-the-way places, she said, the man would be safer than if he traveled with any number of male companions; ‘primitive people’ were more likely to be accepting of female interlopers than male ones⁴⁶” (141, quotation from “Saved by Her Long Hair,” a newspaper clipping from the late 1920s.) In another example of the transformation of domestic space, Pratt’s analysis of Mary Kingsley traveling in West Africa alludes to her as a “domestic goddess” who turned her canoe into a “combination bedroom and kitchen” (214).

mountain passes, but is “always our favorite mode of transportation,” because of its comfort, familiarity, and its function as an extension of her childhood “home” (“Longitudinal” 259). Adams biographer Kathryn Davis explains how much time Adams spent in the saddle on her first trip to South America: “For example, departing from La Paz on April 20, 1904, they [Adams and her husband] started for the interior, traveling on horseback for ten days, and then, after a six-day rest, spent another eight days traveling on mule and horseback, foot, and canoe” (“Remembering an American Geographer” 56). Adams, like Lindbergh, transferred domestic space from the home to her mode of transportation. Both created a place of refuge and familiarity and created space for themselves within the masculine space and discourses of exploration.

Exploring Women were, by nature, mobile. Yet, Smith (2001) argues that even the simple act of mobility has been gendered as masculine and that women’s nature has been understood to be “sessile,” that is rooted or grounded in place, and the very act of traveling takes women out of their accustomed space.²⁵ The chosen mode of transportation, she claims, allows female travelers a physical and figurative means of removing themselves from “sessile” expectations and carries as much influence on travel narratives as the destination itself. She writes, “If the mode of moving a body through space affects the traveler who moves through space as that body, then the mode of motion informs the meaning that the traveler sends back home in narration” (xii). For Exploring

²⁵ Though it may seem that twentieth- and twenty-first-century women have overcome their historic immobility, Linda McDowell points out that “A sobering counter to the emphasis on displacement and mobility in recent theoretical work as well as in empirical studies lies in realizing that most women in the world remain trapped or fixed in place. Their everyday lives and social relations are confined within often tight spatial boundaries, constructed through power relations and material inequalities” (28). Exploring Women were, therefore, still working within a discourse of rootedness, but were, it must be admitted, in a minority of women who were able to overcome in some ways the limitations of female mobility.

Women, the acting of transforming this “mode of motion” into their own domestic space made their journeys acceptable by sending the message that they were not, in fact, out of place. They remained safely female and could retreat to that feminine space whenever the environment of exploration proved to be too much (as Lindbergh shows). The argument here furthers Smith’s point by maintaining that the mode of transportation, like the cockpit or the saddle, not only allows for mobility, but for acceptability. That is, Exploring Women did more than embrace a mode of transportation as a means to mobility. They transformed that mode of transportation into domestic space. In employing this strategy, they could overcome gendered expectation and make their presence on their expeditions amenable to the masculine discourses of exploration in which they were working.

Adams, however, experienced some difficult moments even with this mode of transportation that was like second nature for her. Though I argue that she transported the domestic through her choice of and familiarity with the saddle, this transformation did not always come easily. Adams and her husband Franklin Adams rode on horseback for much of their 1904-05 travels in South America, a great deal of it in the highlands of the Andes. Yet, on a later trip, in “Volcano-Girded Salvador” (1922) Adams describes feeling discombobulated when riding sidesaddle in this Latin American context. Though “[m]any and interesting were our trips in the saddle,” she writes, “[t]o my amazement, the side-saddle provided me was constructed for the right foot instead of the left in the stirrup, just the reverse of the Anglo-Saxon way. At first I felt uncomfortable, but soon accustomed myself to the Central American style. Of late many Salvadorian women have adopted the safe and sane method of riding astride” (195). Adams, after an initial

moment of discomfort and unease, does not seem deterred by this development and quickly adjusts to this foreign way of riding. Despite this quick adjustment, Adams still longs for riding astride as in her youth.²⁶ In “South America Through a Woman’s Eyes,” (1906) published in *The San Francisco Sunday Call*, Adams describes the difficulties exacerbated by being a woman on the trail in Agnalani Canyon in Peru where riding sidesaddle was not only inconvenient, but particularly prohibitive. She writes, “I was unable to dismount, as I had been advised to do, when crossing these bridges, as I was using a side saddle, which, with the narrow trail, made remounting not only inconvenient, but dangerous.”

Though Adams certainly does not eschew hardship, she eagerly tells her readers of the unsatisfactory nature of places where she was obliged to make a bed for the night in inhospitable conditions. Dismounting from the saddle in the evening in the countryside, Adams and her companion were frequently required to sleep on the ground at the feet of their horses, extending her domestic space. She writes: “Those were long days in the saddle, with little food and less water. We knew the river water to be impure. . . . At night we slept on the ground, wrapped in our blankets, at times finding shelter in a ruined temple, as there are many lesser ruins throughout the Valley of Yucay” (“Wonderful Sights” 618). At other times, Adams shares colorful descriptions of places where she took shelter on her expeditions when no public accommodations were

²⁶ While riding astride gained popularity for women in the early twentieth century, historically sidesaddle was accepted as practical for women in skirts while also promoting modesty. Early sidesaddles, however, made controlling the horse difficult. Women required a guide to lead them and were prohibited from any gait faster than a walk. As well, the relation to modesty cannot be under-stated here. Before riding astride became commonplace for women, it was considered unwomanly and could even reflect on the woman’s character. Of note, riding astride, at the turn of the last century was seen as a step toward women’s liberation, that is, better control of the horse allowed women more freedom of moments and allowed women to enter jumping events and fox hunts that had previously been more difficult.

available. In “Some Wonderful Sights of the Andean Highlands” (1908), Adams describes how the chief magistrate of a village took them in “but had no extra beds in his house, . . . [so] we were obliged to sleep on the dining-room table” (613). This anecdote would seem to associate Adams’ domestic space away from the saddle as, high in the mountains away from “civilization,” she finds a dining room table to rest her head. Instead, the discomfort of this perch is emphasized when she is awakened “[a]t the witching hour of three in the morning . . . by the crowing of roosters, and found that the pet fighting cocks of the family were tied to the table legs—the Peruvian alarm clock!” (613, 618). After this rude awakening, Adams is comfortably back in the saddle by dawn, rejecting the sham domesticity of this foreign space and returning to the familiar. Lindbergh and Adams differ in their transformation of domestic spaces as this example illustrates. While Lindbergh is disturbed and uneasy when she is outside of her little room and is forced to confront foreign experiences and people, Adams’ unease tends more toward physical discomforts and complaints, that is, the ground is hard, it is wet and rainy, or she cannot find a comfortable sleeping position.²⁷

Being in the saddle, on the one hand, assures Adams’ readers that she is in a comfortable and familiar domestic space that she was introduced to in her childhood. On the other hand, Adams associates this space with the long history of horse culture in the Andes, further assuring her readers that she belongs on her expeditions. In “Some Wonderful Sights of the Andean Highlands,” Adams, on horseback, compares herself to an Incan princess. She describes, “As we descended from the heights of Chinchero by

²⁷ Annie Smith Peck also describes sleeping on a table on her trip from Arequipa to Mollendo on horseback after summiting El Misti in 1903. When stopping at “a collection of bamboo sheds, inhabited by one or two families” she found that “The best accommodations are assigned to me – the table, which is six feet long” (98).

the steep, narrow, winding trail the wonderful scenery put me into an exalted mood. I was a Quichua princess carried by my willing slaves down to the beautiful summer palace of my father, the Inca; only just then my tired horse stumbled, and I came back to earth a dusty little Andean traveler longing for any moth-eaten *posada* where I could rest my weary head” (612-13). This reverie associates her with the native people of Peru; her place in the saddle is reminiscent of the princess’s place. The moth-eaten *posada* where she will likely rest her head becomes, temporarily, a summer palace. By envisioning herself as one of the native people, she claims a heritage and a right to be where she is. Her home, her domestic space, is here. Further, this association with the feminine history of this place, the place of the Incan princess, bypasses the need to be associated with the Western male explorer, yet allows her entry into the space of exploration.

Self-Effacement and Erasure

Incompetence and False Modesty

In addition to contributing to her transformation of domestic space, Lindbergh’s tale of her tribulations with the radio serves as a strategy to downplay her abilities in her narrative in order to make her role as an explorer more acceptable. Lindbergh assures her readers that becoming a radio operator did not come easy for her. She describes her struggle to pass the radio exam, yet “[w]ith the help of all of the diagrams, my college textbooks, and my husband’s explanations, I managed to walk into the examination room one very hot day. I walked out before my husband; but I did not go as fully into the ‘Theory of regeneration in the vacuum tube.’ He passed with higher marks” (*North* 33). Lindbergh finished quickly, passed, and was certified, yet these facts are buried in this

anecdote in praise of her husband's higher marks. No boasting for Exploring Women. Instead, Lindbergh communicates her success without calling direct attention to it, a strategy of self-effacement employed by Exploring Women. Within this strategy, her rhetorical choices place her at the center of the narrative even as they seem to deny her the limelight.

For Exploring Women, self-deprecation, or self-effacement, manifests, in one way, as the downplaying of one's expertise or ability in relation to the journey or the task at hand, and, in another, as the acknowledgment of the superiority of others, usually male companions or colleagues. Lindbergh often reminds her readers that she is not mechanical, for example, while her husband is. In another form of self-effacement, Arctic explorer Louise Arner Boyd offers surprise when her work is rewarded or praised. The rhetorical strategies of self-effacement in the narratives of Exploring Women provide another opening for them to work in the masculine discourses related to exploration. Here the Exploring Women are not mimicking their male colleagues directly, but are setting themselves up in opposition to them, even deferring to them, in order to become like them. In this way, a sense of mockery is created where the authority of male colleagues is disrupted when Exploring Women manage to accomplish the tasks of exploration all the while proclaiming that they, in fact, cannot. Self-effacement in these narratives, used in this way, allows for an acknowledgement of accomplishment, but with the right dash of feminine modesty that allows Exploring Women to effectively navigate the masculine spaces of exploration. Mary Russell has, likewise, recognized a "self-effacing" pose that women travelers have taken to justify travel that differs from masculine norms. She sees women's exploration as focusing on people over places and

argues that women travelers compensated for negative feedback on their choice of focus: “Aware of this negative attitude [toward women travelers] and wanting to disarm their critics in advance, many women travellers adopted a self-effacing pose, unnecessarily belittling their aims and denigrating their achievements” (Russell 213). This chapter points out that this self-effacement did more than respond to critics, but allowed women to work in the field of exploration because, while on the surface it expressed modesty, in truth it highlighted their capabilities and achievements, creating a rupture that Exploring Women could fill.

Self-effacement, though not a central strategy for all Exploring Women, serves, on one hand, to remind the audience that the narrator is only a woman. On the other hand, it signifies that she is not overstepping her bounds as a woman, that she is not overly assertive. A confident Exploring Woman, particularly one with no formal training or credentialing to back up her claims, needed to be concerned that she did not come across as arrogant or uppity. She needed to make sure that her boastfulness did not alienate her readers, her sponsors, or her publishers and, more importantly, that *she stayed in her place*, even while she was physically out of it. Despite this necessity to downplay her expertise, she still needed to communicate, often subtly, that she was capable of making the journey. The rhetorical choices made by Exploring Women when presenting their accomplishments in their narratives needed to acknowledge their understanding that the physical spaces and the discourses in which they were working were not meant for them, that they were out of place in these spaces. Some Exploring Women took an extreme rhetorical choice to ensure their texts would be publishable, that is, not offensive to a broad audience that included male readers, by resorting to pointing

out their own fallibilities by, in a sense, making a joke of themselves. Yet, these choices were strategic.²⁸

Other Exploring Women of the time used self-effacement to communicate their inadequacies and incompetence and, in doing so, remained in their proper place in the space of a discourse that did not necessarily welcome their success. However, these confessions had a deeper purpose. While on the surface Lindbergh presents herself as inept, a passenger taken along for the ride, she ultimately demonstrates her abilities.²⁹ For Exploring Women, the closed doors of the masculine discourses in which they were working made this kind of self-effacement a vital part of their response and even served as a form of self-preservation. That is, it allowed them to remain in their chosen field while not opening themselves up to the scrutiny that would have come had they been more boastful. Certainly, all Exploring Women do not reflect misgivings about their work to the same degree or in the same ways. Yet, this self-effacement is widespread. While Lindbergh emphasized her mechanical ineptitudes including her struggles with the radio, in a similar move, Boyd and Adams made choices to erase themselves from their narratives in order to work within discourses of exploration, particularly as a response to

²⁸ Mary Kingsley is particularly well-known for her humor. The use of humor in women's travel narratives is discussed more extensively by McEwan and others.

²⁹ Likewise, Amelia Earhart, another experienced pilot, focuses much of her narrative, *20 Hours, 40 Min: Our Flight in the Friendship*, not on her accomplishments, but on her failings. Describing her early career as a nurse's aide, she admits that much of the job entailed being a "merry sunshine" which was "not difficult for me whose I.Q. is low enough to insure natural cheerfulness" (4). The tone of her narrative continues in a cheerful and self-deprecating manner, keeping it light and downplaying Earhart's obvious skill and accomplishments. Yet, clearly Earhart did not lack intelligence. Her determination in a field dominated by men, her many flying records and her courage and valiancy in pushing the envelope of what was capable in flight attest to that.

their publication venues, as this chapter will explain.³⁰ Both published for geographical societies where explorers and writers were predominantly male.

This seeming lack of confidence of *Exploring Women*, perhaps simply a lack of boastfulness, is often inter-mixed with a proud, yet understated sharing of accomplishments in their narratives. This mixture of praise and understatement is sometimes reflected in reviewers' and critics' oversights of the work of *Exploring Women*. That is, the understatement of their own accomplishments directly led to a lack of public recognition. At the time they were working, for instance, *Exploring Women* were not recognized primarily as *explorers*, but rather as travelers or writers or spouses of exploring men. In a review of *North to the Orient* upon its publication, reviewer Fanny Butcher, for example, emphasized Lindbergh's writing skills over her more concrete qualifications and accomplishments. Butcher writes, "She may have piloted a plane over the earth's shiny roundness; she may be a licensed radio operator and have sent messages from air that was never before pierced by dots and dashes; she may have plumbed the air as the first sailors plumbed the sea, but it is not for those adventures, unique as they are,

³⁰ Marguerite Helmers and Tilar Mazzeo have written about the erasure of the female body in women's travel texts in their introduction to *Journal of Narrative Theory's* special issue on "Travel Writing and the Body." Tim Youngs has similarly identified a self-deprecating strategy of women travelers that is paradoxically self-assertive (Mills *Gender and Colonial Space* 61). Meanwhile, Blake, one of the earliest critics to examine differences in men's and women's travel writing, saw variances in men's and women's travel writing as significantly related to the self and the other where issues of intersectionality force women travelers to fall back on privileges of race or class when issues of gender call their authority into question. Blake saw women travelers as working both within and outside of discourses or empire, as have other critics. She writes, "Thus the representation of the relationship between Self and Other in travel narratives offers both an ideal conception of empire and a critique of the conception in practice" (348). Mills and Shirley Foster in the introduction to *An Anthology of Women's Travel Writing* (2002), argue that "The difference between men's and women's travel writing does not lie in the constituents of the texts, but rather in the way that communities of readers evaluate and interpret those texts according to their social and historical positioning" (4). In other words, differences lay largely with the reception of the texts and outside of the texts themselves. While there is, then, much agreement that women travelers experience travel and imperialism in ways that are different to that of male travelers, critics still disagree on what these differences are or on how they can be accommodated or best understood.

that ‘North of the Orient’ [sic] will be remembered, but for the simplicity, the reality, the fresh, rich, unspoiled viewpoint of its author. And for her real gift for writing” (8). Butcher’s words emphasize that Lindbergh was first and foremost a writer, rather than an explorer. The title of “writer” placed Lindbergh more squarely in the confines of an appropriate professional space for a woman, while “explorer” took her out of that space and into masculine spheres that were less acceptable. Lindbergh herself takes a similar tactic when, in the preface to *North to the Orient*, she explains that she is not writing a technical manual, but rather a more personal narrative. Lindbergh claims she avoids a technical narrative because she would not “know enough to write one” (8). She defers to the skills that belong to her as a woman writer, a memoirist, but avoids claiming the technical knowledge of exploration even as she was performing that role. However, this aversion served simultaneously to emphasize her skills as she does what she claims she is unable to do: write a narrative about her surveying trip, though it is not, undoubtedly, a technical narrative.

This appearance of self-doubt and performance of insecurity is sustained through Lindbergh’s narratives despite the comfort she displays in “My Little Room” in *Listen! The Wind*. In her earlier exploration narrative, *North to the Orient*, Lindbergh frequently highlights her incompetence, attacks her lack of professional qualifications and portrays herself as un-mechanical. Certainly, Lindbergh did not have the mechanical knowledge of Charles Lindbergh when it came to repairing the aircraft or explaining its inner workings to the general public or reporters (she makes this clear throughout her narratives). Yet Lindbergh makes a rhetorical choice to emphasize this lack of knowledge and her ignorance of male, mechanical apparatuses of travel. Though

Lindbergh's assertions about her inabilities are often frustrating, and are at least partially true, they are also in some ways typical of female aviators of the time. Even if women aviators could gain access to flying lessons, "women seldom had the mechanical background" to work at an airfield due to prejudices and lack of the prerequisite skills necessary to attain an entry-level position (Corn 562). Though these prejudices in the industry made it likely for a female aviator in the 1930s to lack mechanical knowledge of the aircraft that she was perfectly capable of flying, Lindbergh's highlighting of her shortcomings does more than let her off the hook for answering technical questions. This protestation of ignorance and repudiation of male, mechanical knowledge keeps up the appearance that Lindbergh remains separate from masculine spaces (engines, front cockpit) and aligns her with feminine ones (lunchboxes, clothing).

Lindbergh had to walk a fine line to find this place of self-effacement and agency in masculine spaces. Like many Exploring Women of the time, she came from a place of privilege. Her family was white and upper class. She was the daughter of Dwight Whitney Morrow, diplomat and Mexican ambassador who later became a senator from New Jersey, and Elizabeth Cutter Morrow, the first female head of Smith College. With her marriage to Charles Lindbergh, she became half of one of the most famous all-American power couples of the 1930s. Her role as wife to a famed aviator often overshadowed her place as a pilot and explorer in her own right. Even before her transcontinental flights to the Orient and over the Atlantic, Lindbergh had distinguished herself as an aviator by becoming the first woman to earn a glider pilot's license after one day of instruction (*Hour of Gold* 9). And, with Charles as her flying instructor, she learned to fly in a Bird bi-plane and earned her pilot's license prior to the Lindberghs'

trip to the Orient (11). With women pilots “numbering at most about 500 and constituting less than a thirtieth of all aviators” in the 1920s and 1930s, Lindbergh was among an elite group (Corn 556). Her qualifications would seem to allow her space in the discourses of exploration. Yet Lindbergh, as do her cohorts, chooses to use rhetorics of self-effacement in order to justify her place as an explorer. The trick was to display competence *without getting out of place*.

In discussions of her education and lack of mechanical abilities, particularly the use of the radio, Lindbergh’s self-effacing attitude becomes most prevalent. When Charles first informs Lindbergh that she is to become the radio operator for the flight to the Orient, she protests, “Now, Charles, you know perfectly well that I can’t do that. I never passed an arithmetic examination in my life” (*North* 31). She later admits to feigning ignorance when she fails to fully understand the intricacies of radio operation. As when learning French in school, she explains, she “let the dark torrent of language stream over me without trying to stem the tide” (31). Similarly, when learning radio operation, the instructor speaks to her “as though talking to a child” and her reaction is “to sit silent, confused, listening to long explanations which one pretended to understand because one could echo the last phrase said” (32, 33). She presents herself in her narrative as an unwilling and incapable student which emphasizes how unnaturally she fits in this place. When she admits to receiving lower marks than Charles on the radio exam, she not only downplays her accomplishment, but pushes Charles into the limelight. This act shows the rhetorical choices of self-effacement that she uses throughout the narratives to place herself in a subservient role. Though it seems illogical, severely

undermining her abilities and subverting her knowledge and qualifications allow her to find and claim her place in the masculine discourse of exploration.

Lindbergh's pattern of self-effacement remains in her descriptions of her trials as a novice radio-operator. On the first radio test performed in their Lockheed Sirius, while still sitting in the hangar, the unknown radio operator with whom Lindbergh communicates confirms that she is a little heavy on the dashes "just like my wife's sending" (34). His comment and Lindbergh's recounting of it suggest that her feminine mind is apparently less capable of grasping the workings of the radio, according to her counterpart, and her feminine fingers are heavier on the key than a man's. Lindbergh seems not to disagree. In this novel, masculine form of communication, gender is apparently communicated to the receiver through the dots and dashes. Lindbergh confirms after this stuttered attempt that "there was still a good deal for me to learn" in radio communication (35). In this example, it seems particularly relevant that the unknown radio operator was aware that Lindbergh was a woman even as she sent the message. He then "perceived" her gender, and her unnaturally heavy strokes, coming through the wire. Lindbergh, for her part, seems to take this categorization as a matter of course. She is not yet a master; that is, she does not yet signal like a man, and so she will work on it.

During the Lindbergh's first takeoff in *North to the Orient*, she continues to stress her incompetence at radio operation when she cannot get the radio working on the first day's flight. She frantically tries to remember all the months of radio lessons by reciting them in her mind. Seeming to give up, she amuses herself with her attempts to remember the directions.

‘First see that the correct coils are in place.’ I knew the directions by heart. Slowly I let down the door which opened the transmitting set, and took out the two coils which were there. *MO* was printed on the back of one ; *PA*, on the other. *Master Oscillator* and *Power Amplifier*—I knew those names anyway. They were such nice, satisfactory names, one always jingling along rhythmically after the other—*Master Oscillator* (pause) *Power Amplifier*. They seem to belong inevitably together like Tweedledum and Tweedledee or Arabella and Arminta, and to complement each other like question and answer. *Master Oscillator?* *Power Amplifier.* (North 42)

Charles, from the front seat, suggests that perhaps a fuse has blown, but must show her what a fuse looks like and then reassure her that “‘the radio isn’t important from New York to Washington’” anyway (45). Despite his assurance, Lindbergh frets. “What would my instructor say—and all the newspapers! ‘Mrs. Lindbergh did not do any radio sending because she could not fit the coils into their place’” (43). On this first trip out, she comically makes clear that she has not yet become a radio expert even as they are on their way. This comedic self-mockery again emphasizes the ruptures in Lindbergh’s false mimicry. She is trying to act like a radio operator, failing miserably, and then becoming a competent radio operator, though, apparently a gendered one.

Lindbergh seems to allow little room for grace in this narrative of her foibles, though admittedly, it was her first experience using the radio while in the air. In this telling, her ineptitude stifles the radio communications and renders her as voiceless as the radio, and potentially subject to ridicule. Despite the focus on Lindbergh’s incompetence in this scene, Smith also sees a subversive undertone in Lindbergh’s descriptions of

ineptitude where “even as she [Lindbergh] reproduces the stereotype of incompetence, she undoes it, for she does learn the technology and thus enters the cockpit not as a fashionable appendage of the famous man but as a crew member responsible for radio communications” (98). Certainly, Lindbergh does become more capable as time goes on, which can be seen to align her with technology and modernity, as Smith argues that it does. Yet, the way in which Lindbergh unfurls this story from beginner to competent radio operator allows for her to gradually ease into this rhetorical space. Her telling shows her understanding of her place as an amateur and how her achievements, rather than stemming for her own hard work or competence, must be credited largely to luck or the assistance of more capable others. Her husband had to show her what a fuse looked like, after all.

Erasure of the Self

Arctic explorer Louise Boyd uses a similar strategy of self-effacement to display her accomplishments while managing to stay in her place, though her narratives are much less personal than Lindbergh’s and generally lack detail about their narrator in favor of a dry, scientific focus on the voyage and conditions of the journeys to map the Greenland coast. For Boyd, balancing accomplishment with self-effacement could be even more difficult as she was the expedition leader and financier of most of her voyages, yet not the scientific expert. She had to contend with a male captain and crew and work with professional scientists to conduct the experiments on their agenda. For Boyd, then, self-effacement not only appeased her readers and her sponsors, but a combined attitude of capability and deference made her voyages possible. When Boyd does reveal any

personal information in the narratives, she, at times, comes across as proud, but frequently tempers this with references to her inabilities.

The reticence in Boyd's narratives may be due, in part, however, to nuances of the exploration genre. While exploration narratives take many forms, Boyd's narratives take a departure from Lindbergh's and Akeley's more personal narratives. Boyd and Adams too, were publishing in venues that called for more professional distance from the audience. These venues called for a strategy where self-effacement required that *Exploring Women* erase their presence from the narratives themselves. This strategy contrasts much of women's travel writing that has been considered closely related to memoir or sentimental travel writing and that is more focused inward on the personal experience of the narrator than outward. Yet, the work of Boyd and Adams and the needs of their publishers aligned less closely with this kind of stereotypical female travel narrative.³¹ Boyd published her work as part of an AGS series while much of Adams' work was published in *The National Geographic Magazine*. Even so, Boyd's writing is collected in sections titled "Narrative" at the beginnings of her books, *The Fiord Region of East Greenland* and *The Coast of Northeast Greenland*, followed by sections written by the scientific crew on topics such as geology and hydrography. Still, while giving the

³¹ Pratt discusses sentimental travel writing as that which places the individual, the narrator, as a central subject rather than more impersonal "manners and customs" travel writing. Pratt doesn't limit this type of writing to female travel writers. Mills, however, argues that women have largely been seen as the purveyors of this type of writing. She writes, "It is hardly surprising, given this concentration on the private sphere, that many women travelers chose this narrative figure [sentimental writing] for their texts" (76), suggesting that this style may be more natural for women as they are more associated with a private domestic sphere than a public one. This critical response shows how women's narratives continue to be marked by gender even in their critique. Domosh and Seager echo the classification of women's narratives as sentimental and shaped by gender. They write, "Women [writers] generally seemed more sensitive to the concerns of women and children in other countries. And they often wrote of their own personal, emotional response to different landscapes and different cultures" (144). Clearly, the narratives of *Exploring Women*, in their association with women's travel writing, have faced this classification as personal and sentimental by their critics.

requisite and thorough play-by-play of their journeys and describing their observations about scenery, people, and flora and fauna, both Boyd and Adams are often vague about their own circumstances: how they felt, what they did, who they were with, and their motivations for travel. This lack of personal detail downplays their involvement in their own story and, thus, avoids calling attention to their presence in spaces that aren't amenable to them. Their understanding and adherence to this unwritten rule shows how they used this narrative strategy of erasure as another form of self-effacement by placing themselves in the narrative without calling attention to their presence in it.

Boyd, like Lindbergh, was clearly capable of performing her roles of expedition leader and photographer on her journeys. In addition to planning and funding her expeditions, Boyd made the most extensive catalog of photographs of the Greenland coast up to that time and served as the botanist on several of her expeditions. Despite these significant accomplishments, Boyd rarely refers to herself in her texts. When she does, she tends to compare herself unfavorably to the male scientists working with her on the expeditions. In giving an account of plant life she collected, for example, she hopes that her observations "may be of interest to botanists even though I make no claim to competence in the field of plant ecology" (*Fiord Region* 41). As Lindbergh admits her abilities improve after multiple flights, Boyd later concedes that her abilities do improve somewhat through multiple experiences in the region. However, for both *Exploring Women* these concessions to skills gained are only evident through analysis of subsequent texts. The predominant rhetorical tone remains that of self-effacement.

Both Lindbergh and Boyd use self-effacement as a form of deference, a way of apologizing for being out of place. Yet, this strategy simultaneously allows them to

inhabit that space, that is, the act of self-deprecation makes it possible for them to be there. It was necessary for Exploring Women to be competent, but not too competent. Exploring Women needed to learn, but not to surpass those (male) associates with more learning. They needed to take care of the domestic duties (like lunch) while fulfilling professional duties. Exploring Women had to be out of place, while staying in one's place. Exploring Women walked these fine lines from preparation of their journeys, to execution, to writing about their journeys in their exploration narratives. At times, reading Lindbergh's accounts of her ineptitudes leads one to wonder how she managed to make these journeys at all, much less write about them. Yet, it is only by labeling themselves as individuals with pronounced levels of incompetence that their journeys, and the narratives of them, become possible.

Adams uses a similar rhetorical strategy to Boyd by largely erasing herself from her narratives rather than calling attention to her ineptitudes. As Boyd rarely talks about herself in her narratives, Adams gives few details about herself or her life. Boyd sticks largely to a chronological play-by-play of her expeditions, explaining, in layman's terms, the geographic movement of the vessel and the scientific studies being conducted ("Frequent landings were made . . . studies were carried out . . .") (*Coast 1*). Adams drops her readers into a location, focusing largely on descriptions of people and scenery, and delving, at times, into history and economics of the places that she visits. ("The train steamed away, leaving us in the little Andean village of thatched mud huts") ("Wonderful Sights" 597). ("The traveler approaches Surinam from the sea. We had left behind the hilly coast of French Guiana, and the morning after sailing from Cayenne entered a wide, muddy channel bordered by marshy lowlands") ("Picturesque Paramaribo" 365). By

taking themselves out of their narratives, these Exploring Women perform a similar rhetorical move as Lindbergh does with her version of self-effacement. Yet, by doing so, they also disrupt expectations for their readers. Exploration narratives, like travel narratives, by nature set up an expectation that the traveler is physically present at the location being described and is an observer of the narrative's action. Marguerite Helmers and Tilar Mazzeo explain that "the implied presence of the body has been one of the ways in which travel writers guaranteed the authenticity of their accounts. As a matter of convention, travel writers have assured readers that their representations have a source in 'first-hand' or 'eye-witness' experience. As a matter of narrative posturing, the travel account insists that someone actually went somewhere" (267). While Exploring Women conform to this expectation of being physically present at the locations they are writing about, rhetorical strategies of self-effacement make this presence complicated. The movement out of domestic space and into the space of exploration must be tempered in order to justify the Exploring Woman's presence there. By downplaying this sense of presence through their erasure of the narrative self, Exploring Women are able to be present in a space that is hostile to them as Exploring Women.

Clothing and Accoutrements

In this final section, I show that the clothing and personal items of Exploring Women needed to be functional, but also needed to serve as part of their narrative persona and to support their movements through masculine discourses of exploration.³²

³² Other critics have made note of the clothing and appearance of traveling women as when Colin Baker notes that British explorer to Africa Mary Hall may not have had silk stockings, but, during her travels in Africa in 1907, she was "less of a 'tom boy' than" some other Exploring Women and "as if to emphasize her femininity, was to boast 'that she went through the heart of Africa in a muslin dress'" (13). Blake

Patricia Netzley, referring to Mary Kingsley and Florence Baker, explains that clothing suitable for Exploring Women has historically been inadequate.³³ She writes, “Women [travelers] were expected to behave in a ‘ladylike’ manner at all times, while avoiding strenuous physical exertion. Consequently, clothing and gear for such travel-related activities as hiking, mountain climbing, and horseback riding were originally designed only for male bodies” (ix). The choices, descriptions, and use of clothing and other items functioned as another rhetorical strategy where Exploring Women could mimic male explorers in dress and appearance when it suited them, but could, and sometimes needed to, reassert their gender by changing to more feminine clothing. The term cultural “code-switching” can be adapted to explain and analyze how Exploring Women moved from the persona of “explorer-traveler” to “lady” by deliberately attempting to control the reception of their traveling and narrative personas when working in masculine discourses of exploration. Detailed attention to clothing and accoutrements in their narratives

interprets Hall dismounting from her *machila* outside a hotel as being converted from a traveler to a lady (354) where Blake sees the contrast between traveler and lady as the difference between being in Africa and being in Europe. That is, the “traveler” or “explorer” persona belongs in Africa while the persona of a “lady” should be left at home in England, or in this case, is reserved for instances where other Europeans will be met. According to Blake, this transformation occurs not only in appearance, but changes who the explorer identifies with. That is, when reclining in the *machila* (her version of exploring), Hall indicates that “we approached the hotel in great form,” yet in the absurdity of dismounting from the vehicle, she laughs at the hilarity of the situation as she becomes a “lady with the Europeans’ view of such hilarity” (354). She must laugh at herself when she looks at herself through the eyes of a lady.

³³ Richard Davis in “From Conquest to Cognition” points out how men’s exploration narratives and their relationships to their travel gear evolved through the twentieth century. Post-World War I men’s exploration narratives, he says, show exploring men who “have completed their roamings—when canoes are tucked away securely above the rafters of suburban garages and the comfort of supple moccasins is sacrificed to the more stylish oxford—then they step back into their civilized roles, refreshed, rested and rich with bucolic memories and exciting stories. But there is no suggestion that they actually have been changed by their experiences” (88). These male explorers can change their clothes, hang up their gear and enter back into civilization. In contrast to later twentieth-century explorers, for whom “the distinction between playground and classroom is not so clearly marked. If anything, the emphasis is on the classroom, on learning—particularly on learning about the self” (88), and so, once everything has been “surveyed, photographed, and charted... what we get instead is a map, so to speak, of the traveller’s consciousness” (89). That is, later explorers, Davis argues, were not able to put on and take off their gear, and their experiences, so easily.

foreground the writers' femininity in terms of their relation to domestic space (or the explorer's hardiness, masculinity, and capability) but also show their ability to take on the work that a male explorer may be regularly expected to carry out. That is, a rucksack, solid boots, and—contrary to British explorer Mary Kingsley's insistence on traveling in a good, thick skirt—some hardy, weather-appropriate breeches worked well on the trail, and reflected the clothing of a typical male explorer. However, for *Exploring Women*, these choices were not adequate to all the spaces of exploration that they moved through and resided in.³⁴ Off the trail, *Exploring Women* conducted interviews and gave lectures, moving in public spaces that required different, usually more feminine, accoutrements for them to be welcome. On the surface, these differences in clothing choices seem to be due to practicality and functionality, to changes in weather and climate, and the rigors of travel on expeditions versus the need to preserve social niceties and cultural expectation in public. The peaks of the Andes surely require different gear than a Washington D.C., drawing room. Yet, the clothing choices of *Exploring Women* reflect more than practical or even cultural considerations. Rather, they reflect a strategy of deliberately shifting one's persona when working in masculine discourses. That is, to be able to carry out their work and to be heard, they needed to dress the part.

Clothing choices, though, were complicated by the multiple spaces of exploration. The geographical spaces of exploration extended from the jungle and the mountain top where *Exploring Women* could mimic the dress of male explorers (or not), and into the public spaces that explorers occupied before and after their journeys: media conferences,

³⁴ Kingsley, on her journeys, showed that even a woman in Victorian style of feminine dress—she never “went native” or tried to portray herself as a man—could slog through the rivers and swamps of Africa and return in one piece. She famously retorted that her “good, thick skirt” saved her from certain death when she fell in a hole filled with spikes.

interview locations, and public lecture halls. In these spaces, Exploring Women did not have the choice to copy male explorers and faced pressure to perform their female gender if they wanted to be heard. Shifting from space to space required this deliberate code-switching represented by Exploring Women's clothing and accoutrements. Given this context, clothing and appearance became for Exploring Women a response to competing pressures of how they were labeled and how they chose to label themselves. Their choice of clothing, accessories, and personal items served as strategies to shift their narrative persona in the multiple spaces of exploration.

Lindbergh spends a significant amount of time in her narratives focused on her clothing. Two issues of significant note impacted her choices of clothing and accoutrements. The first was available space and the second was the media. In the text of her narratives as well as in the detailed appendix, Lindbergh cataloged her personal items that were limited by weight restrictions that necessitated minimalist packing. Her "PERSONAL FLYING EQUIPMENT (ORIENT FLIGHT—1931)" consisted of the following:

- 2 flying suits—electrically heated
- 2 pr. flying boots (sheepskin lined)
- 2 pr. heavy wool socks
- 2 pr. light wool socks
- 2 winter helmets
- 2 summer helmets
- 2 pr. goggles
- 2 pr. mittens (wool lined)

ear cotton

2 life preservers (collapsible)

personal clothing (*North* 249)

This list reflects characteristic flying gear of the time which was required in the open cockpit airplanes and cold temperatures that she encountered, though Lindbergh packed for appearance and publicity as well as practicality.³⁵ Her clothing choices became an extension of her persona demonstrating how acutely aware she was of her own visibility. In addition to her flying gear she was allowed eighteen pounds of personal equipment, including the weight of the suitcase itself. Within this weight limit she made sure to include silk stockings and a dress. This was not simply vanity on Lindbergh's part. She would need these items upon landing at her destination in order to transform from Exploring Woman to lady. She could count on the media being present and her clothing choices being scrutinized whenever the landing site was accessible.

During a trans-Atlantic voyage from Africa to South America, the eighteen pounds of personal equipment was whittled to twelve ounces. Lindbergh discarded most of her items, but included a small bundle: "besides my flying clothes, one silk dress, a pair of stockings and a linen hat, wound up in a roll" (*Listen* 212). Thankfully, Lindbergh had her silk dress and stockings to wear when she landed in Brazil so that she would not have to present herself in her flying gear. Conscious of her image, Lindbergh made an effort to ready her appearance before landing. She describes her in-cockpit

³⁵ According to Graham Rood in "A Brief History of Flying Clothing," "a Sidcot suit, a leather coat or just overalls were the normal wear for civilian" pilots in the inter-war years (14). A Sidcot "suit had three layers, a thin lining of fur, a layer of airproof silk, and an outside layer of light Burberry material, all made into a one-piece" (8). Also, boots, helmets, and goggles were standard, and often pilots wore gear that was electrically heated. Of note, Rood's article does not address distinct clothing needs of, nor reference, women pilots.

transformation as she and her husband were “spiraling down fast” to touch down. She just had time to “fix up a little. Water on the handkerchief. Wipe my face. Comb my hair. Put on the helmet again and fasten the seatbelt for landing” (259). Lindbergh was not unique among women explorer-aviators in this need to transform appearances by code-switching. Many “believed figure-veiling, unfashionable flight suits repelled many non-flying women, while helmets and goggles, with their obvious protective qualities, suggested discomfort if not danger” (Corn 566). Even Amelia Earhart went so far as to fly in “simple blouses and tailored slacks” (566) to keep up appearances. For female aviators like Lindbergh who were trying both to accomplish their task of piloting an aircraft as well as to create an image of safety and domesticity, clothing became an extension of the flyer.³⁶ These dual needs made clothing choices (and baggage choices) complicated for Exploring Women. Clothing required for exploration needed to fit and be durable, be not too intimidating nor too masculine, while clothing for a woman’s public persona needed to communicate femininity, but capability. And it all needed to fit in the suitcase.

Exploring Women balanced these multiple personas on and off the trail and changed them to suit the space and their audience. Lindbergh’s persona was particularly complicated because of her media presence. A media darling in her day, Lindbergh always needed to be prepared to be on camera and to make an appearance for the crowds and fans who gathered for her and her husband’s public appearances. The media paid scrupulous attention to what she wore and she worked hard to keep her feminine persona

³⁶ Indeed, Lindbergh had the burden of attempting to make flying look easy by dressing the part of a domestic flyer (*North* 39). Putting women in the cockpit in ordinary clothing, rather than strange-looking flying suits made it look like anyone could fly—good publicity for the burgeoning airlines industry.

intact. Spaces of exploration off the trail, public spaces, often required Exploring Women to “dress up.” Dressing up involved shedding the accoutrements and persona of the explorer in the wilderness in order to reinforce their gender in spaces that required them to conform to certain standards of femininity. Dressing up was not just a nicety, but enabled women’s voices to be heard because it showed, like the other strategies discussed in their chapter, that Exploring Women understood their place. And the media paid attention. For example, when giving a radio address about flood relief in China after the Lindberghs’ return from the Orient, for example, a newspaper article about the event in *The New York Times* described how Lindbergh “was dressed in a simple black wool dress lightened with touches of white at the neck and on the sleeves. She wore a black felt hat” (“Mrs. Lindbergh Aids China Flood Appeal” 18). Significantly, this report on her clothing was given in the article prior to her thoughts on flood relief.

Necessary interactions with the media made these choices even more complex. Lindbergh’s unease in these interactions shows the difficulties she faced in navigating between these spaces. Male explorers like Amundsen, Scott, and Shackleton were media celebrities in the days before Lindbergh and her cohorts, as was her husband, Charles Lindbergh. Yet, few Exploring Women had achieved that level of fame and recognition for their achievements. While reporters hounded Lindbergh as she and her husband were preparing to depart on their trip to the Orient, she tried several times to turn them away or refer them to Charles with “I’m sorry, I really haven’t anything to say” (*North* 38). But they persisted. She describes one such interaction in *North to the Orient*. ““Oh, Mrs. Lindbergh,’ said one [reporter], ‘the women of America are so anxious to know about your clothes.’ ‘And I,’ said the other, ‘want to write a little article about your

housekeeping in the ship. Where do you put the lunch boxes?” (39) Lindbergh confesses that after exchanges like this one, “I felt depressed, as I generally do when women reporters ask me conventionally feminine questions. I feel as they must feel when they are given those questions to ask. I feel slightly insulted” (39). She laments that “Over in the corner my husband is being asked vital, masculine questions, clean-cut steely technicalities or broad abstractions, I would not be able to answer, so perhaps I do not deserve anything better” (39). Notably, she does not use this time to put forward her qualifications, talk about the upcoming adventures, discuss her role in the flight, or the months of work that she has put into the trip. Instead, she silently stew, but defers the “vital, masculine questions” to her husband (39). In this interaction, she practices a similar rhetoric of self-effacement as in other parts of her narrative. Here, though, issues of her relationship to domestic space and how she maintains a feminine persona culminate in questions about clothing and lunchboxes. Though she asserts in exchanges like these that she is “insulted,” she simultaneously admits that she shuns the limelight and that she would rather stay in the shadows of the hangar than be asked any questions about the trip. She has difficulty reconciling her roles of Exploring Women and lady, or media darling, in these interactions. The novelty of her gender in the environment of aviation makes her unable to simply observe without being observed.

By participating in the “mundane” acts, like dressing the part, that make up her gendered identity, Lindbergh constructs a public persona that attempts to both fit the accepted role of domestic female and encompass her roles as aviator, travel writer, and explorer. Lindbergh shows awareness that her public persona did not just reflect on her as an individual. It reflected on her husband, aviation’s dream boy, as well as aviation as

an industry. Though she frequently places herself in the role of subordinate in her narratives, as professionally ignorant, she simultaneously demonstrates frustration and disgust with that role. Lindbergh's conflicted media image emphasizes the difficulties she faced working in the discourse of exploration, particularly in navigating its public spaces, where mimicry became even more complex due to gender expectations.

In contrast to Lindbergh, Adams seldom gives details about her own appearance in her writing. However, traveling in Cuzco, Peru, on the Adams' trip in 1904-06, she finds it funny when her typical traveling costume is questioned by some local people: She explains: "The day after our arrival we were greeted (in Spanish) by a gentleman whom we met in the hotel dining-room with the startling question, 'Do you belong to the circus or the theater?' As the ladies of Cuzco do not wear short skirts, khaki jackets, high boots, and sombreros, I told Mr. Adams it was 'up to me'" (*Cuzco*, 688). In her retort, Adams emphasizes that she was wearing the strange outfit by choice. Certainly this outfit would be unladylike back home, but even in the space of exploration this outfit is questioned when Adams moves from the trail to the public space of a hotel dining room. This example shows some blurring of expectations when it comes to dress for Exploring Women, but also shows the policing of women's clothing that Exploring Women were subject to in multiple settings.³⁷ Adams, understanding these restrictions, saved this outfit for occasions when she was traveling, usually in South America. Back at home,

³⁷ Davis notes that Adams' feelings on appropriate dress for exploration shifted as her interest in women's issues increased. Prior to 1915, Davis says, Adams believed that women explorers should dress and act in a feminine manner no matter where they were, "even in the jungles of South America or climbing the highest peaks in the Andes" ("Forgotten Life" 38). In a 1921 interview, however, Adams indicated that she dressed in breeches and a "masculine costume" when traveling (38). Davis views this as a "radical change in Adams' attitude about the boundaries, symbolized by acceptable clothing, within which women were expected to remain" (38).

particularly on the lecture circuit where she made frequent appearances, she dressed in a decidedly more acceptably feminine manner. Her instincts for code-switching were exceptional.

Rothenberg explains how Adams “deployed her femininity to successful advantage in her career in a man’s field . . . [where] [l]ectures were her forte, and she enjoyed being on the lecture circuit” (144). Adams’ transformation between the traditional spaces of exploration and public spaces closer to home put her audience and even her publishers at ease. This space of the lecture circuit was often a vital one for *Exploring Women*, allowing them to share and to gain recognition for their work. Spatially, however, it was complicated. Lecture halls were public spaces (usually the domain of men), but in them, *Exploring Women* needed to present themselves as feminine (to ensure that they were aware of their role in this space), yet they were sharing stories of their adventures in decidedly unfeminine spaces of exploration (jungles, highlands, swamps). Code-switching helped *Exploring Women* navigate these multi-functional spaces. Rothenberg explains:

Adams’s femininity was unthreatening on two levels. First, the idea of femininity encompasses accommodation and acquiescence, set in opposition to masculine aggression. Second, while a masculine woman would have been out of the bounds of the bifurcated gender system, Adams’s gender presentation suggested that being an explorer was only in addition to—not instead of—her being a ‘normal’ feminine woman” (146).

In fact, people who saw Adams during her lectures in the U.S. “were amazed that this petite woman, elegantly dressed, could have roughed it in wild countries” (Tinling 6).

Strategically employing feminine dress and mannerisms allowed Adams this important venue for her work, and, as discussed later in Chapter 4, gives her a public audience when she was largely barred from presenting in other male-dominated scientific and exploratory circles. Even the use of such a seemingly benign word as “petite” is significant here. Their petite frames allowed Exploring Women to appear less threatening, and less masculine, allowing them to maintain their feminine persona despite their rugged profession. At the same time, being physically small made it much harder for Exploring Women to outfit themselves on the trail since most rugged gear was not made for women.

Though she only infrequently references her own appearance in her numerous *National Geographic Magazine* articles, Adams was a little more forthcoming when she wrote for *Ladies Home Journal* in 1916. Upon meeting some local women in Bolivia, she laments:

I am sorry I did not wear the garb of civilization. Think what an impression a long white gown and a big white hat would have made! How they looked me over, felt me, laughed at me—these maids of the wilds! Did they envy me my shabby corduroy suit and rain-stained sombrero? Or did they think their bark-skin skirts better looking and their heavy necklaces of monkey and jaguar teeth the real thing in the way of ornamentation? . . . I’m inclined to believe they thought me ridiculous. (104)

This reference to a long white gown and big white hat is likely a nod to May French-Sheldon, a nineteenth century American explorer of Africa and travel writer who styled herself as the “White Queen” as she greeted African chiefs (or, as she called them,

“sultans”) in her extravagant white court gown. Tracey Jean Boisseau in the introduction to the 2016 re-issue of French Sheldon’s *Sultan to Sultan: Adventures Among the Masai and Other Tribes of East Africa* (1892) discusses “French-Sheldon’s claim that Africans received her as a ‘white queen’ partly in response to her very deliberate performance of the role” (7). In other words, her ownership of the role made it believable and acceptable. Adams’ reference to French Sheldon here seems to acknowledge her understanding that Exploring Women needed to make their performance of their roles believable in the multiple spaces of exploration in order to achieve their ends. In Adams’ Bolivia example, she seems to be aware that the local women may have been more impressed with her and more awestruck had she dressed like French Sheldon. They may even have been less inclined to laugh at her. However, Adams’ choice not to wear a full-length white court dress while trekking in the Andes, despite the precedent set by her American explorer fore-mother, suggests that she takes a more practical tack in her travel gear and is less concerned with inspiring awe than in getting to her destination. Despite this difference in the two women and the seemingly greater practicability of Adams’ attire, she, like French Sheldon, was still performing for the locals. She seems to enjoy being laughed at for appearing a bit absurd, but she expresses a freedom of dress here that she would be unable to replicate back home if she wanted her work to be taken seriously. She can relay this story in her narrative or on the lecture circuit, but must dress the part of a feminine Exploring Woman in public spaces back home.

Like Adams, Boyd could switch seemingly seamlessly between “explorer” and “lady” as the situation dictated. Boyd, however, had the added burden belonging to a higher social class which required more keeping up of appearances. A popular

photograph of Boyd from 1926 (prior to her scientific expeditions to Greenland), reprinted on the cover of the *Marin County Historical Society Magazine*'s 1987 tribute issue to Boyd, demonstrates how she was frequently portrayed in the contemporary press. The photograph displays her posed in front of a deceased, but towering, polar bear, teeth bared, tongue-lolling, and hanging from a rope. Boyd stands in knee boots, gun-in-hand, looking the part of the determined hunter, matter-of-fact and unafraid. The caption that often accompanies this photograph boasts that Boyd's party shot twenty-nine polar bears on a hunting expedition to the Arctic. This image is contrasted on the same magazine cover with a 1925 photograph of her posed in profile, looking regal in her finery, including a headdress with veil and a cape falling majestically to the floor behind her, properly attired and ready to be introduced at the Court of St. James. The side-by-side photographs emphasize the many roles of Boyd and, more specifically, the contrast between Boyd as socialite, presiding over her life which revolved around her California mansion and the society of San Rafael, California, and Boyd as rugged explorer, attired in Arctic gear with gun, or camera, in hand. Though both portrayals of Boyd were available at the time she was working, the magazine cover's juxtaposition of these two images emphasizes the contrasting personas of Exploring Women and provides a sense of the makeover Exploring Women endured and cultivated in order to both *perform* and *present* their work.

Though not referencing clothing specifically, Domosh and Seager point out that "Examining how people organize their most everyday spaces . . . is often related to how they think about and relate to each other in terms of gender" (xix-xx). They continue, "It is precisely the taken-for-grantedness of roles and behaviors in our homes that makes

their embedded gender politics so powerful” (xx). This assessment that much of gender roles and behaviors are taken for granted shows that Exploring Women, in inhabiting multiple spaces, needed to be more aware of and more deliberate about performing their gender roles. The intersection of clothing and space was one place where Exploring Women could only mimic to a point. While male explorers were allowed and encouraged to remain “male” on their expeditions as well as in their narratives and appearances, Exploring Women needed to code-switch between presenting themselves as masculine, that is rugged and hardy as well as practical, in spaces of exploration and yet feminine, that is demure, tidy, and elegant, in public spaces closer to home. This can be seen in Lindbergh’s cataloging of her clothing on her flight in *Listen! The Wind* with the focus on her appearance when arriving at her destination and the necessity of shedding the “masculine” flight suit in exchange for the more “feminine” stockings and skirt; in Adams’ comical outfits; and in the contrast of Boyd’s on- versus off-expedition attire. Exploring women needed to assert themselves as female in their public appearance and make assurances that they were holding up feminine ideals in order to be seen and heard. In undertaking their journeys, they need to switch back into the roles of aviator, scientist, and explorer.³⁸ These examples of code-switching by Exploring Women show that

³⁸ An important aspect of code-switching, deliberate cross-dressing, is not addressed in these examples of Exploring Women. For some women travelers donning male attire while traveling was practical for safety or ease of travel while others wanted to gain access to places otherwise inaccessible. The Exploring Women that are discussed here were not attempting to pose as males while traveling, but were, in contrast, adopting masculine personas of exploration to navigate masculine discourses related to exploration. Koo remarks that a century apart Jane Dieulafoy, archaeologist, and Sarah Hobson, travel writer and activist, both cross-dressed while traveling in Persia. She makes a distinction between Dieulafoy, whom she sees as “implicitly appropriating the Western male traveller’s gaze” and Hobson whose cross-dressing is messier and who, in her narrative, shows a continued unease with her disguise. Hobson, for Koo, is able to “explore her inner, ambivalent subjectivity” by first putting on, then revealing her disguise and, by residing in this place between the masculine and feminine narrative subjects, is able to bring about encounters that “at least for a moment, questions the colonizer/colonized, male/female, Christian/Muslim binaries” that set up such travel narratives (“(Wo)men travellers”).

masculine discourses of exploration continue to dictate where and how women's bodies can occupy masculine spaces and how they covered themselves when they were in those spaces.

CHAPTER 3

SHARING THE LIMELIGHT: THE SELF AND THE OTHER

“A wretched mortal was I,” writes explorer and climber Annie Smith Peck when she is forced to abandon her ascent of Mt. Illampu in Bolivia in 1903, only one day from the summit. She ascribes her failure to the faintheartedness of her all-male cast of traveling companions: “Indian” porters who “would not ascend the mountain on account of the depth of the snow”; the Professor, a hired scientist who was to conduct experiments for the expeditions but who “had not sufficient time” before he must return for the fall term; and two Swiss climbing guides who “would not go without another man” (50, 52). As she comes to the realization that the expedition must be given up and that, if she is to try again, she must return to La Paz and engage new help, Peck becomes, in turn, infuriated and heartbroken by the situation. She writes:

I turned to the guides and proposed that we should carry the things up ourselves. ‘Impossible!’ said M----- [the lead guide] most emphatically. I therefore awaited the return of the Professor, who, when he saw the retreating indians [sic] below, came back to inquire the cause. He also asked M----- if we could not go by ourselves. ‘Impossible!’ again said M----- . At Umpasa the Professor had declared that if we could not obtain indian porters, of which for a time there seemed doubt, he and the guides would carry the things up. When I had said, ‘Do you think you can?’ he had answered, ‘Certainly.’ So now I eagerly awaited his response. ‘That settles it!’ he cried; and now indeed my heart sank. Three men

against me, one of whom was ill all night and not eaten a morsel of breakfast. Could I ask him to carry up loads when he did not offer? Could I over-rule M----- who knew the way and pronounced it impossible? simply reiterating, 'I told you we must have soldiers.' Never before had I felt so helpless. Heart-sick I said nothing. It was not a question of my own capabilities. I could climb, but certainly I could not carry up tents, sleeping bags, etc. To manage three men seemed beyond my power. Perhaps some of my more experienced married sisters would have done better. (51)

This anecdote of failure begins Peck's mountaineering tale, *A Search for the Apex of America: High Mountain Climbing in Peru and Bolivia including the Conquest of Huascarán, with some Observations on the Country and People Below* (1911). Despite their apparent incompetence at the foot of the mountain, Peck is reluctant to travel without white Western male companions for practical reasons. She feels she needs male protection due to potential safety hazards among the sometimes "hostile Indians," she needs professional guidance to find the best path up the mountain and a professional scientist to lead the scientific observations that she has planned. In spite of this, Peck is infuriated by her companions' ineptitude and lack of enthusiasm and commitment. This passage demonstrates her angst and frustration with the necessity of having male companions on her expeditions and leads her to vow to abandon this dependence on male guides and scientists and to set off "alone" (with new Indian porters) on a second attempt in 1904.³⁹

³⁹ Peck's abrasive attitude has been noted by Adams' biographer, Davis, in *The Forgotten Life of Harriet Chalmers Adams: Geographer, Explorer, Feminist* (91, note 15) and by Rothenberg, also writing about Adams, who labeled Peck as someone who managed to alienate nearly everyone she met" (147). Labeling Peck in such a way, though it may be accurate in some respects, serves to diminish the effects of her

Yet, Peck goes back on this promise to herself and takes on a *cholo* guide and a paid companion in 1904, an Austrian man who is “capable of managing the indians and possessed of considerable skill and judgment in climbing, for an amateur of his limited experience” (155).⁴⁰ Two thousand feet from the summit, the two men refuse to go on. Peck initially declares she will continue without them, until, upon reaching a difficult crevasse, she finds that she is truly alone: “Turning, then, for the first time to summon to my aid the cholo, who when I set out had been tied on the other end of the rope, I saw to my horror and disgust the rope trailing idly on the snow, the two men where I had left them” (150). Peck, realizing the danger she is in, grudgingly retraces her steps and the second expedition fails to summit. During this second attempt, Peck continuously reminds the reader of the fallibilities of her previous companions as well as her present ones and laments, “Oh, how I longed for a man with the pluck and determination to stand by me to the finish!” Peck, in her narrative, always presses on while her companions stammer and hesitate, and, ultimately, doom the expeditions. It seems of little consolation to Peck that, between these two attempts on Mt. Illampu, she successfully summits El Misti, Peru, in 1903, with a local guide and one male companion whom she brought along because, she remarks, going with the guide alone “would be undeniably dull” (80). Downcast, but not deterred, she abandons her second failed expedition to summit Mt. Illampu to make an attempt on Huascarán.⁴¹

struggle to work in masculine discourses, and reminds one of modern day women in politics (or elsewhere) who are labeled as “bitches” rather than as assertive when working to even the playing field.

⁴⁰ Though “*cholo*” has varying meanings and connotations in different Latin American cultures and in different time periods, and is usually used today in a derogatory sense, Peck uses the word to indicate that she takes on a guide with mixed Spanish and Indian heritage.

⁴¹ Peck titles the chapter that describes this second failed attempt “Ascent of Illampu. Almost But Not Quite” which seems to celebrate the near miss while acknowledging that the expedition fell short (137). The irony here is not lost. Peck, almost, but not quite, summited Mt. Illampu, and almost, but not quite,

The conundrum of whether and how to travel “alone” is a common point of anxiety for Exploring Women. Male companions provide “muscle” for the heavy lifting, ensure safety from hostile others, and contribute their education and knowledge to the work of the expedition. Perhaps more importantly, male companions influence an Exploring Woman’s credibility, independence, and social status. With these considerations in mind, an Exploring Woman’s choice of traveling companions was no light matter. Indeed, the idea of a woman traveling alone has a fraught history. While traveling without male companions could, on the surface, increase difficulties like portaging the loads of the expedition, underneath, it could also lead to accusations of amateurism, or even sexual looseness.⁴² Peck, in this example, waivers between her need for these companions and her desire for independence, yet, ultimately, despite choosing to travel with male companions, shows that they prove a burden to meeting her goals. Peck’s comparisons between herself and her male companions portray Peck as the capable and competent explorer who struggles to go on, while the men who turn back come across as amateurs.

Peck’s frustration with and portrayal of the ineptitude of her male traveling companions as incompetent and even fearful displays an additional strategy Exploring Women employed to work in the masculine discourses of exploration. In this example,

fulfilled her expedition goals, and almost, but not quite, earned the title of highest elevation for a woman mountaineer. (She lost this honor to Fanny Bullock Workman). Exploring Women like Peck found themselves celebrating myriad near misses in their quests to become serious explorers and often fell just short of the expectations for what an explorer should be due to the incompatibility of their gender with the masculine discourses within which they were working.

⁴² Peck, in an unusual move, helped carry baggage on the second trip up Mt. Illampu. She writes: “On account of the large quantity of baggage that must be carried, contrary to my previous custom and intention I assist a little, taking my 4 x 5 camera, an aneroid, and two small bags; not very much, but a good deal for me, as to carry anything depending from my shoulders has always been very wearisome to me, and I long ago vowed, after carrying a camera up a small mountain, that I would never do such a thing again, as I need all my strength for the climb” (144-5).

and in her narrative, Peck does not attempt to mimic her male counterparts (whom she describes as clearly inept). Rather, in bringing out their faults in contrast to her own strengths as an explorer, she creates a tension between what they *are* and what they *could be*. She should be aspiring to be like them, to mimic them, but they fall short as role models. They have all the advantages, while Peck, from her perspective, is hindered by her gender which requires that she bring these incompetent men with her in the first place. Yet, it is Peck who puts together the expedition, Peck who urges them on, and Peck who gives in and carries up some of her own baggage (clearly a man's job, she makes clear). In contrast to Anne Morrow Lindbergh's and others' use of self-effacement, which used their own incompetence as a strategy to highlight their capabilities, as discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter shows how some Exploring Women built their credibility by instead disparaging their male companions and, in doing so, showing the woman's capabilities. Whatever failures or inadequacies these women might have, they demonstrate that their male companions are somehow inferior. Peck, for example, takes countless opportunities in her narrative to remind the reader that she is continually forced to pick up the slack: You are sleeping in; I am getting up early. You are afraid of the Indians; I am not. You think it is too cold; I am bundled up and prepared.

For some Exploring Women, companions were not just colleagues but spouses, adding additional complexity to the relationship. Delia Akeley in *Jungle Portraits* (1930), for instance, uses similar rhetorical strategies to Peck when talking about her former spouse, taxidermist Carl Akeley, and their expeditions in Africa. Though she at times portrays them as partners, Akeley sets herself up as more capable than her spouse

by frequently focusing on Carl Akeley's weak constitution. She describes how her husband was severely wounded on their second major expedition, leaving Akeley to both care for him and to continue their work of collecting specimens for the American Museum of Natural History of New York. Akeley shows no qualms about displaying his inadequacies for her readers. In doing so, she ultimately displays her capabilities as an explorer. For example, after witnessing one of their porters killed by a crocodile while crossing a river, Carl is taken ill. Akeley writes:

Shortly after dinner that night Mr. Akeley suffered a sudden chill, and hastily retired to his cot. Still an invalid [from being mauled previously by an elephant], the shock of the tragedy affected his nerves and left him in no condition to resist the sudden attack of his old enemy, malaria.

Despite the suffocating heat of the breathless night, it required two hot-water bottles, all the blankets we possessed, and several cups of scalding hot tea to lessen his temperature and stop the chattering of his teeth.

When he finally dozed I left his side and kept my vigil just outside the door of his tent. (136)

This passage sets up the contrast of the invalid Carl and the vigilant and capable Akeley. She seems unfazed, or at least not taken ill, by the earlier events and is left to keep watch over him and the camp. The description of the impact to his nerves is particularly telling, as "an attack of the nerves" feminizes Carl, juxtaposing the Akeleys' gender roles on the expedition. She cannot aspire to be like him if he is weaker and more feminine and thus less linked to the masculine discourses of exploration.

With these examples in mind, the first part of this chapter examines the strategies Exploring Women used to work with (or reconcile themselves to) their (usually male) traveling companions, and how these companions affected the women's portrayals of themselves in their narratives and their credibility and capability as explorers. I focus first on strategies used by Exploring Women traveling with male colleagues and then examine the strategies employed by women traveling with spouses.⁴³ In the second part of this chapter, I focus on strategies that Exploring Women employed in response to working within masculine discourses of imperialism that defined "foreign" people as Other. This was particularly problematic for Exploring Women as they were subject to Othering in relation to Western men both back home and in exploration. Exploring Women employed strategies to position themselves in relation to indigenous people where there were differences in race, class, and sometimes gender and where these relationships were influenced by the imperial context. These strategic choices both aligned and alienated Exploring Women from masculine discourses of exploration and imperialism. These interactions are important in the context of this discussion because the women used them to argue, however subtly, for their own capabilities as explorers.

McEwan addresses this difficulty of reconciling white women's place in imperialism in her discussion of Western women traveling in west Africa, particularly in

⁴³ Outside of the group of women examined here, many Exploring Women from this time and earlier traveled with their spouses on exploratory and scientific missions. Yet, with a few notable exceptions, only a small percentage of women were credited for their work as explorers, often remaining the figure behind the famous man. While most of these women traveled with male authority figures, they wrote and published their own narratives which allowed them to tell their own stories from their own perspectives, and to take credit for and gain authority from their work. Despite what Mills describes as the "discursive pressures on production and reception which female writers have to negotiate" (*Discourses* 6), writing their narratives allowed these women to determine to some extent how much credit they got for their travels and explorations in contrast to the multitude of women who traveled as companions to their husbands and who shared in their work, but who remain silent and often unacknowledged.

relation to marginalized indigenous people. She explains, “The ambivalent location of white women in what Gikandi (122-3) terms the ‘colonial economy of representation’ has created a ‘complicity/resistance’ dialectic, whereby the empire paradoxically became the setting for increased opportunities and liberation for women who, given their subordinate positions in the metropolises, found it impossible to unconditionally valorize the imperial voice” (12). Exploring Women struggle with this dialectic. While they find it necessary to employ strategies to work in masculine discourses of exploration and imperialism that exclude them on based on gender, as explorers they experience freedoms and opportunities largely inaccessible to immobile women. Their complex interactions with indigenous people reflect an understanding, in some cases a denial, of the hierarchy created by imperialism and their place in it. The strategies they employ to work in exploration, their use of mimicry, set them apart from indigenous people, while mimicry’s inherent burden of “almost, but not quite” shows how their ambivalent position relates to that of indigenous people. Though I combine two perspectives of “othering” in this chapter, Exploring Women as “Other” to their white Western male companions and Exploring Women’s relationship to the “foreign” Other, I focus on the strategies that Exploring Women used when interacting with and relating to both traveling companions and indigenous others and how that impacted Exploring Women’s work in masculine discourses of exploration and imperialism.

Traveling Companions

Traveling with male companions forced Exploring Women of the early twentieth century to negotiate their authority and credibility within masculine discourses of

exploration even more intentionally than they did when traveling alone. Specifically, women like Peck and Akeley promoted their companion's vulnerabilities to favorably compare their own accomplishments, abilities, and hardiness as explorers, and to show that, as women, they were more than fit for the job. Peck and Louise Boyd never married and traveled, in some sense, "alone," that is, with male companions as guides, colleagues or crew, but without explorer-husbands. Harriet Chalmers Adams, Akeley, and Lindbergh were, in some ways, fortunate to have husbands who approved of and enabled their pursuits and who traveled with them on at least some of their journeys. (One can only speculate about the numbers of potential Exploring Women who were not able to travel because of unsupportive spouses.) They, like many traveling women of the time, found advantages to traveling with a spouse for a companion, despite newer transportation systems and emerging freedoms for some women that made independent travel more possible for women with financial means, freedom from family obligations, and class advantages.

Yet, for some Exploring Women, the title of traveling "alone" was a badge of honor.⁴⁴ Women who traveled "alone" could claim their achievements for themselves in ways that women who traveled with spouses often could not or did not. In her study of women travelers working in the sciences, Lila Marz Harper (2001) uses as a criterion for inclusion women whom she defines as traveling "alone" which, she argues, allowed

⁴⁴ Some earlier Exploring Women became well-known for traveling "alone." For example, French-Sheldon and Mary Kingsley, both travelers to Africa, emphasized that they were traveling as women alone to these dangerous places though both traveled in the company of native servants or companions who carried their luggage and belongings, and, in French Sheldon's case, frequently carried *her* in her custom-designed palanquin. Yet, this emphasis on independent travel separated Exploring Women from other women traveling to colonial areas who arrived as wives of imperial administrators or as missionaries (though some missionaries, like Mary Slessor, were often very much alone).

women to gain a voice of authority in their scientific activities. She focuses on those who “are self-supporting, dependent on their own production for their livelihood” in order to produce “a sympathetic understanding of career obstacles and a heightened awareness of what it took to write professionally in a non-supportive atmosphere” (17). Though women gained some benefit, such as safety, help with physical labor, and access, from traveling with a spouse or other male companion, Exploring Women were also working in a largely “non-supportive atmosphere” hindered by those companions who limited their decision-making abilities and sometimes took credit for their work and writing. How Exploring Women strategically positioned themselves in relation to their traveling companions, as partners, as enemies, and as teams, affected the Exploring Women’s ability to work as explorers. Exploring Women also positioned themselves against the impressions of other colonizing and imperial women. Earlier Exploring Women such as British explorer Mary Hall, who crossed Africa, and May French-Sheldon, famous for her fancy palanquin and long white dress, were often perceived as being carried about by African porters. In opposition to these earlier Victorian travelers, twentieth-century American explorers showed themselves to be hardy, fit, and not at all physically fragile. Comparing and contrasting themselves with their male traveling companions allowed them to prove that they could work in the masculine discourses of exploration as well as the men could.

Colleagues

One of the clearest places Exploring Women can be seen to negotiate with male counterparts and depicting them as inferior is when unmarried women are travelling with

colleagues. Here the tendency is for the Exploring Woman to display the inadequacies of her companions to show her own capabilities and, thus, to assert her own agency as an explorer despite the masculine discourses at work that often dictate that she travel with a male companion. The best examples of this negotiation with male traveling companions come from Peck and Boyd. While they both rely on their male companions for reasons of safety and expertise, they both show a desire to gain their independence. Peck does this by disparaging the incompetence of her companions, while Boyd attempts to strike a balance between her own capabilities as an explorer and the acknowledgment of the expertise of her companions within the space of her expeditions.

Annie Smith Peck and her unreliable companions

Annie Smith Peck certainly saw the appeal of traveling alone as she wrote, “One of the pleasantest and most profitable features of travel is meeting interesting people of different nationalities. From this point of view the solitary traveller has an advantage, for a person alone is more apt to make acquaintances” (105-6). Despite this observation, Peck, in her attempts to climb Mt. Illampu in 1903 and 1904, felt compelled to bring male traveling companions with her both for safety and service. Male companions could do some of the heavy lifting and, like the Professor and Swiss climbing guides who accompanied her in her first attempt, had expertise that could be brought to bear in the expedition. In this first attempt, Peck planned ahead and hired these companions specifically for their expertise and for safety; she indicates that climbing alone, that is with only indigenous companions as guides and porters, would be an unsafe option for an older, single woman in areas where the indigenous people were understood to be hostile

to outsiders. With this in mind, the Swiss climbing guides were meant to find the best route to the summit, while the Professor was hired expressly to help her with such tasks as checking elevation and atmospheric pressure at different elevations. Unfortunately for the fate of the expedition, the Professor falls ill with presumed altitude sickness and, sensing his reluctance to proceed, the “indian” porters quite suddenly determine that there is too much snow to proceed. Peck attributes their reticence to the lack of direction from a “stern man” (50). As they assumed the Professor was the expedition leader, without his guidance or direction, they turn back. The Professor is reluctant to intervene in their departure or to proceed due to illness and his desire to leave the country the following week; the Swiss guides are, likewise, reluctant to proceed without a male client. With this wall of male opposition against her, Peck is unable to compel the expedition to proceed.

When her companions on this first attempt prove unworthy, Peck considers making an independent attempt on the mountain after a brief return to La Paz, but the lateness of the climbing season and deteriorating weather render this impossible and she returns to New York for the winter. In 1904, Peck returns to Bolivia to try for Mt. Illampu again, but this time relies on enlisting help from expatriates in the region. She employs Mr. Sintich, an Austrian living in La Paz, “the only discoverable man in the place who had had any experience in snow climbing” and who expressed an interest in her goal (133). Though Peck often deferred to his judgment, and the guides took him to be the expedition leader (as the guides had deferred to the Professor the previous year), he also proves unworthy of the climb and forces Peck to abandon the second attempt only 2000 feet from the summit. Peck foreshadows this outcome in her description of Sintich:

“What the gentleman lacked in experience he obviously made up in confidence. How far the confidence was justified time alone would show. All I could do was to go ahead and hope for the best” (134). Peck again labels a failed attempt as the fault of her male companions.

As this example demonstrates, *Exploring Women* could increase their own credibility by unfavorably comparing their male companions to themselves. Peck does this in two ways. First, she contrasts her companions’ physical constitution with her own. Second, she unfavorably compares her companions’ mental faculties to her own or disparages their characters. Early in her narrative, for example, Peck sets up the expectation that she has a hardy constitution when other passengers fall ill due to seasickness on the voyage to South America. Feeling fine herself, she declares that “it would seem that with a little resolution this [seasickness] might be avoided” (12). This foreshadowing comes in handy when, later in the narrative, Peck exploits the Professor’s altitude sickness. Though she is already annoyed with him before they arrived at Mt. Illampu because of his insistence that he could only accompany the expedition until late August (though Peck had contracted him for a longer time), his illness allows Peck to showcase her superior fitness as an explorer. For instance, while Peck preferred a slower advance toward their goal of Mt. Illampu so that they can acclimatize properly, she is urged by the Professor and guides, “against my own preference and judgment,” to continue (24). Unfortunately, Peck’s hunch is proven true. “This ride from the coast up to and over the western range of the Andes is one of novelty and interest, at times of beauty and grandeur; but to pass, within sixty hours, from the sea to an altitude of 14,666

feet is sufficient to disturb the interior economy of all save the soundest constitutions,” she writes (25). On the train from the coast, the Professor first falls ill. She continues:

So when our scientist, who labored under the disadvantage of being thirty-odd hours from Mollendo, was attacked with a violent sick-headache, which caused him much suffering during the afternoon on the railway and the whole night at Puno, he, too, believed that he would have been afflicted just the same at a lower elevation; certain it is that at Lima he was in like distress. The rest of us attested to sound physical condition by not a sign of discomfort. (25-6)

Later, a day from the summit, Peck rises “about six, hoping to surmount in good season the 3,000 feet . . . But alas! The Professor was ill and did not arise, except to move his sleeping bag to one side in order to take another nap” (50). Though the Professor tries to brush away his indisposition as indigestion, Peck is sure that he has “*soroche!*” or altitude sickness. As a result, the work “now devolved mostly to me,” writes Peck (50). The reader can sense her disgust with the Professor when his illness puts the expedition in jeopardy. She has made it clear that she is prepared, in good health, and able to ascend the mountain. Only the unreliability of her companions (and, she later admits, some blame goes to unfavorable weather) prevents her from achieving her goal. Despite the failure of the expedition, then, Peck’s *telling* of the story ensures that she appears as the more capable explorer. Her readers, and perhaps future sponsors, can be assured that, had it been up to her, the expedition would have been a success. This episode shows Peck demonstrating that any expedition failures happen in spite of her, rather than because of her. She takes no blame when she fails to summit. Rather, her companions or the weather contribute to the outcome. Peck can hardly admit blame if she wants to make

another try for the summit. She needs to convince more porters, guides and companions to accompany her and to assure them that they are not betting on a losing proposition.

Despite coming away from this failure ready to try again, Peck's frustrations are exacerbated by her dependence on her male companions. As much as she disparages the men, she depends on them. Even as she makes fun of her guide M-----'s fear of the "native indians," she nevertheless needs him for guidance and for the authority that he ought to convey. M-----'s fear becomes problematic early on. Having left the town of Sorata for the trek up the mountain, Peck relays how the guide becomes alarmed in the evening due to having been assaulted by the local "indians" with rocks five years before. The men of the party determine to take watches while Peck, as she describes, "already ensconced in my sleeping bag, expressed my opinion that it was folly to put credence in a rumour of hostile indians" (45). In the morning, when she inquires of the guide "where the indians were, he looked rather sheepish and said nothing" (45). Later, the guide mistakes men sorting potatoes for an ambush (46). Though these anecdotes are told humorously, the guide's fear and timidity does, in the end, contribute to the demise of Peck's climb. At the point in the narrative when the porters perceive the Professor's reluctance to go on and, seeing more snow than anticipated, abandon the expedition, the guide "manifested no moral force or energy, but was limp as a rag" and did little to persuade the porters to stay (50). Peck, though she speaks little Spanish,

still made an effort [with the indians]. They knew, of course, what they had been engaged for, and with signs and gestures I insisted that they should go up, finally offering them double what I had agreed to pay. They shook their heads. I continued to urge them in vain. I looked for the Professor to aid, but he seemed

beyond call. Doubtless the indians supposed him to be the leader of the expedition and believed that he had already abandoned it; that I could do nothing anyway. So they slipped away homeward leaving us alone. (51)

Peck uses this comparison of her persistence versus the guide's "limpness," to further show how she is better prepared than her male traveling companions, though they are professionals. She portrays her mental faculties as clearer and shows that she is not timid and afraid, but determined. In contrast, all the male characters in the narrative wilt at the slightest difficulty. This comparison cements the reader's understanding that Peck is more capable of climbing the mountain, leading the expedition, and working in the field of exploration than the men. Despite her persistence and hardiness, however, it seems that Peck comes to realize that she is not taken seriously by either the indigenous porters nor by her paid companions, all of whom defy her wishes despite her protestations—because she is a woman. In recalling these events for her narrative, Peck's negative portrayal of her companions serves as an attempt to compensate for this even while it builds up Peck's character to the detriment of her companions.⁴⁵

When it becomes clear that the group will not attempt another summit and Peck sees her male companions off, she weighs an attempt for the summit again "alone," but has reservations:

Though possessed of considerable experience, I had not regarded myself as an independent climber, capable of leading the way over glaciers and up steep snow

⁴⁵ The failures of her male companions come at a bad time for Peck as she is under pressure to gain higher and higher elevations at this point in her climbing career. With her triumphant climb of the Matterhorn in 1895 growing increasingly distant, Peck is eager to stake her claim in the Americas. At this time, she was chasing the world's highest peak along with fellow climber Fanny Bullock Workman who ultimately bested Peck when she summited Pinnacle Peak in the Himalayas.

inclines or of directing novices in such enterprises. The idea of going with natives only at first had been startling, but being left alone and realizing that there was no other way, having received the assurance, alike from foreigners and Bolivians, that I should be perfectly safe, I determined to do my best. My courage rose till I became quite enthusiastic over the prospect, resolving to make a good try for the yet untrodden summit and put to shame my former companions. (59)

In this passage, Peck moves from not regarding herself as “an independent climber” and finding the prospect of climbing without white Western male companions “startling” to being determined to “do her best” and, finally, to feeling enthusiastic about the prospect. Yet, despite her bravado, Peck remains hesitant to strike out on her own. She understands she may be in real danger from unfriendly indigenes and from the dangerous climb—the reasons she had employed her male companions in the first place. Though in this passage she seems to overcome these fears and to talk herself into climbing independently, this issue is not resolved in the narrative at this point, nor in Peck’s mind. She vacillates between finding new companions and going it alone, and, in the end, seeks out some of the expatriates in the area for advice.

Peck relied heavily on the knowledge and experience of expatriates and officials in the countries she visited and was not ashamed to ask for help or opinions from those residing in the area. In this instance, she checks with the Acting President, the Secretary of War and the Prefect about the need for soldiers (as her guide had requested at the start of the journey), consults a local estate owner about porters, and looks for a “civilized person” to accompany her, but to no avail. At this point, she, at the suggestion of some local “Greek friends,” again entertains the possibility of going alone. She then consults a

government minister with an American wife about this scheme and he agrees it is safe for her to go alone; an American minister, in contrast, thinks she will break her neck, but will be in no danger from the locals. The cacophony of people that she seeks out for advice demonstrates two things. First, that traveling with companions or not, Peck was not alone in the strictest sense. She came to South America with letters of introduction and names of friends of friends whom she freely consulted for advice and favors, just as male explorers would have. Second, though these consultations could undermine Peck's authority as they show her dependence on others' opinions and her inability to make up her mind, they also show resourcefulness and ingenuity.

Despite Peck's eventual resolution in this passage, however, unusually heavy snowfall leads to avalanches on the mountain and, though Peck waits it out for several weeks, the climbing season is effectively closed for the year. "The best time during the whole period," she laments, "was the moment when we were at the foot of the mountain" (60). This concession to defeat also defers blame as her final decision not to go alone after all and to leave Bolivia for the winter rests not with her, but with those who didn't ascend when the chance was at hand.

Peck makes a strong case that her experience at Mt. Illampu would have been different if she had been a man. She presents the evidence of the Professor threatening to leave early on the first attempt, the guide declaring "that he would not go up with me alone" because Peck was a woman (52). Later as she searches for replacement male companions, a potential candidate declared that "there was no trouble with the indians if they were properly managed . . . adding that if I [Peck] had had one *man* with me he would have made those indians go up" (57). No matter Peck's determination or

experience, then, she presents her gender, or rather her companions' reaction to her gender, as the catalyst that doomed the expedition. She tells the reader that she did all she could. In running and funding the expedition, she prepared all the equipment and attended to the details of the trip (she tells the reader she was "obliged to rise early and to keep at work all day" preparing in La Paz while the Professor went sight-seeing), negotiated with the guides and scientist, and endured the hardships of cold, long hours in the saddle, and rigorous climbing. Despite her preparations, hard work, and hardy constitution, the expedition failed, because, as a woman, she couldn't make "those indians go up." Peck turns this around in the narrative, however, when she blames the men for turning back and when she makes them look less capable and less determined than she is. It is not her gender, she shows, but their ineptitude that doomed the party. In the end, her strategy more or less succeeds in showing that she is more fit to be an explorer and to work in the masculine discourses of exploration than her male traveling companions. Yet, Peck's indecision about traveling alone and her need to seek advice and help on her expeditions, also shows the precariousness of her position as almost an independent explorer, but not quite, who mimicked but also deviated from her male counterparts.

Louise Arner Boyd and resident experts

Louise Arner Boyd, like Peck, relied on a male crew to accomplish her goals in exploration. As the expedition leader, she had to contend with similar challenges as Peck when coordinating her expeditions to Greenland: hiring the crew, securing funding, securing equipment, and attending to details. Boyd was also in a similarly precarious

position of authority as Peck in that Boyd was the expedition leader, yet not the resident expert, making her dependent on those whom she hired to do the work. When hiring professional surveyors and scientists such as hydrographers for her voyages, Boyd, working without a degree or scientific credentials, shows herself capable of being a successful expedition leader by surrounding herself with capable companions and delegating the work that she cannot do herself. Among her traveling companions, she included the ship's captain, a crew, and a team of scientific experts. The expertise of her crew allowed Boyd, without a formal education and with, at first, limited experience in exploration, to work in the masculine discourses of exploration. As discussed in later chapters, Boyd secures her place on the expeditions by focusing on her strengths of photography and botany, the most acceptable scientific role for a woman without a scientific education. Boyd reveals minimal detail of the complexity of her relationship with her experienced crew. In contrast to Peck, her leadership seems to be less a point of contention, though the difference in publication venue may have prevented Boyd from providing much detail here. Neither does she disparage nor put them down in the manner that Peck does to advance her own credibility. Instead, Boyd practices a modest self-praise tempered by some of the erasure and reticence that was discussed in the previous chapter.

When introducing herself in her narrative, Boyd takes credit for her own accomplishments, but does not overstep her bounds. In *The Fiord Region of East Greenland* (1935), for instance, she names herself first as “Louise A. Boyd, leader and photographer,” when listing the scientific staff of the expedition, establishing what she saw as her primary roles (5). At the beginning of *The Coast of Northeast Greenland*

(1948), she asserts her expertise when she writes: “Four times have I had the satisfaction of organizing and conducting expeditions that successfully negotiated the belt of ice that guards the East Greenland coast” (1). Her narratives are overall not boastful, and in fact have little personal commentary, but interjections like these remind the reader that experience and expertise support her observations. Despite these small moments of self-praise, Boyd defers to the male scientists on board the vessel as the experts. She mentions, for example, working “under the direction” of the surveyor, Mr. Buhler, but later discusses working in tandem with him (*Northeast Greenland* 21, 36).⁴⁶ She never presents herself as the resident surveyor, though they work closely together in their project to survey and map the Greenland coast. Boyd displays her authority and her capability as an explorer and as a leader by putting together and managing a team that can accomplish the expedition’s goals.

In another example, when Boyd goes into the hills above Myggbukta, a former Norwegian radio and meteorology station, to photograph “in order to supplement the studies of the surveyors and of Professor Bretz [the physiographer]” her use of the word “supplement” undervalues her own contributions to the surveying work which were integral to the photogrammetrical process being used to create maps of the area (*Fiord Region* 13). Though Boyd gives little personal detail or information about her relationships with her colleagues, passages like this are complex. She defers to the professional scientists on board in most situations involving the scientific work of the expeditions. Yet, her writing in her later narrative displays a growing confidence as she becomes more familiar with the Arctic regions and her ability to contribute to the

⁴⁶ F. W. Buhler served as surveyor on the 1937 and 1938 expeditions.

expeditions. Describing events of the 1937 expedition in *The Coast of Northeast Greenland*, Boyd mentions her contributions to the mapping work being done, but again defers to the professional scientists on board: “Mr. Buhler and I were occupied with mapping; he with his plane table and I, under his direction, photographing from the camera stations he selected” (*Northeast Greenland* 21). Here, she portrays herself as being in the subservient role to Buhler, as she is “under his direction” and he selects the place where she should set up her camera, yet they were, together, occupied with mapping, in a mutual partnership. In another instance where she mentions working with Mr. Buhler, the partnership is more apparent. Working in a little bay on Lyell Land, Boyd describes the projects of each of the scientists. While some were studying the glaciers, she writes, “Mr. Buhler with his plane table and I with my cameras [were] mapping the area of their investigations” (*Northeast Greenland* 36.) In this second instance, she does not mention being under his direction, but records how they were working in tandem, apart from the others. For Boyd, this strategy of striking a balance seems to work to shield her from any criticism for overstepping her bounds as an Exploring Woman and allows her to establish her own credentials without disparaging her companions.

Husbands

Other Exploring Women asserted their expertise through comparison to their husbands. These relationships were complicated by the spousal relationship which placed the Exploring Woman in a subordinate position in two ways: as a wife and as a female colleague. Yet, spouses also provided opportunities for Exploring Women to

become involved in exploration in the first place. Akeley and Lindbergh's husbands, for instance, were originally commissioned to do the exploring work; the wives came along as help-mates, as more-or-less unpaid assistants, but often had no formal role. Both Akeley and Lindbergh challenged this, however, as Akeley became an independent explorer after her divorce from Carl Akeley, and Lindbergh, pushed by her husband, by most accounts, served as co-pilot and radio operator on their flights. Despite the initiatives taken by these Exploring Women, it is significant that the original commissions were given to their spouses, the male members of the team.

An examination of Akeley and Lindbergh in this context shows the multi-layered discourses and levels of power that Exploring Women navigated to carry out their work. Husbands, in some respects, were supportive of their wives' work, as Charles Lindbergh encouraged his wife to get her pilot's license and Carl Akeley taught Akeley how to track and shoot. Yet these relationships remained hierarchical, particularly due to the limited ability the women had to make choices about and to speak about their work, as well as the lack of independence to travel alone if they chose. That is, as much as husbands could be helpful, they could also upstage an Exploring Woman and show how the women were, in many ways, dependent upon male companions. To combat this dependence, Exploring Women traveling with husbands used several strategies to make sure they were seen as credible and every bit the explorer that their husbands were. Akeley, as mentioned, presented her husband as an invalid, boosting her own credibility, while Lindbergh and Adams utilize a strategic use of pronouns to essentially erase their partners from their narratives, thus giving themselves singular credit for their expeditions.

Delia Akeley and the frail male

Following a two-year expedition in 1905-07 to collect specimens for the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, Delia and Carl Akeley embarked on a second joint expedition to Africa on a commission to acquire a family elephant grouping for the American Museum of Natural History of New York in 1909-11. Writing about the expedition in *Jungle Portraits* (1930) with the benefit of hindsight, Akeley presents the expedition as very much a partnership between her and her husband, Carl, despite his additional years of experience. Before they met, Carl was a seasoned traveler and a renowned taxidermist, who had been employed by several museums to collect specimens and create exhibits throughout his career. Despite his experience, the Akeleys were not independently wealthy and relied on Akeley's museum salary for their livelihood. Carl, as the male professional, was commissioned for the task, while Akeley served as unpaid companion. Yet the two camped together, scouted and hunted together, and preserved specimens together.

In describing their attempts to kill and preserve the elephants for the American Museum of Natural History in New York, Akeley's narrative seems to dwell on her husband's increasingly frequent illnesses and slow recovery from an earlier near-fatal incident with an elephant. This allows her to contrast her own hardiness with her husband's fragility and show her own capability for exploration. In contrast to Peck's reaction to her frail companions, however, instead of expressing frustration and anger with him, Akeley expresses love and concern for his health, and depicts him as well-intentioned. Yet, despite these feelings, Akeley, as much as Peck, shows herself to be the capable one of the team, the one able to withstand the challenges of exploration, making

it possible for her to assert her credibility and agency in the masculine discourses of exploration. In other words, depicting her spouse as frail and herself as loving, but more capable, works as a strategy to provide her authority to do her work in the masculine discourses of exploration.

Akeley's narrative, *Jungle Portraits*, covers both African expeditions and is arranged by descriptions of species, rather than chronologically. One-third of the way through *Jungle Portraits*, Akeley gets around to talking about the main reason for the expeditions, that of collecting elephant specimens for the museum displays (she has previously discussed apes and monkeys and crocodiles).⁴⁷ In the chapter, "Elephants in the Fog," she continues to describe her husband's declining health and her own vitality in terms of their abilities to participate in the hunt for the final elephant specimen to complete their task on this second expedition. The capture of this last specimen chronologically follows Carl's near-tragic run-in with an elephant and his long, slow recovery that is briefly mentioned in this chapter but isn't explained in detail until the final chapter, "Jungle Rescue" (84-5). This tantalizing foreshadowing of tragedy and juxtaposition of events serves to unnerve the reader, even creating a sense of confusion as to when particular events occurred. As Carl's accident is not fully explained until the later chapter, it is not always clear why he is so frail (though he certainly had other health issues before the mauling by the elephant). Akeley's non-chronological storytelling serves as a strategy to elevate Akeley's status as an explorer by balancing an understanding of the Akeleys' partnership with Akeley's need to show Carl as inferior in

⁴⁷ Akeley uses this euphemistic term, "specimen," throughout her narrative, perhaps to lessen the impact of killing the animals and to emphasize that the work is for the good of preservation and science. The presentation of species is discussed further in Chapters 4 and 6.

constitution. The organization of the narrative also seems to provide some justification for the events that followed: the Akeleys' divorce and Akeley's later solo journeys.

At this point, though, the Akeleys' teamwork is in on display as the pair stalk two elephants in order to acquire the last specimen needed to complete the family grouping. Akeley writes, "Both animals had good tusks and I agreed to take one elephant and Mr. Akeley the other, firing together when he gave the signal" (93). Their partnership is evident as they seem to have a mutual understanding of how they will complete the task; they "agreed" on how to proceed and fired together. As an elephant charges toward them in the mist, however, Akeley takes down her target as "[f]atigue" makes Carl Akeley "slow in getting his gun in position" (93). The pair secure one last elephant for the exhibit, killed by Akeley's bullet, and claim success in their mission. After securing this last specimen, Akeley recounts the hardships suffered by the pair while collecting the specimens for the family group:

It took us two years of the most strenuous and dangerous kind of hunting known to man to secure the elephants for that group, learn something of their life in the forest, and prepare their colossal hides for safe transportation out of the forests over mountains, plains, and sea back to America. That we finally completed our task and made it possible for the American Museum of Natural History of New York to have the distinction of being the only institution in the world to possess a family group of African elephants was entirely due to Mr. Akeley's indomitable perseverance and pluck.

Although repeated attacks of fever had poisoned his blood and dysentery wasted his strength to such an alarming extent that I often feared for his life, he

refused to give up. Even when the impoverished condition of his blood caused ugly ulcers to appear on his hands and feet he would not heed my pleadings to return to civilization where he could obtain skilled medical treatment.

There were many occasions when elephants were reported in the vicinity of our camp that I went out with the native guides to inspect them, always hoping I might be able to secure the desired specimen so Mr. Akeley could leave the country before it claimed him for its own. Sometimes when I was obliged to remain in camp to care for the specimens we had so laboriously collected, Mr. Akeley would, although utterly unfit, insist upon going after the animals alone. The strenuous effort, however, usually brought on a relapse and his boys would bring him back in a hammock made of his blankets, and I would begin the stubborn fight for his life all over again. (83-4)

Despite this near-mishap when Carl faltered in trying to obtain the last elephant, Akeley praises his efforts in this passage and recognizes his “indomitable perseverance and pluck” (83).⁴⁸ Yet, his increasingly fragile health prompts Akeley to describe him in increasingly feebler terms. She expresses how, in the quotation above, she “often feared for his life” and “the impoverished condition of his blood caused ugly ulcers to appear on his hands and feet” yet Mr. Akeley wouldn’t cease the expedition (83). Though this description may read as both concern for Carl’s health and praise for his endurance, in the context of Akeley’s narrative, she is taking the opportunity to show what she herself is truly made of. The passage highlights her own capabilities and displays Carl’s inferiorities through her descriptions, without resorting to disparaging him directly. In

⁴⁸ This description recalls Peck’s wish for a man with “pluck and determination” (152) to help her accomplish her goals.

this way, she shows how she is working successfully as an explorer, whereas her male counterpart, Carl Akeley, is falling short. Though he is the professional, Akeley clearly considers herself equally, if not more, capable and a vital part of the expedition.⁴⁹ She succeeded in securing this last specimen for the family grouping which is still on display at the Natural History Museum and is credited to her. In contrast to other Exploring Women with explorer-husbands, Akeley does not resort to self-effacement, nor does she outright disparage her husband to show herself as superior. She simply describes what happened and lets (her version of) the facts stand for themselves.

These rhetorical choices culminate in Akeley's description of Carl's near-fatal run-in with the elephant in the closing chapter of *Jungle Portraits* called "Jungle Rescue" which highlights Akeley's role in the events. She acknowledges that this story may be known to some, but not as she will tell it. She explains, "The thrilling story of the accident and his miraculous escape from a frightful death has been told many times by himself from the lecture platform. But a personal account of my equally thrilling night journey to his rescue through one of the densest, elephant-infested forests on the African continent is not nearly so well known" (233). This episode's placement as the last anecdote of the book is both an unusual and telling choice. Chronologically, as mentioned, this incident happened many years before. (Akeley chronicles her stay with the "pygmies" which took place more than a decade later, in the second-to-last chapter.)

⁴⁹ When Akeley embarks on a later expedition without Carl, she remarks on her ability to undertake such a journey, "Fortunately, from the very beginning of my African career I shared the dangerous work of the expeditions with my husband, hunting wild animals and following their trails accompanied only by the natives. Therefore, with my accumulated knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, my plan to visit Africa unaccompanied by a white companion did not seem so dangerous an undertaking to me as it did to those who knew nothing about my former field activities" (159). Here, she assures her reader that, as she has already acted as a de facto expedition leader, she is certainly in no danger undertaking this solitary journey.

Even more oddly, the near-fatal incident is referred to multiple times earlier in the text, including in the chapter “Elephants in the Fog,” without disclosing the whole, horrifying nature of the events. This earlier foreshadowing allows Akeley to recall for herself and the reader Carl’s fragile state and, thus, her own capacity to overcome hardship, while saving the details for later. Saving this incident for last allows for a juxtaposition where, in the final chapter, *she* becomes the hero of *his* accident. Certainly, she could have placed this incident in the beginning and have been the hero throughout the tale, yet its placement here, while clearly building up suspense for the narrative, also allows Adams to show bit-by-bit how she came to lead much of the expedition, letting the audience warm up to her story and her role in it. By the time the details of Carl’s accident are finally revealed, Akeley has amplified for the reader her own place at the center of the tale. The reader is left, in the end, to ponder Carl’s weakest, most vulnerable moment and to revel in Akeley’s achievements.

Revealing Carl’s near-death experience and Akeley’s own part in his rescue (the title of the chapter is “Jungle Rescue,” after all, not “Jungle Near-Death-Experience”) at the end of the narrative, rather than in chronological order, may seem even more fitting considering when and under what circumstances *Jungle Portraits* was written. Akeley wrote *Jungle Portraits*, which interweaves her early expeditions with her husband and her later independent travels with some distance from these events, after an acrimonious divorce from Carl in 1924, and his re-marriage to another Exploring Woman, Mary Jobe. As a single woman again, Akeley continued to travel on her own initiative; her continued travels as an independent explorer seem to prove that she, rather than Carl, was the one with “perseverance and pluck.” Carl Akeley, too, continued to travel with his new wife,

but died in Africa of dysentery in 1926, just two years after their divorce, while Akeley, independently, was writing their story. Carl's death so soon after their divorce left Akeley free rein to portray the events of their earlier travels to her satisfaction with only Carl's widow to dispute her telling.⁵⁰ Perhaps it is understandable after their bitter divorce that Akeley's remembrances of traveling with her husband do not always portray him in the best light. Instead, they do much to shore up Akeley's own narrative persona.⁵¹

In the portrayals of her travels with Carl, Akeley's strength and persistence often seem to be the only things keeping the expedition afloat. It is necessary, she says, for her, "the devoted wife, who shares the dangers and hardships of her scientific husband's work in the field as well as at home, to do her own housework, be her own milliner and dressmaker, and juggle with the family exchequer in an effort to save enough out of his meager salary to pay her expenses when she accompanies him on his journey afield" (232). Carl, in contrast, spends much of the expedition convalescing. Further creating this unfavorable comparison, Akeley describes how the pair had to temporarily abandon their goal of completing the elephant grouping in Uganda to move to a less forbidding climate. Akeley writes:

We had been greatly handicapped in our strenuous work of following elephants owing to Mr. Akeley's health, which had become seriously impaired by repeated attacks of fever and dysentery; so anxious was I that I kept in constant

⁵⁰ Mary Jobe Akeley, also an explorer and writer, wrote of her and Carl Akeley's adventures in *Carl Akeley's Africa* (1929).

⁵¹ Olds (1985) discusses how Mary Jobe upstaged Akeley, perhaps due to the scandal of the divorce (148-149). Yet, it may also be significant that Jobe Akeley was college-educated and had been an explorer prior to her marriage, while Akeley was comparatively poorly educated and learned what she knew largely through experience.

communication by runner with the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Tegert, whose hospitable home at Masindi was a haven where I often brought Mr. Akeley to convalesce.

(234)

Akeley makes clear that the expedition is halted due to the fragile health of Carl, rather than any other need for a respite. Akeley's foresight to have a back-up plan for Carl's bouts of ill-health shows her preparedness for just such occasions. Being his caretaker and constantly monitoring his health in this way, she adds to her list of jobs: not only is she the housekeeper, milliner, dressmaker, and accountant, but the nursemaid and expedition leader. In this instance, Akeley cites the rainy season as the impetus for a change of scene, but Carl is, once again, described as convalescing as his fragile health prompts the move.

To remain in Uganda during the rainy season would be dangerous, as Mr. Akeley was in no physical condition to carry on our work and cope with the discomforts of tent life or the sudden climatic changes which take place daily at that season of the year. So one day, while he lay on his cot, convalescing from fever, at the Mission, we decided to go down to the healthy highlands of East Africa, where we could make motion-picture records of the Nandi warriors spearing lions, and return to Uganda when the rains were over. (234)

Akeley in these passages not only shows her hardiness in comparison to Carl's fragility, but also highlights her leadership; when it is warranted, she stops the expedition and regroups so that her husband can recuperate and the mission can be successfully completed. Akeley's robust health contrasted with Carl's frequent bouts of ill health illustrates a juxtaposition of gender in their relationship. Carl's fragility feminizes him.

The description of East Africa as “healthy” in contrast to unhealthy Uganda in this example also emphasizes the differences between the Akeley’s health; she is the healthy savior who brings an ill man from an ill place to a healthy place free from disease. In these comparisons between herself and Carl, Akeley’s role shifts further and further from companion and help-mate to that of decision-maker and expedition leader.

During their second expedition, after Carl’s accident, Akeley was elevated to temporary expedition leader while on their earlier expedition, the success of the mission had lain on her shoulders when Carl exhausted his permit for hunting elephants and Akeley was left to secure the final elephant for their diorama for the Field Museum. In *All True!: The Record of Actual Adventures That Have Happened to Ten Women of Today* (1931), Akeley describes the experience of shooting her first elephant:⁵²

I was given the choice of position and we crept forward, under cover of the low branches of a vine draped tree, to within forty feet of where he stood. Scarcely breathing, and with legs trembling so I could hardly stand, I waited for the elephant to move forward. Dimly through the mist the dark shape came slowly from behind the bush, exposing a splendid pair of tusks and a great flapping ear which was my target. With nerves keyed to the point of action I fired, and the first elephant I shot at fell lifeless among the dew-wet ferns. (29)

This anecdote sets up Akeley as a successful, though novice, hunter as her legs were “trembling” and her nerves were “keyed.” Yet, she is able to overcome her body’s limitations and fire successfully, taking down the final elephant for this excursion.

⁵² This anecdote occurs during the Akeley’s first expedition to Africa which is also covered in *Jungle Portraits*. However, the chapter “Elephants in the Fog” in *Jungle Portraits* does not go into detail about this particular incident as this telling does. This anecdote seems, then, to have been written particularly for this special collection.

Akeley's success in this hunt redeems an earlier failed attempt when she was dumb-struck by the proximity to the great creature and "couldn't have raised my gun to save our lives" (20-21). In that incident, she was immediately overwhelmed by her failure and "wanted to cry, but tears are not good psychology in the jungle. It was not time to make excuses. I had none to offer" (21). She tells Mr. Akeley she "will not make such a mistake again" (21). Her later success shows that she has overcome this bout of sentimentalism and womanly tears. She does not let her admiration for these wild creatures interfere with her work again.

As Akeley's narrative shows, husbands as companions could go from indispensable to dispensable once the Exploring Woman became comfortable and more established. Husbands could provide social acceptability, and the means and impetus to travel safely. They could, as Carl did for Akeley, help Exploring Women begin their lives of exploration and add legitimacy to their exploring and scientific projects. Yet in *Jungle Portraits*, Akeley makes clear how much of the weight of the expedition rested on her and questions her husband's contributions to their work. Given Akeley's version of events, it is hard to imagine that their divorce didn't play a role in Akeley's portrayal of events. Perhaps in response to life events, Akeley seems to tie much of her credibility as an explorer to the fact that she is a woman traveling alone on her later voyages in the 1920s. Despite this later independent travel (aside from her porters, cook, and guides), Akeley displays a need to discredit her ex-husband's role in her earlier journeys, by showing that she could take over for him in his increasingly weakened condition. Akeley's portrayal of Carl presents a sickly man, in need of rescue by, and constant care from, his hardworking wife, despite Carl's reputation and his many years in Africa

collecting specimens. Akeley has her own agendas to fulfill on their travels and, at times, Carl's ill health seems an unwelcome diversion.

Harriet Chalmers Adams and Anne Morrow Lindbergh and the use of "we"

Rather than directly comparing or contrasting themselves with their husband-explorers, Adams and Lindbergh allow these men to fade into the background through their use of plural pronouns that, at times, make the narrator's companions ambiguous. This strategy, for Adams, puts her husband in the background while privileging Adams as the main character (Adams, unlike Akeley, was the primary traveler on most of her voyages). For Lindbergh, using "we" both allows her to benefit from the association with her famous husband and to create a collective "we" that makes her an equal partner. Though both women use these pronoun structures in their narratives, not surprising as they both traveled frequently (or exclusively in Lindbergh's case) with their husbands, these are slightly different examples of the same type of discourse. The methods of use are different, yet the outcomes are the same in that, in both cases, "we" allows the Exploring Woman freedom and authority to work in the masculine discourses of exploration because it both downplays their husbands' roles, allowing them to be the Exploring Woman, and, also associates them with their husbands when it is convenient.

Like Akeley, Adams began her earliest overseas travels as a companion to her working husband whose job as a mine inspector for the Inca Mining and Rubber Company necessitated travel to South America. Though Adams got her start in exploration traveling with her husband, on many of her later trips Franklin Adams was obliged to remain at home due to professional responsibilities. Adams, by that time, was

a seasoned traveler in her own right and had her own pretexts for traveling. After her many tours of South and Latin America, for instance, she became the only American female war correspondent allowed to visit the front lines during World War I. Rather than hide behind or disparage her traveling companions, Adams stands out for the ways in which she downplays their existence with the use of an ambiguous “we” in her articles that is rarely clearly defined. This use of “we” makes Adams herself the only identifiable and relatable character in the narratives, thus the star of the show. As previously mentioned, Adams’ publication venues called for a different writing style than the travel memoirs of Akeley or Lindbergh. Adams was writing largely for *The National Geographic Magazine* to a wide public audience and was educating them about history, economics, and culture rather than primarily writing a personal story. Her use of an ambiguous “we,” in some ways then, reflects the nature of this genre as less personal than other exploration narratives. Despite these differences, the multiple uses of “we” serve to legitimize Adams’ travel and work in masculine discourses in multiple ways.

Though she does not refrain from mentioning her husband, Franklin, in her writing, the ambiguous “we” at times seems to denote Adams and her spouse, while, in later journeys, it refers to her and her sister. A reader often needs to research Adams’ trips to know with whom she was traveling at the time of the narrative to determine precisely who “we” represents. For example, describing her first South American trip with her husband in “Cuzco, America’s Ancient Mecca” (1908), Adams describes their arrival in Cuzco when they are obliged to trudge into the city from the suburbs with their baggage as they “were informed by our *cholo* (half-breed) driver that vehicles were not allowed ‘on the streets of the metropolis’” (“Cuzco” 672). She describes the activities of

the Adams family as they explore the market and all that the city has to offer. She writes, “Few travelers visit the attractive old city—a German, Briton, or American now and then in the interest of trade, an occasional student. At the time of *our visit* there was only one other gringo in town, an American engineer, with the exception of the few foreign residents (German merchants and British missionaries)” (“Cuzco” 687-88, emphasis mine). Throughout this description, Adams uses the word “our,” yet does not overtly describe her husband as her companion.

Years later, when outlining her intentions for travel in Morocco in the early 1920s, Adams identifies her traveling companion outright when she says, “It had been our intention—my sister’s and mine—to sail from Oran to Gibraltar and down to Casablanca” (“Across French and Spanish Morocco” 327). In the subsequent article, then, the “we” is understood to include her sister. Others travel with the duo for short periods of time, such as on the road to Arbawa where Adams remarks that they are “straying from the tourist circuit” and where their “companions were French Colonials and Tangier Moors, who could be questioned about the country we were crossing” (“Across French” 355). Adams spends considerable time describing the ethnicities of the Spanish, French, Moors, Berbers, and Jews whom she encounters. In contrast to those descended from the French and Spanish colonizers in North Africa, “native” people, in Adams’ imperial hierarchy, are less likely to be included in the “we.” In one episode, when hiring an automobile from Ujda to Fez in Morocco, Adams is grateful that she and her sister can still see a Morocco untouched by civilization, as they interpret it. “I had a feeling of gratitude that we had not come to inland Morocco too late,” she writes. “Here, little changed since prehistoric days, were the ancient Berber people. Here right in the

automobile with us, were natives taking their first ride!” (131-2). The use of “we,” in this case, creates distinctions as to whom is included along class, racial, and ethnic lines. Some individuals may be included as traveling companions while others are not. This distinction serves at times to be inclusive (“we” as multiple white Western traveling companions) yet, at other times, it sets her apart or sets others apart as “they” (those who are racially, ethnically, or socially different). Despite her budding desires to reach out to and lift up South American women, particularly of the middle and upper classes, for example, (the struggle for women’s rights worldwide became an important cause for Adams in her later years), a distinct point-of-view is evident in her use of “we.”

The ambiguous “we” when used to indicate homogeneity of class, race or ethnicity can make Adams’ journeys seem safer and more socially acceptable to her audience who need not be worried nor offended by the company that Adams is keeping on her many voyages. In “The Grand Canyon Bridge” (1921), for instance, Adams uses “we” to describe her fellow travelers: “Last month I rode down to the river over a trail not yet opened to tourists, messed with the bridge crew, and spent the night in the gorge” but then she assures her readers that she is perfectly safe and no longer alone by stating “It was a chilly morning when *we* started for the bridge camp” (“The Grand Canyon Bridge” reprinted in *The Ol’ Pioneer* 5, emphasis mine). She describes the comments of a few fellow travelers (“Clara” and a “tall man, with a red face”), who appear to be fellow tourists rather than personal companions. In this example, “we” seems to indicate collectively a group of generally homogenous travelers on the same or overlapping journeys.⁵³ In this example, Adams’ use of “we” creates a unity and a safe zone to show

⁵³ Similarly, in “Some Wonderful Sights in the Andean Highlands,” (1908) Adams makes a brief reference to four English-speaking companions that seem to temporarily represent “we” (613).

that, while Adams is straying outside of the comforts of the domestic, she is staying inside acceptable norms for her class and station in life, making this kind of independent exploration acceptable for an Exploring Woman.

A final usage of this ambiguous “we” links Adams with her audience in a collective “we” that takes her readers along on her voyages. Though this use may, perhaps, be attributed as a by-product of her publication venues (magazines rather than book-length manuscripts) and of her audience, perhaps broader in size and demographic than audiences of the other Exploring Women of this project, Adams was not the only Exploring Woman to make use of this rhetoric. Earlier women travelers made some use of the ambiguous “we” as did British explorer Mary Hall in *A Woman in the Antipodes and in the Far East* (1914) where “we” is slippery and seems to denote a number of changing traveling companions. At times, as for Adams, “we” seems to allude to and include the readership and make assumptions that those who are along for the ride share similar ideas, opinions, or thoughts with the writer, or that they are at least amenable to her point of view. Though this armchair traveler only goes along for the ride in fancy, he or she goes along *in perspective*. That is, the ambiguous “we” makes assumptions about the audience—white, middle-class, European or European-American. This collusion helped Adams and other Exploring Women relate to their audience despite their gender by embracing their commonalities with their audience: race, social class and nationality. Femaleness could be downplayed in the collective “we.”

This shift in Adams’ use of “we” begins to occur in her post-World War I articles. Where previously “we” seemed to denote her immediate traveling companion, her later articles seem to include the audience as companion such as in “A Longitudinal Journey in

Chile” (1922) where references to “our country” or the way *we do things* reflects her white Western, particularly American, audience. This is not an audience of fellow explorers, but an audience of armchair travelers or future tourists who may one day visit the regions that she has explored and scoped out for them. In this respect, her articles contain advice that can read like a tourist brochure. Future tourists are told when best to travel and what to look out for. In describing the railway experience in Chile, for example, Adams advises, “The dining-car, used only at meal time in *our country*, is filled all day long in Chile, the tables being utilized for cards and dominoes” (“Longitudinal Journey” 239, emphasis mine). This reference to “our country” shows her solidarity with her fellow North Americans, gender notwithstanding. Adams gives her readers advice about their hypothetical future travel plans and provides insight as their guide and expert. The use of “our” creates solidarity between Adams and her readers when she writes, “*Our* winter is the Chilean summer. If you plan a visit to rainiest Chile, go in December or January. Then the roads are in better condition” (“Longitudinal Journey” 255, emphasis mine). She also walks her readers along with her on the journey: “Since this is the story of my journey through Chile from tip to tip, *we* cannot linger in the capital, but must entrain again at Santiago, once more headed south on the longitudinal” (“Longitudinal Journey” 243, emphasis mine).⁵⁴

Like Adams, Lindbergh was inclined to use “we” when narrating her experiences, though, in her case, it is clearer that “we” is Lindbergh and her husband, Charles, whose presence looms large in her narratives. Charles Lindbergh comes across as awe-inspiring, as he did to much of the public of the day, and Lindbergh appears happy to

⁵⁴ Further similar examples exist in Adams’ articles such as when she advises readers to consult the map (“Longitudinal Journey” 262).

remain in his shadow. This dynamic can frequently be frustrating for modern-day readers. Yet Lindbergh's role, like Akeley's, seems initially to be that of companion and help-mate. Charles was the professional, contracted for the aerial survey missions featured in Lindbergh's two travel narratives. Unlike Lindbergh, however, neither Akeley nor Adams had any children to keep them at home, a situation common to many, but not all, traveling and Exploring Women. Lindbergh had several children.⁵⁵ She began her flying career before she had a family, though on the Lindberghs' trip to the "Orient" she left her young son for several months. Even after his kidnapping and death and the birth of her second son, Lindbergh left again to survey flight paths over the Atlantic, and documented her trip in *Listen! The Wind!*. As much as she loved flying, she writes that even after her first child is born, there were "those survey flights that lured us to more adventures" (*Hour of Gold* 8). These lengthy separations from her children pained her, however, and, rather than expanding her travels in later years as Akeley and Adams did, she largely tapered her exploring in response to her expanding family though she continued to write prolifically.

Lindbergh's relationship with her husband is crucial to understanding her narrative voice as well as her assertion of credibility and negotiation of masculine discourses. This relationship, Lindbergh admits in the introduction to one of her volumes of published diaries and letters, *Hour of Gold, Hour of Lead*, that Charles "opened the door to 'real life' and although it frightened [her]," she writes, "I had to go" (1). Charles, then, served as an impetus for Lindbergh to begin a life of exploration as a young

⁵⁵ The infamous Lindbergh Kidnapping, where the Lindbergh's oldest son was taken from their home and later found dead, occurred in 1932 after the Lindbergh's trip to the Orient in 1931, which is documented in *North to the Orient* and before their 1933 trip which is documented in *Listen! The Wind!*

woman. As a companion to her husband and with his expertise and training, Lindbergh is able to ride his coattails, so to speak, to use his accomplishments as a jumping off point for her own credibility as an explorer. She admits to seeing herself in the role of a “devoted page” to his “knight in shining armor” (*Hour of Gold 2*). She continues, “I was an apprentice to someone more experienced in a world of which I knew very little but which I was eager to explore” (*Hour of Gold 2*). Here, she is clear that she owes her exploring life to her relationship with her husband that allowed her to navigate these unfamiliar, masculine discourses of exploration, and aviation in particular, safely and with support.

As a traveling companion to such a famous man, Lindbergh’s methods of asserting credibility operate largely in opposition to the bolder style of Akeley. Her self-praise is subtler. She seems much less reticent than Akeley about attributing her successes to her spouse who made her career as a pilot and an explorer possible. Even before their historic trans-oceanic flights, Lindbergh’s relationship to Charles gave her a public persona as an aviator-wife. Though Lindbergh and other female aviators did earn their flying credentials, it is worth noting that, “in 1932 about 100 women fliers, or one out of five, was married to a pilot” (Corn 564). Being a pilot’s wife allowed for easier access to aircraft and flight instruction, and, for Lindbergh, provided a start in exploration and a measure of credibility. Credentials, qualifications, and experience alone were not always enough to get a woman off the ground and into a cockpit. An aviator-husband was an asset, particularly a famous, record-breaking, aviator-husband, like Charles. He gave Lindbergh flying lessons and strongly encouraged her to obtain her pilot’s license. Arguably, she would not have become a pilot or a radio operator at all if it had not been

for her husband. In her writing, Lindbergh largely praises his influence and his support in launching her flying career. “Flying was a very tangible freedom,” she writes. “The practical work of learning to fly, of being a radio operator and navigator, of carrying my own parachute and my own ‘weight’ as a crew member on the flights, gave me a feeling of enormous self-confidence” (*Hour of Gold 2*). Yet, she admits that she “leaned on another’s strength until I discovered my own” (*Hour of Gold 2*). Lindbergh relies on Charles’ fame and access to propel her own career in exploration; she is much less apologetic about the benefits of an explorer-husband than Akeley and less reticent than Adams. Each of these Exploring Women in turn utilized her relationship with her explorer-spouses to enable her explorations, and, in some cases, eschewed the relationship in order to find her own way.

The Foreign Other

Like other colonizers and imperialists, Exploring Women were working within a place of racial and social privilege in the imperial machine, influenced by imperial discourses about colonized and indigenous people. They displayed a superior, colonial attitude toward indigenous people similar to that of their male counterparts. In contrast to their male counterparts, however, Exploring Women, while working within the masculine discourses of exploration, were constantly navigating between their racial and social privilege and their gender inferiority. That is, Exploring Women *negotiated* their position, rather than *assumed* it as their male counterparts could. Considering the women of this study, negotiating these privileges in relation to the Other called for complex

responses that both allowed Exploring Women to carry out their work and to claim credibility and authority over it.

This can be seen in how Exploring Women positioned themselves in relation to others and in the relationships they developed with indigenous people with whom they frequently interacted such as servants and porters, sometimes as neighbors, and also as objects of study. Negotiating their roles in interactions with foreign others is so integral to women travelers and Exploring Women that Blake, in a study of British explorer Mary Hall, determined that the major difference in men's and women's travel writing lay in the representation of the relationship between the *self* and the *other*. She argues, "Thus the representation of the relationship between Self and Other in travel narratives offers both an ideal conception of empire and a critique of the conception in practice" (348). Blake suggests that Mary Hall's travel narratives show how travelers negotiated Empire ("how I managed to do it") and are, at the same time, mediated by Empire ("how it is being done"), thus critiquing empire while, simultaneously, showing an ideal way of doing empire (348).

Exploring Women were not immune to imperial discourses that dictated how indigenous people were perceived, treated and understood. This ingrained baggage of imperial discourse surrounding indigenous people strongly influenced their behaviors toward indigenous people. In contrast to colonial women who were settled in one place and often employed indigenous domestic workers, both men and women, the Exploring Women of this study were continually mobile, which affected the amount and types of contact they had with indigenous people. Also, unlike other colonial women, they did not necessarily have intimate day-to-day contact with colonized *women* despite the

perception that colonizing women have closer proximity and more access to indigenous women than colonizing men. McEwan, in her study of British women traveling in West Africa, reiterates, for example, that gender allowed women travelers closer access to west African women than their male counterparts. She explains, “As this study demonstrates, women travellers were on occasions critical of British imperialism, but it must be borne in mind that their narratives were constituted by the imperial moment and by their experience of their whiteness. This point can be illustrated by white women’s access to colonized women, and subsequent portrayals of the latter by the former” (11). Akeley primarily employed local men as guides and porters, but interacted with indigenous women when she undertook an expedition to learn more about the Mbuti (“pygmy”) people. Adams interacted with indigenous hoteliers, but often associated and stayed with expatriates, rather than with indigenous people. Due to their mobility, then, *Exploring Women* had different relationships with colonized people than some other colonial women who were more stable geographically and who set up colonial households.

Contrary to this usual transient nature of *Exploring Women*, however, Akeley’s expedition to the “pygmy” people allowed her more contact with colonized women. After a respite from the several journeys to Africa that she took with her ex-husband, Akeley, newly divorced, feels “a great longing for the peace of the African jungles” take over her and she determines to go on an independent expedition to Africa. This decision to travel solo is influenced by her new marital status and is justified by her “firm conviction that if a woman went alone, without armed escort, and lived in the villages, she could make friends with the women and secure authentic and valuable information concerning their tribal customs and habits” (160). Akeley settles on the “pygmy” people

in the Ituri Rainforest as her hosts because “From all the information I could gather I decided that the Pygmies were the least known of all the African tribes” and so will not be “influenced by civilization” (161). Like other colonizers, Akeley takes a decidedly paternalistic attitude toward indigenous people, yet reads her own intentions as benevolent, and even friendly. Though she has never been to the Congo, she looks forward to going into the bush to “be alone with my friends the natives again” (170). This reference to being “friends . . . again” seems to refer to her earlier journeys in Africa when her husband was incapacitated with illness and Akeley was left to manage their large caravan of indigenous porters, which gave her “experience and a training in dealing with the natives which was invaluable” (160). For Akeley, “dealing with” seems to somehow equate to “being friends with.” As well, Akeley recounts several anecdotes where she was amused by stories the porters told or she laughed at their jokes. Perhaps these episodes that seemed “friendly” were interpreted by Akeley as “friendship.” By portraying herself as a friend to indigenous people, Akeley sets herself apart from other, less well-intentioned colonizers, particularly big game hunters whom I discuss further in Chapter 6. As a friend, she suggests she is better qualified to be returning to Africa than those who have more nefarious intentions.

In the following passage, the porters who have been assigned to Akeley have arrived at the resthouse where she is waiting as she prepares to leave for the final leg of the journey to join the “pygmies.” Here, she showcases her benevolent attitude toward the indigenous people as she tries to make the work of the porters easier, but her suggestions are rebuffed. She writes:

As more porters than I required to carry my equipment had been put at my disposal by the government officials, I distributed the loads so that the men who were suffering from wounds on their shoulders would carry the lightest burdens. My consideration for their welfare was actually received with suspicion, and two of the favored men fought with another to gain possession of his heavier load. They thought my kindness had some hidden meaning which would be directed against them later on. (170)

Despite what she describes as her kind concern, Akeley shares with her readers that her benevolence was received with suspicion. Akeley is surprised by this as, she assures, she was only thinking of the poor porters. In her version of events, African people are portrayed as suspicious and not capable of understanding what is good for them as they refuse to take the lighter loads even when encouraged to. In the next paragraph, she gets to the root of the matter. It's not that they distrust her, she says, but their associations with other, bad colonizers have tainted them and made them suspicious. Akeley sees herself, in contrast, as a good colonizer which both allows her to justify the work that she is doing and to work within masculine imperial rhetoric by taking advantage of, or even creating, distinctions between white Westerners who were doing good in Africa and those who were not. Her earlier work collecting specimens and living with and observing the "pygmy" people on this trip, is doing good. She continues:

Their association with white men, a certain type of white men, who unfortunately are altogether too numerous in Africa, had left them like their own unhappy dogs suspicious of a proffered kindness and always on the alert and ready to dodge the kick which invariably accompanies a command. A less experienced traveler might

have become incensed and mistaken their actions for ingratitude, but experience had given me a sympathetic understanding of my porters' mental attitude, and I realized that it would take patience to win their confidence and good will. (170)

When she says “a certain type of white man,” she is likely referring to white big game hunters specifically, whom she frequently criticizes in her narrative for lacking an understanding of the region and its people. She contrasts her own work with these hunters whose actions in Africa she sees as having little value. As in the passage above, she blames these travelers to Africa for making the indigenous people distrustful, but she does not see herself as part of the problem despite that she is using the very same porters to carry very similar loads. Akeley finishes:

My simple humane act of distributing the loads did in time bring a rich reward. It not only won the friendship of these black men who were to be my only companions for many weeks in that great, lonely forest, but it gave them something to think of and gossip about as they trudged along the forest trail. (170-1)

In this anecdote, Akeley both criticizes other white Western travelers as being unkind and having no business in Africa, and praises her own dealings with African people as benevolent and considerate. Through an illustration of the treatment of the porters, Akeley sets herself up as the good female colonizer in contrast to the bad male colonizers. Her motives, she suggests, are pure as she is on an expedition to live with and observe the “pygmy” people, which she views as a benign and even benevolent endeavor, similar to how she describes her specimen-collecting as benevolent as it is done in the name of preservation. Despite the difference in power and social position in this

situation, Akeley feels sure that she has “won the friendship” of the men with her patience and sympathy. Though to win this friendship, she contrasts herself and her motivations with those of other male colonizers, ultimately her lack of questioning of this hierarchy, her acceptance of her place as leader of the party, even as she describes herself as a friend, aligns her with her male explorer counterparts. Therefore, to work within masculine discourse of exploration and imperialism, Akeley needs to both separate herself from, yet, in the end, align herself with, male colonizers in an act of mimicry.

In the passages above Akeley also utilizes another narrative device frequently employed by *Exploring Women*. That is, she emphasizes her experience in comparison to the lack of experience of others. Akeley repeatedly assures her readers that she knows what she is doing; she knows indigenous people better and is equipped to handle them. By giving her porters a rest before starting into the jungle “for their shoulders were raw and bleeding from carrying heavy loads,” Akeley shows that she has their interests at heart (170). However, she assures the reader that her “experience had given me a sympathetic understanding of my porters’ mental attitude, and I realized that it would take patience to win their confidence and good will” (171). Akeley, for instance, recognizes that the porters are missing the comforts of home and indulges them. She explains, “As we journeyed on I made them like me by stopping at villages and wayside markets to give them a rest and a treat” (171). These treats seem to act as compensation for the porters’ heavy loads and long time away from home and family.

In her interactions with indigenous people, then, Akeley has turned some detriments of being an *Exploring Woman* into advantages. She can be a friend to the indigenous people, even to her porters. She can indulge them and, she indicates, they

will like her, in contrast to other white male colonizers who use force or threats as incentive. She is also, she explains, in a better position to befriend indigenous people, especially indigenous women. She explains, “As a woman, of course, I was first of all interested in the life of these other women of the plains and forest. Being a woman, and a solitary traveler, I was able to win their confidence and by the greatest tact, patience, and persistence make them my friends” (8). This attitude indicates that, in addition to being a product of her time, Akeley accepts imperialistic attitudes toward indigenous people.

Exploring Women responded to these challenges of the colonizer-colonized relationship in different ways. Some earlier traveling women like Scottish missionary Mary Slessor, known as “White Ma,” set themselves up as the mother-figure for indigenous people. According to McEwan, “Slessor’s adoption of African children . . . was symbolic of her wider adoption of the people of Calabar, who often referred to her as ‘Ma’. She pictured herself as a mother figure, and her authority derived from this” (39). Other women travelers attempted to downplay their femaleness and align themselves more closely with male travelers or explorers to emphasize their whiteness and gain authority and credibility. Either way, interacting with foreign others was always a negotiation of gender, race, and class for Exploring Women. Akeley, as in the example above, fluctuated between the attitude of a male explorer-colonizer and a female traveler who befriends rather than dominates. She participates in a form of “anti-conquest,” as defined by Pratt, where scientists and naturalists were partaking in a seemingly innocent form of imperialism focused on “territorial surveillance, appropriation of resources, and administrative control” (39). Akeley, on her expedition to visit the “pygmies,” sees herself as an observer and interprets her earlier hunting and collecting activities as

contributing to knowledge and science, rather than exploiting resources. These attitudes color her perception of her relationship with her porters and her Mbuti neighbors in the Ituri forest by making her actions seem more benevolent than they are.

Akeley saw herself and her work in idealistic terms, yet critiqued imperialism as destroying the unsullied nature of African people. In the opening to *Jungle Portraits*, Akeley describes, a “young, native girl” in Western dress and how the “appearance of this caricature” was mocked by white men witnessing her whose “feet, obviously designed for jungle paths, were cramped into high-heeled yellow shoes, in which she hobbled and teetered her painful way” (2-3). Akeley concludes that “To me, the dark lady of the river bank was a symbol. She was the living representation of what happens when we try to improve savage life” (3). In other words, Akeley is not in Africa to civilize people for whom Western civilization is anathema, unlike other explorers or travelers who seek to change people and bring “progress” to the Africans. Akeley sees her role as more noble than that and thus, more palatable than other, more aggressive explorers and colonizers.

Rather than civilize, Akeley prefers that indigenous people remain “natural” and unsullied by Western influences, which is, certainly, an unrealizable fantasy. The indigenous people have already been deeply affected by imperialism. This desire to keep indigenous people “pure” highlights Akeley’s paternalism and her superior position. In *Jungle Portraits*, she displays an admiration for and establishes a sense of nostalgia about indigenous people and the “savage” life. This attitude acts as a response to working within masculine discourses as it promulgates the attitude of Western superiority over supposedly culturally less developed people; travelers like Akeley can either attempt to

bring Western culture to the indigenous people or preserve them as specimens of an earlier time. Akeley, as a collector and preservationist herself, chooses the latter. She frequently favorably compares the positive traits of indigenous people to the negative characteristics of white travelers. Akeley is particularly critical of big game hunters and others who disrupt what she sees as this idyllic native life and unspoiled natural world. She does, of course, exclude herself and other “collectors” of specimens from the other white travelers in Africa with more egregious characteristics. Despite her admiration for native life, Akeley habitually displays her sense of inherent superiority over indigenous people both by showing her power over them and by, at times, erasing their presence all together.

This erasure comes in how Akeley embraces the rhetoric of the white woman traveling alone. She touted her 1924 trip to Africa, which she undertook without her former husband but with over 70 indigenous porters and guides, as her solo journey. The porters apparently do not count as companions. Yet, traveling “alone” proves to be a challenge when Akeley needs the indigenous workers to follow her direction to rescue her husband.⁵⁶ In this case, Akeley viewed the indigenous workers as her employees to be commanded, rather than as friends. She expected them to follow her directions without question. Undoubtedly, in order for her solo expedition to function, Akeley needed the porters to follow through on her orders, yet, she describes their ongoing reluctance to do so. She seems not to understand that their “reluctance” functions as resistance, as a slowing down or tripping up of the white colonizer’s orders and desires

⁵⁶ Akeley describes the difficulties she has in controlling the native workers as a woman during the incident when Carl is injured by the elephant. She rallied the native workers by coercion and threat in order to convince them to form a rescue party in the dead of night (*Jungle Portraits* 239-45).

and, in effect, an undermining of her authority and power. McEwan discusses how resistance through insubordination or “laziness” can be evidence of agency on the part of colonized people which can be recovered from colonial narratives (180-181). Laziness was a common stereotype in imperial discourse, yet McEwan explains that some forms of laziness as resistance may be read as deliberate acts of transgression on the part of African servants who equated such work with slavery. This shows the agency of West Africans and the inability of British colonizers to exercise complete domination (190-1). In Akeley’s case, she needs her “friends” to obey her commands and, when this relationship fails, she invokes her imperial authority to compel them by threatening to tell the authorities about their behavior. To accomplish her solo journey, then, she relies on masculine imperial discourses to grant her authority that she does not have as a woman traveling alone.

CHAPTER 4

AMATEUR OR PROFESSIONAL?: EXPLORING WOMEN IN THE SCIENCES

“‘Science’ has come to mean in modern times a certainty of knowledge, a form of linear thinking that has become particularly male-identified,” writes Harper (12). To argue that Exploring Women had to use specific strategies to work in masculine discourses related to exploration, it is necessary to look more closely at the construction of gender and science in the early twentieth century. Specifically, it is necessary to study how scientific disciplines related to exploration have been created as masculine endeavors and realms of knowledge that excluded women from working as scientists and largely prevented them from becoming professional explorers. This examination leads us to an understanding of how Exploring Women used rhetorical strategies to compensate for the professional limitations that restricted their ability to work as explorers, particularly in scientific disciplines. This chapter shows that women working in the sciences related to exploration used mimicry to show that they could be professional scientists, despite their lack of credentials and professional memberships.

Before looking at examples of Exploring Women and their personas as professionals and as scientists, it is important to understand the roots of modern scientific disciplines, like botany and geography, which had been accessible to women in previous centuries, but where women had been edged out over time. Ann Shteir, in her study of botany and gender, explains that in the eighteenth century, many women “collected plants, drew them, studied them, and named them, taught their children about plants, and

wrote popularizing books on botany. Botany came to be widely associated with women and was widely gender coded as feminine” (29). However, a push to professionalize and change botany into botanical science in the nineteenth century had an impact on women botanists which resonated with the work of the twentieth century *Exploring Women of this study*. Shteir argues that “Gender, in fact, was integral to discipline formation in nineteenth-century botany. Through textual practices and other means, women and gender-tagged activities were placed into a botanical sphere, set apart from the mainstream of the budding science” (29). These, practices, according to Shteir, included a push to privilege the Continental system of classification based on physiology and morphology over the Linnaean system based on sexual classification (as the Linnaean system was seen as the realm of amateurs and “as polite knowledge of women”); a shift in publishing from coffee table books on botany, which had been published by both men and women, to scientific tomes published by men; and an emphasis that women’s focus in botany should be to teach basics to young people after which the young men would be turned over to a male teacher for further study.

Nevertheless, women continued to work in botany, some famously. Though for some women collecting and cataloging activities took place in their own backyards, at other times these amateur collectors were women relocated by imperialism and working in regions far from their home base of England or the United States. Yet, even these women continued to be largely viewed as amateurs in their fields even when their collections were accepted for study and preservation back home. Englishwoman Marianne North, for example, traveled worldwide in the mid- to late-1800s discovering and drawing plant species which were collected in a gallery at the Royal Botanic Gardens

in Kew. North had no formal training and funded her own travels as well as her gallery at Kew. Lesser-known botanic artists such as Englishwoman Maria Graham also created large portfolios of botanical drawings in South America in the 1820s. Despite these few exceptions who became known as botanists, women were increasingly shuffled into the separate sphere of polite and genteel botany rather than botany as a scientific field, keeping them in the role of amateurs despite their prolific work in the field.

As the twentieth century dawned, there were further noteworthy changes in the professionalization of fields related to exploration like botany and, significantly, geography. Exploring Women working in scientific fields related to exploration remained lay people in their own professions as they were increasingly marginalized in scientific fields and their work was relegated to the sidelines as the product of hobbyists. In other words, where their contributions had once been welcome, the professionalizing of scientific disciplines created an exclusion and separation of the work of women who did not have formal training, credentials, formal education and memberships in prestigious scientific societies that were largely closed to women members.⁵⁷ This was the environment that Exploring Women entered in the twentieth century which impacted their ability to carry out their work as explorers and which led them to utilize specific rhetorical strategies in their writing in order to be taken seriously as professionals.

Geography, like botany, had been open to, then increasingly excluded, women at the turn of the century. Domosh writes of how changes in the professionalization of natural sciences like geography led to the exclusion of women in histories of geography,

⁵⁷ John Lindley, first professor of botany at University College of London, sought to rescue botany from its place as a polite and genteel pastime, “an amusement of ladies,” and claim it as “an occupation for the serious thoughts of man” (Lindley qtd in Shteir 33).

privileging instead those men who met certain criteria of professionalization.⁵⁸ She writes:

Denied access to the academic training that would confer on them the appropriate status as 'scientists', women like Mary Kingsley, Mary Gaunt, Isabella Bird, and Marianne North found that fieldwork in the sense of exploration was as open to them as to anyone with adequate resources. Yet, as the disciplines in general were professionalized, and geography in particular came to be rigorously defined, these women were removed from the newly defined label of 'geographer'. The fieldwork of 'professional' geographers was codified and regulated in order to advance scientific learning. Fieldwork as geographic inquiry was limited to a few, elite, white males and was fostered in the male club atmosphere of the Royal Geographic Society (RGS) in England and the American Geographical Society in the United States. ("Toward a Feminist Historiography" 96-97)

Based on gender, then, Exploring Women remained outside of the upper echelons of the scientific disciplines, were excluded from memberships in scientific organizations, were systematically denied funding, and were left out of higher education available to their male counterparts. Domosh further argues that "male geographers deliberately shut 'women's knowledges' out of the definition of geography. . . . This was the case because first, exploration was implicitly tied to ideas of masculinity, and second, women's work was judged too subjective, and inferior to men's 'objective texts'" (Rothenberg 141-2). Despite this judgment, "a bar imposed by the RGS on female Fellowship had not

⁵⁸ As an example, Harriet Chalmers Adams, a prolific contributor to the *National Geographic Magazine* for over 30 years, was left out of their centennial commemorative volume *The National Geographic Society: 100 Years of Adventure and Discovery* (1987) published by C.D.B. Bryan, without even a mention (Davis "Remembering an American Geographer" 66-7).

precluded women from occasionally presenting papers on appropriate topics at Society meetings or gaining awards” (Bell and McEwan 299). Yet, even with this limited access, women could not partake of the benefits of membership in scientific societies that were afforded to men.

This last issue was changing in the twentieth century and women like Adams became well-known lecturers. In fact, Douglas McManis notes in his history of women in the AGS that, particularly prior to 1915 when the organization was re-organized to focus on the production of research, “women, few in number, participated in the lecture and publication activities but were employed only in supporting services.” Lecturing became an acceptable vocation for Exploring Women while they were prevented from working in other aspects of the organization that were considered the domain of men. The lecture circuit provided them credibility and a way to attempt to break into the ranks of exploration. By participating in lecturing, Exploring Women could influence the public’s thinking about colonial places and act as part of the imperial machine. Despite this limited participation, Exploring Women working in the sciences were excluded from claiming identities as scientific professionals. The scientific work that women were most frequently carrying out, such as botanical collecting, was relegated to an amateur activity, a hobby, while “real” science was left to male scientists which, in turn, led to the development of scientific disciplines without the input of women in the field.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Janice Monk (2003) explains, for example, that excluding the input of women from a history of geography fails to address how geographical research has depended on the resources and support of women in the field who worked as “specialist librarians, archivists, cartographers, curators, and editors, as well as their staffs” and also fails to consider “a perspective that brings into play social, economic, and institutional cultures and the ways in which they were inflected by gender” (253).

Harper explains that science as male-identified “has been so accepted that until relatively recently it was commonly believed that women were new to the field. . . . To a certain extent, as science developed into the modern sense of the word, a professional history was created which acknowledged and selected who would represent and make developments in the field and, thus, be acknowledged for their efforts” (12). Also, scientific biography became dominated by the stories of male scientists which obscured the stories of women working in the sciences (12). This chapter maintains that the work of *Exploring Women* has been obscured by the masculine discourses of exploration. Women, therefore, were not the creators nor the shapers of scientific disciplines as they are known today. This marginalization discounted their input and contributions and left these fields to be developed independently of women’s knowledge and ideas. As Harper states, “a professional history was created which acknowledged and selected who would represent and make developments in the field” that did not include women (12). Similarly for *Exploring Women*, this exclusion not only prevented women from working fully in their chosen professions, it left the professions void of the input of those with knowledge and experience. Women working in the sciences, then, were working within masculine discourses, in fields created by and dominated by men’s knowledge and ideas; *Exploring Women*, too, felt this divide as they were navigating these scientific disciplines in the context of exploration.

Given these circumstances, *Exploring Women* were working in disciplines that *had been shaped* to exclude them and, thus, they were forced to make compensations when working in and writing about their findings in these fields. This chapter addresses the critiques of scholars like Harper and Domosh who lament this (lack of) history of

women in the scientific professions like botany and geography by showing the strategies that Exploring Women were using to navigate masculine discourses related to exploration to enable them to work in related scientific professions. Their rhetorical choices both show how they understood and how they attempted to navigate these exclusions. To be included and to be taken seriously, Exploring Women had to prove that they were professionals. This was complicated by the need to acknowledge that they were women, that is, strategies of negotiation required remaining feminine while attempting to be acknowledged as an explorer, a masculine domain.

While gender bias excluded Exploring Women from working in and being acknowledged as scientists and explorers, Exploring Women, nevertheless, often successfully navigated male-dominated discourses to present and write about their scientific work. The rhetorical choices they make in their narratives show their expertise, yet also acknowledge their gender. That is, to be a female scientist-explorer, Exploring Women frequently had to mimic the roles of male scientist-explorers while also remaining feminine and womanly. This chapter extends the examination of how Exploring Women used rhetorical strategies in their narratives by looking at how they were taken seriously as scientific professionals. First, it shows how Exploring Women concentrated on fields that were historically acceptable for women, like botany; second, how Exploring Women emphasized experience over training and education to establish their credentials; and, third, how women labeled themselves as explorers and overcame deficits in funding and lack of access to professional support to become explorers. The clearest examples of this are found in the work of Louise Arner Boyd and Delia Akeley who emphasized their work in the natural sciences, designated as proper for ladies. Both

Boyd and Akeley also emphasized how their personal experience prepared them for, and justified their continued work in, exploration. Finally, Adams manipulated how she and her work were viewed and labeled when she coined herself as an explorer and a geographer, which both called attention to her experience and affiliated her with the history of exploration and with past explorers. These labels sometimes contrasted those given to Exploring Women by male explorers, publishers, or the public, but drawing from these associations, she could expand her own credibility. As this chapter shows, the rhetorical strategies these women used to talk about their work in exploration allowed them to work in the masculine discourses of exploration and the related sciences as professionals without overstepping their bounds as women in fields dominated by men. This chapter concludes by showing how Exploring Women handled the lack of funding and professional access and support for women in exploration and how, while these limitations hindered their ability to do their work, they employed creative strategies in order to continue working in exploration.

Botany and Beyond: Exploring Women Working in Natural Sciences

The narratives of Boyd and Akeley show Exploring Women working in the natural sciences, an acceptable vocation for women, in order to justify their work in exploration. In these examples, the tendency is for Exploring Women, who wear many hats on their expeditions, to call attention to their work in vocations traditionally acceptable for women within the sciences which allows them to carry out their work and to gain credibility and authority to do so. Since Boyd was an expedition leader, photographer, and sometimes surveyor, it may be difficult to see her as anything else, but

Boyd uses her work in botany to temper her forays into less traditionally feminine scientific spaces at a time when women were only beginning to move away from scientific fields acceptable to women.⁶⁰ Akeley, too, has many other roles beyond natural scientist—big game hunter and taxidermist among them—but, again, Akeley portrays herself primarily as an observer of animal and plant life and of people, and her mission as a “collector” tempers the seeming ruthlessness of her killing and transporting of African species (especially viewed by modern standards).

In *The Fiord Region of East Greenland*, when listing the scientific staff of her 1933 expedition, her first expedition coordinated with the AGS, Boyd identifies herself as “Louise A. Boyd, leader and photographer,” establishing what she considered her primary roles in the expedition (5). She repeats this introduction when listing the staff for her 1937 voyage in *The Coast of Northeast Greenland*. For her 1938 expedition, however, Boyd seems confident about her choice to do the botanical work herself. She claims the title of botanist, adding the caveat that “No botanist was included on the staff for this season, it being my plan to do the botanical collecting myself, as I had on most of my previous expeditions” (46). Though she admits that in the beginning she “had had no botanical training and knew only enough to take each specimen from its root to its tip and to record briefly the ecological conditions under which the plant grew” (274), she is satisfied with and receives praise for her early collections and is inspired to seek further training. In preparation for this 1938 voyage, Boyd received informal training from Alice

⁶⁰ McManis explains the significance of Boyd’s work in exploration. “Louise A. Boyd stands unique among women associated with the AGS. Her association was based on research interest: she was the premier female scientific explorer of the first three-quarters of the twentieth century. Her approach epitomized the shift of exploration from a quest for the unknown, which inevitably involved superhuman challenges of nature, to acquiring real data for scientific analysis.”

Eastwood. Boyd explains, “Although I am not a botanist, I have had good training in collecting from my friend Miss Alice Eastwood, internationally known botanist of the California Academy of Science, who has analyzed and catalogued all my Arctic collections” (*Northeast Greenland* 3). Eastwood instructs Boyd in the “professional method of collecting and preserving plants, the necessary equipment and its use, and how best to handle the specimens both in the field and aboard ship” (274). In tandem with Eastwood, Boyd presents the material on flora for the narrative of the 1938 expedition. Eastwood authors the section titled “Botanical Collecting” while Boyd, who did the work in the field, writes “Notes on Plant Collecting in East Greenland,” both printed as chapters in *The Coast of Northeast Greenland*.

Boyd’s vacillations between claiming ownership over her botanical work and minimizing her scientific knowledge and contributions reflect not just her gender, but also the time period in which she was working, her competing positions of expedition leader, photographer, botanist, and sometime surveyor, and her need to be both professional and, as a woman, appropriately modest when touting her accomplishments. Prior to her botanical work in 1938, Boyd had shown herself to be a thorough and careful observer and collector. She had filled in as botanist in 1933 when the hired botanist fell ill at the start of the voyage and seemed comfortable adding botanical collecting to her duties, even without formal training in the field.⁶¹ (On a subsequent expedition she had again hired a botanist.) Of the 1933 expedition, she writes: “In spite of the fact that the expedition’s botanist was unable to accompany us to Greenland, I was able to collect a total of 80 vascular plants at 13 different stations” (*Northeast Greenland* 4). Through her

⁶¹ Despite being a novice botanist on her expeditions, Boyd was well-known for her gardens at her estate of Maple Lawn.

several voyages, she seems proud to serve as botanist when she does so, yet seems unsure if she should take on this role permanently. Yet, in comparing the work on her 1931 and 1933 expeditions, Boyd explains that her botanical observations “may be of interest to botanists even though I make no claim to competence in the field of plant ecology” (*Fiord Region* 41). She acknowledges her contributions as a collector but stops short of claiming expertise in this field. Rather, here she hopes that her observations “may be of interest” without boasting that they will be. These uncertainties about her work in botany point not just to indecision on Boyd’s part, but, instead, show an attempt to find balance between having some layman’s knowledge of the subject along with the experience of her many voyages, but being unable to fully occupy the professional designation of botanist.

Despite this hesitation, working as a botanist in a field historically available to women as amateurs allowed Boyd to play a limited role as part of the scientific crew on her expeditions. Shteir explains that in the eighteenth century women had access to botany, however in the nineteenth century, Shteir writes, times were changing:

But whereas the gendered shape of botanical culture gave women access to botany during this earlier period, the same gendering was inverted after 1830 so as to restrict access to an increasingly "scientific" botanical practice. Women elbowed in, but then were elbowed out. The defeminized direction of botanical culture in turn shaped social practices for women in early and mid-Victorian botany. It shaped what they learned, how they practiced science, what they wrote, and how they positioned themselves in relation to audiences. (36)

In the nineteenth century, then, distinctions were beginning to be made between male scientists and women who dabbled in collecting.⁶² Men could be biological scientists while women like Boyd remained amateur botanists or simply collectors. Mills, referring to the work of Mary Russell, discusses the modest or self-effacing posture of women travelers in regards to their scientific writing. Here, she discusses an example from British missionaries Mildred Cable and Francesca French's *The Gobi Desert* where they maintain that they went forth on their journey unaware of the details of their route.

The reasons why they [Cable and French] make this statement is that women's texts are not supposed to be 'scientific' and authoritative, but rather, supposed to be amateurish. This problematic positioning of these texts often leads to the writing being prefaced with a disclaimer which denies any scientific, academic, literary, or other merit; this occurs very frequently with women's travel writing in the nineteenth century. A further result of this problem with adopting a 'scientific' voice is that some women travel writers concentrate their descriptions on those elements which fit their texts in with the feminine discourses, and therefore avoid reference to the colonial context or to scientific subjects. (Mills 83)

This avoidance of overstepping the bounds of discussing scientific subjects as a female traveler holds true for Exploring Women of the twentieth century who frequently focused on those subjects like botany that were acceptable for women travelers to observe and discuss. Even Boyd, whose expeditions carried out extensive experiments in fields such

⁶² Shteir further discusses the deliberate defeminizing of botany in the nineteenth century, remaking it as "botanical science" with credible, male scientists in charge of a field formerly dominated by women naturalists.

as glacial geography and hydrography, chooses to focus on her own role in botany, a historically acceptable science for a woman. Further, Boyd's assurance that she is not an expert, parallels this focus on the amateur, rather than authoritarian, voice taken by *Exploring Women*. Styling herself as a botanist allowed her to participate in scientific work from a safe space and to claim some level of authority as a professional without interfering with the masculine discourses surrounding these harder sciences where she had no expertise nor authority.

However, in the early twentieth century more changes were coming for *Exploring Women* like Boyd as more scientific disciplines were becoming professionalized. Gary S. Dunbar (1981) chronicles the changes in academic geography, a discipline closely related to exploration, at a point in which new academic disciplines were taking shape and geography was attempting to distinguish itself from geology and other scientific disciplines.⁶³ For *Exploring Women* who aspired to be taken seriously as scientists, the access and relationship to academic institutions, which bestowed degrees and thus determined who was a professional and who wasn't, was often complicated and frequently impossible. As someone without a degree and without credentials, but with leadership qualities and bountiful resources, Boyd's claims as botanist were somewhat precarious. Yet, she was able to take on this role due to botany's long-established history as a woman's field. Boyd didn't limit herself to this role, however. She also made

⁶³ Interestingly, other than a mention of Ellen Churchill Semple, American geographer and first female president of the Association of American Geographers, Dunbar's article doesn't discuss the role of female geographers in academia in any depth. This inattention seems to assume that there weren't any significant women in the field to discuss or that women geographers were not taken seriously as professionals in the period he was writing about. Even more telling is that as Dunbar's article went to press in 1981, he did not feel compelled to mention this absence of female geographers indicating further evidence of the lack of recognition for *Exploring Women* and their achievements in science and exploration.

zoological observations, cataloged in *The Fiord Region of East Greenland* in a section titled “Animal Life,” and worked with the resident surveyor to create maps using a process called “photogrammetry.” Yet, claiming the status of botanist was a safe choice.

As a natural science, seen as related to the feminine domains of home and family, botany allowed women to work in the sciences while remaining in their “natural” place. Domosh and Seager, referencing the work of McEwan, explain that women working in botany and related fields were viewed as amateur naturalists as opposed to male scientists who were accepted as professionals.⁶⁴ As a result, women’s scientific contributions as botanists did not need to be taken as seriously as the professional contributions of scientific men (186-7). Boyd’s work as a botanist on her voyages, then, had a frame of reference as part of the history of women in the natural sciences, and was likely viewed as less threatening to the male scientific crew than, for example, Boyd’s work in surveying. As a botanist, Boyd could arguably take more credit for her work than when she was working in mapping and surveying, fields dominated by men.⁶⁵ By identifying herself as a botanical collector, an amateur at that, Boyd stayed safely within a realm designated for women while working with an all-male scientific crew of hydrographers, physiographers, and geologists. That is, as a self-proclaimed amateur botanist, Boyd could do scientific work and become part of the scientific crew, but she did not step on anybody’s toes.

In addition to serving as an amateur botanist, Boyd served as amateur zoologist on

⁶⁴ McEwan writes that “The fact remains that women travelers, for example, were not geographers, nor did they define themselves as such” (3), but they were writing and being read; “they were writing differently and often in highly original ways” from male travel writers who could claim the title of geographer (3).

⁶⁵ In the U.S., even now, “only 4.3 percent of surveying and mapping technicians are women” (“Science, Engineering, Surveying and Mapping Technicians, and Drafters”).

multiple expeditions. Comparing her 1931 and 1933 expeditions, Boyd writes “As no professional zoologist accompanied either the expedition of 1931 or that of 1933, these notes are necessarily those of an amateur” (*Fiord Region* 47). In her zoologic observations, Boyd focuses on comparisons between her several journeys. This serves multiple purposes. First, scientifically, it allows for a better understanding of the patterns of animal migrations and behaviors over several seasons in different ice conditions, as Boyd acknowledges when she writes that “Arundel Island, off Home Foreland, was visited in 1933, but not in 1931, and hence we have no comparison. Here I saw eider ducks and found their nests and eggs among the stones as well as on the shores of a small lake” (49). In contrast, the observations she makes about muskox, polar bears, narwhals, and multiple birds from year to year allow for comparison of the animals’ habits. She describes how in 1931, “The shores of Muskox Fiord (which seems well named) throughout its length are a favorite haunt of these animals” while in 1933, “Along Muskox Fiord they now were far back in the hills and rarely came near the shore” (47). More than simply describing habits of Arctic animals, these observations say something about Boyd. They show that she has personal experience in observing Arctic animals and comparing their habits from multiple seasons on her many visits to the Greenland coast. This highlights both her observation skills and her years of experience as when she notes differences in the muskoxen’s behavior in 1933, “when they [the muskox] did so [come near the shore] they were afraid of man” (47). However, she largely refrains in the narrative from interpreting these differences that she observes. These comparisons serve to emphasize her multiple journeys to the Arctic without making claims of expertise; rather, they leave the results of her observations to be interpreted by experts. The reader,

however, is led to understand that Boyd's expertise stems from this personal experience. This is significant as the highlighting of personal experience over traditional education and accreditation was another strategy employed by Exploring Women to show their qualifications as explorers.

Personal Experience as a Marker of Authority

A second strategy employed by Exploring Women allowed them to establish their credibility as scientists and explorers through the benefit of experience. As Exploring Women lacked the formal training and credentials of their male counterparts, they used their written narratives to carefully document their experience to demonstrate to readers and, indeed, to male explorers reading their accounts, the validity of their findings. This personal experience was best emphasized through mentions and comparisons of their previous expeditions to show the accumulation and application of experience. Again, a good example of the use of this strategy comes from Boyd who, after seven trips to the Arctic had traveled to the northern most point of the Greenland coast that had been reached to date, became an acknowledged expert on Arctic travel, despite having begun her Arctic voyages as a tourist ("Boyd Expedition Sets Arctic Mark" 23). Akeley, as well, employs this strategy of highlighting personal experience in *Jungle Portraits* when she draws on her previous experience travelling in Africa with her husband to justify her later solo expeditions. Her de facto leadership in these earlier expeditions, due to her husband's illnesses and injuries, further justifies this strategy of using personal experience to reinforce her professional authority and to validate her later trip.

Louise Boyd, Establishing Experience

Boyd, at strategic points in her narratives, calls attention to her vast experience of the Arctic in order to promote her own credibility, to show that she is capable and that she has the knowledge to undertake her expeditions even without higher education and specialized training. She opens her second narrative of the Arctic, *The Coast of Northeast Greenland*, by apprising the reader of her many trips to the Arctic. Boyd's narrative of her 1937 and 1938 Arctic expeditions begins, as noted in the introduction: "Seven times, since August, 1924, when I had my first taste of the far north on a trip to Spitsbergen and the edge of the ice pack to the northwest on a small Norwegian tourist steamer, I have taken expeditions into the Arctic" (1). A footnote to this sentence reads: "All of these expeditions were organized and financed by Miss Boyd and conveyed in ships chartered by her—EDIT. NOTE." which emphasizes her authority and responsibilities in the expeditions (1, capitalization in original). This opening establishes Boyd's credentials as expedition leader, sets the tone for the narrative that follows, and shows that she has the authority to undertake these expeditions due to her persistence and perseverance. Though the AGS published her narratives as part of their Special Publication series, this footnote shows that the AGS credits Boyd with the work that she did in getting the expeditions off the ground. Further, this shows a symbiotic relationship between Boyd and the AGS, ultimately sharing costs and resources, which helped to establish Boyd as a professional. This establishment of authority by association worked for Boyd in tandem with her personal experience, though establishing professional authority in this way was fraught with decades of exclusion for women, as discussed below. In Boyd's case, this immediate establishment of her experience as her credential

emphasizes knowledge and practice over education or formal specialized training, which gives her the authority to carry out her work and to present the information in the narrative that follows. For an Exploring Woman, establishing this credibility by experience reflects the long-standing history of women as knowledgeable amateurs, but also indicates the changing climate of exploration that emphasized professionalization but still largely excluded women. This strategy of calling on personal experience, then, served both to harken back to how women had long-gained authority in practices like botany and to demonstrate that they understood the need to prove that they were comparable to professional men.

The other Exploring Women of this study did their work, like Boyd, without the benefit of formal education or training. They honed their expertise through their own personal experience supplemented by their reading and what they gleaned informally through working with male colleagues, as Boyd learned from working with her resident surveyors and the other scientists on board. Boyd was, from the start, an unlikely candidate as an Exploring Woman. Before her Arctic travels, Boyd lacked any formal scientific education and held no prestigious memberships in geographic and scientific organizations, giving her little access to funding opportunities that were available to male geographers and explorers, though she later became a member of the AGS. Receiving recognition for over a decade of travel and exploration, Boyd worked in service to the U.S. government during World War II when her knowledge of the Arctic regions made her input invaluable. During this time, she funded yet another expedition to the Arctic.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Popular lore suggests that the expense of funding multiple expeditions to the Arctic over several decades eventually led Boyd to sell her San Rafael estate, Maple Lawn, and retire to a nursing home where she lived out her life on the charity of friends.

Her experience, by this point in her career as an explorer, was extensive and superseded her lack of formal training.

Personal experience as a strategy to obtain and present authority for an Exploring Woman often begins tentatively in women's exploration narratives and grows over the course of the narrative or narratives as it does for Boyd. In this way, Exploring Women, do not claim expertise until they have the background to back it up. Boyd writes that her earliest expeditions in 1926 and 1928 "were in the nature of training for my subsequent expeditions to East Greenland" and that since those "training" expeditions, she has "had the satisfaction of organizing and conducting expeditions that successfully negotiated the belt of ice that guards the East Greenland coast" (*Northeast Greenland* 1). In showing where she comes from and where she has come to, Boyd shows that she "trained" and prepared to be an expedition leader. In short, she shows that she deserves her role. Despite the confidence that she displays here, she further explains that she has brought back what she "hope[s] are worth-while contributions to knowledge" (1). This statement, in addition to displaying a form a self-effacement as discussed in Chapter 2, shows that her experience needs to be earned and that she understands that her contributions will be judged for their scientific merit by her readers and by experts in the field. In summarizing her 1931 journey in this volume, Boyd describes it as a "reconnaissance." Using this language suggests that she had scouted out her routes and tested her equipment for the later journeys. This further shows her immense preparation and the seriousness with which she undertook her work. Here, again, she expresses her desire to "do what I could to add to the knowledge of features and conditions that everywhere seemed to call for scientific investigation," so she is eager but also prepared, and she is gaining the

experience necessary to make these contributions (3). Her phrasing here that she will “do what I could” may come across as tentative and unsure that she will make a worthwhile contribution, yet it shows her beginning to recognize and express the potential value of her contributions.

Boyd’s language on her later trips illustrates how her growing expertise, familiarity with the region, and knowledge of the Greenland coast seems to reassure and rejuvenate her, presenting her as confident and self-assured. In 1937, on her fifth Arctic voyage, working in Franz Josef Fiord, Boyd writes:

I was now in familiar country, and it was with renewed pleasure that I looked forward to seeing once more the 120-odd miles of this fiord’s winding waterways. This was my third visit, but repeated visits increase rather than diminish the thrill that one experiences at the grandeur of this fiord, the magnificence of its towering walls and snow-covered mountain borders with summits rising to from 7000 to 11,000 feet. The brilliant coloring of the walls, whether seen in dull light or full sun, has a beauty and vividness quite beyond imagination. (*Northeast Greenland* 30)

Here, in the space of a single description, Boyd mentions specifically that this is her “third visit” and that she is in “familiar” country, and that “repeated visits” increase the thrill of the experience, leading her readers to understand her expertise as an explorer. She is speaking from firsthand experience, *repeated* firsthand experience. On Ymer Island on the return trip to Norway, also in 1937, Boyd uses a similar tactic when she

writes, “As I walked over the island which had now become so familiar to me – I had made at least two stops there on each of my previous expeditions – I found the reds and yellows of the vegetation as brilliant as any autumn coloring which I had ever seen farther south” (*Northeast Greenland* 37). Again, she mentions how many times she has been there, “at least two stops,” and mentions her previous expeditions. Further, her comparison here of the fall colors on Ymer Island to the fall colors “farther south” shows the range of her experience both over time and over geographic area. She has seen multiple fall seasons in the region over a wide geographical area allowing her to compare foliage over time and space. In this description, she expresses the comfort that familiarity brings to her individually, but also shows her audience that this familiarity, this personal experience, has contributed to her growing expertise.

Delia Akeley, De facto Expedition Leader

Like Boyd, Akeley relied on personal experience to showcase her expertise and to grant her authority to work in exploration and in scientific fields in which she had not been formally trained. Unlike Boyd, however, Akeley had the benefit of her knowledgeable spouse to show her the ropes when she started out as an inexperienced traveler and explorer. Though the previous chapter focused on how Akeley exploited Carl Akeley’s weaknesses in order to establish her own credibility as an explorer, this chapter analyzes how Akeley, with help from Carl, establishes her authority in her narrative based on her personal experience and expertise. Initially, Akeley learned most of what she knew about exploration from Carl on their two expeditions to Africa in 1906-07 and 1909-11 where he taught her about hunting, skinning, and preserving animals for

transport back to museums in the U.S. Though the collection and preservation of specimens was the main purpose of their trips, Akeley spends a disproportionate amount of time in *Jungle Portraits* on her own observations of native species. This kind of observation was a secondary goal of their agenda as Carl wished to create life-like dioramas that depicted animals in natural settings. For that, he and Akeley needed to closely observe the animals in their natural environments. For Akeley, however, this was an area in which she could excel and claim expertise. Her chapters are largely titled and categorized by this pastime of observing wildlife: “Apes and Monkeys,” “Elephants in the Fog,” “Crocodiles,” and “The Flamingos of Lake Hannington.” More a zoological observer than a botanist like Boyd, Akeley dedicated an entire book, *J.T. Junior: The Biography of an African Monkey* (1928), to her observations and her life with a monkey the couple collected on their travels. The volume on J.T. Junior and her categorization of her chapters in *Jungle Portraits* show where Akeley’s strengths lay and where she could claim expertise apart from Carl who was already well-known and well-respected in his field. Her focus on zoological work allows her to move out from under her husband’s shadow and claim her own expertise.⁶⁷

In her narrative, Akeley emphasizes her personal experience and her firsthand observations to show her capability to work in scientific disciplines. When describing apes and monkeys, for example, she emphasizes the time and care that it takes to learn anything about these elusive animals and the benefits of patient and careful study. She shows that her extensive knowledge stems from this kind of studied experience in the

⁶⁷ Olds speculates that Akeley’s obsession with J.T. Junior led to her divorce from Carl Akeley, suggesting that he was unsatisfied at home which led to the two parting ways (109-110). Akeley may have been attempting to find her own focus and her own work, apart from that of her husband.

field and not from guesswork or passing knowledge. Akeley has invested time on the ground in Africa in order to gain her knowledge of these creatures. She writes:

The real truth concerning the habits and characteristics of apes and monkeys can be learned only through exhaustive study. Years must be spent by the student in the lonely forests where the animals live. No caged animal or stuffed museum specimen with distorted bodies and horrid glass eyes can tell us the fascinating life history of the wild, free creatures. It is greatly regretted that much of our information about these interesting animals has been gained by deduction, by travelers' tales, and by studying captured animals that are living unnatural lives in cages on a man-selected diet. (28)

Here, Akeley emphasizes the importance of her firsthand knowledge and experience. Study must be “exhaustive” and it takes “years”—experience which Akeley had. She specifically points out that there is no substitution for this firsthand experience of observing animals in the wild, that is, museum specimens or caged animals will not provide the same information as what Akeley is privilege to when observing them in the wild. Though these comments may seem to belittle the purpose of the Akeleys' travels to Africa to collect specimens for exhibits, her description of “distorted bodies” and “horrid glass eyes” seems to refer to earlier iterations of dioramas that were less life-like than those created by her husband with her input. Understandably, the Akeleys' dioramas would largely rectify this. Carl was particularly famous for his life-like dioramas that featured exotic animals in settings mimicking their actual habitats, yet Akeley points out that the museum experience is not enough to really understand wild animals. Her description praises the work of both Carl, as a taxidermist, and herself, as an observer of

wildlife, for finally bringing the most natural experience of wild animals to the public. Yet, it is also clear here that her own personal experience of seeing the animals in the wild cannot be duplicated in the museum. This description, then, adds to her credibility as an explorer and as a scientist by showing that the expertise that she has gained on her expeditions is unavailable to others who do not spend the time and care that she has in the wilds of Africa with these creatures.

Akeley has an even more effective method of using her personal experience to aid her credibility when she applies the scientific method to her observations.⁶⁸ For example, after observing large pieces of turtle shell in the stomachs of crocodiles, Akeley sets out to determine how crocodiles eat and digest large turtles. She has observed crocodiles crushing and eating small turtles and has been told by many in “authority” that crocodiles eat the larger turtles in a similar fashion, but she is skeptical. In company with a friend in the upper Tana River Valley in 1925, she has the opportunity to observe this phenomena close-up. She describes the episode in detail over four pages in her narrative. She explains how:

[T]here came a tremendous splashing from the deep pool on my right. Rising cautiously and peering through the branches I was amazed to see a monster crocodile rolling over and over, churning the water into foam and sending the wavelets rippling and dancing in all directions.

⁶⁸ Harper writes of the importance of observation and method in women’s intellectual history. She explains, “Initially, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century science presented itself not as an area of study so much as a method which related observation to the forming of hypotheses, a method which could be applied to human activities as well as to the natural world. The natural history tradition was based on close and careful observations and made less distinction between the natural world and the people living in that world; thus, sociology, anthropology, ethnology, and archeology, as well as botany and geology, are scientific” (14-15).

But that was not all. Gripped tight in his powerful jaws was the front foot of a huge turtle. With each lightning-like revolution of the monster's body the turtle, which must have weighed at least forty or fifty pounds, was swung clear of the water. So fast did the crocodile turn that the water seemed to remain parted in the path of the turtle.

Presently the crock swam to a rocky ledge on the edge of the pool and, dragging the turtle with him, crawled out and rested the upper half of his body on the stone. After a short interval he slid backward into deep water, dragging the struggling turtle after him, and began the dizzying revolving movements again.

(128-9)

Akeley first hears splashing and then “peers” through the branches at the sight of the crocodile and the turtle. Her proximity and thus her eyewitness account of the incident is established through her ability to first hear, then see, the incident, being so close as to necessitate hiding in the branches to avoid becoming involved. She determines that the turtle is, indeed, a large one, “forty or fifty pounds,” and so this experiment will fulfill her question. She continues:

[T]he crocodile submerged, and, hidden though we were behind our screen of leaves, I feared he had detected our presence . . . [he] rose like a submarine close to the bank and repeated his jiu-jitsu operations on the turtle. This time so fast did he rotate his body that he seemed hardly to touch the water. (129)

As the crocodile emerges closer to the bank, Akeley shushes her “gun boy” and her companion, suggesting the danger the trio are in, and further establishing the eyewitness

nature of the incident. They remain hidden and the crocodile continues his meal. She finishes the tale:

Suddenly we saw the turtle shoot through the air and land with a resounding whack and crushing force against the wall of rock which formed the opposite bank. As it fell into the water, the crocodile, with a flip of his tail, dived after it. In a moment the ugly head was again thrust above the water. The great jaws with their fearful rows of teeth opened and crashed like a sprung trap over a great hunk of turtle meat. Again and again he dived and returned to the surface to crunch and swallow a piece of his meal.

He was a huge creature and an easy target for our guns, for, as he fed, the vulnerable spot on his head was exposed. But Mrs. Tarlton and I agreed that he had earned the right to live by not only providing entertainment for us, but by indirectly making an important contribution to science through his remarkable performance. (129-30)

In this sequence of events, Akeley shows that she is systematic in her observations, that she forms hypotheses and then conducts experiments in real-time and in real, rather than simulated, conditions. Through this careful methodology, she highlights her authority as a scientific profession and further cements the importance of firsthand observation and careful study. With time, patience, and care, and careful study of animal behavior, she determines how the crocodiles feed on large turtles. She learns more in this episode than she had in consulting numerous “authorities” on the subject, whom she has proven wrong.

In addition to using the scientific method, Akeley takes the opportunity here to point out that she observed this behavior on her “last expedition to the upper Tana River in 1925.” This identification of time and place serves two purposes. First, it indicates that she has made multiple trips to the area and is, like Boyd, able to compare what she sees from one visit to the next. This ability to compare adds depth to her observations and supports her credibility. Second, it reflects her ability to travel and explore independent of her husband or other male companion. At the time of this observation, Akeley was divorced from Carl and was traveling to Africa on her own with commissions from the Brooklyn Museum of Arts and Sciences. Her companion in this incident, tellingly, is a female friend, who has little, or no, clout as a scientist in her own right, making Akeley the expert rather than playing second-fiddle to her husband.

Explorer or Traveler?: Labels and Affiliations of Exploring Women

Exploring Women use a third strategy to work in the scientific disciplines related to exploration by creating their identity as explorers through the labels and affiliations that they pursued. For Boyd, that meant becoming affiliated with the AGS, which gave her authority to work in exploration, access to funding, and a publication venue. For Adams, that meant calling herself an explorer and a geographer, even if no one else did, and affiliating herself with the National Geographic, whose mission was “to increase and diffuse geographic knowledge” (“Announcement” NGM 1 (October 1888), i, qtd in Rothenberg 27). In addition, Adams affiliated herself with a long history of exploration and travel and, in her many articles, showed how she was a part of something larger than herself. Rothenberg explains how the labels given to women explorers by the public, or

even by their own colleagues, frequently contrasted with how they labeled themselves. Referring to Adams, she writes: “While Adams billed herself as an explorer, a designation echoed by the newspapers who covered her lectures and exploits, her editors at the *Geographic* differentiated between scientific explorer-investigators and travelers. Peary, Macmillan and Chapman, whom the Society funded, belonged to the former category. Adams was placed in the latter” (143). In other words, even to their publishers Exploring Women were travelers or, perhaps, adventurers, while men were scientific explorer-investigators.

In contrast to the distinctions of the *National Geographic Magazine*, Adams labeled herself as an “explorer” in order to gain acceptance and credibility. This distinction between adventurer and explorer may seem exacting, but for Exploring Women it could mean the difference between being taken as a serious professional or being dismissed. “Adams wanted to be taken seriously as a geographer,” biographer Davis writes, “and her articles were intended to educate more than entertain, omitting the more harrowing experiences found in her diaries. *National Geographic Magazine* was a popular as well as an educational magazine, and Adams’ writing merged objective, scientific observation with vivid description so her readers could ‘see’ what she saw” (“Remembering an American Geographer” 58). In Adams’ case, her strategy of influencing the perception of herself and her work, making herself out to be an explorer and geographer, went a long way to making it true. She portrayed herself as what she wanted to be, an explorer, and, in doing so, became it. This labeling of herself as an explorer and geographer allowed her to be more readily accepted into the masculine discourses related to geography and exploration, though it had its limitations. In her

writing, she clearly affiliates with these labels as when she writes, “We geographers must think of the Andes, not as a range rising from the coastal plain, but as the most stupendous mountain system in the world, if we consider its gradual slope from ocean bed to crowning summit” (“Longitudinal Journey” 229-230). Labeling herself as a geographer here could be contentious as Adams’ only tangible claim as a geographer was as that of an experienced traveler. She like other Exploring Women was well-read and had mentors, yet she hadn’t been formally educated in geography or other related disciplines. Rather, her “formal education lasted only until age eleven, and from that point consisted of exploration with her father, voracious reading, and lessons with private tutors” (“Remembering an American Geographer” 55). Education came from experience, rather than credentials. In addition, “During this period, under her father’s tutelage, she developed keen powers of observation and a systematic thoroughness that later garnered the respect of other geographers and explorers” (55). So Adams, like Boyd and Akeley, relied largely on experience to cement her credibility as an explorer, but went even further by claiming the identity that she desired. Adams’ journey to Chile that she describes above marked twenty years traveling in South America. Yet, even with this vast experience and attempts to prove herself as a geographer and explorer, Adams’ role in the profession remained limited by her gender. “But, as much as she was loyal to the Society, she was treated as an adventurous traveler rather than a serious explorer, and was denied funding for her expeditions,” Davis writes (59).

As another way of labeling herself as an explorer and geographer, Adams attempted to give herself credibility in the sciences by affiliating herself with a long line of explorers from the ancient to the more recent. By drawing on this historical past in her

articles, she inserts herself into the masculine history of exploration. In some cases, she draws on an association with the ancient indigenous peoples of South America, while at other times she likens herself to the Spanish and other European conquerors. She even draws on multiple histories as when in “Cuzco, America’s Ancient Mecca,” (1908) she writes:

Through legendary and historical lore, I recalled the many wayfarers who had gone before me—Manco Capac and Mama Occla, his wife, missionaries of the Sun, on their way to found the Sacred City; Inca Emperors, returning from conquests far to the east and south; Spanish conquistadores, bearing the sword and cross, brave warriors of the revolutionary days when Peru threw off the Spanish yoke; countless soldiers of the civil wars, and, in contrast to those pageants, the simple, unchanging mountaineers, driving toward their laden llamas, bowing their heads in worship of Cuzco the Sacred, as their Mecca came into view. (669)

Situating herself as one of these “wayfarers” in a long line of “wayfarers,” Adams justifies her own travels as well as justifying the “traveling” of those who came before her. Even the conquerors seem to have their place in this history. Significantly for Adams, including herself in this long line de-emphasizes her gender by showing what she has in common with these other ancient travelers. Adams uses a similar strategy when she invokes early explorers from Columbus to Pizarro to Ponce de Leon, though she seldom compares herself directly to them as she does in the example above. Instead, she simply recalls their deeds and travels. She writes that:

The Inca's trail from Peru led down the backbone of the snow-clad Andes and across the burning desert. In 1535 Diego de Almagro, a colleague of Pizarro, traveled the same road with a great army of Spaniards and Peruvians, horses and llamas, two Incan princes acting as guides.

Old Spanish chronicles tell of the terrible suffering from cold and thirst endured by Almagro's men on the six months' march. The desert was strewn with their bones. Alluring were Copiapó's meadows to those who survived!

Almagro failed to subdue the southern natives, and five years later a Spanish army was again encamped in Copiapó, led this time by Pedro de Valdivia, who kept on south to found Santiago." ("Longitudinal Journey" 226)

Adams, in this example, associates herself not by a direct comparison, but because she is traveling some of the same roads as these long-ago explorers. She sees what they saw and experiences much of what they experienced in their journeys. After all, times have changed, but the rocks and streams, and many of the roads, have remained the same for travelers like Adams to traverse again. She seems to invoke these tales of the conquistadores and the Incas not to pass judgment on the conquistadors for their imperial actions, but to evoke an exploratory past which, as an explorer, she claims a part of. By following the trails of these earlier explorers, she becomes one of them and thus despite her gender legitimizes her travels and her authority as an explorer.

Adams took this desire to follow in the footsteps of earlier explorers to the extreme when in 1912, she "began what would become a lifelong quest to explore and compile information on every former Spanish possession" (Davis "Remembering an American Geographer" 60). She followed the trail of Columbus through both the Old

and New World and completed her tour of Spanish possessions in 1929, when “she toured twenty countries in seven months, exploring every country that had ever been in possession of Spain or Portugal” (Davis “Forgotten Life” 29). By affiliating herself with such a well-known and far-reaching explorer as Columbus, Adams could truly claim her place as an explorer. Though these affiliations with earlier explorers managed, in some ways, to bring Adams into the fold of explorers and geographers by giving her experience and legitimacy as a traveler and allowing her to show her expertise in her many articles in the *National Geographic Magazine* and elsewhere, drawing these connections was not enough to enter fully into the masculine discourses of exploration. Despite her attempts to label herself as an explorer and geographer, Adams remained almost an explorer, but not quite. For Adams to be admitted into the RGS, she first had to make a unique discovery which she did on a trip to Haiti in 1910 which is discussed in Chapter 6.

Boyd, in a similar move, affiliated herself with well-known male explorers and as well as a significant international incident. In the beginning pages of *The Fiord Region of East Greenland*, Boyd recaps her earliest excursions to the Arctic in 1924, 1928, and 1931. She tells her readers how, in 1928, she played a role in the international search for famed Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen who was lost in the Arctic while he himself was searching for Italian explorer Umberto Nobile whose airship had crashed on the Arctic ice pack. “Again in Arctic waters in 1928,” Boyd writes, “I had the privilege of taking part in the search for Amundsen. Some ten thousand miles were traversed during a quest that took us many times along the west coast of Spitsbergen as well as westward into the Greenland Sea and eastward to Franz Josef Land and into the pack ice north of the latter to latitude 81° 13′ N.” (1). By highlighting this event, Boyd not only creates a

personal relationship with Amundsen but also establishes her place in the masculine tradition of exploration and her credibility as an explorer. Her inclusion of and privileging of this incident in her narrative make it notable for in her experience as an explorer. Yet, Boyd is rarely mentioned in any sources that document the tragedy or ensuing rescue attempt. This lack of recognition in recollections of the incident distances Boyd from these noted male explorers and the exploratory tradition. Notable, for example, is the failure of Rudolph Herzog's documentary, *Amundsen: Lost in the Arctic* (2010), to even mention Boyd even though she abandoned the agenda of her 1928 voyage to participate in the search. For her participation, Boyd even received the Chevalier Cross of a Knight of St. Olaf from King Haakon of Norway (Moss 5). Yet, despite her involvement being lost to history, her participation in the rescue seems to be of particular significance to her.

Professional Societies

Perhaps it seems redundant for Adams to need or desire admittance to an organization such as the RGS when she was already traveling steadily and writing for the National Geographic Society, or for Boyd to become a member of the AGS when she was already funding and running her own expeditions. But for Exploring Women, professional societies made two important differences in their work: legitimacy and funding. Domosh explains that “[w]omen travellers, it was thought, were not truly adding to geographic knowledge – i.e., they were not surveying new lands and therefore could not qualify for membership [in geographic societies], although such a requirement of ‘new’ geographic knowledge was never applied to men seeking membership”

(“Toward a Feminist Historiography” 97). So, though women were working in exploration and its science-related disciplines, often little credit was given to their work as adding scientific value. Rather, women’s exploration narratives tended to be read, simply, as travel narratives. While women had been allowed into the AGS since its inception in 1851, comparatively few women were members. According to McManis, the first woman was elected to the AGS in 1869 and by 1893, nine of 1,400 members were women, many of whom were relatives or wives of male members. McManis views this lack of women’s membership, despite the open policy, as indicative of the impression that “geography chiefly meant exploring in strange and unknown places” and for being “unladylike” creating a risk, for women, of being branded “peculiar or eccentric.” When women did join in larger numbers, they participated largely in the lecture and publication programs, according to McManis, rather than exploration.

The Royal Geographical Society, founded in 1830, had a more contentious history with women members, denying admission of women until 1892 when fifteen women were admitted as fellows, only to renege and deny admittance to women for twenty years. In 1913, however, this was rectified and 163 women were admitted including Adams.⁶⁹ According to Morag Bell and Cheryl McEwan, “Over half of the 163 women admitted in 1913 were explorers and travellers who, like their nineteenth-century predecessors, had produced detailed travel narratives. It was on the basis of these publications, and their worth as geographical texts, that they were admitted to the Society” (“Admission of Women Fellows” 302). Becoming a member of a professional society legitimized the work of Exploring Women and provided support and a platform for their work. Yet,

⁶⁹ Rothenberg reports, however, that even after her admission, Adams’ editor Gilbert Grosvenor denied her request to include “F.R.G.S.” after her byline (137).

despite this opening up of admission, women were still largely marginalized, leading to four women geographers founding of the Society of Women Geographers in 1925. Harriet Chalmers Adams was elected the first president. Other societies remained exclusively male such as the Explorer's Club which did not admit female members until 1981. Likewise, the Association of American Geographers, founded in 1904, "was very much a men's club" despite admitting women, according to Janice Monk ("Practically all the Geographers").

The women of this study, not surprisingly, found membership to be strategic for the support and funding of their work. Funding was an ongoing issue for non-affluent explorers like Adams. Though paid for her articles and lectures, they did not make her rich. Adams and her husband Franklin Adams relied largely on his salary from the Pan American Union to stay afloat (Rothenberg 137). And despite Adams long affiliation with The National Geographic Society and her prolific traveling and writing schedule, these organizations were markedly reluctant to fund her. For example, Adams requested funding in 1915 for an expedition to Africa and was rebuffed by Gilbert Grosvenor (her editor at the *National Geographic Magazine*), who referred her to the "Research Committee" with the caveat that the Society was conserving resources for new construction, so funding was limited (Rothenberg 137-8). During the same period, though, the Society funded seven expeditions to Alaska as well as Frank Chapman's expedition to Peru's Urubamba Valley (Davis "Remembering an American Geographer" 59). In their later years, the Adamases retired to Europe to keep expenses down and to live off the little earned income they had left.

Boyd, too, relied on professional organizations to provide funding. Though Boyd eventually secured financial backing through the AGS beginning with her 1933 expedition, she had first had to prove herself by self-funding her earlier expeditions to Greenland, which were part-tourist, part-scientific endeavors. When the funding finally did come in, “Boyd enthusiastically embraced the professional credentials that sponsorship by the AGS afforded and made sure that she purchased for her trips the very best scientific equipment and instruments available” (Domosh “Toward a Feminist Historiography” 100). Yet, even affiliation with the AGS didn’t open all the doors of exploration for Boyd and other Exploring Women. Monk, in discussing women’s roles in the AGS, points out that “[f]rom the late nineteenth century until the early 1970s [and arguably beyond], women scientists found it difficult to obtain appointments in universities” which restricted them from using this kind of an affiliation to further their travel and research agendas.

Akeley and Peck, as well, were not immune to funding problems. In *Jungle Portraits*, Akeley lays out for her readers how early collectors of specimens went into the field with “very little money” and “very poorly equipped for their undertaking” (230). Though, she admits, times changed with more financial backers interested in funding natural history, for Akeley and her husband remaining on their expeditions came at a personal cost. On their second expedition, not having yet completed their quest, they borrowed money from their agents “until we could return to America and convert into cash the only thing of value we possessed, a small farm in western New York State, to pay our debts” so that they could remain in Africa awhile longer (234-5). Akeley’s later travels to Africa, after her divorce, were largely self-financed, according to Erving E.

Beauregard, despite her work for the Brooklyn Museum (“The 2 Mrs. Akeley” 35). Akeley explains to her readers that traveling to Africa independently took forethought. “As expeditions to Africa are expensive undertakings, and magic lamps and fairy godmothers had passed me by, there was nothing for me to do but wait and work and plan,” she writes (159). The realities of financial strains delayed her trip until she could put together enough money to put the expedition together.

Peck also funded her own travels. In describing her failed ascents early in *A Search for the Apex of America*, she frequently laments the costs of her expeditions. Her decision to return to Providence, Rhode Island, in 1903, and postpone another attempt on Mt. Illampu until 1904, is largely financial. She writes that she “first sought two gentlemen of wealth with whom I had long been acquainted. From them, I was overjoyed to receive sympathetic interest and promise of aid. Others did not respond so readily, and the latest possible date fixed by me for departure arrived with the smallest sum I deemed requisite still deficient” (122). She also asks several newspapers to subscribe for articles from her journeys though only one “promptly responded and even proffered the cash” (123). Peck even blames her lack of financial support on her expeditions’ lack of scientific contributions when she says that “While my several expeditions, on account of meagre financial support, have contributed far less to scientific knowledge than I had originally hoped, if they shall have served in some degree to foster the awakening interest, to disseminate a little information in regard to a portion of what is fitly called The Land of To-morrow and the Continent of Opportunity, they will not have been made in vain” (370). These closing words to Peck’s narrative both reward and excuse her scientific work in that she admits to having accomplished less than she had set

out to do in her scientific work (a pseudo reason for her climbs, at any rate). Yet she deflects the blame, as she often does, to remind the reader what she was up against in putting together her expeditions and that their failures were often out of her control, despite her best efforts. In this way, she can receive credit for what she has accomplished while communicating the gendered context in which she was working. Lack of professional support and membership clearly made exploration difficult for women. While the women of this study found some funding opportunities, yet to work in the masculine discourses of exploration, they needed to affiliate with professional societies in order to continue their travel and exploration.

Linking Science and Imperialism

As shown here, Exploring Women had a sometimes precarious and sometimes ambiguous relationship with scientific and professional discourses. Scientific work of surveying, collecting, and mapping was historically undertaken in the name of Empire. Morag Bell, Robin Alan Butlin, and Michael J. Heffernan (1995), make the argument that science and imperialism were so linked as to be largely interchangeable in the imperial age:

Modern European science and European imperialism thus marched arm-in-arm: both were supremely ambitious, universalizing projects concerned to know all, to understand all and, by implication, to control all. In his path-breaking survey of British and French attitudes to the Middle East since the Enlightenment, Edward Said dates the emergence of this totalizing scientific-imperialist impulse to the turn of the eighteenth century. By this point, Said argues, the relationship

between European scientific advance and the process of European imperial expansion had become so intimate and mutually dependent that the two seemed virtually synonymous, at least in the minds of some imperialists. (3)

Bell, Butlin and Heffernan see geography, largely because of its relationship to mapping, as most strongly demonstrating this connection between science and imperialism. As they show, science has been inextricably linked to exploration, with its defining characteristics of discovering, claiming, and cataloging. They provide the example of Western Europe's takeover of Egypt as discussed by Said, and point out that France, in this case, "was seeking, in a supremely ambitious imperial way, to possess not only the strategic advantages, land, resources and people . . . but also the region's history and civilization. This was much more than mere territorial conquest; by uncovering and *re-*presenting Egypt, modern scientifically sophisticated France claimed authority over Egypt's soul and identity" (3-4). In examples like this, science and imperialism were not only linked, but imperial acts were made in the name of science and vice versa.

However, this link becomes particularly important when discussing women in exploration as their relationship to scientific disciplines was much more tenuous, as described in this chapter. Though women were partaking in imperial activities, they were participating in scientific work differently than men, either through exclusion or marginalization. The relationship of Exploring Women to the sciences changes their relationship to imperialism, not by removing their culpability, but by acknowledging that the participation of Exploring Women was based in part on their relationship to the sciences and scientific work.

Though gendered differences in men's and women's exploration narratives as they relate to the masculine discourses of science and exploration are significant, women's exploration narratives as well as men's have a scientific leaning that is also deeply embedded in colonial and imperial discourse. Yet, women were not, for the most part, tasked with scientific work, were not traveling with such famous explorers as Captain James Cook or Robert Peary, were not proposing or carrying out assigned scientific experiments, nor were they affiliated with scientific societies (though this was changing as discussed above). I have shown here, however, that Exploring Women were engaging in scientific work despite their inability to participate in all the related masculine discourses and privileges. And, significant to the following two chapters on Exploring Women and imperialism, their scientific work impacted their relationship to imperialism. Their relationships to exploration and science, in turn, affected their relationship to imperialism with its deeply-rooted ties to the sciences, particularly geography and cartography.

CHAPTER 5 EXPLORING WOMEN SEE THE WORLD

Having failed to summit Mt. Illampu, Annie Smith Peck determined to summit El Misti in Peru before leaving South America for the winter in 1903. Upon reaching the summit, Peck observes:

From this lofty elevation, the prospect was extensive and interesting, though not so beautiful as others that I have beheld from lesser heights. The ocean, sometimes visible for a great distance along the coast, was hidden by a heavy bank of clouds which ordinarily hangs over it. The immense desert plateau far beneath was diversified by hills and mountains; Chacani, close at hand, somewhat higher than Misti, rather a range than a single peak, with considerable snow-fields on the top-most ridges; Pichu-Pichu, nearly opposite, a lower range tinged with the reddish yellow sands of the desert; Ubinas, another volcano in the far distance. A great white patch on the plain, glistening in the sun, was neither water nor snow, but a huge field of borax. At the foot of the cone lies the beautiful green valley of the Chili River and Arequipa. (84)

Peck, viewing this scene from a “lofty elevation,” compares it to her past experience which both highlights her expertise and situates this view within her narrative; this peak is higher than some others she has climbed, but not the epitome of her experience—it’s simply a brief stop on her way from Mt. Illampu to the even greater heights of Mt. Huascarán. Describing the scene, she compares all the peaks in her view while her eyes

move from higher elevations and points far away to the closer ground below which emphasizes her ownership of the “commanding view.” David Spurr explains that “the writer who engages this view relies for authority on the analytic arrangement of space from a position of visual advantage. The writer is placed either above or at the center of things, yet apart from them, so that the organization and classification of things takes place according to the writers’ own system of value” (16). For Spurr, this view, like Bentham’s Panopticon, supports the gaze of the writer while suppressing or obscuring the gaze of the Other who is in an inferior and vulnerable position. As the gaze of the viewer ranges from the horizon to the ground, it “bring[s] about spatial order from a fixed point of view” (17). Peck, as a mountaineer, certainly had access to this visual advantage of the “commanding view.” As she views her surroundings, she brings order to the chaos of the many peaks competing for dominance and places herself and her point-of-view within their range. In doing so, Peck appears to adopt, as well, the point of view that Pratt ascribes to the “monarch-of-all-I-survey” genre.⁷⁰

In the discourse of this genre, the passive act of seeing becomes the act of discovery where the knowledge gained (or co-opted from local people) is accumulated and brought back to glorify England (Pratt 201-04). Pratt argues that this “masculine heroic discourse of discovery is not readily available to women, which may be one reason why there exists so very little European women’s exploration writing at all. Mary Kingsley’s *Travels in West Africa* (1897),” she says, “is probably the most extensive instance that does exist” (213). Kingsley, Pratt explains further, “is a monarchic female voice that asserts its own kind of mastery even as it denies domination and parodies

⁷⁰ Though Pratt refers most commonly to the “monarch-of-all-I-survey scene,” it is widely discussed as a “genre” by Blunt (1994), Blunt and Rose (1994), Rothenberg (2007), and Karen Morin (2008).

power” (213). By this she means that Kingsley works in the monarch-of-all-I-survey genre without fully adopting the voice of male explorers. Instead, Pratt asserts, Kingsley uses comic irony and inversion of events in order to both adopt and mock the discourse of her male counterparts. This is relevant here because Peck and other Exploring Women also work in the monarch-of-all-I-survey genre at times, yet also do not fully embrace the masculine discourse of the imperial gaze. Rather, they make attempts to situate themselves in this discourse to cement their place as explorers. This chapter will show how instead of fully adopting the masculine perspective of the imperial gaze, Exploring Women mimic it while also showing a keen awareness of their own gender as they do so. Peck, for instance, takes a long view from the promontory (and for Peck, the promontory is always the ultimate goal because of her desire to be recognized as the woman who has climbed the highest peak), yet she situates this gaze within her own experience and within the context of the situation. That is, El Misti is not the highest peak, nor even the most beautiful view, but she triumphs in her present accomplishment after her failed attempt at Mt. Illampu and with an imminent attempt on Mt. Huascarán. She employs some of Kingsley’s comic irony as evidenced by her sarcasm when talking about her traveling companions, yet Peck still wants to triumph. Conquering the peaks that she sets out to summit is of paramount importance. She is keenly aware of the fame and renown that may be attached to her achievements as a mountaineering woman, as evidenced by her competition with fellow American mountaineer Fanny Bullock Workman to obtain the highest peak.

This chapter analyzes the best examples of Exploring Women adopting the discourse of the monarch-of-all-I survey genre—seeing from the “commanding view”—

and examines how the gendered gaze of the Exploring Woman impacts the masculine imperial gaze when an Exploring Woman must be concerned not only with what or whom she is looking at, but who may be looking at her. Though we see some instances of an adoption of the imperial gaze in the work of Peck and Harriet Chalmers Adams, for example, Exploring Women were never able to fully assume the male imperial gaze because of their gender which placed them in a subordinate position of power to their Western white male counterparts and left them out of the creation of the very discourses in which they were working. Exploring Women who were never fully able to escape issues of gender identity, instead of simply seeing, negotiated a stance of both observing and being observed. This became a strategy for Exploring Women that allowed them to gain authority and fulfill their work as explorers by alternating between adoption of the male imperial gaze, in the sense of adopting colonial mimicry, and dismissal of it, in the sense of participating in a form of anti-conquest that allowed them to deny accountability for their “seeing.”

This chapter shows how Exploring Women negotiated the masculine imperial gaze to varying degrees by, in some cases, attempting to adopt the commanding view, as do Peck and Adams. However, Adams, in particular, shows how they could never fully become the purveyor of the male gaze, due to their gender. This becomes apparent in how Exploring Women distanced themselves from local people, even from local women, in favor of aligning themselves with male explorers with whom they shared race, class, and nationality. At other times, Exploring Women like Delia Akeley acknowledged their female gender when being observed by local people by downplaying and attempting to erase their female body from their narratives.

Exploring Women Adopt the Imperial Gaze

“In my heart I knew that the greatest of the lures which brought me once more to Spain was the forgotten port of San Lúcar de Barrameda, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River. I longed to stand on that very shore from which had sailed so many of those valiant sixteenth-century adventurers whose New World trail I had crossed” writes Adams on her journey through former Spanish colonies and Spain itself. She begins her description of Cádiz by relaying its fabulous history as the region containing the port that launched Magellan and Columbus, the place from which most of the Spanish *conquistadores* sailed on their way to “discover” the Americas and loot the Incas, and part of a region that boasts interactions with Hannibal, Drake, Nelson, and Napoleon and Wellington (“Adventurous Sons of Cádiz,” 154). She writes of the draw of the place, but more importantly how, standing in the location of these great events and *seeing what these explorers saw* before they departed, cements the experience of tracing the paths of the earlier explorers for her.⁷¹

The act of “seeing” in this example serves as a voyeuristic mechanism allowing for categorization and objectification and, potentially, as a tool for Exploring Women to take power over what they see and create agency for themselves as travelers and explorers. In this example, Adams wants to “stand on that very shore.” By being physically present in the same location, she imagines here that she can have the same

⁷¹ This tactic of Adams’ is similar to her use of references to previous explorers to boost her own credibility that is described in Chapter 4. This example shows the power of taking over the very gaze of these explorers which, as Morgan has pointed out, both reaffirms and participates in the original authority (69-70). In instances like this, Adams does not acknowledge any gender barriers in taking over this masculine gaze.

vision, can be affiliated with those that came before her, and can experience some of the same power and potential they had. How Exploring Women approach “seeing” and how it is discussed and presented in their narratives, as in this example, serves as a strategy to allow them to work in exploration. At times they embrace a masculine imperial gaze, placing themselves in the position of an explorer, making their own “discoveries,” and taking ownership over what they see. Though Adams does not acknowledge it here, I suggest “seeing” is related to “surveillance,” which itself has multiple meanings. One can “surveil/survey” the landscape as well as “see” it, but, significantly for exploration, one also “surveys” the land, measuring and parsing out the land for mapping and for settlement. Though Exploring Women could attempt to put themselves in the place of male explorers and “see” with the imperial gaze, they were less able to “survey” in this double sense since gender barriers frequently prevented them from working in professions that included this type of work. Yet these terms work together to create a sense of ownership over what is seen. Exploring Women could attempt to do the first, “see” the land before them, but often had a harder time owning the second, “surveying” in professional sense.

Like Adams in this example, Exploring Women, working within the confines of the imperial gaze as a masculine discourse, made attempts to emulate their male counterparts and claim the imperial gaze as their own. This allowed them to work in exploration and navigate the discourses of exploration and imperialism. Before examining how Exploring Women make use of the imperial gaze in their explorations, this section briefly examines the inter-relationship between surveillance, seeing, and exploration, and how the imperial gaze as a way of seeing was inscribed as masculine.

Then, it examines how the exclusion from masculine discourses impacted how women operated within those discourses, including, as discussed in this chapter, the imperial gaze. Despite their collusion, this complicity is impacted by gender differences, and, as argued throughout this project, Exploring Women were never able to fully participate in masculine discourses such as exploration and imperialism. As this chapter shows, Exploring Women used strategies to work within the rhetorics of “seeing” and the imperial gaze.

The imperial gaze, adopted by travelers when viewing foreign places or foreign Others, is understood to be that of a white, male, Western observer surveying colonized lands, or surveying lands with the intention to colonize them. As E. Ann Kaplan describes, “The imperial gaze reflects the assumption that the white western subject is central, much as the male gaze assumes the centrality of the male subject” (78).⁷² Similarly, based on the work of Pratt, Helmers and Mazzeo suggest that “[t]he seeing eye—often understood as an appropriate synecdoche for the seeing I—represented the voyeuristic impulses of the traveler and his or her desire to report scientifically and objectively on experiences that were fundamentally complicated in all the ways that selfhood and self-representation inevitably are” (“Unraveling the Traveling Self” 10). The Western white male traveler positions himself as the subject of the narrative and the

⁷² Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin concur that “the imperial gaze defines the identity of the subject, objectifies it within the identifying system of power relations and confirms its subalterneity and powerlessness” (253). Similarly, Tamara L. Hunt (2002) define the “gaze” as “the lens through which the ‘Other’ is interpreted and subsequently depicted.” She argues that this interpretive lens of the gaze reflects nuanced power relationships (3). Further, Hunt describes the Other of the “colonial gaze” as colonial powers seeing “the colonies through eyes that were blurred by misinformation, misconceptions, and stereotypes” from women as Other in a patriarchal society explaining that applying undesirable feminine traits to colonized people legitimized colonial rule by setting up the “masculine” characteristics of the imperial nation as naturally superior (1).

observer of the world before him, while he believes himself to be (or presents himself as) invisible, unmarked, and unobserved. His body stands in opposition to the bodies that he encounters which are usually marked by gender, race, or ethnicity, and become the Other to the traveler's norm. The "seeing eye" of a narrator like Adams is understood to indicate both being present at and able to observe the action unfolding around her as Adams attempts to do when viewing from a place of former explorers. In some instances, this adoption of the "seeing eye," means taking a commanding and panoramic point of view often from a promontory or other high place which provides a wide, expansive view as well as a position of power over all that is observed. At times the observer sees only the empty landscape, but when individuals are recognized as being present, the imperial gaze empowers the observer, and disempowers those who are observed, usually the colonial Other, bringing the observed to life only in terms of his or her relationship to those doing the observing. The subject doing the gazing imposes his or her cultural understanding on what he or she sees while his or her cultural values are fused into the gaze and applied to those who are observed whether it be individuals, groups, or the panoramic scene/the landscape opening before her or him. Gender and imperialism are closely linked in the imperial gaze which is associated with the dominant, masculine figure. The imperial gaze thus allows the observer to claim ownership of all that is observed, as in the monarch-of-all-I-survey genre where "seeing" something is equivalent to commanding or owning what is observed.

Many critics have pointed out the gendered nature of the imperial gaze. In adopting this gaze, *Exploring Women* played an ambiguous role between setting themselves above non-white male and female colonized people when they attempted to

adopt the gaze, yet being subordinate to white male imperialists and colonists. This made it difficult to fully embrace the imperial gaze, as it was constructed as both white and male. Exploring Women's ambiguity contributed to the strategy of Exploring Women both adopting and dismissing the male imperial gaze in their interactions with colonized people and landscapes as they tried to establish their identity as explorers. In this position, Exploring Women, and women travelers generally, have been considered potentially more sympathetic to colonized people. While this does not always hold true, even a sympathetic viewer is operating within the context and confines of imperialism. Spurr acknowledges, for instance, that "even where the Western writer declares sympathy with the colonized, the conditions which make the writer's work possible require a commanding, controlling gaze. The sympathetic humanitarian eye is no less a product of deeply held colonialist values, and no less authoritative in the mastery of its object, than the surveying and policing eye" (20). In other words, even sympathetic Exploring Women were still working in the confines of masculine discourses of exploration and imperialism which made their work possible, despite any individual sympathies. Further, Morgan suggests that while gender shaped women's colonial gaze, she does not argue for a "feminine imperial rhetoric" or a universal way of seeing for colonizing women. Rather, she points out that gender is one of several factors, notably geographic area, that affects the colonial traveler's gaze, and that women's imperial rhetorics are not universal in their adoption or rejection of masculine imperial discourses (12, 14). For Exploring Women of this study this means that variances in the adoption of the imperial gaze exist and may be due to factors other than gender, while I focus on gender as a primary factor in how Exploring Women interacted with the imperial gaze. Gender matters, as Morgan

points out. Blake in her study of Western women travelers in Africa reiterates a similar view that, when faced with gender inferiority, Western women resorted to and relied on reference to race and class in order to solidify their place in social interactions with native people (353). That is, *Exploring Women*, at times, tended to affiliate more closely with their own race or class and to downplay their gender to gain an edge in cross-cultural social situations as Blake argues. The female imperial gaze, that is, both how *Exploring Women* take on the persona and narrative point-of-view of the male imperial gaze, yet rely on their gender to temper this gaze, centers the discussion of this chapter. *Exploring Women* more than other imperial and colonizing women such as travelers, missionaries, or colonial wives, were in a unique position as adopters of the imperial gaze as they both surveyed and took possession of what they saw through the gaze of an explorer.

Annie Smith Peck and the view from the promontory

Peck was on a quest. Or more precisely a conquest. Peck admits to originally being motivated to climb in South America by the news that another (male) climber might attempt “to scale what some persons regarded as the loftiest mountain of the Western Hemisphere,” what she refers to as “*my mountain*,” (1). Mt. Illampu is the first peak she attempts in “*A Search for the Apex of America*,” and where she ultimately fails due to her unreliable companions. Peck’s desire to be the first to scale a particular peak, to scale higher and higher peaks, puts her in company with other mountaineers of her day. Though she is originally motivated to try the South American peaks by the perceived competition from Sir Martin Conway, Peck’s quest stirred an ongoing rivalry with fellow American mountaineer Fanny Bullock Workman. By the middle of the first

decade of the twentieth century, Peck was in a head-to-head competition for altitude records with Workman, who eventually achieved the high-altitude record for a woman by summiting Pinnacle Peak in the Himalayas in 1906. Peck subsequently ascended Huascarán in Peru in 1908, believing that she had surpassed Workman's achievement until Workman had the peak of Huascarán re-measured and found it to be 530 feet lower than her own Pinnacle Peak ascent. This competition with Workman is not emphasized in *A Search for the High Apex of America*, yet it becomes clear that there is a spirit of competition in who can first ascend and "discover" the highest peaks. This rivalry is of particular interest as Peck and Workman were competing for a woman's alpine record (though they did best many male climbers), while their contemporary male climbers were largely competing for the elusive 23,000 foot (7,000 meters) peak. None of the peaks that Peck attempted at this time were of that height, making besting Workman particularly desirable.

After her disappointment at Mt. Illampu described in Chapter 3, Peck's ascent of El Misti was merely a minor compensation. Yet, Peck assures the reader that El Misti's summit is 19,200 feet, and that anything over "19,000 feet is ordinarily an undertaking of serious difficulty" (80). Despite its extraordinary height, however, El Misti is obtainable largely by saddle animals (80). This easier access, which Peck took some advantage of, makes it easier to climb than some lesser peaks only accessible on foot, making it less of a prestigious accomplishment. As well, Peck is certainly not the first to summit El Misti—her companion from the Harvard Observatory had made the trip previously and her guide, Francisco, "had been up at least a hundred times," but reaching the summit at this point in her travels was a much-needed accomplishment for Peck after her recent

disappointment on Mt. Illampu (80). With this desire to make a summit before returning to the U.S. for the season and though Peck admits to a preference for climbing on foot lesser and more precipitous heights, the opportunity to reach such a height with such relative ease is undeniable. Summiting El Misti would allow her to leave for the season having reached a peak, instead of having failed. Though the desire to attain great heights was significant for Peck in her race against other climbers, she mentions a preference for those peaks that are picturesque and visually stunning.

Despite her summit of El Misti, after Mt. Illampu, Peck sets her sights on Mt. Huascarán as an ultimate goal, an even higher peak. Upon seeing it for the first time, Peck muses, “When I first saw from Yungay magnificent Huascarán towering far above the valley, I was filled with dismay at my own temerity in dreaming for a moment of its conquest (182). Seen from below, Peck questions her audacity in attempting such a peak. Yet, on her second attempt at Huascarán, Peck is “fairly well pleased” with her progress, though she estimates that she makes it only 1,000-2,000 feet from the top of the mountain (200). Peck muses about the height, and thus the prestige, of the various peaks:

It seemed probably that it [the peak of Huascarán] might turn out higher than Aconcagua [which had been summited by an earlier expedition that Peck saw as competition], and thus gain the distinction of being the loftiest mountain on this hemisphere. In any event, I felt sure that it exceeded Sorata [Mt. Illampu], hence the summit of Huascarán, rather than that of the Bolivian peak [Illampu], became for the future the goal of my ambition. (200)

Though early on in the text, Mt. Illampu is seen as “the loftiest mountain,” her failed attempts having turned her sights to Huascarán which, at this later date, she is certain is

truly “the loftiest mountain.” As storms set in on this second attempt on Huascarán and Peck gives up for the season, she is buoyed by her belief that she is making her mark and that:

[I]f I had not accomplished all I desired, I had done enough to show that I was not insane in believing that I was personally capable, with proper assistance, of making the ascent of a great mountain. I should bring to the attention of Alpinists a new and accessible territory, worth visiting not merely to make a record, but to behold a glorious collection of mountain peaks, some of which will long defy their would-be conquerors. (201)

Here Peck assures her readers that it is not just the height that is the goal, but the ability to “behold a glorious collection of mountain peaks.” She tells her readers that being able to gaze from such great heights, to take in and compare all the various peaks, is the loftiest goal. Yet, this gazing is not benign. The greater the heights, for mountaineers like Peck, the greater the prestige. Gazing from a loftier height bestows ownership of an alpine record on the one doing the gazing and that ownership remains after others ascend the same peaks. Gazing, for Peck, is no less than ownership. Other “would-be conquerors” will not be able to obtain the view in the same way that Peck does; she alone will be able to relay this view and this achievement to others.

Harriet Chalmers Adams from peaks and windows

Though not a mountaineer gazing from the world’s highest peaks, as “America’s greatest woman explorer” Adams, frequent traveler to South America, avid lecturer, member of the RGS and first President of the Society of Women Geographers, provides a

further example from which to interrogate the perspective of the male imperial gaze in women's exploration narratives.⁷³ In contrast to Peck's quest for the greatest heights in order to stake her claim as an explorer, gazing upon and claiming ownership over scenes that she is the first to experience, Adams claims her authority as an explorer not by setting herself up as the first or as the best, but because she, first, places herself spatially and temporally as part of the terrain. She does this through achieving visual perspectives from great heights while traveling through the Andes on horseback. Second, she uses the views from windows to show her allegiance to the white Western gaze over a gendered perspective, privileging class and nation over gender, and aligning herself with the male imperial gaze.

When Adams leaves Cuzco, Peru, on horseback for the Valley of Yucay during her trip through South America in 1904-1907 with her husband Franklin Adams, she describes leaving the scene early one morning:

The road led up to a hilltop where we had a comprehensive view of the red-roofed town, with its many church towers and ancient plazas, overshadowed by the Fortress of Sacsahuaman, which looks down on the *bolsones*, the mountain valley, in which Cuzco lies. Facing in the opposite direction, we saw our trail leading to the Cordillera, the same snowy chain we had known as the Bolivian Andes. Now we were many miles to the north. ("Some Wonderful Sights" 610)

⁷³ A blog on The San Joaquin Historical Society and Museum website claims that Adams' *New York Times* obituary proclaimed her as "America's greatest woman explorer" (Johnsen) though the obituary printed on July 18, just a day after her death, though praiseworthy, was a little more subdued, calling her a "noted woman explorer" and "One of the half-dozen leading women explorers of the world, a prolific writer and lecturer" (N7).

As she does in much of the narrative, Adams is looking down on the valleys below from her perch on the saddle in the high mountains. Like Peck, the location gives Adams the advantage of height from which she can look down with her commanding view and take in all that is below, her eyes moving from man-made structures to the mountain peaks behind allowing Adams to set herself above and outside of what she sees. Yet, the greatest height is less important for Adams than the perspective. During this trip across the Andes on horseback, she frequently describes these commanding views of the surrounding countryside and its people from above.

Later on the same journey, she stands at a precipice looking down on the valley below in search of her destination. She writes, "Riding on, we faced the Andes, and were wondering where Yucay could be hidden, when we suddenly reached the edge of the plateau and saw the canyon-like valley four thousand feet below" ("Some Wonderful Sights" 610). In the following paragraph, she invokes a view of the Yosemite Valley in California, comparing the "fertile banks" of the Yosemite with the "graceful terraces of the ancients" in the Yucay, irrigated by the Incas. Her view, then, is not just hers, but an ancient view. By drawing this comparison, she both brings her reader on her journey by making a comparison they may recognize, but also brings them and herself authority over the view by placing them in the perspective of ancient peoples. In addition, Adams uses this natural advantage of height to emphasize all that is stretching out before her, yet there is an added sense of precariousness when she stops "suddenly" on the "edge of the plateau." The reader can picture Adams on the brink of a 4,000-foot drop and feel the danger, but can also feel Adams' steady calm. She presents herself as being at ease in situations like this, but this shows more than her steely nerve and lack of fear of heights.

Rather, this perspective, together with her invocation of the ancients, reinforces Adams' place as an explorer, natural and at ease observing from these great heights and owning the imperial gaze.

On a later trip through Chile, Adams determines to traverse the country from north to south by railway, having previously made the journey down the coast by sea. In this example as well, she recognizes the long cultural history of the area and the height and perspective allow her to muse on the eons of geographical history and centuries of human history that she encounters in this place. Looking down on the Chilean desert in the north of the country from her upland camp, Adams focuses on the beauty of the scene, making what she sees come alive for her readers. She writes:

From Copiapó a trail across the desert leads to the mountains, so sterile, gaunt, and forbidding; yet there is a majesty in the Andean contour. From our bleak, upland camp at the sunset hour, the coloring of slopes and crags was gorgeous beyond adjectives to describe. Pink deepened to rose; rose to terra-cotta; terra-cotta to purple. Then each towering peak became a sentinel guarding a mysterious Promised Land beyond the Andes.

We passed the ruins of long-abandoned stone dwellings, occupied, perhaps, in those remote days of pre-Incan rule when these mountains had not risen to their present height and this region was within the corn belt. ("Longitudinal Journey" 229)

Like the mountains she personifies, Adams also serves as something of a "sentinel" in this example in her perch high above the lowlands and valleys below. She praises the Andes for their far-reaching panoramas allowing her the views that they do. As Adams

sees the present-day peaks, she bestows on them a sense of the passing of time. Her reference to the “Promised Land,” suggests she is looking upon paradise, but this paradise is “mysterious” which, similar to Peck’s ruminations on her El Misti ascent, contextualize the moment, rather than claiming it as triumphant, linking it to the past and to broken promises. It makes her place among these mountains seem smaller, just a blip in the long passage of time when the mountains grew, reminding the reader that they were not always this high and that many others have passed through and cultivated these lands before Adams arrived. Her imperial gaze, then, is not all-encompassing, but a complex blending of the ancient and the modern where her interaction is just a small piece of its history.

Adams continues, “We geographers must think of the Andes, not as a range rising from the coastal plain, but as the most stupendous mountain system in the world, if we consider its gradual slope from ocean bed to crowning summit. Young, as compared with other great ranges, it is still the giant among them” (“Longitudinal Journey” 229-230). Here, as Adams does elsewhere, she places herself in the professional space of the geographer and explorer, the collective “we geographers,” but in the next line invokes the “stupendous” mountain system, its “crowning” summit and its place as a “giant” among ranges, even those older than itself. Rather than placing Adams as a “discoverer,” taking ownership over what she sees, the images portray Adams as just a small, insignificant piece of an ongoing puzzle. Yet, in placing herself in the context of this scene, she gains authority as part of this powerful whole. As well, she brings the reader back to the present and reminds them that she is a geographer, a professional who is both present and able to witness this scene and to re-create it for her audience.

Even when not on horseback or on mountain tops, Adams frequently situates herself where she has a view and can see vast distances that she can relay to her readers. This has the effect of giving her authority as the owner of the imperial gaze. Staying in cities where she no longer has the advantage of horseback and mountaintop as she so often did on her first trip to South America, she instead makes use of her high hotel windows to observe the streets and the hustle and bustle of the local people below. For example, Adams begins the story of her railway trip through Chile from the heightened perspective of a friend's villa in the city of Antofagasta, in the northern, arid region of Chile. She writes:

My bedroom window, high up in the tower, commanded a view of the town.

Walls and roofs as colorless as the sand were unrelieved by a tree or a blade of grass: yet, just under my window, the barren soil had been touched by the magic wand of irrigation. Here firs and eucalyptus towered above the bamboos and oleanders, and pomegranate and fig trees were heavy with fruit. In the shade of the grape arbor the breakfast table was laid. ("Longitudinal Journey" 219)

In this scene, the references to irrigation foreshadow Adams' discussion of the economics and topography of the region, but also link her to a place of class and national privilege. From her perch high up in the window, she "commands" a view of the town and the surrounding landscape, as well as the yard of the villa itself where the breakfast table is laid. As in Peck's vision from El Misti, Adams' eye travels from the landscape of the town to the detail of the breakfast table, bringing orderliness and ownership to the space, as Spurr explains. This sense of ownership is underscored since, despite the dryness of the region, her friends (likely expatriates) "have a garden in the desert," an object of

privilege in such a dry region. With irrigation, the friends are able to grow fruit trees and see them prosper. They have the advantage of shade for their meal. Though the scene could be taken as a simple, inviting courtyard scene, Adams' roving eye from the distance to the close-up speaks to the privilege of Adams and her friends and her place in the economic and cultural context of the area. Her view is not the view of the local people, but of the white Western imperialists who have claimed this fertile corner in a dry region and who have claimed the view as their own. Adams, as an explorer with the imperial gaze, partakes in this ownership and privilege.

Scenes like this from high window of hotels or homes reinforce Adams' privilege and allegiance to white Western viewers, where the height of the windows allows the viewer to look down upon the scene, granting power and preserving the authority of her gaze as she looks down upon those below. As well, this view allows her a pretense of invisibility as she is able to observe without being observed. The frame of the window encases and limits the view for both the traveler and the audience and the presence or lack of glass or screen allows the traveler to lean out into the scene or hold back unobserved, establishing control and power over the gaze. Yet, this point of view also reinforces her gender, allowing her the privileged imperial view, but not quite. In scenes like this, she can inhabit the disembodied eye of the erased narrative subject, as Pratt describes, the masculine subject position, yet she remains within the confines of her host's home. Window views allow for a roving gaze but leave the viewer safely ensconced in the Western subject position and, more precisely for an Exploring Woman, in the domestic realm. As this example demonstrates, in the view from the window, Adams has the advantage of height, of gazing down upon the scene, and the added

advantage of viewing from her host's home which, as (likely) the home of a Westerner in a colonized land, further provides authority over all that is viewed below. Yet Adams is separated and ensconced within the domestic, again her host's home, where her view is obstructed by the window frame, limiting, in some sense, her commanding view.

In a similar example on a trip to Spain where Adams observes local scenes from her window vantage point, she does not remain aloof or unobserved, but interacts with some little girls passing by. She explains how "One evening, from my balcony, I saw six little girls, with arms interlocked, trudging up and down the muddy street. They were singing at the top of their lungs. The song finished, I called for another. They took the request seriously," ("Adventurous Sons of Cadiz" 162). Unfortunately, after the girls reach verse thirty-nine, Adams is fatigued of the song while the little girls are still going strong. She concludes the anecdote by explaining, "All classes put themselves out for the stranger. . . . It is not curiosity; it is interest" (162). Adams, from her vantage point, categorizes their willingness to sing another song as "interest." Her explanation suggests that the little girls and, by extension, others whom she encounters and comments on in her narratives, are being accommodating to "the stranger" because they are genuinely invested in the foreigner's well-being and in his or her needs and whims rather than out of any need to satisfy their own curiosity or for their own benefit. Adams privileges herself as the white Western observer and projects her needs and desires upon those whom she observes, in this case the little girls, likely of a lower social class, who are in a much less-privileged position than Adams looking down from her window frame. Tamara Hunt (2002) points out that in personal interactions, the imperialist views the "Other" as "colonial powers construct conceptualizations of subject peoples that serve the

interests of those who rule” (1). In this example, Adams interprets the girls’ interest as directed at her and creates and sustains this relationship of power and privilege more easily in her elevated position. She looks down upon the little girls, much as a patron looks down upon performers, and requests that they do her bidding, then, turning to her friends (or her readers) explains how much the performers love to perform for her. Adams’ observations, viewed from window frames, mimic the commanding view of the male imperial gaze. This interaction seems to bolster Adams’ position of power over those she observes and to further align her with the male imperial gaze. Yet, these pseudo-high locations of window frames again encase Adams in a domestic setting, a hotel, looking out with a limited view, and bestowing only limited power. She has, after all, only a precarious authority when she tries to entice the little girls to stop singing before the thirty-ninth verse, despite her advantages.

As with other explorers writing in the same era, Adams’ acceptance of racial stereotypes in her writing is difficult for the modern-day reader. Yet, the point of view from which she observes others, looking down from upper level windows, reinforces her authority over those she encounters, including a racial authority she works to assert to counter the insecurities she experiences as a woman. From her vantage point, she can assume the persona of the male imperial gaze, with its implications of Western whiteness, when describing for her readers the people that she observes. On a trip to Trinidad in 1906, for example, Adams explains to her readers that they need not go so far as India to observe East Indians, but can do so right from the Americas if they travel to Trinidad where there are over one hundred thousand transplanted East Indians, locally called “coolies” (“The East Indians in the New World” 485). Again, she describes the view

from her hotel room window. She can see a marketplace and can observe the local people going about their day. She writes, "From my window I gazed out over this kaleidoscopic scene to the purple hills, crowned with mist, which form a background to the grassy 'savanna,' and wondered if any picture could be more effective" (486). She follows up this brief commentary on landscape with observations about the positive characteristics of the "coolies," whom she views as hard-working and industrious, in comparison to the population of "blacks" in Trinidad whom she describes as "idle" and "indolent" (486-487). She ascribes the immigration of the East Indians to the laziness of the local African-American population and exclaims "A unique sight today in the harbors of Port of Spain and Georgetown is the arrival of a 'coolie' ship laden with its oriental cargo. What stories of human interest might be written of these silent, bronze people facing new experiences in a strange land!" (487). Adams' smooth transition from observing and describing idyllic scenery to a commentary on racial hierarchies softens the comparison that the reader cannot fail to miss of earlier ships that arrived at this same port depositing African rather than "oriental cargo." Adams overlooks this connection, as, racially, she sympathizes more readily with the "coolies" than with the "blacks." For Adams in this moment, there is rightness in the exchange of hard-working coolies for the indolent "blacks" as her place, marginalized by gender though it is, remains unchanged, a place of privilege.

Traveling through Spain and Morocco in the early 1920s, Adams again encounters and observes those not like herself when she finds herself driven an "interminable" distance late at night in the city of Mekinez to her hotel room, which is located "on the edge of the French settlement overlooking the native city" ("Across

French and Spanish Morocco” 348). It seems fitting, given the title of the piece, “Across French and Spanish Morocco,” that she is deposited after her long drive in the French settlement and not in the native part of the city, similar to her refuge at the home of expatriates in Chile. As in her other observations from her lodging windows, Adams commands a view of the surrounding area. She writes:

When we looked from the window next morning, all Mekinez lay below us across a deep canyon—an oblong white city within its surrounding walls. The sunlight sparkled on the bluish-green tiled domes of the mosques. I counted 15 minarets.

Beyond the white town we saw the Cyclopean red walls of an older city stretching for miles across the flower-spangles plain, the city built by the arrogant Sultan, Mulai Ismail, who died in the early years of the eighteenth century, after a reign of 55 years, father, we are told, of more than 800 children. (349)

In these observations, Adams both sets herself apart from the native locality and people by nationality—that is, she is unquestionably situated in the Westernized area of the city, rather than in the native area—and perspective, being up-high yet again, and taking command over what she sees. As an observer of the mosques and minarets from such a vantage point, she is dazzled by their sparkly roofs and fails to observe any people coming and going. Rather than looking up at the minarets from below in awe and respect, as she may as a religious observant, her view both gives her the advantage of far-reaching vision and furthers the distance between her situation and that of those she observes. She counts the minarets, allowing her gaze to bring order to the scene. She concludes her observations with a brief history lesson, as she frequently does, which serves not only to enlighten her reader with amusing anecdotes, but gives a sense of the

long-standing cultural significance of the place, a commanding view tempered by a reminder of her place in the world, as in her observations in South America.

Further, in this narrative, references to a former ruler serve to make the concept of conquering more palatable as imperialism is constructed as a cycle of life, a natural, inevitable way of the world. The “arrogant” sultan, Mulai Ismail, despite his long reign and many progeny, is associated with the “red walls of [the] older city,” the native part of the city, that Adams observes from her perch at her hotel window in the new city, the Westernized settlement in Mekinez. This perspective allows her, and the conquering French, to claim authority over Morocco’s past as a right and just authority. She follows this description with a catalog of places of local cultural significance repurposed for the uses of the conquerors. While “[t]he royal stables [were once] said to have held 12,000 horses . . . [, t]he French are now using these long-abandoned inclosures for practical purposes. There is a museum in the Sultan’s palace. The old gardens bloom again” (349). Adams, significantly, passes over these descriptions without further comment, but her description of these spaces as now being used for “practical purposes” imposes a hierarchy on cultural, and by extension racial and national, difference. These descriptions set up the remainder of her narrative as a comparison of the Western and non-Western elements of the region and reinforce her point of view as the Western observer and the authority of her gaze.

Though in later years Adams was an advocate for women’s movements in North and South America, particularly advocating for the Americas to work together, her views on the inevitability of the class system is evident in her portrayal of local women in Suriname as a cluster of clucking hens in “Picturesque Paramaribo.” Though Adams

praises Paramaribo in Suriname as “a picturesque and an interesting city” in her travels there in 1906, and her hotel as “a clean, airy house, with wide verandas,” Adams also mentions that her hotel room view on this occasion “overlooks the market (pleasantly situated near the city’s main sewer)” and some cabins occupied by laundresses “who kept up a steady stream of ‘Taki-Taki’ all day long and late into the night” (373). She describes these women in the marketplace as “resembling huge mushrooms in their stiffly starched ‘Kottomissi’ costumes,” a both comical and condescending description that gives Adams the power advantage in the relationship even as it creates a hierarchy between these women and other women that she observes (“Picturesque Paramaribo” 373). In this description, it is apparent how, despite her good intentions in later years, Adams’ use of the imperial gaze privileges class and national relationships over gender relationships, aligning her more closely with her male explorer counterparts than with the women she encounters on her travels. In this, Adams justifies Blake’s point of view that women travelers rely on race and class in their interactions with others to reinforce their power over the foreign Other.

Delia Akeley and the observer who is observed

Though in travel and colonial discourse the landscape is frequently feminized or given female characteristics, Exploring Women are not complicit in the feminization of the landscape in their narratives, nor is the landscape necessarily described as completely empty of inhabitants.⁷⁴ Yet, inhabitants are largely marginalized in Akeley’s narratives in favor of descriptions of wildlife and their habitat. And Akeley, unlike a male traveler

⁷⁴ The feminized landscape is well-documented in Kolodny (1984) and McClintock (1995).

or explorer, becomes keenly aware that she is not the only one doing the observing. As a hunter and specimen collector, Akeley's descriptions of landscape frequently privilege the sighting of big game as it moves across landscapes seemingly empty of humanity (despite more than eighty local porters and guides in her and her husband's expedition party). "Wild looking Masai guides led us up the high escarpment on the edge of the Rift Valley and across a vast wind-swept meadow that was brilliant with blossoming flowers and teeming with game," she describes as she and Carl Akeley are on the hunt for an elephant. "There was no sign of human habitation here to mar the wild beauty of the scene or disturb the peace of the great herds of game that moved through the grass at a leisurely pace" (*All True* 10). Like Adams before her, Akeley takes a commanding view from a "high escarpment" in order to survey the land before her, though Akeley is quick to point out that this land is uninhabited. Later, setting up a new camp, Akeley describes "About nine thousand feet up we came across the tracks of a small band of elephants that had crossed the trail. While Mr. Akeley and Mr. Cunningham started after them, Hamesi and I located a site for the camp. It was in a lovely open glade covered with heather and surrounded by bamboo trees. Before we had finished setting up the tents the hunters returned, having decided to wait until they could make a fresh start in the morning" (*All True* 11-12). While the hunters follow the elephants, Akeley and her guide remain behind to set up camp which she describes as not only adequate, but "lovely" and surrounded by pleasant vegetation. In both examples, the local people, the "wild looking Masai guides" and "Hamesi" are not notable as individuals but as part of the landscape. They are present, but little accounted for. Akeley's primary concern is with the elephants that have crossed the trail.

In contrast to the dismissal of these individuals who work for Akeley, she seems much more willing to acknowledge the presence and point of view of the “pygmy” people of the Ituri forest whom she has set out to observe, having embarked on a second career in Africa as a lay-ethnographer after her divorce from Carl. Akeley at first expresses surprise that she is not the only one doing the observing. She writes: “I had not been in the Pygmy village long before I realized that instead of being the observer I was observed. And the little people were as thorough scientists in their efforts to solve this human riddle that had come so suddenly and mysteriously into their lives” (*Jungle Portraits* 203). Akeley describes her presence among the people as a “riddle” and a “mystery.” Like Adams, she interprets their curiosity as an interest in her, while, in fact, she has traveled there because she is interested in them. She feels that she can get to know the women of the tribe, in particular, being a woman herself. The local women are particularly interested in knowing if she has a husband and children, she writes, but they “never once manifested the slightest curiosity in the idea of a woman traveling alone and hunting wild animals like a man” (10). This description speaks more to how Akeley sees herself than how she is perceived. Her perception of their interest in her shapes her sense of self. For example, her lack of spouse and children in tandem with her hunting and traveling alone create for her a masculine explorer identity that she can embrace, yet her female gender allows her to interact with the local women in more personal ways than a male explorer could.

In addition, her description of the “pygmy” people as “thorough scientists” reminds the reader of Akeley’s careful observations of wildlife throughout her narrative. On this trip, Akeley has set as a goal observing this group of people whom, she

determines, have been little studied or understood by Westerners. Before settling on the “pygmy” people, she had rejected as subjects several of the tribal groups with whom she was more familiar as too exposed to Western ways and she decided that living with the “pygmies” would give her a chance to observe an untouched culture. Like Adams, Akeley believes in the inevitability of the disappearance of native cultures in Africa and feels that they should be observed before they are too influenced by Western culture or had disappeared. With this decision made, Akeley determines to blend in and be unobtrusive—certainly her ability to carry out this plan is tragically flawed, but nevertheless, she sets out with this idea in mind. In short order, Akeley finds that it is difficult to be an unobtrusive observer as an Exploring Woman.

As Akeley does in this scenario, Exploring Women found that they were unable to simply take the commanding view, or the privileged view of an observer, without complications. The position of observer became arguably more complex when their gendered bodies marked them as Other making them both visible and observed. Akeley seems willing to acknowledge and wrestle with her position as an object of observation. She handles this by acknowledging the more reciprocal relationship of being both observer and observed with the “pygmy” people. Like Akeley, despite her attempts to blend in, the traveler remains observed by those she encounters and cannot “literalize the fantasy of seeing without being seen” (Helmets and Mazzeo 270). Yet this acknowledgement makes it impossible to fully embody the male imperial gaze, adapting it into a feminine imperial gaze, one that observes, but is observed.⁷⁵ Akeley, despite her

⁷⁵ Ironically, perhaps, after their expeditions, Exploring Women were able to become almost completely invisible as they were erased from the records and archives of the very work they were doing. For example, the Gettyimages archive labels photos of Delia Akeley as “Female Adventurer Surveying Her Map” and “Female Explorer and Peer with Scientific Artifacts.” In the fine print of the captions, Delia is

intentions, acknowledges the dual nature of this observation—her imperial gaze does not only go one way—though her interpretation of the reciprocal gaze, like Adams', remains steadfastly one-sided as she interprets the interest of local people according to her own cultural standards.

Crucial to this discussion of the role of the gaze in women's exploration narratives is the significance of women's bodies as gender-marked. How does one act as the master-of-all-that-she-surveys while also being observed and scrutinized?⁷⁶

Exploring Women find it more difficult to adopt this mode of invisibility in their texts as their body is marked by Otherness. Helmers and Mazzeo argue that "For some female travel writers, the surveyor—abstracted into the imperial and transparent eye—becomes the dominant narrative mode. For others, the emphasis is on the experience of being surveyed. For most female authors of the genre, however, the speaking subject constantly negotiates these two experiences throughout her text" (269-70). At times, Akeley and other Exploring Women attempted to downplay or erase the female-ness of their bodies in order to blend in and remain as observer only, and not observed.

This chapter shows how Exploring Women navigated the masculine imperial gaze and the "seeing eye" in order to work in the masculine discourses of exploration, particularly as related to "seeing" such as their adoption of the commanding view, their difficulty in fully embracing this perspective. Related to this issue of surveillance,

acknowledged as Mrs. Carl Akeley and her companion in one photo by name as Dr. George P. Englehart. Certainly the convention of identifying women by their husband's name, as in "Mrs. Carl Akeley," was a standard practice, the labels of the photographs identify Akeley simply as a "female adventurer" or "female explorer."

⁷⁶ Hunt acknowledges the complications stemming from the dual definition of the Other as "foreign other" and as "woman" (1). I extrapolate this distinction and overlap here as Exploring Women functioned culturally as the other, scrutinized and observed within their own culture, while scrutinizing and observing the other in their explorations.

Exploring Women used similar strategies in working within the exploratory and imperial discourse of appropriation as the following chapter explains.

CHAPTER 6

EXPLORING WOMEN BRING THE WORLD HOME

Capturing rare rodents on a 1910 journey to Cuba, Haiti, and Santo Domingo and presenting them to American zoos earned Harriet Chalmers Adams admission into the RGS in 1913, according to biographer M. Kathryn Davis. Davis explains that “While in Haiti, she [Adams] captured five solenodon, a rat-like rodent considered a rare antecedent of the rodent family. She presented three of the animals to the Bronx Park in New York and two to the Zoological Gardens in Washington, D.C. This was the basis of her invitation to address the RGS in London and her subsequent invitation to membership in 1913” (“Remembering an American Geographer” 60). Adams describes the find this way:

‘It was in the lovely island of Haiti that we found the prehistoric animal, the *Solenodon paradoxus* of zoology. We knew that this almost extinct creature existed somewhere in the fastnesses of the mountains and forests of the island, and we had search made for specimens. There are no fierce beasts of prey in Haiti, and these little remnants of the shadowy past have lived on unmolested through the centuries from the time of the ant eaters.

...

‘We brought away eight specimens. Five survived the voyage. [W]e gave three to the Zoological Park in New York, and brought a pair to our National Zoo here. The latter lived longer than those in New York, but all are now dead.

‘You can see the pair, which lived for five months in Washington, among the stuffed specimens at the Smithsonian Institution. I fear they will soon be extinct, for with the recent occidental importation into Haiti of the mongoose there is danger of extermination of the solenodon.

‘In my travels I have tried to collect rare flora and fauna in the interest of science.’ (“The Travels of Harriet Chalmers Adams”)

Two significant points of interest come out of Adams’ story. First, despite the years spent traveling in South America and writing prolifically for *The National Geographic Magazine*, Davis links Adams’ “discovery” of this creature to the extension of membership from the RGS, an organization that had been staunchly opposed to admitting women for decades.⁷⁷ That is, Adams needed to *bring back* something tangible to become a member of the exclusive boys’ club.⁷⁸ This need to bring back is in keeping with Pratt’s belief that since “discovery” is a passive act, simply the act of “seeing,” it “has no existence of its own. It only gets ‘made’ for real after the traveler (or other survivor) returns home, and brings it into being through texts: a name on a map, a report to the RGS, the Foreign Office, the London Mission Society, a diary, a lecture, a travel book” (204). For Pratt, as for the RGS and other professional societies, this usually

⁷⁷ While women had been admitted to the American Geographical Society since its inception in 1851, the inclusion of women in the Royal Geographical Society had been hotly debated for decades culminating in the admission of a handful of women in the 1890s and over 200, including Adams, upon the final reversal of the ban on women fellows in the 1910s.

⁷⁸ McManis in “Leading Ladies of the AGS” explains how, despite the American Geographical Society’s open door policy for women, few women took advantage of this. He writes that in those early days of the AGS, particularly before the professionalizing shift of geography in the early 1900s. Few women entered geography as explorers and those women that did affiliate with the AGS primarily worked in publications and lecturing, rather than tromping around in foreign places collecting specimens. McManis’ comments reinforce that the women of this study were exceptional for the time. Exploring Women were few in number and were, indeed, entering into a boys’ club, despite the supposed gender equality of an organization like the AGS.

meant a male traveler. In the scope of Adams' life-long travels and prolific writing, "discovering" the solenodons could have been dismissed as merely a blip in a long and varied career. Yet, as this anecdote shows, "discovery," and the act of exploration, was made tangible only when she brought back the specimens to the home front (dead or alive), produced this anecdote, and gained recognition for their collection. This cemented her position as an explorer with membership in the RGS and brought her a stature she hadn't yet achieved through her other travel and writing. For Exploring Women, then, participating in acts of appropriation like this one impacted their ability to be called and to call themselves explorers.

Second, Adams classifies her find in terms of preservation in the interest of science. For Exploring Women, delving into science in this way was complex because they were, for the most part, not scientists, but amateurs, hobby-collectors rather than professionals. For many, a professional spouse was more likely to be granted credit for achievements in exploration than the woman herself. So, Exploring Women participated in collecting often with this presumption of preservation. Adams expresses satisfaction with contributing these specimens to American zoos since she fears the solenodons "will soon be extinct." With this statement, Adams, perhaps inadvertently, reveals the primary duties of a twentieth-century explorer, which are to collect, catalog, and preserve species and cultures in a race against extinction. In this way of thinking, Adams shows herself fully entrenched in a mindset that echoes the myth of the vanishing native where she felt duty-bound to collect and archive before the inevitable demise of the creatures.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Jace Weaver describes how the belief that indigenous societies were dying or dead made them objects of study and preservation where material culture, sacred objects, and even remains "were shipped to museums for scientific scrutiny" (229) much as Adams description of the fate of the solenodons.

Adding specimens like the solenodon to collections in the home country preserved them, added to Western knowledge, and established and empowered the Empire by setting up a colonizing nation as the caretaker of endangered and vanishing species. This participation in appropriation, in turn, gave Adams recognition as an explorer.

Considering Adams' example, this final chapter argues that for Exploring Women, the activities of discovering, collecting, bringing back, and archiving that made up the process of appropriation were an integral, yet complicated, step to becoming an explorer. Like their male counterparts, Exploring Women participated in appropriation through their "discoveries," their collecting and preserving of flora and fauna (as Adams does in this example), their presumed superiority over indigenous people, and their participation in bringing back to contribute to the archives back home. Yet, as with other aspects of exploration, Exploring Women had ambiguous relationships to appropriation as a masculine discourse of exploration. Adams' collection and preservation of these physical specimens fulfilled the explorer's need to appropriate, that is to collect, to bring back, and to archive. Yet, Adams concludes her description of this momentous achievement with the caveat that she "tried" to bring back useful specimens for science as she does with the solenodons. Though her efforts are recognized, she comes across, in her own words, as simultaneously proud and hesitant.

For explorers, "appropriation" symbolized the power that a colonizing nation wielded to take for its own purpose, use, and interpretation the land, resources, cultural objects and rituals of a colonized nation and its people. Further than the simple act of collecting, appropriation in this sense involves the bringing back and archiving of what is

collected in order to preserve knowledge and accumulate power for the Empire.⁸⁰ Explorers served as the feet on the ground for this purpose. For the purposes of this project, then, “appropriation,” as Spurr indicates, is “a strategy by which the dominant imperial power incorporates as its own the territory or culture that it surveys and invades” (*Postcolonial Studies Key Concepts* 19, paraphrased from Spurr 28).⁸¹ Male explorers could partake in this surveillance in multiple ways as the “seeing eye,” as discussed in Chapter 5, but also as one able to survey professionally, to stake out land, and claim ownership of it, in ways that Exploring Women couldn’t.

Significantly, as Spurr points out, colonial discourse related to appropriation, then, “appropriates territory, while it also appropriates the means by which such acts of appropriation are to be understood” (28). That is, in the acts of “discovery” and colonization, colonized lands and people were *justifiably* brought under the civilizing control of the colonizing nations, *for their own good*, just as Adams’ bringing back of the solendons was for their own preservation (despite their deaths!). In this way, as Spurr

⁸⁰ Thomas Richards in *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (1993) explains the British Empire’s collection of information about its colonies as an attempt to control the uncontrollable. The Foreign Office, he writes, was “painfully aware of the gaps in their knowledge and did their best to fill them in. The filler they liked best was information. From all over the globe the British collected information about the countries they were adding to their map. They surveyed and they mapped. They took censuses, produced statistics. They made vast lists of birds. Then they shoved the data they had collected into a shifting series of classifications. In fact, they often could do little other than collect and collate information, for any exact civic control, of the kind possible in England, was out of the question. The Empire was too far away, and the bureaucrats of Empire had to be content to shuffle papers” (3). Richards categorizes the RGS as one of these knowledge-producing institutions and museums as the holders of the archive.

⁸¹ Spurr further explains that “The colonizing imagination takes for granted that the land and its resources belong to those who are best able to exploit them according to the values of a Western commercial and industrial system. This presupposition operates not only in cases of direct colonial rule, but also in the kind of indirect power exercised by the United States over the countries of Central America, where, by 1920, private U.S. interests owned most of the arable land, the railroads, and the communications systems” (31). This expansion of U.S. imperialism at this time impacted the Exploring Women of this project. Adams, in particular, was interested in the economic and social relationships between the U.S. and Central and South America.

explains, colonial discourse transfers the desire for colonization onto the colonized, couching it as a desire or a need that must be fulfilled by the colonizer.⁸² From the perspective of the colonizer, specifically here the Exploring Woman, appropriating—as collecting, bringing back, and archiving—is necessary to claim the title of explorer and is also an altruistic act. Despite Adams’ adoption of appropriation as both justifiable and altruistic, however, entering into the masculine discourses of appropriation remained complicated for Exploring Women.

On one hand, Exploring Women, as representatives of the colonizing empire, participated in acts of appropriation in order to, like Adams, show that they could mimic male explorers. These acts of appropriation, in the name of science and preservation, gave them prestige as explorers and allowed them admittance into masculine discourses of exploration, science, and imperialism and access into institutions from which they were otherwise excluded. Thus, Exploring Women were pressured both to “discover” and to “bring back” or risk being eternally excluded from the ranks to which they aspired. On the other hand, the need to appropriate as a marker for entrance into the world of exploration served as a barrier for Exploring Women. Though women had historically been amateur botanical collectors for some time as discussed in Chapter 4, few women participated in serious overseas exploration, giving them fewer opportunities to bring back specimens. To combat this exclusion, Exploring Women participated in appropriation in sometimes less tangible ways than in the example of Adams’ solenodons. Though in some cases they brought back specimens and artifacts, in other

⁸² Kollin also relies on this interpretation of Spurr when she refers to Spurr’s point that “imperial power is frequently predicated on transforming the landscape into an object of possession, a project that involved arranging the scene according to the needs and desires of the colonist” (112).

cases they brought back maps, as did Louise Arner Boyd, and at other times they simply brought back their narratives. By writing and presenting about the places they had visited for their Western audience, *Exploring Women* appropriated the stories of those places and presented them from the point of view of the colonizing country. Doing so allowed colonizers to retain ownership over how that story was told and how discourses were created about and around that place and its people and culture. In this way *Exploring Women* became participants in the discourses of appropriation and in the larger context of imperialism.

This chapter shows that *Exploring Women* participated in appropriation so that they could join the ranks of their male counterparts, gain credibility as explorers, and acquire membership and access to scientific and geographical institutions, just as bringing back the solenodon opened some of these doors for Adams. However, as has been illustrated in previous chapters, entering into masculine discourses of exploration was difficult for *Exploring Women*, who remained excluded from these discourses and who were, at times, reluctant to fully embrace the masculine language of appropriation. This reluctance can be seen most distinctly in two aspects: First, *Exploring Women* set themselves apart from their masculine counterparts as specimen collectors. For example, Delia Akeley contrasts herself with “white hunters” and sets herself up as an observer as well as a collector. Second, *Exploring Women* had a different relationship to mapping and naming, integral to imperialism and appropriation, than their male counterparts. *Exploring Women* brought back information to add to the archive, but were, at times, reluctant to take credit for their claims in the same way as male explorers, as in, for example, Boyd’s and Anne Morrow Lindbergh’s hesitation in claiming ownership over

their work in surveying. This chapter focuses on how Exploring Women mimicked the acts of appropriation and collecting, yet remained separate from these actions due to points of departure from traditional male explorers.

Specimen Collecting: Exploring Women Add to the Archive

Collecting is not unique to explorers; tourists routinely make it a point to take home mementos from their travels such as patches, pins, mini flags and, of course, t-shirts. Yet, for explorers, collecting was more than just taking home a memento as a reminder of their journey. Collecting and its partner, archiving, contributed to the creation of Empire as they created a memento of the places, people and cultures observed, showed the Empire's depth and breadth, and showcased the power and control Empire had over the resources, economics, people, and cultures in its territories. For Exploring Women, collecting and archiving was a way for them to both contribute to the development of Empire, add to the national archive, and, most significantly for the purposes of this project, to show that they belonged within the ranks of male explorers who had been and continued to do much of the Empire's work of collecting and archiving. However, for Exploring Women, appropriation in the form of collecting and bringing back, like exploration overall, remained a masculine discourse, but one which Exploring Women needed to enter into in order to attain the ranks of serious explorers.⁸³

⁸³ A large part of the task of earlier male travelers and explorers was to fill the Empire's coffers with treasures from abroad as well as scientific specimens of plant life, animals, and even people. The work of earlier Exploring Women such as Mary Kingsley and May French--Sheldon shows how women could also contribute to the colonial enterprise by contributing to the imperial archive. For example, Kingsley collected scientific specimens in the form of fishes and showed that women, too, could participate in similar scientific and exploratory endeavors as men by collecting, and archiving in colonized areas. As well, French Sheldon's display at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, showcased women's work and artifacts from her travels, emphasizing women travelers' access to areas previously closed off to male

As specimen collectors, Exploring Women had a long association with botany, as discussed in Chapter 4. Working in natural history and the natural sciences, particularly botany, provided an avenue into exploration, while, according to Harper, writing travel narratives based on natural history gave women “a foothold in a traditionally masculine-dominated field, even as the field became increasingly more restrictive” in terms of its accessibility to women due to the ongoing professionalization of the sciences (14). Yet, Harper cautions that “collecting” was not enough to ensure one’s status, but that being recognized in some way, such as by becoming a Fellow as Adams eventually did, was needed to ensure one’s status as a serious professional.⁸⁴ That is, collecting was a steppingstone to acceptance, so Exploring Women became collectors. Botanical collecting seemed an obvious choice for Exploring Women, but with botany’s gendered past, sending home a box of flowers could only take an Exploring Woman so far. Much was left to prove. Exploring Women who wanted to be taken seriously as explorers needed to do more than collect flowers.

To get past the gendered history of botanical collecting, the women of this study went beyond collecting flowers in order to claim their place as explorers. Akeley shipped home entire elephant skins. Boyd brought back thousands of photographs and participated in mapmaking. Yet, even this was not always enough. Harper argues that the writers that she highlights (Mary Wollstonecraft, Harriet Martineau, Isabelle Bird

travelers. However, the segregation of French Sheldon’s and other Exploring Women’s collections into the women’s exhibit is telling. Their collections emphasized the access that Exploring Women had to indigenous women and their arts and crafts, but kept their “discoveries” apart from that collected by men. That is, this segregation reflected a belief that women’s collections could only focus on or appeal to women.

⁸⁴ Harper maintains also that class played a significant role in whose collections were recognized and who received credit for them. She references the case of fossil-collector Mary Anning who, being of a lower social class, never entered the ranks of serious explorers despite her prolific collecting (Note 10, 233).

Bishop, and Mary Kingsley) adapted the “scientist-as-explorer identity . . . to make carefully targeted inroads into the concept of what constituted scientific authority, recasting the popular sense of what is identified as an explorer” (14). That is, while emulating their male counterparts by collecting, *Exploring Women* also needed to shift the understanding of what kind of collecting and even what kind of specimens were valid in order to lay claim to the role of scientist-explorers.

Yet, becoming an *Exploring Woman* required an adherence to the masculine discourse of appropriation and the principles of bringing back knowledge and physical evidence of America’s budding Empire. Even so, *Exploring Women* were uneasy with their collecting. While they mimicked the collecting behaviors of their male counterparts, they also revealed their differences from male collector-explorers, in particular, by how their collecting was justified not just for the sake of Empire, but for the sake of preservation. Boyd used botanical collecting as a cover of sorts. Working within the confines of an acceptable feminine discourse like botany allowed Boyd to collect, but having this as a vocation allowed her to try her hand at other kinds of collecting as when she assisted the surveyors on her voyages. Akeley, meanwhile, set herself up as a savior who, like Adams, took responsibility for saving the vanishing species and who distinguished herself from the “white hunter” who collected for sport or personal pleasure. Further, Akeley set herself up in her narrative as the “good colonizer,” only shooting when necessary and only taking as many specimens as she required to fulfill her commissions. She portrays the “white hunter,” in contrast, as reckless and excessive, a “bad colonizer.” These strategies allowed *Exploring Women* to participate in collecting and appropriation but to express it in terms more favorable to their gender.

Botanical collecting

As discussed in Chapter 4, after what she considered a successful season as an amateur collector in 1928, Arctic explorer Boyd served as botanist on her 1933 and 1938 expeditions to the coast of Greenland. This shift from amateur collector to semi-professional mirrors the shift in the discipline in the early twentieth century, but the significance here is that Boyd, despite being expedition leader and funding her expeditions, needed to *collect* something and *bring it back* to be recognized as an explorer. The most plausible way to do this was to start with botanical collecting which, due to its long association with women's work and the domestic, was acceptable to her crew and to her sponsor, the AGS. It seems questionable whether she could have taken on an alternative scientific task on board the vessel in the same way that she took over the botanical collecting, particularly at this time, in the 1930s when scientific disciplines had been increasingly professionalized, marginalizing women working in these fields. Even so, botanical collecting seemed a natural choice for Boyd. In explaining how she came to take over botanical collecting, Boyd falls back on her love for and history with flowers. She writes that on her 1928 expedition she "was impelled by a lifelong interest in and love of flowers to collect every plant I could lay my hands on" (*Northeast Greenland* 274). The gardens at Maple Lawn, her home in San Rafael, were renowned at the time she was their caretaker. Even today, though the property passed out of Boyd's hands decades ago, Maple Lawn's gardens have become a popular wedding venue ("Maple Lawn: A Grand Space").

However, even in taking over botanical collecting, minor differences of interpretation seem to have arisen which highlight the importance of collecting as a means of establishing credibility. Boyd seems pleased to take credit for botanical collecting, but the professional botanist on board in 1933 may have had a slightly different interpretation of events. William B. Drew, Assistant Botanist of the Gray Herbarium, Harvard University, writes in the chapter “Botanical Work of the Expedition” that, as he had to leave the 1933 expedition early on account of appendicitis and Boyd took over the collecting for the majority of the voyage, the collection “did not turn out to be as complete and extensive as planned” (*Fiord Region* 290). Because of this difficulty, he mentions that he gives a catalogue of the plants studied without providing the level of detail that he would have if he had collected the plants himself. Later in the chapter, he lists collections of vascular plants that the expedition collected “in the absence of a botanist” (*Fiord Region* 293). This does not suggest that Drew is disparaging Boyd’s work here. Rather, he seems simply to be expressing regret as a professional that the work was not done to the level that it could have been had he not fallen ill. However, it is significant that Drew’s account differs somewhat from Boyd’s account of the situation as described in the “Narrative” chapter where she indicates that she was acting as botanist. There seems to be some question here of who should take credit for the collecting that was done, the professional botanist, Drew, who was absent for most of the journey, or Boyd, who did the collecting, but remains only an amateur botanist. In the end, providing a catalogue without the level of detail that was originally intended seems to be the compromise. This example shows Boyd seemingly comfortable with filling in for the absent botanist as a botanical collector, yet he, as the credentialed professional, is

apparently reluctant to cede his professional authority and expertise. Boyd's mimicking, then, is not quite accepted, despite the contributions she makes to botanical collecting on this voyage.

Big game collecting

Other Exploring Women, like Akeley, extended collecting from the more familiarly feminine pursuit of botanical collecting. Akeley's foray into collecting involved much larger and more dangerous specimens than plants and flowers on her several expeditions to East Africa with and without her husband, taxidermist Carl Akeley. Since Akeley's original purpose for travel to Africa centered on the need to collect and bring back specimens for museum exhibits, her and Carl's trips were judged successful based on the amount and types of animal carcasses that were preserved and shipped back to the United States to be erected in museums for the public to consume. This consumption of museum specimens served, in turn, as the public's window to understanding African animals, landscapes, and ways of life.

The Akeleys hunted for, shot, preserved, and shipped lions, elephants, and hyenas, and many other large African mammals back to America for museum exhibits (163). As a legacy to their expeditions, the elephants shot by the Akeleys still greet visitors entering the African Hall in the American Natural History Museum (NY) and as the pair of "Fighting Bulls" in the Field Museum in Chicago. The exhibits of the African Hall, with its original intention of highlighting exotic African species for American viewers, together with the exhibits in the Field Museum contain multitudes of specimens contributed by the Akeleys.

Akeley's writing frequently displays pride in her hunting capabilities, skills in preservation, and excellent management skills that make it possible for her to ship her specimens back to her sponsors intact. Yet, in her narrative, she repeatedly rationalizes the baser aspects of collecting specimens involving killing, and the hard, bloody work of preservation. She does so in two ways: first, like Adams, she vocalizes the belief that she is doing good by preserving species that will soon be extinct and that may be lost to science and to the public without the intervention of individuals like her. Her work allows the (white Western) public to view these animals before the chance is lost, and gives (Western) scientists a chance to study them. In this way, like Adams and other male explorers, she holds true to the idea of the vanishing native and the need to preserve prior to extinction. In this her beliefs seem to reflect those of her husband, Carl, whose life work was focused on killing and preserving specimens for museums just as they were on the brink of extinction, largely due to impacts of colonization.⁸⁵ However, for *Exploring Women* this point of view could also be further justified as a way of caretaking, that is, gravitating toward preservation as a way of falling back on a natural feminine desire to care for the vanishing animals. This manifests in Akeley's narrative when she sets herself up in the role of observer. While she is hunting and collecting specimens, her observations also allow her to learn about the animals she is pursuing. This obsession with observing animals and their habitats, rather than serving as a distraction, was, in fact, crucial for making the Akeleys' dioramas seem life-like. Animals could be placed in very natural poses due to Akeley's careful observations of

⁸⁵ Despite his years as a hunter, Carl Akeley spent his later years, after the Akeleys' divorce, establishing a preserve for mountain gorillas in the Congo. Further information on his preservation work can be found in Jay Kirk's *Kingdom Under Glass: A Tale of Obsession, Adventure, and One Man's Quest to Preserve the World's Greatest Animals* (2010).

their behaviors. Even further than simple observation, Akeley tended to anthropomorphize the animals to an extent that may have been uncomfortable for scientist-explorers or collectors like her husband.⁸⁶ In this, she may be seen as a precursor to “Leakey’s Angels” who worked to observe and preserve primate species in the mid- to late-twentieth century.⁸⁷ Despite Akeley’s obvious concern for animals, the paradox here seems obvious in modern times: how does she justify killing animals to preserve them? Yet, Akeley believed that work, even the bloody work of hunting and preservation done in the name of science, was justified. As specimen collectors and as imperialists, the Akeleys took part in the extraction and retrieval of natural resources from colonized areas for the use of and display of the imperial nations in displays of exoticism. Yet for the Akeleys, at that time and place, it seemed the sensible, and morally justified, thing to do.

The second way that Akeley rationalizes her hunting, collecting, and preservation, is to set herself up as the “good” colonizer, one who has a noble purpose and whose ends justify the means. This contrasts with the “bad” colonizer, the role that she assigns to “white hunters,” that is sport hunters, tourists, and others whom she considers to be destructive and who kill African wildlife for purposes that are not for preservation or

⁸⁶ As mentioned previously, some sources credit the break-up of the Akeleys’ marriage with Delia’s relationship to the monkey J.T. Jr. whom she brought home from their travels in Africa.

⁸⁷ Anthropologist Louis Leakey dispatched three women to the corners of the world to study primates in the 1950-1970s: Jane Goodall observed chimpanzees in Gombe, Dian Fossey observed mountain gorillas in Rwanda, and Birute Galdikas observed chimpanzees in Indonesia. Akeley’s observations of monkeys in Africa along with her close relationship with the monkey J.T. Jr. which resulted in the book *The Biography of J.T. Jr.* may be a precursor to a kind of gendered knowledge collection where the female observers are largely untrained, non-professionals who rely on their skills of close observation and patience. This kind of observation seems, as well, to lead to an anthropomorphism of the animals; Goodall was initially criticized, for example, for naming the animals under observation.

science.⁸⁸ Akeley uses this term “white hunters” to signify not just the professional guides, but those who hired them, typically wealthy Western white men who, she writes, paid a lot of money to have a guide bring them to the game, more or less shoot it for them, and then grant them the credit and the kill.⁸⁹ Akeley presents her long slogs through the jungles on her own volition in search of game in a more admirable light. When Akeley kills, she believes she is “saving” the species rather than decimating it. Entrenching herself in colonial discourses related to preservation and collection, rather than hunting, while not exclusive to women colonizers, allowed Akeley, as an Exploring Woman, to carry out her work without fully taking on the masculine rhetoric of appropriation associated with the “white hunter.” Rather, by embracing the rhetoric of preservation, Akeley could both enter into a masculine discourse of exploration and imperialism, but could also remain true to her gender by shunning the image of the white hunter and choosing what she saw as a nobler course.

Collecting for Preservation

For Akeley, this work of collecting for preservation was paramount. After the Akeleys’ divorce, both continued the work of collecting separately, with Akeley adding

⁸⁸ The term “white hunter” or “Great White Hunter” typically represents professional big game hunters, particularly of the first half of the twentieth century. As well as being a guide, an expedition organizer, and ensuring that his clients encountered all of the species that they requested, the role of the “white hunter” in African safaris was both practical and racially motivated, explains Bernhard Gissibl in “The Conservation of Luxury: Safari Hunting and the Consumption of Wildlife in Twentieth-Century East Africa.” The “white hunter” acted as “the intermediary who spared racist visiting hunters the impertinence of entrusting themselves directly into the hands of ‘natives’” (274). Thus, the Westerners who came to Africa to hunt big game could rely on another white Westerner to help them navigate the country and its people, as well as find game.

⁸⁹ Ironically, Akeley and her husband hunted with several men who might fall into this category including when they hunted with former President Theodore Roosevelt during his 1909 African expedition to collect species for the Smithsonian Institution. The expedition, though conducted in the name of science, was prolific and bloody.

specimens and artifacts to several museum collections on her own including the addition of over two hundred Congolese objects to the collection of African Art at the Brooklyn Museum (“Connecting Cultures”).⁹⁰ Akeley is conscientious about fulfilling her obligations for her independent work with the Brooklyn Museum and providing the objects and specimens that she has been contracted for. In explaining how she discharged her commission, Akeley’s language recollects both strategies discussed here as when she speaks of her commission to collect specimens of the “fast -disappearing wild life,” that is, to preserve vanishing creatures, and of the “heavy toll” taken by sportsmen and settlers, that is to be a good colonizer, rather than a bad one. Akeley is duty-bound to swoop in, collect her specimens, and get out, before they go extinct or someone gets to them before she does. She explains her obligations in *Jungle Portraits*, prior to her expedition to stay with the “pygmy” people in 1924, in a satisfactory tone:

When the Brooklyn Museum of Arts and Sciences heard of my plan to visit Africa again they honored me with a commission to collect specimens of the fast-disappearing wild life. So I changed my plans and went first to the Kenya Colony on the east coast, where I knew that despite the heavy toll taken each year by the settlers and visiting sportsmen I could secure the desired specimens and discharge

⁹⁰ As well, Akeley’s work with the dioramas based on the Akeley’s collections from the early 1900s is becoming more recognized. Willard L. Boyd in “Museums as Centers of Controversy” writes of the enduring legacy of Delia and Carl Akeley’s dioramas in the Field Museum and how the museum is reinventing ways for today’s visitors to interact with these displays. He explains, “The environmental dioramas of Carl and (long ignored) Delia Akeley are enduring masterpieces depicting nature’s interconnections. (33) They are irreplaceable because the art of realistic taxidermic sculpture is now rare, the species included may be extinct or endangered [fulfilling the predictions of Akeley and other Exploring Women], and the costs of diorama-making are high. These treasured dioramas of earlier times remain an invaluable teaching tool for today’s environmentally oriented museum. At the Field Museum, we often augmented the area outside the diorama cases in order to help the visitor learn more from them” (n.p.) [Note 33 is as follows: 33 Elizabeth Olds, *Women of the Four Winds* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985), 71ff.]

my obligations to the museum before entering the more unhealthful Congo country. (162)

In this description, while Akeley is honored to have this commission (and she mentions later that the fee she receives is not only nice, but necessary to finance the rest of her trip), she begins this anecdote by mentioning that it is due to her reputation and the familiarity with her previous work in Africa that she received this commission. She has become known as a reliable collector, one who can follow through and obtain the desired specimens. In this instance, Akeley, once again, delivers. And it is telling here that, having entered into the masculine discourses of imperial appropriation, she has gained a reputation worthy of another commission.

Akeley further explains how she discharged her commission by traveling up the Tana River, where she “hunted in the thorn scrub along the banks for specimens, preserving and caring for the skins myself. I made photographs and developed the negatives” (163). Now, even without Carl’s presence and expertise, she collects and preserves specimens single-handedly, after which she heads to Nairobi and arranges for transport of the specimens to the United States before traveling on to the Congo. In this solo adventure, Akeley proves that she is as competent a collector as Carl. She is no longer just a “helpmate.” Though with this commission she gets credit for her collecting independent of her spouse, Akeley owes her reputation largely to Carl who was renowned before they met and more so after their tandem work in Africa. Though she never became a taxidermist in her own right, she has followed in his footsteps to become a collector. Her mimicry of Carl and his skills as an explorer has led her to be accepted as

a collector and an explorer in her own right. Even while explaining and justifying her work as a preservationist of disappearing species, she confirms her place as an explorer.

Though Akeley proves herself as an independent collector, it is significant that this work of collecting for preservation was originally a tandem effort between the Akeleys. While Carl was known for re-inventing museum dioramas as life-like and natural with photographic backdrops and realistic settings, Akeley's personal experience and observations of wildlife were invaluable to this task. Carl's dioramas set a precedent for museum collections. After the successes of the Akeleys' joint expeditions in 1905-07 for the Field Museum of Chicago and in 1909-11 for the Natural History Museum of New York to secure a family group of elephants, Akeley displays pride in the enduring legacy of their collections. She embraces their directive and becomes a reliable mimic. She even brags that the elephants she and her husband shot and shipped back to the United States made the Natural History Museum of New York the only museum to have such a collection. Their hard work is rewarded as she reports later that the elephant exhibit "now delights the visitors to the American Museum of Natural History in New York" after the Akeleys spend two long years collecting the specimens (*Jungle Portraits* 213).

Even as Akeley feels called to carry out this work of collecting, to educate the public, and to bring them the most life-like experience of African animals possible, she has mixed feelings about the effectiveness of museum displays in creating an understanding of what it is like to experience these animals in nature. Certainly, she views Carl's dioramas as a vast improvement over what came before. She explains the mediocre interactions that museum goers have had with inferior displays—prior to the

creation of Carl's dioramas—when talking about her interactions with baboons and chimpanzees. She explains:

The real truth concerning the habits and characteristics of apes and monkeys can be learned only through exhaustive study. Years must be spent by the student in the lonely forests where the animals live. No caged animal or stuffed museum specimen with distorted bodies and horrid glass eyes can tell us the fascinating life history of the wild, free creatures. It is greatly regretted that much of our information about these interesting animals has been gained by deduction, by travelers' tales, and by studying captured animals that are living unnatural lives in cages on a man-selected diet. (28)

Prior to the Akeley's rich, life-like exhibits, Akeley feels that museum visitors' interactions with the taxidermized specimens with "distorted bodies" and "horrid glass eyes" that were presented without the realistic scenes that the Akeley's created could never measure up to her firsthand experiences in the jungle. Akeley stresses that the animals' behavior in the wild is impossible to communicate through these fake, lifeless specimens that dominated museum displays and prevented museum visitors from experiencing the jungle in the way that she has. In contrast, the life-like dioramas created by the Akeley's give the visitors a taste of the kind of interactions that Akeley has experienced with African wildlife—at least it is the next best thing to being there, she seems to say.

Despite the new life-like exhibits that the Akeley's have created, Akeley assures the reader that the museum public (for whom she is making these sacrifices) will never quite understand the hardships that she has gone through to secure the specimens.

Akeley praises “collectors” like herself for their hard work and sacrifice. She says, “Little indeed do they [people who visit natural history museums] realize what dangers and hardships and often personal sacrifice the collector must face to make a journey into some out-of-the-way corner of the world to secure a rare specimen whose habitat is in the depths of a primeval forest, on the summit of a high mountain, or in the middle of a low-lying, fever-haunted swamp” (230). Though museum visitors will always be unable to understand the animals in the way that she does and to comprehend what Akeley has gone through in the jungle, Akeley sees advantages in sending the specimens back to America and in creating the life-like dioramas. The interactions with the Akeleys’ exhibits are the next best thing. For the good of science and the education of the public, Akeley presents her work of collecting specimens for museums to bring back physical evidence of African wildlife in the form of specimens as both positive and necessary. The pride that Akeley feels in her contributions to the museum collections is evident in her narratives.

Knowledge Collectors as “Good Colonizers”

In addition to rationalizing her hunting in the name of preservation, Akeley sets herself up as a “good colonizer” by repeatedly contrasting her expeditions hunting for specimens for museums with the slaughter of African animals by big game hunters out for sport or pleasure, whom she disparages as “white hunters.” Her purpose, she assures the reader, is more noble. In *Jungle Portraits*, when talking about the Akeleys’ burgeoning interest in hunting elephants, Akeley points out, for example, that “in defiance of their [the British Government’s] restrictions, preserves, and vigilance, traders

and poachers were very active when my husband arrived in British East Africa in 1905” (79). The Akeley’s motives of preservation are significant here, as they were hunting for specimens for the express use of the Field Museum of Chicago and even “received special permission from the Governor, Sir James Suddler, to enter the closed Tana Valley district and continue our hunt [for elephants] in the primeval forests on the slopes of Mt. Kenya” (79). This special permission made their hunting expedition legitimate, unlike the hunting trips of sportsmen or tourists which she repeatedly disparages throughout her narrative.

By making comparisons to other big game hunters, Akeley portrays herself as the good colonizer who furthers Western knowledge and allows others to experience African wildlife in a way previously unavailable by interacting with the Akeley’s dioramas. Akeley separates her work from that of the “white hunters” when she laments how big game hunters are changing the African wildlife and experience when she brags of the prize crocodile that she shot in 1905 on the Tana River who “was taken, however, before the Tana River Valley became the standardized route for big-game hunters, and the aged saurian a target for their guns” (126). She does not express regret for killing the beast herself; she only expresses regret that later big-game hunters overhunted these same areas making retrieval of another such specimen unlikely. Her collecting of just one large specimen does not compare, in her telling, with the bloodthirsty and nonsensical habits of those who came later. One can read into this, as well, a sense of colonial nostalgia, what once was is no more, further justifying Akeley’s acts of preservation. Akeley is writing about these early expeditions in hindsight, looking back on two decades of collecting in

Africa that decimated many large-game species. “Preservation,” it turns out, threatened the demise of many native species.

In another example of this contrast, Akeley laments what the big game hunters, the “bad colonizers,” are doing to the area while she is viewing the birds at Lake Hannington in Kenya. She writes, “Rarely indeed had the peace of these birds been disturbed by the intrusion of human beings, and as I sat and watched their approach I shuddered to think of their fate when the record-breaking game hunters from America, with the first-person complex, found them out” (150). Though Akeley admits that her own presence at first startles the birds, she writes of their gradual acceptance of her presence as if they know she is not a threat, as she wants the reader to understand.

While Akeley directs much of her vitriol at white hunters, she finds indigenous hunters to be less wasteful and more humane than white hunters in most cases. Yet, she observes that even the native hunters are not without fault. For example, she judges those who hunt colobus monkeys, both Western and native, to be cruel and wicked (16-17). She explains her view on the only justified reasons for killing animals:

While I regret killing or seeing any animal killed for any other purpose than food or science, and do believe most earnestly that all wild life should be protected—particularly from white men who employ white hunters to assist them with their killing—I do not believe in letting sentiment run away with one’s common sense.

I think the natives of Africa have a better right to the game than the white man.

(221-222)

As an Exploring Woman, Akeley sets herself apart from the white hunters who kill neither for food nor for science, and from the indigenous hunters, mostly men, who kill

wastefully (though she excuses those killing for sustenance). Akeley walks a fine line in these divisions. She can easily be grouped with the Westerners flooding into Africa on safaris and “collecting expeditions” that were often not in the name of science. Yet, she makes an effort to separate herself and her work from these kind of expeditions (even as she was linked with them such as when she and Carl hunted with Theodore Roosevelt). Her mimicry is useful when used to learn the skills she needs to survive in Africa and to fulfill her commissions for species, but she willfully separates herself from wastefulness or what she sees as unethical killing.

In order to further remove herself from the actions and the reputations of the white hunters, Akeley did not limit her collecting to big game hunting. She viewed her work with the “pygmy” people of the Congo as an exercise in observation and data collection, without the rifle. After hunting elephants, lions, and crocodiles for years for inclusion in museum collections, Akeley, during her solo expeditions to Africa in the 1920s, turned more fully to observation, or knowledge collecting, when she spent several months living with and observing “pygmy” people. She includes a chapter in *Jungle Portraits* called “In Quest of the Pygmies” after the chapter on “The Flamingos of Lake Hannington” and prior to the final chapter of the book, “Jungle Rescue,” that details Carl’s rescue after he was wounded on the elephant hunt. Chronologically, it makes sense to place the chapter on “pygmies” at this location in the book as the earlier chapters on monkeys and apes, crocodiles, elephants, and flamingos largely took place on earlier expeditions with her husband. In contrast, Akeley’s work with the “pygmies” was hers alone as Carl was no longer traveling with her at this time, after their divorce. This

placement also highlights Akeley's growth from apprentice to independent explorer and from hunter to ethnographer.

For Akeley, the white hunters do not have authority to speak about what is on the minds of wild animals, while she, with her vast experience hunting, collecting, and leading expeditions, has better insight and more authority to speak about the nature of African animals. She explains her superior understanding when she says, "It takes more than a breathless race over the veldt with a pack of wild dogs and a lot of black boys, and a commercial interest in disposing of wild animals, to obtain an insight, ever so small, into their psychology" (16). At times like this, Akeley argues here that observing animals and collecting information about them is not as easily obtained as an animal skin. She argues that her skills in observation make her better suited to speak about hunting African animals. Comparisons with the white hunters show that Akeley's interactions with African animals and their collection for science and preservation serves a nobler purpose than that of the big game hunters.

Mapping and Naming: Collecting Geographic Space

As much as botanical and specimen collecting and preservation were tangible acts of appropriation that largely resulted in filling the exhibition halls of Western museums with exotic species, Exploring Women participated in another form of appropriation that resulted in the collection of knowledges for Western scientists and the Western public: mapping and naming. Mapping and naming as colonizing processes both lay claim to and appropriate what is seen and bring it back to the home country in the form of maps and charts.

Not all the women considered in this project participated directly in the creation of maps as did Boyd. Most did not. But most included maps within their narratives, highlighting the importance of mapping to their exploring missions. In the front matter of *Flying Over South America* (1932), for example, Annie Smith Peck's narrative of flying around South America by commercial air, a hand-drawn map shows the flight paths and directions that she took. (Yet her *A Search for the Apex of America* (1911) does not include a map.) Lindbergh's two travel narratives, lacking many other references to the professional nature of her trips, do include maps of her journeys covering the front and back flaps which show the extensive length and breadth of her journeys across the world's oceans. Akeley's *Jungle Portraits* (1930) does not include a map in its original edition. Including maps in the narratives of Exploring Women indicates a form of collecting of the geographical space contained in the narratives, as well as being a guide for the reader. That is, even if the Exploring Women were not actively participating in the creation of maps, the inclusion of maps in their narratives speaks to their importance in showing how Exploring Women were part of the discourse of mapmaking and its claim to ownership over geographic space.

Few of the Exploring Women in this study participated directly in the colonizing activities of mapping and naming. However, as discussed earlier, gender discrimination, lack of training opportunities, and lack of financial support, prevented them from working in professional fields like surveying. One could argue that women were systematically excluded from the activity of surveying as they were, almost without exception, unable to fulfill the professional roles required. Yet, some did. However, without the mandate given to male explorers, Exploring Women had a complicated

relationship with the language and activities of surveying, mapping, and naming, and to the places and people being surveyed.

Mapping as Collecting

A notable exception is Boyd who made her name as the leader of the expedition that surveyed more of the Greenland coast than had been previously explored. She participated directly in the mapping of the coast due to her skill in photography, which allowed her to participate in the process of photogrammetry. Boyd made some of the most tangible contributions to geographic knowledge of her era during her explorations of the Arctic. A collection of Greenland maps that were created with her input and expertise currently reside in AGS collections at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee's Golda Meir Library and are still utilized by cartographers and geographers today to enable comparisons and to measure climate change on glacial regions, among other uses (Nelson, Peschel, and Hall).

Bell, Butlin, and Heffernan explain the significance of the map to geography, exploration, and imperialism.

By representing the huge complexity of a particular physical and human landscape cartographically in a single image, geographers provided the European imperial project with arguably its most potent device. The European exploration, mapping, and topographic surveying of Africa, Asia and Latin America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—generally with state support—was self-evidently an exercise in imperial authority. To map hitherto ‘unknown’ regions (unknown, that is, to the Europeans) using modern techniques in triangulation and

geodesy was both a scientific activity dependent on trained personnel and state-of-the-art equipment and also a political act of appropriation which had obvious strategic utility to occupying military forces. (4)

Their points are relevant to this discussion of Exploring Women of the early twentieth century in interesting ways. These women and their predecessors, for the most part, did not have the option of participating in overt acts of “political appropriation,” evident in tasks such as surveying and cartography, as they did not have the education and credentials (and the gender) to be assigned these tasks. Yet Bell, Butlin and Heffernan’s comments about mapping, despite their focus on nineteenth-century Europe, can be applied in several ways to this discussion. First, despite their lack of participation in direct mapping activities, Exploring Women like Akeley participated in opening areas previously unexplored by Europeans.⁹¹ McEwan makes a similar point about explorer Mary Kingsley and missionary Mary Slessor, both working in Africa, who, by moving inland from previously colonized areas, made it more possible for the exploring men that followed to do their work of conquering, clearing, and establishing new military and trading posts, and settlements. Similarly, Akeley’s extended stay in the Congo with the “pygmy” people (whom she had expressly chosen for her ethnographic observations due to their previous relative isolation from Western influence) can be seen as leading to a

⁹¹ Akeley writes of the virtues of the “pioneer” explorers and how they compare to “modern” explorers. She writes: “The world [of the pioneer explorers] had not yet become a tourist playground, nor exploration exploited to the extent of becoming a commercial fad. Those pioneers went out with but little knowledge of the country which they planned to visit, or of its inhabitants. They lived strenuous lives and ate whatever they could find in the way of food. . . . It was these men, however, who helped to make the trails safe for our modern explorers, and who laid the solid foundation upon which the unrivaled history museums of America are built” (231). These “pioneers” didn’t have time to write of their expeditions Akeley says, so, she seems to imply, her narrative fills a gap and records some of these unknown lands, animals and people before they are “exploited” (231).

similar opening up as that which McEwan examines with Kingsley and Slessor. By choosing and staying with the “pygmy” people, Akeley opened the way for later colonizers to gain access to indigenous land and to influence indigenous culture. She influenced the map without being a cartographer herself. As well, later explorers in this study like Boyd and Lindbergh participated more directly in mapping, surveying and cartography in ways that women had previously not had access to, though still without officially working as professional surveyors.

As a photographer and part of the surveying team on her expeditions, Boyd was more directly involved in the mapping projects on her expeditions than other Exploring Women. Though she, like her predecessors, did not have the education or credentials to do so, through money and influence and talent, she set herself up to be a surveyor. Boyd’s exploration narratives include multiple separate volumes of maps and photographs created from the work she did on her journeys. These maps of the Greenland coast were more extensive than any that had come before, collecting data that had previously been inaccessible.

Naming as Collecting

Naming pairs with mapping as a cultural and political form of appropriation and was a significant part of surveying new lands for Boyd’s expeditions as it had been for earlier explorers.⁹² In her position of expedition leader and as a participant in the

⁹² Paul Carter in *Road to Botany Bay*, for example, describes the naming of “Cape Inscription” in Australia. Carter writes that naming and re-naming is “the result of erasure: it also symbolizes the imperial project of permanent possession through dispossession” (xxiv). The naming of this place, Cape Inscription, “indicates, concisely and poetically, the cultural place where spatial history begins: not in a particular year, nor in a particular place, but in the act of naming. For by the act of place-naming, space is transformed symbolically into a place, that is, a space with a history. And, by the same token, the namer inscribes his

mapping of the Greenland coast, yet excluded from the position of surveyor due to her gender and the accompanying restrictions on training and credentialing, Boyd's place remained both within and outside of the discourses of appropriation related to naming. This is evident in her narrative when she describes how an area near the de Geer glacier was named "Miss Boyd Land" in her honor (the name was later modified to "Louise Boyd Land"). Notably, Boyd did not name this area herself. This is where her story diverges from that of most male explorers. Her description of how this area came to be named after her is both boastful and restrained when she writes, "Until my first visit in 1931, to the best of my knowledge, the inner reaches of Ice Fiord has never been visited by a ship. I am not guilty of giving the name 'Miss Boyd Land' to the land that lies between the De Geer Glacier, which I had the good fortune to discover in 1931, and the Jætte Glacier. My first intimations that this land had been so designated came in a letter from Dr. Lauge Koch and on seeing the name published on his map" (*Fiord Region* 23).⁹³ While Boyd seems simultaneously pleased with the discovery that she has been immortalized in this way and with the acknowledgment of her accomplishments, she gives the impression that she is hesitant to accept the honor and praise. These mixed emotions are evident in the way she modifies the descriptions of her accomplishments. Her words suggest that if she had named the land herself, she would be guilty of vanity or hubris so she modulates her earlier statement by saying that she had "the fortune" to discover it, as though discovery is something that happened to her without her agency. She emphasizes her luck rather than the preparation and skill for which she was known.

passage permanently on the world, making a metaphorical word-place which others may one day inhabit and by which, in the meantime, he asserts his own place in history" (xxiv).

⁹³ Boyd also has a glacier named after her, the "Louise Glacier" which "faces eastward on Miss Boyd Land (*Fiord Region* 23).

This approach to the naming of newly discovered land contrasts with the vision of the male explorer proudly planting a flag, laying claim, and declaring a place his own in the name of queen or country. For *Exploring Women*, as for Boyd in this example, laying claim in the form of naming was complicated when the authority to do so was suspect. Despite her role as expedition leader and her participation in the surveying process, Boyd had only a fragile hold on the authority to lay claim in this way due to the limitations imposed on her exploration work due to her gender.

Domosh writes that “like her Victorian predecessors, Boyd did not engage in many of the traditional practices of the male exploratory tradition [including naming]” (101). For *Exploring Women* this lack of authority stemmed partly from the portrayal of the landscape as female and the language of conquest as masculine penetration which alienated *Exploring Women* who could not claim this language. In addition, *Exploring Women* could not, or chose not to, be recognized in this way. Domosh interprets Boyd’s lack of participation in the naming of “Miss Boyd Land” to just this situation. She writes: “This is not to say that Boyd was not deeply proud of her accomplishments, only that she did not position herself within a tradition that used naming as a form of recognition of accomplishments (a tradition associated with male explorers)” (“Toward a Feminist Historiography” 101).

Boyd uneasily embraces this act of naming. Tinging it with an aura of modesty seems to serve to make it palatable for herself, but may also make it palatable for her audience. Despite this uneasy recognition, having land named for her associates Boyd with the male exploratory tradition, despite that the actual naming was left to someone else. Boyd’s simultaneous boastfulness and modesty, in this instance, complicate her

narrative and shows how difficult it was for Exploring Women to play the dual roles of woman and explorer, particularly in acts of appropriation. In this example, Boyd shows how in the common exploration activities of mapping and naming, Exploring Women hesitated to join the masculine rhetoric of appropriation and showed restraint in taking credit for their own accomplishments.

CHAPTER 7
AFTERWORD: MODERN-DAY EXPLORERS AND THE LEGACY OF
WOMEN'S EXPLORATION

As my argument in this project demonstrates, narratives of Exploring Women show some adherence to, and desire to be part of, masculine exploratory and imperial discourses. Yet these narratives also show that, despite these women's experience, expertise, and leadership, they were still working within a space of "not quite," between being a part of exploration and, due to their gender, being an outsider to it. As explorers and women, they needed to follow in the footsteps of their male explorer-counterparts, yet remain, characteristically, women. They needed to display their accomplishments, yet not take more credit than was their due in the eyes of their colleagues and audience. They needed to adhere to the legacy of exploration and its institutions while breaking down the barriers that prevented them from being included. Ultimately, Exploring Women became mimic-women, following the lead of their male explorer counterparts, yet also finding their own ways of working in exploration due to the gendered frameworks of exploration and imperialism. In doing so, they began to disrupt the definition of exploration that had been created as an almost exclusively male endeavor by practicing strategies that at times supported and at times disrupted the understanding of the masculine discourses of exploration.

Modern day Exploring Women continue to walk this fine line though Exploring Women of the twenty-first century tend toward feats of physical endurance and challenge often in the world's less-traveled or more dangerous places. These Exploring Women

might be called “adventurers” as well as “explorers” as the “discovery” of new places on the globe becomes increasingly limited. They also continue to accumulate records and a series of “firsts” to prove their feats: Jessica Watson and Laura Dekker became the youngest people to sail non-stop around the world (2009-2010 and 2010-11); Polly Letofsy is the first woman to walk around the world (1999-2004); and Kira Salak kayaked to Timbuktu (2003), among other feats. Though some of these explorers wrote books, narrative genres extend into documentaries, blogs, and even a weekly column. Ann Bancroft and Liv Arneson’s book, *No Horizon is So Far* (2003), parallels much of women’s exploration writing of this century, which is often marketed to a general audience interested in adventure tales rather than to a scholarly or scientific one. More than just the average adventure tale, though, their narrative is an explanation of how Bancroft and Arneson carved out a space for themselves in a world of exploration dominated for centuries by exploring men.

Today’s Exploring Women have benefitted from those who came before, yet they face many similar challenges to the Exploring Women of a hundred years ago. Bancroft and Arneson, for example, have contended with funding challenges, exclusion from and distrust within the masculine spaces of exploration, and difficulties in arranging the practical aspects of exploration such as finding clothing and equipment that fits. *No Horizon is So Far* catalogs their 2001 journey to be the first women to cross Antarctica on foot and showcases the state of women in exploration today. The journey, as well as being a feat of human endurance, made history as Bancroft and Arneson, both former school teachers, developed a curriculum and connected to an estimated three million school children via web and satellite phone during their journey, which was led by

Bancroft's company, yourexpedition.com. The narrative is a modern-day exploration tale complete with harrowing escapes, descriptions of awe-inspiring scenery, and tidbits about unknown regions described for those who haven't been there and, in all likelihood, never will. Yet, these Exploring Women also created this journey as one of participation, one that their audience could follow as it unfolded. This enterprising connection also, I argue, reflects the continuing gendered nature of exploration and its discourses. First, because it highlights the many challenges the two faced as Exploring Women. Second, because it shows the strategies that they conceived to overcome these challenges. For example, Bancroft and Arneson chose to exploit the educational aspects of their journey which distinguished them as teachers, a historically feminine profession, while working in exploration, a historically masculine one. Marrying these two aspects, as I see it, allowed them to overcome some of the barriers to women in exploration such as funding and support. Third, their journey shows the continuing legacy of women in exploration, how far Exploring Women have come and where exploration and its discourses remain male-centric, a reflection of the slow changes to patriarchal culture over the twentieth century.

No Horizon is so Far reads, in some ways, like a typical adventure tale with danger, but also observation and reflection. Nearing the end of their journey, facing yet another obstacle in an obstinate ground blizzard, Bancroft pauses to admire how "every once in a while a burst of sun would cut through the blizzard, almost like the sweep of a spotlight. It reminded me of those paintings where divine intervention is represented through the parting of the heavens by a bright burst of light. I was struck with wonder by the scenery. It was beautiful, exciting, eerie, scary—everything I had ever wanted in an

expedition in the first place” (175-6). But, their story is also a *woman’s* exploration tale, complete with self-examination, self-doubt, and descriptions of the difficulties inherent in being an Exploring Woman. Shortly after making it through the blizzard, Bancroft and Arneson, just 489 miles short of their goal but with only ten days available to complete their trek, decide to call for a pickup, effectively stopping short of the expedition’s goal to traverse the continent including the Ross Ice Shelf. After this defeat, their narrative describes how “Ann and Liv were despondent. Both were mourning the last lost miles and a journey that to both of them, as expeditioners, would always be incomplete” (195). Yet, rather than focusing on themselves, Bancroft writes that “It wasn’t ‘my’ or ‘her’ trip really. We had a responsibility to the people we’d involved—the kids, the base camp crew, our sponsors, ANI” (193-4). Calling the expedition a wrap, short of the goal, was responsible, yet heartbreaking. When forced to make this difficult choice, Bancroft and Arneson are particularly concerned with how this decision will make them look to their sponsors and audience, and to future Exploring Women.

In their chosen vocation as explorers, Bancroft and Arneson were met at multiple stages of their journey, from preparation to execution, with barriers due to gendered frameworks. Perceptions of and attitudes about gendered space affected their welcome in Antarctica (women don’t belong here; women will change the vibe here). Even in modern times, Arneson and Bancroft write, women have been prevented from going to Antarctica because it was thought that women “would destabilize the male culture of the continent with cat-fighting, nagging, and sexual promiscuity” (35). The physical realities of a space originally conceived as a masculine space also presented challenges with its all-too-real gendered infrastructure (lack of adequate women’s restroom facilities). A

lack of bathroom facilities designated and designed for women both reflects and perpetuates the exclusion of women in spaces historically catering to men. “As recently as the 1970s, the ‘lack of facilities’” on the continent to accommodate women was touted as a reason to keep them out (35). These attitudes and lack of provisions are reminiscent of those that plagued earlier Exploring Women and feel familiar in the context of this project as similar exclusionary attitudes and episodes limited the participation of early twentieth-century American women in exploration.

In addition to these prevalent attitudes, Bancroft and Arneson encountered gendered difficulties at multiple stages of their journey from working with ill-fitting equipment to difficulties in soliciting funding for an expedition led by women. Learning to ski-sail, an integral part of their plan and necessary for them to master in order to cross the continent during the limited Antarctic summer, was challenging. Man-sized equipment, like the para-sails that they needed to ski-sail, hindered their abilities to outfit themselves for their expedition. Arneson writes, “because most of the sails we tested initially were designed for men, who are heavier than either of us, the task was made even more difficult” (52). Though Arneson is tall, she is slight, and Bancroft at 5’3 is below average height even for a woman, making finding equipment that was both durable and proportional a challenge. This type of challenge could be understood by their contemporary, explorer Felicity Aston, whose laments about inadequate clothing for women open this project.

Another common barrier for early twentieth-century Exploring Women, which continues today, is a lack of funds. An earlier expedition had mired Bancroft in debt (reminiscent of Louise Boyd or Annie Smith Peck) and made raising adequate funds for

the 2001 journey particularly important. Funding, Bancroft writes, remains one of the largest barriers to women's equality in exploration. "Part of what I came to understand after that first trip [in 1993] is the extent to which economics is a barrier for women to live out our potential, doing what we were meant to do in our work" (41). Bancroft's 1993 all-women expedition to the South Pole was financed without corporate sponsorship, largely "by selling T-shirts and posters" (41). Bancroft and Arneson's quest to obtain funding for their 2001 expedition also proved a daunting task as they presented their expedition plans in multiple boardrooms. Though her previous success in journeying to the South Pole gave her credibility, Bancroft had to ask her audience to support an endeavor that was, and has been, gendered, and to believe that an investment in women's exploration would be worthwhile.

As Bancroft and Arneson's narrative illustrates, women's exploration has been, and still is, affected by masculine discourses of exploration, both psychologically and culturally, which were demonstrated by the unwelcome attitudes toward their female presence on the continent and materially, as shown by their difficulty in finding funding and suitable equipment. However, despite these challenges, their narrative shows the culmination of the history of women's enduring, yet fragmented and contested, roles in exploration. A common theme exists between Bancroft and Arneson's struggles to get their expedition off the ground and complete it successfully and the struggles of earlier *Exploring Women* which is evident in their unwelcome reception, their desire to be taken seriously, and the difficulties they had in funding and equipping their journey. Despite these difficulties, the narratives of *Exploring Women* express a desire to explore largely uncharted places, to contribute knowledge, and to gain personal freedoms and

achievements, that is, to make contributions to exploration and an understanding of the world. Exploring Women make these achievements despite remaining largely on the outside of discourses of exploration. As I have shown here, and as we see in Bancroft and Arneson's story, women's struggles to enter the world of exploration largely depend on the dominance and prevalence of its masculine discourses and institutions which affect all aspects of the journey, from planning, to execution, to reception.

Further examples of Bancroft and Arneson's difficulties in getting their project off the ground show the on-going challenges for women who attempt to venture outside of proper female domains and into the masculine world of exploration Bancroft reports encountering resistance in the form of "stupid misconceptions" about women's capabilities for exploration: "('Women can't do that'; 'You're too small'; 'Women don't belong in Antarctica')" (42). In training with equipment not designed for their bodies' shapes and sizes, they moved through and within spaces not created for their female forms. That is, their gendered bodies caused them to be considered out of place. But this displacement is not simply physical; they were displaced in the discourses of exploration and, as with the earlier Exploring Women that I examined in more detail in this project, they were displaced in the masculine discourses of exploration. The spaces of exploration were not designed with women, or others who do not fit the mold, in mind. Yet, as I have shown, Exploring Women have spent generations adapting to these physical and rhetorical spaces by using strategies of mimicry to make themselves fit in with their male counterparts, and to create their own strategies for navigating masculine discourse as explorers as Bancroft and Arneson continue to do.

The difficulties encountered by Bancroft and Arneson, then, lack of belonging both officially and unofficially, financial strain, and practical challenges, are reflected in and, I argue, in many ways stem from the experiences of earlier Exploring Women who are the primary focus of this project. Yet, despite the continuation of these gendered barriers, Exploring Women have prevailed. The year 2016 saw the largest all-women expedition depart for Antarctica as part of the Homeward Bound initiative, aimed at increasing the participation of women in science, with more than seventy women participating. Meanwhile Bancroft and Arneson are dedicated to their “Access Water” expeditions which unite women from six continents to travel and explore water challenges on each continent. As on their earlier expeditions, Bancroft and Arneson include school children on their journeys via an educational curriculum where children in their classrooms can follow along with the expeditions. So, though like their predecessors, Bancroft and Arneson and other twenty-first century American women explorers have become mimic-women in order to work within the masculine discourses of exploration, they have also found their own way of negotiating strategies in order to get their expeditions off the ground and become Exploring Women.

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