

Expected Sights:
The Origins of Tourism in the United States

by

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Abstract

Expected Sights traces the origins of tourism as a distinct category of travel in the United States between 1790 and 1860. It argues that tourism became an identifiable kind of traveling as a result of changes in geographical knowledge and in transportation technology that happened in the first half of the nineteenth century. The embodied authorities of Revolutionary era geographical texts gave way in the 1820s and 1830s to the disembodied authorities of the guidebook industry, which simplified travel over a limited number of commercially defined routes. At the same time, the developments of the transportation revolution, starting especially with the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, turned travel into a market commodity and active travelers into relatively passive passengers. Contemporary travelers, tourists, and observers of movement through space had profoundly ambivalent reactions to these two interrelated developments and to the touristic travel they enabled. Critics suggested that tourism was superficial, unoriginal, and produced nothing of value; such critics often used satire to make their point. At the same time, tourists often embraced the label, likening their tours to pilgrimages, in which they gained status from having visited and contemplated socially and culturally significant sites. Finally, some travelers sought to distance themselves from tourism entirely, using their travels as opportunities for rigorous reporting and analysis, and therefore making the observations “useful” to society at large. These developments in the

years between the Revolution and the Civil War set the stage for the distinction between “travel” and “tourism” as it has become increasingly rigid in the modern era.

Prologue

In the spring of 1847, the well-known British painter, engraver, and draughtsman Frances Delamotte decided to publish an illustrated volume on the subject of “travelling and travellers.” Being more an artist than a writer, Delamotte asked his friend E. L. Blanchard, a famous writer of Drury Lane pantomimes, to supply the text. Blanchard complied, and in an astonishing six weeks he produced a slim, lighthearted work that he dubbed a “physiology ... of travelling and travellers.” In it, he sought to present “an animated picture of that unceasing movement which is constantly impelling mutable humanity forwards and backwards, upwards and downwards, left and right, over the solid, or fluid, or gaseous portions of the world.” He gave the result the appropriate title of *Heads and Tales of Travellers & Travelling: A Book for Everybody, Going Anywhere*—appropriate because *Sunday Times* called it “exactly one of those books that every one ought to read.” The volume came close enough to that ideal to remain in print for a decade.¹ The template that Blanchard chose to fulfill his obligation to Delamotte,

¹ Edward L. Blanchard, *Heads and Tales of Travellers & Travelling: A Book for Everybody, Going Anywhere* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1847), 8. The book was by the London firm of Willoughby & Co. in 1847, and republished by the New York firm of D. Appleton & Co. and the Philadelphia firm of G. S. Appleton in the same year. Despite the fact that the earliest London edition has been given the date of 1846 by its cataloguers, it is likely that in fact the three editions were published relatively simultaneously in 1847, because according to his diary, Blanchard did not finish his manuscript until June 20, 1847. For more on Blanchard’s writing of *Heads and Tales* in the summer of 1847, and on his relationship with Delamotte, see E. L. Blanchard et al., *The Life and Reminiscences of E. L. Blanchard* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1891), 49, 56-59. The *Sunday Times* quotation comes from Willoughby & Co. advertising material in the back of *Heathen Mythology, Illustrated by Extracts from the Most Celebrated Writers, Both Ancient and Modern, on the Gods of Greece, Rome, India, Scandinavia* (London: Willoughby & Co, n.d.), 299.

that of a “physiology ... of travelling and travellers,” is the same as that chosen to structure this dissertation.²

This framework, whether in 1847 or in the present day, was not accidental. Blanchard lived in an era in which the speed, distances, and modes of travel were all exploding, thanks to technological and market innovation and to relative peace in the Atlantic world after Napoleon’s fall at Waterloo. He also lived in an era in which travel writing was proliferating, as Blanchard himself knew well. Not only was he a talented and widely-published playwright riding a crest of fame, he had also recently authored a guidebook to the southwest of England and the Isle of Wight, as well as several pantomimes that drew heavily on railroad metaphors.³ In *Heads and Tales*, Blanchard declared, “There is indeed a wide field open” thanks to the “numberless varieties of locomotion ... which civilization, chance, and conveyance-companies have provided, at different time[s], for the exportation of the biped species.”⁴ This sense, which Blanchard shared with his contemporaries, of the vast possibilities of travel, created by technology and used by an increasingly “mutable humanity,” demanded a new accounting, a new effort at cataloging, in order to make it comprehensible. Thus Blanchard’s notion of a

² And one hopes that with this dissertation, like its predecessor, you can “[o]pen it where you will, [and] you will be safe to find something to amuse you and make you laugh.” See the *Sunday Times* quotation in *Heathen Mythology*, 299.

³ See for example E. L. Blanchard, *Bradshaw’s Descriptive Guide to the London & South Western Railway Containing a Compendious Account of All the Many Places and Objects of Interest Along the Line, Together with the Distances from the Principal Stations, and a Complete Guide to the Towns of Gosport, Portsmouth, and Southampton, As Well As the Picturesque Ruins in the Vicinity of Each and the Attractive Scenes Adjacent: to Which Is Added, The Tourist’s Companion to the Isle of Wight* (London: W.J. Adams, 1845); E. L. Blanchard, *Faith, Hope & Charity, or, the Railway of Life: A Drama in 3 Acts* (1845); and E. L. Blanchard and D. W. Osbaldiston, *The Birth of the Steam Engine, or, Harlequin Locomotive* (1846).

⁴ Blanchard, *Heads and Tales*, 9.

“physiology ... of travelling and travellers” was perfectly timely, even if it was intended more as comedy than as serious social analysis.⁵

As befit a physiology, Blanchard dissected the traveling body politic and analyzed its constituent parts. He examined different modes of travel, categories of destinations, and, most importantly, types of travelers. He drew distinctions between the disciples of “pedestrianism” and the new breed of commercial travelers. From both he distinguished “tourists” as a category of traveler “who merely travels for the sake of travelling.”⁶ It was the “tourist” that had pride of place as the subject of Blanchard’s first chapter, and this dissertation charts the tourist’s creation and evolution in the United States between 1790 and 1860. I argue that the category of “tourist”—as distinct from travelers in general—evolved after 1820 in the United States. I argue that causes of the tourist’s distillation from the larger category of traveler lay both in changes in the print culture of geographical knowledge and in the experience of the transportation revolution. I also argue that the growing distinction between tourist and traveler reframed the relationship between travel and the social and culture ambitions of individual travelers. It created two parallel means for travelers to harness their experience to their ambitions, one built around the measured adoption of the label of tourist, and the other built around its

⁵ Judith Wechsler has traced the popularity of the genre of “physiologie” in France in the decades after 1830. “Physiologies” were textbooks that classified human bodies and expressions into readily understandable categories, which their authors claimed revealed interior character. The genre had roots in the seventeenth century, but it flowered in the nineteenth century as the growing anonymity of the city created demand for a means of evaluating strangers. As Wechsler argues, “The term *physiologie* suggested objective observation of a *type* rather than of an individual.” Blanchard’s use of the term “physiology” to describe his work, as well as its similar emphasis on delineating types rather than individuals, suggests that he sought to fit *Heads and Tales of Travellers & Travelling* in the tradition of this French genre—or, alternatively, that he sought to satirize its clumsy attempts at human categorization. See Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 34.

⁶ Blanchard, *Heads and Tales*, 16.

outright rejection. These two mutually constitutive discourses formed a foundation upon which meanings of travel were built for a newly mechanized and commodified age.

The word “tour” first began to be used in English to describe traveling in the mid-seventeenth century, and it spawned the word “tourist” around the turn of the nineteenth century.⁷ In 1800, leading British lexicographer Samuel Pegge wrote, “A Traveller is now-a-days called a Tour-*ist*.”⁸ Pegge implied that the two terms were equivalent, if not synonymous, and in fact they were treated as such in the earliest years of the neologism. The first use of the term “tourist” in an American imprint seems to have been in 1798 by John Davis, a British traveler, reviewer, and novelist who came to the United States in the 1790s hoping to make a name for himself on the early national literary scene. Davis celebrated the prospect of walking from New York to Philadelphia because, as he wrote in an early novel, the “pedestrian tourist can stop where an agreeable prospect presents itself, and contemplate it at his leisure.”⁹ At the turn of the century, writers like Davis did not distinguish between “tourists” and practitioners of “pedestrianism,” as Blanchard would fifty years later, because “tour” and “tourist” were not yet well distinguished from the general terms “travel” and “traveler.”

Notwithstanding later distinctions, there was travel at the turn of the century that shared much in common with what commentators like Blanchard would later associate

⁷ *The Oxford English Dictionary: Being a Corrected Re-issue with an Introduction, Supplement, and Bibliography of a New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society*, Vol. XI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 189-190.

⁸ Samuel Pegge, *Anecdotes of the English Language; Chiefly Regarding the Local Dialect of London and Its Environs; Whence It Will Appear That the Natives of the Metropolis and Its Vicinities Have Not Corrupted the Language of Their Ancestors* (London: J. Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1814), 313.

⁹ John Davis, *The Original Letters of Ferdinand and Elisabeth* (New York: H. Caritat, 1798), 54. For more on Davis’s career, see Scott Ellis, “‘Reviewers Reviewed:’ John Davis and the Early American Literary Field,” *Early American Literature* 42, no. 1, (2007): 157-188.

with tourists. Indeed, the term “tour” was itself concurrent with, and most generally applied to, the British phenomenon of the “Grand Tour.”¹⁰ The “Grand Tour” was an extended trip to continental Europe, made by aristocratic young British men as a part of their preparation for taking leadership roles at home. The practice had its roots in the mid-sixteenth century, when the Grand Tour’s typical routes and preoccupations began to take form in 1549, when English linguist and historian William Thomas published *The History of Italy* after a four-year tour of the Italian states. Michael Brennan argues that by the beginning of the seventeenth century, “the educational efficacy of continental travel for young Englishmen with high ambitions for public and diplomatic service in later life was firmly established in ways which would remain valid for the next two hundred years.”¹¹ The term “Grand Tour” was first coined in 1670 by Richard Lassels, a Catholic priest and tutor, in his *Voyage of Italy or a Compleat Journey through Italy*, and this codification in language and practice set the stage for what would become the heyday of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century.¹²

At its peak, the Grand Tour led across the English Channel, to Paris by way of the Loire Valley, and then on to Italy by way of Geneva. The aristocratic youth who made the tour would then spend time in the cities of Rome, Florence, and Venice, before returning home through Austria, Germany, and Amsterdam. A proper Grand Tour could

¹⁰ David Watkin points out that the British Grand Tour was part of a larger interest in travel as education in late Renaissance Europe. He argues that “the international nature of the Enlightenment meant that the Grand Tour became by definition something fundamentally pan-European, involving, for example, the French, the Dutch, and the Germans, who established a famous colony in Rome.” David Watkin, “The Architectural Context of the Grand Tour,” in *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond*, ed. Clare Hornsby (London: British School of Rome, London, 2000), 56.

¹¹ Michael G. Brennan, *The Origins of the Grand Tour: The Travels of Robert Montagu, Lord Mandeville (1649-1654), William Hammond, (1655-1658), and Banaster Maynard (1660-1663)* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2005), 19.

¹² For more on Lassels and the origin of the Grand Tour, see Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and “The Voyage of Italy” in the Seventeenth Century* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985).

take as many as five years—usually right after graduation from Oxford or Cambridge—and was accompanied by at least one tutor or chaperone. These tutors were supposed to keep their charges’ attentions focused on the explicit goals of the Grand Tour, which included schooling in the languages and manners of refined continental society, enhancing the classical learning supplied by Oxford and Cambridge through exposure to the sites of classical antiquity, and cultivating aesthetic taste through the appreciation and acquisition of art. The tutors also enabled, if not encouraged, their charges to pursue temporary relationships with the continent’s women, presumed to be less morally upright than British women of their own class, so that they could return home and enter into a respectable marriage.¹³ The term “tour” to describe a particularly circular trip thus entered the English language closely associated with this aristocratic rite of passage.

The term “tourist” was not generally applied to those on the Grand Tour until the turn of the nineteenth century; they were generally known by the more generic term “travellers.” However, scholars have argued that distinctions did exist between British travelers on the continent that would foreshadow the later divisions anatomized by Blanchard. Art historian Clare Hornsby argues that a distinction parallel to that drawn between tourist and traveler in later centuries existed between “collector” and “connoisseur” among elite British participants in the Grand Tour. Members of the cultural elite from William Hamilton in the eighteenth century to Lord Byron in the nineteenth century sought to “rise above the common herd by virtue of [their] position in

¹³ For more on the cultural uses of the Grand Tour, see James Buzard, “The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840)” in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

society and [their] creative aims.”¹⁴ Similarly, James Buzard argues that as the Grand Tour became more accessible to the members of the rising English bourgeoisie after the Seven Years’ War and especially after the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the cultural elite redoubled their attempt to distinguish the “‘authentic’ cultural experience” of travel from the “spurious or merely repetitive experience” of tourism.¹⁵ Like the “connoisseurs” of the eighteenth century, British “travellers” of the nineteenth century drew a distinction between their own authentic experience and the masses of mere “tourists” who flooded abroad to experience a pale imitation of Italy. Thus, even though the term “tourist” was new to the nineteenth century, the tensions around authenticity and originality that came to be associated with it in British culture were not.

The Grand Tour was largely a British phenomenon, however. Relatively few Americans traveled to Europe before 1860. Christof Wegelin has calculated that the number of native-born citizens of the United States returning home through Atlantic and Gulf Coast ports jumped sharply in the 1850s and again in the 1880s. Such returns had averaged a few thousand a year between 1820 and 1849, but they rose to 19,387 in 1860 and to 81,092 in 1880.¹⁶ As Buzard rightly points out, the “Grand Tour” of the mid-nineteenth century had become a commercialized, middle-class affair that had little to do with the aristocratic rite of passage of the eighteenth century. Gilded Age Americans saw

¹⁴ Clare Hornsby, “Introduction, or Why Travel?” in *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond*, ed. Clare Hornsby (London: British School of Rome, London, 2000), 10.

¹⁵ James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 6.

¹⁶ Wegelin argues that “Between 1820 and 1849 the yearly number of native-born citizens returning to Atlantic and Gulf ports (mostly from Europe) rose from 1926 to 2659 (though during certain intervening years it had been considerably higher, the highest figure being 8141 for 1840); but from 1860 on corresponding figures for the four major Atlantic ports alone (Boston and Charlestown, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore) are as follows: 1860—19,387, 1870—25,202, 1880—36,097, 1890—81,092, 1900—108,068, 1901—144,112.” See Christof Wegelin, “The Rise of the International Novel,” *PMLA* 77, no. 3 (June, 1962): 305-310, 307.

Europe as often as not on a tour arranged by the great British firm of Thomas Cook & Son, which turned a railway excursion business in the 1840s into a continent-wide tourism company in the 1860s.¹⁷ American tours to Europe were thus a post-Civil War phenomenon for all but the most elite.

Although relatively few Americans traveled to Europe in the decades before the Civil War, readers in the same period were avid consumers of travel books. As early as 1789, the Library Company of Philadelphia advertised over two hundred volumes under the heading of “Voyages and Travels,” out of a collection of “eight thousand, the selection of which, has in general been calculated to promote the more important interests of society.” In 1806, over eleven percent of the holdings of the Charleston Library Company in South Carolina were travel accounts.¹⁸ American writers also wrote travel accounts, a trend that accelerated after the American release of Washington Irving’s *The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon* in 1820. Jeffrey Melton argues that Irving’s “prestige helped raise the stature of travel writing in a nation struggling for self-identity and

¹⁷ See Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, ch. 1.

¹⁸ See also *A Catalogue of the Books, Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Zachariah Poulson, 1789), iv. Daniel Kilbride conducted the count of volumes of travel accounts in the holdings of both the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Charleston Library Company; see Daniel Kilbride “Travel, Ritual, and National Identity: Planters on the European Tour, 1820-1860.” *The Journal of Southern History* 69, no. 3 (August 2003): 549-584, 556, n. 18. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this American interest in travel accounts was a product of the eighteenth century rather than the seventeenth century. For example, Thomas Teackle, a planter on the Eastern Shore of Virginia in the late seventeenth century, listed no category of travel books in the description of his collection. According to Butler, “Teackle acquired books on many topics including religion, the classics, geography, grammar, hieroglyphics, history, mathematics, and rhetoric ... [and] humor.” Teackle’s collection did not have books on law, popular piety, and religious tracts, and it also had “few books on navigation, mathematics, law, geography, and astronomy [and] nothing on surveying or cattle-raising.” By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, however, the library of John Montgomerie, the governor of New York and New Jersey between 1727 and 1731, contained “a variety of histories, travels plays, verse, and essays.” By the end of the eighteenth century, “travels” was one of the three major categories of works in Benjamin Franklin’s library, because “[i]n Franklin’s view, travel writing made for ideal pleasure reading.” See Jon Butler, “Thomas Teackle’s 333 Books: A Great Library on Virginia’s Eastern Shore, 1697,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series 49, no. 3 (July, 1992): 449-491, 457-458; Kevin J. Hayes, *The Library of John Montgomerie, Colonial Governor of New York and New Jersey* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 32; and Edwin Wolf and Kevin J. Hayes, *The Library of Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society/Library Co. of Philadelphia, 2006), 26.

literary respect, and he also, indirectly, demonstrated the viability of a heretofore unrecognized publishing market.”¹⁹ Irving himself mined this profitable vein again during his career by publishing narratives of travel to the American west.²⁰ Many authors followed his lead in the antebellum decades, writing and publishing mountains of narratives of travel.²¹ As literary historian Larzer Ziff has calculated, “During the first half of the nineteenth century only religious writing exceeded in quantity the number of travel books reviewed and the number of travel narratives published in American journals.”²² Books relating to travel were one of the most popular and prolific genres of early nineteenth century American print culture.²³

But Americans of the early republic did not only read and write about travel. They also traveled extensively, especially within North America. Tocqueville famously painted the Americans as a nation on the move, as a nation of “happy men, restless in the midst of abundance.”²⁴ They traveled for business and pleasure, for trade and for

¹⁹ Jeffrey Alan Melton, *Mark Twain, Travel Books, and Tourism: The Tide of a Great Popular Movement* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 21-22, quotation on 22. For more on Irving’s effect on the structure of the travel narrative genre, see William W. Stowe, “Conventions and Voices in Margaret Fuller’s Travel Writing,” *American Literature* 63, no. 2. (June, 1991): 242-262, 243-244.

²⁰ See for example Washington Irving, *The Crayon Miscellany; No.1. Containing: A Tour on the Prairies* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard, 1835); Washington Irving, *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard, 1836); and Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville U.S.A., in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West: Digested from his Journal and Illustrated from Various Other Sources* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1849).

²¹ Bibliographers have been assiduous in cataloging the prodigious output of American travel writers. See for example Thomas D. Clark, ed. *Travels in the Old South: A Bibliography* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956); Garold L. Cole, *Travels in America: From the Voyages of Discovery to the Present: An Annotated Bibliography of Travel Articles in Periodicals, 1955-1980* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984); William Stanton, *American Scientific Exploration, 1803-1860: Manuscripts in Four Philadelphia Libraries* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991); and Harold F. Smith: *American Travellers Abroad: A Bibliography of Accounts Published Before 1900*, Second Edition (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1999). Perhaps most useful is Edward Cox’s magisterial *Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*, published in three volumes between 1935 and 1949 by the University of Washington Press, which covers the old world, the new world, and England.

²² Larzer Ziff, *Return Passages: Great American Travel Writing, 1780-1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 59.

²³ Melton, *Mark Twain*, 16.

²⁴ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Cambridge: Sever and Francis, 1863), 164.

migration, and to experience first hand the continent they inhabited. Looking back from 1860, a contributor to the *Yale Literary Magazine* observed, “We are a nation of travelers.” Americans of all classes traveled, according to this observer, “for if you can get neither to Niagara, nor Trenton, nor the Springs, giving up broader and more comprehensive views, you pay your last quarter to bask in the sunshine of the Elysian Fields at Hoboken, or borrow a dime to muse over the waters of the Spuyten Duvil Creek [sic] at Harlem.”²⁵ The Americans of the early republic were enthusiastic travelers as well as readers and writers of travel, and their restless inclinations were ripe for anatomization by observers like Blanchard.

These two strands of cultural history—the British tradition of the Grand Tour, with its dichotomy between “traveler” and “tourist,” and the restlessness of Americans—began to coalesce in the late 1820s. By this decade, Americans who traveled and who wrote about traveling had begun to use the term “tourist” to refer to a distinct class of pleasure travelers who were hurried along beaten paths by modern conveniences from one well-established destination to the next. It was first applied to those who took what was called by the mid-1820s the “American Grand Tour” or the “Fashionable Tour,” which covered the Hudson and Mohawk Valleys, Saratoga Springs and Niagara Falls, Montreal, Quebec, Boston, and the White Mountains.²⁶ The number of established tourist routes grew quickly and soon covered the Ohio Valley, the Great Lakes, and Harper’s Ferry and the Virginia Springs. By the late 1840s, the distinction between

²⁵ W. W. P., “Travel,” *The Yale Literary Magazine* 25, no. 5 (March, 1860): 203-209, 203.

²⁶ The best comprehensive treatment to date of the “American Grand Tour” is Richard H. Gassan, *The Birth of American Tourism: New York, the Hudson Valley, and American Culture, 1790-1830* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008).

tourists and other categories of travelers was sufficiently well drawn that Blanchard could casually treat them as a distinct anatomical part of the traveling public in an amusing book intended at least in part for an American audience.

Two important simultaneous developments from roughly 1820 until the Civil War contributed to the growing distinction between “traveler” and “tourist.” First, there was a shift in published genres of geographical knowledge in the United States. In the 1780s and 1790s, American authors and publishers like Jedidiah Morse, Joseph Scott, and Mathew Carey began to issue works in a genre called the “geographical grammar,” which purported to offer comprehensive geographical knowledge. In the first chapter, I argue that these early geographical grammars, along with related genres, collected comprehensive geographical knowledge for a newly independent American audience. They contributed to what Martin Brückner has called the “geographic revolution in early America,” in which Americans “not only spoke and wrote about each other but came to symbolically represent themselves” through geographical texts.²⁷ However, they did so in a way that emphasized their authors’ embodied authority over space and place and encouraged their readers’ “geographic revolution” to take place in snug home parlors or local schoolrooms, rather than on the early republic’s muddy highways. The print culture of geographical knowledge at the turn of the nineteenth century still operated under an Enlightenment paradigm, in which encyclopedic men of letters sought to create a universal image of the world for the nation’s libraries.

²⁷ For Brückner, “geographic revolution in early America” came about when Americans came to know themselves and their new nation in explicitly geographical terms. Americans who were literate in geography—and for Brückner this was one of the most important forms of literacy in the early republic—could “quite literally get their feet on the ground, granting them a sense of place and entitlement.” See Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 13-14, 6.

In the second chapter, I argue that the task of providing the geographical information necessary for national and self-knowledge was increasingly taken up by guidebooks, a print technology that appeared in the 1820s. Beginning in 1822 with Gideon Davison's *The Fashionable Tour*, guidebooks addressed themselves not to an audience of national citizens but to an audience of travelers. A few other pioneering authors followed Davison in the 1820s, but the genre began to flourish in the 1830s and 1840s. Guidebooks contained much of the same information as the grammars, but they organized it along popular corridors of travel rather than alphabetically or geographically as in gazetteers and grammars. Furthermore, guidebook authors were elusive figures, unlike the celebrated geographical authors of the beginning of the century like Morse, Scott, and Carey. Their relative anonymity gave guidebooks a disembodied sense of geographical authority; their traveling readers became authors of their own journeys, the creators of their own national and self-knowledge through travel. The development of the guidebook thus increased the opportunities for and significance of travel, but it also tended to constrain travel along particular routes and to particular sites, and to structure the meaning that tourists made out of their travel. As geographical grammars increasingly became schoolbooks, and gazetteers became commercial directories, guidebooks stepped in to further the geographical revolution in early America, and as a result helped to create the figure of the tourist.

The second important technology that contributed to the growing distinction between the "traveler" and the "tourist" was the "transportation revolution," a term coined in 1951 by George Rogers Taylor, who used it to describe the "revolutionary change" that "the cheapening and facilitating of the movement of goods and persons" had

on the commercial and industrial development of the United States between 1815 and 1860. The construction of turnpikes and organization of stagecoach lines, the digging of canals and construction of railroads, the improvements in internal, coastal, and international navigation, and the application of steam power, all combined to radically speed up and simplify “the movement of goods and persons” at significantly lower cost. These changes happened incrementally, both in time and across space. The transportation revolution was carried forward by turnpikes in the 1810s and 1820s and by canals in the 1820s and 1830s. Steamboats were well established on eastern rivers, the Great Lakes, and the myriad branches of the Mississippi by the 1820s and swarmed their waters by the 1840s. The first viable commercial railroads appeared in the early 1830s, but they were mostly short- and medium-range carriers until large corporations began to consolidate the shorter lines into expansive and long-distance networks in the 1850s.²⁸ Historians of tourism have long pointed out that these developments enabled significant numbers of people to travel recreationally. In the words of Carol Sheriff, these new transportation developments “compressed distance and time in ways that had previously seemed impossible.”²⁹

In the third chapter, I turn to my attention to the lived experience of travel to argue that this “compress[ion of] distance and time” had a profound impact on travelers and on the ways they conceptualized their experience. Historians have largely overlooked this dimension of the transportation revolution, preferring instead to focus on its political and economic causes and consequences. While the transportation revolution

²⁸ See George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York: Rhinehart, 1951), chs. 2-6, quotation on 132.

²⁹ Carol Sheriff, *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817-1862* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1996), 4.

certainly accelerated, routinized, and mechanized travel, it also *commodified* it. The economic and technological changes that made possible fast, inexpensive, and easy travel also concentrated the capital, knowledge, and control over travel in the hands of relatively fewer providers. Whereas a traveler on foot or horseback, or in a wagon or carriage, supplied his own provisions and know-how, travelers on board a stagecoach, canal boat, steamboat, or railroad purchased all those necessary materials for travel from a single provider in the marketplace. This new relationship to the means of producing travel made travel a commodity, which began to give it an anonymous, standardized, passive character that linked it experientially, not just materially, with tourism.

Travelers, and those who wrote about travel, had mixed reactions to the category of tourism. Some observers associated tourism's unoriginality with superficiality and cliché. They derided it for being "fashionable," which they associated with shallow theatrical display and cursory adherence to trends. Blanchard thought that the great majority of tourists traveled not "in the true spirit of locomotion" but instead "because others have gone out of town before them, and they like not lingering behind." For Blanchard, tourists that were driven by such banal social mimicry had no real engagement with their own journeys. He wryly noted that "[t]he meditative fly that coolly perambulates the map of Europe suspended in your study, and stalks from the North Pole to the Mediterranean, before you have time to whisk him off with your handkerchief, scarcely scampers over the whole continent with more speed."³⁰

Unoriginality made tours relatively worthless, compared to more productive kinds of travel. In the fourth chapter, I examine travel satires to understand the specifics of the negative connotations of tourism as they evolved over the first half of the nineteenth

³⁰ Blanchard, *Heads and Tales*, 18, 15-16.

century. Travel satires produced by popular British authors like William Combe and Captain Marryat were circulated in the United States, and American authors like Washington Irving and James Paulding adapted transatlantic tropes to an American context. After these early contributions, popular American humorists added to the genre from the 1830s to the 1860s, including Asa Greene, William Tappan Thompson, and Charles Farrar Browne, writing as his alter ego Artemus Ward. Through the efforts of these jaded observers and critical satirists, tourism became associated with fashionableness and superficiality, clichéd observation; or, as De Witt Clinton simply and bitingly put it, “herds.”³¹

However, other travelers embraced the practice of tourism, if not its label. In the fifth chapter, I argue that such travelers understood tourism’s standardization of routes and destinations through the metaphor of pilgrimage. New York editor Charles Fenno Hoffman, for example, felt reverence for the Natural Bridge, made famous by Thomas Jefferson’s *Notes on Virginia*, “where [he] now found [him]self a pilgrim.”³² Far from Blanchard’s image of the perambulating fly, Hoffman’s notion of the pilgrimage gave weight and import to his tour. Even if his itinerary was unoriginal, it was vested with religious, historical, and nationalist significance. Scholars who have written on early American tourism have highlighted these attributes of tourism, characterizing its routes and destinations, and its carriages and hotels, as sites where socially ambitious tourists could create and solidify new national, gender, and class identities. Like a pilgrimage, it was precisely the unoriginality of the tour that gave it significance. Going the same

³¹ De Witt Clinton, *An Introductory Discourse Delivered Before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New-York, on the Fourth of May, 1814* (New York: Van Winkle and Wiley, 1815), 6.

³² Charles Fenno Hoffman, *A Winter in the West, By a New Yorker*, Vol. II (New York: Harper & Bros., 1835), 312.

places as everyone else acquainted tourists with culturally significant scenes and stories, and introduced them to socially significant people.

Like the discourse of tourism to which it gave rise, the commodification of travel sparked ambivalent reactions among those who rode its turnpikes, canal boats, and rails. The sixth chapter traces this ambivalence, which I argue shows that not all travelers thought that the transportation revolution represented progress. Boosters of the transportation revolution celebrated the increased opportunities offered by cheaper, easier, and faster travel, and historians have generally followed their lead in celebrating the economic and political progress brought about by enhanced mobility. To be sure, some travelers enjoyed the new transportation technologies for the novel social and aesthetic experiences that they offered. Others, however, mourned the restrictions that the commodification of travel placed on passengers. Such observers were nostalgic for what they remembered as an earlier period in which travelers were free to set their own itineraries and choose their own means of transportation, and as a result truly engaged with the world through which they traveled.

The negative connotation layered on top of tourism by the pens of satirists and critics naturally created a backlash among travelers who wished to avoid its opprobrium. Unlike Hoffman, many tourists shunned the label, and went to great lengths to distance themselves from it. In the seventh chapter, I argued that these travelers aspired instead, in the words of Theodore Dwight, to “Travelling to Good Purpose.” Dwight, an editor and author of guidebooks and travel narratives, was the most prominent American example of a new subgenre of travel writers who promised to teach travelers how to do exactly that, in order to avoid the taint of superficial tourism. Advice on traveling to

good purpose was available from essayists like Dwight, scientists like J. R. Jackson, John Herschel, and Henry De La Beche, and from educators like Jane Loudon, Almira Lincoln Phelps, and Jacob Abbott. Travelers to good purpose could transcend tourism by preparing themselves morally and intellectually for their journey, by cultivating consistent and exhaustive habits of observation and record-keeping on the road, and by sharing the knowledge that their travel produced through correspondence or scientific publication. Parents or guardians took their children with them for the purpose of educating them could also claim that they were traveling to good purpose. This task was a profoundly gendered one. Much writing on the subject suggested that in order to qualify as purposeful, travel had to have explicitly scientific means and ends, supported by the institutional structure of a publication, college, or learned society. By the 1830s and 1840s, such institutionally supported science was increasingly a masculine preserve, and as a result such productive travel seemed closed to women travelers. Some women travelers vigorously opposed this discursive exclusion, and writers from Almira Phelps to Harriet Martineau carved out a feminine-gendered space for purposeful travel that centered on observation of and education in morals and manners. Eager to distance themselves from the archetype of the tourist, such travelers to good purpose articulated their own social and cultural worth by focusing on the contributions their travel made to what they imagined was the greater good.

The travelers and tourists of the early republic were themselves a diverse group whose journeys carried them far and wide. Any dissertation that examines their distillation from each other is by necessity similarly broad in scope and in approach.

Nonetheless, certain important unifying themes appear throughout this work. The chapters are organized thematically rather than strictly chronologically, which suggests the first important unifying theme: the creation of the tourist was a slow, gradual, and uneven process over time. Even though there was a distinct and noticeable shift in the meaning of “tourist” across the first half of the nineteenth century in the United States, the transition was neither linear nor complete. The term “tourist” was used by some authors to disparage British travelers at the dawn of the century, and some guidebooks still hailed their audience as “travelers” on the eve of the Civil War. The developments in print culture and in the commodification of travel that I argue were crucial to the creation of the tourist were spread unevenly across the nation both in time and in space. The routes and technologies deployed by both print and transportation tended to spread westward and southward from the major northeastern port cities—with a few exceptions—and thus arrived earlier in the northeast and the old northwest than they did in the deep south and the old southwest. Thus, as with any cultural history, the change over time traced here is gradual, nonlinear, and always contested, but nonetheless real.

One constant that held through all these changes was the aspirations expressed by travelers and tourists. People traveled for myriad reasons, and with many goals in mind, but they generally traveled in order to further an ambition. Those ambitions were sometimes economic, as travelers went in search of land or trade. They were sometimes social, as travelers went places, saw sights, and met people who could further their desire for class mobility. And they were sometimes cultural, as travelers sought knowledge or artistic inspiration to help them craft scientific, political, or literary works. It was not entirely possible to disentangle these various threads of ambition, since they all often

served to reinforce each other. This omnipresent yet mutable ambition that I identify in these travelers and tourists is built on Pierre Bourdieu's similarly omnipresent and mutable notion of capital. For Bourdieu, capital does not just exist in economic forms that can be measured using monetary units; it also exists in social networks and in cultural knowledge. Each of these three forms of capital can be converted into any of the other forms, and thus assessing all three forms simultaneously is critical to determining any particular individual or group's total capital and therefore its status.³³ Thus, throughout my dissertation, I examine the social, cultural, and economic aspects of the ambition of these travelers and tourists, and how they deployed their travel to both articulate and enhance their ambition, or their capital, whatever its form.

In order to isolate and identify this relationship between travel and the ambition of travelers and tourists, I pay consistent attention to the ways in which travelers and tourists wrote about themselves. Travelers were certainly defined by their movement through space, but they were also crucially defined by the ways in which they articulated the meaning and the value of that movement through space; in other words, how they authored their travel, and how they authored themselves through that travel. In each of my chapters, it is this self-authorship, this claiming of authority and legitimacy in the act of traveling and writing about travel, that drives my analysis. As befits a cultural history, I focus on the meanings people made out of their travel, and how they saw those meanings serving their ambitions, as much as on the material experience of travel itself.

The self-authorship of travelers and tourists was as diverse as the travelers and tourists themselves, but when taken together, these acts of self-authorship add up to a

³³ Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241-258.

profound sense of ambivalence about the creation of the tourist. For every booster who penned a guidebook or promoted a railroad, there was a detractor who worried that tourism would render travel worthless. While tourists were carried cheaply and quickly by new transportation technologies so that they could drink the waters at Saratoga or stand speechless in awe before Niagara Falls, satirists published caricatures that called into question the value of that experience. The title *Expected Sights* captures this thread of ambivalence: tourists could expect to see great sights, but, as their detractors pointed out, they often only saw what they expected to see. This duality was a manifestation of the broader sense of unmoored tumult that Lewis Perry has identified in the first half of the nineteenth century. Perry argues that American culture was launched into modernity in the Jacksonian era, and although that claim is ambitious, his definition of modernity, which balanced “both progressive improvement and uncertainty of conviction,” captures nicely the attitude of many travelers towards the changes that brought about tourism.³⁴ At the same time that tourism created new opportunities for travel and new kinds of social and aesthetic experiences, many travelers mourned the passing of old ways of travel.

The ambivalence about tourism that my dissertation reveals is part of a larger cluster of historiographical interventions that I make, which are designed to put transportation, travel, and tourism back into their contemporary cultural context. In my discussion of the transportation revolution, for example, I focus on the ways in which the transportation revolution’s “compress[ion of] distance and time” had a profound impact on travelers’ experience of travel, and on the meanings that they applied to it. Historians

³⁴ Lewis Perry, *Boats Against the Current: American Culture between Revolution and Modernity, 1820-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 215.

have tended to tell the story of the transportation revolution as one of economic progress, as cheaper and more extensive transportation opened up new markets for American commerce, agriculture, and manufacturing.³⁵ This focus on political economy has also led historians into thickets of argument over whether the first half of the nineteenth century is best characterized as a period of a transportation revolution, a market revolution, or rather, in Daniel Walker Howe's recent formulation, as a communications revolution.³⁶ Returning our focus to the experience of these changes, I argue, will show how the economic, political, social, and cultural changes that rocked the early nineteenth century were revolutionary in all of these senses for the people who lived through them, and how their experience was profoundly ambivalent. The transportation revolution was certainly a "progressive improvement," as historians have argued, but it was also plagued by an "uncertainty of conviction."

Like the transportation revolution, historians of tourism in the United States have similarly treated their subject as a "progressive improvement." They have built on theorizations of tourism by scholars such as Dean MacCannell and John Urry, which sees

³⁵ In Taylor's original formulation, the transportation revolution was important because of its economic effect; indeed, the bulk of his book is devoted to what his editors called "the transformation in the character of the whole economy between 1815 and the eve of the Civil War" (Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, i, vi). Other historians have largely followed his lead, and have successfully parlayed his insight into the well-developed market revolution thesis. See for example Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Melvin Stokes, ed., *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996). Other historians have turned Taylor's insight to politics; for example, John Larson has examined the political struggles over the public support of the internal improvements projects that underlay the transportation revolution in order to reveal competing strands of republican political ideology in the early republic in his *Internal Improvement: National Public Works and the Promise of Popular Government in the Early United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). For more on the historiography of the transportation revolution, see Sheriff, *Artificial River*, 223-225.

³⁶ Howe argues that the "communications revolution ... with its attendant political and economic consequences, would be a driving force in the history of the era." See Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 5. Richard John has applied a similar concept of "communications revolution" to the development of the postal system, dating it slightly earlier than Howe's emphasis on the telegraph, in his *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

tourism and its encounters as an important site for understanding “modernity.”³⁷ This scholarship explores questions of nation, region, and class through early tourism in innovative ways, which all point towards a “modern” future. As a result, it does not tend to emphasize the profound ambivalence that travelers in the early republic harbored about such tourism. For example, much of the historiographical literature focuses on the relationship between tourism and the creation of national identity in the early United States. Scholars such as John D. Sears, Dona Brown, Marguerite Shaffer, and Thomas Chambers have discussed the ways in which visits to places of natural and cultural interest worked to establish a distinct identity for the United States across the nineteenth century. Related work by scholars such as Charlene Boyer Lewis has explored the ways in which distinctly regional tourism fostered regional identities that were often in tension with the nationalist project.³⁸ Another important strand in the literature of tourism and identity is related to class, specifically the question of the “emergence of the middle class.” Scholars like Cindy Aron, Jon Sterngass, and Catherine Cocks have all pointed out that tourism of many different varieties was important to drawing and policing the boundaries of the “new middle class” and was often in turn shaped by their

³⁷ Much of the important theoretical work that underpins the history of tourism in the United States is borrowed from outside the discipline of history. Most important has been the work of sociologists like MacCannell and Urry; see Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976); and John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1990). Other important theorizations have come from anthropologists—see for example Valerie Smith, ed., *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989)—and from literary scholars like Mary Louise Pratt, whose *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992) has been critical to shaping the way scholars think about tourism as an imperial enterprise.

³⁸ Scholars that explore the links between tourism and national and regional identity include Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995); Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001); Thomas A. Chambers, *Drinking the Waters: Creating an American Leisure Class at Nineteenth-Century Mineral Springs* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002); and Charlene Boyer Lewis, *Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society at the Virginia Springs, 1790-1860* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001).

preoccupations.³⁹ In each case, tourism is interpreted as a progressive force furthering the larger social and cultural changes of the nineteenth century, without much attention to the profound ambivalence suggested by Perry's notion of modernity.

This scholarship on tourism is increasingly comprehensive and insightful, but its practitioners have tended to see tourism as exceptional, and as a sort of climate-controlled historical laboratory for the exploration of broader themes. Jon Sterngass, for example, reads resort life using the Turnerian concept of "ritual liminality," and argues that resorts served as "laboratories in which visitors could experiment with new or different ideas about the value of the work ethic, the significance of luxury in a democratic republic, the proper roles of men and women, and the relationship between community and privacy."⁴⁰ This analytical impulse, common in studies of early American tourism, treats its subjects as set apart from ordinary life, which has served to divorce tourism from the broader context of American mobility captured by observers like Tocqueville. My dissertation situates tourism in a longer history of travel on the North American continent as a particular manifestation of a broader cultural phenomenon. Tourism was an extension of an older American tradition of seeking social status through travel, albeit one that was adapted to the new physical world of the transportation revolution and the economic and social world of the market revolution. Putting tourism back into its contemporary context

³⁹ Scholars that explore the links between tourism and formation of middle-class or bourgeois identities in the United States include Cindy Sondik Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Jon Sterngass, *First Resorts: Pursuing Pleasure at Saratoga Springs, Newport, & Coney Island* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); and Catherine Cocks, *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850-1915* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). The essays in Part I of Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough's edited collection *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001) investigate the same problems in a European context.

⁴⁰ Sterngass, *First Resorts*, 4.

of travel and geographical knowledge draws attention to the processes of commodification inherent in the touristic project.

It is *de rigueur* for scholars of tourism to quote Daniel Boorstin, whose 1961 essay “From Traveler to Tourist: The Lost Art of Travel” was the most biting high modernist critique of tourism. “The traveler was active; he went strenuously in search of people, of adventure, of experience,” Boorstin explained. “The tourist is passive; he expects interesting things to happen to him. He goes ‘sight-seeing.’”⁴¹ At its most basic level, my dissertation seeks the roots of this dichotomy, accepted as gospel by many modern social commentators. Since, as Jacques Derrida has taught us, the identification of a final origin is impossible, I have chosen as my provisional origin the writings of Samuel Johnson, the English poet, essayist, and lexicographer who produced most of his work from the 1750s to the 1780s. Dr. Johnson, as he was widely known, was among other things a prolific producer of maxims on traveling. He wrote two famous and popular series of essays in the 1750s, called *The Rambler* and *The Idler*, which were issued both serially and bound in collected volumes. He also penned a series of travel narratives to the northern British Isles in the 1770s and 1780s, although most early nineteenth century readers would have known of Dr. Johnson’s life and ideas from James Boswell’s dialogic *Life of Samuel Johnson*, first published in 1791. As an observer of travel, travelers, and writing about travel, Dr. Johnson often shared Boorstin’s pessimism. He frequently denounced travel and travel writing in his essays and in his lengthy

⁴¹ Daniel Boorstin, “From Traveler to Tourist: The Lost Art of Travel,” in *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 114.

conversations with Boswell. But he also offered tidbits of advice for how to travel well, and it was often these tidbits that were most widely quoted.

Dr. Johnson's writings are an ideal point of provisional origin because they circulated widely in the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century.⁴² He was a leading literary figure in late-eighteenth-century London, along with other luminaries like Laurence Sterne.⁴³ He was, as Steven Lynn has written, a celebrated figure, "much more than a well-known writer and scholar," and his fame extended across the Atlantic.⁴⁴ Dr. Johnson's aphorisms on travel were reprinted in collections, like that issued in 1787 in Philadelphia by W. Spotswood under the title of *The Beauties of Johnson*, or that issued in 1809 in Boston by Joseph Greenleaf under the title of *Table Talk*, or that issued in 1843 in Philadelphia by Carey and Hart in 1843 under the title of *Johnsoniana*.⁴⁵ His traveling advice was also widely available in less digested formats; American publishers reissued accounts of his two tours to the north of Britain, as well as Boswell's *Life*, in at least twenty editions between 1800 and 1860. These reprints came from the presses of

⁴² Historical geographer Felix Driver has pointed out that the distinction between "traveler" and "tourist" was part of a European intellectual tradition dating back at least to the sixteenth century. He documents early modern instruction manuals for travelers that drew a "distinction between the purposeful traveller (*peregrinari*) and the aimless traveller (*vagari*)." Similar concerns found their way into the inaugural issue of the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* in 1665 in the form of an essay by Robert Boyle entitled "General Heads for the Natural History of a Country Great or Small Drawn Out for the Use of Travellers and Navigators."⁴² However, Dr. Johnson was widely reprinted in the United States during the early republic, and his thoughts on travel were frequently cited and imitated by American writers in the nineteenth century, whereas earlier writers generally were not. Thus, I have chosen Dr. Johnson as the provisional origin point of my "physiology ... of travelling and travellers." See Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration in the Age of Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 50; and Daniel Carey, "Compiling Nature's History: Travellers and Travel Narratives in the Early Royal Society," *Annals of Science* 54, no. 3 (May 1997): 269-292.

⁴³ Kevin Hart, *Samuel Johnson and the Culture of Property* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 41

⁴⁴ Steven Lynn, "Johnson's Critical Reception," in *The Cambridge Companion to Samuel Johnson*, ed. Greg Clingham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 240.

⁴⁵ Samuel Johnson, *The Beauties of Johnson: Consisting of Maxims and Observations, Moral, Critical and Miscellaneous* (Philadelphia: W. Spotswood, 1787); Samuel Johnson, *Table Talk: Containing Aphorisms on Literature, Life, and Manners, With Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons* (Boston: Joseph Greenleaf, 1809); and John Wilson Croker and James Boswell, *Johnsoniana; Or, Supplement to Boswell: Being Anecdotes and Sayings of Dr. Johnson* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1842).

printers in the four largest American print centers of the era, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, as well as in smaller towns, like Bellows Falls, Vermont.⁴⁶ Dr. Johnson's wisdom on traveling, as on many other matters, was well known in the early republic.

Not only were Dr. Johnson's thoughts on traveling popular knowledge in the United States, they were also sophisticated, wide-ranging, and occasionally contradictory. In order to capture their scope and power, each chapter of this dissertation begins with a passage that Dr. Johnson wrote, or recounted to Boswell, that foreshadows the specific developments in the discourse of travel treated in that chapter. In tracing the evolution of the distinction between travelers and tourists from the writings Dr. Johnson in eighteenth century London to those of Daniel Boorstin in the twentieth century United States, I find that the origins of the modern dichotomy lay in the years between the end of the Revolution and the beginning of the Civil War. The shifting parameters of the print culture of geographical knowledge and the shifting experiences of travel precipitated by the transportation revolution created the modern categories of traveler and tourist that frame discussion of travel to this day.

⁴⁶ The first American edition of Johnson's thoughts on traveling that I can locate is a 1799 volume from the New York printers Bigelow, Brown that included the *Life of Johnson*, as well Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* and Johnson's *Diary of a Journey into North Wales*. These three works were more or less continually in print, either singly or in combination, throughout the Civil War. Interest in Dr. Johnson seems to have peaked on three separate occasions in the early nineteenth century, based on concentrated flurries of editions. The first period was from 1807 to 1812, the second was around 1824, and the third was from 1832 to 1837.

Chapter One

Describing the Terraqueous Globe: The Culture of Geographical Knowledge at the Turn of the Century

In compiling his great dictionary, Dr. Johnson employed six amanuenses. These men, of scholarly bent but without the means or fame of their employer, quietly pursued their own projects, toward which “Johnson showed a never-ceasing kindness, so far as they stood in need of it.” In 1773, one of these amanuenses, Alexander Macbean, published *A Dictionary of Ancient Geography*, an alphabetical list locating all the places mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, designed to serve as a companion volume for readers of the Bible. Johnson was so enthusiastic about this project that he provided a preface promoting Macbean’s work as a critical contribution to knowledge at a crucial moment.¹ “The necessity of Geography to historical, political, and commercial knowledge, has been proved too often to be proved again,” Johnson wrote. “The curiosity of this nation is sufficiently awakened, and no books are more eagerly received than those which enlarge or facilitate an acquaintance with distant countries.”² There is little wonder that Dr. Johnson was so enthusiastic about Macbean’s project; it combined two of his abiding interests, the collection of geographical knowledge and the arrangement of knowledge in dictionary form. Macbean’s dictionary interested both the

¹ James Boswell and John Wilson Croker, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL. D., Including a Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (New York: G. Dearborn, 1835), 74-75.

² Samuel Johnson, *The Works of Samuel Johnson: LL.D. In Fourteen Volumes* Vol. XIV (London: John Stockdale and G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1788), 488.

traveler Johnson and the lexicographer Johnson. Perhaps this double engagement explains why Dr. Johnson chose the preface to Macbean's work to pen his clearest articulation of the value of such collected and published geographical knowledge.

Dr. Johnson's call for "the necessity of Geography" appeared in the United States in 1798, when Isaiah Thomas published Macbean's work in Worcester, Massachusetts, under the title *A Dictionary of the Bible*.³ That Thomas issued Dr. Johnson's call in the United States is unsurprising; by the late 1790s, his already deep involvement in publishing geographical knowledge suggested that he was well aware of its necessity. Most notably, in 1793 Thomas published an expanded edition of Jedidiah Morse's *The American Geography*, newly retitled *The American Universal Geography* to account for "its more extensive design," which was "more complete, and better adapted to afford them useful information, than those systems which have hitherto been in use among us."⁴ Morse's books of geography, issued by Thomas as well as other publishers up and down the Atlantic seaboard and in London and Dublin, filled an obvious need, and they remained in regular print, undergoing several revisions, through the 1820s. Macbean's biblical gazetteer would not fare so well, lasting only one edition in the United States, but its more successful companions in Thomas's catalog suggest that Dr. Johnson was correct.

Thomas plunged into geographical publishing with the works of Macbean and

³ Alexander MacBean, *A Dictionary of the Bible: or An Explanation of the Proper Names & Difficult Words in the Old and New Testament, Accented As They Ought to Be Pronounced. With Other Useful Particulars for Those Who Would Understand the Sacred Scriptures, and Read Them with Propriety* (Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1798).

⁴ Jedidiah Morse, *The American Universal Geography; or, A View of the Present State of All the Empires, Kingdoms, States, and Republics in the Known World, and of the United States of America in Particular* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793), Preface. *The American Universal Geography* was an expanded edition of Morse's 1789 *The American Geography; or, A View of the Present Situation of the United States of America*, which was itself a version of Morse's 1784 grammar school textbook *Geography Made Easy* rewritten for the home market. See Jedidiah Morse, *The American Geography; or, A View of the Present Situation of the United States of America* (Elizabethtown, NJ: Shepard Kollock, 1789); and Jedidiah Morse, *Geography Made Easy: Being a Short, but Comprehensive System of that Very*

Morse at an opportune moment in American culture. Beginning in the late 1780s, American authors and publishers issued large numbers of new maps, schoolbooks, works of geography, and even geographically inspired novels designed to feed a voracious public appetite for geographic knowledge, or comprehensive information on physical, social, cultural, and political topography, what geographers call “space” and “place.”⁵ As Martin Brückner argues, “geographical literacy served a symbolic, cognitive, and pedagogic role in the representation of early Anglo-American identity.”⁶ This “geographic revolution in early America” produced flowerings in two important genres: geographical grammars and gazetteers. Both had deep roots in eighteenth-century Europe and colonial America, and both were quickly adapted in the new national context of the early republic.⁷ Not only did authors like Morse write specifically “American” universal geographies, printers and publishers like Mathew Carey in Philadelphia hired authors like Morse to rewrite British geographies to suit the perspective of a newly independent United States.⁸ As James Green has argued, this “‘Americanizing’ of the

Useful and Agreeable Science (New Haven: Meigs, Bowen and Dana, 1784).

⁵ For a broad discussion of space, place, and other geographical concepts, see by Sarah L. Holloway et al., eds., *Key Concepts in Geography* (London: SAGE, 2003). For more on the social constructedness of space through practices like geography, see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

⁶ Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 3.

⁷ Scholars of early American history and literature have elaborated on the insights provided by Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* to suggest that national identity was actively constructed in the early republic through a combination of pageantry and print, which mediated local and supralocal identities into a working national identity. See for example David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Len Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997); and Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood: Capitalist Citizenship and the Imagined Fraternity of White Men* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).

⁸ In 1794 Carey decided to issue a version of William Guthrie’s twenty-five-year old *New System of Modern Geography* edited for an American audience. As Carey wrote in his preface to the American edition, he found that Guthrie’s “grammar, which had been so long, and so loudly celebrated, united, in many passages, almost every fault, that can disgrace a literary composition.” Carey was offended by numerous factual errors, an inconsistent writing style, and—what was worse—massive overrepresentation of England, which occupied “one fifth of the whole work.” Carey took it upon himself to point out and

content of British books served in the 1790s as import replacement on a textual level, weaning publishers, authors, and readers alike from dependence on the authority of the mother country.”⁹ This reconstruction of authority was a dynamic force in the publication of geographical knowledge, given the ubiquity of the early commitment to geographical literacy.

Although early national geographic authors produced a good deal of new content for their geographical grammars and gazetteers, they did so within an established framework of geographical knowledge. Geographical grammars traced their lineage to an eighteenth-century British genre that arranged geographical knowledge topically in order to give their readers a comprehensive and universal picture of the known world. As Thomas Salmon put it in his 1754 *New Geographical and Historical Grammar*, these books sought to acquaint every “rational creature” with “the State of the World about him, and the Manners, Customs, and History, of the several Nations his Cotemporaries [sic].”¹⁰ Labeling these volumes “grammars” was not coincidental; much like linguistic

correct these errors, and he hired Morse to rewrite the sections on the United States from an American perspective, suitable to the newly independent nation. See William Guthrie, *A New System of Modern Geography: or, A Geographical, Historical, and Commercial Grammar; and Present State of the Several Nations of the World* (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1794-1795), 3-4. For another, later example of a British work Americanized by Morse, see John Bigland and Jedidiah Morse, *A Geographical and Historical View of the World: Exhibiting a Complete Delineation of the Natural and Artificial Feature of Each Country; And a Succinct Narrative of the Origin of the Different Nations, Their Political Revolutions, and Progress in Arts, Sciences, Literature, Commerce, &c., With Notes, Correcting and Improving the Part which Relates to the American Continent and Islands* (Boston, T. B. Wait and Co., 1811). *A Geographical and Historical View of the World* was also printed in Philadelphia in 1812 by W. W. Woodward.

⁹ James N. Green, “The Rise of Book Publishing in the United States, 1790-1840,” in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 2, An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the Early Republic*, ed. Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, Forthcoming 2009), 13.

¹⁰ Thomas Salmon, *A New Geographical and Historical Grammar: Wherein the Geographical Part is Truly Modern; and the Present state of the Several Kingdoms of the World is so Interspersed, as to Render the Study of Geography both Entertaining and Instructive* (London: William Johnston, 1754), 7. In the preface to his American edition of Guthrie’s *New System of Modern Geography*, the most popular British geographical grammar of the late eighteenth century, Carey traced a lineage for the genre that stretched back to 1716, through the Thomas Salmon’s 1754 work to that of Patrick Gordon, entitled *Geography Anatomiz’d: Or, the Geographical Grammar, Being a Short and Exact Analysis of the Whole Body of*

grammars, geographical authors thought that they taught a crucial set of basic intellectual building blocks that helped their readers understand their world. The fundamental importance of geographical literacy began in childhood; continuing the literacy metaphor, Jedidiah Morse recommended a “‘Geographical Catechism,’ for the use of children under 8 years of age.”¹¹ The importance of a comprehensive grounding in geographical knowledge was widely acknowledged by Americans by the 1790s, and the geographical grammars published by Isaiah Thomas and his contemporaries were poised to supply the need.

If geographical grammars supplied basic geographical literacy, gazetteers provided reference manuals for those geographically literate readers and travelers. Gazetteers arranged their contents alphabetically rather than topically, making them a useful resource for those who had already mastered their grammar. The root of the term “gazetteer” throws further light on its organization and structuring of geographical knowledge. It was first used in the title of geographical dictionary published in London in 1693, called “The Gazetteer’s: or Newsman’s Interpreter: Being a Geographical Index.” In the preface, the author points out that the book “is made in a *pocket volume*, partly designed for all such as frequent *coffee-houses* and other places for *news*.”¹² Thus, in its earliest instance, a “gazetteer” is a “newsman;” that is, a reader of news of far-off places rather than a rough synonym for a geographical dictionary. As such, these gazetteers needed a reference manual that supplied geographical knowledge about the

Modern Geography, After a New and Curious Method (London: J. Nicholson, 1716). See Guthrie, *New System of Modern Geography*, 3.

¹¹ Jedidiah Morse, *Elements of Geography: Containing a Concise and Comprehensive View of that Useful Science, as Divided Into, 1. Astronomical, 2. Physical or Natural, 3. Political Geography, on a New Plan* (Boston: I. Thomas and E.T. Andrews, 1795), vii.

¹² Robert C. White, “Early Geographical Dictionaries,” *Geographical Review* 58, no. 4. (October 1968): 652-659, 658-659.

places they read about but had not visited. The function of such a text was to provide quick access to specific information about places and spaces, rather than describing them in general. By 1704, a successor text was simply called “the Gazetteer,”¹³ and thus the word slipped into its modern application with its association with armchair consumers of wide-ranging geographical knowledge intact.

The intersection of an inherited structure of geographical knowledge with new nationally inspired content created a genre that appeared conflicted, if not outright paradoxical, as Morse’s title *The American Universal Geography* would suggest. Early American geographical grammars and gazetteers purported to offer knowledge that was both national and universal, in forms that were inherited from the former metropole. If, as Brückner argues, geographical habits of mind were critical to self and national knowledge in early America, then the content of that geography was always larger than the local and often larger than the national. This apparent conflict between the purpose and content of geographical knowledge in the early republic was not actually a conflict at all, because, as Matthew Edney points out, the geographic culture of the early republic was closely linked to “later Enlightenment elite cartographic culture.” In this culture, “production of *knowledge* depended not only on the measured survey and observation of the landscape but also on the reconstitution and interpretation of the resultant data to create a single corpus of geographic knowledge.” This data could be rationalized through the use of “reason,” which would “reconcile conflicting observations of points or view so that all phenomena could be systematically described within a single ‘archive.’”¹⁴ Thus,

¹³ White, “Early Geographical Dictionaries,” 658.

¹⁴ Matthew H. Edney, “Cartographic Culture and Nationalism in the Early United States: Benjamin Vaughan and the Choice for a Prime Meridian, 1811,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 20, no. 4 (October 1994): 384-395, 386-387. Foucault also commented on the conceptual similarity between the

even the early republican geographers intent on writing a specifically American geography were working within an inherited framework of “universal” and “complete” knowledge descended from the philosophers of the transatlantic Enlightenment.¹⁵

In claiming universality as their goal, these geographical authors and publishers molded themselves as successors to the Voltairean man of letters. This eighteenth century model has been described by Roger Chartier as “an encyclopedist ... not a scholar who had acquired profound knowledge in a specialized field but a studious man who had some acquaintance in all fields of knowledge.”¹⁶ The man of letters pursued the “dream of a library ... that would bring together all accumulated knowledge and all the books ever written can be found throughout the history of Western civilization.”¹⁷ Thus, claims of universality had less to do with the scope and content of the work—after all, many geographies claimed to be “universal”—and more to do with the Enlightenment archival tradition in which they situated themselves. By combining the concern for self and national identity inherent in the “geographic revolution in early American” with the dream of archival universality inherited from “later Enlightenment elite cartographic culture,” the authors of geographical grammars and gazetteers created a fundamentally

Enlightenment archival project and cartography; see Barbara Belyea, “Images of Power: Derrida/Foucault/Harley,” *Cartographica* 29, no. 2 (1992): 1-9.

¹⁵ John Fea has recently argued that rather than being exclusively a “secular movement dominated by a small circle of French philosophes,” the Enlightenment was a broader movement that “drew strength from and informed everyday lives, dreams, and aspirations in colonial America—and, despite the postmodern turn, continues to do so today.” Fea identifies the four “interrelated themes at the heart of the Enlightenment in eighteenth-century America,” including self-improvement, the use of reason to check individual passions, a cosmopolitan commitment to the universal love of the human race over parochial concerns, and a deep compromise with the thoroughgoing Christian faith of most Anglo-Americans. Fea’s work suggests that the commitments to reason and the universal knowledge extended deeper into the population than Edney’s formulation of “elite cartographic culture” implies. See John Fea, *The Way of Improvement Leads Home: Philip Vickers Fithian and the Rural Enlightenment in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 5-6.

¹⁶ Roger Chartier, “The Man of Letters,” in *Enlightenment Portraits*, ed. Michel Vovelle (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 142.

sedentary geographical culture. They did not write for travelers on the highways of the new nation; they wrote instead for citizens who sought identity through geographical knowledge while seated in comfortable armchairs in home libraries, for families gathered around a hearth, or for schoolchildren repeating exercises while seated in neat rows. As the root of the term “gazetteer” suggested, early national geographical grammars and gazetteers were the product of, as well as productive of, an armchair culture of geographical knowledge.

In this chapter, I will read early republican gazetteers and geographical grammars as they became an established part of booksellers’ catalogs and private libraries, in order to establish the operation of geographical authority in this armchair culture of national and universal geographical knowledge. Their authors, I argue, kept their texts closely focused on the establishment of their own embodied geographical authority; they presented themselves as Enlightenment men of letters contributing to the comprehensive geographical archive. They used a variety of strategies to establish this authority and to attest to the universality of their “single corpus of geographic knowledge,” all of which were focused on their own personal geographical credibility. This act of self-authorship created embodied geographical authority, enshrined in the authors’ persons, but it left little room for their imagined audience to become the creators of their own geographical knowledge.¹⁸ By consuming the products of this culture of geographical knowledge,

¹⁷ Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe Between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 62.

¹⁸ The notion of the “imagined audience” for geographical texts is based on Benedict Anderson’s notion of an “imagined community,” in which a community is constructed between individuals who will never meet each other through common consumption of printed media. Anderson applied his concept of imagined community to the construction of nations, but it applies equally well to the construction of a community of the geographically literate, as imagined by both the authors and the readers of geographical grammars and gazetteers. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

readers of geographical grammars and gazetteers were interpolated as consumers of geographical knowledge, bound to their armchairs rather than out on the road.¹⁹ This position was not without its benefit for ambitious citizens of the early republic; it offered them status as gentlemen and as citizens. But these readers were not yet imagined to be travelers; the “geographic revolution in early America” may have created geographically knowledgeable national citizens, but that category of identity was fundamentally distinct from the act of travel.

Jedidiah Morse was far from the only author of geographical grammars and gazetteers in the early republic, but his 1784 textbook *Geography Made Easy* marked the beginning of a wave of geographical publication in a new nation struggling to write and read its own size and shape and to catalog its spaces and its places. While teaching at a school for young women in New Haven in the 1780s, Morse felt the need for a concise, accurate, and affordable text “to facilitate the acquisition of geographical knowledge” of the new nation. He began to collect the relevant information, from “a great variety of authors, miscellaneous papers, and verbal information,” intending at first to circulate it in manuscript form. However, upon “the advice of several worthy gentlemen,” Morse decided to publish his work in order to “exhibit it to public view.” In doing so, Morse

¹⁹ In a sense, this analysis is an exploration of the “ideology” of geographical knowledge conveyed by the texts under consideration and of the “subjectivity” of the readers who consumed them. Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser argues that ideology and subjectivity constitute each other through the function of recognition, which he terms interpellation or “the hail.” Individuals become subjects because they recognize themselves in ideology; ideology hails, or interpellates, them, and in that hail they recognize themselves as subjects. It is in this subject’s existence that ideology exists; neither is prior to the other in time, but rather they “always already” constitute each other. In this sense, the authors and readers of geographical texts jointly constructed a geographical subjectivity that determined their relationship to knowledge of space and place. See Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)” in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971).

hoped not only to supply the school market with “a concise, accurate and comprehensive description of the terraqueous globe,” but also to supply individuals with a cheap volume for home use.²⁰ The result of his labor was *Geography Made Easy*, printed in 1784, which launched a career of publishing geographical grammars and gazetteers for both juvenile and adult audiences that lasted for the rest of his life.²¹ Morse’s books competed

²⁰ Jedidiah Morse, *Geography Made Easy: Being a Short, but Comprehensive System of that Very Useful and Agreeable Science* (New Haven: Meigs, Bowen and Dana, 1784), Advertisement

²¹ After the publication of *Geography Made Easy* in 1784, Morse’s geographical publications turned into a veritable franchise that outlived Morse himself, who died in 1826. His works multiplied for different markets and were printed up and down the East Coast as well as in the cities of the interior, and were issued in literally hundreds of editions through 1830. As Brückner has recounted, Morse “nearly quit his theological studies in order to become a professional geographer. Morse did become a minister, but geography books provided a significant if not primary income for the rest of his life.” Brückner, *Geographical Revolution in Early America*, 147.

Geography Made Easy survived in print until the 1820s, with multiple editions issued sometimes almost annually in New Haven, Boston, Troy, and Utica. Smaller editions came out in smaller markets like Walpole, N.H. Most of the editions from the 1790s to the late 1810s were published by the powerful Boston firm of Thomas & Andrews (the same Isaiah Thomas who had published Morse’s other works, as well as Alexander Macbean’s), which meant that they received extensive national distribution through the firm’s networks in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. *The American Geography*, which was Morse’s expanded geographical text, meant for consumption by adult readers at home, was printed only once in the United States—in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in 1789—before it was replaced by *The American Universal Geography* in 1793. However, *The American Geography* had a second life overseas; it was published in London and Dublin from 1792 to 1794 and in Edinburgh in 1795. Evidently, readers in Great Britain were less interested in the comprehensiveness offered by Morse’s replacement text and more interested in the particulars of American geography that his original had offered. *The American Universal Geography*, Morse’s second attempt at geographical grammar for the home audience, was first published in 1793 and remained in print until 1819. It was also most frequently printed by Thomas & Andrews in Boston, but it was available as well in New York, Albany, Utica, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Savannah. *The American Gazetteer*, which Morse wrote by restructuring the geographical knowledge of his *American Universal Geography* into alphabetical order in 1797, was similarly widely distributed along the coast and in the interior, but it did not remain in print as long. The last edition came in 1810, most likely because newer gazetteers with more recent content had come along to replace it.

Printers spun Morse’s work off into numerous abridgements and adaptations. For example, in 1814 Thomas & Andrews issued *A Compendious and Complete System of Modern Geography; Or, A View of the Present State of the World; Being a Faithful Abridgement of The American Universal Geography, (Edition of 1812,) With Corrections and Additions Made from Information Since Received*, which extended the reach of Morse’s franchise with yet another title that promised even more comprehensive geographical knowledge; this time, it was both “compendious” and “complete.”

Although *The American Universal Geography* and works derived from it remained a widely available reference work, Morse’s schoolbooks proved to have the widest appeal. Morse developed *Geography Made Easy* into a series of other volumes for classroom use, including *Elements of Geography*, which was printed in 1795, 1796, 1798, and 1801 by Thomas & Andrews, and available through their network in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Worcester, and Albany. It was reissued in the 1820s in Boston and New Haven. With his son Sidney E. Morse, himself a widely published cartographer, Morse published *A New System of Geography*, a schoolbook that combined a geographical grammar and an atlas, in Boston and New York in the 1820s. Other authors also developed school materials that built on Morse’s work. For example, Rev. David Graham’s *Geographical Questions Adapted to the New*

with those of a wide range of American authors, like Benjamin Workman, Nathaniel Dwight, Caleb Bingham, as well as with Americanized reprints of British geographical texts (whose contents were often Americanized by Morse himself).²² This lively marketplace for published geographical knowledge in the early republic supported gazetteers and grammars with a range of scopes, from statewide to regional, national, and global, and in a range of sizes, from slim primary textbooks to weighty library volumes.

The authors of early republican grammars and gazetteers used their prefaces to describe the processes that they used to collect and verify their information. Given the uniform apology that graced every one of their introductions, these detailed descriptions seem designed to extend the reader's patience for any errors that may be found in the text. Morse's 1797 *American Gazetteer* is a case in point: "After all the pains which have been taken, and the expense bestowed upon this Work," he wrote, "it must not be expected, for it is not pretended, that the Work is free from errors."²³ Morse, like other authors, detailed the extent of his labor and expense in apparent hope that the sincerity of his effort would derail the criticism of readers who found the descriptions of their local geographical features to be wanting. His pleading did more than forestall criticism, which was a hopeless task anyway, as we shall see.

Abridgment of Morse's Geography; For the Use of Schools (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1815) contained a series of geographical grammar exercises that paralleled *Geography Made Easy* in order to speed geographical literacy in schoolrooms.

For more on Jedidiah Morse and his geographical publishing career, see John R. Short, *Representing the Republic: Mapping the United States, 1600-1900* (London: Reaktion, 2001), ch. 6; Richard J. Moss, *The Life of Jedidiah Morse: A Station of Peculiar Exposure* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995); and Ralph H. Brown, "The American Geographies of Jedidiah Morse," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 31, no. 3 (September, 1941): 145-217.

²² For more on the vitality of the geographical publishing market in the early republic, see Brückner, *Geographical Revolution in Early America*, 146-148.

²³ Jedidiah Morse, *The American Gazetteer* (Boston: S. Hall, and Thomas & Andrews, 1797), vi.

Rather, the articulation of process suggested by “all the pains” Morse went through served to establish the authors’ authority over the spaces and places of the early republic, in order to legitimize their work as part of the archive of geographical knowledge. Since these methods often required the investment of social, economic, and cultural capital, they served to display and enhance the extent of the author’s endowment in each of these areas. Morse and his contemporaries’ focus on their own social and cultural authority was designed to cement their positions in the geographic culture of the archive and to embodied the authority of the texts they wrote. However, this focus left their readers in the position of consumers rather than producers of geographical knowledge. “All the pains” that Morse and his contemporaries took to construct their universal geographies for the benefit of their audiences were generally of two types. First, and perhaps unsurprisingly, many authors of grammars and gazetteers emphasized that they were themselves travelers, who had seen and measured the spaces and places that they described. They envisioned their work as a substitute for actual travel—the authors themselves traveled in their readers’ stead. Second, they activated broad networks of correspondents endowed with the authority to supply them with reliable geographical knowledge. In short, the authors of geographical grammars and gazetteers authored themselves as legitimate first-hand authorities on geographical knowledge precisely so their readers did not have to be.

Travel as a means of claiming authority existed from the earliest gazetteers published in the United States. Joseph Scott, the Philadelphia author, engraver, and publisher who brought the first gazetteer to press in the United States in 1795, emphasized the time he had spent on the road. “To those who are but partially

acquainted with the geography of the United States,” he wrote, “I think it is necessary to observe, that I have travelled through many of the states myself, and have been in several of the towns throughout the Union.” The entries that he penned on these states and towns, as well as their rivers, lakes, mountains, and other natural features, were implicitly reliable because he had seen them with his own eyes. Scott asserted this claim to authority specifically in contradistinction to those who had not seen such things—to those who are but partially acquainted with the geography of the United States—who were presumably among the readers of his book. Indeed, even the act of publishing his gazetteer was itself a journey of exploration; in apologizing for potential errors, Scott wrote that “I do not utter it into the world as a work free of error; for when we reflect that no gazetteer has ever been published in the United States, I may with some degree of justice say, I have ‘trodden an unbeaten path.’”²⁴ Scott’s authority came from his travel, whether through the United States or down a novel publishing path.

Similarly, Morse emphasized his travel experience in the establishment of his authority. His gazetteer was published after Scott’s, which allowed Scott to claim the distinction of issuing the first American gazetteer, but Morse noted that he contemplated such a project before Scott did. This contemplation, furthermore, took place on the road. “The design of compiling and publishing an AMERICAN GAZETTEER, was conceived,” Morse claimed, “as early as the year 1786, while [I] was travelling through the United States, for the purpose of collecting materials for [my] *American Geography*.”²⁵ With this simple introduction, Morse reminded his reader that he personally traveled the United States to collect geographical knowledge, that his command of space and place

²⁴ Joseph Scott, *The United States Gazetteer* (Philadelphia: F. and R. Bailey, 1795), iv-v.

²⁵ Morse, *The American Gazetteer*, iii.

was already established by existing published works, and that even if Scott's gazetteer made it to the presses before his own, he was the originator of the idea. Turning to the earlier work that Morse cited as the purpose of his travel, he similarly reminded his readers in 1789 of his own acquaintance with American geography. "Four years have been employed in this work," a period during which Morse had "visited the several states in the Union." Not only did Morse cite his own extensive travel and the investment of time that it required, he denigrated the writers of existing American geographies for their lack of personal acquaintance with their topic. He pointed out that "Europeans have been the sole writers of American Geography, and have too often suffered fancy to supply the place of facts, and thus have led their readers into errors, while the professed to aim at removing their ignorance."²⁶ Morse, by contrast, supplied his readers with facts, judiciously collected and compiled during his travels, and thus truly "removed their ignorance."

The next year, Morse published a new edition of *Geography Made Easy*, this time an abridgement of *American Geography* rather than a printed version of his manuscript teaching notes. He took the opportunity to expand his argument for the importance of popular geography. The freedoms and responsibilities of republican government, Morse argued, required that the "particular advantages and interests of the several states ought to be thoroughly understood" by all citizens. Thus, in Morse's mind, it was "obviously wise and prudent ... to initiate our youth into the knowledge of these things, and thus to form their minds upon correct principles, and prepare them for future usefulness and honor." He presented the new *Geography Made Easy* in this patriotic spirit, so that "our youth of both sexes ... might imbibe an acquaintance with their country, and an attachment to its

²⁶ Morse, *American Geography*, iii.

interests.” The qualifications that he presented for such a task were brief and to the point: he “ardently wish[ed]” to aid “that country which he loves, and which he has sedulously explored.” Morse could supply authoritative geographical information to “to common schools, and to the cottage fire-side”²⁷ because of his patriotism and his extensive travel throughout the United States. He did not cite his own travel as a source of authority in his 1784 edition of *Geography Made Easy*, suggesting that his four years of journeying lay in between the two editions. However, once having undertaken that travel, Morse clearly thought it an important enough aspect of his mastery that he purposefully noted it in both *American Geography* and *Geography Made Easy*.

Not only did Morse “sedulously explore” the “several States in the Union” collecting information for *American Geography* and the new edition of *Geography Made Easy*, but he also metaphorically traveled into the unknown in undertaking such a novel project. Morse did not “pretend that this design is completed, nor will the judicious and candid expect it, when they consider that he has trodden, comparatively, an unbeaten path.”²⁸ Morse understood himself as an explorer of novel literary landscapes as well as of novel physical landscapes. If this self-authoring as a double explorer sounds familiar, the similarity was not lost on Morse, either. *American Geography* was first published in 1789, and Joseph Scott used a very similar phraseology in his 1795 gazetteer. When he reshuffled his vast geographical knowledge into alphabetical form in 1797, Morse included a curt footnote pointing out Scott’s imitation. “From this Work,”—referring to his own earlier *American Geography*—“Mr. Scott, Author of the Gazetteer of the United States, derived no small part of the information contained in his Book, though he has not

²⁷ Jedidiah Morse, *Geography Made Easy: Being an Abridgement of the American Geography* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas & Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1790), iii-iv.

been candid enough to acknowledge it in his preface.’²⁹ Scott copied without acknowledgement a good deal of geographical knowledge from Morse’s geography, a practice that, while annoying to Morse, was hardly uncommon at the time; indeed, Morse himself copied from British authors, especially for his treatments of the world outside the United States. However, by also copying Morse’s claim to authority through double exploration, Scott unwittingly called into question both notions of himself as an explorer. Not only was Scott’s gazetteer not an exploration of an “unbeaten” literary path as he claimed, but his travel through “many states” and “several towns” was also implicitly derivative of Morse’s. This professional rivalry did little to slow future editions of either author’s work, but it did reinforce the notion that the author’s experience as a traveler was an important component of his authority to write comprehensive geography.³⁰

Claiming authority through travel was a strategy that was deployed effectively by Morse and Scott in the 1790s, and sparingly by other authors in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Like its early nineteenth century contemporaries, Horatio Gates Spafford’s 1813 *Gazetteer of the State of New-York* made a narrower contribution to the

²⁸ Morse, *The American Geography*, iii.

²⁹ Morse, *The American Gazetteer*, v.

³⁰ Unlike Jedidiah Morse’s publishing career, which was characterized by long runs and repeated editions of his major works, Joseph Scott turned out new geographical works with clockwork regularity through the first decade of the nineteenth century, even though few of them lived to see multiple editions. The year after *The United States Gazetteer*, Scott published *An Atlas of the United States* (Philadelphia: Francis and Robert Bailey, 1796). He then returned to textual geography with an updated, revised, and retitled version of his gazetteer called *The New and Universal Gazetteer; Or, Modern Geographical Dictionary* (Philadelphia: F. & R. Bailey, 1799-1800). Perhaps because his new gazetteer adopted the rhetoric of universal geographical knowledge in its title, *The New and Universal Gazetteer* ran to a second edition, also printed in Philadelphia by Patterson & Cochran in 1800. He published a third gazetteer in 1805 under the title of *A Geographical Dictionary of the United States of North America* (Philadelphia: Archibald Bartram, 1805), which was reissued by Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum in Pittsburgh in 1811. He followed this national gazetteer with two more focused works, *A Geographical Description of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Robert Cochran, 1806) and *A Geographical Description of the States of Maryland and Delaware* (Philadelphia: Kimber, Conrad, and Co., 1807). Finally, Scott attempted a volume for the school market—the bread and butter of Morse’s geographical publishing career—in 1807, under the name *Elements of Geography, For the Use of Schools* (Philadelphia: Kimber, Conrad and Co., 1807). Although Scott’s career was neither as long nor as lucrative as Morse’s, its breadth still befitted a pioneer in the field.

universal archive of geographical knowledge than either Morse's or Scott's work, even though it was still, as its title claimed, "*carefully written from original and authentic materials.*" Spafford collected geographical knowledge on the road: "In feeble health ... and in the hope to receive some benefit from travelling, I prepared to visit the most populous parts, and most of the principal Towns, for the purpose of collecting the necessary information." Not content with the double utility of his own travels around the state, he "sent one Agent, at his own expense, into every Town of three remote Counties, to make the necessary collections of materials."³¹ Spafford, a lawyer who had also authored a geographical grammar for use in schools four years previously, deployed his own social privilege to travel for his health, with the added benefit of collecting information for a new literary venture, at the same time that he invested some seven thousand dollars of his own economic capital in agents who traveled for him.³²

Spafford's large expenditures for traveling agents in 1813 suggested that his gazetteer was at the tail end of the first generation of geographical writing, in which authors claimed authority through their own travel. In the 1820s, a new generation of gazetteers came to the press, which often limited their scope to the state level.³³ These

³¹ Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York, Carefully Written from Original and Authentic Materials, Arranged on a New Plan, in Three Parts* (Albany: H.C. Southwick, 1813), Preface.

³² See Horatio Gates Spafford, *General Geography, and Rudiments of Useful Knowledge* (Hudson: Crosswell & Frary, 1809).

³³ A glance at *Trübner's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature* from 1859 suggests that gazetteer publishing in the 1820s and 1830s was dominated by these state-level gazetteers that, while more focused than their turn of the century predecessors, were still fundamentally written for armchair consumers of the geographical archive. National and international gazetteers continued to be published in these decades, but in terms of the number of imprints they were swamped by the new state gazetteers. These publications from *Trübner's*, a list that is suggestive rather than exhaustive, include John C. Pease and John M. Niles, *A Gazetteer of the States of Connecticut and Rhode-Island* (Hartford: W.S. Marsh, 1819), John Kilbourn, *The Ohio Gazetteer* (Columbus: J. Kilbourn, 1821), John Farmer and Jacob Bailey Moore, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-Hampshire* (Concord: J.B. Moore, 1823), Lewis C. Beck, *A Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri* (Albany: C.R. and G. Webster, 1823), Zadock Thompson, *A Gazetteer of the State of Vermont* (Montpelier: E.P. Walton, 1824), Rev. Adiel Sherwood, *Gazetteer of the State of Georgia* (Charleston: W. Riley, 1827), Thomas Francis Gordon, *A Gazetteer of the State of Pennsylvania*

new authors relied more often on the second strategy that had been used by authors since Morse: the implementation of an authoritative network of correspondents. As with travel, the strategy of reliable correspondents placed the author of the geographical grammar or gazetteer at the nexus of authority. In both cases, the author was actively producing knowledge for the larger geographical archive, and the reader was passively reading it out of that archive. Not only did these geographical authors have the fundamentally Enlightenment goal of the geographical archive in mind, they also used a fundamentally Enlightenment strategy to produce and authenticate that knowledge: the cosmopolitan network of knowledgeable correspondents. The focus remained on the author as the source of authority, rather than the reader, who stayed in the armchair.

Horatio Spafford wrote a second gazetteer of New York in 1824, which he situated squarely in the new blossoming of state gazetteers by calling it “a new Work, and not a *second edition* of the former one.” In this new gazetteer, he exposed the process by which he went about collecting his information from a carefully constructed network of correspondents in the early 1820s. Spafford began by “engaging some well informed person, in each County” to assist him in collecting details. He did not describe how he identified these people; readers were left to assume that his own social network was capacious enough to contain such a broad range of “well informed” people. He then sent these correspondents all the entries pertaining to their county from his 1813 gazetteer,

(Philadelphia: T. Belknap, 1832), Joseph Martin and William Henry Brockenbrough, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia, and the District of Columbia* (Charlottesville: J. Martin, 1835), Alphonso Wetmore, *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (St. Louis: C. Keemle, 1837), John Mason Peck, *A Gazetteer of Illinois* (Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliot, 1837), and John T. Blois, *Gazetteer of the State of Michigan* (Detroit: Sydney L. Rood & Co, 1838). Many of these gazetteers went into multiple editions across the 1820s and the 1830s, in both their home states as well as in national publishing centers. See Nicolas Trübner et al., *Trübner's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature, A Classed List of Books Published in the United States of America During the Last Forty Years* (London: Trübner and Co, 1859), 318-350.

with a request for “corrections and additions” as well as for new articles “such as new Towns, Villages, &c., embracing the entire Topography of the County.” Spafford then made “an early application to the Post-Master General” for a complete (and regularly updated) listing of all the post offices in New York. He sent a circular letter to each post office requesting its exact location, a table of distances to other points in the state, and “a general invitation to send me all kinds of information, wanted for the Gazetteer.” This last invitation was “addressed to persons of accuracy and intelligence in every Town, and considerable Village, in the State, the returns from which were very numerous, and of great use in the composition of this Work.” He was even willing to explicitly acknowledge his correspondents’ contributions in his text. “I have, in most cases,” Spafford declared, “indicated the names of Correspondents, by adding their initials, at the close of the several articles.”³⁴

Not all correspondents were equal, however. Geographical authors dating back to Morse were careful to qualify their correspondents as worthy authorities in order to legitimate their contribution to the geographical archive. The term “gentlemen” was a particularly important marker of authority deployed by gazetteer authors, although the meaning of the term, as well as its political valence, changed between the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. In the eighteenth century, gentlemen were well-educated, independently wealthy elites who conducted their affairs with “politeness,” meaning not just well mannered but also cultivated and affable. Gentlemen’s liberal spirit and education, as well as their financial independence, afforded them a degree of disinterestedness that made them fair, neutral, and objective arbiters of social, cultural,

³⁴ Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York: Embracing an Ample Survey and Description of its Counties, Towns, Cities, Villages, Canals, Mountains, Lakes, Rivers, Creeks, and Natural*

and political matters. Since their own needs were provided for, they were free to pursue and uphold the “public good,” an abstraction that represented the highest social good in eighteenth century republican political thought. It also left them free to pursue higher truths in more philosophical domains, notably including natural philosophy, or science.³⁵

Thus, in his *American Geography* 1789, Morse claimed to have “maintained an extensive correspondence with men of Science; and in every instance has endeavoured to derive his information from the most authentic sources.” Morse “also submitted his manuscripts to the inspection of Gentlemen in the states which they particularly described, for their correction.”³⁶ It was not enough for Morse to substantiate his own authority by reminding his readers that his geographical knowledge came from sources personally acquainted with the spaces and places they described; his sources were themselves authoritative because of their social position. His use of the term “Gentlemen” implied not only elite status, but also a degree of liberality and independence that freed the geographical knowledge that they supplied from any taint of bias or personal interest. His use of “men of Science” similarly implied reliability and objectivity; and indeed, in the eighteenth century, the categories of “Gentlemen” and “men of Science” were not distinct from each other. In both cases, the network of correspondents cited by authors like Morse was distinctly masculine, as terms like “Gentlemen” and “men of Science” implied; the embodied authority carried by Morse’s name adhered to an explicitly masculine body. Despite the fact that female authors were writing geographical texts—Susanna Rowson, for example, published geographical grammars in 1804 and 1818—

Topography (Albany: B. D. Packard, 1824), 4-5.

³⁵ For more on civic culture and commitment to the public good among “men of letters” outside of politics in the 1790s and the early 1800s, see Catherine O’Donnell Kaplan, *Men of Letters in the Early Republic: Cultivating Forums of Citizenship* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

male authors nonetheless looked to a fraternity of geographical correspondents to bolster their authority.³⁷ The specific words they used to articulate that community changed to meet each author's unique claims to authority, but they were invariably testaments to shared social status.

Early geographical authors often gave government officials a particular pride of place in their identification of the networks that authorized their geographical knowledge. Joseph Scott took advantage of his residence in the national and state capital, Philadelphia, to gather information for his 1795 gazetteer. For Scott, the fact that he “received [his] information from several of the members of Congress” more than made up for the fact that he had not traveled to many parts of the United States. His information, he thought, was “no less accurate” than if he had visited the home districts of “these enlightened gentlemen” himself. Scott also thanked the members of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, because even though he had traveled through the state, he deferred to their local expertise: “I would not impose so far on the Public, by substituting my own knowledge, if it were in contradiction to the information I received from a few of these gentlemen.” For Scott, then, geographical knowledge gained from correspondence with gentlemanly legislators—who showed a “politeness” in assisting him that was “unaccompanied with that fastidious pride, and sullen haughtiness, which too often characterize the European legislators”—was just as authoritative as that

³⁶ Morse, *The American Geography*, iii.

³⁷ In her geographical grammars, Rowson looked largely to existing print sources to establish her authority; in 1804, for example, she wrote, “I collected from the authors with whom I was most acquainted, particularly Guthrie, Walker, and Morse, every thing which I thought I could engage attention or awaken curiosity.” See Susanna Rowson, *An Abridgment of Universal Geography, Together with Sketches of History Designed for the Use of Schools and Academies in the United States* (Boston: John West, 1804), iii. See also Susanna Rowson, *Youth's First Step in Geography; Being a Series of Exercises Making the Tour of the Habitable Globe* (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1818). See also Brückner, *Geographical Revolution in Early America*, 147, n. 8.

gathered through travel, and, indeed, even more so. In addition to gathering information from legislators, Scott also consulted with officials of the executive branch. He gathered military information from the Secretary of War, trade information from the Commissioner of the Revenue, and “necessary and useful information” from “Mr. Patton, of the Post-Office.”³⁸ Scott built his claim to authority on the moral and professional expertise of correspondents whose responsibility it was to understand the spaces and places they represented and governed. At the same time, Scott reminded his readers that from his privileged position in the capital city he could easily deploy the social and cultural capital necessary to command the “politeness” of some of the most important men in the nation.

Scott’s double strategy of situating his network of correspondents as gentlemen and as public officials was not accidental. In the first years of the early republic, these two forms of authority were deployed in an overlapping and mutually reinforcing fashion. The prevailing political theories of the 1790s taught that gentlemen were best suited for public office, because their liberality and independence insulated them from partisanship and allowed them to make decisions in the common interest. Their service to the public also reinforced these gentlemen’s claims to gentility. This reciprocal intersection of social status and disinterestedness put the geographical knowledge that they contributed—and by association the authors like Scott and Morse that they contributed it to—on especially an authoritative footing. In the preface to *The American Gazetteer*, Morse dedicated an entire paragraph to thanking Thomas Hutchins, a surveyor who served as the first Geographer General of the United States. In Morse’s narrative of their interaction, he learned early on in his process of compiling and writing his gazetteer that

³⁸ Scott, *United States Gazetteer*, iv.-v.

“Capt. Thomas Hutchins, then Geographer General of the United States, contemplated a Work of the same kind.” Morse was concerned about competing with Hutchins who, “being from the nature of his office, [was] far more competent to the task,” and so he “resigned his pretensions, and made him a tender of all the materials he had collected.” Hutchins, though, would have none of it, and “with a kindness and generosity which flowed naturally from his amiable and noble mind, Capt. Hutchins declined the offer, relinquished his design, and put into the hands of the Author all the collections he had made, together with his maps and explanatory pamphlets, which have contributed not a little to enrich thi[s] Work.”³⁹

In Morse’s description, his correspondence with Hutchins reinforced his authority because it established a direct link between the official maps and “explanatory pamphlets” of the national government and Morse’s gazetteer. More importantly, Hutchins precisely fit the description of a good republican public official: he was reluctantly performing a task that was thrust upon him. According to Morse, Hutchins was more than happy to relinquish his own gazetteer project to Morse’s, despite the fact that he was better qualified for the task. This lack of ambition guaranteed his disinterestedness. In turn, his disinterestedness ensured the objectivity of the geographical knowledge that he provided and its suitability for the universal geographical archive. Indeed, Morse himself was a reluctant author; after all he offered to give his research to Hutchins first. Morse’s fashioning of Hutchins and himself as a network of virtuous republican elites underwrote both his authoritative command of geographical knowledge and his own elite status.

³⁹ Morse, *The American Gazetteer*, iii.

In the first few decades of the nineteenth century, some authors continued to deploy the trope of the reluctantly helpful public servant; as late as 1839, John Hayward thanked “the Heads of Departments in Washington,” “the Secretaries of the several States to which the work refers” for their assistance in compiling his *New England Gazetteer*. In acknowledging them and “numerous other friends who have kindly assisted us in our labors,” he stated his willingness to identify their contributions by name, “were it in accordance with their wishes.”⁴⁰ However, Hayward was an exception; most nineteenth century geographical authors deployed their authoritative networks of government correspondents in a distinctly more liberal vein. The substance of the important networks of correspondence with government officials, and the authors’ relationships with them, changed as prevailing philosophies of political economy shifted from republicanism to liberalism in the modern sense. As Steven Watts has argued, “[t]his process cemented several interconnected elements: an economy of entrepreneurial capitalism, a social structure rooted in free labor and achieved status, a politics of liberalism, and a bourgeois culture of possessive individualism and self-control.”⁴¹ An important part of this complicated set of economic, social, and political changes is that the elite status implied by the term “gentleman” became more a source of suspicion than authority. It lost its association with pursuit of the common good and thus the mantle of disinterested authority used by Morse and Scott.⁴² By the 1820s, geographical authors no longer

⁴⁰ John Hayward, *The New England Gazetteer: Containing Descriptions of all the States, Counties and Towns in New England: Also Descriptions of the Principal Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Capes, Bays, Harbors, Islands, and Fashionable Resorts within that Territory. Alphabetically Arranged* (Concord, N.H.: Israel S. Boyd and William White, 1839), Preface.

⁴¹ Steven Watts, *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790-1820* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 6.

⁴² Although they disagree on the direction of the causal relationship, most historians associate the decline of the political and cultural authority of the disinterested republican gentleman with the rise of democratic politics that accompanied the political career of Andrew Jackson. As suffrage and political participation

tended to claim and evoke the figure of the selfless public gentlemen when listing their correspondents; instead, they emphasized the personal qualifications and social connections of the gentlemen they corresponded with, and the amount of economic capital they had invested in their projects of geographical knowledge.

Whereas Scott had emphasized the elected officials among his correspondents, later geographical authors preferred. As Richard John has argued, the early republican “postmaster ... was often among the leading public figures of the day. Indeed, there is good reason to suppose that the average postal officer enjoyed a social standing that was higher not only than many of the royal placemen of the eighteenth century, but also than all but the most senior government officials today.”⁴³ Postmasters were not only evenly spread across the new nation and presumably well acquainted with the physical and social features of their neighborhood, but they also were men of significant local and national status who could impart authority to a gazetteer. For example, Jeremiah Spofford relied on the network of post offices to collect geographical knowledge for his 1828 *Gazetteer of Massachusetts*, and he identified this network as a network of gentlemen. “As a gentleman in nearly every town, as Postmaster,” Spofford wrote, “is invested with the privilege of corresponding free of charge, the mail was relied on as the channel of much information; and a circular, stating the plan, and requesting

were extended to wider groups of white men, and as liberal ideas of political economy took hold with the market economy, gentlemanly status became cause for popular suspicion rather than political and cultural authority. See Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), chs. 9-11; Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006), ch. 9; and Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), chs. 13-17.

⁴³ Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 115.

communications, was addressed to all the offices in the State.”⁴⁴ Spofford chose his “gentlemen” in the 1820s for very different reasons than had Morse and Scott in the 1790s. He did not seek their gentlemanly disinterestedness; rather, he wanted their official access to free communication. Such gentleman-postmasters were both practically and rhetorically useful to authors like Spofford.

These later “gentlemen,” whether postmasters or not, sometimes sought remuneration for their contributions of geographical knowledge. Such an interest in material reward would have been anathema to a republican gentleman in the eighteenth century style, which suggests that even though geographical authors continued to use the word “gentlemen,” it suggested a sense of authority that came from the marketplace rather than from disinterested independence. In 1841, Warren Jenkins thanked “post masters and other gentlemen who have aided the compiler” of his *Ohio Gazetteer* “by forwarding communications descriptive of their several locations.” Several of Jenkins’s Ohio gentlemen apparently wanted the favor returned; they “requested a copy of the work as a compensation for their labor.” Jenkins apologized for his failure to distribute complimentary copies by saying “that he would willingly have complied with their requests, if it had been consistent with his circumstances, but having over one thousand correspondents, it would cost him five times as much to furnish each with a copy, as he expects to receive for his own labor and expenses.”⁴⁵ These gentlemen did not supply geographical knowledge out of concern for the public good; instead, they looked to their

⁴⁴ Jeremiah Spofford, *A Gazetteer of Massachusetts: Containing a General View of the State, With an Historical Sketch of the Principal Events from its Settlement to the Present Time, and Notices of the Several Towns Alphabetically Arranged* (Newburyport: C. Whipple, 1828), 3.

⁴⁵ Warren Jenkins, *The Ohio Gazetteer, and Travelers Guide: Containing a Description of the Several Towns, Townships, and Counties, with their Water-Courses, Roads, Improvements, Mineral Productions, &c.* (Columbus: Isaac N. Whiting, 1841), iii. See also Thomas Francis Gordon, *A Gazetteer of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: T. Belknap, 1832), Advertisement, 32-33.

own private good, seeking free a statewide geographical volume in return for their local experience. Jenkins still authorized his text with an extensive and engaged network of gentlemanly correspondents, presumably including the author, but their authority was based on shared private interest rather than a commitment to an abstract public good.

In both his 1813 and his 1824 gazetteers, Horatio Spafford was not shy about drawing his reader's attention to the substantial financial cost of writing a gazetteer, making the argument that his work was authoritative as an act of entrepreneurial capitalism with the large amount of capital he had invested in it rather than as a public good. In 1813, he wrote that the project had "consumed more than all of my pecuniary means, and has, as yet, produced nothing. I have expended upon it more than seven thousand dollars, and am impatient, as I shall soon know, whether the public sentiment will adjudge me a remuneration."⁴⁶ In 1824, he echoed his earlier complaint in claiming that "during a considerable part of the whole time [spent writing the gazetteer], my postage, alone, has cost me as much as all the supplies of food and drink of my family."⁴⁷ Spafford's anxiety that his geographical knowledge turn a financial profit was, if less explicitly stated in 1824 than in 1813, no less palpable.

He sought this elusive profit by exploiting political connections he had made in Albany. He began his volume with a page of printed endorsements from state officials that were arranged and printed in such a fashion as to suggest that his gazetteer held an official endorsement from the government. As fit the political climate of the 1820s, these endorsements were not the disinterested opinions of public-minded men; instead, they were the favors of political connections. The text of each blurb formed a distinctly

⁴⁶ Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (1813), Preface.

⁴⁷ Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (1824), 5.

individual assessment from each of four men, but the number of endorsements and the prominent listing of each assessor's official position gave them additional weight. They describe an ideal geographical text, using words like "accurate," "correct," "useful," "valuable," "well executed," and "comprehensive." S. De Witt, the Surveyor General of the state, even wrote that "Labors of this kind, on account of their substantial and extensive usefulness, merit a general patronage; and it is a duty incumbent on the citizens of our country not to leave them under circumstances of discouragement; but to give them that countenance which shall produce at least a reasonable compensation;"⁴⁸ this was weighty advice indeed, and advice that was explicitly designed to translate Spafford's geographical knowledge and social capital directly into an economic reward. More importantly, though, the four government officials endorsed Spafford's work with their names and titles. Gone were the ambitionless public servants who assisted Scott and Morse, replaced by the Surveyor-General, the Secretary of State, the President of the Board of Canal Commissioners, and an Engineer, bearing the prominent names of De Witt, Yates, Clinton, and Wright. Spafford underlined his authority by displaying the strength of his Albany connections rather than by stressing the contributions of disinterested public gentlemen.

Spafford's second articulation of the value of his network of government correspondents was considerably more aggressive. In his 1824 preface, he reprinted a substantial legislative report regarding a thirteen-year-old dispute between himself and his business partners over a state loan that subsidized his earlier effort in the genre. The legislature had issued them a \$3,000 loan in 1811 to subsidize the gazetteer as it was going to press—itsself a form of official endorsement. Publisher Solomon Allen's

⁴⁸ Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (1824), Recommendations.

financial failure prompted a flurry of memorials to the legislature regarding the settlement of the debt. Spafford was clearly concerned that the findings of the legislature impugned his good name, and in early 1824 he offered his own memorial in its defense. He was apparently satisfied with the outcome, because he performed his “painful duty” by reprinting the committee’s report in full. He published this report from “a deep and solemn sense of obligation to myself and the public, but under circumstances that forbid all comment, at present, and under the influence of feelings that positively interdict expression.”⁴⁹ Despite Spafford’s vagueness, his inclusion of his correspondence with the state legislature served both to reinforce his personal honor—he was not the debtor that his former partners claimed him to be—and to display his acquaintance with and successful operations in the halls of state power. Not only could Spafford secure the enthusiastic endorsements of those state officials who were most concerned with knowledge of space and place within state borders, he could also repeatedly garner the support of the legislature for his projects. He made himself appear to be the undisputed possessor of the authority to know and to write geographical knowledge on the state through this strategic deployment of his social capital.

Gazetteer authors cited government publications as well as government officials in their acts of compilation of geographical knowledge. This source for geographical knowledge doubly inserted these authors into the geographical archive; not only did their work contribute to that archive, but it drew from it as well. In doing so, they made the official archive more accessible to armchair consumers of geographical knowledge. For example, as we have seen, lists of post offices were a standard item on the research agenda, and their inclusion in gazetteers made them more widely available. So too were

⁴⁹ Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (1824), Preface.

federal and state censuses; geographical authors translated their technical information into a more accessible form. Scott and Morse used the census of 1790 to verify population numbers for towns, cities, counties, and states. As later versions of the census expanded the range of information collected, later gazetteers increased their reliance on it. In 1830, William Darby and Theodore Dwight even delayed the publication of the *New Gazetteer* to wait for the tardy publication of the 1830 census. Despite their dissatisfactions with the 1830 version, they found that “the census was formerly an invaluable source of various statistical matter.”⁵⁰

Indeed, government publications like post office lists and census reports were only two of the broad range of print resources that gazetteer authors called on to authorize their geographical knowledge. They used atlases, scientific texts, geographical grammars, travel narratives, and newspapers to collect “statistical matter” and to bulk out their descriptive passages. Jenkins best articulated gazetteer authors’ attitude towards these print sources. “Extracts have been freely taken,” he wrote, “from books, pamphlets, and newspapers, when found applicable; but they have been necessarily so interwoven with original remarks, and statements derived from other sources, that it has been seldom deemed necessary to note them by quotations, or give credit to their proper authors.”⁵¹ Jenkins and his peers were quick to point out that they had read widely and deeply in the geographical archive relating to their topic, but were less quick to point out specific pieces of information gleaned from these potentially competing genres. In Jenkins’s account, it was the work of integration that he had done on the geographical knowledge gleaned from print sources that made it useful and accessible to his readers. His authority

⁵⁰ William Darby and Theodore Dwight, Jr., *A New Gazetteer of the United States of America* (Hartford: Edward Hopkins, 1833), iii-iv.

was enhanced by his consumption and command of print sources, but, importantly, was not supplanted by them.

Jenkins was typical of geographical authors in that he exposed the sources of his own geographical knowledge in ways that would augment his authority on the subject rather than replace that authority. The authors of geographical grammars and gazetteers wrote to avoid another kind of replacement, as well; they sought to provide such comprehensive geographical knowledge that their readers would not need to seek it out on their own or from competing publications. They granted their readers geographical knowledge, gained on the road or from access to and participation in the geographical archive, and the access to enhanced national and self-knowledge that came from such knowledge. It was in this spirit that Darby and Dwight promised in 1833 that their *New Gazetteer of the United States of America* would provide “a convenient and safe book of reference, extended in its detail far beyond any work of the kind heretofore published.” The weighty claim reflected their own sizeable reputations; it promised “a copious description” of the United States, and it delivered six hundred and thirty tightly packed pages of “geographical, historical, political, and statistical information.”⁵² This large, heavy, and thick volume obviated the need for other geographical references, and while it was ill suited to a traveler’s pocket or baggage, it was nicely sized and finished to take pride of place on a library shelf.

Thus, authors of geographical grammars and gazetteers from Morse and Scott to Darby and Dwight imagined their readers participating in early national geographical

⁵¹ Jenkins, *Ohio Gazetteer*, iii-iv.

⁵² Darby and Dwight, *New Gazetteer of the United States of America*, Title page, iii. Darby and Dwight’s promises of comprehensive detail offered in a format friendly to library shelves and armchair perusals were evidently desirable; *A New Gazetteer* ran for multiple editions in multiple cities. It was first published in

culture from the comfort of their armchairs or school desks. The readers were not traveling the roads of the nation or the world, or participating in the social and textual networks of geographical archive. Instead, their participation in a geographical culture was mediated by the authors who they had read. Nevertheless their position as readers, as consumers of geographical knowledge, was not without its benefits. The authors of geographical grammars and gazetteers imagined that their readers derived many of the same benefits from geographical literacy as they did, including the membership in a geographically literate community of citizens that came from their participation in the geographic revolution in early America.

The earliest authors imagined that this mediated participation in geographical culture was open to readers of both genders. As scholars like Linda Kerber and Jan Lewis have famously argued, the republican ideology of the late eighteenth century created an imperative for women's education. In order to become the enlightened, gentlemanly citizens of the republican ideal, men both young and old had to be nurtured and guided by enlightened mothers and wives. While republican ideology left little room for women themselves to claim citizenship, it did rely on them to create virtuous male citizens.⁵³ Thus, although Morse situated himself in a community of "gentlemen," as we have seen, he imagined his audience to include refined young people of both sexes. In his first edition of *Geography Made Easy*, he included an elaborate dedication addressed "To the Young Gentlemen and Ladies, Throughout the United States." He extended his

Hartford and New York by the firm of E. Hopkins in 1832, and was reprinted by the same firm in both places in 1833, 1834, 1835, and 1836.

⁵³ Linda K. Kerber formulated the notion of "republican motherhood" from an insightful reading of John Locke's philosophy of education in her *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980). Jan Lewis later extended this analysis to the republican notion of marriage in her article "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 44, no. 4 (October, 1987): 689-721.

“ardent Wishes for their Improvement” in “a SCIENCE, no longer esteemed as a polite and agreeable Accomplishment only, but as a very necessary and important Part of Education.”⁵⁴ Morse imagined his audience to be the refined youth of the United States, soon to be refined adults, armed with “necessary and important” geographical knowledge that was also “a polite and agreeable Accomplishment.” Morse’s dedication to the youth of the United States pointed towards a market in which mature gentlemen and ladies made up the audience for the increasing number of geographical grammars and gazetteers, and used their knowledge to mark social status.

In the early nineteenth century, Morse’s explicit commitment to training geographically literate men and women began to give way, and geographical authors began to address their geographies for the adult market to a more exclusively gendered community of “worthy gentlemen” like that which had encouraged Morse’s original publication. Spofford launched his *Gazetteer of Massachusetts* in 1828 with the protestations of modesty that characterized such works. “Those gentlemen who are judges of what a Gazetteer of Massachusetts should be,” Spofford wrote, “and who apply to this common standard of literary, historical, and geographical works, [I approach] with extreme diffidence.” He asked that his book be judged benevolently, because he wrote it with the modest hope that it would “fill an unoccupied space in our domestic libraries, and not to supplant any previous occupant.”⁵⁵ Spofford imagined his audience to be one of gentlemen, a group in which he certainly included himself, given his invocation of “our” libraries. He wrote as one gentleman to a group of gentlemen, with appropriate “diffidence” about his efforts. Furthermore, the space he hoped to fill was “in our

⁵⁴ Morse, *Geography Made Easy*, Dedication.

⁵⁵ Spofford, *A Gazetteer of Massachusetts*, 4.

domestic libraries.” His gazetteer, then, was a book for use at home. It was also a book for the library, one to be kept on a shelf for use as a reference. Spofford’s clever modesty in fact positioned his volume exactly where he wanted it to be, on the library shelves of standard reference works of the elite men of Massachusetts and beyond.

Joseph Martin made a similar appeal for his 1833 *New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia*, except that he addressed a more specific body of “gentlemen,” the “Members of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society.” He addressed them specifically to call their attention to “the first work which has ever appeared since the publication of Mr. Jefferson’s notes, which professed to embrace all which could be ascertained of the present situation of Virginia, and some investigation of its past history.” Like Spofford, he imagined his audience to be a refined community of elite scholarly men interested in a universal cataloging of their home state, a volume that would serve as an update to one of their literary classics. He presented himself as an integral part of that community. He addressed the Society specifically because “You seem to constitute the most appropriate body, to which I can look for aid in perfecting the great work which I have undertaken, and of which this imperfect essay constitutes the first fruit.” Martin thought that the members of the Society would be the primary consumers of his gazetteer, as well as contributors to future editions. He hoped that their acceptance of his work into their “domestic libraries” would give it “the protection of [their] name” in the marketplace.⁵⁶ “Gentlemen” readers not only created a refined audience, they also helped to assure commercial success.

⁵⁶ Joseph Martin, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia, and the District of Columbia: To Which is Added a History of Virginia From its First Settlement to the Year 1754: With an Abstract of the Principal Events from that Period to the Independence of Virginia* (Charlottesville: Joseph Martin, 1835), Dedication.

The audience of elite men that gazetteer authors imagined was itself situated in space. These readers were assuredly not sitting in the London coffee-houses imagined by the pioneers of the genre. They were instead situated in American homes and schoolrooms, bounded either by the contours of the nation or of the state in which they resided. The authors wrote for an American audience, who would use their work for distinctly American purposes. They would use the geographical knowledge contained within the gazetteers' covers to fulfill their duty as citizens to know the places and spaces of the new nation. And as republican political ideology lost its power in the rising liberal democratic world of the early nineteenth century, the community of "gentlemen" who used this geographical knowledge to enhance their standing as citizens became even more exclusively male. No longer did geographical authors address their work "To the Young Gentlemen and Ladies, Throughout the United States" as Morse had in the 1780s; instead, they linked citizenship and social status exclusively for their male readers.

Joseph Scott first articulated his audience's nationalist purpose in his 1795 *United States Gazetteer*. For Scott, the rapid geographic spreading and economic development of the United States meant that accurate textual sources were becoming increasingly imperative. "As population increases," Scott wrote, "it contracts the sphere of mens [sic] action, and their personal knowledge of Geography will be confined to a few places." He associated this constricted sphere of movement, and its attendant geographical ignorance, with a teleological notion of economic and demographic growth, in which "amongst the citizens of Kentucky we find a more comprehensive knowledge of the geography of their state, than is found amongst the citizens of the atlantic states respecting their's [sic]; and amongst the citizens of the atlantic states, than amongst the inhabitants of the old settled

countries of Europe.” Given the necessarily increasing geographical ignorance of the population of the United States, and “the indispensable [sic] duty which every man owes to himself, to become acquainted with the geography of the country wherein he resides,” Scott claimed that a work such as his was critical to its audience on both personal and national grounds.⁵⁷

Not only was Scott’s *United States Gazetteer* a crucial part of every dutiful citizen’s library, it was better suited to its purpose than the geographical grammars that preceded it. “Although general systems of geography”—like Morse’s *American Geography* or his revision of Guthrie’s *New System of Modern Geography*—“have obtained a degree of celebrity,” Scott found that “they [have] but little merit; for no geographical description of a country can be general, but that which relates to the whole; but general systems do not contain an account of one tenth of the towns in any country, neither the relative distances of those few which they mention, nor their latitude, not longitude and seldom do they give the courses of the rivers.” A gazetteer, on the other hand, could make a claim to comprehensive coverage as well as ease of access. “In short,” Scott wrote, “a general system of Geography may with propriety, be compared to the outlines of a great landscape; whereas a geographical dictionary, wherein every article is alphabetically arranged, may, with justness, be compared to the same landscape, when the shades are judiciously disposed, and fully drawn.” In other words, his gazetteer gave his readers more comprehensive access to the geographical archive from the comfort of their home armchairs.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Scott, *United States Gazetteer*, iii.

⁵⁸ Scott, *United States Gazetteer*, iii-iv.

Universal geographical knowledge of the growing nation was an imperative for Scott in the 1790s, and it remained so for geographical authors well into the nineteenth century. Joseph Churchman's 1833 geographical grammar *Rudiments of National Knowledge* sought to give "the third generation ... rising up as a new race of actors" an opportunity to "enlarge their stock of information, and increase their qualification, to reason, reflect, and converse, on subjects of national interest." Along with a detailed history of the Revolution, this "stock of information" was largely geographical. The text included an "eagle map," which further suggested that national identity remained closely linked to geographical knowledge of the United States. It superimposed a drawing of an eagle, already a national symbol, over an outline of the nation. The resulting image linked the space of the nation with its identity, but only for those who adopted the map's totalizing vision of that space. The "eagle map" was not particularly useful for answering questions of navigation or geographical measurement; instead, it linked space and identity on a more abstract level. Like the geographical grammar in which it was included, it built that link in the context of the geographical archive, not on the road.



Figure 1: “The Eagle Map of the United States”⁵⁹

By the late 1820s, the imperative for universal geographical knowledge had filtered down to the state level as well. In keeping with Scott’s analysis that geographical ignorance would set in first in the eastern states, it was Spofford’s *Gazetteer of Massachusetts* that first articulated the need for such state-specific knowledge. Spofford bemoaned that Massachusetts’s citizens were not well acquainted with each other or with the geography of the state, and he was especially concerned with the gulf in understanding between the eastern and the western regions. Indeed, “it would be easier, in the eastern parts of the State, to find persons, and especially youth, who would

describe with geographical accuracy, the Nile or the Ganges, than those who would give a tolerable account of the Hoosic or Housatonic.” The solution, in Spofford’s formulation, was a state gazetteer like his own. He claimed that “a book of this kind, if well written, [can render] the citizens of the different parts of our State acquainted with each other, and with the locations, natural advantages, and business of the different sections of our ancient republic.”⁶⁰ A functioning state needed citizens that understood its places and spaces—including the market imperatives of “natural advantage” and “business”—and Spofford’s gazetteer could correct this defect for the “ancient republic” of Massachusetts. That understanding could turn the men who mastered it into ideal citizens of the liberal polity of the 1820s.

Returning to the earliest geographical gazetteers and grammars, the community of “gentlemen” that urged Morse to publish his earliest geography was significant because it was a manifestation of a more widespread geographical culture in the first decades of the early republic. As Edney has suggested, this “later Enlightenment elite cartographic culture” was active in the early national years of the United States, and it included not only the supportive gentlemen of Morse’s acquaintance, but also critics from around the country. These consumers of geographical knowledge took up their pens to dispute the descriptions of published authors, usually about their hometowns or native states. However, in expending the time and expense necessary to correct what they perceived as the authors’ errors, they fundamentally reinforced the authors’ assumptions about their readers’ need for and use of geographical knowledge, and the social and cultural value of

⁵⁹ Joseph Churchman, *Rudiments of National Knowledge, Presented To The Youth Of The United States, And To Enquiring Foreigners* (Philadelphia: E.L. Carey & A. Hart, 1833), iii, xv.

geographical literacy. James Freeman, a Unitarian minister in Boston, published a lengthy response to Morse's *American Universal Geography* in 1793. Freeman was generally encouraging about Morse's project, and thought that his later editions had progressed significantly beyond his earlier ones, and "that though his work cannot always be depended upon as a safe guide, yet that it is frequently instructive, and generally entertaining." However, the bulk of his review was devoted to pointing out the many "objections" he found to Morse's grammar, including "A want of uniformity in his plan—Inconsistencies and contradictions—Inaccurate maps—Want of judgment in selecting his materials and authorities—Appearances of haste and carelessness—Mistakes and omissions." Freeman registered these objections largely to Morse's description of his native New England states; of that portion of his text dedicated to accounting specific errors, eighty-five percent of the pages treat New England.⁶¹

Two years later, St. George Tucker published a similar, if more bitter, critique of Morse, under the byline of "a citizen of Williamsburg." Tucker used artful sarcasm to call into question "the accuracy of [Morse's] information, as well as ... his candour and impartiality" in his treatment of Virginia in general and Williamsburg in particular.⁶² Tucker, like Freeman, was motivated to print his criticism of Morse from a sense of local outrage, and also like Freeman he channeled that outrage into a broad attack on Morse on his own terms. Neither Tucker nor Freeman questioned the need for or utility of a project like the *American Universal Geography*, nor did they disagree with Morse about the standards by which it should be judged. Their agreement with Morse on the frame of the

⁶⁰ Spofford, *Gazetteer of Massachusetts*, 5.

⁶¹ James Freeman, *Remarks on the American Universal Geography* (Boston: Belknap and Hall, 1793), 4-5.

⁶² St. George Tucker, *A Letter To the Rev. Jedediah Morse, A. M., Author of the 'American Universal Geography* (Richmond: Thomas Nicholson, 1795), 4.

debate, notwithstanding their sometimes violent dissent on its substance, suggests that Morse's readers largely accepted his strategies for claiming authority and conformed themselves to the contours of his imagined audience. If Morse's most active critics accepted his terms while rejecting his specific credentials, then it seems safe to assume that the less critical members of his audience did likewise.

As we have seen, Morse and other authors of grammars and gazetteers often advertised the extensive travels that they had themselves undertaken in preparation for writing their treatises. In his characteristically acerbic style, Tucker called into question whether Morse had ever actually traveled to Williamsburg. He mocked Morse for his overreliance on Jefferson, and then remarked that the Williamsburg "passage is *not* copied from the notes on Virginia; it appears to have been the genuine production of the author of the *American Universal Geography*; to be the result of his own observation, or the illusion of his own fancy: not to bestow upon it a harsher epithet."⁶³ In this supremely dismissive assessment of Morse's geographical knowledge, Tucker both acknowledged Morse's "observations" and their centrality to his claims to authority and called them into question by suggesting that they were nothing more than "his own fancy." Authorial travel was an important legitimating strategy, Tucker acknowledged, even if Morse himself traveled poorly or, worse, entirely in his own mind.

Nor was Morse's deployment of the authorial strategy of quoting from authoritative sources and gentlemanly correspondents safe from criticism. Tucker could not very well criticize Morse's choice of authoritative texts; indeed, he conceded that "[h]ad the author of the '*American Universal Geography*' confined his representations of Virginia to extracts from Mr. Jefferson's notes, I should by no means have been offended

with him.”⁶⁴ Freeman, however, was not so sanguine. He called Morse “peculiarly unfortunate, [in] his want of judgment in selecting his materials and authorities.” He criticized his reliance on William Douglass’s 1749 *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North-America*. “Every man,” Freeman proclaimed, “who is acquainted with Douglass’s writings, knows he is not an authority.” Furthermore, Freeman accused Morse of a want of judgment in assembling his crucial networks of living informants: “He seems in general, to adopt the accounts of his correspondents and living authorities, without further inquiry, or critical discrimination.” According to Freeman, Morse’s failing lay in the method he used to assemble his network. Since “Mr. M. solicits information from all quarter, [he] will probably receive many trifling and erroneous accounts ... his duty to the publick requires that he should reject them.”⁶⁵ Freeman argued that Morse did not fulfill this duty, and, as a result, his work contained errors. Freeman did not question the strategies that Morse used to collect his geographical knowledge and legitimate himself as a geographical author. Rather, he thought that Morse implemented them poorly; he relied on the wrong sources and the wrong networks of correspondents.

For both Tucker and Freeman, Morse’s failure to legitimate himself as a geographical authority led to one important conclusion: it called into question the “universality” of his geography, and therefore its relevance to the larger project of the geographical archive. Tucker sarcastically referred to Morse’s “splendid title ... which,

⁶³ Tucker, *Letter*, 6.

⁶⁴ Tucker, *Letter*, 5.

however luminous it may have appeared to its author, I had some difficulty in understanding; not being sufficiently versed in Philology to comprehend that *American Geography* could be *universal*, or *Universal Geography* confined to *one* of the four quarters of the globe.” Tucker’s barb was specious—Morse’s geography did indeed cover the “four quarters of the globe”—but his point remained. When measured against true universal geographical grammars, Morse’s book was nothing but “an *interpolated abridgement*, though decorated with [a] pompous title.”⁶⁶ Freeman concludes with a similar point, less acerbically, in his plea that “[w]ith the talents which Mr. M. possess, it is in his power to render his work much more complete than it is at present.”⁶⁷ Indeed, Freeman’s *Remarks* is an extended catalog of Morse’s lack of completeness, with its lists of important geographical knowledge that Morse either missed or reported inaccurately. Neither reviewer disputed the value of geographical knowledge or the goals of universality and completeness; rather, they thought that Morse had failed precisely because he had failed to achieve them. Morse and his readers, at least those who were able and inspired to write critical reviews of his work, shared fundamental assumptions about the claims to geographical knowledge in geographical grammars and gazetteers. Whether Morse, or any other geographical author, made those claims effectively was another matter entirely.

However critical Freeman and Tucker were of Morse, their responses suggested a degree of engagement that was indicative of a vibrant geographical culture at the turn of the nineteenth century. Later geographical authors were less able to rely on such a

⁶⁵ Freeman, *Remarks*, 9-10. See also William Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North-America* (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1749-1752).

⁶⁶ Tucker, *Letter*, 3, 16.

vibrant interchange. In 1824, Horatio Spafford benefited from “having listened in attentive and respectful silence to all that the critics and the public had to say of my former Work, quite disposed to profit by every suggestion.”⁶⁸ But by 1843, Daniel Haskel, the editor of a new American edition of *M’Culloch’s Universal Gazetteer*, bemoaned the state of this geographical culture, claiming that “[t]he principal existing gazetteers have become, in a measure, antiquated; and some which have been recently published have been constructed on the basis of those which were produced many years since; and whatever effort may have been made to accommodate them to the present time, they necessarily partake, to a great extent, in the imperfection of their origin.” Haskel acknowledged the strong foundation laid by the geographical grammars of Morse and his successors, by arguing that “[n]othing has contributed more to that general intelligence by which the people of the United States are so eminently distinguished, and by which the perpetuity of their free institutions is so effectually secured, than the universal study of geography in all our schools.” However, the “foundation” laid by this early geographical training had not been adequately built upon by a “superstructure” of geographical knowledge, necessary to “advancing intelligence of mature life.” Indeed, the American archive of geographical knowledge had become so impoverished that Haskel and his publishers had been forced to turn to M’Culloch’s work, the “most splendid gazetteer recently issued in Great Britain.” Like Morse had done with Guthrie half a century earlier, Haskel updated the sections of *M’Culloch’s Universal Gazetteer* dealing with the United States, in order to provide geographical knowledge “with least possible expense of time, trouble, and means;” and to “be a source of extensive

⁶⁷ Freeman, *Remarks*, 61.

⁶⁸ Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (1824), 4.

improvement and the most substantial gratification to many minds.’⁶⁹ For writers in the 1840s like Haskel, the ideal of a vibrant geographical culture was still alive, even if its reality was hampered by “antiquated” knowledge.

The difference between the community of gentlemen who encouraged and criticized Jedidiah Morse’s geographical grammars in the 1790s, the critics and the public who benefited Horatio Spafford’s second gazetteer in the 1820s, and paucity of the geographical culture into which Haskel issued his edition of M’Culloch in the 1840s can be explained by the publication of new volumes like John Doggett’s *Doggett’s Railroad Guide and Gazetteer for 1848*. Doggett’s hybrid volume was increasingly typical of the print culture of geographical publishing in the 1840s and 1850s, rather than Haskel’s attempt to reinvigorate the market for universal geographical knowledge.⁷⁰ Doggett

⁶⁹ J. R. McCulloch and Daniel Haskel, *M’Culloch’s Universal Gazetteer: A Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of the Various Countries, Places, and Principal Natural Objects in the World* (New-York: Harper and Brothers, 1843), v-vi, viii. Haskel made a similar argument in his 1843 *Complete Descriptive and Statistical Gazetteer of the United States of America*, in which he claimed that “[t]he present is eminently a proper time in which to prepare a GAZETTEER OF THE UNITED STATES” because “[a]ll former gazetteers are rendered obsolete by the census, which has but recently become available, and by the rapid changes which the country is undergoing, particularly in its newer portions.” See Daniel Haskel, *A Complete Descriptive and Statistical Gazetteer of the United States of America: Containing a Particular Description of the States, Territories, Counties, Districts, Parishes, Cities, Towns, and Villages--Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Canals, and Railroads; With an Abstract of the Census and Statistics for 1840, Exhibiting a Complete View of the Agricultural, Commercial, Manufacturing, and Literary Condition and Resources of the Country* (New York: Sherman & Smith, 1843), 3.

⁷⁰ The 1859 *Trübner’s Bibliographical Guide* suggests that while the publication of both universal and state gazetteers continued in the 1840s and 1850s, they were fundamentally changed in character, and they were joined by a variety of new hybrids like the railroad gazetteer. The universal and state gazetteers of the era were becoming increasingly commercial in their content; they trumpeted economic statistics rather than comprehensive geographical knowledge as their important contribution. Thus, John Hayward’s *A Gazetteer of Vermont: Containing Descriptions of All the Counties, Towns, and Districts in the State; and of All Its Principal Mountains, Rivers, Waterfalls, Harbors, Islands, and Curious Places, To which are Added, Statistical Accounts of Its Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures* (Boston: Tappan, Whittemore, and Mason, 1849), Richard Swainson Fisher’s *A New and Complete Statistical Gazetteer of the United States of America, Founded on and Compiled from Official Federal and State Returns, and the Seventh National Census* (New York: J.H. Colton, 1853), and John Calvin Smith’s *Harper’s Statistical Gazetteer of the World, particularly describing the United States of America, Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1855) were typical entries in Trübner’s guide for these decades. However, Trübner’s guide was also populated with entries like Nathan H. Parker’s *Iowa As It Is in 1856: A Gazetteer for Citizens, and a Hand-Book for Immigrants, Embracing a Full Description of the State of Iowa ... Information for the Immigrant Respecting the Selection, Entry, and Cultivation of Prairie Soil; a List of*

called his “railroad gazetteer” a “new and valuable feature ... which in a compact form embraces many of the most important and interesting facts connected with the cities and principal towns on the route through which the Railroads pass.” Doggett showed little concern for universal or comprehensive geographical knowledge; instead, he consciously limited the geographical knowledge he included to “the most important and interesting facts” regarding small strips of space along the railroad routes. Furthermore, unlike the heavy tomes of universal geography, Doggett’s book was designed for use by travelers. Not only was it cheap, light, and portable for use on the road, its organization was structured for convenient reference en route, and its content was enhanced by “an enumeration of the OBJECTS of ATTRACTION which any such city or town may offer to the attention of the traveller.”⁷¹ Volumes like Doggett’s were evidently not what Haskel had in mind when he wrote that a “good universal gazetteer is at present a desideratum in the United States,” but, as the next chapter will show, they represented the direction in which geographical writing was evolving.⁷² The dream of the geographical archive was being replaced by the reality of the American road.

Unentered Lands in the State & C. (Chicago: Keen & Lee, 1856), which combined the armchair geographical knowledge of a gazetteer with more specific knowledge targeted at a class of travelers, in this case immigrants. Like the railroad gazetteer, another genre that took off in the 1850s, the immigrant gazetteer moved the genre as a whole further away from the commitment to universal, comprehensive geographical knowledge that had characterized it in the early national years. See Trübner et al., *Trübner’s Bibliographical Guide*, 318-350.

⁷¹ John Doggett, *Doggett’s Railroad Guide and Gazetteer for 1848, With Sectional Maps of the Great Routes of Travel* (New York: John Doggett, Jr., 1848), 11.

⁷² McCulloch and Haskel, *M’Culloch’s Universal Gazetteer*, v.

Chapter Two

The Pocket Companion: Guidebooks in the Early Republic

“All travel has its advantages,” ran one of Dr. Johnson’s more famous sayings. “If the passenger visits better countries, he may learn to improve his own, and if fortune carries him to worse, he may learn to enjoy it.”¹ Isaiah Thomas reprinted this nugget of Johnson’s wisdom in his *Worcester Magazine* in 1787,² half a decade before he embarked on the publication of comprehensive geographical knowledge with Jedidiah Morse’s *The American Universal Geography*. Johnson’s popular epigram represented an alternative way of thinking about knowledge of space and place, which had equally deep roots in Anglo-American culture. Dr. Johnson was articulating the logic behind the British Grand Tour, as well as that behind the travels of geographical authors: namely, that the act of traveling and personal experiences of seeing and understanding were inherently valuable, and that places and spaces were best known first-hand, if possible. Geographical knowledge acquired in an armchair, even if it was universal, could not replace the advantages of personal experience that came with travel.

This alternative valuation of geographical knowledge was at the root of the hybrid gazetteers that began to appear in the 1840s and 1850s, as discussed in the previous chapter. However, railroad and immigrants’ gazetteers were not the preeminent print

¹ Samuel Johnson and Donald MacNicol, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow: Stanhope Press, 1817), 214. Johnson’s trip to Scotland took place in 1773 and was first published soon thereafter.

cultural form designed to enable individual travel and “its advantages;” instead, that place was occupied from the 1820s onward by the guidebook. Guidebooks were fundamentally different from comprehensive geographical texts because they were designed to get their readers out of their armchairs. Instead of bringing geographical knowledge into the archive, they were designed to make it easier for readers to go out and collect their own. Guidebooks did not partake of, nor contribute to, the geographical archive. They promised sufficient knowledge of spaces and places along the routes they described, rather than comprehensive or universal knowledge of any kind. Their format and content made them useful on the road, rather than at home or in a schoolroom. They not only provided information on routes, accommodations, and sights, they also constructed a framework of meaning for the sights and experiences that travelers encountered along their routes. In doing so, guidebook authors placed the reader’s travel, and their first hand geographical knowledge, in the position of central importance. In guidebooks, the author’s individual geographical knowledge was of less concern than enabling the reader’s personal experience of space and place, which disembodied the authority of the text. The resulting genre enabled its traveling readers to more easily make tours, but these tours were relatively fixed in space and in meaning, making the readers of guidebooks into tourists.

Historians of tourism agree that American guidebooks took their antebellum form in the wake of the publication of Gideon Davison’s *The Fashionable Tour* in 1822.³

² See *The Worcester Magazine* 3, no. 23 (September, 1787), 308.

³ See Richard Gassan, “The First American Tourist Guidebooks: Authorship and the Print Culture of the 1820s,” *Book History* 8 (2005): 51-74, 52-54; and Dona Brown, *Inventing New England* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 28.

However, this pioneering volume did not spring fully formed from Davison's head. He was indeed an important figure in the crystallization of the genre, but the first two decades of the nineteenth century were dotted with precursors who sought ways to make their readers into travelers, only to suffer relative obscurity in the marketplace. Examining the innovations added by each of these forerunners shows the ways in which Davison built on pre-existing models. In this chapter, I will trace a lineage of Davison's forerunners in the first two decades of the nineteenth century in order to understand the ways in which the guidebook genre evolved and how it progressively reconstructed the relationship between the author and reader, disembodied the geographical authority found in older genres of geographical writing. I will then turn to a close reading of Davison's and others' guidebooks after 1822 to demonstrate how guidebooks enabled a new kind of travel that was appealing to the category of travelers who were increasingly becoming known as tourists.

Our prehistory of the American guidebook begins in 1802 with Mathew Carey, a central figure in the print culture revolution that swept the early republic and, as we saw in the first chapter, an avid consumer and producer of geographical knowledge.⁴ Carey arrived in Philadelphia in 1784 from Dublin and quickly set about building a firm that, under a succession of names, became one of the largest publishing houses in the United

⁴ Carey published the first significant and distinctly American atlas in 1795, and in the same decade, he commissioned revised textbooks that presented world geography from an American, rather than British, perspective. See John Rennie Short, *Representing the Republic: Mapping the United States, 1600-1900* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), ch. 5. He continued to publish geography texts for students and adults throughout his career. Additionally, in the 1830s, he published numerous pamphlets in support of "internal improvements" to facilitate inland travel in his native state of Pennsylvania. See for example Mathew Carey, *Brief View of the System of Internal Improvement of the State of Pennsylvania: Containing a Glance at Its Rise, Progress, Retardation, the Difficulties it Underwent, Its Present State & Its Future Prospects* (Philadelphia: L. Bailey, 1831).

States.⁵ The importance of this firm lay not only in the scale of its operations, but also in the new relationship Carey helped to build between authors, printers, and publishers. As James Green has argued, Carey was a central figure in the creation of the American publishing industry in the 1790s. Colonial-era printers and booksellers began to transform themselves into publishers in the early republic, as they built enough capital to finance speculative publishing projects on their own.⁶ As entrepreneurs with a large stake in the print products that they brought forth, publishers such as Carey took an increasingly central role in their production. It was in this spirit that Carey turned his hand to a genre known in Britain as a “book of roads” with the publication of *The Traveller’s Directory, or, A Pocket Companion* in 1802.

Books of roads had been published in Britain since the seventeenth century, and exploded in size, scope, and popularity after 1750. The most important content of these books of roads was “a series of detailed itineraries for the country’s direct roads and principal cross roads, complete with full distance measurements.” Earlier editions of books of roads had often contained maps, usually in the form of strip maps detailing the geography of a particular route without much detail away from the main route of travel. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, British books of roads generally no longer included maps as illustrations, and “[w]hat the later road-books lacked in cartographic information was perhaps compensated by the varying kinds of information

⁵ Earl Bradsher points out that the succession of firms run by Carey between the 1780s and the 1820s were “the largest firm in Philadelphia, the acknowledged literary center in America.” See Earl Bradsher, *Mathew Carey: Editor, Author and Publisher* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), viii.

⁶ James N. Green, “The Rise of Book Publishing in the United States, 1790-1840,” in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 2, An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the Early Republic*, ed. Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, Forthcoming 2009).

which they included over the years.”⁷ Books of roads often included related information, like stagecoach routes and timetables, and they were also often sold bound together with books of fairs, giving guidance to market times and places.⁸ Different books were sold with different information in what was probably an early attempt at market differentiation.⁹ By the turn of the nineteenth century, the book of roads was an established and profitable genre in Europe, and was ripe for importation by an enterprising publisher interested in geographical information like Carey.

Despite the bright prospects for such a volume suggested by the British experience, Carey was nonetheless tentative about its chances in the American market. He invested a significant amount of capital in his initial volume, hiring surveyors S. S. Moore and T. W. Jones to chart the route and write the text, but it covered only what were some of the most heavily traveled routes of the early republic, the roads from Philadelphia to New York and to Washington City. As was common at the time, Carey solicited as subscribers interested individuals who promised in advance to buy a copy of the finished product, in order to offset his heavy capital investment. In a letter to potential subscribers, Carey referred to his volume as “an essay to ascertain how far the public taste and liberality will warrant an extension of the plan.” His hopes were high, though; in the same letter he claimed that “[s]hould my expectations be but moderately gratified, I shall prosecute the undertaking in every direction through the union.” In his optimism, he promised potential subscribers the opportunity to be at the forefront of what he thought would be a booming new market in geographical publishing. He reiterated the

⁷ M. J. Freeman and J. Longbotham, “The Fordham Collection at The RGS: An Introduction,” *The Geographical Journal* 146, no. 2 (July, 1980): 218-231, 225.

⁸ For more on the hybrid and ambivalent place of the fair in early modern English culture, see Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), ch. 1.

same claims in the preface to the work, suggesting that he has heard “Repeated demands for an American Book of Roads by native as well as foreign Travellers” and promising to extend his coverage if the demand for his first volume warrants its publication.¹⁰

Evidently, demand did not warrant, because other than a few reissues of the original, Carey never published another book of roads. Nevertheless, Carey’s “essay” marked a milestone in the evolution of the guidebook in America.

The Traveller’s Directory was intended to be a “pocket companion” to help travelers with the basic tasks of navigation over unfamiliar roads in an era before standardized route signage. Thus, in its subtitle it promised to give “the course of the main road ... with descriptions of the places through which it passes, and the intersections of the cross roads.” The text provided much detail in support of this goal. The road north and south of Philadelphia was covered in detail in a series of strip maps, much like earlier British examples of the genre. These tightly focused maps portrayed crossroads, rivers, hills, towns, and individual residences, where travelers could presumably find food and shelter. In the text section, the route was described in similar detail, with information about towns, their governments, and their public amenities, as well as bridges, ferries, tolls, and the condition of the land and rivers the traveler would pass. Carey’s interpretation of a book of roads, then, included a brief treatment of the categories of geographic knowledge that would have been included in a geographical grammar or a gazetteer, but narrowly focused along a fixed geographic route. Thus arranged and printed—in an order and format useable by travelers actually in motion on a specific

⁹ See Freeman and Longbotham, “The Fordham Collection at The RGS.”

¹⁰ S. S. Moore, *The Traveller’s Directory, or, A Pocket Companion: Shewing the Course of the Main Road from Philadelphia to New York, and from Philadelphia to Washington ... From Actual Survey* (Philadelphia:

route—Carey’s practical information about space established a structural precedent for what would become the guidebook genre.

The Traveller’s Directory was more than just a gazetteer and atlas adapted for life on the move, however. The final part of the lengthy subtitle advertised that the book was “illustrated with an account of such remarkable objects as are generally interesting to travellers.” The scope of this description went beyond helping a traveler choose his or her path and place to stop in the evening. It began to demarcate what was of “interest” to a traveler, and thus articulated knowledge about place as well as space. This balance between enabling travel and meaning-making about travel was to become characteristic of the guidebook genre. Carey’s book of roads was not yet quite a guidebook, however, because the treatment of the “remarkable objects” was spare, almost skeletal. The text noted their existence, but generally without any narrative context about their significance that would help a reader internalize their importance.

For example, in lower Bucks County, Pennsylvania, the road to New York passed by a pagoda-covered country estate known as China Retreat. Carey’s book of roads took notice of the building, even though it was a slight distance off the road itself, and remarked that it was “a large elegant building, executed in the style of the East India dwellings, by Mr. Van Braam.”¹¹ This brief notice described the structure statically, with no attempt to place it in a narrative context. This absence was remarkable because China Retreat had a story that was well known to contemporary Philadelphians. Mr. Van Braam overextended himself financially in the construction of China Retreat and was

Mathew Carey, 1802). Letter to subscribers is pasted inside the copy available at the Library Company of Philadelphia.

¹¹ Moore, *The Traveller’s Directory*, 19.

forced to sell the building and auction its contents in London in 1799.¹² Indeed, it was Van Braam's fiscal imprudence that stuck in the memory of one Philadelphia contemporary, who recalled in 1844 that "[t]he place and building was for many years after called Van Braam's Folly."¹³ Given the contemporary and public nature of Van Braam's embarrassment, its omission from the brief description of his former house throws into stark relief the shaping of the meaning of travel by Carey. As a "remarkable object" for travelers, a variety of reasons could have cited for its being "generally interesting," especially as a cautionary tale about architectural hubris or about the fleeting nature of fortune. Either would certainly have resonated with an early nineteenth century reading public. *The Traveller's Directory* did indeed contain notices of objects of interest, but without narrative context to help travelers make sense of these passing sights.

This attempt to balance knowledge of space with knowledge of place enabled Carey's readers to actually make the journeys described in the text, rather than just reading about other travelers' or geographers' experiences. In this act of translating reading into travel, however, the authors' geographical authority began to retreat in favor of a disembodied textual authority and the validity of the reader's own experiences. Most immediately, the actual authors of *The Traveller's Directory* appear nowhere in the text except on the title page. There is no evidence that Carey himself actually drew any of the maps or wrote any of the text; rather, he hired "two respectable and qualified surveyors, Messrs. Moore and Jones," to survey the route and write the accompanying text.

Although Moore and Jones were listed as the authors on the title page, they appeared in

¹² Edgar P. Richardson, "The Athens of America: 1800-1825," in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, ed. Russell Weigley (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 212.

¹³ Peter Adolph Grotjahn, "Peter Adolph Grotjahn Memoir," American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA, 61.

none of the other usual sites of authorial identity. The book's preface was written and signed by Carey, not Moore and Jones. The enclosed cover letter soliciting subscribers for the present volume, as well as interest in future volumes covering different routes, was similarly penned by Carey in the first person. As Green has argued, Carey was a publisher as much as a printer or a bookseller, and as such he was a producer of the contents as well as the forms of his books. He would certainly communicate with his customers and readers about the business of writing, buying, and reading his volumes. This elision of Moore and Jones's authorial voices in favor of Carey's had an important effect above and beyond its significance in the changing economic relationships of the book trade. It diffused the site of the production of the geographical knowledge contained in *The Traveller's Directory*; Carey, Moore, and Jones all participated to an unexplained degree. In his introductory letter, Carey acknowledged the contribution of his surveyors, as well as of the four artists who engraved the maps; the resulting list of names served to further muddy the question of authorship and the source of the book's geographical knowledge. Moreover, the most prominent authorial figure, Carey himself, was not actually traveling.¹⁴ Thus, the geographical knowledge appeared *sui generis* in the text itself, allowing the reader to inhabit the position of traveler.

Carey, as the publisher and the name most obviously associated with *The Traveller's Directory*, certainly claimed authority in the text. His authority, however, was less a geographical authority than a mastery of the market. Carey placed himself at the intersection between those creating geographical knowledge—the surveyors and the mapmakers—and the readers, and as such, provided a service to both. Carey himself was not a master of space and place; rather, he recruited “two surveyors of respectable

¹⁴ Moore, *The Traveller's Directory*, Preface, Letter to Subscribers.

talents” and “four artists of great merit.” He was master of the market not only because he knew where to find workers capable of producing geographical knowledge, but also because he had the capital to subsidize their work. He also recruited “native as well as foreign Travellers” who made “[r]epeated demands for an American Book of Roads;” in his role as publisher, Carey had reason to know that there was demand for such a volume and from which quarter such demand might come.¹⁵ Carey was a masterful publisher and participant in the market for geographical knowledge, but he did not lay authorial claim to being a master of that knowledge itself.

Indeed, Carey understood his readers as possessing a degree of geographical authority. He imagined his guide to be useful, but as an adjunct to his readers’ existing knowledge of the road. He expected his guide to give “high gratification,” but only from “the occasional inspection of such an agreeable pocket companion.” His readers, presumably, would not need more. Furthermore, he acknowledged the possibility of errors in his work; it was “not pretended to be absolutely perfect.” He relied on his readers to use their geographical knowledge gained on the road to build on his work; Carey “earnestly solicit[ed] from every person capable of giving information, such communications respecting cities, towns, villages, rivers, creeks, country seats, cross roads, &c. &c. as may enable me to improve this Directory in a subsequent edition.”¹⁶ Carey imagined his readers to be already knowledgeable travelers, whose knowledge was gilded by the occasional use of his volume while en route.

If *The Traveller’s Directory* testified to Carey’s command of the market and his readers’ command of geographical knowledge, then why was its success so limited?

¹⁵ Moore, *The Traveller’s Directory*, Letter to Subscribers, Preface.

¹⁶ Moore, *The Traveller’s Directory*, Preface, Letter to Subscribers.

After all, in his letter to his subscribers, Carey envisioned a grand plan of road books guiding travelers “every direction through the union.” *The Traveller’s Directory* was reissued by Carey’s presses periodically over the subsequent decades, suggesting that it sold well enough to reuse the map plates that represented Carey’s biggest investment in the project. Even so, the book of roads, at least in Carey’s interpretation of the form, never caught on in the United States as it had in Europe. Perhaps *The Traveller’s Directory* added little value to its readers’ journeys. If in fact they already knew their way—which is likely, given that the roads between Philadelphia, New York, and Washington City were among the most frequently traveled in the early republic—then perhaps they did not require “occasional inspection” of a book of roads. Carey, after all, provided relatively little information that a detailed map and a good gazetteer did not already contain; and, in 1802, those forms of geographical knowledge were a prominent part of national print culture. The “objects of interest” that Carey used to “illustrate” his guide were not, as we have seen, constructed into a narrative sequence. If Carey’s readers were not already acquainted with these “objects” and had not already made meanings for themselves around the act of visiting them, then Carey’s book of roads would not have been much help. *The Traveller’s Directory*, then, contained too much information for travelers already acquainted with its route and too little information for those who were not. His book put its readers in the position of travelers, but the readers for whom it would have been useful were already travelers in their own right, and had no need of Carey’s book to cement that position. Although Carey, like a guidebook author, aimed to facilitate his readers’ travel, he had not yet discovered a successful formula and the right moment for doing so.

If a savvy and successful publisher like Mathew Carey failed to build a market for a new kind of geographical knowledge in 1802, it is perhaps unsurprising that an otherwise obscure author named George Temple met with similar disappointment ten years later. He published a slim volume entitled *The American Tourist's Pocket Companion* that survived only one printing, in 1812. Historian Richard Gassan has pointed out that this book was not really a guidebook, despite its promising name, but rather “an odd hybrid of road book and travel narrative.”¹⁷ To Gassan’s assessment one might add “idiosyncratic,” because Temple’s realization of this hybridization is unlike that of any of his predecessors or successors in the genre. However, Temple’s book is worthy of attention because it represents an alternative attempt at what would become a guidebook. Temple arrived at a written distillation of his geographical knowledge by a very different path from Carey—with even less market success—but in doing so, he added new kinds of context to his readers’ travel, which would come to define the guidebook genre and the tours it created.

Temple laid out a series of five “excursions” from New York, “the head-quarters of foreigners, and the rendez-vous of those from the southern states.” Temple did not share the book of road’s agnosticism about the purpose of these journeys; they were explicitly designed for the “valetudinary traveller, or those in quest of amusement.” However, like Carey, he wrote a text that attempted to balance practical information about travel with contextualizing information that gave meaning to that travel. Carey worked towards that balance from his experience in publishing geographical information and from his acquaintance with the European genre of books of roads. Temple, on the

other hand, worked towards that balance from his experiences on the road; he took the form of the travel narrative and tried to make it useful for actual travelers. Unlike the disembodied authority of Carey and his army of assistants, Temple's authority was located in his own bodily experience of travel. He seemed aware of the difficulty of translating his own travels into his readers' journeys; in his introduction, he wrote that "[s]uch as may expect to find in this an amusing volume of travels, will be much disappointed. It is only intended to enable others to make agreeable excursions themselves, and to point out the manner of doing so with greater facility and comfort."¹⁸ This authorial process fundamentally shaped the text that Temple wrote and determined its chances of market success.

Temple's directions were less detailed than Carey's; it would have been hard to do otherwise, given the specificity of Carey's book of roads. Rather than the turn-by-turn, landmark-by-landmark descriptions in the book of roads, Temple gave general destination points, with hints about how to travel between them. He left his readers reliant on knowledgeable steamboat captains and stagecoach drivers to deliver them from place to place. Thus, in the place of Carey's directions, Temple used his traveling experience to provide pages of advice for negotiating these forms of public conveyance. To stage travelers, he suggested that they "secure the front seat beside the driver" in order to "stretch out your legs ... and in event of accident, [be] more at liberty to take a *flying leap*." To steamboat passengers on the Hudson River, the advice to "wait some time until an after table is spread" to avoid the crush of onboard meals was more useful than an

¹⁷ Gassan, "First American Tourist Guidebooks," 68, n. 6.

¹⁸ George Temple, *The American Tourist's Pocket Companion, or, A guide to the Springs and Trip to the Lakes with Directions for Five Different Agreeable Summer Excursions* (New York: D. Longworth, 1812), 6-7.

account of the route to Albany.¹⁹ Given the novelty of steamboats as a form of transportation—Temple traveled on the *Car of Neptune*, which was the second steamboat in service in the United States—this account of his experience on board was doubtless welcome to his audience.²⁰ For journeys that did not rely on steamboats and stagecoaches, Temple’s advice was similarly general, regarding negotiations with country landlords and provision of feed for horses. Temple may have described a “manner of [making excursions] with greater facility and comfort,” but he largely left the plotting of those excursions to his readers.

For all the skeletal nature of his route and transportation information, Temple’s hints about what his readers were supposed to experience and how they were supposed to contextualize their experiences were considerably richer than Carey’s. Not only did Temple dedicate a greater portion of his space to “objects of interest,” he described them in narrative frameworks that provided rich contexts of meaning. For example, traveling through Windsor, Vermont, he remarked that “[I]ike Windsor in old England, this Windsor is also dignified with its castle, which is also the place of installation of its knights. They, however, are not of the order of the garter, and decorated with the badge of the valorous St. George; but are *knights of industry*, decorated with party coloured robes—in other words, there is a strong, well built stone state prison here.” Given Carey’s terse style, it is easy to imagine how his hypothetical book of roads for the Connecticut River valley might have described Windsor: he would have likely merely remarked the prison’s exact milestone, which side of the road it was on, and that it was well built of stone. Temple, on the other hand, did not locate the prison precisely in

¹⁹ Temple, *American Tourist’s Pocket Companion*, 16,27.

space; instead, he gave it narrative location. He published his book in 1812, during a period of escalating political and military tension with Great Britain. Thus, for him, the prison offered an opportunity to draw a distinction between the enemies. His tone was mocking, and his extended comparison of prisoners with Britain's political class pointed to its aristocratic absurdity. Furthermore, he implicitly praised his sober, hardworking native republic—even prisoners were “*knights of industry*”—and went on to remark that they “appear to be usefully employed, and ... under good regulation.”²¹ While his location of the prison in space was less than exact, his location of its meaning in the political culture of his time was precise.

Since Temple's approach to the idea of a “pocket companion” was so different from Carey's, his claims to authority for himself and his readers operated very differently. He may have pointed out important sights and suggested a cultural context for interpreting them, but his pointers were often elliptically encased in a narrative that despite his best intentions often read exactly like the “amusing volume of travels” that he disavowed. Temple deployed a dualistic authority in *The American Tourist's Pocket Companion*; he slipped fluidly between third-person description and first-person narrative, often in the same paragraph, and traveling information was nestled among accounts of his unique experience. When engaged in third-person description, Temple's “pocket companion” exhibited authority similar to Carey's: its impersonal tone disembodied its geographical knowledge and created space for the reader's experience. The source of his information was similarly diffuse, and the conditions of his authorship similarly

²⁰ Fulton & Livingstone's second steamboat, commissioned 1809. See Thomas W. Knox, *The Life of Robert Fulton, and a History of Steam Navigation* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1887), 129-130.

²¹ Temple, *American Tourist's Pocket Companion*, 59-60.

mystified.²² At the same time, Temple recounted his own journey in the first person, and the geographical knowledge expressed in those sections was his to claim personally.

Unlike Carey, a publisher who took on the mantle of author, Temple was unabashedly the author of his own travels; the voice of the printer is nowhere present. This first-person authorial stance was an embodied claim to authority; when he wrote in this mode, Temple authenticated his knowledge of space and place from firsthand experience. This mixture of third-person claims to objective knowledge and first-person claims to subjective knowledge are precisely what make this book, in Gassan's terms, such an "odd hybrid."

To take an example, Temple mixed these two modes intimately when describing the waters of Ballston Spring: "It is the general received idea, that any quantity of the Ballston waters can be drank without inconvenience. The visitors to this place ought, however, to beware of using them to extremity in mere bravado. One of the inhabitants, who is of a strong healthy constitution, acquainted me, that by way of experiment he drank two gallons in the course of a day, and was consequently seized with a nausea and violent vomiting."²³ Temple began his recommendation on the quantity of water to drink with a "general received idea," which came from some abstract public body of knowledge. Whether or not his reader actually knew that he or she could drink as much

²² Temple provided a list of sources that he consulted in compiling his volume, in addition to his own experience. This bibliography is roughly parallel to Carey's citation of all the individual producers of geographical knowledge who participated in the authorship of his book of roads; it gives the knowledge contained a collective, and therefore general, source. In his introduction, Temple wrote, "[i]t will be observed, that this contains merely a short account of various places, that are in the rout [sic] of the tours proposed, compiled from Morse's Gazetteer, &c. interspersed with a few remarks on such places as I have myself visited, taken from cursory memorandums which were made at the moment." Later, he provided a "List of Books and Maps Referred To," including "Dr. Seaman on the Mineral Springs of Saratoga and Ballston," "Carey's American Pocket Atlas," "Journal of a tour to the northwest of the Alleghany mountains, &c. by T. Mason Harris, A. M.," "Stoddard's Louisiana," "Whitelaw's small map of Vermont," "McAlpin's map of Newyork," and "Baron Konigg's Practical Philosophy." See Temple, *American Tourist's Pocket Companion*, 7, 20.

Ballston water as he or she desired, Temple credited him or her with that particular knowledge of place. He then immediately moved to contradict that “general received idea” with his own subjective experience: on his own trip to Ballston, he met a local who disabused him of this preexisting knowledge. Temple both acknowledged his reader’s existing geographical knowledge—whether it actually existed or not—and asserted his own, ultimately triumphant geographical mastery, based on his own experience of travel. In the final account, Temple was the traveler, and the reader was along for the ride. He imagined his reader as somewhat less of a colleague in the production of geographical knowledge than did Carey, but it was still a collaborative undertaking.

Temple’s imagining of his own and his reader’s social position was equally complex. He did not assume elite status for himself or his reader, but he consistently maintained that travel could serve economic and social ambitions, both for himself and for his readers. His first and best-described tour begins with a brief anecdote of the planning of the trip, in which he and his traveling companion, Trudge, discover that they do not have enough money to cover their proposed budget. Temple suggested a series of economizing measures, including more walking rather than riding, to which Trudge responded: “Your pun upon my name will not answer the purpose, ... a preferable expedient to raise the deficit, will be to publish our travels on our return.” Temple did not have the means to undertake this trip on his own; rather, the taking of the trip would itself furnish him with the means. Temple expected both cultural and economic capital from the geographical knowledge gained on his trip. Similarly, Temple wrote in his introduction that the “discretion of every traveller must direct him, how far his finances will permit his adhering to the modes of travelling pointed out.” Indeed, his text was

²³ Temple, *American Tourist’s Pocket Companion*, 44.

laced with advice for traveling economically, even if the travel was “valetudinary.” Even when traveling in farmers’ wagons and staying at second-rate inns, however, “botany, chemistry, history, the languages, the perusal of the various and most admired works of fancy, poesy and the drama, all afford an ample choice to the taste of the traveller.”²⁴ Regardless of the economic capital of author or reader, Temple asserted that geographical knowledge gained through travel afforded an important opportunity to gain cultural capital that could be turned into social capital.

Despite this offer, *The American Tourist’s Pocket Companion* was even less of a market success than *The Traveller’s Directory*. It only went through one edition, despite Temple’s plan to offer “a future edition [that supplies] the deficiencies which are present.”²⁵ No other books on any subject penned under the name of George Temple are extant. The high hopes that Temple expressed for his “odd hybrid” were evidently not fulfilled, and it seems unlikely that Trudge’s financial gamble was successful. This market failure suggests that the embodied authority of Temple’s first-person narratives was not compelling in the face of better established competitors like Jedidiah Morse or Joseph Scott. The presence of these first-person accounts made the disembodied authority of his travel advice unconvincing, because Temple was too evidently present to leave room for the traveler’s own experience. His instructions for travel were too general for tourists following unknown paths, and the richness of association in his description of the “objects of interest” along the road was evidently not enough to make up for that lack. Like the authors of the travel narratives that he disavowed, Temple never really gave up the role of traveler in his account, leaving his readers to be his

²⁴ Temple, *American Tourist’s Pocket Companion*, 25, 6, 9.

²⁵ Temple, *American Tourist’s Pocket Companion*, 7.

fellow passengers. Traveling with Temple, it seems, was not an attractive enough proposition to warrant a second edition.

Temple's unsuccessful attempt to create a market for a book "intended to enable others to make agreeable excursions themselves" was finally realized ten years later, when an otherwise obscure local editor and printer in Saratoga Springs, New York named Gideon Davison finally hit on a popular and profitable formula. Davison fleshed out Carey's book of roads and refined Temple's "odd hybrid" into a slim pocket volume entitled *The Fashionable Tour*, "a small pocket volume of references" of "the several places usually passed in a tour from Philadelphia to Quebeck, via Saratoga and Ballston Springs; and also from Albany to Boston; with a few occasional notices of events associated with their history and establishment." He chose his "notices" carefully, in order to make them "more particularly interesting to the tourist; who seldom commands leisure for a more detailed description." Indeed, he included information that would specifically "supersede the necessity of much inquiry, and reference to more voluminous journals."²⁶ This volume was regularly reissued in ever-expanding editions for the next twenty years, and it spawned a host of imitators, detailing the "grand tour" through the northeastern states as well as commonly followed routes through the upland south and the old northwest. Editions of new guidebooks and new editions of older guidebooks grew slowly and steadily through the 1820s and 1830s, and then exploded in the 1840s and 1850s as the number of tour routes and travelers increased exponentially.²⁷ The

²⁶ Gideon Davison, *The Fashionable Tour: Or, A Trip to the Springs, Niagara, Quebeck and Boston, in the Summer of 1821* (Saratoga Springs, G.M. Davison, 1822), Introduction.

²⁷ The *Trübner's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature* issued in 1859 included "guide-books" as a separate bibliographical category. Trübner's list of guidebooks is incomplete and contains some works

refinements that followed Davison's initial attempt built a new genre that provided both the practical and contextual knowledge necessary to enable easy travel, and did so with a thoroughly disembodied authority that kept the focus on the experiences of the individual traveler rather than the author. This formula created tours, which created tourists.

Like his predecessors Carey and Temple, Davison sought a balance between the practical information necessary for travel and the knowledge of place necessary for context. His account of the "fashionable tour" successfully mixed some of the geographical specificity of Carey with a good dose of the imaginative contextualizing description of Temple. Nearly four decades after the publication of Davison's first volume, this balance was captured by Joachim Stocqueler in a lecture at Clinton Hall in New York City entitled *Travel, Its Pleasures, Advantages, and Requirements*. He argued that, "no persons can hope to travel to advantage unless they have furnished their minds with knowledge as completely as they have stuffed their portmanteaus with articles of personal decoration." He suggested that travelers arm themselves with "a *carte du pays*, comprehending definite information relative to points of attraction, hotels, railway charges, places of entertainment and instruction, peculiarity of usages, etc." However, too much information was also dangerous; buying too thick a volume would leave a traveler as confused as a "man who should find himself at the junction of six cross roads,

whose classification as a guidebook is suspect, but it nonetheless offers a rough snapshot of the growth of the guidebook genre. Of the editions with dates included in the list, nineteen date from before 1840, and 44 date from 1840 to 1858. Furthermore, many of the undated entries have titles that suggest a later date of publication; for example, the edition of *Disturnell's Railway, Steamship, and Telegraph Book* in Trübner's collection must have dated from the mid-1840s at the earliest, due to its inclusion of "telegraph" in the title. Although Trübner's list is by no means exhaustive, it suggests a rapid acceleration in the number of titles and editions and in the diversity of guidebooks after 1840. One may also argue that even if modern scholars might disagree with Trübner's decisions about which geographical publications counted as guidebooks, the fact that he was making those judgments relatively contemporaneously with their publication also suggests that those questionable editions may have been seen as guidebooks by their first readers. See Nicolas Trübner et al., *Trübner's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature, A Classified*

each directing him different ways to attain the same point.” Thus, for Stocqueler, “Brevity and comprehensiveness are all that are needed in a work of this kind.”²⁸

Davison successfully balanced “brevity and comprehensiveness” and thus established the formula for the antebellum guidebook.²⁹

To better understand this balance, compare Davison and Temple’s accounts of the journey up the Hudson River, the important first leg for all “fashionable tours.”

Steamboat travel had become more popular in the decade between Temple and Davison’s writing, so it is unsurprising that Davison follows Temple’s lead in charting a shipboard course up the Hudson. As we have seen, Temple recounted his journey on the *Car of Neptune* in a good deal of detail. In addition to his observations on and advice about shipboard life, he included a lengthy recounting of stories told by his shipmates, including “the emigrant,” “the Englishman,” “the captain,” “the supercargo,” and “the traveller.” Temple’s account of the Hudson Valley was almost entirely idiosyncratic, descriptive of his own experience on board the ship rather than suggestive of his reader’s experience of the trip and the valley. Indeed, Temple explicitly avoided describing some of the sights of the river: “respecting the places, by which we passed, those in the vicinity and of Albany and Schenectady will at present say nothing they being generally sufficiently known ... for the information of those who have not visited them, in the

List of Books Published in the United States of America During the Last Forty Years (London: Trübner and Co, 1859), 479-483.

²⁸ Joachim Stocqueler, *Travel, Its Pleasures, Advantages, and Requirements: A Lecture by J. H. Siddons, Delivered at Clinton Hall, New York, February, 1860* (New York: H. H. Lloyd & Co., 1860), 287. I take the French “carte” in this phrase to mean “card” rather than the more specific “map,” in the sense of a small printed piece densely covered with relevant information.

²⁹ The balance of “brevity and comprehensiveness” was established as an explicit goal in at least some guidebooks well before Stocqueler’s speech in 1860. For example, Willis P. Hazard strove for this balance in his 1846 *The American Guide Book, Being a Hand-Book for Tourists and Travellers Through Every Part of the United States* (Philadelphia: G.S. Appleton, 1846). “Comprehensiveness with brevity being essential qualities for a work of this kind,” Hazard wrote, “all extraneous matter has been omitted, and it is hoped the work will be found to consist of all that is likely to be useful or interesting to travellers” (vi).

appendix will be found a short account of such places, selected from Morse's Gazetteer, with a few additional observations."³⁰ If this dismissive paragraph referring his reader to an already popular source of geographical knowledge was Temple's idea of "point[ing] out" how to travel "with greater facility and comfort," then it is no wonder his book sold poorly.

By contrast, Davison's account of the Hudson Valley was entirely focused on the experience of his reader. He balanced information about traveling the valley and contextual knowledge of the valley with the "brevity and comprehensiveness" advocated by Stocqueler. Davison included a brief table of distances between the major "intervening places" along the river between New York and Albany, to help his reader gauge the progress of his or her ship up the river. Davison also included information on "the mode and prices of conveyance from place to place." While considerably less detailed than Carey's minute instructions for covering ground, this list represents considerably more practical travel information than Temple recorded. It evidently found the right balance for tourists making the "fashionable tour" for what Temple had called "valetudinary" reasons. The level of detail that made Carey's book of roads into such a reliably accurate guide was clutter for tourists, whereas Temple's general advice was a waste of space in a slim "pocket companion" for all but the most inexperienced travelers, at least by 1822, when the mechanics and etiquette of steamboat travel were more widely known. The balance pioneered by Davison and adopted by other guidebook authors was best suited to the conditions of travel that actually existed in the 1820s, as we will see in the next chapter.

³⁰ Temple, *American Tourist's Pocket Companion*, 42.

In his descriptions of the appropriate objects of the tourist's gaze, Davison abandoned the use of the first person entirely. Like Temple, he set aside his account of the Hudson to recount a narrative, but rather than the amusing anecdotes of his shipmates, Davison set an important genre precedent by telling the story of Major Andre and the treason of Benedict Arnold as it related to the landmarks that the ship passed.³¹ Davison's aside also does not distract from the all-important business of describing passing landmarks; he gives each significant sight its dutiful paragraph, without shunting it into an appendix like Temple. Davison described these sights in a third-person style similar to Carey's, but with considerably more meaning-making narrative context. Davison's descriptive sentences made his reader the traveler: for example, "The Highlands, or Fishkill mountains, which first appear about 40 miles from New-York, will attract notice, not only from their grandeur and sublimity, but also, from their being associated with some of the most important events of the Revolution."³² In this passage,

³¹ The story of Major Andre and Benedict Arnold featured prominently in guidebooks that covered the Hudson Valley after Davison. For example, Robert Vandewater's 1836 *The Tourist; Or, Pocket Manual for Travellers on the Hudson River, The Western Canal and Stage Road to Niagara Falls, Down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec: Comprising Also the Routes to Lebanon, Ballston, and Saratoga Springs* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1836) directed his readers' attention to the "Beverly House," opposite on the opposite side of the river from Buttermilk Falls, and told this story about its history: "During the Revolution, this house was the property of Charles Beverly Robinson (a colonel in the British army, though and American by birth), but in possession of the Americans and the quarters of Gen. Benedict Arnold, who infamously attempted to betray his country to her enemies in the year 1780. His plot was discovered in time to avert the fatal blow, but not to secure the traitor. Col. Robinson and Major Andre were sent by Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander, on board the sloop of war Vulture, at New-York, with orders to proceed up the river and have an interview with Arnold. Andre went to Beverly House, saw the traitor, and received the draughts of all the works at West Point and the passes leading to them. ... Andre was tried as a spy, convicted, and suffered an ignominious death, which must have been preferable to the life of Arnold, rendered miserable by contempt of those for whom he had sacrificed his friends, his home, his country, and his honour" (20-21). Travelers evidently read and internalized these stories about Major Andre. During her 1830 tour, Henrietta M. Goddard recorded, "About 7 miles from the city we pass'd the lunatic asylum a conspicuous building of hewn stone. We next passed Manhattan island, Fort Lee, Fort Washington + Fort Independence next Tarrytown, the place of Major Andre's capture + the scene of Harvey Kirch's adventures on the neutral ground of Coopers spy." The literary ubiquity of the Major Andre stories is suggested by the parallel notices that she gave to the events of his capture and those of James Fenimore Cooper's popular novel *The Spy*. See Henrietta M. Goddard, "Henrietta M. Goddard Diary, 1830," Manuscripts Collection, Ms. N-114 Box 17, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA.

³² Davison, *Fashionable Tour*, Introduction, 11.

Davison included the geographical orientation of Carey and the meaning context of Temple: he located the Highlands precisely in space, and suggested that they be understood in terms of romantic conceptions of the sublime and their prominence in the national narrative. More importantly, Davison put his readers in the position of the observing traveler: the Highlands did not attract Davison's notice, they "will attract [the] notice" of the reader. Not only did he tell them what to observe and what to make of it, but he actually put them in the position of observing it—the ultimate disembodiment of authority. Davison at once fleshed out Carey's book of roads with added layers of meaning and quieted the cacophony of Temple's "odd hybrid" by putting his traveling readers at the center of the journey.

This tight focus on his reader as traveler, and the disembodied authority that it implied, caused Davison himself to disappear as an author. Although he has been generally credited with the authorship of *The Fashionable Tour*, he nowhere laid claim to that credit in the text itself. The title page referred to Davison as "printer and publisher;" like Carey's, Davison's guide is known by the publishing house that released it rather than by the author whose geographical knowledge went into its construction. Unlike his predecessors, Davison did not locate his source of knowledge. His introduction accounted for his authority in the passive voice: "such facts only have been collected as will render it more particularly interesting to the tourist."³³ Thus his command of space and place was implicit rather than explicit; Davison wrote himself as the *eminence grise* behind his readers' geographical mastery. He collected the necessary information about important sites to visit and how to travel from one to the next, but then recounted this information in such a way that it conveyed his readers' mastery rather than his own.

Even though Davison laid out *The Fashionable Tour* in all its detail, the purchaser was the traveler, not Davison.

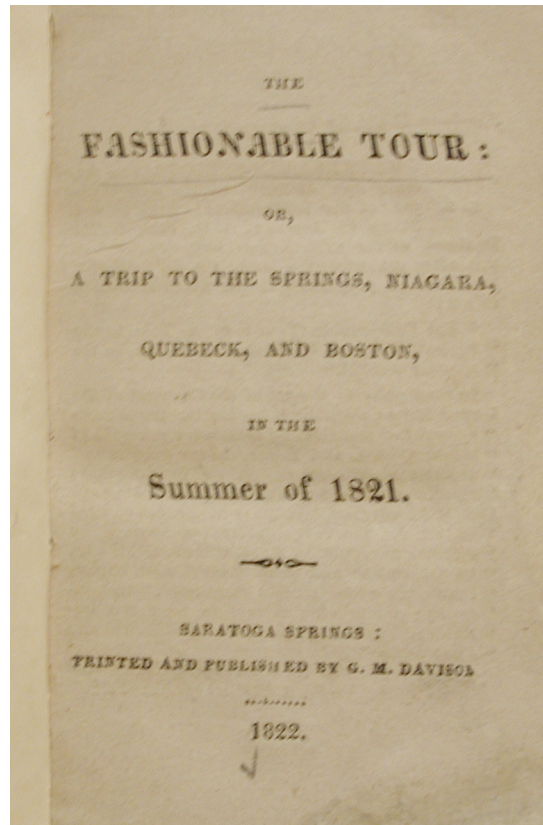


Figure 2: Title Page from Gideon Davison, *The Fashionable Tour: Or, A Trip to the Springs, Niagara, Quebec and Boston, in the Summer of 1821*; note that Davison is listed as the publisher, not the author

This striking disappearance of an authorial presence in guidebooks was particularly noticeable in Theodore Dwight's 1825 *The Northern Traveller*. By 1825 Dwight had already published an account of a trip to Italy, and he would go on to publish several more first-person narratives of his travels in North America, as well a gazetteer and other geographical texts.³⁴ Despite being an established writer and editor and the

³³ Davison, *Fashionable Tour*, Introduction.

³⁴ Theodore Dwight's career as a geographical author began in 1824 with the publication of his *A Journal of a Tour in Italy, in the Year 1821; With a Description of Gibraltar* (New York: A. Paul, 1824). This first-person travel narrative only lasted one edition, but his second attempt, the guidebook *The Northern Traveller: Containing the Routes to Niagara, Quebec and the Springs; With Descriptions of the Principal Scenes, and Useful Hints to Strangers* (New York: Wilder & Campbell, 1825), was considerably more

scion of a prominent literary family, Dwight located the authorial agency in the act of its publishing. “The publishers of this work,” he wrote, “being convinced that a handsome and compendious Traveller’s Guide is demanded by the great increase of travelling on the northern fashionable routes, have used their exertions to collect in one volume all the information of most importance and interest to such as travel for pleasure or health.”

Dwight himself possessed considerable geographical knowledge, as he exhibited in his other publications. For his guidebook, however, he adopted the same third-person style that Davison used to grant his readers the position of traveler. On the important Hudson leg of the tour that he outlines, Dwight wrote: “As the traveller proceeds, he at length discovers the distant ridge of the Catskill [sic] mountains, which limit the view in that direction for many miles, and form a grand feature in the scene.”³⁵ Dwight did not situate himself in this act of observation; this knowledge of place and space at the entrance to the Catskills belonged to his reader.

If Carey’s book of roads was an unsuccessful attempt to import a British genre into the American context, and Temple’s idiosyncratic “pocket companion” was neither embodied fish nor disembodied fowl, then what made Davison’s guidebook, and those of

popular. A. T. Goodrich published a second “improved and extended” edition in New York in 1826, and in 1828, Dwight brought out a third edition under the title of *The Northern Traveller (Combined with the Northern Tour): Containing the Routes to Niagara, Quebec, and the Springs: With the Tour of New England, and the Route to the Coal Mines of Pennsylvania* (New York: G. & C. Carvill, 1828), which reflected Dwight’s purchase a year earlier of the rights to the title of an early competitor, Henry Gilpin’s *The Northern Tour*. Subsequent editions followed in 1830 and 1831, by the New York firm of J. and J. Harper, in 1834 from Goodrich & Wiley, and in 1841 from J. P. Haven, by which time Dwight evidently judged that Gilpin’s title no longer had pull in the marketplace, because he returned to his original title of *The Northern Traveller*. In the same years, Dwight was also writing more personal, reflective books about his experiences as a traveler, as well as working on the gazetteer discussed above. In 1829, he published *Sketches of Scenery and Manners in the United States* (New York: A.T. Goodrich, 1829), which he followed with *Things As They Are, or, Notes of a Traveller Through Some of the Middle and Northern States* (New York: Harper, 1834) in 1834. This latter volume was reissued in a slightly revised form thirteen years later as *Summer Tours; or, Notes of a Traveler Through Some of the Middle and Northern States* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1847). Finally, in 1848, he wrote about his American experiences for a

the authors that followed his model, successful? They offered geographical knowledge in the right format at the right time; or, in the terms of philosopher Louis Althusser, they hailed their readers as travelers in a way that was immediately compelling.³⁶ As we will see in the next chapter, the technological developments of the transportation revolution were also taking root in the late 1820s and 1830s. New modes of travel, most notably canals and railroads, tended to concentrate travelers on a few central, heavily developed routes, and this geographical pattern was well suited to “pocket companions” organized like Davison’s or Dwight’s, which focused on these limited but well traveled corridors, and offered a judicious drip of geographical knowledge arranged linearly along the route. The same transportation developments that made guidebooks an appealing format for geographical knowledge also speeded their spread. As Ronald Zboray has found, the early stages of the transportation revolution hastened the spread of small publishing firms along its lineaments; these scattered but well-connected printers, of which Gideon Davison was a prime example, released many of the early guidebooks. Zboray also argues that the later transportation revolution, most notably the railroad, had the opposite effect, in that it centralized book production and distribution in large urban centers.³⁷ In both cases, the production and distribution of guidebooks was hastened by precisely the technology that made them appealing as a genre; they guided their readers along the same corridors of the transportation revolution that distributed the books themselves, and in the process, they turned those transportation corridors into “tours.”

British audience in *Travels in America* (Glasgow: R. Griffin, 1848). Dwight’s career as a geographical author was one of the most extensive and successful of the 1830s and 1840s.

³⁵ Dwight, *The Northern Traveller* (1825), iii, 15.

³⁶ See Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)” in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971).

³⁷ See Ronald J. Zboray, *A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), chs. 4-5.

After the form and content of the genre had been distilled in the 1820s and 1830s, guidebooks increased in ubiquity and popularity in the 1840s and 1850s. This proliferation occurred as part of what has been dubbed the rise of the “industrial book” in America. Newly mechanized and rationalized means of book production, including steam-powered printing presses and rationalized processes for book binding, created a boom in the availability of print at all price points, and increasingly centralized production and distribution made these industrial books widely available.³⁸ The small “pocket companion” format, planned obsolescence, and ubiquity of guidebooks made them ideal products for the rising industrial book trade; the heavy overrepresentation of large industrial firms like Harper Brothers and Appleton & Co. in guidebook bibliographies in the 1840s and 1850s suggests just how well suited they were to new means of production.³⁹ They were predominantly printed in New York, the major national center of industrial book production, with a smaller number coming from Philadelphia, Boston, and other cities, which suggests they were products of what Trish Loughran has called the “national print culture” that replaced local print cultures beginning in the 1830s and 1840s.⁴⁰

The industrial quality of guidebook production had an important on the contents of the volumes. Meredith McGill argues that at the same time that book production was being industrialized and print culture was being nationalized, “the shift to a market for

³⁸ Scott E. Casper et al., eds., *A History of the Book in America, Vol. 3: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

³⁹ The “guide-books” chapter in *Trübner’s Bibliographical Guide to American Literature* charts the increasing predominance of large, centralized, industrial publishers in the guidebook trade in the 1840s and 1850s. The guidebooks that Trübner listed from these decades were overwhelmingly published in New York and Philadelphia by firms like Lippincott, Harper Brothers, Wiley & Putnam, and G. S. Appleton & Co. See Trübner, *Trübner’s Bibliographical Guide to American Literature*, 479-483.

⁴⁰ See Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770-1870* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

books in America [in the second quarter of the nineteenth century] places the category of authorship in doubt.”⁴¹ Along the same lines, Michael Denning suggests that as the conditions of literary production became mechanized and rationalized, “the trend was toward industrial production based on division of labor and corporate trademarks, the pseudonyms of the market,” especially in the production of cheap print like dime novels. This trend in literature, both literary and cheap, followed on the earlier establishment of a similar dynamic in the writing of guidebooks.⁴² The disembodiment of geographical authority from individual geographer to impersonal text, the yielding of authorial identity to that of the printer or publisher, and the rapid spread of formulas from guidebooks were all precursors to the mid-century world of cheap fiction described by Denning, which flourished in the same context of industrialized book production.

As guidebook authors subverted their traveling experiences in favor of their readers’, they imagined that the journeys those readers took, accompanied by their “pocket companions,” would offer several distinct payoffs. Experience with the popular routes and destinations of travel in the early republic had three distinct advantages, as the authors framed them. First, guidebook readers were well acquainted with the relative popularity of different routes and destinations; Davison’s title, *The Fashionable Tour*, went straight to the heart of the matter. Second, guidebook readers were aware of routes or destinations of national import; knowing the corridors and important features of the nation made the guidebook reader a good American citizen. Third, guidebook readers gained a first-hand acquaintance with the major arteries of the growing national market;

⁴¹ Meredith L. McGill, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834-1853* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 15.

⁴² Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America* (London: Verso, 1987), ch. 2, quotation on 23.

the routes laid out by guidebooks generally followed the main paths of trade, and travelers used the latest travel technologies to move from place to place. In each of these cases, guidebook authors imagined the travel that they enabled to be useful to their ambitious readers. These three dividends were not coincidentally also those of tourism, as it was being constructed in the same period.

Despite giving his guidebook the title *The Fashionable Tour*, Davison was relatively slow to catch on to the implications his geographical knowledge could have for his readers' social ambition. For Davison as well as for subsequent guidebook authors, Saratoga Springs was the social heart of the journey he described, and Congress Spring was the social heart of Saratoga. In 1822, Davison's description of Congress Spring was a quotidian passage focused on the history of the spring and the chemical properties of the water. Davison nodded to the owners of the spring, and a doctor from New York whose "liberality and publick spirit" paid for improvements at the spring. He described those improvements, including such details as the length of the pipe carrying the Congress Spring water to the surface. Finally, he quoted at length from a work by "Doct. John H. Steel, resident at Saratoga Springs—a gentleman of high respectability in the attainments of science" that discusses the classification, analysis, and usages of Saratoga mineral waters. Davison's description underscored the medical utility of the water, both by citing the scientific opinion of one "gentleman" doctor and by pointing out that another doctor thought the springs valuable enough to improve them out of a sense of "publick spirit." This suggested that a visit to Congress Spring was above all a medical experience, and travelers who would visit it were above all patients. In 1822, Davison shaped the experience of Congress Spring into a solitary confrontation between drinker

and water, guided by benevolent medical experts. Little in this description suggested that the social experience of a visit to the spring was significant.⁴³

Perhaps because his recently concluded tour of Italy had attuned him to the social dynamics of the places he observed, Theodore Dwight described the experience of a visit to Congress Spring as a social event. Dwight included a brief notice of the history of the spring, but he left out the scientific analysis and medical details of the spring water and substituted a new reason for visiting Congress Spring: its popularity. He called it “the glory, the existence of the place ... usually surrounded with a throng of people.” He returned to this theme several times in his description of Saratoga; in a clever play on the French word for spring, he refers to it as “the great source from which this place derives its celebrity and its show of wealth and importance.” He also asserted that “it has attracted universal attention, and the benefits of its waters are annually dispensed to thousands.” No doctors made an appearance in Dwight’s text, and no reference was made to the medicinal value of the water other than a vague reference to its “benefits” and its “valuable qualities.”⁴⁴ The experience of a visit to Congress Spring was not a fundamentally solitary medical encounter for Dwight, as it had been described by Davison three years earlier, but an elaborate social encounter with a “throng of people” coming together at a site of “celebrity.” Dwight imagined that his readers would be more interested in the people they would meet at the spring than the water they would drink there.

Dwight’s description of the spring was an early expression of a trend that would accelerate over the following decades, in which guidebooks articulated the experience of

⁴³ Davison, *The Fashionable Tour* (1822), 39, 41-50.

⁴⁴ Dwight, *The Northern Traveller*, 106-108.

visiting Congress Spring in terms of the crowd rather than the water. By 1828, Davison had updated *The Fashionable Tour* to mirror Dwight's emphasis on the experience of the crowd. Davison did not expunge the technical or medical information from his text, although he significantly reduced it; indeed, he remained loyal to an abridged version of Steel's analysis at least through the 1830s. Davison did, however, add a significant description of the social experience of Congress Spring to his text. On summer mornings, Davison claimed, a visitor to Congress Spring could see "[t]he beautiful and the deformed—the rich and the poor—the devotee of pleasure and the invalid—all congregate here for purposes as various as their situations in life." Not only did "persons of almost every grade and condition" come to drink the water, they did so for a variety of purposes, encompassing both health and fashion. In a nod to Dwight's emphasis on Congress Spring's superlative standing, this diversity of drinkers characterized the Congress crowd "perhaps more than any other on the globe." Indeed, not only was this diversity of personage and purpose a quality of the summer morning crowd, it was in itself a reason to visit the spring: "To one fond of the study of human nature, and of witnessing the diversity of character which exists, this place affords an ample field for observation." Finally, Davison emphasized that the diversity of the crowd had been at least somewhat tamed at the spring; the "urchins" who dipped water out for drinkers gave favorable service to those with a "rich exterior."⁴⁵ Davison, like Dwight, rewrote his guide for readers who were at least as interested in the social opportunities presented by their vacation as the medical ones.

⁴⁵ Gideon Davison, *The Fashionable Tour; An Excursion to the Springs, Niagara, Quebec, and through the New-England States: Interspersed with Geographical and Historical Sketches* (Saratoga Springs, NY: G. M. Davison, 1828), 83.

From the late 1820s up to the Civil War, guidebooks describing Saratoga continued to construct an imagined community of water drinkers at Congress Spring. As Benedict Anderson has argued, “print capitalism” functioned to construct community between individuals who will never actually meet each other, and in precisely this fashion, the guidebooks, which were very much the product of print capitalism, constructed an imagined yet meaningful community around Congress Spring.⁴⁶ In 1836, John Disturnell’s *The Travellers’ Guide* informed its readers that “In the morning is the greatest concourse; persons of almost every grade, from the most beautiful to the most abject are here to be met, who assemble at this place either for pleasure or health.”⁴⁷ Following Davison, Disturnell included some technical information about the spring but emphasized the experience of being in a mixed crowd visiting the spring for different reasons. Samuel De Veaux’s 1844 *The Traveller’s Own Book* followed Dwight’s emphasis on the Congress Spring crowd’s large size, but also reminded its reader that it was a mixed group: “The crowd of invalids and fashionable that are frequently in a summer’s morning, found around this Spring, is truly surprising; and the quantity of water drank is not only incredible, but in some individual cases alarming.”⁴⁸ In 1852, Frederick Johnson adds a literary polish to what was otherwise a direct borrowing from Davison, by writing that “Perhaps there is no spot on the globe where we can see a greater diversity of character, than at the Congress Spring; the halt, the gay, the giddy, the

⁴⁶ See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

⁴⁷ John Disturnell, *The Travellers’ Guide through the State of New-York, Canada, &c.: Embracing a General Description of the City of New-York, the Hudson River Guide and the Fashionable Tour to the Springs and Niagara Falls: With Steam-boat, Rail-road and Stage Routes, Accompanied by Correct Maps* (New York: J. Disturnell, 1836), 43.

⁴⁸ Samuel De Veaux, *The Traveller’s Own Book, to Saratoga Springs, Niagara Falls, and Canada, Containing Routes, Distances, Conveyances, Expenses, Use of Mineral Waters, Baths, Description of*

blind, the aged, the decrepit and the beautiful are crowding on to this Siloam, expecting to be healed from all their infirmities, or gratify the eye by seeing the fashion of the four quarters of the globe.”⁴⁹ All of these authors imagined that their readers would be interested in the social experience of their trips, so they included information about both the physical place and social space of Saratoga and of Congress Spring with an eye towards the fashionable sociability and social ambition that it implied.

Historians who have studied Saratoga and other resorts of the early republic have agreed that the society of resort life was a fundamental part of the tourist experience; in other words, the imagined community conjured by guidebooks was powerfully effective. As places where geographically diverse groups of people came together in pursuit of pleasure, resorts served an important purpose in the construction of identities, especially regional, race, and class identities. Scholars such as Dona Brown and Charlene Boyer Lewis have argued that the social world of resorts in New England and Virginia fostered a coherent regional identity for each region’s antebellum elite, as they ate and drank, gossiped and intermarried on their summer holidays. Thomas Chambers has focused instead on the creation, rupture, and recreation of a nineteenth-century national elite at springs resorts such as Saratoga. Cindy Aron has traced the history of “useful” vacations from the middle of the nineteenth century through the 1930s; these vacations were constructed in opposition to the “leisured” vacations of the elite, which helped to consolidate middle-class identity. Jon Sterngass has pointed out that resort towns offered

Scenery, Etc. A Complete Guide for the Valetudinarian and Tourist seeking for pleasure and amusement. With Maps and Engravings (Buffalo: Faxon & Co., 1844), 55.

⁴⁹ Frederick Johnson, *A Guide for Every Visitor to Niagara Falls. Including the Sources of Niagara, and All Places of Interest, both on the American and Canada Side, Embellished with Views of the Falls, and a Map of the River, by the Author. Also, a Description of Several Routes from the Falls to Montreal, Boston, Saratoga Springs, via Lake Ontario, Lake Champlain, Albany, New York, &c.* (Rochester: D. M. Dewey, 1852), 117-118.

a sort of “ritual liminality” that allowed members of all of these groups to experiment with new identities in a temporary setting with few consequences. Myra B. Young Armstead has traced the importance of the antebellum African-American communities of Saratoga and Newport as sites of negotiation of northern free black identity in a setting of racial, class, and regional diversity.⁵⁰ These historians have drawn a diverse array of conclusions about the world that revolved around Congress Spring, but they share an important common assumption: that the importance of that world was as much social as it was medical or scientific, and one of the main attractions of the springs was the social capital such a trip provided. This conclusion suggests that the guidebook authors who followed Dwight’s lead in describing Congress Spring were correct in their imaginings of their audience. The travelers who purchased these guides were interested in the social capital that a trip to the springs could provide them, and they sought out “pocket companions” that enabled such a trip.

Ever since Carey’s experiment with his book of roads in 1802, writers intent on bringing their readers out onto the roads of the early republic imagined a national, and even international audience. Carey cited demand from “native as well as foreign Travellers” as a motivation for his investment in *The Traveller’s Directory*, and Temple

⁵⁰ The literature on antebellum resort life is extensive. The best recent examples include Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995); Myra B. Young Armstead, *Lord, Please Don’t Take Me in August: African Americans in Newport and Saratoga Springs, 1870-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Cindy S. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Charlene M. Boyer Lewis, *Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society at the Virginia Springs, 1790-1860* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001); Theodore Corbett, *The Making of American Resorts: Saratoga Springs, Ballston Spa, Lake George* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001); Jon Sterngass, *First Resorts: Pursuing Pleasure at Saratoga Springs, Newport, & Coney Island* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); and Thomas A. Chambers, *Drinking the Waters: Creating an American Leisure Class at Nineteenth-Century Mineral Springs* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002).

chose New York as the starting point for all of his tours because it was “the head-quarters of foreigners, and the rendez-vous of those from the southern states.” Davison established the national audience as an important guidebook precedent in 1822 when he included in his book “the whole tour from Charleston to Quebeck” in order to attract a southern audience. Davison’s initial essay in the genre likely found its way into relatively few southern hands, but it set an important pattern for an imagined national audience.⁵¹ Antebellum guidebooks were not only intended to have a national circulation, but many of their authors intended their readers to command a specifically national geographical knowledge through their consumption. Even though these guidebooks generally outlined tours that covered relatively restricted geographical areas, their authors imagined the geographical knowledge in them to have nationalist import. Travelers following the routes outlined in their guidebooks would learn something fundamental about the nation, and in the process make themselves better citizens. They were, in a sense, experiencing the “geographical revolution in early America” on the road, instead of in a classroom.

Henry Gilpin’s 1825 guidebook *A Northern Tour*, which covered essentially the same northeastern ground as Davison and Dwight, was the first guidebook to frame its geographical knowledge in explicitly nationalist terms. As Richard Gassan has pointed out, Gilpin celebrated the increase in travel “through the northern section of the Union” and what he imagined to be an attendant decrease in travel to Europe on the grounds of a nationalistic interest in American arts and letters.⁵² Gilpin was more than just a cultural

⁵¹ Richard Gassan points out that the early editions of Davison’s guidebook likely did not circulate much beyond Saratoga itself; the book was never even advertised in the New York City papers. See Gassan, “The First American Tourist Guidebooks,” 55-56.

⁵² Gassan, “The First American Tourist Guidebooks,” 63-64.

patriot, however; he imagined that by enabling his readers' travels through the provision of the proper geographical knowledge, he was enabling them to be better participants in the national project. Gilpin listed the reasons why he found the United States to present "a fairer and nobler scene" than Europe: because "the desert and the wilderness [are] starting into improvement and civilization." This vision of civilization that Gilpin imagined would be so appealing to his readers was built upon the demographic growth and "freest and noblest institutions" of the "manly and intelligent race" of Americans. It was also a vision of enrichment, from the "richest productions of agriculture" and the "commerce [that] smiles upon and enriches every shore." Gilpin was full of national pride, and he imagined his readers to feel the same, but more significantly, he imagined that their use of his guidebook would increase that pride and make them better informed and more enthusiastic participants in the nation. His guidebook directed them to the "smiling villages rising into towns, and towns fast passing into rich and lordly cities," and it gave them the context to understand them as such.⁵³

After the publication of Gilpin's guidebook, tourism along the "northern tour" took on a decidedly nationalist cast. According to John Sears, tourism along the routes laid out by Davison, Gilpin, and Dwight "played a powerful role in America's invention of itself as a culture" from the 1820s through the later nineteenth century. The panoramas of the Hudson and the Connecticut, the sublime views of the White Mountains and Niagara Falls, and tourist attractions like prisons, asylums, cemeteries, and coal mines all "provided a means of defining America as a place and taking pride in the

⁵³ Henry Gilpin, *A Northern Tour: Being a Guide to Saratoga, Lake George, Niagara, Canada, Boston, &c. &c. Through the States of Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New-York, Vermont, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, and Connecticut; Embracing an Account of the Canals, Colleges, Public Institutions, Natural Curiosities, and Interesting Objects Therein* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea., 1825), 1-2.

special features of its landscape.” Sears argues that the process envisioned by Gilpin did in fact take place; as American tourists increasingly frequented American tourist attractions, a new American identity was constructed both around the sites of landscape visited by tourists and around the exploitation of those sites by the market. “The tourist attractions themselves,” Sears argues, “strongly reflected the more secular bourgeois culture which was developing in America, a culture increasingly oriented to consumerism.”⁵⁴ Although his vision of a “secular bourgeois culture” in the nineteenth century is overstated, Sears understood the relationship between early national tourism, the construction of national identity, and its links to the growing supremacy of the market. Gilpin’s imagining of his readers was accurate; they indeed made the connection between the geographical knowledge of the “northern tour” that he laid out in his guidebook and the rising natural and commercial greatness of their nation. As witnesses to this change, they cemented their position as important citizens.

The relationship between guidebook-enabled knowledge of national space and place and national identity strengthened in the 1830s as the center of population moved west and as a new generation of guidebooks was written to enable travel in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Reverend Robert Baird, an agent for the American Sunday School Union, traveled extensively in the west in the early 1830s and published his *View of the Valley of the Mississippi, or the Emigrant’s and Traveller’s Guide to the West* in Philadelphia in 1832. Baird imagined his guide to be useful to “those who desire to remove to the Valley of the Mississippi, and there cast their lot,” “those who purpose to travel, for amusement, health, or business, in the West,” and “those who desire to know

⁵⁴ John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 4-5, 9.

more about the Valley of the Mississippi, although they do not expect either to travel or emigrate thither.” Given Baird’s desired diversity of audiences, his volume was not purely a guidebook; it described routes and sights through parts of the West like one of the “grand tour” guidebooks, and it also contained topically arranged information like a gazetteer. Baird designed his guide with this flexibility for multiple traveling audiences precisely because he thought that “Americans are the last people who can afford, or should desire, to be ignorant of their own country at all, or any portion of it.” Indeed, Baird explicitly linked this geographical command of the nation with cultural status when he questioned “what intelligent and reading citizen can there be among us who does not desire to know well the geography, resources physical and civil, literary institutions, and the moral and religious condition of every portion of our country?”⁵⁵ Baird imagined his readers experiencing national spaces and places through his guide, and he imagined that this consumption would provide them the cultural capital necessary to become “intelligent and reading citizens” of the American nation.

This refrain regarding the importance of national geographic knowledge continued through the 1850s. In his *Appleton’s Northern and Eastern Traveller’s Guide*, a guidebook published annually in the early 1850s for the prolific New York guidebook-publishing house of D. Appleton & Company, Wellington Williams waxed enthusiastic about the extensions of canals and railroads that were making travel easier throughout the nation. Enabling his readers’ command of these new networks of transportation would not only make them efficient travelers; it would also make them citizens of the entire

⁵⁵ Robert Baird, *View of the Valley of the Mississippi, or The Emigrant’s and Traveller’s Guide to the West: Containing a General Description of that Entire Country; and also, Notices of the Soil, Productions, Rivers, and Other Channels of Intercourse and Trade: and Likewise of the Cities and Towns, Progress of Education, &c. of Each State and Territory* (Philadelphia: H.S. Tanner, 1832), iv-v.

nation, able to knit one section to another. “The eye of patriotism,” he wrote, “will here see portrayed those mighty works, whether completed or in progress, that are bringing the most distant parts of the Union into the neighborhood; and which, by blending into one the interests of the East and the West, the North and the South, are creating an additional guarantee for the repose and permanence of our great confederacy.”⁵⁶ The knowledge of national tour routes that the Appleton Company gave its readers, along with cultural context that reinforced the importance of these facilities to national identity and national unity, made these traveling readers into a social and cultural national glue.

The routes covered in the “grand tour” of the 1820s, as well as those covered by the expanding genre of the 1830s and 1840s, were often mapped closely along the lines of the expanding routes of commerce in the early republic. This convergence was not a coincidence. Not only were these corridors of commerce the most easily traveled, they also connected the most populous and dynamic parts of the nation, which hosted the sights that guidebook authors deemed most important. These market corridors were more than just blessed with advanced transportation technologies and a rich supply of culturally significant sights, however. Guidebook authors imagined that the very act of traveling these market ligaments would impart important geographical knowledge to their readers. Such firsthand acquaintance with the geography of the expanding domestic market was important cultural capital for those hoping to profit from that market, either

⁵⁶ Wellington Williams, *Appleton’s Northern and Eastern Traveller’s Guide: With New and Authentic Maps, Illustrating those Divisions of the Country. Forming, Likewise, A Complete Guide to the Middle States, Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia ... Illustrated with Numerous Maps and Plans of Cities, Engraved on Steel, and Several Wood Engravings* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1850), 3.

directly or indirectly. This link between geographical knowledge of economically vital routes and the ambitions of travelers was first evident along the Erie Canal.

Guidebook authors laid out the specifications of the Erie Canal route before it was even finished. Horatio Spafford's 1824 *A Pocket Guide for the Tourist and Traveller, Along the Line of the Canals, and the Interior Commerce of the State of New York* was written for multiple groups of travelers, "the merchant, farmer, transporter, boatman, and all description of persons, whose interest or curiosity is excited by the new and novel course of business and events among us." Spafford wrote for pleasure travelers as well as businessmen; indeed, in his mind, the two categories had similar needs: "A Small Directory for the Pocket, embracing the vast extent of the lines of natural and artificial navigation in this State, has become no less a desideratum with tourists and travellers than with men of business."⁵⁷ Although Spafford's directory was small, it contained meticulous detail about canal boats, especially passenger packets, including distances, prices, and schedules for the canal as far as it was completed. It also explained more basic information about the canal such as the means of moving the boats, the operation of the locks, and the distances that boats could be expected to travel in a day on any given section of canal. Spafford imagined that his readers were travelers with both business and pleasure interests in travel along the canal, and he included geographical knowledge in his guide accordingly. Indeed, for Spafford, the important quality that these two groups shared in common was their interest in the "new and novel course of business and events among us"—in other words, the expansion of interior markets enabled by internal improvements like canals. Spafford imagined that the purchasers of his guidebook would

⁵⁷ Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Pocket Guide for the Tourist and Traveller, Along the Line of the Canals, and the Interior Commerce of the State of New York* (New York, T. and J. Swords, 1824), Preface, 17-20.

be using it to navigate the Erie Canal and through that process gain important cultural capital for their successful participation in the market.

Although Spafford's guide to the Erie Canal managed to predate its opening along its entire length, both Dwight and Davison included similar geographical knowledge in their guidebooks soon after. Dwight pledged to cover the Erie Canal closely, because "[t]he novelty of the mode of travelling adopted on the Erie Canal, as well as the magnificence of the work itself, and the interesting objects and scenes along its course, has attracted vast numbers of travellers in that direction."⁵⁸ For Dwight, technological understanding of the Erie Canal's "novel mode of travelling" was as important a reason as "the interesting objects and scenes along its course" for reading his guidebook. Editions of Davison's *The Fashionable Tour* from the late 1820s and early 1830s touted "recent gigantic internal improvements in the northern and middle states" and "increasing facilities for travelling" as part of the attractions that "[could] not fail of insuring a traveller a rich compensation for the toils incident to a journey." Both the canal itself as well as the attractions along its banks had interest for market reasons. "Though the first appearance of this city is not prepossessing to a stranger," Davison wrote, "still the taste which has been displayed in the construction of its public and private buildings—the constant din of commercial business which assails the ear of the traveller—the termination of the Erie canal at this place, and many other attendant circumstances, render Albany an important and interesting spot."⁵⁹ Both Dwight and Davison imagined that their readers would find the markets along the canal an interesting and useful aspect of their travel, and they deployed geographical knowledge to meet that expectation.

⁵⁸ Dwight, *The Northern Traveller*, iii.

Wellington Williams's 1850s guide for the Appleton Company imagined its readers to be interested in market knowledge as well as national knowledge. For Williams, the useful geographical knowledge that he was imparting to his ambitious readers was not limited to acquaintance with the canals and railroads of his route. He thought that his guidebook would be useful to travelers who were "directly interested in the prosecution of works of internal improvement, or who may contemplate becoming so." Acquaintance with such works, for readers of Williams's guidebook, was potentially profitable in a very immediate sense. "Investments in railroad stock are the safest and most profitable in the country," Williams wrote. "Such is the character of the country, so rapidly is it increasing in population, and so greatly is its production yearly augmented, that the keen eye of American enterprise seldom fails in making a judicious selection of a route."⁶⁰ Williams's evocation of the relationship between geographical knowledge and social mobility through the market was double: "American enterprise" was using geographical knowledge in the "judicious selection of a route" to build wealth, and travelers armed with his guidebook could take advantage of his distillation of that geographical knowledge to profit from the markets that those "works of internal improvement" created.

Back in the early years of the guidebook genre in the United States, Theodore Dwight was sufficiently satisfied by the sales of his *The Northern Traveller* in 1825 to bring out a new edition for 1826. For this second and expanded edition, Dwight chose as his new printer and bookseller A. T. Goodrich, an "active though minor figure in New

⁵⁹ Gideon Davison, *The Fashionable Tour: A Guide to Travellers Visiting the Middle and Northern States, and the Provinces of Canada* (Saratoga Springs: G. M. Davison, 1830) 17, 135-136.

York literary circles.” Goodrich is best known to historians as James Fenimore Cooper’s first publisher and epistolary confidant, but Dwight’s reasons for switching his patronage to Goodrich’s establishment likely had little to do with his involvement in Cooper’s novels.⁶¹ Rather, Goodrich was an already well-established printer and bookseller who kept a “geographical establishment” on Broadway. He was the first New York bookseller to carry Davison’s guidebook, and within a few years he had built up an extensive catalog of maps, gazetteers, and guidebooks.⁶² By the 1830s, his marketplace of geographical knowledge was in full swing, leading him to try his own hand at publishing a guidebook. The result, *The North American Tourist* of 1839, was in many ways representative of the genre of guidebooks as they came into their own at the beginning of the 1840s. It was produced by an established, metropolitan publisher who, even if he was not one of the large industrial concerns, was nevertheless a well-established player in the specialized world of geographical publishing. Its authorship was mystified to an even greater extent than with Goodrich’s earlier venture in the field, the 1826 edition of Dwight’s *The Northern Traveller*. Indeed, there is no extant authorial attribution for *The North American Tourist* other than Goodrich himself, who was primarily its publisher. It

⁶⁰ Williams, *Appleton’s Northern and Eastern Traveller’s Guide*, 3.

⁶¹ Wayne Franklin, *James Fenimore Cooper: The Early Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 248-254, quotation on 252.

⁶² In the mid-1820s, Goodrich identified his shop, at 124 Broadway, as a “geographical establishment” on the title page of the works that he issued there. See for example John Melish, *The Traveller’s Directory Through the United States; Containing a Description of All the Principal Roads Through the United States, with Copious Remarks on the Rivers and Other Objects* (New York: A.T. Goodrich, 1825). This same volume contains an advertising catalog of geographical works at the end, listing a wide range of genres of geographical knowledge at prices ranging from twenty-five cents to an impressive \$8.50. Richard Gassan has substantiated the claim that Goodrich was the first New York bookseller to carry Davison’s guidebook using newspaper advertisements; see Gassan, “The First American Tourist Guidebooks,” 54. The business of selling geographical knowledge was evidently good to Goodrich; an 1830 city directory listed him as residing in a “3-storied brick [house], [with a] high stone basement; [in the] Federal style, [with] exquisitely carved cornucopias in panels of stone lintels over windows and original doorway” in the fashionable middle-class neighborhood of Brooklyn Heights. See Clay Lancaster and Edmund Vincent

guided its readers over a limited number of highly developed routes dictated by the technology of the transportation revolution. Although it covered a wider geographical spread than the guides to the northern “fashionable tour,” it still guided its traveling readers down fixed paths—as Goodrich put it, “the regular routine in going east or west.” These “routines,” Goodrich was careful to note, began “from the vicinity of the fashionable hotels” and passed through locations of “fashionable resort in summer.” They also passed through important sites of national memory like “Bemus’ Heights” in Saratoga, the battlefield that saw “the establishment of the independence of a great nation ... [which] in its future results and influences will be extensive as the civilized world.”⁶³ In all of these ways, Goodrich’s guidebook was a sophisticated elaboration of the formula pioneered by Davison.

The North American Tourist was exemplary because it was such a precise distillation of the formula pioneered by Davison almost two decades earlier, and also because, when taken as a whole, it made its readers into tourists. Its readers became tourists not only because in purchasing it they took its title for themselves, but also because it put them in that position in all its ambivalence. Goodrich recommended that his readers visit Trenton Falls, in upstate New York, because they “are too much in vogue to be omitted by the traveler in search of amusement, that has the least pretension to correct taste, and that follows in the footsteps of his predecessors in this fashionable route.” Perhaps taste and fashionableness seemed like superficial reasons for visiting the falls, but Goodrich deemed them “actually worthy of notice” and decreed that tourists

Gillon, *Old Brooklyn Heights: New York’s First Suburb; Including Detailed Analyses of 619 Century-Old Houses* (New York: Dover Publications, 1979), 151.

⁶³ *The North American Tourist* (New York: A.T. Goodrich, 1839), 53, 127, 100, 134.

should in fact “make their pilgrimage to this shrine.”⁶⁴ A visit to Trenton Falls, as mediated by *The North American Tourist*, was both vogueish, fashionable ritual and serious, worthy pilgrimage—in other words, it was tourism.

⁶⁴ *The North American Tourist*, 53-54.

Chapter Three

Yesterday the Springs, To-day the Falls: Tourism and the Commodification of Travel

In September of 1779, a lapse in epistolary communication with his confidant and biographer James Boswell prompted Dr. Johnson to accuse Boswell of “playing the same trick again, and trying who can keep silence longest?” Boswell, eager to defend himself against the charges of neglect, responded “Pray, let us write frequently.” He elaborated, “A whim strikes me, that we should send off a sheet once a week, like a stage-coach, whether it be full or not; nay, though it should be empty.” He did not put his plan into effect, because soon after writing he had an opportunity to travel to London to see Dr. Johnson in person.¹ Nevertheless, Boswell’s simile was striking. He contrasted the irregular, unreliable, but substantive letters of the summer with the regular and reliable, if somewhat hollow, departures of a stagecoach. This contrast illustrates two different modes available to travelers in the England of Dr. Johnson, and in the American of the early republic: independent, self-navigated, self-propelled travel and travel on public conveyances running on a fixed schedule, whether full or empty. The structure of Boswell’s simile suggests that the two modes of travel existed themselves in a hierarchy, at least for observers like Boswell. Self-generated travel was like Boswell’s earlier letters: unreliable, but a real expression of his interests. Travel on public conveyances

¹ James Boswell and William Wallace, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (Edinburgh: W.P. Nimmo, 1873), 409-410.

was like the letters Boswell proposed: effortless and reliable, if potentially vacuous. This simile's efficacy rested on these common assumptions about different modes of travel—assumptions that would also structure the meaning and experience of travel across the ocean and in the next century.

More than thirty-five years later, in February of 1815, a twenty-four-year-old New Englander named William Richardson embarked on an arduous two-month overland journey from Boston to New Orleans. The recent end of the War of 1812 had reopened commerce between New England and the South, and the ambitious young Richardson was eager to take advantage of the opportunities it offered. The following year, he undertook the same journey, this time overland to the Ohio River and then down the Mississippi to New Orleans. His commercial travels were a success, and they led him to the new place he would call home. The Richardsons had been established in Sudbury, Massachusetts, for several generations by the time of William's birth in 1791. He was the fifth of thirteen children on a family tract that had already been divided in his father's generation. Thus, like other younger sons of New England farm families in the early nineteenth century, he left home to make his way elsewhere. Most either entered the rapidly growing commercial and industrial world of the cities, or moved west for new land and fresh opportunities. William did both: he established himself in business in the rapidly growing Ohio River town of Louisville.²

Richardson found prosperity in Louisville, where he rose to become president of the Northern Bank of Kentucky. Thirty years later, in his comfortable new skin as “one of the leading bankers and most influential citizens of Louisville,” Richardson left home

² See Alfred Sereno Hudson, *The History of Sudbury, Massachusetts, 1638-1889* (Boston: R.H. Blodgett, 1889), 449.

in April of 1844 for New York to embark on a long-desired visit to Europe.³ Though he was neither a particularly perceptive observer nor given to the metaphorical flourishes of Boswell and Dr. Johnson, Richardson produced clockwork records of these three trips.⁴ The most notable aspect of Richardson's workmanlike entries is the profoundly different means that he used to cross the Appalachians in different decades, and the profoundly different meanings that these travels had as a result. Even though for Richardson a stagecoach was a means of transportation rather than a metaphor of self-expression, it nonetheless structured his experience along very much the same lines that Boswell had suggested in the previous century.

In 1815, Richardson's trip to New Orleans was made on a haphazard series of narrowly-caught stagecoaches, horses borrowed and bought, ferryboats, and his own two feet. Long-distance travel, especially in the Southern backcountry, was an improvisational affair, which put Richardson "in perpetual anxiety for [his] future welfare and success, which precluded every thought of past difficulties." He worried constantly about finding food, lodging, and a passable route, and about losing his horse, his way, and his sanity. "To sum up the whole," Richardson wrote on the banks of Lake Pontchartrain, "my journey has been tedious beyond description."⁵ The next year, his trip to New Orleans was made considerably easier by the selection of a better-traveled route

³ E. Polk Johnson, *A History of Kentucky and Kentuckians; The Leaders and Representative Men in Commerce, Industry and Modern Activities*, Vol. III (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1912), 1153.

⁴ These three diaries were put in print in the late 1930s and early 1940s by William Bell Wait, president of the Valve Pilot Corporation of New York. According to linguist Richard W. Bailey, it was Wait's practice "to publish a historical pamphlet each year and to send it out as a Christmas greeting." Richardson's three travel journals served as Wait's Christmas greeting in 1938, 1940, and 1942. See Richard W. Bailey, "Successive Revisions in the Explanation of O.K.," *American Speech* Supplement 86, no. 1 (2002): 212-244, 217.

⁵ William Bell Wait, ed., *Travel Diary of William Richardson from Boston to New Orleans by Land, 1815* (New York: Valve Pilot Corporation, 1938), 19.

and the addition of steamboats and flatboats to his arsenal of travel modes.⁶ By 1844, Richardson and his wife were whisked up the Ohio, across the mountains, and down through Baltimore and Philadelphia to New York City in a relatively comfortable, fast, and easily navigated cocoon of steamboats, stagecoaches, and railroad cars.⁷ Gone were the anxieties and tedium of thirty years earlier, at least for this prosperous traveler and his family.

This chapter addresses the changes in travel that took place between Richardson's earlier trips and his later one. A host of technological changes reconfigured the relationship between physical movement, geographical knowledge, and the meaning of travel. These changes shared a fundamental commonality: they all served to shift command of the geographical knowledge and practical skills necessary for travel from the individual traveler to entrepreneurs who took charge of their arrangements. No longer did Richardson have to engage in a tedious scramble for route information, geographical and social intelligence, and fresh supplies to support his journey. Instead, in a booming marketplace, he could purchase both the information and the goods necessary for travel from stagecoach, steamboat, and railroad companies, who offered transportation as a discrete purchasable commodity. He went from being a traveler who produced his own mobility to being a passenger who consumed mobility produced by someone else. This fundamental shift, which might fairly be called the commodification of travel, happened gradually and unevenly across the temporal space of the nineteenth century and the geographical space of the expanding nation. In its wake, it brought

⁶ See William Bell Wait, ed., *Journal from Boston to the Western Country and Down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans* (New York: Valve Pilot Corporation, 1940).

⁷ See William Bell Wait, ed., *River, Road and Rail: William Richardson's Journey from Louisville to New York in 1844* (New York: Valve Pilot Corporation, 1942).

tourism. The passengers of commodified travel engaged in precisely the kind of fixed, routinized, prepackaged travel that critics associated with tourism. Like Boswell's stagecoach letters, commodified travel was easy, predictable, and reliable, but also could be impersonal, mechanical, and empty of meaning.

The notion of the commodification of travel is closely related to, but fundamentally distinct from, the notion of a "transportation revolution." The term "transportation revolution" was coined in 1951 by George Rogers Taylor, who used it to describe the effect that technological and financial developments had on the commercial and industrial development of the United States between 1815 and 1860. The "core of [this] revolutionary change," according to Taylor, was "the cheapening and facilitating of the movement of goods and persons." Taylor dated the beginning of the transportation revolution to Albert Gallatin's plan for a national system of internal improvements in 1808, which was carried out fitfully over the next several decades. Technological innovation on the ground began in earnest after the close of the War of 1812, and although the improvements that were built often followed the outline of Gallatin's far-sighted plan, they were largely financed and constructed by states and by private corporations in the face of institutional weakness and political impasse in the federal government. The first manifestation of the transportation revolution was the turnpike boom, which began in the northeast in the early years of the nineteenth century and which spread across the south and especially the old northwest in the 1810s and 1820s. Privately financed turnpikes turned out to be mostly poor investments, so by the 1830s the boom was over, and many existing turnpikes were abandoned. In their wake, however, they left a road network that was much improved over the colonial era.

The next phase of the transportation revolution came from advances in transportation on inland waterways. Natural waterways were opened to fast and efficient circulation, both upstream and downstream, after Robert Fulton's demonstration of the feasibility of steamboats on the Hudson River in 1807. The natural waterways where the steamboat saw its most intensive development included the Hudson and the other navigable waterways of the eastern seaboard and most notably the extensive navigable branches of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers and the Great Lakes. Steamboats spread rapidly, especially after New York State revoked Fulton's monopoly of steam navigation on its waters in 1819, until "[b]y 1830 it dominated American river transportation and for two decades thereafter was the most important agency of internal transportation in the country." The natural waterways of the interior were soon supplemented by artificial waterways, which promised inexpensive transportation, albeit with a high construction cost. The first and most successful of these projects was the Erie Canal in New York, begun in 1817 and completed in 1825, which linked the Hudson at Albany with Lake Erie at Buffalo. The Erie Canal was an instant success for New York, because it provided an efficient means of moving goods and people between the extensive Great Lakes basin and the Atlantic seaboard. States such as Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, and Indiana, jealous of New York's success, soon began their own canal projects, leading to a boom in the late 1820s and 1830s. These newer canals were largely unable to replicate the Erie's success, leading to a decline in canal building by the 1840s.

Part of the reason the later canals were not economically viable was that in the 1830s they began to compete with a newer and ultimately triumphant technology, the railroad. Railroad companies started incorporating in the late 1820s, and the first

serviceable passenger railroads opened for short distances in the early 1830s. The Baltimore & Ohio, designed to give Baltimore access to the transappalachian west and thus compete with the Erie Canal, was the first to open for passenger service in 1830, but its early lead in long-distance passenger service was soon surpassed by the growing railroad networks of Pennsylvania and New York. Although railroad construction proceeded quickly in the early years, the relatively short distances of the lines and their lack of integration kept them from being truly useful long-distance transportation options for passengers. However, in the late 1840s and 1850s, large corporations like the New York Central and the Pennsylvania Railroad began to consolidate, connect, and expand existing shorter lines into extensive long-distance transportation networks. Like with the turnpike construction boom two decades earlier, railroad networks generally spread southward and westward from coastal cities, creating a network that by 1860 covered much of the settled United States, albeit with a much heavier concentration of rail connections in the northeast and old northwest. As a result of these successive waves of technological and financial innovation, transportation was significantly faster, much more reliable, and considerably more economical in 1860 than it had been in 1815.⁸

Historians have generally used the paradigm of the “transportation revolution” to explain the economic history of the market revolution.⁹ For Taylor, the larger story of the transportation revolution was neither technological change nor faster and cheaper travel. Instead, it was the creation of new, larger regional and national markets for goods, facilitated by drastic reductions in the price of their transport. In particular,

⁸ See George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York: Rhinehart, 1951), chs. 2-6, quotations on 132, 58.

⁹ For more on the historiography of the transportation revolution, see Carol Sheriff, *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817-1862* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1996), 223-225.

transportation technologies that linked the coast with the interior speeded economic development and the integration of markets. These new markets in turn spurred industrial developments. Later historians have built upon this insight; for example, John Majewski has argued that the transportation revolution “set the stage for Smithian growth,” leading historians to link “improved transportation with all the elements of sustained development: greater inventive activity, higher manufacturing productivity, increased agricultural output, and growing real wages.”¹⁰ Scholars who have promulgated the notion of a “market revolution” in the early nineteenth century, following Charles Sellers’s influential synthesis, have given the transportation revolution pride of place among its causes. Melvin Stokes has argued that “key elements of the [modern market revolution] thesis were prefigured in George R. Taylor’s *Transportation Revolution* (1951),” and the work of scholars such as Harry Watson and Richard E. Ellis bear out the idea that the transportation revolution was one of the key underlying conditions of the market revolution.¹¹ Sellers himself linked the market revolution to both political debates over internal improvements and the construction of those improvements by states and private entities.¹² The shape of this historiography creates the impression that the transportation revolution was largely an economic phenomenon, best understood as a fundamental driver of macroeconomic change.

¹⁰ John Majewski, “Who Financed the Transportation Revolution? Regional Divergence and Internal Improvements in Antebellum Pennsylvania and Virginia,” *The Journal of Economic History* 56, no. 4 (December, 1996): 763-788, 763-764.

¹¹ See Melvin Stokes, “Introduction,” in *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880*, ed. Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 2. Harry Watson and Richard E. Ellis’s essays in Stokes’s edited collection explicate the conditions of the market revolution in the south and the north, and both give the transportation revolution pride of place.

¹² See Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), ch. 2. See also Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), ch. 6.

Relatively few historians, however, have explored the cultural effects of the transportation revolution, or dug very deeply into how this basic change in the material conditions of travel changed the experiences of those traversing America's highways, rivers, canals, and railroads. In the American context, the work of Carol Sheriff and Lewis Perry, as discussed in the Prologue, both show that the transportation revolution was an ambivalent and conflicted experience for many along the banks of its canals and in its railway stations.¹³ More has been written on the experience of railway travel in Europe; most notably, Wolfgang Schivelbusch's suggestive book *The Railway Journey* argues that travelers on railroads, "[m]echanized by seating arrangements and by new perceptual coercions ... routinized by schedules, by undeviating pathways ... underwent experiences analogous to military regimentation—not to say to 'nature' transformed into 'commodity.'"¹⁴ Apart from these studies, little attention has been paid to the experience of the transportation revolution from the perspective of the travelers themselves. Attention to the commodification of travel rectifies this oversight, because it focuses on what was really different about traveling during the transportation revolution. At its most basic level, the transportation revolution injected newly formalized market relations into the act of travel, and this fundamental fact changed the meaning of travel for those who lived through it.

In order to undertake a journey, travelers had to know where to go, how best to get there, and what the current conditions along their route were. They also had to choose and acquire the means of getting there, including transportation, lodging, and

¹³ See Sheriff, *Artificial River*, chs. 1, 6, and Lewis Perry, *Boats Against the Current: American Culture between Revolution and Modernity, 1820-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹⁴ Alan Trachtenberg, "Foreward," in Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), xiv. See also Michael J. Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

provisions. In the times and places where the commodification of travel had not yet come into full swing, individual travelers were largely responsible for acquiring the knowledge and resources necessary for travel on their own, often improvisationally, as they traveled. With the intensification of market forces, travelers were able to purchase such knowledge and resources from individuals and businesses in ever-larger chunks. This process played out in both temporal and spatial dimensions across the nineteenth century; travel was increasingly commodified with each passing decade, but these developments were unevenly distributed across space. As a general rule, commodification of travel came more quickly in the north than in the south, in the east than in the west, in more densely settled areas than in more rural ones, and closer to the main routes of trade, travel, and migration than farther away from them. Nevertheless, the dynamic of travel commodification was active across the territory of the United States throughout the nineteenth century, and it fundamentally changed the means by which Americans traveled. In order to illustrate the nature of these changes, and their significance, I will consider three examples. The first example is William Richardson and his three journeys, widely separated in time. The second example follows Thomas McKenney on a single journey over a long distance in order to illustrate the varying commodification of travel over space. The third example recounts the experience of a specific place, Trenton Falls, to show how the commodification of travel affected its visitors.

Richardson's three trips, widely separated by both time and space, illustrate the specifics of these changes. On his trip from Boston to New Orleans in the late winter of 1815, Richardson faced an immediate problem: choosing the best route. Apparently, he

thought a sea route would be most expedient, and that his best opportunity for finding a ship bound for New Orleans lay in New York. However, after taking a stagecoach to New York, he “[w]ent to see Mr. Goodhues to ascertain if any vessel would depart soon for N. Orelans and receiving a negative answer took a seat in the Pilot stage for Philadelphia and crossed over the river to Pawlus Hook in a small boat.” He tried again in Baltimore, but found that “the ships are all blocked up with the ice,” so he “[t]ook a seat in the morning stage for Washington.” With his initial route plans in shambles, he sought guidance from his connections in Washington. “Call’d on Mr. Gove from whom I obtained information respecting route to N. Orleans,” Richardson recorded. “Took my seat for the morning stage, intending to shape my course for Nashville.” Mr. Gove recommended an overland route through the Cumberland Gap and down the Natchez Trace to New Orleans, a route that was long and hard but evidently preferable to waiting for a ship, probably because of the winter weather and the unsettled condition of maritime traffic in the immediate aftermath of the War of 1812. Richardson settled on this route, though not without later regrets. In Abingdon, Virginia, right before his first encounter with what he called “wilderness,” Richardson “[s]aw several gentlemen who had travelled the route I am going, and all gave those most dismal and discouraging description. I now regretted that I had not stopped in N. York and taken water, but here I am and must go on.”¹⁵

¹⁵ Wait, *Travel Diary of William Richardson*, 4, 5, 9.



Figure 3: Map of William Richardson's 1815 journey¹⁶

Richardson's route to New Orleans was not determined in advance, and his decisions about which route to take were made while he was already on the road, through consultation with contacts in the cities and towns along his route. He supplied himself with the geographical knowledge necessary to choose a route through his existing social capital and his ability to make social connections as he went. Once beyond the relative comforts of the eastern seaboard, he continued to make decisions based on his preexisting knowledge of space and place and that which he could obtain from contacts that he made on the road. In Nashville, for example, he "[r]ose early and went to the Boat Landing to find a Keel Boat going down to N.O. but was disappointed." This route, which would

¹⁶ Wait, *Travel Diary of William Richardson*, 16-17.

have entailed floating down the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers to his destinations, would have been slower but almost certainly easier and safer than taking the Natchez Trace overland. His strategy for navigating the difficult and potentially confusing trails of the transappalachian interior was to find travel companions with local knowledge to guide him. Richardson traveled with a Mr. Harris and a Mr. Paige, both of whom were traveling to or from homes in Tennessee and were thus able to guide Richardson for a portion of his journey. After his disappointment on the Nashville wharves, he “went to all the Public Houses to find company going my way; in this I was again disappointed. I now made preparations to set off alone and at 11, having got my necessary stores, started off, tho against the advice of all who conversed on the subject.”¹⁷ Luckily, after only two days’ ride, he found another travel companion, a “Mr. Brooks of Tennessee,” to help him navigate the difficult “wilderness” between Nashville and New Orleans. As a child in Massachusetts in the 1790s, Richardson had presumably achieved at least a rudimentary command of national geography from the grammars of Jedidiah Morse and his competitors, as well as the other geography texts that would have been circulating in the community of his youth. He would have had to rely heavily on this knowledge, as well as that which he could acquire through contacts made along the road, to navigate himself safely to his destination.

This cultivation of local geographical knowledge also helped Richardson with smaller decisions that had to be made along a road as rugged as his. Once on the Natchez Trace, Richardson relied regularly on local reports to determine his course from day to day. On March 25, he “[s]tarted early as we were told the Buzzard Roost Creek had fallen and could be forded.” Two days later, he recorded that “[t]he waters were now so

¹⁷ Wait, *Travel Diary of William Richardson*, 11.

high the mail carriers said it was useless to start, so we concluded to stop till morning.”¹⁸ Before the commodification of travel, a journey was often a series of improvisations, as decisions were made on the road according to a traveler’s individual geographical knowledge and that which he or she could obtain along the way, in response to unforeseen circumstances and changing conditions. Richardson improvised on a daily basis, whether making large decisions about route and means of transport, or small decisions about whether or not to attempt to cross a swollen creek. He did not, and could not, purchase this information in the marketplace, for the simple reason that no marketplace for this kind of geographical knowledge yet existed. In the absence of such a market, he had to gather information and make decisions on his own.

Richardson’s search for means of transport from one point to the next along his route was also conducted on the ground and in the moment. Having abandoned his original plan of traveling by ship, he sought to travel by stagecoach instead. Although originally intending to travel directly from Washington to Staunton, Virginia, he found that the stage had stopped running at Fredricksburg. He ended up in Richmond instead, where he “[m]ade enquiries respecting my route to Nashville; found the stage did not start until Thursday and that the distance before me is much greater that I expected.” He made use of his time in Richmond by dining with a Mr. Williams, from whom he “procured letters to gentlemen at Abingdon, where I expect to leave the stage, and would want assistance in purchasing a horse.” Richardson’s expectation of taking the stage to Abingdon—still in the state of Virginia—was once again optimistic; bad roads ended the line in Lexington, and from Lexington to Abingdon he proceeded through a combination of borrowed horses, bribed mail riders, and hired guides. At Abingdon, his letters

¹⁸ Wait, *Travel Diary of William Richardson*, 12, 13.

introduced him to a Mr. Morris, “who assisted me in looking up a horse that would answer my purpose.” The horse he purchased in Abingdon would carry him all the way to the shores of Lake Pontchartrain. Not only was Richardson in constant negotiation to purchase his means of transportation along the road; he also had to supply his own provisions. At Nashville he “got [his] necessary stores,” which after a day on the road he deemed insufficient. At Dobbins he “laid in some Biscuit and Pork, in addition to what I got at Nashville, as I heard none to be had for 60 miles.”¹⁹ Richardson had to acquire the geographical knowledge necessary for travel by himself along the route, and he also had to acquire the most basic supplies at the same time. In both cases, the uncertainty that he encountered along the way forced him to make crucial decisions on the fly. He was, in a very real sense, the producer of his own travel.

When circumstances dictated, Richardson was willing to pay individuals who could supply him with the both the knowledge and the means to get from one place to another, although he tried to hide these financial transactions when he could. Notably, he hired African-American men, both freedmen and those whose legal status he did not record, to serve as guides and porters while traveling in Kentucky, a practice that was not uncommon in such border regions at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In November of 1815, on his second trip to New Orleans, he crossed the Ohio River into Kentucky where, having given up his horse, he “had to seek some mode of conveyance to Lexington.” At a public house, he “found a black fellow who was going on to Louisville & had a spare horse which I concluded to ride & pay his expenses.” He “mounted [the] large elegant white Horse & rode 8 miles—in true Kentucky stile, with my black boy Gabriel following me.” Despite the fact that he was riding Gabriel’s horse, he recorded

¹⁹ Wait, *Travel Diary of William Richardson*, 6, 9.

that in Paris he “discharged Gabriel & hired a horse to ride to Lexington.” He remained in Lexington until the new year, and on the first of March he “[s]ent for Peter (a free negro whom I have employed to take me to Louisville) and ordered him to bring his horses to Mr. Higgins.” This second stage of his journey was also conducted in what Richardson thought to be “true Kentucky stile;” Richardson referred to his hired man as “[m]y man Peter” and praised his “majestic appearance [and] good humor.”²⁰ He hired both of these men because they could supply him with the horses and geographical knowledge necessary to proceed to his next destination. However, he also tried to elide the economic nature of these transactions, by denigrating his reliance on them by highlighting their racial subjugation in the “true Kentucky stile.” He recorded his payments to them, but he also emphasized that they rode behind him and served his needs, even when he was relying on them for his travel. Richardson sought to retain his agency as a traveler by dismissing crucial contributions made to his progress by free blacks.

On both of his early journeys, Richardson certainly purchased the materials and supplies—and sometimes even the geographical knowledge—necessary for travel. But his early trips did not represent commodified travel because Richardson negotiated his purchases of discrete supplies, and discrete pieces of geographical knowledge, with individual sellers at discrete moments along his route, rather than buying means and knowledge together as a complete package. His route was improvised, rather than being planned in advance. It is this distinction that suggests that the commodification of travel had not yet developed along the route that Richardson pursued. By 1844, however, when Richardson traveled from Louisville to New York with his wife, the situation had

²⁰ Wait, *Journal from Boston to the Western Country*, 9, 10.

changed dramatically. Largely absent were the individual negotiations made along the route for directions, lodging, and transportation. Instead, Richardson recorded his trip as a limited series of transactions made in the market, in which he bought travel from one place to another as a complete package. In each of these transactions, the transportation company, whether in the form of a steamboat packet service, a stagecoach line, or a railroad, supplied both the necessary geographical knowledge and means of travel in return for a fixed fee.



Figure 4: Map of William Richardson's 1844 journey²¹

Richardson and his wife departed Louisville on the mail boat *Pike* on the Ohio River. Their berths on this boat were not a happy accident like that which eluded Richardson in New York, Baltimore, and Nashville almost thirty years earlier; the *Pike*

²¹ Wait, *River, Road and Rail*, 10.

was a packet boat on a line that ran according to a fixed schedule. The Richardsons could purchase tickets in advance expecting to be transported at a relatively fixed time to a fixed place. They had a small adventure in Cincinnati, where mechanical trouble with the *Pike* required them to find another boat to Wheeling. The excitement of this adventure, however, largely lay in getting up early in order to secure a berth. “Very early,” Richardson recorded, “I went on board the ‘CUTTER’, roused up the Captain who very sluggishly ‘turned out’ and registered our names for Wheeling. It was lucky for us, I was thus early in securing our berths for very soon an immense crowd were pressing around the Clerk for the same object.”²² The extent of Richardson’s improvisation on the road was outsmarting the crowds who had also been abandoned by the *Pike*’s mechanical difficulty. He did not need to rely on local contacts, or on his own powers of persuasion; all he had to do was get up early and pay his passage to the captain before his fellow travelers.

Although the Richardsons changed modes of travel several times—after disembarking from the steamboat at Wheeling, they took a stagecoach to Cumberland and then a series of railroads, linked by ferries, through Baltimore and Philadelphia to New York—each transition was designed by the transportation companies specifically to eliminate any need for improvisation. At Wheeling, “at half past five o’clock, having taken breakfast, we seated ourselves in the stage” for Cumberland, which was the western terminus of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in 1844. Richardson was unquiet; not only was he worried about the “hard ride . . . before us,” he and his wife were also worried that “having so heavy a load, we might fail to reach the Depot at Cumberland in time for the eight o’clock cars.” However, the stagecoach and the railroad were running a

²² Wait, *River, Road and Rail*, 8.

coordinated operation, and “[t]rue to their promise, the drivers pressed on and set us down in Cumberland just before the cars ‘whistle,’ roused the multitude to run to their seats in the car.” No improvisation was necessary, because this clockwork coordination between forms of transit was included in their ticket price.²³ Similar coordination was masked by the seamlessness of other transitions from mode to mode. For example, ferryboats carried train cars across the Susquehanna River in Maryland, and also carried passengers to and from trains in New Jersey from both Philadelphia and New York. Richardson did not even mention the first boat ride; on his last morning in Baltimore, “nothing remained for us to do, after breakfast, but to repair to the cars for Philad. At 9 we started. Arrived at Phila. at half past four.”²⁴ That Richardson barely mentioned the other changes from train to boat and back to cross major rivers was a testament to the seamlessness of the transition; in his earlier travels, as we have seen, river crossings were major undertakings that required extensive local negotiation. Thanks to the commodification of travel, those problems of navigation were assumed and solved by the railroad companies that sold him his tickets.

In order to illustrate how completely Richardson understood travel to be a market transaction by 1844, consider how he concluded his travel account. In 1815, his trip ended in relief, and an evident desire to put the experience behind him. “Landed at Madam Clarkes in N.O. at 5 o’clock,” he recorded, “Thus my tedious journey is ended.”²⁵ In 1844, however, he ended with a jaunty tally of the money spent on travel on

²³ According to William Wait, the editor of Richardson’s manuscript, “‘The Good Intent Line,’ one of the stage lines [operating on the National Road between Wheeling and Cumberland], operated in conjunction with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and handled its passengers west of the terminus at Cumberland.” It is unclear if the Richardsons took the Good Intent Line, but clearly stagecoach and railroad operations were closely coordinated over this heavily traveled route. See Wait, *River, Road and Rail*, 15.

²⁴ Wait, *River, Road and Rail*, 13, 15, 20.

²⁵ Wait, *Travel Diary of William Richardson*, 19.

each phase of the journey. “Expenses of our journey: from Louisville to Cin. One person \$3. From Cincinnati to Wheeling—\$5. Stage from Wheeling to Philad. —\$13. From Phila. to N. York—\$4. This of course does not include meals, portorage, etc.”²⁶ In his diary, Richardson broke his trip down into counterintuitive pieces. He chose Philadelphia as a stop but not Cumberland or Baltimore, despite the fact that he changed modes in the former place and spent the night in the latter, while he traveled through Philadelphia without stopping. This compartmentalization suggests that he broke the trip down by how he paid for it. The practicalities of his trip did not dictate how he remembered it; instead, he remembered it by how he had purchased it in the marketplace. A long distance trip was no longer a series of trails to navigate, stagecoaches drivers to bribe, rivers to cross, supplies to secure, and shelter to be found. Instead, it was a series of market transactions in which Richardson purchased those services as part of a complete package that moved him and his wife from one place to the next.

Richardson’s three trips were made at different chronological moments in the process of commodification of travel, but individual trips could cross the spatial boundaries of the marketplace for travel at a single historical moment. In 1826, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Thomas McKenney left Washington, DC to join Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan Territory in the negotiation of a treaty with the Chippewa Indians at Fond du Lac. He recorded his trip in a series of letters to a friend, which were afterward collected and published as *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes* in 1827. Although the trip took less than five months, its length meant that McKenney traveled under a variety of different conditions. The first and last legs of his journey, from Washington to Detroit and back via the eastern seaboard, the Hudson River, the Erie

²⁶ Wait, *River, Road and Rail*, 25.

Canal, and Lake Erie, took McKenney along the some of the most intensively developed transportation corridors of the mid-1820s. However, while the route from Detroit to Fond du Lac via Lakes Huron and Superior had been established for centuries by the mid-1820s, it was still largely navigated by Native Americans, traders, missionaries, government agents and self-styled explorers like Lewis Cass, Henry Schoolcraft, and McKenney. Comparing the two portions of McKenney's journey, with Detroit as the borderline between them, illustrates how the commodification of travel affected the meanings of travel, and how that commodification differed over space.

Upon departing from Washington, McKenney wrote to his correspondent that “[i]n going over some of the grounds, I shall have to tread, of necessity, in paths which have been often trodden before.” McKenney acknowledged from the outset that the first part of his trip would be touristic. “Indeed,” he lamented, “it would be hardly possible to travel through a country, and especially over a public highway, which has been so often and so minutely described, as has so much of the way as lies before me, and between Washington and Buffaloe, by the way of the North river, &c. without recurring to places that every body knows by heart, and even in the order in which they have hitherto been written about.” When traveling over this well beaten ground, McKenney entrusted himself and his luggage to a series of stagecoaches, steamboats, and canal boats. The choice of “public highways” and his means of transport were self-evident because his route was one that “every body knows by heart.” McKenney did no inquiring or negotiating; instead, he moved smoothly from one conveyance to the next, from one hotel or inn to the next, and from one “recurring place” to the next. As a result, he narrated his acts of travel in the passive voice, as if he had little to do with their execution. He

described his trip from Baltimore to Philadelphia, made on a combination of steamboats and stagecoaches, as a well-oiled machine of which he was only a passenger. He sailed across the Chesapeake Bay to Frenchtown, “without any variation of the usual appearance of things upon this route ... and as usual, at the very uncomfortable hour of midnight, where the baggage you know is shifted, with its owners, into stages for Newcastle, distant about fifteen miles, and where, at the hardly less uncomfortable hour of daybreak, we are again shifted from the stages into the steamboat on the Delaware.” McKenney and his baggage “are shifted” from steamboat to stagecoach and back again by no agency of his own, other than having boarded the steamboat in the first place. McKenney needed no knowledge of his own about the route between the two cities, and did not need to supply any equipment or supplies to conduct his journey. Instead, he purchased everything necessary for his trip in the marketplace of travel on the Baltimore wharves. Lest his audience mistake his tone of complaint for hesitation about the benefit of such commodified travel, he closed his description of this leg of his journey by concluding, “[s]till this accommodation to the public is great.”²⁷

Where travel was available for purchase in the market, McKenney evidently expected it to work according to fair market rules. On his return trip, he purchased a stagecoach ride from Niagara to Lockport, on the Erie Canal, where he would be transferring to a canal packet. On the final stage of the journey, thirteen miles from Lockport, the driver of his stage encountered another driver who was “off his line,” and was poaching his route. The offending driver, being unwilling to acknowledge McKenney’s driver’s complaint, “cracked his whip, and proceeded.” As a result,

²⁷ Thomas Loraine McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes, of the Character and Customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of Incidents Connected with the Treaty of Fond du Lac* (Baltimore: F. Lucas, 1827), 9-10, 14.

McKenney's driver decided that "the line was never to be trusted, and he had resolved to leave it," abandoning McKenney and his servant at an inn ten miles short of Lockport. McKenney "suggested to him the propriety of saving his employers from the consequences which must result from such a procedure, and not allow them to be injured in the public confidence by the obstinacy of one of the drivers," but to no avail, and the two travelers were forced to "hire a conveyance" to carry them the last ten miles. McKenney was deeply offended by this failure of the marketplace, because he had to improvise when he should have had the means of travel supplied to him. He was particularly offended by the breach of contract. He paid grudgingly for the private conveyance "after having paid my fare, of course, at Niagara, to the owners of the stages *for the entire route,*" and wrote on the bill "For the hire of a carryall for servant and baggage, and horse for himself from my house to this place, *the stage driver refusing to come on further, alleging that it was not his duty nor his end of the line.*" It is not clear what McKenney hoped to accomplish by inscribing his complaint on the carryall owner's bill, other than venting his rage at the failure of the stagecoach company to live up to its side of the bargain. He was able to extract more tangible revenge on the stagecoach owners, however. He published their names in his account, writing that he was "thus particular, that whoever may see this journal may avoid a line in which there is no security against being left by the way; and no redress against such a grievance, except by resort to the law, which, for my part, I wish to have as little to do with as possible."²⁸

McKenney expected that travel purchased in the market would work according to market rules, and that he would receive all the value he had paid for. And when his market transaction failed, he chose to address that failure through market means—by trying to

²⁸ McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, 435-437.

affect the stagecoach company's business—rather than through legal means. Even in such a newly developed place as western New York in 1826, travelers expected commodified travel to operate according to market rules.

McKenney's expectations, and the offense he took at the minor improvisation required when the market failed, appear in greater relief when compared to the conditions of his travel in the middle portion of his journey, between Detroit and Fond du Lac. He relied on Michigan Territorial Governor Lewis Cass, an experienced traveler in the upper Great Lakes and a fellow member of the expedition, to supply the knowledge, equipment, and personnel necessary to travel to Fond du Lac. Together, Cass and McKenney used a combination of canoes and barges, variously paddled by hired voyageurs and soldiers, along with the occasional passing schooner, to transport themselves, their party, and their baggage. The party relied on its own geographical knowledge, mainly supplied by Cass's extensive experience, to solve the important problems of knowing where to go and of supplying the means of traveling there. They also relied on their own knowledge and judgment in more democratic form, such as when choosing a camping spot in the face of an unexpected storm on an inlet of Lake Superior. "A council has been held," McKenney recorded, "and it is determined by the majority to be safest to cross over the river for the night."²⁹ In cases such as these, McKenney and his party did not purchase the knowledge necessary to execute their journey in the market, because such a market did not exist. Instead they pooled their common wisdom and experience and made a decision in light of the conditions and equipment available to them while on the road.

This absence of a market for travel knowledge and travel equipment made McKenney's expedition much more improvisational beyond Detroit. This flexible,

²⁹ McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, 218.

problem-solving approach to travel began before the party even departed from the capital of the Michigan Territory. McKenney and Cass had originally planned to send their baggage and their party ahead by schooner to Mackinac, and proceed themselves by canoe to that rendezvous point. On June 17, McKenney was prepared for departure, and he enthusiastically recorded that “[w]e shall proceed as soon as our supplies are off; unless we are detained by the non-arrival of our canoe, which, however, we expect hourly.” However, by June 22, “our canoe not having arrived, we have chartered the schooner Ghent. The want of wind, or the having too much of it, from a wrong quarter, can alone delay us.” McKenney and his traveling companions made decisions on the fly in this fashion throughout their trip, using their knowledge of local conditions to make new plans when old arrangements failed. This improvisation introduced significant uncertainty into their journey. McKenney’s servant, Ben, was assigned to be part of the party sent ahead with the supplies on the schooner *Young Tiger*, a fact that upset him. Reluctant to be separated from McKenney, Ben was consoled “on learning that several persons, our secretary, Col. Edwards, and others of our party, were going up in the same vessel; and that we two should meet again at either Mackinac, or the Sault de St. Marie.”³⁰ Both McKenney and Ben were satisfied by these travel arrangements, despite the vagueness of their plans, because they expected their journey to be improvisational. Unlike the incident with the stagecoach in Lockport, McKenney made no complaint about the uncertainty of the baggage, or about his canoe’s failure to arrive, because of his different expectations about the nature of travel outside the boundaries of the commodification of travel. Whereas he was unable to countenance breach of contract and the resulting uncertainty in his travel arrangements along the developing corridor of

³⁰ McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, 116, 140, 119.

the Erie Canal, he accepted such uncertainty and addressed it creatively in the lands beyond Detroit.

McKenney actively looked forward to the commodification of travel on the upper Great Lakes. On his return trip, he experienced an improvisational travel moment at Mackinac similar to the one he had faced upon embarking from Detroit. “It was arranged that our company should remain and embark in a schooner expected hourly from Green bay,” McKenney recorded, “but part of them concluded to fit up a canoe and come along in company. It was so arranged.” As was his habit in this middle part of his trip, McKenney was unfazed by the new arrangements, but at the same time he looked forward to their passing. “Mackinac is really worth seeing,” he enthused to his correspondent at home in Washington. “I think it by no means improbable, especially should steamboats extend their route to it, that it will become a place of fashionable resort for the summer. There is no finer summer climate in the world.”³¹ As accustomed as McKenney had become to improvisational travel after two months of scramble by ship, barge, and canoe, he still foresaw Mackinac’s future under a regime of commodified travel. Mackinac’s charms, about which he waxed poetic, would only finally be realized with the introduction of steamboat service as a reliable means of getting there, one that offered for sale the expertise and equipment that he and Cass had supplied for themselves. The commodification of travel would make access to Mackinac purchasable by a wider public and only then would it realize its destiny as a great tourist destination.

Mackinac would eventually become the “place of fashionable resort” that McKenney predicted, and as he foresaw, regular commodified travel was required to develop it. This same process took place on a smaller scale, in a shorter period of time, at

³¹ McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, 398, 397.

another popular tourist destination, Trenton Falls in upstate New York. Trenton Falls, a series of dramatic cataracts located in a deep gorge in central New York State, was triply favored to become a significant tourist destination. It was blessed with “a scenery altogether unique in its character, as combining at once the beautiful, the romantic, the magnificent and enchanting; all the variety of rocky chasms, cataracts, cascades, rapids &c. elsewhere separately exhibited in different regions.” It was only fourteen miles from “the flourishing village of Utica, the great thoroughfare of this region, an internal emporium of business, with a population of cultivated minds and courteous manners,” which became an important port on the Erie Canal upon its opening in 1825.³² Finally, Trenton Falls had an indefatigable promoter in the person of John Sherman. Trained as a minister at Yale, Sherman left his conservative Connecticut congregation when his increasingly Unitarian views led him to accept an invitation to minister to the Unitarian congregation in Oldenbarneveld (now Trenton), New York. Sherman’s personal interest in the nearby falls led him to build “a house ... at the Falls, for the accommodation of visitors, which he called the ‘Rural Resort.’” From 1823 until his death in 1828, Sherman lived at the “Rural Resort” where, in the words of Nathaniel Parker Willis, “as the agreeable and intelligent host, the scholar and friendly gentleman, he charmed and pleased the intellectual traveller and worshipper of the sublimest works of the Creator.” In addition to building the “house” that would quickly grow into a substantial hotel, Sherman worked every summer to improve the path that he had blasted through the ravine and to promote Trenton Falls as a destination. His pamphlet, entitled *A Description of Trenton Falls, Oneida County, New York*, was printed in Utica in 1827

³² John Sherman, *A Description of Trenton Falls, Oneida County, New York* (Utica: William Williams, 1827), 3.

and 1830, and reprinted in 1850s and 1860s as part of a larger promotional volume on *Trenton Falls, Picturesque and Descriptive*, published by Michael Moore, the Sherman's son-in-law and the new owner of what had become "a first-class hotel at a 'Watering Place,'" in collaboration with Willis.³³ The construction of Sherman's "house" and the initial publication of his pamphlet coincided with the opening of the Erie Canal, which made, in the words of one contemporary observer, the "falls ... of great celebrity, and almost universally visited by travellers."³⁴

The construction of geographical knowledge and physical infrastructure for travelers by Sherman and his successor, Moore, as well as the development of new modes of transportation in the booming Mohawk Valley in the Erie Canal era, introduced commodified travel to Trenton Falls. In order to highlight the changes that commodification of travel brought to this tourist destination, consider the experience of the Bigelow party, which visited the falls in June of 1825. These six women, who were traveling from Boston to Niagara in their own coach, turned aside from "the course prescribed by Mrs L." to visit Trenton, on "the advice of Mr Smith," their landlord at Little Falls. The party had been charmed by the Smiths' "pleasant neat house embowered in roses" and by "[l]ittle William Smith the landlords only son," and thus allowed themselves to be advised by a relative stranger with local knowledge about routes and destinations. This "deviation" left the party uncomfortable, because they were "entering a part of the country with which Oliver [the coachman] was unacquainted." One of the

³³ See Nathaniel Parker Willis, ed., *Trenton Falls, Picturesque and Descriptive; Embracing the Original Essay of John Sherman, the First Proprietor and Resident* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1851), 4-13, quotations on 10, 12. Willis's promotional essay, encompassing Sherman's pamphlet, was republished in expanded editions for Moore, the proprietor of the hotel, by N. Orr & Co. of New York in 1865 and 1868.

³⁴ This premature and exaggerated description was penned in a letter from Joseph Story to William Pettyplace, Esq., on July 10, 1825. See Joseph Story and William Wetmore Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Dane Professor of Law at Harvard University* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1851), 460.

diarists recording the trip confided that “[t]his threw a new feeling of responsibility over us.” As they proceeded, “[t]he country seemed to be growing more wild + solitary,” and they feared that they could not “reach the falls of Trenton before night.” Conditions worsened, and “an universal clamour arose from ladies + coachman against poor Smith.” As the other diarist recording the trip recalled, “we had not proceeded far when disappointment and vexation at his misrepresentation almost tempted us to retrace our steps—yet a vague hope of something better carried us on till we were too much advanced to have gained anything by returning . . . the remoteness also of the different settlement, and the ignorance of our driver in regard to the road, caused an anxiety that we could not overcome.” Luckily, however, the road flattened out, and “just as the last ray of day-light quitted us, we turned into a wild obscure looking road, cut through woods and fields of black stumps—it seemed to have no end—a glimmering light sometimes cheated us with the hope that we had reached Shermans. At length when we had begun to feel very dismal, a gate was opened for us, and we drove up to a large unfinished house, at the door of which stood Mr Sherman.”³⁵

The Bigelows’ happily ended misadventure in the wilderness between Little Falls and Trenton Falls illustrates how incompletely the commodification of travel had spread to Trenton Falls in 1825. They had to rely on geographical knowledge gained on the road through interactions with locals in order to reach their destination. Not only did they

³⁵ “Mary Scollay Bigelow Diary, 1825: Voyage to Niagara Falls,” Manuscript Collection, Ms. N-1841, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA. The Massachusetts Historical Society’s ABIGAIL online catalog entry for this document notes that it was “probably kept by Mary Scollay Bigelow, 14 June- 29 July 1825, while on a trip from Boston, Mass. to Niagara Falls, New York.” There are actually two diaries in two different hands in this file, both recording the same trip, both of which are quoted here. See Massachusetts Historical Society, “ABIGAIL: MHS Online Catalog,” http://balthazaar.masshist.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=3&ti=1,3&Search_Arg=%22jacob%20bigelow%22&Search_Code=FT*&SL=None&CNT=10&PID=JAoe19JINZmyWPUCM7TOIIBPNmH&SEQ=20090401154710&SID=5 (accessed April 1, 2009).

need Mr. Smith's directions, they also had to decide whether or not he was trustworthy in giving them. Although they initially found him to be reliable, they soon found their judgment to be wrong, and felt "disappointment and vexation at his misrepresentation." Like Richardson in Tennessee or McKenney at Mackinac, they were forced to solicit relevant knowledge on the ground and make snap judgments about its reliability. They had no choice because information about getting to Trenton was scarcely available from any other source. The only guidebook that mentioned Trenton Falls in 1825, Theodore Dwight's *The Northern Traveller*, openly avoided giving concrete instructions about how to reach them. "Particular directions should also be obtained before setting out," Dwight wrote, "as the nearest road is very devious, and the country is but thinly populated." They would also not have been able to reach Trenton Falls without supplying their own form of transportation. Dwight advised that "[i]t will be necessary to get a horse or carriage at Utica, as no stage coach runs that way; and to set off in the morning, as the whole day is not too long for the excursion."³⁶ Trenton Falls was only reachable by tourists who had their own transportation or were willing to negotiate with locals in order to hire such transportation to suit their particular needs. The accommodations at the falls were "unfinished," and the route there was established through a series of negotiations and improvisations, although these difficulties were compensated for by Mr. Sherman's "air of a Gentleman of the old school."³⁷

³⁶ Theodore Dwight, *The Northern Traveller: Containing the Routes to Niagara, Quebec, and the Springs; With Descriptions of the Principal Scenes, and Useful Hints to Strangers* (New York: Wilder & Campbell, 1825), 31.

³⁷ "Mary Scollay Bigelow Diary, 1825." The Bigelows' observation that the hotel was "unfinished" but kept by a "Gentleman" was echoed by Joseph Story, the Supreme Court justice who visited the falls in the same year. The falls "were brought into notoriety principally, by Mr. Sherman, formerly a clergyman in Connecticut, who had the misfortune to write a very sensible book against the Trinity, about twelve or fourteen years ago, and was compelled to quit his profession and his State," Story recorded. "He now

The commodification of travel extended to Trenton Falls in the decade or so after the Bigelow party's anxious expedition. From the bare and unhelpful mention in Dwight's 1825 guidebook, advice on getting to Trenton Falls blossomed in later publications. The third edition of Gideon Davison's pioneering *The Fashionable Tour* added a heading for the falls in 1828, with the advice that "[d]uring the warm season, stages also leave [Utica] several times a day (fare \$1 going and returning) for" Trenton Falls.³⁸ Although this information may seem spare, it was considerably more informative than Dwight's disavowal of the possibility of including directions in a guidebook. Its utility is especially evident when read next to Davison's extensive reproduction of stagecoach and canal packet schedules for service originating at Utica, which was, as Sherman had claimed a year before, "the great thoroughfare of this region, [and] an internal emporium of business."³⁹ Served by the combination of new stagecoach and packet lines and Davison's guidebook, travelers would have been easily able to navigate a course to Trenton Falls without need for local improvisation. John Disturnell's 1836 *The Travellers' Guide through the State of New-York* added information about a second stagecoach line that ran to Trenton Falls on Monday, Wednesdays, and Fridays from Little Falls. This line, following the route that provoked so much anxiety among the members of the Bigelow party ten years earlier, was longer than that from Utica, but

resides near the Falls, and keeps a hotel there, which is as yet incomplete, but accommodates strangers pretty well for a few hours." See Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, 461.

³⁸ Gideon Davison, *The Fashionable Tour; An Excursion to the Springs, Niagara, Quebec, and through the New-England States: Interspersed with Geographical and Historical Sketches* (Saratoga Springs: G. M. Davison, 1828), 131.

³⁹ Davison included information on packet boats traveling on the canal from Utica east to Schenectady (the usual eastern terminus for passenger traffic, due to the slow locking necessary between Schenectady and Albany) and west to Buffalo. He also included schedule and route information for four stagecoach lines connecting to points east and west: the Diligence Mail Coach, the Pilot Coach, the Eagle Coach, and the Union Line. Thus, his relatively limited details about stagecoaches to Trenton Falls in fact conveyed a good deal of information about how to travel to the falls from distant points both east and west. See Davison, *The Fashionable Tour*, 129-130.

more direct for travelers coming from the east.⁴⁰ By the early 1830s, the geographical knowledge necessary to travel to Trenton Falls was available for purchase in the marketplace, and travelers were no longer so reliant on local sources.

Along with the increasingly availability of information on how to get to Trenton Falls, significant investments were made in the transportation infrastructure necessary to get visitors to the falls quickly and easily. As we have seen, stagecoach service was available from the Erie Canal towns of Utica and Little Falls by the early 1830s. Regular and presumably reliable service over these two routes was itself an enormous advance over the hardscrabble improvisation performed by the Bigelows, although travelers throughout the 1830s and 1840s thought the road itself left something to be desired. One traveler in the early 1830s bluntly claimed that “[t]he road leading thither, although short, is one of the worst in America.” He sympathized with his fellow visitors, whose “broken vehicles and begrimed faces fully confirmed the general opinion entertained of the danger and unpleasantness of proceeding by this route.”⁴¹ Ten years later, another traveler agreed that the falls “are distant from Utica only fourteen miles, in a northerly direction; but the roads are so much worse than the stage-roads in general, that it takes three hours, with the best horses, to accomplish the journey.” However, he conceded, “[t]he drive is

⁴⁰ John Disturnell, *The Travellers' Guide through the State of New-York, Canada, &c.: Embracing a General Description of the City of New-York, the Hudson River Guide and the Fashionable Tour to the Springs and Niagara Falls: With Steam-boat, Rail-road and Stage Routes, Accompanied by Correct Maps* (New York: J. Disturnell, 1836), 47. The geographical knowledge contained in Disturnell's guidebook was in fact more widely distributed than its imprint would suggest. Essentially the same guidebook was published in Britain under the title of *The Stranger's Guide Through the United States and Canada: With Maps* (Edinburgh: J. Sutherland, 1838). Thus geographical knowledge about how to get to Trenton Falls was available to purchasers in marketplaces both near and far.

⁴¹ C. D. Arfwedson, *The United States and Canada, in 1832, 1833, and 1834*, Vol. II (London: R. Bentley, 1834), 292.

beautiful, from the extensive and delightful views with which it abounds.’⁴² This concession was not unusual in accounts of travel to Trenton Falls, despite the difficulty of the roads.⁴³ Regular stagecoach service was an important step in the commodification of travel to Trenton Falls, but getting there was still arduous enough to cause comment from its visitors.

The next round of improvements came in 1851, when a plank road was opened from Utica to Trenton Falls. Plank roads, built using two stringers laid directly on the ground and decked with heavy planks, were invented in Russia and introduced into the United States in 1844. Between the mid-1840s and the Panic of 1857, a “mania” for plank roads gripped the United States, with its epicenter lying in central New York State. According to Taylor, the boom in construction in the area around Trenton Falls resulted in “roads [that] were typically short, radiating out from larger cities into rich farming country and . . . act[ing] as feeder lines for railroads and canals.”⁴⁴ The Trenton Falls plank road fit this model perfectly; Willis’s 1851 promotional account bragged that the new plank road reduced the amount of time it took to travel between Utica—which was by then served by regular railroad service—and Trenton Falls to two hours.⁴⁵ The ride was presumably also much smoother and more comfortable, while remaining equally scenic. However, the plank road to Trenton Falls was subject to the same rapid

⁴² James Silk Buckingham, *America, Historical, Statistic, and Descriptive* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1841), 259.

⁴³ See for example Frances Milton Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, 1832), 297; Eliza R. Steele, *A Summer Journey in the West* (New York: J.S. Taylor and Co, 1841), 32; and Robert Playfair, *Recollections of a Visit to the United States and British Provinces of North America, in the Years 1847, 1848, and 1849* (Edinburgh: T. Constable & Co, 1856), 49-50.

⁴⁴ Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 29-31, quotation on 31.

⁴⁵ Willis’s 1851 *Trenton Falls, Picturesque and Description* merely mentions that “a plank road has been laid from Utica hither, over which travel is about two hours,” without mentioning precisely when it was constructed. However, Charlotte Pitcher, in her 1915 popular history of Trenton Falls, fixes the date of its construction as 1851, which means it must have been being finished when Willis penned his description. See Willis, *Trenton Falls* (1851), 12, and Charlotte A. Pitcher, *The Golden Era of Trenton Falls* (Utica: C.A. Pitcher, 1915), 23.

disintegration that limited the utility and longevity of other plank roads. One visitor who chose to hire a wagon rather than ride the railroad from Utica to Trenton Falls in 1867 captured both the advantages and the disadvantages of the plank road: “Sometimes we rolled along with delicious smoothness. Sometimes, where the planks had become uneven, we enjoyed some delightful tossings and bumpings.”⁴⁶ The plank road made travel to the falls faster and more comfortable, although continued reliance on stagecoaches meant that it represented an improvement to existing travel technologies rather than a fundamental technological innovation. Nevertheless, it was enough of an improvement to encourage Moore to make “very large additions to the building,” which was now a structure of impressive dimensions with “all the luxuries of a first-class hotel.”⁴⁷

⁴⁶ From Newman Hall, “Notes of Travel in America,” cited in Pitcher, *Golden Era*, 94.

⁴⁷ Willis, *Trenton Falls* (1851), 12.



Figure 5: Moore's Hotel, in 1851⁴⁸

The commodification of travel fully arrived in Trenton Falls in the mid-1850s, with the arrival of the Black River and Utica Railroad. This line was completed north through the village of Trenton in 1855, and a spur was built to Trenton Falls in 1856. Like many railroads built in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Black River and Utica was on shaky financial footing, but it made the trip to the falls smoother, quicker, and easier than it had ever been.⁴⁹ According to a second edition of Nathaniel Parker Willis's *Trenton Falls, Picturesque and Descriptive*, published in 1865, travel time from Utica to the falls had been reduced to an hour.⁵⁰ An 1869 Canadian guidebook entitled *The All-Around Route Guide* claimed that a traveler leaving Albany at seven o'clock in

⁴⁸ Willis, *Trenton Falls* (1851), 91.

⁴⁹ The Black River and Utica Railroad was incorporated in 1853, and its track was completed as far as the Black River in Boonville in 1855, but it was in default and foreclosure by 1858. See Henry V. Poor, *History of the Railroads and Canals of the United States* (New York: J.H. Schultz & Co, 1860), 236.

⁵⁰ Nathaniel Parker Willis, *Trenton Falls, Picturesque and Descriptive* (New York: N. Orr & Co, 1865), 12.

the morning could be at “the Trenton Falls Station, a little after noon,” with two simple transfers at Utica and Trenton stations. This guidebook urged visitors not to miss “one of the most picturesque and lovely spots on the continent,” precisely because it was so easy to access. “As these Falls lie only about seventeen miles off the line of railway,” the guidebook opined, “with a branch railroad right up to them, they ought not to be passed without a visit.”⁵¹ Not only did the railroad make access to Trenton Falls faster, more comfortable, and cheaper, it also made it simpler for travelers to negotiate.

According to Willis’s exuberant prose, gone were the days when “[t]he naturalist, the artist, or those who sought salubrious air with domestic comfort and quiet, turned aside at Utica from the confused throng and din of the great thoroughfare; and taking a private conveyance, or the public stage-coach, neither of which were free from annoyances, found themselves, after two or three hours’ ride, at Trenton Falls.” Now, “[i]nstead of the old mode, the visitor to Trenton Falls takes at Utica the cars on the Utica and Black River Railroad, and in forty minutes is within a mile of the hotel, to which comfortable coaches are ready to carry him.” Not only was the railroad quick and comfortable, compared to the old regime, it also required less active involvement of the travelers in the conduct of their own travel. Willis especially touted the “system of checking baggage” in which the traveler, “on arriving at the hotel, gives the check to the porter, with the number of his room, and he has no further trouble. On leaving the hotel the baggage is checked, the check given to its owner, who retains it till it is rechecked at

⁵¹ *The All-Round Route Guide: The Hudson River, Trenton Falls, Niagara, Toronto, the Thousand Islands and the River St. Lawrence, Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec, the Lower St. Lawrence and the Saguenay Rivers, the White Mountains, Orland, Boston, New York* (Montreal: The Montreal Printing and Publishing Company, 1869), 27.

Utica for other destination[s].”⁵² In this scheme, travelers purchased an even more complete package of travel services than Richardson did in 1844, which made it very different from the “annoyances” that it replaced. Not only were they purchasing both the knowledge and the means to get to Trenton Falls, their ticket price also included baggage services that removed from them any responsibility for their own luggage. With the arrival of the railroad, the expanded hotel, and the “system of checking baggage,” the commodification of travel to Trenton Falls was complete.

The experience of visiting Trenton Falls that travelers recounted changed as the means of travel to Trenton Falls was commodified. In 1830, a young Boston woman named Henrietta Goddard recorded her trip from Boston to Niagara Falls “with Mother sister + 2 brothers a journey by Stage Coach + Canal Boat.” Unlike the Bigelow party, they traveled in public conveyances, which made their trip a more commodified act of travel than their predecessors from the same city. On the twenty-fourth of July, their canal packet docked at Utica, “& with the same contention as usual between drivers we landed + stopped at Hatch’s, dined on gingerbread + beer, took a carriage + went to Trenton, the ride excessively warm, dusty, + disagreeable, found about 5, a very good house, washed, dressed + walked down to see the falls before dark.”⁵³ The Goddard party purchased their travel in the marketplace, but that marketplace was still chaotic and required local negotiation by the travelers. Indeed, Goddard reported similar scenes of “contention” among packet boat captains and stagecoach drivers at all their stops along the Erie Canal, suggesting that while travel along the Erie Canal corridor was

⁵² Willis, *Trenton Falls* (1865), 85-86.

⁵³ “Henrietta M. Goddard Diary, 1830,” Manuscripts Collection, Ms. N-114 Box 17, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA.

increasingly commodified, it was not yet without improvisation.⁵⁴ In 1836, Utica was connected to Albany by rail, which brought commodified travel close to Trenton Falls but which had the paradoxical effect of making it seem more outside the marketplace of travel than it had in the early 1830s.⁵⁵

Willis's 1851 guide to the falls quoted a correspondent who visited Moore's in the 1840s who called the visitors to Trenton Falls a "somewhat select" group, due to "the expense and difficulty of access." This correspondent thought that this exclusivity was a good thing. It attracted "cultivated and charming people" who "take strolls up the ravine [together]; and, for those who love country air and romantic rambles without 'dressing for dinner,' or waltzing by a band, this is a 'place to stay.'" Trenton Falls had this air of retirement because "[i]n the long corridor of travel between New York and Niagara," it was "a sort of alcove aside—a side-scene out of earshot of the crowd—a recess in a window whither you draw a friend by the button for the sake of chit-chat at ease." The fact that it was "fifteen miles off at right angles from the general procession, and must be done in vehicle for the purpose" made it a relatively expensive side-trip for those traveling west along the efficient routes provided by the canal and railroads. As a result, it was "voted a 'don't-pay' by promiscuous travellers, and its frequentation sifted

⁵⁴ For example, upon arriving in Schenectady, Goddard recorded that "we were again beset by the drivers + proprietors of old line + new line stages + boats, we made our selection of the pioneer line canal boat + went quietly below finding it would be an hour before we left, as the passengers take dinner here, we thought we would take a walk + see the town." This local act of "selection," which required the Goddard party to employ their own geographical knowledge as well as their own judgment of the character of the various travel purveyors, was improvisational in its nature. See "Henrietta M. Goddard Diary, 1830."

⁵⁵ The Utica and Schenectady Railroad, which connected to Albany via the Mohawk and Hudson Railroad, was opened in 1836. Rail travel west from Utica became possible with the opening of the Syracuse and Utica Railroad in 1839. The line east and west from Utica was consolidated into the New York Central in 1853, which allowed for commodified one-ticket travel to within 14 miles Trenton Falls, which was itself directly served by the Black River and Utica Railroad by 1856. See Poor, *History of the Railroads and Canals of the United States*, 219-220.

accordingly.”⁵⁶ Although the inauguration of stagecoach service to Trenton Falls in the late 1820s integrated it more tightly with commodified travel in the Mohawk Valley, the further development of travel technology along that heavily traveled route had the effect of making Trenton Falls seem once again outside the marketplace of travel.

With the coming of the railroad, a visit to Trenton Falls became a fully commodified travel experience. In November of 1856, for example, *The Ladies' Repository* published “A Letter from the Falls” from “our schoolmaster,” who had taken advantage of the summer school holidays to whirl “off for the first time in his busy life to see the glorious sights and sounds which his geography has forever so temptingly been dinning in his ears.” He had “a rapid transition” from Saratoga Springs to Trenton Falls—“yesterday the springs, to-day the falls”—on the railroad. “After a pleasant ride” along the Mohawk River, he wrote, “we arrived at the point from which Trenton Falls are reached and another rail road ride of sixteen miles, and a stagecoach jolting of one, brought us to the public house, situated amid the lovely scenery about the Falls.”⁵⁷ Thanks to the convenience of the railroad, Trenton Falls was not “a sort of alcove aside” for the schoolmaster; rather, it was a stop on the main route between Saratoga Springs and Niagara Falls. He purchased his travel to the falls in the marketplace, which made it a simple transfer rather than a detour “fifteen miles off at right angles from the general procession.” Similarly, Bayard Taylor, a poet who visited the falls in 1860, found the New York Central’s route into Utica from the west to be scenically bland, “but, on taking the Black River train it presently assumes a charming pastoral character, which verges into the picturesque as you approach Trenton.” However, this scenic beauty passed all

⁵⁶ Willis, *Trenton Falls* (1851), 61-62, 54.

⁵⁷ “A Letter from the Falls,” *The Ladies' Repository* 25, no. 5 (November 1856): 164-168, 164.

too quickly, for “[i]n an hour I was put down at the station, where omnibuses were in waiting to carry us to Moore’s Hotel, a mile distant.”⁵⁸ Like the schoolmaster, Taylor’s travel to Trenton Falls was a seamless experience, made so by guidebooks and well-orchestrated railroad service.⁵⁹ The fifteen-mile detour to the falls was characterized only by superior scenery rather than by a disjointed experience of travel. Indeed, with omnibuses ready and waiting to meet the train, he was carried to the hotel’s very doorstep without requiring any agency of his own. Although it may have made for a worse adventure story, Taylor’s arrival at the hotel was much less anxious than the Bigelows’ search for “a glimmering light” on “a wild obscure looking road.”

An even more vivid example of the commodification of travel to Trenton Falls came in Mrs. N. T. Munroe’s serialized travel story, “Days of Exodus,” which appeared in *The Ladies’ Repository* in the fall of 1867. This story, which followed its narrator on a hot July week to the Catskills, the Hudson valley, and Trenton Falls, laid bare the seamlessness of commodified travel. Waiting to depart on the train from Albany, the narrator remarked, “How many were travelling! in and out, a perpetual stream of humanity. Some armed cap-a-pie for travelling, with ‘ticketed through’ on their dress and their faces, others looking unconcerned, and unburdened by shawls or carpet bags. Happy beings! but then they could not be going to Trenton Falls.”⁶⁰ The trip began with

⁵⁸ Bayard Taylor, *At Home and Abroad: A Sketch-Book of Life, Scenery and Men* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1862), 397.

⁵⁹ Taylor evidently consulted guidebooks when mapping out his “grand tour” in the summer of 1860 that he recounted in *At Home and Aboard*. For example, he thought that although “[t]he tourists and guide-books make comparisons between Trenton and Niagara,” they were in fact not at all similar. “They are as unlike as Homer and Anacreon,” he sneered. Note that not only did Taylor evince his use of guidebooks, he did not miss an opportunity to dismiss them and the mere “tourists” who believed their clichés. Taylor clearly thought of himself as a traveler to better purpose than the tourists who followed the same route between the falls that he did. See Taylor, *At Home and Abroad*, 401.

⁶⁰ Mrs. N. T. Munroe, “Days of Exodus, No. III” *The Ladies’ Repository* 37, no. 12 (December 1867): 411-417, 411.

an efficient sorting of the travelers from the non-travelers. The real travelers were readily identified by “shawls” and “carpet bags,” and by a certain appearance of being “ticketed through.” In other words, the travelers could be identified by markers indicating that they were about to enter into a machine-like travel infrastructure, which in itself was an unpleasant state of limbo, but which would lead at the end of the day to being set down in Trenton Falls, a happier place.

During the transfer between trains at Utica, the narrator consulted her guidebook: “Utica, so the guide book tells me, is a flourishing city and the great thoroughfare of this region. I took it for granted, for the rushing at the depot seemed to warrant it.” Noting that a new bridge had been constructed over the river next to the station, she was startled by “an animated guide book”—by which she meant a person—who volunteered interesting information about the bridge. “The guide book of which I speak, not only giving information, but also desirous of gaining it, inquired” whether she was going to Trenton and if she was meeting friends, and provided advice about hotel accommodations at the Falls. Proceeding to the Trenton Falls train station, the narrator briefly wondered how the last mile and a half to the hotel was to be traversed, but “[o]ur guide book had left us.” However, “the question was answered by the sight of two or three omnibuses.” The road was sandy, and “[h]ow the joints of those omnibuses did strain and creak as we were drawn along. Nevertheless, we arrived safely at our journey’s end.”⁶¹ The narrator’s travel was sufficiently commodified that she procured the geographical information necessary to travel to Trenton Falls in the marketplace—by purchasing a

⁶¹ Munroe, “Days of Exodus,” 413. The guidebook to which she referred in Utica was likely the second edition of Willis’s *Trenton Falls, Picturesque and Descriptive*, because the description of Utica as “flourishing” and “the great thoroughfare of this region” was taken verbatim from Sherman’s 1827 *Description of Trenton Falls*, which Willis reproduced in its entirety.

guidebook—rather than by seeking it out as she went.⁶² What was more remarkable, she actually reversed the relationship between the two modes of seeking information. Rather than the guidebook being a commercialized version of asking directions along the road, the local resident who volunteered geographical information for her edification was described as “an animated guide book.” By 1867, this character’s expectation that geographical knowledge would be purchased in the marketplace in book form was so strong that she interpreted local informants as books come to life.

Although the “animated guide book” had abandoned them, the narrator’s party did not lose their way, because the transportation system was so tightly integrated that omnibuses awaited their arrival at the train station. In the midst of this seamless transition from one mode of transportation to the next, the narrator paused to reflect on her fellow-passengers’ reaction to being carried along by this well-oiled transportation machine. “I have always noticed [a] peculiarity while travelling,” she mused. “People seem to trust themselves to railroads and steamboats with perfect recklessness, but no sooner are they obliged to enter a somewhat rickety stage coach or omnibus, than they instantly begin to think of peril to life and limb. But yet what is a break down in a stage coach to a collision on a railroad or an explosion on board a steamboat!”⁶³ This “peculiarity” reveals a remarkably passive attitude towards the means of travel. Her fellow travelers “trust themselves” to railroads and steamboats, and “are obliged to enter” stagecoaches and omnibuses, both of which suggest that they were objects, not subjects,

⁶² Like Taylor, Munroe’s narrator used guidebooks but valued her own powers of observation above whatever platitudes they could provide. “Thou art beautiful beyond all telling and exceedingly lovely,” she gushed to Trenton Falls. “Guide books may praise thee with fulsome praises but they cannot mar thy beauty.” Guidebooks’ description of Trenton Falls’ beauty was trite and overblown, but her own praise—which could reasonably be accused of similar excess—was sincere and revealed a fundamental truth about the falls. See Munroe, “Days of Exodus,” 417.

⁶³ Munroe, “Days of Exodus,” 413.

of travel. The commodification of travel had turned them from travelers into passengers, a state of affairs that created both irrational confidence and irrational fear, at least according to the narrator. The new technology enabled ever-greater mobility with ever-greater ease, but using it required a suspension of agency.

Contemporary observers easily conflated the crowds of passengers created by the commodification of travel with tourists. The two kinds of travelers had a lot in common, after all. The itineraries that they followed were fixed by forces outside themselves, whether technological, economic, or cultural. As a result, crowds moved together, suggesting a kind of fashionableness. They moved quickly and easily over the ground; the superficiality of the tourist could be easily confused with the hollowness at the core of the stagecoach, identified by James Boswell in 1779. The passengers of commodified transportation were thus much more susceptible to accusations of tourism than travelers outside the bounds of commodification; no one would have called William Richardson a tourist in 1815, whereas the label would have been apt in 1844. Indeed, commentators sometimes used the terms “passenger” and “tourist” interchangeably, as did a contributor to the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1850. This contributor sought to describe one of the “very many scenes of wild and picturesque beauty [that] are often found in Virginia, which no tourist has yet thought it worth while to describe.” The object of his or her tour was the Coblou Cataract, a raging triple waterfall in the Blue Ridge Mountains, which was unknown to tourists even though it lay just off of a turnpike. The party departed for the falls in a “wheel-carriage,” and, “[p]ursuing this road around the base of Mount Parnassus, about four miles in a northeasterly direction, the passenger is surprised to find

a level plain on the summit of a lofty mountain ... cloven by some terrible convulsion into two parts, which are held together by a tremendous mass of solid granite. Over this rock, the stream, broken into three parts, is precipitated into the abyss below.’⁶⁴ The author was being carried along in the wheel-carriage and being shown the Coblou Cataract; for this tour, at least, these two acts of consumption were fundamentally synonymous. By the 1850s, being a passenger often meant being a tourist, and vice versa.

⁶⁴ “The Coblou Cataract,” *Southern Literary Messenger* 16, no. 7 (July, 1850): 439-440, 439. The turnpike to which the author referred was most likely the Lexington and Richmond Turnpike, which ran east from Lexington, Virginia through White’s Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains, and the Coblou Cataract itself was likely on the western edge of Amherst County. See Oren Frederic Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (Staunton, VA: McClure Co, 1920), 164.

Chapter Four

I'll Picturesque It Everywhere: The Archetype of the Tourist in Satire

On Saturday, February 23, 1760, Dr. Johnson declared, “The greater part of travellers tell nothing, because their method of travelling supplies them with nothing to be told.” He penned this frequently quoted line for an essay in his popular series entitled *The Idler*, which was widely read and quoted in both Britain and the United States throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹ This particular *Idler* essay, entitled “Narratives of Travellers Considered,” bemoaned the quality of most travel writing and offered suggestions for travelers seeking to write instructive and pleasing narratives. He observed that most travelers’ accounts were either superficially meaningless or stuffed with painful, irrelevant detail. “When the volume is opened,” Dr. Johnson complained, “nothing is found but such general accounts as leave no distinct

¹ Dr. Johnson published the *Idler* essays weekly between April 1758 and April 1760. The first American edition of the *Idler* essays that I have been able to locate was published in Philadelphia by Tesson and Lee in 1803. *The Works of Samuel Johnson, L.L.D.*, an edited collection of Johnson’s work that included the *Idler* essays, was first published in London in 1787, and London publishers issued new editions almost every year for the next several decades, some of which certainly made their way to the United States. The first American edition of Johnson’s Works that included *The Idler* appears to have been published in New York by William Durell and in Boston by Hastings, Etheridge, and Bliss in 1809. This edition remained in print until 1812, and it was replaced in 1825 by a Philadelphia edition from H.C. Carey & I. Lea. The title of “first complete American edition” was claimed by G. Dearborn’s New York edition of 1832. The Dearborn edition was reprinted in 1836, 1837, 1840, and 1843, when it was replaced by the “second complete American edition,” brought out by Alexander V. Blake, also in New York. Harper & Brothers issued the “third complete American edition” in 1857, which remained in print through the rest of the nineteenth century. The *Idler* essays also appeared in the United States in collections of British essays, like that edited by Alexander Chalmers entitled *The British Essayists, With Prefaces, Historical and Biographical* (New York: E. Sargeant and M. & W. Ward, 1809). Chalmers’s collection remained in print in the United States until the 1860s. Johnson’s *Idler* essays, including “Narratives of Travellers Considered,” would have been widely available in the United States during the early republic.

idea behind them, or such minute enumerations as few can read with either profit or delight.” As his famous quotation implied, superficiality was the biggest threat to “profit or delight” in such narratives, and that superficiality was the result of the way their authors traveled. Such a traveler “enters a town at night, and surveys it in the morning, and then hastens away to another place, and guesses at the manners of the inhabitants by the entertainment which his inn afforded him.” These hasty travelers moved quickly, without taking the time to really observe their surroundings, and could only offer their readers clichés and banalities. “Thus he conducts his reader through wet and dry,” Dr. Johnson lamented, “over rough and smooth, without incidents, without reflection; and, if he obtains his company for another day, will dismiss him again at night, equally fatigued with a like succession of rocks and streams, mountains and ruins.”² Fast, convenient travel that placed an emphasis on covering ground rather than leisurely observation—in a word, tourism—created travel narratives that offered neither pleasure nor delight.

Which is not to say that Dr. Johnson disapproved of such traveling for its own sake. A tourist “may please himself for a time with a hasty change of scenes, and a confused remembrance of palaces and churches; he may gratify his eye with variety of landscapes, and regale his palate with a succession of vintages.” In other words, travelers seeking superficial and unoriginal pleasures were free to do as they pleased, and if such things “gratified” them, then so much the better. “But let him be contented to please himself without endeavouring to disturb others,” Dr. Johnson pleaded.³ Superficiality was only a problem when a tourist mistook it for profundity, and thought that that profundity warranted a publication that would “disturb others.” He accepted that the vast

² Samuel Johnson et al., *The Idler, by the Author of the Rambler, in Two Volumes, with Additional Essays*, Vol. II (Philadelphia: Tesson and Lee, 1803), 145, 147.

³ Johnson, *The Idler*, 145-146.

majority of travelers would “tell nothing,” but he had no objection as long as they did not pretend otherwise. As suited his generally phlegmatic temper, Dr. Johnson understood that superficial tourism was a fact of life, and did not object as long as it stayed off of his bookseller’s shelves.

Other observers were not so sanguine. Although Dr. Johnson did not use the term “tourist” to tar his superficial travelers, American commentators did, and with a vengeance. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was most commonly used to refer to British travelers in the United States, both by the travelers themselves as well as by American authors who objected to the unflattering portrayal that their nation received at the hands of British tourists. John Corry’s early biography of Washington defended the great man’s education by claiming that “it was by no means as limited as a tourist insinuates,” in reference to British traveler John Smyth’s 1784 *Tour in the United States of America*.⁴ Similarly, in an address to the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York in 1814, De Witt Clinton decried “the obloquy which has been cast upon our country by the herds of tourists and travellers who have attempted to describe it.”⁵ By the middle of the nineteenth century, commentators leveled similar accusations at domestic tourists in the United States. In 1851, the editor of *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* declared that “[o]f all fashionable people, we would soonest avoid a fashionable author” who “when at home . . . would not get out of a railway

⁴ John Corry, *The Life of George Washington, Late President and Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America, Interspersed with Biographical Anecdotes of the Most Eminent Men who Effected the American Revolution* (Philadelphia: H. & P. Rice, 1801), 9. The “tourist” to whose narrative he makes reference is John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, *Tour in the United States of America; Containing an Account of the Present Situation of that Country; the Population, Agriculture, Commerce, Customs, and Manners of the Inhabitants, With a Description of the Indian Nations, Likewise Improvements in Husbandry*, Vol. II (London: J. Perrin, 1784), 148.

⁵ De Witt Clinton, *An Introductory Discourse Delivered Before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New-York, on the Fourth of May, 1814* (New York: Van Winkle and Wiley, 1815), 6.

carriage to moralize upon the battle fields of Trenton or Princeton; they would not ride an hour to stand upon Harlem Heights, or spend ten dollars to visit Bunker Hill.”⁶ This common linking of “tourist” with words like “insinuate,” “herd,” and “fashionable” suggests that by the turn of the nineteenth century it was linked to indifference, fashion, superficiality, cliché, and perhaps even antipathy in travelers.

This chapter uses satire to explore the connotations of the term “tourist” in the early republic. Since these satires were deliberate parodies, they purposefully leached out much of the ambivalence of tourism, leaving only the negative connotations suggested by Corry, Clinton, and the editor of *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. Discussion then turns to the discourse of the Munchausenism to understand how the formulaic superficiality associated with tourism could turn into accusations of exaggeration and fabrication when taken to an extreme. The archetype of the tourist that appeared in tourist satires and in accounts of Munchausenism suggest that by the nineteenth century Dr. Johnson’s observation that “[t]he greater part of travellers tell nothing” was widely accepted as truth, and many critics were not content to let tourists “be contented to please [themselves].”

Joachim Stocqueler was a man who knew about travel and travel writing; his peripatetic life took him around the British Empire and the United States. He wrote guidebooks, travel narratives, and historical texts based on his journeys, and he even ran “a general enquiry office” for travelers in London in the 1840s.⁷ By the 1860s, he was

⁶ “Tourists, at Home and Abroad,” *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 28, no. 156 (June, 1851): 528-531, 529.

⁷ Elizabeth Baigent, “Stocqueler, Joachim Hayward (1800–1885),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Vol. 52 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 841.

living in New York City, working as a lecturer and a journalist under the name of Joachim Siddons. In a lecture delivered at Clinton Hall in New York City in February of 1860 he passed judgment on his touristic predecessors. He described the superficial formulaic travel narrative as a product of the British eighteenth century, popularized by “gentry [who] regarded their trashy experiences as of so much moment to society at large that they absolutely committed them to print.” As contemptuous as he was of his British forebears, Stocqueler thought that nineteenth-century satire had struck a grievous blow to frivolous accounts of the European Grand Tour. “The mania for publishing tours subsided after the scourge of the satirist had been pretty widely distributed,” Stocqueler claimed.⁸ Stocqueler may have been hopelessly optimistic about the ability of satire to quash tourist “mania,” but he was right about the form of contemporary satires. They sought to “scourge” travel narratives by parodying their most common tropes and formulae, what Stocqueler might have called their “trashiness.”

In their first few decades the American context, travel satires generally attempted to “scourge” British tourists. As Corry’s and Clinton’s negative assessments of “tourists” in the early decades of the nineteenth century suggest, British travelers were the first archetypal superficial and formulaic tourists. As we saw in the first two chapters, geographical knowledge was intimately tied to national identity in the print culture of the early republic, so it is perhaps unsurprising that satirists imputed negative connotations to British tourists in such a politically loaded environment. By the 1840s, however, a few American authors were publishing satires of American tourists in the United States. This section discusses both British satires of British tourists that would have been available in

⁸ Joachim Heyward Siddons, *Travel, Its Pleasures, Advantages, and Requirements: A Lecture by J. H. Siddons, Delivered at Clinton Hall, New York, February, 1860* (New York: H. H. Lloyd & Co., 1860), 284-286.

the United States, as well as American satires of British tourists. Then it considers the later American satires of American tourists. In each case, it seeks to identify the specific tropes and formulae that gave tourist narratives their reputation for superficiality and gave tourists their bad name.

The satire that Stocqueler credited with ending the eighteenth-century British mania for publishing “trashy experiences” set an important tone on both sides of the Atlantic. First published in London in 1809 and widely republished in Britain in the following decades, William Combe’s *The Tour of Dr. Syntax, In Search of the Picturesque* was the tale of a poverty-stricken schoolmaster who proposed to make his fortune by taking a “grand tour” and writing about it. It was reprinted in Philadelphia in 1814, a delay that led a reviewer in Petersburg, Virginia to lament that “the best literary productions are often left in the shade of obscurity, while works of inferior merit glitter in the broad sun-shine of popularity.”⁹ Despite its British subject and its initial delay in reaching the American market, it went through five American editions in the next decade and a half, as well as being excerpted in newspapers, and remained on booksellers’ shelves throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Combe’s poem contained

⁹ This review is from *The American Star* (Petersburg, Virginia) 1, no. 30 (Sept. 16, 1817), 3.

¹⁰ *The Tour of Dr. Syntax* was first published in the United States in Philadelphia by William Charles in 1814. This edition, entitled the “first American from the second London edition,” was reissued by the same publisher in 1817. In the 1820s, *The Tour of Dr. Syntax* went through three further editions in Philadelphia, one from Carey and Lea in 1822 and two from John Clark in 1822 and 1829. It then spent a couple of decades out of print in the United States, until it was revived in Philadelphia by J.B. Perry in 1855. John Campbell, also in Philadelphia, released another edition in 1865 and J. Miller in New York published another in 1870s. This schedule of editions suggests that after an initial burst of interest in the 1810s and 1820s, it was a slow but steady seller through the middle part of the century. In addition to appearing as a monograph, *The Tour of Dr. Syntax* was excerpted in newspapers following its initial American edition, such as *The American* (Hanover, New Hampshire) 2, no. 5 (March 5, 1817), 4. These editions, as well as almost annual London edition, remained it was widely advertised throughout the first half of the nineteenth century by booksellers in cities throughout the United States, including Philadelphia, Boston, New York, Charleston, New Orleans, and San Francisco.

many of the tropes that would characterize satirical travel narratives on both sides of the Atlantic.

Dr. Syntax's comic misadventures on a standard tour of the British lake country caricatured the tendency of tourists to describe their experiences on the road as adventures. Dr. Syntax's tour teetered constantly back and forth between the quotidian details of daily life, such as the quality of roads, the personalities of innkeepers, and the quantity of meat and drink, and more dramatic occasions that Combe self-consciously called "adventures." While stopping at a country inn, "The ladies press'd his longer stay/But Syntax said—he must away/So Grizzle soon her master bore/Some new adventure to explore." The adventure to which Grizzle led him, however, was a stroll along a sunny highway, a conversation with a sexton in a country churchyard, and a comfortable meal and bed at a new inn, the Dragon. While Syntax was at the Dragon, a thunderstorm struck during the night, providing some excitement to Syntax's narrative. He did not actually experience the thunderstorm—"I'll change the scene, and quick retire/From flaming flash to kitchen fire"—but he did receive exciting reports of the destruction. An old woman told "How a blue flash her sow had struck/Had kill'd a cock and lam'd a duck!" Other reports included burning hayricks and weathercocks, wind-rung bells, and a tailor who "swore that, sitting on his board,/While the wind blew, and thunder roar'd,/A kind of fiery flame came pop,/And bounc'd, and ran about his shop;/Now here, now there, so quick and nimble,/It singed his finger through his thimble;/That all about his needles ran,/If there was any truth in man;/While buttons, at least half-a-score,/Were driven through the kitchen-door!"¹¹ The adventure to which

¹¹ William Combe, *The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque* (London: Ackerman and Co., 1838), 71, 88-89

Grizzle carried Combe was a workaday affair, experienced vicariously from the comfort of a kitchen fireside, and subject to the exaggerations of a country tailor. It was precisely the kind of adventure that Dr. Johnson thought was meant to “please” an individual tourist, rather than “to disturb others.” It may have been exciting for Dr. Syntax, but it was hardly unusual or instructive enough to warrant “disturbing others” through publication. By giving this minor adventure such prominence, Combe satirized the formulaic pettiness of tourists’ adventures.



DOCTOR SYNTAX TUMBLING INTO THE WATER.

Figure 6: Dr. Syntax tumbling into the water while trying to sketch a picturesque scene, from John Campbell’s 1865 Philadelphia edition of *The Tour of Dr. Syntax*.¹²

After weathering the storm at the Dragon, Dr. Syntax learned that the lightning had partially destroyed a nearby abandoned castle. This new sight excited him: “But this

¹² William Combe, *The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque: A Poem* (London, Philadelphia: John Campbell, 1865), 87.

new thought I must pursue:/A castle, and a ruin too!/I'll hasten there, and take a view."¹³

In his haste to sketch the ruined castle for his account—haste that ended badly, with a tumble from the ruined castle into a muddy river—Syntax aped another prominent feature of the turn-of-the-century travel narrative formula, the relentless search for picturesque scenery. Tours to Scotland, Wales, and the English Lake Country in search of picturesque scenery had become popular in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

These tourists were inspired and exemplified by William Gilpin, a curate and headmaster who published a series of travel narratives in the 1760s and 1770s. Gilpin codified his notion of the picturesque in his *Remarks on Forest Scenery* in 1791 and *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape* in 1792. Gilpin's category of the picturesque joined the preexisting eighteenth-century aesthetic categories of the sublime and the beautiful, which had been distinguished by British philosopher Edmund Burke's 1757 treatise *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*. For Burke, the beautiful described that which was well formed and aesthetically pleasing; the contemplation of the beautiful was essentially a relaxing experience. By contrast, the sublime was characterized by a combination of astonishment and terror. For Burke, aesthetic experience flowed directly from these sensory experiences of beauty and terror.

Gilpin added the picturesque to these existing categories to describe rough landscapes, characterized by variety and irregularity, which composed themselves into a whole as if framed in a painting. He was an enthusiastic traveler but a less than rigorous philosopher; his definition of the picturesque and its relation to other aesthetic categories drifted over the course of his writings, and the category of the picturesque only became

¹³ Combe, *Tour of Doctor Syntax* (1838), 93

muddier with the contentious writings of later theorists and practitioners like Uvedale Price, Richard Payne Knight, and Humphry Repton. As a third category, the picturesque fit uncomfortably with beauty and sublimity; for some writers, the picturesque was a subset of the beautiful, and for others, it was an aesthetically pleasing combination of the two. Gilpin embraced both positionings of the picturesque in different writings. It is in the latter sense that the picturesque most nearly approaches its original meaning, being like a picture.¹⁴ In the hands of tourists, the picturesque generally described scenes that captured both the wildness of nature and the hand of man, often in the form a grandiose ruin, generally in an artful composition. Indeed, the flexibility of the category lent it particular appeal as a tourists' inspiration in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain; as Malcolm Andrews argues, "the various pressures of nationalism in Britain promote[d] the value of British scenery for the poets, painters, and tourists."¹⁵ Similar nationalist pressures were present in American appreciation of the picturesque, notably in the work of authors like Henry Gilpin and artists like Thomas Cole, but in the United States they were intensified by the cultural cachet of British imitation.¹⁶ The

¹⁴ For more on the picturesque in the context of eighteenth-century British aesthetic theory, see Walter John Hipple, Jr., *The Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1957); Carl Paul Barbier, *William Gilpin, His Drawings, Teaching, and Theory of the Picturesque* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), ch. 8; and Andrew Ballantyne, *Architecture, Landscape and Liberty: Richard Payne Knight and the Picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), chs. 6-7.

¹⁵ Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), viii.

¹⁶ As historian Richard Gassan has pointed out, Henry Gilpin's 1825 guidebook *The Northern Tour* was "the first of these American guidebook writers to declare travel as an action of nationalism, of patriotism." Gilpin did so through the encouragement of "aesthetic travel" to the picturesque scenes of the United States; he catered to "aesthetic travelers," who were "a small but increasing set of privileged, educated Americans who wholeheartedly embraced the sublime and took their cues from the decades-old Romantic movement of Europe." The Hudson River School painters, most notably Thomas Cole, embarked on a similarly cultural nationalist agenda in the visual arts; according to art historian Angela Miller, "the representation of American landscape was politically charged and contested" by artists throughout the middle of the nineteenth century. See Richard Gassan, "The First American Tourist Guidebooks: Authorship and the Print Culture of the 1820s," *Book History* 8 (2005): 51-74, 63, 60; Angela L. Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875* (Ithaca:

“picturesque” was a sufficiently capacious concept to hold the cultural ambitions of the many travelers on both sides of the Atlantic in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who sought it and narrated their quests.

As the title of Combe’s poem suggested, Dr. Syntax spent the majority of his tour in search of Gilpinesque picturesque scenes that he could sketch or narrate for his volume. As Dr. Syntax explained to a passing member of the nobility, “With curious eye and active scent,/I on the Picturesque am bent;/This is my game; I must pursue it,/And make it where I cannot view it.” Combe’s satire cut close to the penchant of tourists to turn the most mundane happenings of their trips into picturesque scenes. For example, during a moment in which Dr. Syntax had lost his way, he decided to let Grizzle graze in a field with a post in it, “But, as my time shall not be lost,/I’ll make a drawing of the post;/And, tho’ a flimsy taste may flout it,/There’s something *picturesque* about it.” However, the post was not truly picturesque; in order to make it so, Dr. Syntax moved a pond, then changed it into a stream, and added a bridge and a “shaggy ridge.” He defended his invention of a picturesque scene—“What man of taste my right will doubt,/To put things in, or leave them out?”—because the framing of picturesque scenery was one of the central goals of a narrated tour: “Thus I (which few I think can boast)/Have made a Landscape of a Post.”¹⁷ Indeed, this willingness of connoisseurs of the picturesque to shape specific landscapes to fit their taste rather than the other way around was a frequent point of criticism of the followers of Gilpin; Gilpin himself wrote in the 1784 that “I am so attached to my picturesque rules, that if nature gets wrong, I

Cornell University Press, 1993), 4; and Beth Lynne Lueck, *American Writers and the Picturesque Tour: The Search for National Identity, 1790-1860* (New York: Garland Pub, 1997).

¹⁷ Combe, *Tour of Doctor Syntax* (1838), 142, 13-14.

cannot help putting her right.”¹⁸ The absurdity of Dr. Syntax’s silk purse of a “landscape,” made out of the sow’s ear of getting lost, feeding his horse, and an old, mossy post, satirized the superficial engagement with aesthetic theory that was the result of tourists’ relentless canvassing of scenery in search of predictably picturesque scenes.

Combe narrated Dr. Syntax’s quotidian adventures and quests for the picturesque as small stories set within a larger framework of the daily business of travel. The poem had a rhythm lent it by the repetitive tasks of traveling: waking up, eating, finding one’s way, finding another suitable inn, and retiring to bed—precise the rhythm that Dr. Johnson suggested produced superficial travel. This broader framework for Combe’s narrative drew attention to another common feature of the travel narrative formula: the sheer repetitiveness of its structure, dictated by the rhythm of daily travel and the fundamental similarity of the goals of most tours.¹⁹ The formulaic nature of daily tour narration was best satirized by the British naval novelist and travel writer Captain Marryat in an 1833 essay in the *Metropolitan Magazine* entitled “How to Write a Book of Travels.”²⁰ This essay took the form of a dialogue between an aspiring writer named Ansard and an experienced writer of travel narratives named Barnstaple. In this dialogue,

¹⁸ William Gilpin to William Mason, February 12, 1785, quoted in Barbier, *William Gilpin*, 72.

¹⁹ Historian Lewis Perry has also noticed the repetitive structure of early American travel narratives. He summarizes American narratives of European travel as “passages on the sea journeys at the beginning and end, with a chronological account of sites and monuments, parks and cityscapes, meetings with distinguished writers and records of other conversations in between.” See Lewis Perry, *Boats Against the Current: American Culture between Revolution and Modernity, 1820-1860* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1993), 126.

²⁰ Marryat was a popular writer in Britain, and based on references made to him in American newspapers in the 1830s and 1840s, in the United States as well. His seafaring tales were widely excerpted by editors, especially in seafaring towns like Salem and Charleston. The *Metropolitan Magazine* was edited by Marryat himself and was published in London by Saunders and Otley throughout the 1830s and 1840s. Although a British publication, it was widely available for sale at booksellers around the United States, and was also widely excerpted by American editors. “How to Write a Book of Travels” was later collected with a number of Marryat’s other short works in a volume entitled *Olla Podrida*, published in 1840, which seems to have had little circulation in the United States. For more on Captain Marryat, see Tom Pocock, *Captain Marryat: Seaman, Writer and Adventurer* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2000).

Barnstaple claimed that it was unnecessary to actually travel to write the narrative of a tour of the Rhine, and then explained at length how Ansard could “travel post in [his] old armchair.” One of the secrets, according to Barnstaple, was “that there is a certain method required, even in writing travels. In every chapter you should have certain landmarks to guide you.” These landmarks outlined the arc of a day of travel, including “Travelling—remarks on country passed through—anecdote—arrival at a town—churches—population—historical remarks—another anecdote—eating and drinking—natural curiosities—egotism—remarks on women (never mind the men)—another anecdote—reflections—an adventure—and go to bed.”²¹ Barnstaple’s cynical advice, premised on the notion that Ansard could convince his readers that he had visited the Rhine without actually leaving his armchair, lampooned the repetitive rhythm of a travel narrative chapter. All Ansard had to do was to copy the formula, and any reader would believe that he had actually made the trip himself.

Dr. Syntax and Ansard were very different satirical fictional travelers, who relied on different sources for their humor; Combe’s poem was funny because of Dr. Syntax’s ineptitude at undertaking a tour in search of the picturesque, whereas Marryat’s essay evoked laughter because his characters went to great strategic lengths to avoid actually traveling. However, Dr. Syntax and Ansard shared one important feature in common: they both saw their tours, whether real or fraudulent, as means to fulfill social and financial ambitions. Ansard’s goal was simple: he was trying to make money. He had previously faked a “fashionable novel,” to some financial success, and his publisher was

²¹ Frederick Marryat, “How to Write a Book of Travels,” in *Olla Podrida*, Vol. III (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1840), 213, 219. See also Jeffrey Alan Melton, *Mark Twain, Travel Books, and Tourism: The Tide of a Great Popular Movement* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 23.

pushing him to produce a book of travels. Barnstaple congratulated him, “I think now that what with your invention, your plagiarism, and my hints, you ought to produce a very effective Book of Travels; and with that feeling I shall leave you to pursue your journey, and receive, at its finale, your just reward. When we meet again, I hope to see you advertised.”²² Ansard sought financial reward, even if he used highly questionable methods.

Dr. Syntax engaged in a similarly absurd project to reap a financial windfall from his tour, but he also traveled in search of social status. Although Oxford-educated, Dr. Syntax was scraping by on the social and financial margins as a curate and a schoolteacher. “Of church-preferment he had none;” he lamented, “Nay, all his hope of that was gone:/He felt that he content must be/With drudging in a curacy.” The promise of a comfortable life as a rector was withheld by his lack of “church-preferment,” which was generally acquired through prominent personal connections.²³ Given his lack of preferment, the publication of a travel narrative seemed to Dr. Syntax to be the most expedient means of allaying his poverty: “I’ll ride and *write*, and *sketch* and *print*,/And thus create a real mint;/I’ll *prose* it here, I’ll *verse* it there,/And *picturesque* it ev’ry where:/I’ll do what all have done before;/I think I shall—and somewhat more./At Doctor *Pompous* give a look;/He made his fortune by a book;/And if my volume does not beat it,/When I return, I’ll fry and eat it.” This grand scheme of Dr. Syntax’s was designed not only to “create a real mint,” it was also designed to procure for his wife and himself the social prominence that the lack of “church-preferment” left them without: “New days

²² Marryat, “How to Write a Book of Travels,” 239.

²³ As Daniel Hirschberg has argued in his study of the eighteenth-century Anglican Church, “there is reason to think that the most important men in the nation were getting the kind of churchmen they wanted.” See D. R. Hirschberg, “The Government and Church Patronage in England, 1660-1760,” *The Journal of British Studies* 20, no. 1 (Autumn, 1980): 109-139, 138.

will come—new times appear,/And teeming plenty crown the year:/We then on dainty bits shall dine,/And change our home-brew'd ale for wine:/On summer days, to take the air,/We'll put our Grizzle to a chair;/While you, in silks and muslins fine,/The grocer's wife shall far outshine,/And neighb'ring folks be forc'd to own,/In this fair town you give the ton[e].”²⁴ The successful publication of Dr. Syntax's tour promised to translate the cultural capital of his Oxford education and his acquaintance with the tropes of travel narratives into the concrete economic and social capital that the Syntaxes felt that they lacked. Thus, for the satires of Marryat and Combe to be complete, their tourists had to have grand (and absurd) ambitions for the social and economic payoff that their publications would offer. Traveling in hopes of pecuniary gain and social prominence was a central part of the satirical formula.

Although Combe's and Marryat's satires circulated in the United States, they were still British authors writing about traveling in a fundamentally British geographical and cultural context. However, travel satire was written and published in the United States as well; indeed, some of the foundational texts of early republican American literature caricatured travel writing in the early years of the nineteenth century. Washington Irving's 1807 *Salmagundi; Or, The Whim-Whams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff and Others* included in its collection of “whim-whams and opinions” a series of sketches purported to be written by Jeremy Cockloft, the younger, on his tours in the United States. *The Stranger in New Jersey; Or, Cockney Travelling* inaugurated an American genre of travel satire that highlighted many of the same tourist archetypes that the British satires identified, and added new ones specific to the context of the United States. *Salmagundi* made quite a splash when it appeared in 1807; after its initial

²⁴ Combe, *Tour of Doctor Syntax* (1838), 2, 6-7.

publication, it was reissued in almost annual editions through the 1820s, and survived in frequent print in both the United States and Europe through the rest of the nineteenth century.²⁵ John Lambert, a British visitor who was in New York at the time of *Salmagundi*'s original publication, thought it "has been deservedly a great favourite with the public, and bids fair to be handed down with honour to posterity ... as a correct picture of the people of New York, and other parts of the country, though somewhat heightened by caricature, and as a humorous representation of their manners, habits, and customs, it will always be read with interest by a native of the United States."²⁶ Lambert must have had a fine sense of humor about himself, because like the other American travel satires that it inspired, *The Stranger in New Jersey* chose British tourists as its targets, even though Cockloft himself was Anglophile rather than British.

Like Dr. Syntax, Ansard, and other satirical travelers who would follow him, Irving's Cockloft traveled in search of status. He was a young man at the time of his journey and its subsequent publication, recently graduated from "our university." After graduating, "Jeremy was seized with a great desire to see, or rather to be seen by the world; and as his father was anxious to give him every possible advantage, it was determined Jeremy should visit foreign parts." In this brief *mise-en-scène* of Cockloft's account, Cockloft's ambition was captured and satirized in several ways. The Cockloft

²⁵ *Salmagundi* was originally published by David Longworth in 1807, and he reprinted it annually until 1810, and then again three more times through 1820. It remained in print sporadically in the United States for the rest of the early republic, through editions from the big industrial firms of Harper & Brothers and G. P. Putnam in New York and Lippincott in Philadelphia. It was also a steady seller in Europe; after its first London edition in 1811, it went through eleven additional London editions through 1850, as well as multiple editions in Glasgow and Paris.

²⁶ John Lambert, *Travels Through Canada, and the United States of North America, in the Years 1806, 1807, & 1808: To Which Are Added Biographical Notices and Anecdotes of Some of the Leading Characters in the United States, Vol. II* (London: C. Cradock and W. Joy, 1814), 98. Lambert must have been a fan indeed of *Salmagundi*; he edited and prefaced the work for its initial London publication in 1811.

family's dynastic social ambitions were encapsulated in his father's desire to "give him every possible advantage;" indeed, "old Cockloft was determined his son should be both a scholar and a gentleman,"²⁷ i.e. a member of the social elite. Jeremy's own desire to see the world was more correctly restated by Irving as a desire "to be seen by the world," showing his prescient grasp of the social dynamics at work on such a tour. Finally, even though Cockloft was apparently a native New Yorker, the phrasing of his ambition directly echoed that of many British narratives of the European Grand Tour. The desire to "see the world"—with its implied educational and social benefits—was often the primary justification for the extended continental sojourns of the youth of the British gentry, even if Irving's rapier reversal of that formulation, the desire "to be seen by the world," was often closer to the truth. The Cocklofts were members of the New York social elite, seeking to cement their status by aping British practices of enhancing scholarly and gentlemanly status by "seeing the world." That Jeremy's notion of "seeing the world" was limited to an excursion into New Jersey only sharpened the satirical edge. Thus Irving briefly and efficiently skewered the formulaic notion of writing a tour as a means of social mobility.

Under Irving's skillful pen, Jeremy Cockloft's social ambition rendered him a harmlessly foolish traveler. Not so George Fibbleton, the angrily and aggressively foolish traveler conjured by New England author Asa Greene in 1833.²⁸ In Greene's briefly popular but ultimately ephemeral *Travels in America, by George Fibbleton, Esq.*, the tourist was the "ex-barber to His Majesty, the King of Great Britain" whose radical

²⁷ Washington Irving et al., *Salmagundi; Or, The Whim-Whams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff, Esq. and Others* (New York: D. Longworth, 1807-1808), 60, 58.

²⁸ For more on Asa Greene, see Steven H. Gale, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Humorists* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), 181-186.

political views cost him his royal position.²⁹ He sought refuge in the United States, but his disgust at republican institutions and culture soon drove him back to England a “perfect tory.” Upon his return, Greene’s Fibbleton published his travels “to put down the spirit of reform; to render republicanism odious, and to establish loyalty in the affections of the people ... (as well as to recruit to my purse, which not being a public reason, I speak it in parenthesis).”³⁰ Fibbleton’s desire for social status, in the form of a return to His Majesty’s political good graces, as well as his parenthetical economic ambitions, fit Greene’s satire in the tradition of ambitious tourists. Fibbleton’s hyperbolic ignorance and condescension pointed out precisely how myopic such ambition could make a tourist.

Fibbleton’s time in the United States was marked by this particular combination of unflattering traits, which Greene and other satirists thought were possessed by all British travelers to America. Frederick Shelton, who penned a distinctly unfunny satire on the subject in 1837 entitled *The Trollopiad, Or, Travelling Gentlemen in America*, took British travelers as a whole, and Frances Trollope in particular, to task for the shallowness of their acquaintance with the United States and the condescension of their opinions. Americans owed them a debt of gratitude, Shelton sarcastically argued, for having “gone vaunting, and sneering and sardonically grinning, through the land, pleased with nothing, and visiting all things with their sovereign contempt ... [and for having] been pleased, in the excess of their benevolence, to record their opinions and feelings—to

²⁹ Although the publication of *Travels in America* was enough of a phenomenon to have inspired reviews in the “Literary Notices” sections of magazines, the book must not have sold well, because it only lasted in print for one edition. See for example “Travels in America, by George Fibbleton, Esq. Ex-Barber to His Majesty, the King of Great Britain,” *The New-England Magazine* 5 (Dec. 1833): 516-517; and “List of New Books for October 1833,” *The American Monthly Review* 4, no. 5 (November 1833): 427.

³⁰ Asa Greene, *Travels in America, by George Fibbleton, Esq., Ex-barber to His Majesty, the King of Great Britain* (New York: William Pearson, 1833), 9-10.

throw open to the hallowed gaze of the world the domestic sanctuaries where they have found a refuge, and to make the confidential expressions of private intercourse the theme of public ridicule.”³¹ Shelton’s work was a monument to bitterness, but he articulated a common opinion. Even a contemporary reviewer who thought that Greene’s work “failed” its goal of “burlesqu[ing] the publications of some of the late tourists with whose company we have been favored” agreed that the “exaggerated and partial statements of British travelers in the United States are a fair subject of satirical retort.” Most American observers thought that British travelers carried this reputation for exaggeration and for partiality, which generally meant condescension towards American institutions and culture and valorization of their British counterparts. Whatever the weaknesses of Greene’s book, this particular critic thought that the goal of his satire was valid. Indeed, he failed by not living up to the potential of his subject: “Considering the capabilities of the subject, it is a matter of surprise that it has not drawn out more wit, more amusing description, and more pointed ridicule.” The reviewer compared him unfavorably to other great satirists, including, not coincidentally, Washington Irving.³²

An excellent example of American perceptions of the British tourist formula can be found in Fibleton’s visit to Saratoga Springs, where he mistakes the nature of the crowd and the derivation of the name of Congress Spring. Fibleton thought that “the reason wherefore it is so called, as I am informed, is, that this water is particularly drank by Congressmen; and is moreover believed to be exceedingly efficacious in fitting a man to fill the honorable station of a member of Congress. This is pretty well proved by the

³¹ Frederick William Shelton, *The Trollopiad, Or, Travelling Gentlemen in America. A Satire* (New York: C. Shepard, 1837), xi.

³² “Travels in America, by George Fibleton, Esq. Ex-Barber to His Majesty, the King of Great Britain,” 427.

fact, that nearly every Congressman in America may be seen at this spring, during the season; and that all those, who wish to become members of Congress, in like manner resort to the same efficacious fountain.” Even if Fibbleton’s error was rooted in misinformation given to him by a local informant, he was too foolish to discount the explanation and even pushed it further with additional “proofs.” He even related the scientific qualities of the water to its political purposes, claiming that “it runs through the system with very nearly the velocity of quicksilver; all except the fixed air, which often remains stationary for upwards of a year, and is a principal reason of that windy quality, which is apt to distinguish both those who are, and those who wish to be, members of Congress.”³³ Fibbleton was displaying what critics took to be a common feature of tourists: their ignorance and foolishness, and their gullibility in the face of mischievous local informants. To this ignorance, however, Fibbleton added the layer of condescension that Greene and others found to be particularly characteristic of British travelers. “I was disgusted with the country, and resolved to abandon it forever,” Fibbleton reminded his readers. “But I could not resist so fair an opportunity as I now had, of trying my capacity for becoming a member of the American Congress.”³⁴ Despite his dismissal of Saratoga’s charms, and his denigration of his supposed method of choosing congressmen, Fibbleton decided to make a run, and failed to drink enough water to gain office. In Saratoga, Fibbleton’s disgust fueled his ignorance, and vice versa, a dynamic that characterized most of his adventures in America.

Fibbleton’s ignorance was also complimented by his tendency towards exaggeration. For his trip up the Hudson, he boarded that De Witt Clinton, “a boat

³³ See Chapter 2 for an in-depth discussion of the scientific analysis of the waters in antebellum guidebooks treating Saratoga Springs.

³⁴ Greene, *Travels in America*, 172-174.

which I was told by a Yankee, who seemed to be a tolerably intelligent man for an American[,] was five hundred feet long, three hundred wide, and forty-six deep.” Fibbleton’s character judgment was questionable, because the Yankee’s, and thus Fibbleton’s, estimate of the De Witt Clinton’s size was grossly exaggerated.³⁵ The next day, and fifteen pages later, the boat ran aground on a mud bank, occasioning Fibbleton to cite the Yankee again, this time claiming the boat was six hundred feet long. A page later, Fibbleton was “credibly informed [that the boat’s sides] were six hundred and fifty feet long.”³⁶ Fibbleton’s ignorance and foolishness could lead not only to condescension, but also to gross mismeasurement of the world he traveled through. This tendency towards exaggeration and awe at the scale of the American environment, both built and natural, was not merely a feature of the British tourist’s formula, however. A broader range of satirists of tourism skewered this tendency towards the grandiose in tourists’ accounts. Remarks on the outsized scale of all things American was a crucial part of the narrative formula for many tourists in the early United States.

William Tappan Thompson’s 1843 *Major Jones’s Sketches of Travel, Comprising the Scenes, Incidents, and Adventures in his Tour from Georgia to Canada* was another travel satire that made humorous hay out of travelers’ perpetual awe over the size of all things American, and by the 1840s such satires targeted American as well as British tourists. Thompson’s epistolary satire appeared as a series of letters in dialect from a down-home Georgia planter published in the *Western Continent* in Baltimore, and was

³⁵ The De Witt Clinton, built in Albany in 1828, had twice been enlarged by 1833. At her largest, she was two hundred and thirty-three feet long, twenty-eight feet wide at the waterline, and drew four feet six inches of water fully loaded. Although she “was one of the leading early Hudson River steamboats,” Greene clearly intended Fibbleton’s account of her to be a gross exaggeration. See Samuel Ward Stanton, *American Steam Vessels* (New York: Smith & Stanton, 1895), 37.

³⁶ Greene, *Travels in America*, 121, 146-147.

then reprinted as a monograph in at least six editions in the 1840s and 1850s.³⁷ The *Sketches of Travel* were one volume in a larger body of work produced by Thompson in Major Jones's voice, all of which "continued to marketed by several publishers up into the 1890s" and which established Thompson's popular reputation as one of the best-known southern humorists of the nineteenth century.³⁸ Like Irving, Thompson had a lighter touch, and his American protagonist invited less invective than the British tourists of Shelton and Greene. The humor in his satire came not from Major Jones's ignorance and hyperbole, but rather from his wide-eyed wonder at the size and splendor of all things Northern. Atop the State House in Philadelphia, for example, he marveled at the houses, which "stretched out for miles, until you couldn't tell one from another, and then the confused mass of chimneys, roofs and steeples, seemed to mingle in gray obscure of the smoky horizon." His overwhelming impression of Philadelphia, like that of so many other thing he witnessed on his trip, was its grand scope and scale. Thompson underscored Major Jones's sense of the grandiose with a characteristically extended metaphor: "The fact is, I can't compare the city to any thing else but one everlastin big chess board, covered with pieces. The churches with steeples, answerin for castles, the

³⁷ Although *Major Jones's Sketches of Travel* originally appeared in a Baltimore newspaper, all the antebellum manuscript editions of the work were printed in Philadelphia, probably because Thompson had spent part of his childhood in that city and retained connections there, even after moving to Georgia as a young man. The first edition was published by T. B. Peterson in 1843, who brought out subsequent editions in 1847, 1848, and 1857. The Philadelphia firm of Carey & Hart published an edition in 1848, and A. Hart, "late of Carey & Hart," published another in 1850. Like the other *Major Jones* books, *Major Jones's Sketches of Travel* was a popular and widely circulated work.

³⁸ Other titles in the Major Jones series included *Major Jones's Courtship: Detailed, With Other Scenes, Incidents, and Adventures, In a Series of Letters*, a slightly later *Chronicles of Pineville: Embracing Sketches of Georgia Scenes, Incidents and Characters*, and finally *The Slaveholder Abroad; Or, Billy Buck's visit, With His Master, to England: A Series of Letters from Dr. Pleasant Jones to Major Joseph Jones, of Georgia*, which was published on the eve of the Civil War. All of these books were published in multiple editions. For more on Thompson's publishing career with regard to the Major Jones letters, see David C. Estes, "Revising Southern Humor: William Tappan Thompson and the Major Jones Letters," in *The Humor of the Old South*, ed. M. Thomas Inge and Edward J. Piacentino (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 154.

State-house, Exchange and other public bildins, for kings, the Banks for bishops, the Theatres and Hotels for knights, and so on down till you cum to the private houses, which would do to stand for counters. The only difficulty in the comparison is that ther ain't no room to move—the game bein completely blocked or checkmated every whar, except round the edges, and whar ther is now and then a square left for a public walk.”³⁹

Thompson's satire was effective because it exaggerated this tendency towards superlative description in travel narratives in the United States.

Major Jones's sense of wonderment was not restricted to the works of man. He was struck by the grandeur of American nature as well. On his travels, he visited Niagara Falls, the superlative example of superlative American nature, which made him feel small. “When my eye tuck in nothing but the mighty river,” Jones wrote, “the everlastin battlements of rock, and the terrific cateract, why then they didn't seem to have no partickeler dimensions; but when I happened to see the houses on the American side, or a ferry boat crossin below the Fall, or a company of men clamberin about among the loose rocks, down by the water's edge, lookin no bigger than so many ants, then I was able to comprehend the stupendous wonders of Niagary, and to feel myself no bigger, standing thar on that rock, than a seed-tick in Scriven county.”⁴⁰ Tourists generally made a point of remarking on the grand scale of the American environment, whether trees, mountains, rivers, or waterfalls, and Niagara was the preeminent example. Again, Thompson's satire worked because it reveals a truth about tourists with a folksy twist, absurdly juxtaposing the majesty of Niagara with the seed ticks of Scriven County.

³⁹ William Tappan Thompson, *Major Jones's Sketches of Travel, Comprising the Scenes, Incidents, and Adventures in his Tour from Georgia to Canada* (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1848), 84-85.

⁴⁰ Thompson, *Major Jones's Sketches of Travel*, 162.

Travel narratives emphasized not only the great size of all things American, but also the great rate of growth of the works of American man. Charles Farrar Browne, an “extraordinarily popular writer” who “dominated American humor during the Civil War era” under the name of Artemus Ward, captured the formula in his description of a mining town in Nevada Territory in the 1860s.⁴¹ Browne’s breathless tone parodied straight-faced travelers who expressed wonderment at the explosive growth of the boomtowns of the interior, from the Erie Canal towns to the Mississippi valley and eventually into the far west. “Five years ago,” Browne claimed, “there was only a pony-path over the precipitous hills on which now stands the marvellous [sic] city of Virginia, with its population of twelve thousand persons, and perhaps more. Virginia, with its stately warehouses and gay shops; its splendid streets, paved with silver ore; its banking houses and faro-banks; its attractive coffee-houses and elegant theatre; its music halls and its three daily newspapers.”⁴² Browne’s account of this “El Dorado of the hour” was exaggerated, but the exaggeration was effective satire because it so perfectly caught the breathlessness with which tourists exclaimed the mushroom cities of the interior.⁴³

⁴¹ Robert E. Abrams points out that not only was Browne “widely read and widely discussed,” his humor was extremely influential on later writers, most notably Mark Twain. Browne’s combination of traveling lecturing, dialect humor, and “poker-faced earnestness” all “anticipated and probably influenced Mark Twain’s platform style.” See Abrams, “Charles Farrar Browne (Artemus Ward),” in *American Humorists, 1800-1950*, ed. Stanley Trachtenberg (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1982), 67, 60.

⁴² Charles Farrar Browne, *Artemus Ward; His Travels* (New York: Carleton, 1865), 150. For more information the tour to California and Nevada in the 1860s that inspired this Artemus Ward passage, see Irving McKee, “Artemus Ward in California and Nevada, 1863-1864,” *The Pacific Historical Review* 20, no. 1 (February, 1950): 11-23.

⁴³ The metaphor of the “mushroom city” was widely used in non-satirical travel narratives that dealt with the American interior in the early nineteenth century, especially along the Erie Canal. For example, one traveler wrote that “Rochester, as you know, has sprung up like a mushroom. It is a singular phenomenon in civilization. Twelve years ago it was a wilderness broken only by the house and clearing of a single settler. Now it is, in appearance, a city. The streets are broad, with blocks of stone and brick buildings on each side, and the bustle and whole aspect of the place are that of a crowded metropolis. You would not believe its history if you were set down in the midst of it without preparation. Indeed, if it were not for the stumps of trees still left standing in many places beside the fine edifices, it would be difficult to believe it as it is.” See “Letters of Horace Fritz, Esq., No. II,” *The American Monthly Magazine* I (1829): 208-209. A passenger on a canal boat in the same year recorded that “We have passed, during the night,

The satires of Thompson and Browne were actually relatively unique in that they told the stories of their authors' journeys without reference to any other tourists who had covered the same route. Other tourists commonly referenced other travelers over the same territory, either to add authority to their perspective, to flesh out their descriptions, or to emphasize a disagreement in assessment. This reliance on citation was itself a commonly satirized feature of travel narratives. Irving constructed the narrative of his *The Stranger in New Jersey* as a series of dense notations for a travel narrative, supplemented with a similarly dense set of footnotes referencing a number of published British tourists.⁴⁴ Irving's Cockloft did not actually write out his full account; rather, it consisted of a series of fragmentary notes about what he would write were he to finish his travel narrative, connected to examples of British travelers who had made similar observations. For example, in Princeton, Cockloft noted that he attended "a ball and supper—company from New-York, Philadelphia, and Albany—great contest which spoke the best English—Albanians vociferous in their demand for sturgeon—

Whitesborough, Oriskany, and Rome, three mushroom villages, which, with many others, have sprung up as with the magic of Aladdin's lamp." See Michael Hutchinson Jenks, *Notes On a Tour through the Western Part of the State of New York* (Philadelphia, 1829-30), 25.

⁴⁴ The travel narrators cited by Irving were all British, and the many of them wrote about their travels in the United States in the 1790s. These travelers included Isaac Weld, who wrote *Travels Through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, During the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London: John Stockdale, 1800); Richard Parkinson, who wrote *A Tour in America in 1798, 1799, and 1800: Exhibiting Sketches of Society and Manners, and a Particular Account of the America System of Agriculture, with Its Recent Improvements* (London: J. Harding and J. Murray, 1805); and William Priest, who wrote *Travels in the United States of America: Commencing in the Year 1793 and Ending in 1797: with the Author's Journals of His Two Voyages Across the Atlantic* (London: J. Johnson, 1802). He also cited British travelers to the British isles and continental Europe to support his flippant truisms such as "a knowing traveller always judges of every thing by the inn-keepers and waiters," including John Carr, who wrote *The Stranger in Ireland; Or, A Tour in the Southern and Western Parts of That Country, in the Year 1805* (London: R. Phillips, 1806); August von Kotzebue, who wrote *Travels Through Italy, in the Years 1804 and 1805* (London: Richard Phillips, 1806); and John Moore, who wrote a number of narratives of European travel. Finally, Irving made up a number of authoritative travelers with ridiculous names, such as "Linkum Fidelius" and "Messrs. Tag, Rag, and Bobtail." See Irving, *Salmagundi*, 61-67, quotation on 62. For more on Irving's Cockloft and satire of British travel narratives, see Joseph Rezek, "Tales from Elsewhere: Fiction at a Proximate Distance in the Anglophone Atlantic, 1800-1850" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, forthcoming 2009).

Philadelphians gave the preference to racoon and splacnuncs [sic].”⁴⁵ For this assertion, he footnoted British traveler William Priest’s 1802 account of *Travels in the United States of America*, in which he claimed while visiting Philadelphia that Americans “dine on what is usual in England, with a variety of American dishes, such as bear, opossum, racoon [sic], &c.”⁴⁶ Cockloft’s absurd observations of the ball in Princeton, written against the quotidian observations of Priest, satirized the formulaic nature of the narratives that he cited, as well as the thinness of observation necessary for publishing a narrative describing already well-traveled ground.

In keeping with his method of satire without humor, Shelton’s *Trollopiad* featured extended footnotes that illustrated each assertion in the text of the poem. Shelton’s extreme sense of injury at the hands of British travelers made him unable to sustain his mock-heroic tone for the entire length of his work; in his footnotes, he allowed himself to quote the offending tourists at length and to make sarcastic comments about their observations. For example, Shelton’s narrator disapproved of the accommodations of a hotel he visited in New York City: “So fine his taste, so exquisite his sense,/Each passing moment brings him some offence.” Shelton footnoted this couplet with the comment that “The acute sensibility of these gentlemen is allied to that of Smindyides, who could not sleep, if among the roses with which his bed was strewed, a single leaf was accidentally folded.”⁴⁷ His breaking of the mock-heroic tone in his footnote parodied tourists who used precisely this kind of reference to bolster their traveling authority. The layout of Shelton’s pages also provided visual commentary on this tendency towards extensive citation. The length of his excerpts from the works that he parodied often dominated

⁴⁵ Irving, *Salmagundi*, 66.

⁴⁶ William Priest, *Travels in the United States of America* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2004), 20.

⁴⁷ Shelton, *Trollopiad*, 76.

entire pages, leaving room for only two lines of verse at the top, as can be seen from his first two pages:

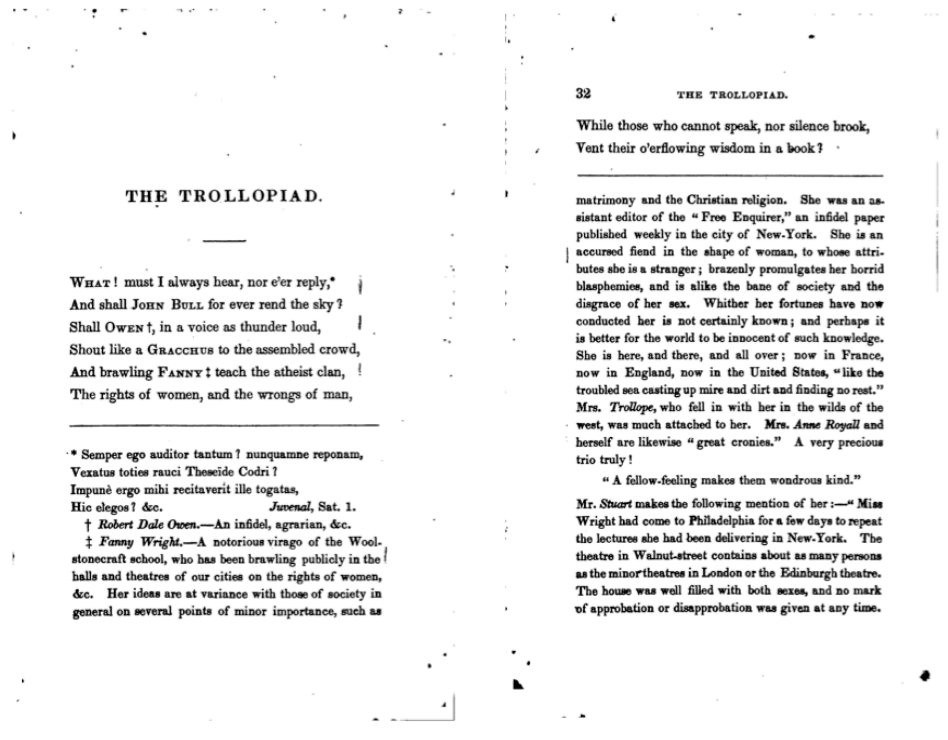


Figure 7: Pages from Frederick Shelton, *The Trollopiad*

The extreme length of Shelton's footnotes made them satirical; few tourist accounts, either British or American, actually cited earlier travelers at such exaggerated length. But footnotes were nevertheless a prominent feature of the formula, and their exaggeration highlighted the thinness of the main text. They also made the narratives less "profitable and delightful"—in Dr. Johnson's terms—since they provided too much detail in order to make up for the text's lack. Shelton may have outfoxed himself by exaggerating this feature of tourist narratives to such a degree; *The Trollopiad* was only printed once, and left barely any trace in reviews or on booksellers' shelves. Nevertheless, the content and

the appearance of these citations underscored their prevalence in the travel narrative formula.

Greene highlighted the prevalence of intertextual references in the travel narrative formula through deliberate undercitation rather than through overcitation. His narrator Fibbleton made occasional reference to other travelers, particularly those British travelers hostile to “republican” America whom he idolizes. These references were intended to include him in that elite company of authors; or, satirically, to bring that elite company down to the level of ignorance and absurdity on which Fibbleton operated. He thought, “Though I am a barber, that is no reason why my name should not be immortalized in the world of letters. There is an Ashe, a Fearon, a Hall, a Trollope, a Fiddler [sic]; and though last, perhaps not least, there may also be added a Fibbleton.” At Lebanon Spring in New York, he observed the landlord boiling dinner in the spring itself, a sight that Fibbleton apparently thought his readers would find incredible. “All this I am ready to avouch on the word of a traveller;” he wrote, “and although it has not been noticed, so far as I can find, either in the books of Captain Hall, Mrs. Trollope, or the Reverend Mr. Fidler, still it is none the less true.”⁴⁸ It was definitely not true, for the simple reason that Lebanon Spring was a mineral spring, not a hot spring. This curious negative citation—Fibbleton assured his readers that his observations were valid despite other travelers not

⁴⁸ Greene, *Travels in America*, 94, 184. The British travel narratives cited by Fibbleton include Thomas Ashe’s *Travels in America Performed in 1806, For the Purpose of Exploring the Rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississippi, and Ascertaining the Produce and Condition of Their Banks and Vicinity* (London: R. Phillips, 1808); Henry Bradshaw Fearon’s *Sketches of America: A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles Through the Eastern and Western States of America* (London: Longman, 1818); Basil Hall’s *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828* (Edinburgh: Cadell and Co, 1829); Frances Milton Trollope’s *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, 1832); and Rev. Isaac Fidler’s *Observations on Professions, Literature, Manners, and Emigration in the United States and Canada, made during a Residence there in 1832* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, and Co., 1833).

noticing the same thing—ridiculed both the confabulations of travelers and their references to each other, even when inappropriate.

However, direct citations such as this were relatively rare in Fibbleton’s narrative, a point made several times by Greene himself, writing in footnotes as the work’s “American Editor.” While on board the De Witt Clinton, Fibbleton recounted a long story about the “catamountain” of the Hudson Highlands, a creature that ate human flesh and “rather prefer[ed that of] the English.” It was known to attack steamboats, and had recently eaten a Lord Mortimer. Fibbleton’s telling of the tale emphasized his own bravery in the face of danger, as usual, but the “American Editor” did not let him take credit unquestioned. The footnote claimed that “A certain ex-reviewer to a magazine, who has been looking over our shoulder while we were reading the proof of the above, assures us that Mr. Fibbleton has filched the entire scene from the author of ‘John Bull in America;’ and that the catamountain, which carried off Lord Mortimer, is no other than the veritable owl which flew directly in the face of Captain Baltus Van Slingerland, as recorded in the ‘Dutchman’s Fireside:’ in proof of all which he avers, that sundry words used by Mr. Fibbleton—such for instance, as ‘*the,*’ ‘*of,*’ ‘*and,*’ besides several others [sic]—are precisely the same as those used by Mr. Paulding.”⁴⁹ Greene again drew attention to intertextual references in tourists’ accounts by pointing out instances in which Fibbleton failed to cite the appropriate precedents. The satire in this footnote operated on at least three separate levels. First, it pointed out the lack of originality in travel narratives implied by the citation convention. Second, it took Fibbleton to task for failing to cite other satirical fictional travel narratives in his own satirical fictional travel narrative. Third, the editor’s claim is entirely specious—there is no such scene in *John*

⁴⁹ Greene, *Travels in America*, 125, 129.

Bull in America, and no owl attack in *The Dutchman's Fireside*—as any reader could probably guess from the linguistic evidence of plagiarism he presented.⁵⁰ Greene's skillful editorial intervention left the convention of citation in the travel narrative formula thoroughly skewered.

Read as a body, these British and American travel satires offered a complex portrait of the negative connotations of “tourist.” Tourists' narratives were shaped by the rhythms of early nineteenth century travel, and thus had a particularly quotidian character, often punctuated by “adventures” that were anything but. Tourists often expressed (or displayed) ignorance about the territory they traveled through, and frustration at the reliability of local informants. This ignorance was frequently teamed with condescension; as Washington Irving put it, if a modern tourist “has ever any doubt on a subject, [he] always decides against the city where he happens to sojourn, and invariably takes *home*, as the standard by which to direct his judgment.”⁵¹ By the early decades of the nineteenth century, tourists in the United States often sought the picturesque in their narratives, and were sometimes rewarded with natural and manmade wonders on a massive and sometimes exaggerated scale. They frequently referred to each others' narratives as they sought to legitimate their own texts, whether through concurrence or challenge. Finally, they toured and wrote in search of cultural capital, social standing, and financial reward in their travels. As Major Jones put it on departing

⁵⁰ Although both volumes contain aspects of both travel narratives and of satire, neither contains the precise events that Greene claims that they do. See James Kirke Paulding, *John Bull in America; Or, The New Munchausen* (New York: C. Wiley, 1825); and James Kirke Paulding, *The Dutchman's Fireside: A Tale; in Two Volumes* (New York: Harper, 1837) (first published in 1831).

⁵¹ Irving, *Salmagundi*, 60.

his plantation in Georgia, “bein as I’m a literary carater I ought to see something of the world.”⁵² Being a tourist could lead a traveler in just such thickets of absurdity.

Satirists lampooned tourists and their narratives for superficiality, cliché, and venal ambition, but as Fibbleton’s claim to have seen a landlord boiling dinner in a spring suggests, their satires sometimes shaded into darker accusations. Marryat’s supremely cynical essay made this more serious allegation most directly: Barnstaple’s advice implied that tourists’ narratives were outright fabrications. This implication often came from less gentle hands than those of the satirists. Some critics went beyond satire and accused tourists of literally inventing their travel, and in doing so, they frequently used a popular literary reference. Such mendacious tourists were said to be guilty of “Munchausenism.” Munchausenisms were by definition fabulously invented tales, often implicitly rooted in no travel experience at all. Calling a tourist a Munchausen called into question the authenticity and authority of his or her work, and pointed out the ultimate negative connotation of touristic travel: it did not really require traveling at all, because the formula could be constructed from clichés and confabulations. As Marryat suggested for Ansard’s tour of the Rhine, tours over well-traveled ground could be made without leaving a comfortable armchair. For critics who wished to call into question the authenticity of a tourist’s account, the language of the Munchausenism was convenient shorthand.

The root of this odd term lay in the collected stories of Baron Munchausen, an eighteenth century German nobleman who campaigned against the Ottoman Empire with the Russian Army in the 1740s and returned home to tell a series of outrageous and

⁵² Thompson, *Major Jones’s Sketches of Travel*, 8.

incredible stories about his adventures. These stories were collected—or perhaps invented—and published in London in 1785 by Rudolph Eric Raspe, a German author and scientist whose taste for fabrication had caused him to flee Germany for England. American editions of the Munchausen tales appeared as early as 1787, generally under the title of *Gulliver Revived*, and quickly became popular. The Munchausen tales retained their popularity through the nineteenth century; more than twenty American editions appeared before the Civil War, published all over the country, and some editions even added stories about Munchausen’s adventures in the United States for American audiences.⁵³ Indeed, several modern scholars have drawn a connection between the popularity of the Munchausen tales and subsequent evolution of the American “tall tale.” By the early decades of the nineteenth century, the name of Baron Munchausen was a widely used cultural reference.⁵⁴

⁵³ The first American edition of the Munchausen tales seems to have been *Gulliver Revived; Containing Singular Travels, Campaigns, Voyages, and Adventures in Russia, Iceland, Turkey, Egypt, Gibraltar, up the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic Ocean: Also an Account of a Voyage into the Moon, With Many Extraordinary Particulars Relative to the Cooking Animal in that Planet, Which are Here Called the Human Species* (Newport: Peter Edes, 1787), reprinted from the London original, although during the same year New York printer Samuel Campbell was advertising an American edition in the *Independent Journal* (July 14, 1787): 3. Other early edition included Campbell’s 1794 New York edition, Edes’s 1795 Haverhill, Mass. edition, and Everett Duyckinck, & Co.’s 1797 New York edition. The Munchausen tales were soon adapted to a specifically American context with the addition of new adventures for the Baron in the United States. For example, an unknown author and publisher brought forth *Gulliver Redivivus, Or, The Celebrated & Entertaining Travels and Adventures by Sea and Land, of the Renowned Baron Munchausen, Including a Tour to the United States of America, in the Year 1803* in 1805. Even though the real Baron Munchausen had no involvement in Raspe’s work—indeed, he attempted to sue for libel soon after its publication in German in 1786—it is worth pointing out that he died five years before this supposed tour to the United States. For biographical information on Raspe and Baron Munchausen, see John Carswell, *The Romantic Rogue; Being the Singular Life and Adventures of Rudolph Eric Raspe, Creator of Baron Munchausen* (New York: Dutton, 1950), 189-191. In the period after the editions listed here, Henry A. Pochman counted 16 American editions of Raspe’s *Adventures of Baron Munchausen* between 1810 and 1864, even though he erroneously listed it as a translation of a German work (Raspe actually wrote it in English and it was later translated into German). See Henry A. Pochman, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences, 1600-1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 346.

⁵⁴ Walter Blair has compiled an extensive (though doubtless not exhaustive) list of references to Baron Munchausen in American popular culture from the 1820s to the 1980s. See Walter Blair, “A German Connection: Raspe’s Baron Munchausen,” in *Critical Essays on American Humor*, ed. William Bedford Clark and W. Craig Turner (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1984), 126-128. For more on the connection

The relatively quick reprinting of the Munchausen tales in the United States, and their immediate and enduring popularity, were not coincidental. As we saw in the first chapter, the 1780s and 1790s saw a flowering of geographical writing in the United States, as American readers sought geographical literacy that would serve them in the context of the new nation. They found the requisite knowledge in the geographical grammars and gazetteers that followed Jedidiah Morse's 1784 textbook *Geography Made Easy*. These texts deployed an embodied authority to authenticate the information they contained; their authors used multiple strategies to establish their own personal credibility, which then carried over to the monographs they published. The discourse of Munchausenism, which rose to prominence in exactly the same years, pointed to a crisis of authority at the heart of tourists' narratives. If they were so formulaic that they could be constructed by recycling clichés from a comfortable fireside armchair, as Barnstaple recommended, then what prevented them from being purely invented, like Baron Munchausen's adventures? The popularity of Munchausen stories was a manifestation of this more general concern about the authenticity of the geographical knowledge circulating in the print culture of the early republic. Geographical grammars and gazetteers addressed this concern with the embodied authority of their authors, and guidebooks addressed it with the disembodied authority of their readers, but tourist narratives never sufficiently addressed it, as the booming genre of tourist satire showed. The use of Munchausen's name to question the fundamental truth of travel accounts was

between Munchausen and American "tall tales," see Blair, "A German Connection;" Alexander E. Jones, "A Source for William Filmore Simms's 'Sharp Snaffles,'" *The Journal of American Folklore* 70, no. 275 (January-March 1957): 66-69; and Henry B. Wenham, "In the Name of Wonder: The Emergence of Tall Narrative in American Writing," *American Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (June, 1989): 284-307. Going backwards in time, Albert Rapp has traced the genealogy of Baron Munchausen backwards to classical Greek examples in "The Genealogy of Baron Munchausen," *The Classical Journal* 32, no. 6, (March, 1937): 347-351.

the ultimate expression of this concern, and one that operated widely in the print culture of the early republic.

Soon after his introduction to American audiences, Munchausen became synonymous with exaggeration and falsehood and thus with challenges to authority. For example, in a Fourth of July oration in 1808 Federalist Congressman Thomas P. Grosvenor railed against “democratic gazettes,” and in particular claimed that “the Baltimore Whig combines all the malignity of Duane with the genuine propensities of a Munchausen.” Similarly, in 1802 the New York *Commercial Advertiser* reported in 1802 on a turtle that lived for two days after its head was cut off. “The following tale would not deserve a place in any book,” the editors claimed, “except the *Adventures of Baron Munchausen*, (a book written to amuse such as can be amused with improbable tho ingenious lies) had it not been told in a public company, by no less respectable a man than Dr. Henry Seabury, now an American Bishop.”⁵⁵ The example of Dr. Seabury and the turtle is particularly instructive in that it points to the damage that an accusation of Munchausenism could do to an individual’s authority. The long-lived turtle was only believable because Dr. Seabury’s personal authority was sufficient to overcome accusations of Munchausenism; a lesser man would have been thought guilty of exaggeration and falsehood.

It was within this context that writers and critics of travels began to accuse each other of writing “Munchausenisms.” James Paulding, Irving’s collaborator on the *Salmagundi* project, introduced the term into the discourse of travel narratives with his 1825 *John Bull in America; Or, the New Munchausen*. Just as early American editions of

⁵⁵ See Thomas P. Grosvenor, *An Oration Delivered in Christ-Church, Hudson, on the Fourth of July, 1808, With Explanatory Notes* (Hudson: Balance Press, 1808), 7, and the *Commercial Advertiser* (New York) 5, no. 1459 (June 19, 1802), 2.

the Munchausen tales dubbed him the new Gulliver, so too did Paulding dub his fictional John Bull the “new Munchausen.” Like many other satirists before him, Paulding was galvanized into writing by a disagreement with another author. Paulding’s antagonist was not actually a tourist, but rather a British reviewer writing in the London edition *The Quarterly Review* in 1823.⁵⁶ This reviewer wrote approvingly of William Faux’s *Memorable Days in America* because it revealed “that truth, so long perverted and concealed, [which] may contribute to destroy the illusions of transatlantic speculation, and to diffuse solid, home-bred satisfaction amongst his industrious countrymen.” That truth, according to Faux and his reviewer, was that the United States was a violent and uncivilized place, “knavish” at the north and “slavish” at the south.⁵⁷ Indeed, the review was so outrageous that it was “suppressed” by the American reprinters of *The Quarterly Review*. They found that it brought “forward wantonly and unnecessarily the names of private individuals, whose feelings must be outraged by being thus dragged before the

⁵⁶ Paulding’s grudge against *The Quarterly Review* seems to have been personal. In 1813, Paulding published “The Lay of the Scottish Fiddle,” a parody of Walter Scott’s “Lay of the Last Minstrel,” which was roundly criticized in *The Quarterly Review*. This rebuff, following as it did on the heels of Paulding’s most successful work, *The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan*, suggests that Paulding had an axe to grind with *The Quarterly Review*. Like with Shelton’s *Trollopiad*, a sense of grievance did not translate into strong sales; after simultaneous 1825 editions in New York and London, *John Bull in America* was not reprinted before the Civil War. See James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, *Appletons’ Cyclopædia of American Biography* (New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1898), 680-681; and William B. Cairns, “British Republication of American Writings, 1783-1833,” *PMLA* 43, no. 1 (March, 1928): 303-310.

⁵⁷ See “Art. III.—*Memorable Days in America, being a Journal of a Tour to the United States, principally undertaken to ascertain, by positive Evidence, the Condition and probably Prospects of British Emigrants; including accounts of Mr. Birkbeck’s Settlement in the Illinois*. By W. Faux, an English Farmer. 1823,” *The Quarterly Review* 58 (July 1823) (London: John Murray, 1823): 338-370, 339, 347. The book the review treated was William Faux, *Memorable Days in America: Being a Journal of a Tour to the United States, Principally Undertaken to Ascertain, by Positive Evidence, the Condition and Probable Prospects of British Emigrants; Including Accounts of Mr. Birkbeck’s Settlement in the Illinois* (London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1823).

public;” and, what was worse, was legally libelous.⁵⁸ Paulding nonetheless read the review in the British edition, and responded with his monograph two years later.

Like Asa Greene, Paulding adopted the literary pose of editor of a traveler’s manuscript, found abandoned by an Englishman staying at the Mansion Hotel in Washington. He linked the manuscript to the *Quarterly* reviewer through the satirical claim that “we have the best reasons, as well as the highest circumstantial testimony to warrant us in the assertion, that the author of this work, was, and if living, is still, one of the principal writers of the Quarterly Review—the very person who wrote the masterly review of Faux’s Travels in the fifty-eighth number.” He adopted a tone of sarcastic graciousness towards the manuscript’s (and thus the review’s) author throughout his commentary, flattering him in terms that no reader would mistake for sincere. The manuscript, however, was found without a title, leaving to Paulding the editorial responsibility of assigning one to it. He invoked the name of Munchausen because the “character of these travels being that of severe and inflexible truth, a title was chosen in direct antithesis.” He chose “the example of certain great critics, who place at the head of their articles, by way of title-page, the name of a book about which they say not one word in the whole course of their lucubrations” as his model in this opposite-day naming scheme, a clear dig at the *Quarterly* reviewer. In this mode of sarcasm, he rebuked the reader who “supposes, for a moment that the following work, whatever be its title, bears the most remote resemblance, or is in any wise tainted with the egregious fictions of the

⁵⁸ See “Art. III.—*Memorable Days in America, being a Journal of a Tour to the United States, principally undertaken to ascertain, by positive Evidence, the Condition and probably Prospects of British Emigrants; including accounts of Mr. Birkbeck’s Settlement in the Illinois.* By W. Faux, an English Farmer. 1823,” *The Quarterly Review* 58 (July 1823) (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1824): 338-339, 339.

genuine Munchausen.”⁵⁹ Assigning his target the name of Munchausen was a clever move, because it drew the reader’s attention to the fact that the original reviewer was not actually a tourist himself; he was endorsing Faux’s view of the United States without actually having visited them himself—an unwitting student of Barnstaple. He did not make the reviewer a traveling fool, like Jeremy Cockloft or George Fibbleton; rather, he revealed him for the armchair commentator that he was, and thus torpedoed his authority to speak on the United States.

Paulding’s convoluted deployment of Munchausen exemplified several of the most important themes that critics associated with the term. The “genuine Munchausen” created “egregious fictions;” thus the term was applied to all claims that critics found patently unbelievable and unrelated to any actual travel, like Munchausen’s tales of travel to the moon or of riding a cannonball. A “Munchausenism” was any exaggeration or outright lie that was so bold as to insult the intelligence of the reader. For example, in 1833 Mathew Carey published a pamphlet critical of the British tourist Thomas Hamilton’s *Men and Manners in America*, in which he demurred that “It would be a work of supererogation to attempt comment on the following Munchausenisms, and on scores of a similar kind, with which this melange of fact and fancy—this melo-drama of Mr. Hamilton’s, abounds. Let them pass for what they are worth.”⁶⁰ The term connotated a “melange of fact and fancy,” but one so patently false that Carey was content to let Hamilton’s Munchausenisms pass without comment. No slight exaggeration or small lie could be a Munchausenism; it had to be so “egregious” that it strained all belief.

⁵⁹ James Kirk Paulding, *John Bull in America, Or, The New Munchausen* (New York: Charles Wiley, 1825), ix, 58-59, viii.

⁶⁰ Mathew Carey, *Review of “Men and Manners in America, by Mr. Hamilton, Author of Cyril Thornton,” &c. &c.* (Philadelphia, 1833), 4.

Munchausenisms were also often amusing, and part of the charge leveled by critics was that their authors wrote out of a desire to entertain rather than a desire for truth—in Dr. Johnson’s terms, that their authors valued “delight” over “profit.” Paulding called his found manuscript a “severe and inflexible truth” when, of course, it was actually the exact opposite, a flexible and entertaining Munchausenism. Carey similarly accused Hamilton of making up stories for amusement. Hamilton claimed that in America “Grog parties commence with prayer, and terminate with benediction. Devout smokers say grace over a segar, and chewers of nicotian weed insert a fresh quid with an expression of pious gratitude.” “Had [an itinerant performer] amused his soirees with this Munchausen tale, it would have been quite in place,” Carey scoffed. “But that a man of standing in society, distinguished in the republic of letters, should have broached such a story, is a proof to what extent bigotry and blind prejudice may mislead men of superior minds and acquirements, *or* is a strong exemplification of the possession of that pregnant, convenient, and prurient faculty which draws ‘for its facts’ on the inexhaustible bank of an ‘imagination’ that fears no protests for want of funds.”⁶¹ For a critic like Carey, Munchausenisms were good enough for “amusing a soiree,” but the rich work of imagination necessary to fulfill such an end created an account that could have no authority as an actual tourist’s narrative.⁶²

⁶¹ Carey, *Review of “Men and Manners,”* 2.

⁶² A related example, albeit not one from a review of a travel narrative, can be found in pamphlet published by Col. John Fellows, a New York auctioneer and intimate of Thomas Paine’s. Fellows reviewed David Humphreys’ *An Essay on the Life of the Honourable Major General Israel Putnam* (Boston: Samuel Avery, 1818) with a distinctly critical tone. He denigrated Humphreys’ reliance on Samuel Peters’ *A General History of Connecticut* (London: Printed for the Author, 1781), calling it “quite in the Munchausen style, and intended to ridicule the people among whom he had officiated as a gospel minister.” Indeed, Fellows was not the only one to notice this connection; contemporary scholar Henry Wenham has noted both the influence of Baron Munchausen on Peters’ work and Peters’ place as one of the progenitors of the American tall tale tradition. See Wenham, “In the Name of Wonder,” 285-286. Fellows furthermore dismissed Humphreys’ entire project, complaining that “If the characters of our revolutionary officers of

The “egregious” relationship with the truth and the desire to amuse implicit in the accusation of Munchausenism could easily spill over into debates over the categorization of literary works. The Baron’s name was thrown about liberally in the mid-1840s in the debate over the authenticity of Herman Melville’s seafaring tales, *Typee* and *Omoo*. Soon after its release, the *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer* called *Typee* “a fiction,—a piece of Munchausenism,—from beginning to end” because “many of the incidents narrated are utterly incredible.”⁶³ For this reviewer, the fact that Melville claimed that the book was an unvarnished account of what he had actually experienced in the South Pacific meant that it “must therefore be judged, not as a romance or a poem, but as a book of travels,—as a statement of facts;—and in this light it has, in our judgment, no merit whatever.” *Typee*’s status as Munchausenism, and Melville’s status as a Munchausen, were therefore determined by the kind of claims to authority his travel narrative made—an actual account of actual travel—and the reviewer’s incredulity in the face of their incredibility. The London *Literary Gazettee* was more creative; they extended Melville an invitation “to dine with us on the 1st of April next: we intend to ask only a small party,—Messrs. Crusoe, Sinbad, Gulliver, Munchausen, and perhaps Pillet, Thiers, Kohl, and a few others.”⁶⁴ This sardonic invitation implied that Melville was

the highest grade can be sustained only by incredible Munchausen stories, the sooner they fall into oblivion the better for the honor of the country.” Like Paulding and Carey, Fellows accused his antagonist of telling patently false exaggerations and lies for ulterior motives. See John Fellows, *Reflections on Colonel Humphreys’ life of General Putnam* (Boston, 1818), 4, 10.

⁶³ Hershel Parker, *Herman Melville: A Biography, Volume 1, 1819-1851* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 417.

⁶⁴ Herman Melville and Lynn Horth, *Correspondence* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1993), 86. The final three authors listed by the reviewer are also travel narrators whose works the reviewer wished to imply were largely invented. René Martin Pillet was a French Major-General whose residence in Britain as a prisoner of war led him to publish the less than complimentary *L’Angleterre Vue à Londres et Dans Ses Provinces, Pendant un Sejour de Dix Années, Dont Dix Comme Prisonnier de Guerre* in 1815, gleefully translated into English and published in Boston in 1818 as *Views of England, During a Residence of Ten Years; Six of Them as a Prisoner of War*. Adolphe Thiers was a French historian and politician whose *History of the French Revolution* may have been too radical for the reviewer’s taste. Johann Georg Kohl

guilty not only of exaggeration, but also of outright invention, all for the sake of amusement, and had to be judged on those terms.⁶⁵

Melville both publicly and privately maintained that *Typee* and *Omoo* were authentic and based on his own experience, and according to William Charvat the resulting debate over their authenticity generally broke down along national lines. British readers doubted that a “common sailor” like Melville could write books with such literary merits and suspected that he was “a gifted Munchausen,” as the London *Literary Gazette* review suggested.⁶⁶ American critics generally defended him and his travels.⁶⁷ An American reviewer of *Omoo* sarcastically remarked that “while the world abroad were showing their acuteness in detecting Mr. Melville as a veteran bookmaker, who, being master of a brilliant style, had ingeniously fashioned a most readable piece of

was a German historian, geographer, and travel writer who had published extensively on the British Isles and had apparently provoked the reviewer’s ire in doing so.

⁶⁵ James L. Machor has argued that the receptions of *Typee* and of *Omoo* were actually significantly different, with more readers willing to give *Typee* the benefit of the doubt. *Typee* was commonly compared to Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, suggesting that it at least had artistic merit and contained a kind of essential truth, if not exactly true in all particulars. Reviewers were more skeptical of *Omoo*, leading to more widespread accusations of Munchausenism. See James L. Machor, “Reading the ‘Rinsings of the Cup’: The Antebellum Reception of Melville’s ‘Omoo,’” *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 59, no. 1, (June, 2004): 53-77, 64-67.

Melville’s South Seas tales and Munchausen were evoked together for other satirical purposes, as well. On January 26, 1849, the *New Bedford Mercury* ran a short piece responding to the craze for gold in California entitled “How to Find the Value of California.” The formula, according to the paper, was to “Multiply Typee by Baron Munchausen—add the seven league boots of Jack the Giant Killer—carry the Moon Hoax, raised to its fiftieth power, to the amount with its unit figure in the column of millions—cast out the nines and subtract 17,000 miles in short rations. The remainder will be the square of the Arabian Night’s Entertainments—to which add seventeen new voyages for Sinbad the Sailor—a topsail schooner load of Aladdin’s lamps (latest patents) and the great carbuncle for Mount Jebungsrbad—which gives light to two-thirds of Humbugiston—and divide the whole, or your own jugular, with a bowie-knife. And the result will be astonishing!” *Typee* and Munchausen were listed together along with many other tall tale references to suggest that the Gold Rush was at best exaggerated and at worst made up. See *Melville Society Extracts*, No. 124 (Feb. 2003), 2.

⁶⁶ William Charvat, *The Profession of Authorship in America, 1800-1870: The Papers of William Charvat* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1968), 215-215, 226, 264.

⁶⁷ Machor has found that approximately half of the British reviews of *Typee* that he surveyed raised questions about its veracity, whereas American reviewers were approximately two to one in support of the truthfulness of Melville’s travels. Furthermore, he argues, “the doubters were not unequivocal; of the sixteen who raised questions, eight characterized *Typee* as a mixture of fact and invention.” See Machor, “Reading the ‘Rinsings of the Cup,’” 57, n. 8.

Munchausenism while sitting in his library, his work was at once recognised [sic] as a genuine narrative in the city where it was published.” For this reviewer, British opinions of *Omoo*’s authenticity were compromised by their lack of acquaintance with the seafaring and tale-telling realities of American port city life. In New York, he claimed, “Typee was remembered in the years far back as the theme of many a dinner-table yarn, when men used to tell longer and *stronger* stories over their Madeira than is now the fashion among modern sherry drinkers.”⁶⁸ Melville was not a Munchausen, just a teller of stronger tales than a refined British reviewer could understand. American readers would not find them to be Munchausenisms because they had more direct experience of the kinds of travels that Melville narrated. Even if British reviewers thought they were clever in assessing Melville’s work by the standards of fiction, American readers would recognize the true authority of a real traveler in Melville’s works. Tourists who narrated their travels not only ran the risk of being accused of superficiality and cliché, but also of having their travel doubted entirely. Thus, an evidently seriously intended tourist account like that of Hamilton could be dismissed as a “melo-drama,” and the tours of Melville in the Pacific, which he insisted were authentic and authoritative narratives of his experience there, could be read by British reviewers as fiction.

When Dr. Johnson penned “Narratives of Travellers Considered” in 1760, he did not write as a satirist or a critic, except in the most general sense. Instead, he sought to produce what was his bread-and-butter trade in those years: pithy, aphoristic observations on contemporary life that distilled broader cultural wisdom into wryly quotable passages. His observation that “[t]he greater part of travellers tell nothing, because their method of

⁶⁸ Parker, *Herman Melville*, 513.

travelling supplies them with nothing to be told” proved to be an excellent example of his writerly art in that it captured what turned out to be an abiding truth in an elegant turn of phrase. His observation became newly relevant in the early nineteenth century, as the word “tourist” began to be applied to that majority of travelers who “tell nothing.” Nineteenth-century observers applied Dr. Johnson’s biting maxim through the mode of satire. They lampooned tourists for being superficial, fashionable, clichéd, and transparently ambitious for money, social status, and cultural capital. The accounts that they produced were highly formulaic, a weakness that satirists exploited with great success. The formulaic accounts produced by tourism risked more than just Dr. Johnson’s disappointment or satirists’ mockery, however. They could also call into question the authority of the tourist narrating the travels, and as we have seen, authority over geographical knowledge had to be actively sought and maintained by authors competing in the marketplace of print.

Given the barbed pens of the British and American satirists of tourism, and the confrontational accusations of the critics of Munchausenism, why did any tourist ever embark on a journey? After reading these dismissive accounts of tourism, what kinds of traveler would want to leave themselves open to such imputations of unoriginality and confabulation? How could the increasing scope, scale, and reach of tourism coexist with such profoundly negative connotations? Tourism was in fact a much more nuanced and ambivalent phenomenon than these critics suggested. After all, critics of Munchausenism had particular axes to grind, and satirists were given to exaggerating the negative connotations of tourism in order to make a point or to entertain their readers. Actual tourists took tours that resembled their caricatures in many ways, but they gave those

tours a profoundly different valence. These dedicated and enthusiastic tourists are the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Five

I Find Myself a Pilgrim: Tourism as Pilgrimage

In writing, Dr. Johnson was as curmudgeonly about tourists as he was about most topics that fell under his famously barbed pen. But Boswell's record of his conversations revealed that Dr. Johnson was a man who sometimes, in springtime, longed to visit certain popular destinations and see certain famous sights, no matter how unoriginal they were in the history of traveling. Boswell's Dr. Johnson also understood the social and cultural value of doing so, even if he was not going to bore the reading public with an account of such a voyage. "A journey to Italy was still in his thoughts," Boswell recorded one April. Dr. Johnson said, "A man who has not been in Italy is always conscious of an inferiority, from his not having seen what is expected a man should see." The following April, Dr. Johnson again "talked with an uncommon animation of travelling into distant countries." This time, it was the "wall of China" that captured his imagination, rather than Italy. When Boswell expressed hesitation about undertaking such a long trip when he had children to provide for, Dr. Johnson objected. "'Sir,' said he, 'by doing so, you would do what would be of importance in raising your children to eminence ... They would be at all times regarded as the children of a man who had gone to view the wall of China—I am serious, sir.'"¹ Doubtless Dr. Johnson did not categorize

¹ James Boswell and William Wallace, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (Edinburgh: W.P. Nimmo, 1873), 296, 370.

either of these imagined journeys as a “hasty change of scenes,” but neither were they pioneering explorations of unreported territory. Indeed, Dr. Johnson longed to visit Italy and the “wall of China” precisely because they were such famous and popular attractions. A visit to Italy, no matter how unoriginal, was a prerequisite for a gentleman of his status, a sight that it “is expected a man should see.” The “wall of China” was a less common destination for British gentlemen in the eighteenth century, to be sure, but a visit to such a famous destination would grant a man so much “eminence” that it would actually be inheritable by his children. Dr. Johnson understood that such unoriginal travel, directed by social convention, could be an important means for an ambitious traveler to gain social and cultural status. This subtle understanding of the value of touring suggests that had he been born in a later generation, Dr. Johnson might have been a defender of tourism against the slanders of its satirists.

Although Dr. Johnson was long dead by the time tourism began to flourish in the United States in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, some American tourists shared his sense of the value of visiting socially and culturally significant sites, even at the risk of unoriginality. Despite having lost a leg in a boyhood accident, New York editor Charles Fenno Hoffman successfully completed a winter journey from New York through the valley of the Mississippi in the spring of 1834. His epistolary missives from the road had been well received when they had been published in the *New-York American*, and their popularity encouraged Hoffman to collect them into a book, which was issued under the title *A Winter in the West* in 1835. Hoffman’s travels led him far and wide, from the winter woods of Michigan to the springtime banks of the Ohio to the hills of Kentucky and Virginia. Repeatedly in his narrative, Hoffman referred to himself

as a “pilgrim” and his travels as a “pilgrimage;” he was traveling, in other words, to see “what is expected a man should see.” He received the charity afforded to pilgrims at Braddock’s Field, the site of a famous British defeat in 1755, and he was struck by a sense of pilgrimage during a visit to a Moravian graveyard. He visited the Natural Bridge, made famous by Thomas Jefferson’s *Notes on Virginia*, and demurred in describing the road leading up to it on the grounds that the “pretty scenery along the rest of my route is probably familiar to you from the descriptions of the numerous travellers who have resorted to the interesting spot where I now found myself a pilgrim.”² For at least part of his journey, Hoffman was treading beaten paths, giving “first and faithful impressions” of sites he pulled from his bookish store of geographical knowledge.

Hoffman was a poet as well as an editor, and perhaps it was his poet’s sensibility that led him to see himself as a pilgrim. Certainly few of his contemporary travelers thought of their travels as pilgrimages in quite such explicit terms, even though modern scholars have seen the connection.³ Hoffman’s fellow travelers were more likely to call

² Charles Fenno Hoffman, *A Winter in the West, By a New Yorker*, Vol. I (New York: Harper & Bros., 1835), Preface, 14, 72; and Charles Fenno Hoffman, *A Winter in the West, By a New Yorker*, Vol. II (New York: Harper & Bros., 1835), 312.

³ John F. Sears has argued that early nineteenth century tourists were “pilgrims,” in a new secular nationalist sense of the term. Sears calls commonly visited sites along popularly traveled routes, of which Niagara Falls was the most popular, “tourist attractions,” and claims that in early America they “assumed some of the functions of sacred places in traditional societies.” As we have seen, natural wonders like Niagara often provoked outbursts of piety in the midst of travel narratives, though, as Sears points out, it was usually a nondenominational Protestant piety well suited to the religious world of the early United States. However, these pilgrimages were not only religious in nature; they also “provided a means of defining America as a place and taking pride in the special features of its landscape.” Pilgrimages to sites of natural, historical, and economic importance played a central role in building a “cultural identity” for the American nation. And finally, given the increasing commercialization of these “tourist attractions,” they “themselves strongly reflected the more secular, bourgeois culture which was developing in America, a culture increasingly oriented to consumerism.” These visits were market pilgrimages in that they were both available for purchase and laden with market meanings. Thus, for Sears, pilgrimages were visits to established tourist sites served “some of the functions of sacred space, [and] they integrated those functions into a new form that yoked the sacred and the profane, the spiritual and the commercial, the mythic and the trivial, the natural and the artificial, the profound and the superficial, the elite and the popular in a sometimes uneasy combination.” See John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 5, 4, 7, 10. In a different context,

themselves tourists, as indeed Hoffman did himself at other points in his account. In his preface, Hoffman wrote, “the author believes himself to be the first tourist who has taken a winter view of the scenes upon the Indian frontier.” As befit such a tourist, Hoffman regularly referred to his trip as a “tour.” In St. Louis, he waited “in the hope of being able to prosecute [his] tour farther westward,” and while contemplating Kentucky’s beauties he “congratulate[d] [himself] upon having extended [his] tour in this direction.”⁴ The language of “tourists” taking “tours” was much more common in the early nineteenth century than was the language of “pilgrims” taking “pilgrimages,” but they were both contemporary articulations of Dr. Johnson’s understanding of the value of a tour to Italy or a visit to the “wall of China.” For a traveler like Hoffman, both “pilgrimage” and “tour” suggested charted territory and serial visits to sites whose value was already culturally established. In such a usage, “tourist” had a considerably more ambivalent connotation than its critics seemed to think. It carried the suggestion of shallowness, of indifference, and of rote adherence to an established formula suggested by early republican critics of British travelers. At the same time, it suggested knowledge of and access to important routes and places, and the attendant social status and cultural capital that such knowledge and access implied. Tourists carried this ambivalence with them throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

Suzanne Kaufmann argues that the conflation of tourism and pilgrimage created new devotional experiences for French Catholics in the massively industrializing Third Republic (1870-1940), as Lourdes became a religious destination remade by commercial tourism. See Suzanne K. Kaufman, *Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005). For a more theoretical discussion of the relationship between tourism and pilgrimage, see J. B. Allcock, “Tourism as a Sacred Journey,” *Loisir et Société* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 33-48.

⁴ Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, Vol. I, Preface, and Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, Vol. II, 113, 141.

Tourists often recorded the quotidian details of life on the road just as lovingly as did the satires, but rather than creating meaningless repetition, these details constituted “information.” For example, Robert Sutcliff was an English Quaker merchant whose travels took him throughout the middle states and the upper south in the mid-1800s, during which time he faithfully recorded details of the state of the roads, food, and lodging. Traveling along the Mohawk in November of 1805, he found Little Falls to be “a pretty little town having some good inns,” although this impression may have been shaped by the previous night’s lodging, at an “inn [that] does no credit to the country.” His excitement about his lodgings in Little Falls paled in comparison to those he found at Stockden’s, “the midst of the Oneida Indians,” which he deemed “a very good inn.” Although “300 or 400 miles inland from Philadelphia or New-York, the room in which I slept was elegantly furnished. It had an excellent bed, &c. the floor was spread with good carpet, and the curtains of the windows and of the bed were of smart Manchester print.” The next evening, he stayed at “a large brick house, having four good rooms, and a spacious passage and staircase on the ground floor” belonging to an Oneida, which was overall “a large good inn.”⁵ Sutcliff’s tour was given its rhythm and structure by quotidian accounts of the small challenges and excitements of traveling, which often dominated his observations of the territory he passed through.

Much like the satirical formula would suggest, the rhythm of Sutcliff’s daily travel was occasional punctuated by an “adventure.” Although Sutcliff recounted these

⁵ Robert Sutcliff, *Travels in Some Parts of North America, in the Years 1804, 1805 & 1806* (Philadelphia: B. & T. Kite, 1812), 129, 136. Sutcliff’s relatively detailed descriptions of the architecture and furnishings of the inns he liked suggests that he was trying to draw his readers’ attention to the refinement of the structures and of their landlords because, as Richard Bushman has argued, furnishings like beds, carpets, and curtains, and architectural features like passageways and staircases were markers of genteel refinement in the early decades of the nineteenth century. See Richard Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 100-138.

adventures in a modestly Quaker fashion that was at odds with the bombast of many of the satires, his narrative followed the same structure. One such adventure happened in a mail stage between Philadelphia and New York in July of 1804. His account of his trip concerned itself with food and scenery until his arrive at Trenton, where “it was quite dark . . . so that our coachman was unable to see his way, in driving into the ferry-boat; and the wheels on one side of the carriage passing into the boat whilst those on the other side went into the Delaware, we narrowly escaped a plunge into the water . . . On finding ourselves in this perilous situation, we all got out of the carriage into the boat as well as we could; which was no very easy task, as it was quite dark, and we were without lamp or candle. The driver putting back his horses, got clear of the boat, and in his second attempt drove fairly into it, and we crossed the river without further accident.”⁶ Despite the understated tone of Sutcliff’s narration of his brush with the Delaware, it provided a flash of excitement in the midst of pages of daily accounts and observations. It was almost as if Sutcliff was following the rhythmic formula that Captain Marryat satirized three decades later.

It may have seem ridiculous to Dr. Johnson and to the satirists of the nineteenth century that such small details would be worth putting into print, but the Philadelphia editor of Sutcliff’s *Travels* was not unusual in presuming “that many of the remarks and occurrences contained in this little volume, will prove useful as well as amusing.” More specifically, Sutcliff was a merchant who traveled for business, to visit “connexions and friends” and “for the settlement of his affairs” who at the same time had “the view of gratifying his curiosity, and enlarging the sphere of his information.” The daily accounts of inns and roads, and even the adventure narratives of stagecoaches and ferryboats, all

⁶ Sutcliff, *Travels*, 26.

provided concrete information to merchants such as Sutcliff about the routes, accommodations, and economic vitality of the regions that he passed through. It was not accidental that Sutcliff sought to “gratify his curiosity” about those regions of the early nineteenth century United States that were most integrated into national and international markets: New Jersey, the Delaware, Potomac, Hudson, and Mohawk Valleys, and western New York. He even penned a “Contrast between Pennsylvania and the States cultivated by Slaves” that was as much economic as it was moral.⁷ If Sutcliff sought economic capital directly in his tour, he did not write about it in his account, but the “information” that he sought and recounted all represented cultural capital that was directly tied to his livelihood, and potentially to that of his readers.

This balance of quotidian narrative and punctuated adventure shaped the narratives of tourists more explicitly in search of leisure as well. In 1835, a young Philadelphia lawyer named Philip Nicklin published a slim account of a summer’s tour of the Virginia springs under the name Peregrine Prolix. Like Sutcliff thirty years previously, Prolix devoted much of his limited space to food, lodging, and the state of the roads. His quotidian notices sometimes betrayed what Edgar Allan Poe called his “exceedingly witty-pedantic style,”⁸ such as when on a stagecoach he had “to ride three hours before breakfast; the road is not bad, but the breakfast is.” At other moments, his notices were drier, such as a few nights later at Staunton when he noted that “The house is good, both for supper and lodgings.” He similarly punctuated his account with “adventures.” Again in a carriage from Mount Jackson to Woodstock, he exclaimed that “We now reached very bad roads, nay absolutely abominable, which if you were to see,

⁷ Sutcliff, *Travels*, iv, v, viii, 94.

⁸ “Letters on Pennsylvania,” *Southern Literary Messenger* II, No. 7 (June, 1836), 445.

you would think *impassable*; and if I were to describe, you would exclaim *impossible!* ... But what obstacles will not a Virginico-yankee equipage overcome? Our driver was Yankee, our vehicle Trojan, and our horses Tuckahoe.” Prolix was a very different kind of tourist than Sutcliff—he traveled thirty years later, for pleasure more than for business, and recorded his experiences in a jaunty tone that would have been alien to the dour Quaker—but his daily account similarly proved “useful to any cockneys who may wish to go over the same ground next summer.”⁹ As Charlene Boyer Lewis has argued, the Virginia Springs were an important elite social space, and in providing quotidian access to that experience, Prolix both articulated his social position and offered social opportunities to his ambitious readers.¹⁰ The quotidian accounts that the satirists might have found superficial were also a potential source of social capital.

The quotidian nature of Prolix’s narrative, and its attendant payoffs in social capital, were further reinforced by its epistolary format. Indeed, his book was entitled *Letters Descriptive of the Virginia Springs*, and, according to its “editor,” it was in fact a collection of letters that had been published serially in the *United States Gazette*. The epistolary format lent a particular authority to the contents of each letter; indeed, travelers in the early nineteenth century were fond of quoting eighteenth-century English poet Thomas Gray, who said, “Half a word fixed upon or near the spot, is worth a cart-load of recollection.”¹¹ Prolix’s letters came from the heat of the Virginia Springs experience

⁹ Philip Houlbrooke Nicklin, *Letters Descriptive of the Virginia Springs: The Roads Leading Thereto, and The Doings Thereat* (Philadelphia: H.S. Tanner, 1835), 15, 22, 91, iv. In another “exceedingly witty-pedantic” moment, Prolix deemed the carriage “Trojan” because it was “Built at Troy in the state of New York.

¹⁰ Charlene M. Boyer Lewis, *Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society at the Virginia Springs, 1790-1860* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001).

¹¹ The Thomas Gray quotation comes from a letter he wrote to William Palgrave, dated September 6, 1758. See Marion Roberts, “Thomas Gray’s Contribution to the Study of Medieval Architecture,” *Architectural History* 36 (1993): 49-68, 62. Two contemporary examples of travel narrators quoting Gray come from

and the social and cultural connections built there. The “editor” of Prolix’s narrative claimed in his preface that he had decided not to publish his own narrative of a tour to the springs in favor of collecting, editing, and publishing Prolix’s. However, “The letter writer has given but a superficial view of the region about which he treats, and has left undescribed many things interesting to one like myself, who delight in poring over matters *usque ad stuporem*; yet the things he has described are those most interesting to the majority of travellers who skim the surface with a rapidity which does not permit them to penetrate the substance.”¹² Epistolary narratives, which were common across the early nineteenth century, used the quotidian formula to supply tourist “information” from the road, even if they were more than usually guilty of superficiality.

Published collections of tourists’ letters were of course the exception rather than the rule; most tourists did not publish their accounts. But many recorded their tours in manuscript form, either in actual letters or in daily journals kept on the road.

Tourists who did not have or desire access to print used these manuscripts as a platform from which to articulate the value of their tour for a smaller audience of family and friends. These narrations of travel were often literally epistolary in that they were contained in letters to family and friends at home. So it was that Hannah Haines, the matron of a prominent Philadelphia Quaker family, took time out of her trip to Niagara

opposite ends of the period under consideration. In 1800, John Maude wrote that “Taking it for granting, that Gray was right in asserting, that a word written on the spot, is worth a cart-load of recollections; and that Dr. Johnson is good authority when he says, that a traveller who relates what he has himself seen, will be read with interest; the Author, in the following Journal, has confined himself to memoranda penciled on the spot and written down on the evening of each day” See John Maude, *Visit to the Falls of Niagara in 1800* (London: Longmans, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1826), v. An 1847 *Knickerbocker* piece entitled “Mr. Manning’s Ramble: An Authentic Narrative” told a short story of adventure on the Appalachian frontier in 1800. Ironically, the narrator began the piece with a reference to Gray, writing “Certainly, Sir, Gray was not far out of the way when he asserted that a word written on the spot is worth a cart-load of recollections.” See “Mr. Manning’s Ramble: An Authentic Narrative,” *The Knickerbocker: Or, New-York Monthly Magazine* 29, no. 1 (January, 1847): 60-67, 60.

¹² Nicklin, *Letters Descriptive of the Virginia Springs*, vii.

Falls and Ballston Springs and through New England in July and August of 1808 to write, “I have seated myself down, my dear Son to give thee some little account of our movements.” Like many published tourist narratives, her periodic letters were filled with the details of life on the road, from food and lodging to carriage arrangements to regular gossip about acquaintances met on the road. For example, her assessment of lodgings amongst the Indians was the opposite of her near traveling contemporary Sutcliff; at an Indian settlement, she wrote, “there was but one tavern, and att that, the accommodation’s was so bad, that we could not think of staying, and came on to the little falls to dinner, a first day, and that night lodged ten miles further, so as to get to Johnstown to dinner.” A few days later, upon arrival at Ballston, the party sought accommodations at Aldridge’s, which was nearly full, but “there are some boarders going away, and then, they are to have a room next to mine, as Cousin Betsy and myself are accommodated with each of us a good room we slept Comfortable. there are Sixty Boarders before we came, but few from Philadelphia. we found here Isreal Wheelan and Peggy Pierce and her Father, who were all we were acquainted with.” She even recounted small adventures in the midst of quotidian details, such as when she recounted that “to morrow, Caspar is going, to have a new axle tree made for his waggon, as his got broke, in Crossing the Green Mountains of vermont, and has been ever since, tied with stick cut from the woods.”¹³ The epistolary format reinforced the recounting of quotidian details that linked the letters written home by travelers to the print genre of travel narratives, and both displayed and communicated the “information” gathered on the road by the tourist.

¹³ “Hannah Haines Correspondence,” Wyck Association Collection, Series II, Box 12, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA

Manuscript travel narratives did not only come as letters sent home from wayside post offices. Travelers frequently kept diaries on the road, often intended for a readership of family and friends upon their return. These often lengthy handwritten accounts echoed their published brethren in many respects, not least in their pacing. They were also often epistolary—a format that made sense for a document that was usually added to daily—and thus maintained the usual rhythm and contained the usual “information.” An 1825 expedition to Niagara Falls made by six Boston women and narrated in a manuscript journal most likely penned by Mary Scollay Bigelow was filled with the usual details of daily life on the road and punctuated by the usual adventures. The writer was unusually self-aware about this pattern; after one glowing review of a New York State tavern, she broke the narrative to address her maternal audience at home: “I cannot but smile, (and yes dear Mother may be tempted to smile too) as I cast my eye back on my journal, to see the number of intelligent tavern-keepers, and agreeable chambermaids, I have noted down—but they are matter of fact, and not imagination, nor of a mere good-natured readiness to be pleased—and all are evidences of that state of improvement, which marks every rank in our country.”¹⁴ She noted the clichés in her account, and apologized for it by citing the uniform “state of improvement” that the travelers encountered on their journey. In this moment of insight, humor, and apology, this travel narrator noted the quotidian rhythm of her account that was so easily satirized. At the same time, however, she positioned herself as a social authority on the state of travel infrastructure and a cultural authority on the “state of improvement” of the country.

¹⁴ “Mary Scollay Bigelow Diary, 1825: Voyage to Niagara Falls,” Manuscript Collection, Ms. N-1841, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA.

Just as Dr. Syntax's days of toil through the English Lake Country on Grizzle's back were punctuated by moments of picturesque reverie, however manufactured, so too were American travelers' accounts of the quotidian business of movement punctuated by breathless moments of scenic appreciation. As Beth Lucek has pointed out, many American travelers journeyed in search of the picturesque, but even more casual tourists regularly applied the term "picturesque" to scenery that they found pleasing.¹⁵ They often did so less rigorously than the British theoreticians of the term might have liked. Theoreticians aside, using the language of the picturesque demonstrated that tourists were aware of the contemporary transatlantic languages of travel. This is not to say that most American tourists had read Gilpin; indeed, from the giddy abandon with which the term was often thrown around, they most likely had not. However, it showed that they understood that a refined appreciation of landscape was an important goal of touring, and their accounts showed this refinement by using the language of the picturesque.

Usages could be vague, such as when John Lyon, a Philadelphia gardener, recorded in his botanical journal of an 1803 expedition that the "River St Johns is picturesque & beautiful."¹⁶ Similarly, Bostonian Henrietta May Goddard noted in her journal in 1822 that the "sail up the [New York] harbour is delightful, upon the shore on both sides are very many beautiful country seats + many truly picturesque situations."¹⁷ Published tourists were often no more precise, such as Elizabeth Ellet's 1840 *Rambles About the Country*, a narrative written for a youth audience. She casually used the term

¹⁵ See Beth Lynne Lucek, *American Writers and the Picturesque Tour: The Search for National Identity, 1790-1860* (New York: Garland Pub, 1997).

¹⁶ "John Lyon Botanical Journal," American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA. For more on John Lyon, see Joseph Ewan and Nesta Ewans, "John Lyon, Nurseryman and Plant Hunter, and His Journal, 1799-1814," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series 53, Part 2 (1963): 1-69.

¹⁷ "Henrietta M. Goddard Diary, 1822," Manuscript Collection, Ms. N-114 Box 17, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA.

at least twenty times to describe scenery from a mill in the mountains of North Carolina to a slave boy working as a scarecrow in Louisiana to the hills around Canandaigua in the New York Finger Lakes. Indeed, Ellet, like many other tourists, used the term to describe scenes that eighteenth-century British theorists like Edmund Burke or William Gilpin might have called sublime. At the Falls of Nunda, on the Genesee River, Ellet used the umbrella term “picturesque” to describe features like the “dizzy edge” and the “terrific chasm,” which conspired to evoke “a thousand associations and feelings ... that fill the bosom with tumultuous joy and fear.”¹⁸ Given the confusion over the meaning of “picturesque,” and its formulaic application by tourists, it is perhaps unsurprising that William Parker Foulke threw up his hands in a letter written on the road in central Pennsylvania home to his aunt in February of 1848. In the midst of a narrative of harrowing mountain crossings in multiple stagecoaches, he described the “wild descent” of Ray’s Hill as “winding, precipitous, romantic, picturesque & all that.”¹⁹ The term “picturesque” had become so vague by the 1840s that Foulke could toss it dismissively into a string of adjectives with the expectation that a reader would understand the cultural capital that it carried if not its specific application to Ray’s Hill.

Not all tourists used the term “picturesque” in ways that were vague or that violated British aesthetic theories. Mrs. John Heard, a diarist who recorded her trip to Niagara Falls in the summer of 1815, was enchanted by the scenery around Lebanon Springs. She rode “seven miles as picturesque & beautiful as can be imagined—the mountains are covered with Oaks Elms & Pines—the lower lands are owned & cultivated

¹⁸ Elizabeth Fries Ellet, *Rambles About the Country* (Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb, 1840), 158-159.

¹⁹ William Parker Foulke to Eleanor Foulke, dated Harrisburg, Feb. 22, 1848, “William Parker Foulke Papers,” American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

by Quakers in their neat stile which from the top of Hancock Mountain had the appearance of one continuous garden.”²⁰ This description of the landscape fit closely with Gilpin’s later codifications of the picturesque, which is that it described scenes that combined elements of the sublime (the mountains) with the beautiful (the Quakers’ farms) into an aesthetically pleasing composition—literally worthy of a picture. Michael Jenks, a businessman and public official from Bucks County, Pennsylvania who narrated an 1829 tour of western New York in a series of letters to the Philadelphia *Ariel*, felt a similar appreciation of Wyoming Valley in northeastern Pennsylvania. “This is by far the most delightful valley I ever saw,” he wrote, “being exceedingly fertile and highly picturesque. Mountains surround it on all sides, and cultivated farms are constantly occurring, while the noble river meanders through the very centre. It is the spot on which so many brave fellows were massacred in the revolution.”²¹ Not only did Jenks describe a balanced composition of sublime mountain and river scenery with beautiful and fertile farmsteads, he placed a battlefield at its center. A battlefield was a ruin of sorts, and ruins were common focal points of Gilpin’s narratives and compositions. Tourists like Heard and Jenks were more precise than others in their application of the term “picturesque,” which would have enhanced their cultural capital in the eyes of readers who were acquainted with the works of Gilpin and his followers. Indeed, their close adherence to scenes framing the sublime and the beautiful made their use of the picturesque even more formulaic and open to the satire of bumbling seekers like Dr. Syntax, but it also displayed a superior attainment of cultural capital.

²⁰ “Mrs. John Heard Diary,” Manuscript Collection, Ms. N-1384, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA.

²¹ Jenks, *Notes on a Tour*, 53. For more on the history and attribution of Jenks’s narrative, see K. Kabelac, “The ‘Unknown Writer;’ Authorship of ‘A Traveler’s View of New York State in 1829’ Revealed,” *York State Tradition* 22, no. 4 (Fall 1968): 20-23.

Like Elizabeth Ellet, many American travel narrators confused the categories of the picturesque and the sublime. John Caldwell, a New York merchant who narrated his health-seeking tour to Virginia in 1808 in a collection of published letters, was struck by the scenery at Harper's Ferry. In a passage reminiscent of Thomas Jefferson's description in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, a work that Caldwell kept near at hand throughout his tour, he wrote that "the approach to the ferry is strikingly picturesque," because in "viewing the junction of the Shenandoah and the Potowmack forcing their way through the blue mountains, and proceeding in one joint stream to the ocean; the mind is lost in wonder and admiration, and my pen in vain attempts a description of the scene itself, or the feelings I experienced in contemplating this great work of nature!"²² The image of the rivers "forcing their way through the blue mountains" was borrowed directly from Jefferson, but the astonishment and overwhelming feelings that he felt—his sense of the sublime—was entirely his own. Similarly, Charles Stoddard, a Boston merchant who narrated a tour of New York State in 1820, was impressed by Kaaterskill Falls in the Catskills, "the grandest sight I ever beheld," and thought that "No adequate idea of this picturesque scene can be given by description."²³ His description of the Falls was sublime even if he thought they were picturesque. This confusion of the picturesque with the sublime, and the association of picturesque landscape with the sense of awe and wonderment that theorists like Burke linked to the sublime, laid the foundations for another trope deployed by early republican tourists: a sense of marvel, awe, and

²² John Edwards Caldwell, *A Tour through Part of Virginia, in the Summer of 1808: In a Series of Letters, Including an Account of Harper's Ferry, the Natural Bridge, the New Discovery Called Weir's Cave, Monticello, and the Different Medicinal Springs, Hot and Cold Baths, Visited by the Author* (New York: Printed for the Author, 1809), 8. For more biographical information on Caldwell, see William M. E. Rachal's introduction to the 1951 reprint of Caldwell's narrative (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1951).

²³ "Charles Stoddard Travel Diary," Manuscript Collection, Ms. N-973, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA.

wonderment at the works of nature. This trope offered cultural profit to ambitious tourists in a number of different ways.

Tourists regularly expressed their marvel and sense of wonderment in nature in explicitly religious terms, and often valued such pieties over providing “information.” Hannah Haines was quite taken with the fledgling manufacturing city of Paterson, New Jersey when she passed through in 1803. Established by Alexander Hamilton’s Society for the Establishment of Useful Manufactures in the early 1790s, Paterson was by the time of Haines’s visit a flourishing early outpost of the industrial revolution in the United States.²⁴ Haines noted the size and novelty of these works of man: “we called to see a manufactory for spinning of Cotton which is carried on very extensively. it employs a number of quite small Children, also one for Paper a very large mill, were a number of Girls have Constant work att a quarter of a dollar a day.” However, it was the works of nature that really captured Haines’s enthusiasm, in the form of the Falls of the Passaic River that attracted the manufactories in the first place. The religious exclamations that the Falls brought forth had an air of immediacy; “it exceeded my expectation,” Haines wrote in her journal, and “I could not refrain from Exclaiming, Great and Marvellous are indeed all thy works Lord God Almighty.”²⁵ The works of both man and nature at Paterson excited wonderment, but whereas the novel manufactories were merely remarkable for their size, the Falls impelled her thoughts to a higher plane.

Haines’s exclamation at the Falls of Passaic in 1803 may have been spontaneous, but similar explanations quickly became an established feature of travel narratives,

²⁴ For more on the role of Paterson and the falls of the Passaic in the establishment of manufactures in the early United States, see Jacob E. Cooke, “Tench Coxe, Alexander Hamilton, and the Encouragement of American Manufactures,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (July, 1975): 370-392.

²⁵ Hannah Haines, “Journal to Rahway,” Wyck Association Collection, Series III, Box 87, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA

especially when visiting waterfalls. In 1829, Michael Jenks found Niagara Falls to be a similarly marvelous experience with similarly religious overtones. He was impressed by the present growth and future potential of the manufactories at Rochester and Manchester, but Niagara Falls overwhelmed him. “When I reached the further extreme of the bridge and looked below,” he wrote, “Almighty Heaven! before thee, in all thy unspeakable grandeur, and in this awful situation, what a poor, dependent, finite being did I feel myself to be! and, to be serious—for no man can feel otherwise here—I defy all the painters—all the poets—all the tourists—and in fact all mankind, to give to one who has not already seen this awfully magnificent scene, the most faint impression of its sublime and terrible reality ... It is indeed the work of *God*.”²⁶ Jenks spent two days at the Falls, observing them from several vantage points, and each time they brought forth religious exclamations from him. A generally businesslike traveler who narrated his tour with a flat affect, Jenks was overcome by wonderment at the scale of Niagara.

John Alonzo Clark’s differing reactions during two visits to the Falls in 1833 and 1837 place this response into a larger cultural context. Clark was a Philadelphia minister who was a leader of the evangelical wing of the Episcopal Church in the 1820s and 1830s. As such, he was a central participant in a religious movement that historians have called the Second Great Awakening. Ignited by the minister Charles Grandison Finney in the late 1820s, this flowering of revivalist Protestantism spread from its nexus in upstate New York’s “burned-over district” across the northeastern United States. Evangelical religion offered Christians salvation through prayer; individual believers could appeal to Christ and the Holy Spirit to aid in their salvation, and through a feeling of grace that resulted from such prayer they could be assured of salvation. Conversion was a

²⁶ Jenks, *Notes on a Tour*, 37-38.

fundamentally emotional experience for evangelicals, in that it was both caused by and experienced as an immediate emotion. Finney and the other revivalists of the Second Great Awakening transformed the critical moment of conversion and salvation, long an important part of evangelical belief and practice, “from a private to a public and intensely social event.” As religion became an increasingly social experience, evangelical salvation became an increasingly important component of both gender and class status for members of the emergent middle class in the cities and towns of the northeastern United States.²⁷ Clark built his ministerial career at the center of this movement; after being ordained in 1826, he spent three years as a missionary in western New York, at the epicenter of the Second Great Awakening, where his developing reputation as a preacher secured him ministerial positions in New York City, Providence, and Philadelphia.²⁸ Clark was a thoroughgoing evangelical, and his response to Niagara revealed as much.

On his first visit to the Falls in 1833, Clark thought that they were a sufficiently picturesque scene that “possessed all the conceivable elements of sublimity,” but were otherwise unremarkable. However, returning four years later after an extended tour to the west, he wrote that “I never understood their full grandeur and majesty till I looked at them to-day, and remembered that the water of all those lakes upon which I had travelled

²⁷ The term “burned-over district” comes from Whitney Cross’s classic 1950 study of the Second Great Awakening, entitled *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950). Since Cross identified the Second Great Awakening as a discrete social and intellectual phenomenon, much has been written about its causes and effects, and especially about its relationship to changing structures of gender and class in the first half of the nineteenth century. On the relationship between gender and the Second Great Awakening, see Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); and Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women’s Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001). The best explanation of the relationship between the Second Great Awakening and the emergence of the middle class is in Paul E. Johnson’s *A Shopkeeper’s Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004). Quotation is from Johnson, *Shopkeeper’s Millennium*, 97.

²⁸ James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, *Appletons’ Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. I (New York: D. Appleton, 1888), 629.

more than a thousand miles, was pouring in one gathered column over that precipice!” This newfound realization of Niagara’s scale “immediately” caused him to feel “that the tremendous roar, that rose deafening around me, was the voice of God!” The force and volume of the falling water was awesome like God’s judgment, like “his mighty hand when he poureth out his fury like fire.” At the same time, however, the rainbow that formed in the mist above the falls was like “the mercy of God in Christ;” witnessing it he was just as suddenly reminded that “it was the bow of promise; and new emotions of gratitude were waked up in my heart.”²⁹ Clark described his second visit to the Falls as a kind of conversion, in religious language that would have been absolutely up to the minute for Clark’s middle-class evangelical congregation. Witnessing the Falls was above all an emotional experience, one that combined holy terror of God’s wrath with a comforting certainty of salvation through Christ. It caused him to see familiar scenes with fresh eyes, as a newly saved evangelical would—after all, he had already seen the Falls, and thought them nothing special. As Clark’s account demonstrates, expressions of religious wonder at the grandeur of tourist sites had taken on a specific evangelical connotation by the 1820s; Clark and his fellow travelers were pilgrims in a more literal sense than was Hoffman. Since this particular expression of faith was intimately linked to membership in the rising middle class, it served as a marker of social status and social ambition for tourists who found themselves at the Falls.

Even when they did not experience the sight of the Falls as a kind of conversion, tourists were often struck dumb by their size and grandeur. This second trope of wonderment, also drawn from Burkean notions of the sublime, may explain why tourists so often resorted to religious references in the face of marvelous nature, and why such

²⁹ John Alonzo Clark, *Gleanings By the Way* (Philadelphia: W.J. & J.K. Simon, 1842), 149-150.

references may have been profitable for them. Mary Scollay Bigelow reacted with the usual awe to “the grand coup d’oeil of the Niagara view” by exclaiming “Great and wonderful are they work Oh! God! is the first and last sentiment this scene inspires—and it enchains the mind with adamant force.” Like Clark, she went on to temper her awe at the majesty of the Falls with an appreciation of its subtler beauties, but unlike Clark, language for such appreciation did not come easily to her. “With the awful grandeur is mingled a beauty,” she wrote, “an exquisite beauty which pen + pencil alike fail to express.” Words failed her both in the moment and later in its narration: “my heart, my powers sunk so far beneath this scene of magnificence, that I longed for some human sympathy, the sympathy of those I love best, to sustain me in this silent, this awful communion with nature and its Author.”³⁰ Jenks, as we have seen, was similarly religious in his appreciation of the Falls. Not only did he defy all painters, poets, and tourists to accurately capture the scene, he claimed that “It is far away beyond human apprehension to delineate, however imperfectly, its bare profile. It is one of the few objects which cannot be proportioned; and nothing short of actual observation of the awful reality, can afford any satisfaction to the inquiring mind.”³¹ This rapturous inability to express the experience of visiting nature’s more marvelous creations was also a commonly appearing trope of wonderment in travel narratives. This willful abdication of the duty of the travel narrator served to reinforce the distinction between having seen the Falls in person and having only read about them. It demonstrated the veracity of the narrative, and it confirmed the social and cultural elevation of the tourist over the non-

³⁰ “Mary Scollay Bigelow Diary, 1825.”

³¹ Jenks, *Notes on a Tour*, 37-38.

tourist. Expressions of speechless wonderment, whether religious or secular, cemented the value of touring and of the tourist.

Writing as they were in the mid- to late-1820s, it is perhaps unsurprising that Bigelow and Jenks found themselves at a loss for words when viewing the Falls. If either traveler used a guidebook for their journey, they probably encountered just such a demurring description of one of the era's major tourist attractions. Two of the three tourist guidebooks published in the United States in the 1820s were similarly unable to describe the Falls.³² Bigelow was likely to have encountered Gideon Davison's *The Fashionable Tour* while traversing the "fashionable tour" route across upstate New York. This slim volume was first issued in 1822, and was available in a brand-new second edition in 1825, the year that she traveled. Davison's brief treatment of the Falls included the claim that "[t]he emotions of grandeur that fill the mind, on beholding this greatest of the wonders of nature, can scarcely be felt from any effort of description. You must behold [the Falls] at one view ... before the mind can feel the real grandeur inspired by this truly magnificent and sublime prospect."³³ Jenks, the Bucks County resident, very well may have consulted Henry Gilpin's *A Northern Tour*, since it was written by a rising star in the Philadelphia literary community and published in that city. Gilpin's description of the experience of the Falls was quite similar to Davison's; "To describe the scene which then bursts upon our view," he wrote, "would be hopeless for the pen as it has ever proved for the pencil ... A scene like this is not to be described—it is only to be

³² For more on the first American guidebooks in the 1820s, as well as biographical details on Davison and Gilpin, see Richard Gassan, "The First American Tourist Guidebooks: Authorship and the Print Culture of the 1820s," *Book History* 8 (2005): 51-74.

³³ Gideon M. Davison, *The Fashionable Tour, in 1825: An Excursion to the Springs, Niagara, Quebec and Boston* (Saratoga Springs: G.M. Davison, 1825), 121-122.

felt.”³⁴ Neither Bigelow nor Jenks cited a guidebook by name, but their loss for words in the face of Niagara’s splendor was reminiscent of popular contemporary guidebook descriptions, who understandably had an interest in encouraging their readers to see the Falls with their own eyes. And these echoes in tourists’ accounts were also reminiscent of the habits of citation so frequently skewered by travel satirists. Not only did the travelers’ wonderment reinforce the value of traveling, it demonstrated that they were conversant in contemporary travel literature.

The link between guidebook and travel narrative descriptions of the Falls is tied tighter by considering the evolution of descriptions of the Falls in the 1830s. The tone for later guidebooks was set by the third prominent guidebook from the 1820s, Theodore Dwight’s *The Northern Traveller*. Dwight was not at a loss for words at the Falls; he described them aptly if somewhat dryly in scientific and scenic terms, a mode that generally was not imitated by tourists in the 1820s. The closest he came to the effusive wonderment of Davison and Gilpin was his recommendation that a traveler “visit this place as often as he can, and ... view it from every neighbouring point; as every change of light exhibits it under a different and interesting aspect.”³⁵ Dwight purchased the rights to Gilpin’s title soon after its publication, and in 1828 issued a new edition of his guidebook that combined the two works. This new combined guidebook followed Dwight’s descriptive pattern rather than Gilpin’s.³⁶ By the late 1830s, Davison’s

³⁴ Henry D. Gilpin, *A Northern Tour: Being a Guide to Saratoga, Lake George, Niagara, Canada, Boston, &c. &c., Through the States of Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New-York, Vermont, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, and Connecticut; Embracing an Account of the Canals, Colleges, Public Institutions, Natural Curiosities, and Interesting Objects Therein* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1825), 147-148.

³⁵ Theodore Dwight *The Northern Traveller: Containing the Routes to Niagara, Quebec, and the Springs; With Descriptions of the Principal Scenes, and Useful Hints to Strangers* (New York: Wilder & Campbell, 1825), 84.

³⁶ Gassan, “First American Tourist Guidebooks,” 64-65.

guidebook, now published under the title of *The Traveller's Guide Through the Middle and Northern States*, had abandoned its former wonderment in favor of a description nearly matching Dwight's marshalling of data. New guidebooks published in the 1830s and 1840s also increasingly conformed to Dwight's pattern—after all, such concrete information was what tourists purchased them for, not for effusive expressions of wonderment.³⁷ Later tourists similarly ceased finding themselves at a loss for words. Like Clark, Elizabeth Ellet was able to discourse extensively on the Falls. She began her account with a nod to the earlier sense of awe, asking “who can adequately paint such a scene?” and answering “None, surely!” However, she then proceeded to do exactly that, describing the experience in physical, religious, and literary terms. She specifically avoided the “moraliz[ing] on our situation” that Clark found so appealing, but she detailed her “own sensations” at length.³⁸ Ellet and Clark were typical of their era; later tourists who wrote about the Falls were much less at a loss for words than their predecessors. As the print sources devoted to instructing tourists about their routes and destinations expanded in scope, content, and sophistication, tourists used this greater

³⁷ See for example Robert J. Vandewater, *The Tourist, Or, Pocket Manual for Travellers on the Hudson River, the Western Canal and Stage Road to Niagara Falls, down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec: Comprising Also the Routes to Lebanon, Ballston, and Saratoga Springs* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1836), 55-60; John Disturnell, *The Travellers' Guide through the State of New-York, Canada, &c.: Embracing a General Description of the City of New-York, the Hudson River Guide and the Fashionable Tour to the Springs and Niagara Falls: with Steam-boat, Rail-road and Stage Routes, Accompanied by Correct Maps* (New York: J. Disturnell, 1836), 54-56; Henry Schenck Tanner, *The American Traveller; Or Guide through the United States: Containing Brief Notices of the Several States, Cities, Principal Towns, Canals and Rail Roads, &c.* (Philadelphia: Published by the Author, 1837), 87; and Willis P. Hazard, *The American Guide Book; Being a Hand-book for Tourists and Travellers through Every Part of the United States* (Philadelphia: G.S. Appleton, 1846), 146-156. The descriptions of the Falls in these guidebooks (some of which were published serially for a number of years) generally followed the pattern set by Dwight, not Davison and Gilpin. Indeed, by the time Hazard published his *American Guide Book* in the mid-1840s, he was able to confidently claim the knowability of the Falls. Like Dwight, Hazard recommended that the Falls “should be visited several times, as they increase in interest and beauty at every succeeding visit.” By such repeated viewings, Hazard claimed the visitor would “at last . . . [learn] by degrees to comprehend the wonders of the scene, and to feel its full magnificence.” Far from an awed lack of words, Hazard's visitors to the Falls are able to “comprehend” its “full magnificence.” See Hazard, *American Guide Book*, 156, 147.

³⁸ Ellet, *Rambles About the Country*, 255-256.

stock of geographical knowledge available to them to craft more complex responses to the sites they visited.

Like the satirists suggested, tourists often cited guidebooks and each other explicitly as well as implicitly. While similar and overlapping descriptions like those of Niagara Falls were commonplace examples of intertextual references in tourists' accounts, they were not necessarily explicit and obvious to a casual reader. Many tourists made these connections obvious, however, by directly quoting or footnoting the names of other travelers, guidebooks, and even geographical grammars and gazetteers. These narratives existed in a web of interconnected reference such that experiences of one journey would sometimes bleed seamlessly into the experiences of the next. Although none took their references to the satirical extreme of Irving, whose *Cockloft* published an outline filled in entirely by footnoted references, many tourists gave their journeys shape and meaning by reference to earlier account of the same spaces and places. These habits of citation, whether implicit or explicit, reinforced the geographical authority and cultural capital of the tourist by demonstrating his or her informed decisions about routes of travel and sites to visit, and by demonstrating worldly reading habits. In a sense, the strategy of citation was the opposite of the strategy of wonderment in that it reinforced the value of reading about travel as well as traveling. But they both demonstrated the cultural capital of the tourist narrator.

John Maude, an Englishman resident in the United States, “traversed the old thirteen United States from the District of Main [sic] to Charleston, in South Carolina” at the turn of the nineteenth century. Even in the era before guidebooks, Maude was well informed textually about the areas through which he traveled. “With Jefferson’s *Notes*

on *Virginia*' in his hand," his editor bragged, "he crossed the series of Mountains which compose the Blue Ridge, and visited those objects, some of which Jefferson so vividly describes." When he published a narrative of his turn-of-the-century visit to Niagara Falls in 1826, he likewise embedded his account in a variety of existing accounts of the Falls. He cited both manuscript and published travel narratives, as well as gazetteers and other sources of geographical knowledge.³⁹ His references to the accounts of other travelers added depth to his description in both time and in explanatory power. Much like other travelers, Maude found the Falls awe-inspiring and overwhelming, but thought that it had lost some of its wonderment in its modern context. "This Cataract," he bemoaned, "bursting upon the sight, after forcing a toilsome passage through dark and dreary forests, and contemplated in the wild and native dress which Nature have it, must have more potently struck the senses, and roused the feelings of its first visitors, than it can now do of those who view it surrounded with mills and houses, and cultivated fields." In order to support this assertion, Maude referred his readers to the travel narratives of Father Hennepin and Baron La Hontaine in the early 1680s and Duc de la

³⁹ Maude cited a wide range of generally well-known travel narratives treating Niagara Falls, dating back more than a century before his own trip. They included, in his own style of citation, "Father Hennepin's (Missionary) Travels from 1679 to 1682, dedicated to King William.—London, printed in 1698, in 2 vols.;" "Baron La Hontaine's Travels from 1683 to 1684. Dedicated to the Duke of Devonshire.—London, printed in 2 vols. in 1703;" "Voyage dans les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, fait en 1795, 1796, & 1797. Par La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. à Paris, l'an 7 de la République;" and *Patrick Campbell, March, 1792* (probably Patrick Campbell, *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792, In Which Is Given an Account of the Manners and Customs of the Indians and the Present War between Them and the Foederal States, the Mode of Life and System of Farming Among the New Settlers of Both Canadas, New York, New England, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Author, 1793)). Maude also referred to manuscript sources, namely letters, in order to integrate his travels with more immediate experience. These letters included "Extract of a Letter from Andrew Ellicot to Dr. Rush, dated Niagara, December 10, 1789;" and "Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Madison County, Kentucky, dated Richmond, April 4, 1805." Finally, he referenced sources of geographical knowledge outside of travel narratives to fill out his descriptions, including the second edition of Jedidiah Morse's *The American Gazetteer* (Boston: S. Hall, and Thomas & Andrews, 1797) and an "Extract of a Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, in obedience to a Resolution of the Senate of the United States of North America, relative to Public Roads and Canals; printed in April, 1808."

Rochefoucauld- Liancourt in the mid 1790s. He also cited travel narratives roughly contemporary to his own in order to confirm his own experience. For example, he descended the ladder to the trail behind the Falls, but despite “having heard of the success of others,” he turned back due to rush of wind, spray, and vapor he encountered. His account of turning back included a reference to Isaac Weld’s *Travels in America*, published in London in the same year that Maude visited the Falls, because Weld’s excursion behind the Falls ended similarly. Weld wrote that he “had no inclination at the time to go farther; nor, indeed, did any of us afterwards attempt to explore the dreary confines of these caverns, where death seemed to await him that should be daring enough to enter their threatening jaws.”⁴⁰ Perhaps Maude was sensitive to appearing cowardly, and wanted to show his readers that his decision to turn back was reasonable. Whatever his motivation, he cited the accounts of other travelers in his work to add complexity to his narrative.

Habits of citation like Maude’s made tourist narratives intertextual documents, but constructing such a narrative required access to a significant library as well as the leisure to search it for appropriate quotations. The added burden that these requirements would put on a turn-of-the-century traveler begs the question of whether such remarks were composed on the spot. Maude was a believer in Thomas Gray’s maxim about the value of words written on the spot, and his editor claimed that “the Author, in the following Journal, has confined himself to memoranda penciled on the spot and written down on the evening of each day.”⁴¹ However, Maude added at least some of his references after his trip, because he cites some sources that were published after 1800.

⁴⁰ Maude, *Visit to the Falls of Niagara in 1800*, ii, 138, 152-154.

⁴¹ Maude, *Visit to the Falls of Niagara*, v.

The length of time between the trip and the publication of the narrative—twenty-six years in this case—also suggests that it may have been supplemented once its author returned home. Nonetheless, it is clear that at least some of Maude’s intertextual references were made in the field; for example, Maude’s view of the Falls as overdeveloped in 1800 was an unusual one, and was most likely influenced by his awareness of the accounts of seventeenth-century travelers. The act of citation was deeply embedded in the act of touring for tourists like Maude.

This integration can be seen even more clearly in tourists’ manuscript accounts. While traveling through western Massachusetts on the way to Niagara Falls, both members of the Bigelow party who wrote manuscript narratives commented that their journey replicated the travels of Mr. Lloyd, a character in Catharine Maria Sedgwick’s novel *A New-England Tale*. Published in 1822, Sedgwick’s novel had achieved regional popularity when the Bigelow party traveled in 1825, and the members of the party had clearly read it and used its narrative of travel to frame their own experience.⁴² On the road to Lebanon, one of the narrators was disappointed in the weather. “The sky, however, continued lowering,” she recorded, “and involved the landscape in considerable obscurity.” She felt a sense of regret, “as we had here hoped to trace and recognize some of the individual beauties which are so powerfully and feelingly pourtrayed [sic] in that interesting little work, *The New-England tale*.”⁴³ The “beauties” to which she referred were the features of the mountainous landscape around Becket, which had charmed Mr. Lloyd’s dying wife and induced him to resettle in Massachusetts in his widowerhood.

⁴² Indeed, *A New-England Tale* was so popular that it was in its second edition with four months of its initial publication. See Mary Kelley, *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 12-13.

⁴³ “Mary Scollay Bigelow Diary, 1825.”

The landscape fit the dictates of the picturesque; in Mr. Lloyd's words, it showed "a more perfect and intimate union of the sublime and beautiful." Sedgwick gave the mountains a moral dimension as well as an aesthetic one; Mrs. Lloyd imagined that "they enclose a sanctuary, a temple, from which the brightness of His presence is never withdrawn."⁴⁴ By referring to "beauties," this tourist deployed both of Sedgwick's assessments of the territory she was passing through, its picturesque qualities and its representation of the upstanding and religious nature of its inhabitants. Indeed, moments later she got over her disappointment, when the clouds changed shape and "infused into our spirits a deep and reverential contemplation."⁴⁵ Sedgwick's experience of the landscape of Becket became her own, which reminded readers of her literary capital.

Traveling through Becket, the other diarist in the Bigelow party also noted that "This region is the scene of Mr Lloyds journey in the New-England tale." Like her traveling companion, she also focused on the virtues of the "mountaineers"—Sedgwick's term for the residents of Becket—as Mr. Lloyd had found them. She observed these moral virtues in landmarks, such as when the "landlord point[ed] out the house where the same man dined who gave those travellers so hospitable a reception."⁴⁶ The house was most likely the "log hut" inhabited by "a ruddy, good-natured, hardy looking mountaineer, [who] had had the misfortune, by some accident in his childhood, to lose the use of both his legs." Notwithstanding his poverty and disability, this mountaineer offered Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd food, shelter from a storm, and "a natural philosophy that a

⁴⁴ Catharine Maria Sedgwick, *A New-England Tale; Or, Sketches of New-England Character and Manners* (New York: E. Bliss & E. White, 1822), 48.

⁴⁵ "Mary Scollay Bigelow Diary, 1825."

⁴⁶ "Mary Scollay Bigelow Diary, 1825."

stoic might have envied.”⁴⁷ It was perhaps odd to pick out a landmark from a fictional journey, but her notice of it points to the strength of Sedgwick’s interpretation of the mountaineers. Indeed, the tourist’s assessment of the landlord echoed Sedgwick’s interpretive framework: “this we heard was a poor house,” she wrote, “but they gave us clean + comfortable beds.”⁴⁸ The acts of touring, of narration, and of citation were not distinct; instead, they informed each other; the Bigelow party followed in the Lloyds’ footsteps, and in turn the Lloyds’ interpretation of their experiences shaped those of the members of the Bigelow party. This intertextual nexus spoke to the cultural capital of the Bigelow party as they crossed the mountains of Massachusetts.

Unsurprisingly, the habits of citation were not evenly distributed amongst tourists on the early republic’s roads. There was a wealth of sources for travel narrators to cite for some routes and some destinations—Niagara was one of the best-documented examples—and a paucity of citations for places and spaces not on the tourist routes. Henry Schoolcraft’s 1821 *Narrative Journal of Travels through the Northwestern Regions of the United States* illustrates this point. Schoolcraft served as the mineralogist for an expedition led by Michigan governor Lewis Cass, which intended to establish relationships with the Indians living around the Great Lakes, to build forts and claim mineral rights in the region, and to fix the source of the Mississippi. Schoolcraft began his expensively printed account of the expedition with a catalog of earlier explorers to the region, the quality of whose accounts was a decidedly mixed bag. “It cannot be denied,” Schoolcraft claimed, “that amidst much sound and useful information, there has been mingled no inconsiderable proportion, that is deceptive, hypothetical, or false; and upon

⁴⁷ Sedgwick, *A New-England Tale*, 42-43.

⁴⁸ “Mary Scollay Bigelow Diary, 1825.”

the whole, that the progress of information has not kept pace with the increased importance which of that section of the union has latterly assumed.”⁴⁹ Schoolcraft gave his readers summaries of the experiences of earlier travelers over the same ground, but he dismissed them as out of date or otherwise irrelevant. Unlike Maude or the Bigelow party, Schoolcraft reinforced the validity of his own tour by citing and then denying the validity of earlier travelers, much like Captain Marryat had Barnstaple recommend. True to his assessment, he rarely referred to earlier travel narratives in the body of his own narrative, preferring instead to present himself as an explorer of uncharted territory.

However, Schoolcraft did not entirely reject the habit of citation. The first chapter of his narrative recounted his “Preliminary Tour from the City of New-York to Detroit,” where the members of the expedition were to meet. This route was a well established one by 1820, well served by steamboats, stagecoach lines, and in places, the under-construction Erie Canal. This chapter of Schoolcraft’s account, in contrast to the others, is particularly well cited, with extensive references to the census, gazetteers, scientific papers, newspapers, and government reports, in addition to the narratives of other travelers. Indeed, Schoolcraft included so many references, and cited his informants at such great length, that the pages of his first chapter appeared at times like those of Frederick Shelton’s satirical *The Trollopiad, Or, Travelling Gentlemen in America*:

⁴⁹ Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels through the Northwestern Regions of the United States: Extending from Detroit through the Great Chain of American Lakes, to the Sources of the Mississippi River; Performed as a Member of the Expedition under Governor Cass in the Year 1820* (Albany: E. & E. Hosford, 1821), xii. The previous travelers to the upper Great Lakes and the headwaters of the Mississippi whose accounts Schoolcraft cites as the context to his own journey include Father Joseph Marquette (1673), Robert de la Salle (1678), Father Louis Hennepin (1780), Baron la Hontan (1688), P. De Charlevoix (1721), Alexander Henry, Esq. (1760), [Jonathan] Carver (1766), Samuel Hearne (1769-1772), [Alexander] McKenzie (1789 and 1793), and [Zebulon M.] Pike (1805-1806).

al foundry.* The accommodations of the boat are all that could be wished, and nothing occurred to interrupt the delight, which a passage at this season, affords. The distance is computed at three hundred miles; the time we employed in the voyage was sixty-two hours, which gives an average rate of travelling of five miles per hour. The first two miles after leaving Black Rock, a very heavy rapid is encountered, in ascending which, the assistance of oxen is required. It terminates a short distance below the mouth of Buffalo creek, and immediately opposite the village of Buffalo, where we find ourselves on the level of the waters of Lake Erie five hundred and sixty feet above the tide waters of the Hudson river.† In passing through Lake Erie, the Boat touches at the town of Erie, in Pennsylvania, at the mouth of Grande River, and at the towns of Cleaveland and Portland, in Ohio, the latter situated on Sandusky Bay. On coming out of this Bay, we passed a large and well wooded island, which bears the name of Cunningham, and immediately came in sight of the rocky cluster of the Put-in-Bay or Bass Islands ‡

* M^o Queen's, New-York.

† See Report of the New York Canal Commissioners, to the Legislature, accompanied with a chart.

‡ "The Bass islands form a group of seven, lying about three miles from part of the Sandusky peninsula, and, as I have already observed, seven or eight miles northwest of Cunningham's island. Put-in-bay, is formed by a curve of the largest and most southern of the Bass groups, having two entrances, one from the east and the other from the west. The bay is very finely land-locked. The second large island of the group, stretching from east to west across the widest part at half a mile distant, and one of the smaller islands lying opposite each channel. The three main islands do not differ much in extent, though that in which is Put-in-bay is the largest. All are uninhabited, and covered with a dense forest. I had no means to determine their area with certainty, but judged

which afford one of the best harbours in the lake, and have acquired some celebrity from the circumstance of Com. Perry's having been at anchor there on the morning previous to the memorable victory

the three main islands to average about one and a half miles long, and half a mile wide, and may cover from 2,500 to 3000 acres taken collectively, resting upon a solid mass of schistose rock in great part limestone. From here limestone, for the purpose of making lime, is carried as far as Detroit and Cleaveland. The soil is excellent, and would admit a settlement of thirty or forty families. But every object of utility to which the Bass islands could be applied, yields to the importance of Put-in-bay. This fine haven admits entrance and anchorage for vessels of any supposable draught, safe from all winds. It must become, from its position and depth of water, an object of great national value. No harbour in Lake Erie, or in its connecting waters, except in Erie strait, can in any respect compare with it; its occupation as a naval and commercial station must one day take place."—*Darby's Tour to Detroit*, p. 185, 186.

In one of the smallest of these Islands, called Moss Island, a large quantity of crystalized sulphat of Strontian, has recently been discovered.

Having received several specimens of this mineral, from Mr. Wm. A. Bird, of Troy, one of which is the fragment of a crystal weighing two pounds, I wrote to him for some account of its locality and geognostic position, and shall here, although without having solicited his permission, make an extract from the reply, with which he favoured me.

"On our return down the lake last fall, (1820) we were balm'd near the Islands in Lake Erie—I took a boat and accompanied by Maj. Delafield, Mr. A. Stebensen, and Mr. De Russy (who was to be our guide) went in search of the Strontian to the main shore, where Mr. De Russy says, it was found in the summer of 1819. After an unsuccessful search of an hour, we gave it up and determined to return to our vessel—on our way we stopped at Moss Island, when immediately on landing, we found the mineral in question,—I wandered a little from the others, and found the large bed of which I spoke to you. We there procured large quantities, and some large crystals.

7

Figure 8: Pages from Henry Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels*

These citations, with their extensive quotations and footnoted format, combined with the relative arduousness of Schoolcraft's journey, suggest that his citations were added while editing his narrative after his return home. Indeed, in his preface, he acknowledged "the obligations which I have incurred in transcribing [my Journal], by availing myself of a free access to the valuable Library of His Excellency De Witt Clinton."⁵⁰ The contrast between Schoolcraft's first chapter and his subsequent chapters highlights the sharp difference in available sources for citation for different routes of travel. Tourists who

⁵⁰ Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels*, xiv.

journeyed along established routes to established destinations could embed their experience in a matrix of previously recounted experiences, whereas travelers off the beaten path did not have that luxury, or could more easily dismiss the validity of those that had gone before.

The formula identified by the authors of travel satires was remarkably accurate; many tourists wrote accounts that included exactly the tropes that the satires suggested they would. However, tourists' narratives resisted the critics' and satirists' suggestion that they were superficial, exaggerated, or fictional. Rather, it was precisely those tropes that made "tours" into "pilgrimages," a conceptual shift that made them into carriers of social status and cultural capital as well as of cliché. This dual nature in the discourse of tourism in the early republic made it an ambivalent category of travel: it was both skimming over the surface of things and a pilgrimage, in a very real sense. This was the same ambivalence that lay behind Dr. Johnson's attitude towards Italy in the previous century. British travelers to Italy almost universally produced unoriginal, clichéd accounts of their tours, which provided neither "profit [nor] delight" to their readers, but at the same time, a tour to Italy was an important social and cultural rite of passage for British gentlemen. A visit to Niagara Falls and other tourist destinations never achieved the kind of dominance that Italy had in the minds of eighteenth-century British gentlemen, but tourists in America were subject to the same criticisms and profited from the same social benefits as their European predecessors. What the accusation of tourism could take away, the promise of tourism could also give.

Chapter Six

The Straight-Jacket Mode of Journeying: The Ambivalent Transportation Revolution

Dr. Johnson may have been intrigued by the prospect of a pilgrimage to Italy or a tour of the wall of China, but not all such prospects excited his imagination. In *Table Talk*, Boswell recorded that “Johnson always expressed repugnance to visit Ireland.” Boswell asked him if he did not think the Giant’s Causeway was worth seeing, and Dr. Johnson responded, “Worth seeing? Yes, but not worth going to see.” As was often the case, Dr. Johnson was of two minds: travel that was too easy and too rapid led to meaningless observations, but travel that was too difficult prevented people from seeing things that were otherwise “worth seeing.” Boswell noted Dr. Johnson’s dislike of difficult travel, speculating that “[p]erhaps the difficulty of getting to Ireland in those days had something to do with this repugnance. Mr. Edgeworth was once detained for some weeks, by contrary winds preventing him crossing the Channel.”¹ Perhaps the Giant’s Causeway might have joined Italy and the wall of China on Dr. Johnson’s list of springtime daydreams if only easy travel to Ireland had been a commodity that was more readily available in his day.

We saw in Chapter Three that the commodification of travel in the United States created conditions on the ground that were conducive to the development of tourism. As

¹ James Macaulay and Samuel Johnson, *Doctor Johnson His Life, Works & Table Talk* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1884), 134-135.

the term “tourist” acquired negative connotations in the nineteenth century, so too did the commodified means of transportation that were associated with it. But like Dr. Johnson, travelers and observers of travel in the early nineteenth century were of two minds about the commodification of travel: they were pulled, to borrow a phrase from Leo Marx, who borrowed it from Henry Adams, by “two kingdoms of force.”² Many observers marveled at the enormous new opportunities that the transportation revolution created and the enormous amount of inconvenience that it eliminated. But the change was mourned and resisted by other observers, who looked back at pre-commodified travel as a golden era of safety, courtesy, honesty, and freedom. Some embraced the possibilities that it created, while others mourned the straightjackets that it imposed. All agreed, however, that the changing means and conditions of travel fundamentally changed the meaning of travel, and made it into something more like tourism.

Supporters of the commodification of travel took many of their cues from political advocates of internal improvements. As John Lauritz Larson has pointed out, “internal improvements” initially referred to “all kinds of programs to encourage security, prosperity, and enlightenment among the people of the new United States,” but by the early nineteenth century had been “narrowed ... until it became synonymous with public

² In his classic American Studies text *The Machine in the Garden*, Marx argued that the dominant (or even controlling) trope of American culture in the nineteenth century was the intrusion of technology and technologism into the pastoral American landscape. He identified the “machine” and the “garden” as ideals that were in tension in American culture between the 1830s and the end of the nineteenth century, and he argued that this tension created a profoundly ambivalent attitude towards the interaction of these “two kingdoms of force.” It is this sense of ambivalence, identified but not fully explicated by Marx, that this chapter hopes to explain, at least as far as it relates to the technologies of transportation. In doing so, it places a very different valence on the “transportation revolution” than does the typical teleology of economic history. The Prologue and Chapter 3 also address the ambivalent attitude of contemporary observers towards the “transportation revolution.” See Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden; Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

works for improved transportation, because in the sprawling continental Union nothing threatened the mutual interests of the citizens and their states like geographical isolation.”³ The argument for internal improvements, most comprehensive articulated by Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in his 1808 *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Subject of Public Roads and Canals*, was that a centralized program of transportation development would supercede local political and economic interests and bring prosperity and national unity to the entire country. In a sense, the republican push for internal improvements was a product of the same cultural moment as the national geographical grammars and gazetteers that followed the publication of Jedidiah Morse’s *Geography Made Easy* in 1784, in that it sought national identity through geographical integration, whether in the realm of knowledge or in the realm of transportation. Although Gallatin’s plan was aggressively pursued by after the end of the war of 1812 by prominent nationalists like John Calhoun and Henry Clay, it was tossed by storms of local interest in the 1820s and eventually foundered on the rocks of Andrew Jackson’s administration. States took up the cause of internal improvements after New York’s success with the Erie Canal in 1825, and transportation projects remained largely in their hands, as well as in those of private investors, until the rise of large-scale federal railroad subsidies after the Civil War. However, both national and local promoters of internal improvements continued to argue that such investments in transportation would bring widespread economic growth and enhance national political and cultural unity.⁴

³ John Lauritz Larson, *Internal Improvement: National Public Works and the Promise of Popular Government in the Early United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 3.

⁴ Larson’s *Internal Improvement* is the single best source on the politics of internal improvements in the early nineteenth century. George Rogers Taylor’s *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York: Rhinehart, 1951) exhaustively details the physical manifestations of the push for internal improvements, as well as their economic and financial effects. See also Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), ch. 3.

The language used by observers of the commodification of travelers was highly reminiscent of that used by national advocates of internal improvements. For example, Henry Clay, whose American Plan was built on a platform of internal improvements modeled on Gallatin's 1808 proposal, hoped that the development of internal markets would bring economic growth, but more importantly, it would counteract "the 'geographical tendency to disunion' inherent in a vast and rapidly expanding nation." It would do so by "multiply[ing] and strengthen[ing] the various innumerable ties of commercial, social, and literary intercourse."⁵ Promoters of commodified travel made similar arguments. In his 1825 guidebook, Gideon Davison hailed New York State's investment in the Erie Canal, from which the state "is destined to reap a full harvest of prosperity." The Erie Canal era was already off to a promising start, but "its meridian splendor" would come when interstate connections were built, "uniting with her own the navigable waters of her sister states," which would "serve as so many ligaments to bind the confederacy in the indissoluble bonds of friendship and interest."⁶ Like his contemporary Clay, Davison saw prosperity and national unity as the "meridian splendor" of the new transportation technologies, and he enthusiastically recommended them to his readers on those grounds.

Theodore Dwight, writing almost ten years later, had an even clearer vision of the national benefits of commodified travel. "Steamboats, canals, and railroads, in their different spheres, have done so much to promote brotherly love among our countrymen, and promise so much more, that I look upon them with a kind of affectionate gratitude,"

⁵ Kimberly C. Shankman, *Compromise and the Constitution: The Political Thought of Henry Clay* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 1999), 49-50.

⁶ Gideon M. Davison, *The Fashionable Tour, In 1825. An Excursion to the Springs, Niagara, Quebec and Boston* (Saratoga Springs, G. M. Davison, 1825), 116.

he wrote. Looking back to the early years of the United States, he remembered the fears of disunion that accompanied the attempt to establish a nation on such a large geographical scale. However, by the mid-1830s he was confident that such fears had been overcome by commodified travel, because by making travel between sections quick, inexpensive, and simple, it had diminished sectional loyalties and made travelers into truly national citizens. “It has been said of some of our countrymen that they have no home,” Dwight enthused, “but it might be more truly said of them all, that they have half a dozen; the stage-coach, the canal-boat, the steamboat, the packet-ship, the inn, and now the railroad car. The vehicles for travelling thus furnish us with a practical refutation of all the prognostics that have been proclaimed of evil to our country, from want to intercourse between its different parts, founded on the experience of other nations; for they have made to differ from them in this most essential particular.”⁷ Dwight linked the nationalist goals of internal improvements more closely to actual traveling than did Clay or Davison. For Dwight, it was the movement of people, and their “inhabitation” of the new modes of transit, more than just circulation of goods and texts, that truly had a unifying effect. Indeed, it was the “vehicles for travelling” themselves, as well as travelers’ newfound ability to “inhabit” them, that had true meaning.

Writers who celebrated the increasing ease and availability of travel echoed this sense that internal improvements were fundamentally progressive. In 1841, English geographer J. R. Jackson celebrated “the present facilities for travelling” by arguing that “in proportion as those facilities are great, the result should be beneficial.”⁸ The

⁷ Theodore Dwight, *Things As They Are; Or, Notes of a Traveller Through Some of the Middle and Northern States* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1834), 27.

⁸ J. R. Jackson, *What to Observe; or the Traveller’s Remembrancer* (London: James Madden & Co., 1841), iii.

commodification of travel created enormous opportunities for new travelers, by lowering the cost of travel in terms of time, money, and the amount of practical preparation needed by individual travelers. As we saw in the prologue, E. L. Blanchard's 1847 *Heads and Tales of Travellers & Travelling: A Book for Everybody, Going Anywhere* opened with the observation that "[t]here is indeed a wide field open" for modern travelers. "Taking advantage of the numberless varieties of locomotion," he wrote, "we might tempt you in turn to make trial of all the means of transport which civilization, chance, and conveyance-companies have provided, at different time[s], for the exportation of the biped series."⁹ Similarly, Joachim Stocqueler, in his 1860 address at Clinton Hall, celebrated his contemporaries who, "availing themselves of the increased means of locomotion, have manifested a passion for travel in a still greater degree" than their predecessors. In his mind, commodification had a salutary effect because it encouraged more individuals to go and see the sights for themselves, rather than "contemplating the world through the medium of books only." In this new world, "[c]uriosity will not be satisfied by mere report."¹⁰ For promoters of travel like Jackson and Stocqueler, the commodification of travel was to be celebrated because it opened such a wide new field of possibility.

Not surprisingly, this enthusiasm about the possibilities of travel technology was frequently echoed by the writers of the earliest guidebooks, who not only stood to profit from the increases in traveling crowds, but who were themselves also selling a novel kind of transportation technology. For Davison, Dwight, and Henry Gilpin, the writers of the

⁹ Edward L. Blanchard, *Heads and Tales of Travellers & Travelling: A Book for Everybody, Going Anywhere* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1847), 8-9.

¹⁰ Joachim Stocqueler, *Travel, Its Pleasures, Advantages, and Requirements: A Lecture by J. H. Siddons, Delivered at Clinton Hall, New York, February, 1860* (New York: H. H. Lloyd & Co., 1860), 282.

very first guidebooks in the mid-1820s, the commodification of travel was not yet far enough accomplished along the northern “fashionable tour” to be listed as an encouragement for their readers. However, by the early 1830s, guidebook authors celebrated the implementation of more regular stagecoach service and the construction of canals and the earliest railroads as increased incentives for travel. As early as 1830, Davison’s fourth edition of *The Fashionable Tour* crowed that “the recent gigantic internal improvements in the northern and middle states, and the development of new and highly interesting natural scenery, together with the increasing facilities for travelling, have greatly augmented the number of tourists within a short period.” The appeal of the sights he described, along with the “increasing facilities for travelling,” could not “fail of insuring a traveller a rich compensation for the toils incident to a journey.”¹¹ In 1832, Robert Baird’s guide to the Mississippi valley rejoiced that “[e]very year, hundreds, and even thousands, are making a tour through the whole or a part of the Valley of the Mississippi,” thanks at least in part to “the routes which lead to the West, the steam-boats, lines of stages, [and] accommodations,” all of which his guidebook conveniently cataloged for the traveler.¹² Guidebook authors were enthusiastic about the commodification of travel because it increased the number of travelers and the scope of

¹¹ Gideon M. Davison, *The Fashionable Tour: A Guide to Travellers Visiting the Middle and Northern States, and The Provinces of Canada* (Saratoga Springs: G. M. Davison, 1830), Introduction.

¹² Robert Baird, *View of the Valley of the Mississippi, or The Emigrant’s and Traveller’s Guide to the West: Containing a General Description of That Entire Country; and Also, Notices of the Soil, Productions, Rivers, and Other Channels of Intercourse and Trade: and Likewise of the Cities and Towns, Progress of Education, &c. of Each State and Territory* (Philadelphia: H.S. Tanner, 1832), iv. John Mason Peck made a similar point about travel to the same region of the country a few years later, in his 1836 *New Guide for Emigrants to the West*. “Some knowledge of the routes that lead to different parts of this valley, the lines of steamboats and stages, cities, town, public institutions, manners and customs of the people, &c., is certainly desirable to all who travel,” he wrote, and promised to provide exactly that knowledge to such tourists who came to take advantage of this newly commodified travel to the region. See John Mason Peck, *A New Guide for Emigrants to the West: Containing Sketches of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, with the Territories of Wisconsin and Arkansas, and the Adjacent Parts* (Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1836), ix.

their travel, as well as the distribution possibilities for their products. All of these developments helped to increase the market for guidebooks. Indeed, as we saw in the second chapter, the number and size of guidebooks proliferated and expanded in the 1840s and 1850s, precisely the decades in which the commodification of travel was spreading aggressively across the American landscape.

Guidebook authors also embraced commodification for the same reasons that motivated other promoters of internal improvements. Wellington Williams's *Appleton's Northern and Eastern Traveller's Guide*, published throughout the 1850s by D. Appleton & Company, was "particularly designed for the use of travellers," and suited to "the judgment of the intelligent Tourist." However, Williams also thought that it would "be found of great service to the public generally,—especially to those directly interested in the prosecution of works of internal improvement, or who may contemplate becoming so." A traveler's knowledge of the marketplace for travel was also an investor's knowledge, and Williams's guidebook would help an investor determine if "the keen eye of American enterprise" had made a "judicious selection of a route" In his enthusiasm, Williams claimed that "[i]nvestments in railroad stock are the safest and most profitable in the country"—a claim that held true for the well-established and consolidated eastern railroads but which was profoundly misleading in regard to many western and more speculative railroads.¹³ "For another class" besides investors in internal improvements, Williams went on, "our work will have a higher interest than that derived from the calculations of pecuniary advantage. The eye of patriotism will here see portrayed those mighty works, whether completed or in progress, that are bringing the most distant parts of the Union into the neighborhood; and which, by blending into one the interests of the

¹³ Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 103.

East and the West, the North and the South, are creating an additional guarantee for the repose and permanence of our great confederacy.”¹⁴ Like other promoters of internal improvements, guidebook authors like Williams saw both commercial and national import in the commodification of travel—indeed, investment in transportation improvements was an act of patriotism—and he designed his guidebook to lead travelers to the same conclusion.

More than just a cheerleader of the commodification of travel, Williams was aware of his own role in the process. He offered several innovations that made his guidebook more useable in an age of commodified travel, which he thought were original but which in truth were shared by many of his contemporaries. He removed the lengthy tables of routes that had been a standard feature of guidebooks since their origins in British books of roads, but which were bulky and of little use to passengers being transported by mechanical means. He also eliminated the standard large foldout map pasted into the flyleaf, which “from the smallness of the scale on which it is graduated, is of very little practical use in a railroad car—and which, from its size, and the necessity of its being opened and re-opened, folded and refolded, is extremely inconvenient in a crowded conveyance, as well as an annoyance to its possessor and his fellow-passengers.” Instead, Williams divided his guidebook into a series of routes, following the lines of commodified travel, each with their own small map and list of distances as traveled by modern conveyance. As a result, “[w]ith this book in his hand, the Traveller, as he proceeds on his journey in the railroad car, or glides along in the swift and graceful

¹⁴ Wellington Williams, *Appleton’s Northern and Eastern Traveller’s Guide: With New and Authentic Maps, Illustrating those Divisions of the Country. Forming, Likewise, A Complete Guide to the Middle States, Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia ... Illustrated with Numerous Maps and Plans of Cities, Engraved on Steel, and Several Wood Engravings* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1850), 3.

steamboat, can open to the route he is going, and follow it through without trouble or inconvenience.” Each route’s combination of maps, description, and “all the requisite information respecting hotels, &c., and the charges for boarding—places of amusement—interesting localities in the vicinity, &c., &c.” was explicitly organized according to the dictates of commodified travel. As such, his guidebook contributed to the process of commodification. As such texts became more tightly linked to the routes of canals, steamboats, and railroads, they removed ever more of the burden of marshalling specific geographical knowledge from individual travelers and further decreased the need for improvisation on the road. Indeed, the conveniently packaged geographical knowledge that guidebooks like Williams’s offered for sale in the marketplace came from the same sources as that which spurred the development of travel technology. He gathered much of his information from “a correspondence with individuals connected with the routes,” and he solicited “Railroad and Steamboat Companies ... to forward us the latest information relative to their respective lines, which shall be attended to in our corrected editions.”¹⁵ Williams celebrated the commercial and national potential of the commodification of travel, and he designed his guidebook to further its development.

Observers of travel were not only enthused by the increased volume of travel that commodification enabled. They also thought that the technological advancements of commodified travel were themselves worthy tourist destinations. This theme of travel technology as tourist destination was most pronounced in earliest years of each technology’s development. The Erie Canal was a particularly popular destination for such technological tourism. Not only was it the first long-distance canal constructed in

¹⁵ Williams, *Appleton’s Northern and Eastern Traveller’s Guide*, 3-4, 5.

the United States, but it also lay conveniently along the already established route of the “Fashionable Tour” between Saratoga Springs and Niagara Falls. Its celebration began before it was even completed. In 1824, Horatio Gates Spafford published his *Pocket Guide for the Tourist and Traveller, Along the Line of the Canals, and the Interior Commerce of the State of New York*, which he described as a “Small Directory for the Pocket, embracing the vast extent of the lines of natural and artificial navigation in this State, has become no less a desideratum with tourists and travellers than with men of business,—the merchant, farmer, transporter, boatman, and all description of persons, whose interest or curiosity is excited by the new and novel course of business and events among us.”¹⁶ Internal improvements such as the canal were valuable not only as engines of economic growth, of interest to “the merchant, farmer, transporter, boatman,” but were also a “curiosity” for “tourists and travellers.” A year later, Davison dedicated four pages to the canal in the second edition of his *Fashionable Tour*, published in 1825, the same year that it opened, which described its “magnificent structure” in glowing terms. Davison declared that “[t]he whole workmanship evinces a degree of beauty and proportion consistent with the greatest strength,” and he suggested that “the state of New-York is destined to reap a full harvest of prosperity” from its completion. The technological advance represented by the canal made it a worthy object of tourism, because “[o]f the sources of gratification to the tourist, during the canal passage, that of novelty is perhaps the greatest. To the man of pleasure, it will be considered, perhaps, too little diversified with incident to be repeated; but to the man of objection will probably yield to the united considerations of the convenience, safety, and rapidity of this

¹⁶ Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Pocket Guide for the Tourist and Traveller, Along the Line of the Canals, and the Interior Commerce of the State of New York* (New York, T. and J. Swords, 1824), Preface.

mode of conveyance.”¹⁷ The novelty of technological innovation presented by the canal made it a destination for travel as well as a means of travel.

Railroads offered a similar novelty that made them a tourist destination in their early years. Charles Varle’s 1833 *A Complete View of Baltimore*, a guidebook for travelers to “the Metropolis of the state of Maryland, the third commercial city of the United States,” featured extensive coverage of the railroads leading to Baltimore, which were very much a novelty in 1833. Not only did it include usual guidebook information about depots, schedules, prices, routes, and available connections, it also included a lengthy “Narrative of an Excursion on the Baltimore & Ohio Rail Road.”¹⁸ Like Davison, Varle waxed enthusiastic about the “solid and beautiful” and “new and ingenious” engineering feat represented by the new mode of transportation. It was worth taking a trip on the railroad because “this mode of travelling, sometimes over ridges, at other times in deep artificial chasms, now over bridges, and soon after under them, was quite a novelty, and highly interesting.” When passing over a bridge over the Baltimore and Frederick Turnpike, Varle marveled at “the difference between the slow paced vehicles passing below us on the turnpike, and the easy and rapid movement of our

¹⁷ Davison, *The Fashionable Tour* (1825), 113, 115, 116-117.

¹⁸ The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was the company whose carefully scheduled cars carried the Richardson party from the terminus of the Wheeling stagecoaches in Cumberland to Baltimore in 1844. In 1833, however, the railroad only extended as far west as Frederick, Maryland, but Varle’s guide nonetheless included information about stagecoach connections to points farther west. “The mail car starts at 5 o’clock, P. M.,” Varle informed his readers, and “when travellers are going further than Frederick, seats may be taken at the different stage offices, whence passengers are taken to the cars.” Even the relatively abbreviated B&O railroad of 1833 was already integrated into a commodified web of travel services designed to carry travelers across the Alleghenies and into the Ohio Valley. See Charles Varle, *A Complete View of Baltimore, With a Statistical Sketch, of All the Commercial, Mercantile, Manufacturing, Literary, Scientific, and Religious Institutions and Establishments, in the Same, and in Its Vicinity, Derived from Personal Observation and Research; To Which Is Added, a Detailed Statement of an Excursion on the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road to the Point of Rocks, and an Advertising Directory* (Baltimore: S. Young, 1833), 75. The tourist account of the B&O occupies 108-126.

cars.”¹⁹ Writing in 1847, Theodore Dwight agreed that the railroad’s passage of “a broad and deep valley on top of a great embankment, while a stream and a country-road cross its route through arched openings far beneath” was one of the “several fine sights presented on that part of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.”²⁰ The experience of riding on such a technologically advanced and novel form of transportation was in itself a reason to travel to Baltimore.

The appeal of transportation technology as an end of travel in and of itself did not end when the novelty faded. Even as late as 1837, a dozen years after the opening of the Erie Canal, Davison still thought that the recently opened Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, from Georgetown in the District of Columbia to Cumberland, Maryland, was a worthy destination to which he should guide his readers. As a work of modern engineering, it could inspire awe: “The rugged country through which it passes; the solid and beautiful masonry of the locks and aqueducts—all conspire to impress upon the traveller a high sense of the skill of the engineers and of the enterprise of the company, which has persevered in the work under so many appalling difficulties.” It was worth visiting because some of its aqueducts were “perhaps not exceeded by any thing in this country, for beauty and lightness of design and solidity of construction.” However, the canal was not just a worthwhile travel destination because it was an engineering miracle; riding on the canal was also an aesthetic experience. “The wildness of the scenery around sets off to a greater advantage these triumphs of art over nature,” Davison claimed. “The scenery itself is grand and imposing, and when viewed in connection with the monuments of human genius and perseverance which are seen at the base of the cliffs, it assumes the

¹⁹ Varle, *A Complete View of Baltimore*, 110-111, 113.

²⁰ Theodore Dwight, *Summer Tours; Or, Notes of a Traveler through Some of the Middle and Northern States* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1847), 23.

character of sublimity. He must indeed have a dull spirit, who, carried along by boat or car, can view it unmoved.”²¹ In this description of canal traveling, Davison segued seamlessly into a second common reason that travelers embraced commodification: riding on these new technologies was a stimulating aesthetic experience.

Perhaps no traveler embraced the aesthetic experience of commodified travel more than Philadelphia evangelical minister John Alonzo Clark. He made a series of trips to the west in the late 1830s and early 1840s to bolster his failing health, and his route westward from Philadelphia allowed him to enjoy some of the newest technologies that commodified travel had to offer. On all of these trips, he engaged with the classic categories of aesthetic appreciation of landscape. As we saw in the fourth and fifth chapters, tourists frequently used the language of the sublime, the beautiful, and the picturesque, developed in the eighteenth century by Edmund Burke and William Gilpin, to describe landscape and to burnish their cultural capital. Clark deployed all three categories on his tours, and in each case, his use of commodified travel served to heighten the effect of the scenery he observed by providing a distilled aesthetic experience.

Leaving home on the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad in June of 1837, Clark found his means of travel stimulating right from the start. “There is something very exhilarating in the act of being borne through a beautiful country at the rate of fifteen miles an hour,” he recorded. “As we passed along from the city, one varied, and verdant scene of all that is lovely in hill and dale, forest and field, orchard and farm-house, presented itself in quick succession after another—filling up the whole way with images

²¹ Gideon M. Davison, *The Traveller's Guide Through the Middle and Northern States, and the Provinces of Canada* (Saratoga Springs: G.M. Davison, 1837), 50-51.

as beautiful and varied as are brought to the eye by every turn of the kaleidoscope.” The rapidity and smoothness of train travel, which allowed the traveler to “skim over the surface of the ground with the fleetness of the wind,” created a fundamentally different aesthetic experience than what he later dismissed as the “common stage coach.”²² It moved different categories of scenery by the window of the coach so quickly that it all began to blur together into a “varied, and verdant scene of all that is lovely in hill and dale,” a sort of distillation of the aesthetic experience of landscape into its component parts. Burke and Gilpin had taught British and American tourists to identify and analyze discrete sublime, picturesque, or beautiful scenes, each one of which was unique enough to require its own description. But for Clark, travel by railroad distilled the landscape into a pure experience of the beautiful.

Traveling westward from Harrisburg, Clark had an opportunity to experience canal travel on the Eastern Division Canal of the Pennsylvania Main Line of Public Works. He found the slower canal travel to be largely an experience “of calm—quiet beauty.” The landscape along the canal was characterized by “the rural beauties that clustered thick around us.” This sense of peaceful contemplation of gentle landscapes was enhanced by the particularities of canal travel, which “awakened somewhat of a romantic feeling as we sat down to our tea, borne quietly along.” Indeed, the “solemn stillness reigning through almost the entire extent of this valley” was “seldom broken save when the sound of the boatman’s horn, or the heavy tread of the horse on the tow path, went up the mountain side.” The leisurely pace and quiet movement of canal travel heightened Clark’s appreciation of the rustic beauty of central Pennsylvania in terms reminiscent of Burke—as long as the canal was functioning properly. A storm came

²² John Alonzo Clark, *Gleanings by the Way* (Philadelphia: W.J. & J.K. Simon, 1842), 26, 202.

upon their packet just as it was crossing the Susquehanna, which cast “a sublimity and awful grandeur that gathered around that hour and spot.” The aqueduct that carried the canal across the river was in disrepair, which forced their canal boat to cross in the current of the river itself by means of a cable. “The waters seemed rough and threatening, and many of the passengers felt a sense of great insecurity,” Clark recalled. “To many on board, though I presume there was no danger, it was a moment of deep and awful suspense.”²³ Not only was Clark’s contemplation of Burkean beauty enhanced by the mode of canal travel, his exhilarating experience of the sublime was enhanced by its dysfunction.

More novel aesthetic stimulation came on the Alleghany Portage Rail Road, a series of fixed-incline railroads powered by stationary steam engines that hauled the cargo, passengers, and even the boats themselves of the Pennsylvania Main Line over the crest of the Alleghenies from Hollidaysburg, in the Susquehanna River basin, to Johnstown, in the Ohio River basin. This incline railroad was a unique piece of advanced engineering that solved the problem of carrying canal traffic over a high mountain ridge, even if it did so at such expense that it was never a moneymaking proposition. Riding the Alleghany Portage Rail Road, Clark “found the scenery altogether of a new, wild, and more rugged cast.” In his description, the sublime scenery of the Alleghenies was made more vivid by the experience of rapid vertical motion on the incline. “Our ascent amid these vast summits,—the wonderful velocity with which we were borne—the ease with which we seemed to move through the gaps of the mountains, and over the tops of these everlasting hills—surrounded at every step by the most picturesque and gigantic elevations, appeared like the effect of enchantment,” he raved. As his “train of cars still

²³ Clark, *Gleanings by the Way*, 27, 30, 28-29.

flew upward till we reached the very tops of the mountains of wilds and fastnesses that stood in such majestic grandeur around us,” he felt the “invigorating and exhilarating influence” of the mountain atmosphere and a “new buoyancy” of the spirit as “the majestic scene that stretched around us.”²⁴ Not only did new travel technology distill aesthetic experience into newly potent blends, it also heightened old sensations to new levels of intensity.



Figure 9: Thomas Cole, *River in the Catskills*, 1843. Cole had painted this view at least ten times after 1827; this painting was the first to feature a railroad, suggesting that by the 1840s, railroads had become an aesthetic feature of picturesque landscape.²⁵

In Pittsburgh, he traded his canal packet for the steamboat *The Elk*. He looked forward to the trip down to Louisville—that same trip made by Richardson, in the same

²⁴ Clark, *Gleanings by the Way*, 33.

²⁵ See Alan Wallach, “Thomas Cole’s ‘River in the Catskills’ as Antipastoral,” *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 2 (June, 2002), 334-350.

era, albeit in the other direction—because of “*the beautiful river*, as the name Ohio denotes.” His anticipation of the scenic pleasures of the Ohio valley reached a fever pitch as *The Elk* slipped into the stream, a moment the “luxury” of which “was worth travelling four hundred miles to enjoy.” The “luxury” of the Ohio’s scenery was complemented by the luxury of steamboat transport. “I know of nothing more delightful than to sit at one’s ease,” Clark mused, “and be wafted down such a beautiful stream as this, winding its graceful and circuitous way through groves and grass-covered fields, and beautiful woodland scenes.” The serene and peaceful beauty of the riverbanks was heightened by the effortless comfort of riding in a steamboat rather than a jolting stagecoach—in much the same way that the mountain grandeur of the Alleghenies was heightened by the meteoric progress of the incline railroad. The experience of commodified travel framed the experience of the landscape. “As one sits in a sheltered nook in the cabin, gliding down such a stream, with such a scenery around him, and feeling the cool refreshing breeze fanning his fevered brow, and imparting vigour and new elasticity to his enervated frame, he must be very stupid, or very depraved, if his heart is not drawn upwards and made to throb with gratitude to the glorious Framer of this garnished and goodly scene!”²⁶ The experience of commodified travels, in which the concerns of locomotion were lifted from the individual traveler, became an explicitly and even exclusively aesthetic experience.

In addition to traveling westward from Philadelphia along the great route of commodified travel known as the Pennsylvania Main Line of Public Works, Clark also traveled in central and western New York State, another region where, as we have seen, the commodification of travel was well advanced in the late 1830s and early 1840s. He

²⁶ Clark, *Gleanings by the Way*, 50-51, 53-54. Emphasis in original.

thought that the traveler to the region who “sees the hundred beautiful villages, the noble forests, the majestic trees, the rich foliage, the luxuriant orchards, the luscious fruits, the crops of yellow wheat, the fields of waving corn, the vast enclosures of dark, fertile soil, the peaceful lakes and silvery streams that everywhere meet the eye, will exclaim, The garden of America!” However, it was “turnpikes, railroads, and lake and steam navigation” that “intersected” the region that gave it “advantages of a most singular and superior character.”²⁷ As in Pennsylvania, the presence of commodified travel in the region served to enhance its aesthetic appeal. As Leo Marx has argued, the tension between the pastoral and the technological was a formative trope in American culture during the decades in which Clark was traveling. Like the intrusion of the train whistle on Nathaniel Hawthorne’s quiet rural contemplation in 1844, the presence of commodified travel in the “garden of America” served to heighten the pastoral power of the idealized rural scene through the “sense of dislocation, conflict, and anxiety” that the juxtaposition created. The two existed next to each other like “noise clashing through harmony,” and each enhanced the other by contrast.²⁸ As Marx points out, the experience of this juxtaposition of “machine” and “garden” was common amongst Clark’s contemporaries.

The more mundane practical importance of travel technologies to Clark’s aesthetic experience of New York State is illustrated by his brief account of traveling from New York City to the shores of Seneca Lake in August of 1840. He called this journey “a practical illustration of the increased facilities and greatly accelerated movements of modern travelling,” because the first part of the trip, to Albany by

²⁷ Clark, *Gleanings by the Way*, 179-180.

²⁸ Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 16-17.

steamboat and thence to Auburn by railroad, contrasted so strongly with the final stagecoach leg. The first part of the trip was characterized by “the broad-swelling tide of the noble Hudson as we sailed up this stream,” “the picturesque aspect of the palisades,” and the more sublime features of the rugged and sombre highlands,” as well as by the “improving aspects” of the “interior cities.” Just as Clark’s account of the experience of steamboat and railroad travel might suggest, these aesthetic experiences were blurred. “Passing by all of these, with railroad speed, and all the varied beauties of a magnificent agricultural region,” Clark wrote, “I hasten to give you some account of an adventure in which we found ourselves involved just before arriving at this place,” in which his party was caught in a violent storm in a stagecoach while taking a shortcut across the beaches of Seneca Lake. The narrative focused on the perils of being caught in such an exposed situation in a vehicle as fragile as a stagecoach, and ended when “we looked unto the Lord, and he delivered us” from the storm.²⁹ Unlike his commodified travel on steamboat and railroad, which passed with such ease that Clark could relax and enjoy the aesthetic blur, travel by means of “common stage coach” was itself so taxing that it left little room in the narrative for the description of landscape. When mere locomotion became trying for a traveler, his aesthetic experience was curtailed.

For travelers like Clark, the opportunity to be a spectator while traveling was enormously appealing. As the commodification of travel made movement easier and more comfortable, and removed responsibility from the hands of individual travelers, Clark and his contemporaries could focus more on the experience than the mechanics of travel. Freed from having to produce his own locomotion, Clark’s travels were characterized by “being borne through a beautiful country” as he and his fellow travelers

²⁹ Clark, *Gleanings by the Way*, 201-202, 204.

“sat down to our tea,” comfortably settled “in a sheltered nook in the cabin.” Clark’s experience of being carried through his travels, ensconced in all the comfort he could purchase, was one that he shared with others on board the same packet or seated in the same railway car. Commodified travel often inspired feelings of community in travelers, forged from the common experience of being passengers carried along by the same conveyance rather than individual travelers making their way alone. Promoters of new forms of travel advertised community as one of the positive benefits their technology offered. For example, Horatio Spafford’s 1824 book promoting the use of the still incomplete Erie Canal boasted that canal traveling was “a very pleasant, cheap, and expeditious mode of travelling, where you have regular meals, pretty quiet rest, after a little experience, say of the first night.” Against charges that canal travel was slow, Spafford assured his readers that they would “find the time pleasantly employed, in conversation, and the variety of incidents, new topics, stories, and the constantly varying scenery. The bustle of new comers, and departing passengers, with all the greetings and adieus, helped to diversify the scene, and to make most persons *seem* to get along quite as fast as was anticipated.”³⁰ Since canal travel was “pleasant, cheap, and expeditious,” it offered the opportunity to meet new people and even to make new friends.

At least some travelers agreed with the premises of Spafford’s boosterism. As traveler Michael Jenks recalled about his trip on an Erie Canal packet in 1829, “[w]e really live *well* in our little house.”³¹ Clark’s narrative of commodified travel constantly reinforced this collective experience by using the first person plural to describe his experience of novel forms of transport, such as when he marveled at “the ease with which

³⁰ Spafford, *A Pocket Guide for the Tourist and Traveller*, 17-18.

³¹ Michael Hutchinson Jenks, *Notes On a Tour through the Western Part of the State of New York* (Philadelphia, 1829-30), 21.

we seemed to move through the gaps of the mountains” on the Alleghany Portage Railroad. He was a keen observer of this traveling collectivity, at times such as “a summer evening to make one court the open air” on board the canal packet *Detroit*. “Most of our passengers were on deck,” he observed. “Some were sitting apart by themselves, in silent meditation: some were gazing upward into the peaceful heavens—and others, off upon the quiet scenes of nature. Others stood around in little groups and knots, holding various conversations. I was walking slowly from one end of the deck to the other, a silent observer of what was passing around me.”³² Whether as enthusiastic participant or guarded observer, Clark was constantly aware of his fellow passengers, and they figured prominently in his recounting of his journey.

As much as Clark or Jenks may have felt a sense of solidarity with those who were being transported with them, the ad hoc communities created by the commodified conditions of travel were as much a source of tension for travelers as they were a source of appeal. Clark’s quiet evening’s observation of the community on board the *Detroit* ended when he lingered to listen to a conversation taking place among a group of “evidently well educated and intelligent men.” Their talk had turned to the gospel, and the gathered men began to express opinions so antithetical to Clark’s evangelicalism that he “felt it was almost sinful to sit and listen to this profane manner of speaking of the blessed Saviour.” His moment of quiet observation of shipboard community ended with distinct disappointment about the quality of that community. “To me it seemed astonishing, that intelligent men,” Clark wondered, “could hold the views that had been broadly expressed . . . I was more than ever convinced that men might be learned in science, in law, in medicine, in politics, and yet be profoundly ignorant of the great

³² Clark, *Gleanings by the Way*, 37.

design and prominent features of the gospel.”³³ Thus, while the “little house” found on board a canal packet or in a rail car could indeed shelter a group whose pleasant conversation would make time pass quickly, such a situation was not nearly as common as promoters of commodified travel like Spafford would have his readers believe.

Complaints about enforced proximity to strangers were certainly not novel to the era of canal packet travel. Stagecoaches had long elicited similar complaints, both in popular culture and in individual travelers’ experiences. Samuel Richardson’s popular novel *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, which was first published in North America in 1742, enjoyed a burst of popularity in the United States in the 1790s, when a slew of abridged American editions were published. Editions were released in major publishing centers like Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, as well as in smaller markets like Worcester, Lansingburgh, New York, Fairhaven, Vermont, and Norristown, Pennsylvania.³⁴ *Pamela* featured a scene in which Miss Darnford was subjected to disagreeable company in a stagecoach. Upon leaving the stagecoach, “the dear young Lady was exceeding glad to be relieved from them, tho’ the Weather was cold enough, two of the Passengers being not very agreeable Company ... and the other two, not such as she had Reason to be loth to part with.”³⁵ Such moments of annoyance at fellow passengers were common occurrences in travelers’ accounts as well as in fiction. Among travelers in the United

³³ Clark, *Gleanings by the Way*, 37, 39, 41.

³⁴ *Pamela* was first published in London in 1740, and circulated quickly to the North American colonies. It was first advertised as an import in New York in 1742 by William Bradford, and Benjamin Franklin began printing the first American edition in Philadelphia the same year. The early American editions were not a success, and the novel declined in popularity until the 1790s, when the abridged American editions drove renewed interest in the work. The ubiquity and popularity of *Pamela* in the 1790s suggests that readers in the early republic would have been well acquainted with scenes of tedious company in stagecoaches. See Leonard Tennenhouse, *The Importance of Feeling English: American Literature and the British Diaspora, 1750-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 53-55 and Leslie A. Fiedler and Charles B. Harris, *Love and Death in the American Novel* (Normal, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 2003), 74-75.

³⁵ Samuel Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded: In a Series of Familiar Letters from a Beautiful Young Damsel to Her Parents*, Vol. IV (London: Strahan, 1776), 35.

States, complaints about the company in stagecoaches generally fell into one of two categories. They were often overcrowded, as when John Lambert tried to board a stage from Boston to Burlington, Vermont, in 1808. “At the utmost the stage should hold no more than twelve persons, including the driver, and is then considered too crowded,” Lambert complained, “but this morning there were upwards of sixteen persons jammed together in the most uncomfortable manner, sitting four on a seat, or leaning back in each other’s lap.” And the company often left something to be desired, as Richardson’s novel suggested. On the stage from Rutland to Burlington, Lambert’s traveling companion was an old lady, “and as my fellow traveller had nothing very fascinating, either in her manners or appearance, we exchanged but few words together.” What was worse, “she never failed, previous to getting into the coach again, to light a short pipe, and smoke it out on the road, continually annoying me with her disagreeable whiffs.”³⁶ The enforced proximity of stagecoach travel often made for unhappy bedfellows.

By the 1830s and 1840s, however, much of this complaint about the company on stagecoaches had been redirected to other modes of travel, at least along more heavily developed routes. In its place, complaints about stagecoach travel took on an air of nostalgia. Traveling to the Virginia Springs in 1835, Philadelphia lawyer Philip Nicklin lamented the lack of space in stagecoaches leaving Charlottesville; in the oversubscribed coaches, through travelers “have a preference over the Charlottesvilleians; but if you remain a day, you become as a Charlottesvilleian and lose your preference; and some unhappy people have been detained here a week, when they very innocently intended to remain but one day.” The coaches were crowded, but at least the road was good, and

³⁶ John Lambert, *Travels Through Lower Canada, and the United States of North America, in the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808, To Which Are Added, Biographical Notices and Anecdotes of Some of the Leading Characters in the United States*, Vol. III (London: Richard Phillips, 1810), 469, 478-479.

instead of Lambert's bitter complaint, Nicklin made the jaunty observation that "[o]ur Virginia friends are sound economists, and follow Adam Smith's principle of keeping the market rather understocked in the commodity of stage coaches." Similarly, he was unfazed by the company in these crowded coaches, noting that "in this country civilization has invaded even the stage coaches."³⁷ Nicklin was a lighthearted travel narrator to be sure, but the company on stagecoaches seemed at least to some to be distinctly more bearable compared to newer modes of travel.

Some travelers otherwise accustomed to more modern modes of transit regarded the company on stagecoaches with a nostalgic eye. Traveling through Alabama in the early 1840s, author and dramatist Louis F. Tasistro declared, "after all, I like stagecoaches and stagecoach travelling, provided the first be moderately respectable, and the latter only moderately continued: one hears of life and sees character." He acknowledged that stagecoach journeys were often long and lacking in respectability, by which he meant adherence to the proper standards of refinement that had come to define the rising middle class by the middle of the nineteenth century. Indeed, respectability was one of the key determinants of social status in the bourgeois world by the 1840s, and it was applied to objects, behavior, residential patterns, religious belief, and institutional affiliations in ways that were loaded with gender and class meanings.³⁸ By using the term "respectable" to describe the stagecoaches and stagecoach companions that he preferred, Tasistro was making a clear statement about his own status. Stagecoaches

³⁷ Philip Houlbrooke Nicklin, *Letters Descriptive of the Virginia Springs: The Roads Leading Thereto, and the Doings Thereat* (Philadelphia: H.S. Tanner, 1835) 14-15.

³⁸ For more on the relationship between refined objects and behavior and respectability, see John F. Kasson, *Rudeness & Civility: Manners in Nineteenth Century Urban America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990); Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Knopf, 1992); and Cindy S. Aron, "The Evolution of the Middle Class," in *A Companion to 19th-Century America*, ed. William L. Barney (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2006): 178-194.

could certainly be filled with old ladies with their pipes, but when they were not, the community on board a stagecoach provided an ideal laboratory for the observation of humanity. “The inside of a stagecoach is the high place of selfishness or of real inbred politeness,” he went on, “the stagecoach breakfast or dinner is a marvellous revealer of secrets, touching temper and disposition; and if you change your passengers often, and find out the subjects on which they are best informed, you may, in a short journey, pick up the history of half a state, or, at least, make yourself acquainted with its opinions.” He preferred “plain, homely, and, withal, respectable passengers,” who were most able to impart local knowledge and local color to a traveler.³⁹ Compared to the relatively elite, cosmopolitan, and relatively stable community on board a steamboat, canal packet, or railroad, the sheer commonness and high turnover of a stagecoach crowd made it something worth seeking out.

Indeed, by the late 1840s, stagecoach travel was an object of nostalgia in its own right, not just for the community it fostered. In his anatomy of traveling from 1847, E. L. Blanchard foresaw that “[t]he first few years of the last half of the nineteenth century will see the extinction of most of the features of a bygone age, which our forefathers have regarded with awe and admiration,” including, most prominently, the stagecoach. He followed this lament with a lengthy recollection of the romance of stagecoach travel in his boyhood, with the “sole desire ... to awaken a few reminiscences of the road, and these are things that we chiefly regret for being past.” The sense of possibility represented by a stagecoach rumbling through town, and the bright splashes of colorful personality provided by the stagecoach drivers, were the main sources of his romantic

³⁹ Louis F. Tassistro, *Random Shots and Southern Breezes: Containing Critical Remarks on the Southern States and Southern Institutions, with Semi-serious Observations on Men and Manners* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1842), 97-98.

reminiscence. “Occasionally we admit the coachmen were extortionate, the passengers disagreeable, and the progress wearisome,” he conceded, in a moment of nostalgic self-awareness. “Nay, the dexterously-wielded lash of an expert driver has been known ere now to enter *accidentally* the coach-window, and terribly discompose a solitary ‘inside’ who had just dropped off into a pleasant slumber.”⁴⁰ As Lambert could have told him, a stagecoach journey was not always a pleasant, mild adventure, but by mid-century it was beginning to be remembered that way, at least by metropolitan figures like Blanchard.

The spread of long-distance railroads in the 1850s and 1860s foreshadowed the rise of similar nostalgia about canal travel. Mrs. N. T. Munroe’s 1867 story of a week’s travel to Trenton Falls was conducted largely in rail cars, but the narrator was captivated by water travel, because “[n]o other scenery so bewitches the time faculty as water ... [its] ever shifting beauty ... laps the mind in reverie.” The meditative quality of water made canal packet travel a singular event in her memory. “I know I am dating back a long ways,” she admitted, “but this, remember, was when I was quite a child.” Canal travel was extremely slow compared to the railroads of 1867, since “it took all day to do what we now accomplish in a single hour, but what of that? There was the pleasure of the thing, which was beyond all count of time.” She described the measured rhythm that allowed her to savor every moment of excitement about her journey. “O, the ecstasy [sic] of standing under the bridge waiting for the slow packet to come along!” she exclaimed. “Then first to catch a glimpse of the horse at the end of his long rope, then the trailing packet ... the manoeuvring [sic] to get us through the locks ... the stopping at the towns on the route, and the getting aboard of freight and passengers, then the

⁴⁰ Blanchard, *Heads and Tales*, 24, 27, 33.

meeting of canal boats or scows and the excitement of passing them.”⁴¹ Canal packets had quickly lost the bulk of their passenger business to the railroads in the 1840s and 1850s due to the latter’s superior speed and reliability, but to some later commentators at least, their leisurely pace looked appealing in retrospect, because it allowed a journey to be a meditative and thoroughly felt sensory experience, unlike the mechanical rush of the railroad cars.

The freedom that commentators like Tasistro, Blanchard, and Munroe felt to look back on stagecoaches with nostalgia was at least partly rooted in the fact that travelers had transplanted many of their anxieties about traveling in close proximity with strangers to newer modes of transportation. Long-distance travel on stagecoaches, at least along many heavily traveled routes, was increasingly replaced by travel on board canal packets and river steamboats. As we have seen, Clark was skeptical about at least some of the passengers with whom he shared space on board the *Detroit*. His skepticism was increased on board *The Elk*. “We were induced to take our passage in ‘The Elk,’” he wrote, “from the fact that it was the only boat that was going down the river this morning. We soon found that our boat was not of the first order.” *The Elk* was not unique in having unsatisfactory passengers, however. As Clark put it, “[w]hoever has travelled on any of the western rivers knows something about the annoyances connected with western steamboats—the drinking—the swearing—the gambling.”⁴² These complaints about the company on board steamboats were common ones; passengers were irreligious, given to sinful behavior, and generally lacking in respectability. Canal packets hosted the same problems. On board an Erie Canal boat in 1830, Henrietta Goddard penned in her diary

⁴¹ Mrs. N. T. Munroe, “Days of Exodus, No. III,” *The Ladies’ Repository* 37, no. 12 (December 1867), 411-417, 416.

⁴² Clark, *Gleanings by the Way*, 49-50.

that “[o]ur passengers were not of the most cultivated class + the manners, modes, + speeches, must either make us cross or amuse them much we preferred to laugh.”⁴³ The close quarters and diverse crowd made it less than likely that Clark, Goddard, and traveler like them would “find the[ir] time pleasantly employed, in conversation.”

The nostalgia of travelers for the old stagecoaches was not wholly without a factual basis. The temporary community thrown together on canal packets and steamboats was problematic for respectable travelers for a different reason from that in stagecoaches. Stagecoaches might be crowded, and their confined interiors might have exposed travelers to boorish behavior and bad manners, but the amount of time spent in a stagecoach at one stretch was usually brief. Passengers were discharged at inns for meals and sleeping, and since stagecoaches served short-haul travelers as well as long-haul travelers, the company changed regularly. On board a canal packet or a steamboat, however, fellow travelers lived together day and night, enforcing a kind of extended domestic intimacy that brought out deeper complaints about the respectability of the crowd. Mrs. Trollope, an English traveler whose *Domestic Manners of the Americans* appeared in London in 1832, was acutely critical of what she perceived as a lack of respectability throughout the United States, and she was unafraid to point it out in the starkest terms. Her sharp and cutting observations extended readily to her fellow travelers around the United States. However, she generally found her fellow stagecoach passengers to be a quaint feature of her surroundings, such as the old woman whose “naïve simplicity” on mail coach policy “set both the coaches into an uproar of

⁴³ Henrietta M. Goddard, “Henrietta M. Goddard Diary,” Manuscripts Collection, Ms. N-114 Box 17, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA.

laughter.”⁴⁴ In most cases, the roughness of American roads and inadequate nature of American stagecoach suspensions were more troubling to her than the quality of the company in the coach.

However, on board a canal packet, “[t]he accommodations being greatly restricted, every body, from the moment of entering the boat, acts upon a system of unshrinking egotism.” She described her fellow passengers on a steamboat from New Orleans to Memphis as “a most disorderly set of persons, constantly gambling and wrangling, very seldom sober, and never suffering a night to pass without giving practical proof of the respect in which they hold the doctrines of equality and community of property.” Even though she traveled in the cabin rather than with the common passengers on deck, she averred that “[t]he gentlemen in the cabin (we had no ladies) would certainly, neither from their language, manners, nor appearance, have received that designation in Europe.” She found the sex-segregated accommodations on board the steamboat to be odd, and distinctly different from English arrangements. However, she conceded, “[i]t is true that the men became sufficiently acquainted to game together, and we were told that the opportunity was considered as so favourable, that no boat left New Orleans without having as cabin passengers one or two gentlemen from that city whose profession it was to drill the fifty-two elements of a pack of cards—to profitable duty. This doubtless is an additional reason for the strict exclusion of the ladies from their society. The constant drinking of spirits is another, for though they do not scruple to chew tobacco and to spit incessantly in the presence of women, they generally prefer drinking and gaming in their absence.”⁴⁵ Unlike the quaint and generally amusing antics

⁴⁴ Frances Milton Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (New York: Dodd & Mead, 1901), 286.

⁴⁵ Trollope, *Domestic Manners*, 240, 23-24, 258-259.

of stagecoach passengers with whom she generally only had to pass a few hours, the close and extended intimacy of canal packets and steamboats put their passengers' failings up for close scrutiny. And for a traveler who valued her own comparative respectability as highly as Mrs. Trollope, such company made boat travel a veritable disaster.

Mrs. Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* was wildly popular when it was published in London in 1832, and wildly controversial when it was reprinted in New York in the same year. After multiple transatlantic editions in 1832 alone, Mrs. Trollope's expose was released in at least eleven editions in five languages over the remainder of the 1830s.⁴⁶ *Domestic Manners of the Americans* was mean spirited, and the author infuriated many Americans, some of whom went to great lengths to repudiate her claims or to dismiss her as an embittered observer with a nationalist chip on her shoulder.⁴⁷ Where Mrs. Trollope was largely interested in ridiculing American manners and institutions, others sought to remedy the ills of commodified travel. Not all travelers were content to complain about the lack of respectability in the nation's stagecoaches and on its waterways; some sought to make commodified travel more respectable through exhortation and leading by example.

⁴⁶ *Domestic Manners of the Americans* was originally published in London by Whittaker, Treacher & Co. in 1832, and the book was such an instant hit that it went through at least four editions in 1832 alone. By the fourth edition, the title page of Whittaker, Treacher & Co.'s edition suggested that it was also being reprinted in New York, "for the booksellers." The New York firm of Dodd and Mead also brought out an edition of their own in 1842, as did two publishers in Paris, one in English and one in French translation. Mrs. Trollope's continental audience was served by additional French editions in 1833 and 1841, as well as editions in Dutch in 1834 and German and Spanish in 1835. Further English editions were published in London in 1836 and 1839 and in New York in 1837 and 1839. Finally, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* was published in collected editions with other famous narratives of travels to the United States, like the volume entitled *The Americans*, published in London in 1833 by Frederic Westley and A.H. Davis, which paired Mrs. Trollope's work with Basil Hall's popular *Travels in North America*.

⁴⁷ See for example Frederick William Shelton, *The Trollopiad, Or, Travelling Gentlemen in America. A Satire* (New York: C. Shepard, 1837), as discussed in Chapter 4.

Evangelical missionaries in particular quickly targeted inland waterways as a ripe field of sin for their labors. A Bethel Society, the outgrowth the British Bethel Union movement that sought to minister to sailors, was formed in Albany in 1824, before the Erie Canal was even complete. Although this early attempt was short-lived, the New York-based American Seamen's Friend Society sponsored missions on the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes after its founding in 1828, and in 1836, the American Bethel Society was founded in Buffalo specifically "for the purpose of opening chapels for boatmen and mariners, distributing tracts, and extending other means for their moral improvement ... on the lakes, rivers, and canals."⁴⁸ In an 1838 petition, the executive committee of the American Bethel Society expressed concern about "those engaged in the business of inland navigation in the United States, whose moral condition has long occupied the attention of Christians and philanthropists." They saw a "startling increase of vice and immorality among this class of citizens" which they sought to rectify by appointing "missionar[ies] among the Watermen."⁴⁹ These missionaries were not entirely misguided in their efforts, since canal workers tended to be foreign-born unskilled laborers whose social and work cultures would have been perceived as socially and morally disordered

⁴⁸ J. H. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York: Embracing a Comprehensive View of the Geography, Geology, and General History of the State, and a Complete History and Description of Every County, City, Town, Village and Locality: With Full Table of Statistics* (Syracuse, NY: R. Pearsall Smith, 1860), 146. For more on the American Bethel Society, see Roald Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions: Their Origin and Early Growth* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1986), 204, 480; Margaret S. Creighton, *Rites & Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 96-97; and Carol Sheriff, *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817-1862* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1996), 152-155.

⁴⁹ Harmon Kingsbury, *The Sabbath; A Brief History of Laws, Petitions, Remonstrances and Reports, with Facts, Appeals, and Answers to Popular Objections Relating to the Christian Sabbath* (New York: J. Leavitt, 1840), 270; and M. Eaton, *Five Years on the Erie Canal: An Account of Some of the Most Striking Scenes and Incidents, During Five Years' Labor on the Erie Canal, and Other Inland Waters* (Utica, NY: Bennett, Backus, & Hawley, 1845), 11.

by middle-class evangelicals.⁵⁰ Their presence on the canal would have been threatening, or at least distasteful, to respectable travelers like Mrs. Trollope.

In his 1845 account *Five Years on the Erie Canal*, American Bethel Society missionary Deacon M. Eaton offered an analysis of the causes of sin on the Erie Canal and his prescription for ending it. “I know very well that ten years ago perhaps there was not a place in America where there was more wickedness of every kind than on the canal,” he declared. This state of affairs was a result both of the canal labor market and of neglect by godly people. According to Eaton, the canal boats were largely crewed by “boys,” many of them orphans, who were attracted to the canal by the “great [financial] inducements [that] are held out to them.” “Many of them have come a great distance,” Eaton lamented, “and are obliged to go to work for some one, so that many of them hire out to men who will keep them at work all summer, and cheat them out of their wages in the fall. This is one reason why so many of them in former years have found their way into our State prisons.” These young men were led into sin by their unfair treatment in the canal labor market and because they were torn away from the stabilizing influences of their families and home communities. As a group, canal workers were also neglected both by professional missionaries and by Christians traveling the canal. Eaton quoted a captain that he encountered as saying, “I have been on the canal twelve years, and the canal has been in operation nineteen years, and you, sir, are the first man I have ever seen or heard of on the canal as a missionary.” In addition to the relative lack of missionaries, “[a]nother reason why no more boatmen have been reclaimed, is, that those Christians

⁵⁰ For more on the “rough culture” of canal workers, see Peter Way, “Evil Humors and Ardent Spirits: The Rough Culture of Canal Construction Laborers,” *The Journal of American History* 79, no. 4 (March, 1993): 1397-1428; and W. T. Lhamon, *Raising Cain: Blackface Performance from Jim Crow to Hip Hop* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), ch. 2.

who have formerly traveled on the canal, have neglected to do their duty to them. Even ministers have traveled hundreds of miles in company with these wicked men and boys, have heard their profanity, and seen their wickedness, yet have never reproved them.”⁵¹

The immoral and degraded state of the sailors on the inland waterways of the United States was at least partially traceable to failure of travelers on their boats.

Eaton offered two prescriptions of the amelioration of conditions on canal boats. He suggested that missionaries needed to treat the boatmen with respect in order to lead them to respectability. “My belief is,” Eaton wrote, “that the reason why many of the efforts which have been put forth to reform the world have been so unsuccessful, is, that the labor has not been performed in the right spirit. You must respect men, before they will learn to respect themselves.” He also advocated for enlisting the help of godly travelers. As Eaton himself put it, “my labors were intended to stimulate Christians to do their duty when they were on the canal.”⁵² Thus, the problem of sin among the canal workers could be resolved by the example of respectable passengers on canal boats, and the active engagement of those passengers in doing their Christian duty. His plan was consonant with both the notion of the canal boat as temporary domestic space, and Protestants’ gendered notion that moral, respectable people—especially women—could transform that moral domestic space into a civilizing force for those—especially men—who were engaged in a marketplace where Christian notions of morality were not encouraged or rewarded.⁵³ If passengers and boatmen were to be living together in close

⁵¹ Eaton, *Five Years on the Erie Canal*, 31, 32-33, 27, 42-43.

⁵² Eaton, *Five Years on the Erie Canal*, 31, 51.

⁵³ Historians have produced much scholarship about the relationship between gender, space, respectability, and the emergence of the middle class in the nineteenth century. The most influential works in shaping this argument are Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); and Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle*

proximity, it was the responsibility of the passengers to transform the crowded cabin into a true domestic space, one that would function like other good middle-class domestic spaces to bring its inhabitants to respectable and godly behavior.

As railroad travel began to replace both stagecoaches and inland navigation, travelers found themselves conflicted about their relationship to their fellow passengers. The speed, bustle, noise, and discomfort of early train travel made it a relatively solitary experience, because cars were often open and passengers had to wrap themselves tightly to protect themselves from the smoke and noise of the steam engine.⁵⁴ Thus, a Yale undergraduate writing for his alma mater's fiction journal in 1843 dismissed the train as "the long, unsocial jarring car," and compared it unfavorably to "the old jolting stage, whose familiar form is so fast departing." He recalled the Roman poet Horace "in his detestation of railroads, and preference of stages," even if "canal boats, not cars, were the bane of traveling in [Horace's] lifetime."⁵⁵ Like Louis Tasistro in Alabama, this anonymous undergraduate missed the company and conversation found in the close confines of the stagecoach. "How delightful the intimacy to which you are introduced with your fellow-passengers," he exclaimed, "how closely are you bound to one-another, how much are you thrown together; together you go through life's ups and downs, together you stand or fall!"⁵⁶ As travel became increasingly commodified, it became increasingly anonymous, and travelers in the "unsocial jarring car" did not feel the same

Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁵⁴ For more on the experience of traveling in passenger car compartments, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), ch. 5.

⁵⁵ The poet Horace wrote an amusing account of the indignities of canal travel in his *Satires*. See Katharine Allen, "From Rome to Formia on the Track of Horace, *Satires* i. 5," *The Classical Journal* 12, no. 4 (January, 1917), 230-246, 234.

⁵⁶ "My Friend, Tom Carson," *The Yale Literary Magazine* 8, no. 8 (July 1843): 375-385, 379-380.

sense of mutual accomplishment at the end of their journeys as did passengers in the stagecoach. This anonymity may have been a protective shield for some, but at least for this observer, it represented a lost opportunity for social connections while traveling.

Not only did anonymity represent lost social opportunity, it also made train cars potentially threatening spaces, especially for women travelers. The railroad was emerging as a dominant form of passenger travel from the 1830s through the 1850s, and during these same years, the division between public and private space was becoming increasingly fraught with gendered meanings about respectability and class. Spaces imagined to be private were gendered female, and were associated with morality, respectability, and virtuous love. Spaces imagined to be public were gendered male, and were associated with heterogeneity, amorality, competition, and vice. The two categories were distinct more in theory than in practice, because many were simultaneously public and private and were therefore ambiguously gendered. Nevertheless, the maintenance of proper boundaries—or at least the appearance of proper boundaries—between the two was crucial to membership in the middle class. As Amy Richter has persuasively argued, travelers and railroad corporations worked together across the middle of the nineteenth century to create a third ideological category, “public domesticity—a social ideal that was neither as private as a home, nor as socially unruly as a public street.”⁵⁷ The presence of women travelers in “the long, unsocial jarring car” both required and embedded respectability, and it helped to shift perceptions of the community in railroad cars from one of threatening anonymity to one of safer class, gender, and racial

⁵⁷ Amy G. Richter, *Home on the Rails: Women, the Railroad, and the Rise of Public Domesticity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 60. For more on gender and space on railroad cars, see R. David McCall, “‘Everything in its Place’: Gender and Space on America’s Railroads, 1830-1899” (Masters Thesis, Virginia Polytechnic and State University, 1999).

homogeneity. As Eaton advocated on canal boats, the space of commodified travel could be a force for improvement if it were domesticated by the proper gendered respectability.

However, the establishment of public domesticity was partial and contested, especially in the early years of railroads; the anonymity of the public space was as challenging to respectability as it was enabling. Departing Baltimore in 1833, at the very beginning of railroad development in the United States, George William Featherstonehaugh was confronted with disreputable company in the train cars, and felt the need to protect his wife from it. He sarcastically observed that “the deference which the railroad company affected to feel for the ladies and gentlemen who lodged at Barnum’s” was demonstrated by their being “unceremoniously emptied into the last car, with a set of as unshaven, unpromising looking fellows as ever I was shut up with.” His wife was horrified by “a horrid, dirty, little humpbacked imp of the male kind, with a most malicious physiognomy, and as pert and forward as those unfortunate beings usually are when they have received their education in the streets.” Featherstonehaugh sought to protect her by placing himself between his wife and this horrifying “object,” but when he continued to behave “ill-naturedly,” he had his revenge when he emptied “what remained of the acids into a little pool beneath him, and there, to my somewhat satisfaction, he sat with his shoes in them.” At Ellicot’s Mills, “finding that Humpy Dumpy was not going any farther, and that the weather was going to be fine, we became more reconciled to our situation.”⁵⁸ Travelers and railroad corporations may have eventually inoculated railroad cars for “respectable” passengers through public domesticity, as Richter suggests, but at least in the early years of train travel, the

⁵⁸ George William Featherstonehaugh, *Excursion Through the Slave States, From Washington on the Potomac, to the Frontier of Mexico; with Sketches of Popular Manners and Geological Notices* (New York: Harper, 1844), 12.

anonymity and heterogeneity of the community on board the cars was troubling to the new passengers of commodified travel.

Travelers were sometimes suspicious of the new kinds of crowds brought together by commodified travel, and its indignities sometimes made them nostalgic for older modes of transportation, but neither of these complaints was precisely a market complaint. Rather, as we have seen, they were updated version of older travelers' complaints and travel-specific versions of generic complaints made by respectable people in other public spaces. These causes of resistance were not unimportant, but they were not particularly novel, either. However, travelers also expressed resistance to the commodification of travel in its own terms. They objected to the potential for abuse of market relations that lay at the heart of commodified travel, and they also resisted the commodifying effects that purchasing travel in the marketplace could have on their experience of their journeys. Purchasing the knowledge and mobility necessary for travel in a limited number of market transactions did wonders for making travel faster, safer, and more accessible, but it imposed constrictions as well. The speed and convenience that were its advantages also made less flexible and less suited to an individual traveler, and it divorced that traveler from his or her surroundings and limited and routinized opportunities for observation.

Increasingly formalized market transactions between travelers and providers of travel opened opportunities for abuse. As we have seen, agreements between travelers and providers were not always honored, as was the case with Thomas McKenney's stagecoach ride from Niagara Falls to Lockport, discussed in the third chapter. A related problem was that of the profit motive of travel providers, which contemporary critics

condemned as “interest” in classical republican terms. As soon as a provider had commodified travel along a particular route, whether by investing in transportation infrastructure or geographical knowledge in the form of maps or guidebooks, they had a vested interest in promoting that route and that particular mode of travel, regardless of whether or not it was best suited to an individual traveler’s needs. Warnings to travelers about the dangers of profit-driven promotion marked the literature of commodified travel. John Mason Peck ended his *New Guide for Emigrants to the West*, first published in 1836, with just such a warning to his readers. “Emigrants and travellers will find it to their interest always to be a little sceptical relative to the statements of stage, steam and canal boat agents,” he advised, because they were likely to exaggerate the benefits of their own mode of transportation in order to capture the traveler’s business. Instead, Peck advised, travelers should “make some allowance in their own calculations for delays, difficulties and expenses, and above all, to *feel* perfectly patient and in good humor with themselves, the officers, company, and the world, even if they do not move quite as rapid, and fare quite as well as they deserve.”⁵⁹ The profit motive of travel companies injected inconveniences of its own into commodified travel, inconveniences that were ultimately inevitable and thus required “good humor.” Similarly, in 1859, Randolph Marcy warned that “[e]migrants and others desiring to make the overland journey to the Pacific should bear in mind that there are several different routes which may be traveled with wagons, each having its advocates in persons directly or indirectly interested in attracting the tide of emigration and travel over them.” As a result, Marcy advised, “[i]nformation concerning these routes coming from strangers living or owning property near them, from

⁵⁹ John Mason Peck, *A New Guide for Emigrants to the West, Containing Sketches of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, with the Territories of Wisconsin and Arkansas, and the Adjacent Parts* (Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1837), 381.

agents of steam-boats or railways, or from other persons connected with transportation companies, should be received with great caution, and never without corroborating evidence from disinterested sources.”⁶⁰ Even though the agents of commodified travel provided valuable services, smart travelers treated the geographical knowledge that they supplied with a healthy dose of skepticism, given their promotion of their own market interests. Travelers still needed to educate themselves, even if the content of that education had changed.

Savvy travelers understood that one of the most significant dangers of commodified travel lay in the realms of failure of contracts and travel companies’ self-promoting interest in profit. Featherstonehaugh, the traveler who had felt the need to protect his wife from the “humpbacked imp” on the Baltimore and Ohio, was a British emigrant surveyor and geographer and just such a traveler. He had participated in the surveying of the Louisiana Purchase for the federal government, and was fellow of the Geological Society and Royal Society of London. Not only was he an experienced and institutionally well-situated producer of geographical knowledge, but he was also a promoter of the commodification of travel in his own right. Unsatisfied with available access to his adopted home of Schenectady, New York, he began to advocate for a railroad link to nearby Albany in the mid-1810s. His advocacy resulted in the opening of the Mohawk and Hudson Railroad in 1831, one of the first passenger railroads in the United States.⁶¹ Featherstonehaugh’s biography suggests that he would have been as

⁶⁰ Randolph B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler: A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions, With Maps, Illustrations, and Itineraries of the Principal Routes between the Mississippi and the Pacific* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859), 15.

⁶¹ See H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Howard Harrison, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 217; and Frank Philip Morse, *Cavalcade of the Rails* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co, 1940), ch. 4.

adept at navigating the challenges of travel, whether commodified or not, as any in his generation, and his account of an *Excursion Through the Slave States* in 1834 and 1835 bears out this suggestion.

Featherstonehaugh understood that travel providers did not always fulfill their obligations, and he took precautions to ensure that he got what he paid for. Traveling from Baltimore to the Virginia Springs, he and his wife took the new Baltimore and Ohio Railroad as far as Fredericton (modern Frederick, Maryland), at which point they were to transfer to a stagecoach for Harper's Ferry, Virginia. "At Baltimore I had paid to the agent of Stockton and Stokes our fare all the way to Harper's-ferry, on the river Potomac," Featherstonehaugh recorded, "and had had the prudent precaution to take a receipt, in which it was stated that I was to be forwarded to Harper's-ferry on that day." Upon reaching Fredericton, the agent of Stockton and Stokes—"a forward, impertinent fellow"—refused to honor the connection. The agent claimed not to have access to a coach, and so Featherstonehaugh, a sharp bargainer, found another coach that was willing to take him, and demanded from the obstinate agent that he refund him the price of the new conveyance. The agent, "cursing and swearing and vapouring about, and declaring that he never did meet with 'sich a onreasonable parson' as myself ... at length produced a stage-coach and four horses for the next 20 miles to the Potomac." Featherstonehaugh was pleased at his own foresight; for, "[i]f I had not taken a receipt, stating that I was to be conducted to Harper's-ferry on that same day, there would have been no remedy for me, and I should have been cheated out of the money."⁶² Featherstonehaugh was engaging in commodified travel in that he bought a through ticket from a single firm, Stockton and Stokes, that was supposed to provide all of his transit between two points,

⁶² Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion Through the Slave States*, 13.

across multiple routes and multiple modes. However, he was wise enough in the dangers of the marketplace to know that distant agents, even of reputable firms, might try to cheat their customers on the road. So he armed himself with a market remedy—a receipt—that would ensure that the contract was fulfilled.

Featherstonehaugh was also sufficiently savvy in the ways of travel to exhibit a healthy skepticism about providers' self-interest. Upon arriving at the Warm Springs in Virginia, Featherstonehaugh and his wife received a warm welcome at the hotel. He knew better than to believe that such warmth was genuine. Coming down off the heights of Warm Springs Mountain to the valley of the fashionable resort was a declension in many senses. "In a very few minutes we exchanged the tranquil and elevated feelings that are inspired by the simple honest dignity of nature," Featherstonehaugh recorded, "for the distrust which experienced travellers entertain of the obsequiously cordial reception which in every country graces their arrival at the hotels of watering-places." He explained that "[u]ntil it is determined that you do not go to the rival hotel, the zeal in your service is overwhelming; the landlord brings out his very best politeness," applying flattery "with an apparent disinterestedness that would induce a novice to suppose that the fable of the Prodigal Son was acting over again."⁶³

Featherstonehaugh and his wife were tired and dirty from their stagecoach ride, and eager to get settled into their accommodations, so they did not pause to enjoy this flattery for long. Upon announcing their intention to stay a few days, "it was a matter that excited our admiration to perceive how suddenly that anxious solicitude, of which we had so lately been the objects, had assumed an abstract position. The landlord had made his bows, the waiters their grimaces, our names had been taken, *in limine in libro*, and

⁶³ Featherstonehaugh, *Excursion Through the Slave States*, 16.

being regularly bagged, we were left to provide for ourselves, not a soul coming near us.” This incident was a classic example a travel provider misrepresenting the service he provided for the sake of sales—in this case, a provider of lodging overstated the hospitality of his establishment for the purpose of luring tired and dusty travelers through his doors. Featherstonehaugh regarded his reception with the skepticism suggested by Peck and Marcy, as well as by his own experience. He did not change his plans as a result, but he and his wife were well girded for the “good deal of trouble” they had in actually getting rooms, and were not too badly disappointed by “fashionable society” in which they found themselves, where they would have “to depend upon the tender mercies of landlords, landladies, and dirty, impudent, black *waiters*.”⁶⁴ Experienced travelers found skepticism to be necessary when dealing with the uncertainties of commodified travel.

Proper market precautions and healthy skepticism about the promises of travel providers may have been sufficient armor against the vagaries of travel, but neither strategy could defend against the inherent limitations that commodified travel placed on passengers. The same market rationalization of geographical knowledge and transport that made travel simpler, cheaper, and more widely accessible also placed strict limits on it. Commodified travel removed much of the individual traveler’s flexibility and control over decisions about where to go and how to go there, which was both its strength and its inherent limitation. Especially for travelers who aspired to travel to good purpose, the fixed routes, regular timetables, quick transfers, and distilled and abbreviated geographical knowledge of commodified travel was as much a straightjacket as it was an enabling phenomenon. More than distasteful company in the boats and the cars, and

⁶⁴ Featherstonehaugh, *Excursion Through the Slave States*, 16.

more than scheming and cheating travel operators, the restrictions that commodified travel placed on freedom of movement and observation rankled passengers. As Featherstonehaugh observed with wry understatement, “[t]ravelling in a public vehicle would seem to present singular impediments to a correct investigation of the geology and natural history of a country.”⁶⁵ Other travelers who shared his desire for free movement and purposeful observation similarly resisted the “singular impediments” imposed by travel in “public vehicles.”

Charles Fenno Hoffman sought the freedom of earlier modes of travel whenever possible on his “winter view of the scenes upon the Indian frontier” in 1833 and 1834. His preferred mode of travel was in his personal carriage or on horseback, “when life quickens in every vein, when there is life in the breeze that plays upon your cheek, and life in each bound of the noble creature beneath you.” Setting out from the new village of Monroe, Michigan, Hoffman procured “a stout roan” to ride on his “arduous route into the interior of the Peninsula.” He was well pleased with this animal, and “[i]t was with a feeling of almost boyish pleasure that, after the slight taste I have had of stage-coach travelling from Pittsburgh to Cleveland, and from Detroit to Monroe, I found myself once more in the saddle, with the full privilege of regulating my motions as I choose.” He enjoyed the physical exercise of horseback riding, but more importantly, it allowed him to travel where and when he pleased, without being bound to the routes and schedules of

⁶⁵ Featherstonehaugh, *Excursion Through the Slave States*, 15. In this passage, Featherstonehaugh was actually expressing surprise at the amount of observation he was able to conduct while riding in a stagecoach. He had been expecting not to be able to make any observations at all, given the reputation that “public vehicles” had among travelers to good purpose. However, since he was “already familiar with the structure of the Alleghany ridges immediately west of the *Blue Ridge*,” he was able to take advantage of coach’s slow speed on the poor mountain roads, and its frequent pauses to change horses, in order to seize the “opportunity of walking almost whenever we pleased—a privilege we were all glad to avail ourselves of.” Under other circumstances, however, such marketed travel would have indeed “presented singular impediments to a correct investigation of the geology and natural history of a country.”

a stagecoach company. Even though, mounted on his “stout roan,” he no longer had “the luxurious carriage to enhance the gratification and relieve the weariness of travelling, the feeling of independence still remains.” He was forced to pack his linens, books, and other luxuries and have them shipped ahead over the steamboat routes of the Great Lakes, but nonetheless, he felt “as rich as did that famous soldato Dugald Dalgetty himself.”⁶⁶ Even if commodified travel provided comfort, convenience, and speed, it also constrained an individual in ways that Hoffman, at least, found burdensome. On his “stout roan,” he was no longer merely a passenger, but a traveler once again.

While preparing for a “ramble over the Western States” in May of 1837, Frederick Hall had the “intention to travel by public conveyances—the canals and steamboats, the stages and rail-road cars.” However, like Featherstonehaugh, Hall did not consider himself a tourist, and on second thought the “public conveyances” would prevent him from making the desired geographical, geological, and social observations. As Hall himself put it, “what could I learn of the out-door affairs of the broad world confined in this straight-jacket mode of journeying? Shut up in a long dark prison, and moved over the land with lightning speed, how could one gain a knowledge of the structure of the ball on which he was running a John Gilpin race?” Hall’s language was much more vivid than Featherstonehaugh’s or Hoffman’s; commodified travel, for him, was a “long dark prison” that moved so quickly that it precluded all observation.

Charging along in such a prison was a fool’s errand, Hall implied, by comparing it to a

⁶⁶ Charles Fenno Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, Vol. I (New York: Harper & Bros., 1835), iv, 42, 141-142. Dugald Dalgetty was a prominent comic character in Sir Walter Scott’s 1819 novel *A Legend of Montrose*. Dalgetty was a mercenary soldier, who fought in the English Civil War out of an interest in combat rather than political or religious conviction. He was happiest, according to Hoffman, “with his single change of chamois leather and iron overcoat, while handling his arms and surveying his compact appointments from the back of the doughty Gustavus.” This image of unencumbered, absolute mobility described Hoffman’s feeling about journeying beyond the bounds of commodified travel.

“John Gilpin race.” John Gilpin was the subject of a famous 1782 comic poem by William Cowper, in which the Gilpin found himself mounted on a series of uncontrollable steeds and carried at high speed around the countryside outside of London, much to the amusement of his spectators. Comparing passengers on commodified travel to the subject of Cowper’s gentle ridicule emphasized not only their lack of control over their own movement but also the foolishness of their haste. Hall preferred to travel more slowly, under his own direction, so he could “learn of the out-door affairs of the broad world.” As a result, he rejected his initial plan and instead “purchased a strong horse, and a strong, but light, open wagon, and [I] am accompanied by a pleasant, able-bodied nephew, who will aid and cheer me in my accidental pilgrimage.”⁶⁷

The opportunity to make scientific observations, like those that Hall hoped to make, was not the only possibility that was foreclosed by adopting the “straight-jacket.” Despite the novel aesthetic experience of commodified travel that excited travelers like Clark, a significant number of other travelers thought that the “long dark prison” forestalled aesthetic appreciation of nature. As Louis Tasistro wondered in Alabama in the early 1840s, “[h]ow much is lost of nature’s grandeur and loveliness to him who catches but a passing view of either as he hurries along in a stagecoach—leaving rail-road cars, from which absolutely nothing is seen, out of the question.” Far from providing a distilled experience of landscape appreciation, commodified travel insulated its passengers from nature. “The beauties of Nature are to be appreciated only by him who courts companionship with her,” Tasistro declared, and hurrying along in a stagecoach or a railroad car did not count as courtship. Thus it was, on that fine spring afternoon in the

⁶⁷ Frederick Hall, *Letters from the East and from the West* (Washington City: F. Taylor and Wm. M. Morrison, 1840), 39-40. See also William Cowper, *The Diverting History of John Gilpin: Shewing How He Went Further Than He Intended, and Came Safe Home Again* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co, 1906).

wilds of Alabama, that he gladly took advantage of an hour's delay of the stagecoach to walk ahead along the road, "too happy of an opportunity to escape, even for so short a time, from the confinement I had hitherto been obliged to undergo." The "straight-jacket mode of journeying" removed a traveler's control over his or her own itinerary, and it insulated him or her from "the out-door affairs of the broad world."⁶⁸ It made their travel routinized, predictable, and inherently superficial. For travelers who had any interest at all in avoiding the aspersions cast on tourism, such a straightjacket could prove fatal to their aspirations.

It was perhaps somewhat ironic that guidebook authors, themselves agents of the commodification of travel and promoters of the expanded opportunities for travel it offered, sometimes tacitly acknowledged a straightjacket and advised their readers on how to mitigate its stultifying effect. Sometimes these efforts were modest, such as when Robert Vandewater provided detailed directions for the old carriage route between Albany and Saratoga Springs in 1836 edition of his guidebook *The Tourist*. "Since the completion of the rail-roads, nearly all travellers to Ballston and Saratoga go by way of Schenectady," Vandewater wrote. "It is 36 ½ miles by rail-road, and considerably the most expeditious route; however, some persons, who travel for information as well as pleasure, still prefer the old route."⁶⁹ Although he acknowledged and even encouraged the popularity of "the most expeditious route," he also provided information on how to avoid the railroad straightjacket. Similarly, in 1837, Gideon Davison advised that travelers between Saratoga and Niagara "will find an excursion the most pleasant and

⁶⁸ Tasistro, *Random Shots and Southern Breezes*, 101.

⁶⁹ Robert J. Vandewater, *The Tourist; Or, Pocket Manual for Travellers on the Hudson River, The Western Canal and Stage Road to Niagara Falls, Down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec: Comprising Also the Routes to Lebanon, Ballston, and Saratoga Springs* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1836), 88.

diversified by taking rail roads wherever they are completed, and stages in going and canal boats in returning, on the intermediate parts of the route.” The stagecoach and the canal offered different sights for tourists; the stage route passed through “the populous parts of the country,” but the canal provided an opportunity to “witness[] many of the thriving villages on its banks.” “It is therefore advisable so to arrange a tour,” Davison wrote, “that the most interesting parts of both routes may be seen in going and returning.”⁷⁰ He advised his readers to take advantage of opportunities for commodified travel, but he also suggested using different modes so that they could have the advantage of several different “straightjackets” rather than just one. Some guidebooks even advised walking over being a passenger, if only on a small scale. The 1859 *Stranger’s Guide to Baltimore* “presumed the visitor to go on foot, as that is a much more satisfactory mode of examining a city than by riding about in a carriage or hackney coach, though doubtless it is more fatiguing.” However, the author “by no means [sought to prevent] a person from taking a vehicle, and following the courses laid down, or availing himself of the convenience of an omnibus.”⁷¹ In each of these cases, guidebook authors balanced their interest in promotion of commodification with an acknowledgement that such travel risked being seen as routine, unoriginal, and superficial—in a word, tourism.

This overlay of tourism was not accidental. Both the discourse of tourism and the commodification of travel were built on the technological developments of the transportation revolution, and both combined a sense of growing possibility for travel

⁷⁰ Davison, *The Traveller’s Guide* (1837), 193.

⁷¹ *The Stranger’s Guide to Baltimore: Showing the Easiest and Best Mode of Seeing All the Public Buildings and Places of Note, Together with some Brief Observations on its Trade, Resources, Prosperity, Commercial Advantages, and Future Prospects* (Baltimore: Murphy, 1852), 9-10.

with a deep uneasiness about the quality of the travel that resulted in a profound ambivalence. They both, in Dr. Johnson's terms, made the Giant's Causeway close enough to be "worth going to see" at the same time that they caused the "greater part of travellers [to] tell nothing." This Johnsonian ambivalence, a sort of middle ground between the commodified travel's boosters and its skeptics, was updated for the nineteenth century by E. L. Blanchard, whose "physiology ... of travelling and travellers" so neatly dissected the traveling world in the late 1840s. At his most expansive, Blanchard was an exuberant evangelist for the possibilities of commodified travel. "There is indeed a wide field open," he exclaimed. "Taking advantage of the numberless varieties of locomotion, we might tempt you in turn to make trial of all the means of transport which civilization, chance, and conveyance-companies have provided, at different time[s], for the exportation of the biped species."⁷² For Blanchard, travel had entered a golden era, thanks to "civilization, chance," and especially "conveyance-companies."

However, Blanchard also warned that the temptation posed by "the numberless varieties of locomotion" also created "tourists," whom Blanchard called "volatile in their nature." "Your genuine Tourist is no sooner here, than he is THERE!" Blanchard wrote, "a kind of Wieland of every day life."⁷³ By comparing tourists to the main character of Charles Brockden Brown's 1798 *Wieland; Or, The Transformation: An American Tale*, Blanchard suggested that they were, as a class, mercurial in the extreme, and that the speed and magnitude of their volatility was both potentially destructive and utterly

⁷² Blanchard, *Heads and Tales*, 8-9.

⁷³ Blanchard, *Heads and Tales*, 15.

unrepentant.⁷⁴ Indeed, Blanchard wryly noted, “[t]he meditative fly that coolly perambulates the map of Europe suspended in your study, and stalks from the North Pole to the Mediterranean, before you have time to whisk him off with your handkerchief, scarcely scampers over the whole continent with more speed.” The wide-open field that Blanchard celebrated had a downside as well: tourists were mindless, superficial travelers, whose inability to focus on purposeful travel was potentially destructive for all travelers. And their rise among the traveling classes was directly linked to new travel technologies, since the tourist’s “great aim seems to be the solution of a mathematical problem, which involves the question of getting over the greatest possible amount of ground in the smallest possible amount of time.”⁷⁵ Blanchard understood the relationship between the commodification of travel and the growth of tourism, and he exhibited profound ambivalence about their twinned development.

He also understood that rejection of the hurried superficialities of tourism required rejection of commodified travel, and that the resulting journeys could be satisfying in a way that “getting over the greatest possible amount of ground in the smallest possible amount of time” could not. In a sense, he offered the contrapositive of Dr. Johnson’s formula from *The Idler*: if travelers used a method of traveling that would supply them with something to tell, then the majority of them would have something worth telling. To this end, Blanchard dedicated a chapter to “pedestrians and

⁷⁴ *Wieland* tells the tale of Theodore Wieland, a wealthy landowner outside of Philadelphia who kills his wife and children under the influence of a mysterious ventriloquist named Carwin. Later, on trial, Wieland shows no remorse, because he believes Carwin’s voice to be divine. Not only is Wieland himself a dark symbol of unrepentant, mercurial changes, his father is as well. His father was himself a religious enthusiast who died of spontaneous combustion at the dinner table. Thus, comparing tourists to Wielands underlines their superficiality, spontaneity, and lack of self-consciousness—and highlights the negative implications of those characteristics. See Charles Brockden Brown, *Wieland; Or, The Transformation: An American Tale* (New York: H. Caritat, 1798).

⁷⁵ Blanchard, *Heads and Tales*, 16.

pedestrianism,” in which he listed the rewards of being a “peripatetic philosopher.” Like others skeptics of commodified travel, Blanchard thought that travel on foot made the traveler more intimate with the landscape he traveled through, with happy results. It was good for those with “worn and jaded frames;” Blanchard called pedestrianism an “unfailing and unbought panacea for mental anxiety or depression” that was sure to bring “both health and happiness.” It also gave a sense of accomplishment—felt most keenly at the dinner table at the end of a day’s tramp—and independence: “The charm is in the adventurous spirit of such excursions—in the seductive nature of this random rambling—in the delightful feeling of independence that travelling afoot always yields to the pedestrian, though haply the miles be long and the money short.”⁷⁶ Although travel on foot could not provide “numberless varieties of locomotion” that the transportation revolution offered, it yielded simpler pleasures that, crucially, were not for sale. This travel to simpler purpose was “unbought,” and could be pursued when the “money [was] short.” Blanchard identified the rejection of the discourse and practices of tourism, and the resulting attempt to tell something worth telling, as yet another vital organ in his “physiology ... of travelling and travellers.” It is this final category of travel—what contemporaries called “travel to good purpose”—that is the subject of the next chapter.

⁷⁶ Blanchard, *Heads and Tales*, 42, 38, 36.

Chapter Seven

Traveling to Good Purpose: Gender and the Discourse of Exploration

Dr. Johnson's essay on travel narratives in *The Idler* began with the famous assertion that travel narratives were almost universally disappointing. But good books of travel were not impossible. They could serve their readers if the traveler "remember[ed] that the great object of remark is human life." Given that wide field for finding "the entertainment of others," Dr. Johnson narrowed his prescription by pronouncing that "[h]e only is a useful traveller who brings home something by which his country may be benefited: who procures some supply of want, or some mitigation of evil, which may enable his readers to compare their condition with that of others, to improve it whenever it is worse, and whenever it is better to enjoy it."¹ Although he was pessimistic about likelihood that any individual traveler would produce a volume worth the paper it was printed on, he nonetheless allowed that travel could be "useful" if it was conducted with certain specific goals and according to certain specific methods.² By achieving this

¹ Samuel Johnson et al., *The Idler, by the Author of the Rambler, in Two Volumes, with Additional Essays*, Vol. II (Philadelphia: Tesson and Lee, 1803), 145, 147.

² Dr. Johnson's pessimism about the possibility of "useful" travel was profound. In one quotation widely reprinted in both British and American collections of "Johnsoniana," Dr. Johnson despaired of the possibility of collecting anything more than the narrowest of useful information. "You have often heard me complain of finding myself disappointed by books of travels," Dr. Johnson wrote. "I am afraid travel itself will end likewise in disappointment. One town, one country, is very like another: civilized nations have the same customs, and barbarous nations have the same nature: there are indeed minute discriminations both of places and manners, which, perhaps, are not wanting of curiosity, but which a traveller seldom stays long enough to investigate and compare. The dull utterly neglect them; the acute see a little, and supply the rest with fancy and conjecture." This assessment was even bleaker than that of the *Idler* essay, but it reflected a

standard of utility, a traveler could avoid the aspersions that Dr. Johnson cast on the large majority of the traveling public.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, as criticism of tourism and the “straight-jacket” of commodified travel began to swell, some observers of travel looked back to Dr. Johnson’s advice and began to shape a new version of “useful” travel for their own time. Although they did not all share Dr. Johnson’s pessimism about the possibility of useful travel, they agreed with him that such travel required substantial, original observation and a real contribution to the larger good—“something by which his country may be benefited.” In his Clinton Hall lecture in 1860, Joachim Stocqueler hailed the current period as a golden age of global travel. Thanks to steam-powered transportation and an increasingly peaceful Europe, he thought, “all persons travel who can afford to do so.” This travel was not entirely useful, however. “The grand secret of travel is but partially known,” he complained, and “the *art* of traveling to a purpose is very imperfectly developed.” Much like his dismissal of the “trashy” experiences of an earlier generation of European tourists, he thought that contemporary travelers “idly surmised that nothing further is necessary than to pack up trunks and carpet-bags, fill a purse with money, procure a passport, engage a passage, and depart. Vain notion!”³ Such travelers were mere tourists, engaged with the surface of things. Luckily Stocqueler stood before the crowd, ready to instruct them in “the *art* of traveling to a purpose.”⁴

common strain in Dr. Johnson’s thinking about travel. See John Wilson Croker and James Boswell, *Johnsoniana; Or, Supplement to Boswell: Being Anecdotes and Sayings of Dr. Johnson* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1842), “Advertisement,” 114.

³ Joachim Heyward Siddons, *Travel, Its Pleasures, Advantages, and Requirements: A Lecture by J. H. Siddons, Delivered at Clinton Hall, New York, February, 1860* (New York: H. H. Lloyd & Co., 1860), 286.

⁴ Stocqueler did not quote Dr. Johnson in his Clinton Hall address, although given the content of his advice, he very well could have. He did, however, take advantage of Dr. Johnson’s conveniently quotable prose in other works. See for example: Joachim Stocqueler, *The Old Field Officer; Or, The Military and Sporting Adventures of Major Worthington* (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1853), 109.

At the podium in New York in February of 1860, Stocqueler drew on almost a century of modern discourse about the difference between superficial travel and useful travel, and about the qualities that a traveler needed to cultivate to make him- or herself more than a tourist. As we have seen, the figure of the “tourist” was becoming both more omnipresent and more problematic in the years after 1830. The drumbeat of satire that had been directed at British tourists since the turn of the century was becoming increasingly focused on American tourists and travelers at the same time that the growth of the guidebook industry and the spread of commodified travel increased the presence of tourists on the roads, canals, and railroads of the United States. Thus, it is not surprising that a literature aimed at teaching “the *art* of traveling to a purpose” arose at the same moment. Prescriptions for traveling to a purpose began to appear around 1830, and by the end of the decade they filled book-length treatises. By the time Stocqueler summarized this conventional wisdom for his audience in 1860, librarians had begun to group these works under headings like “Treatises on Travelling,” which suggests that contemporary readers thought of them as a distinct category of writing about travel.⁵ At

⁵ These book-length discussions of traveling to good purpose began to appear in the late 1830s, in both Britain and the United States. They appear not to have been advertised, sold, or consumed as a genre; however, librarians on both sides of the Atlantic saw fit to group them together in their catalogs, creating at least some evidence of generic coherence. The catalog for the library at Queen’s College, Cambridge had a heading for “Treatises on Travelling.—Instructions for Travellers.” as early as 1827. See Thomas Hartwell Horne, *A Catalogue of the Library of the College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard, Commonly Called Queen’s College, in the University of Cambridge* (London: S. and R. Bentley, 1827), 675-676. The earliest evidence of such cataloging in a library in the United States was in the 1856 catalog of the holdings of the Library Company of Philadelphia, which included a subheading in the “Voyages and Travels” category for “Treatises on Travelling.” The library held five titles under this heading, all published in London or Philadelphia between 1838 and 1851. See *A Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia*, Vol. III (Philadelphia: Printed for the Company, 1856), 1367. The catalog for the collection of the Young Men’s Association of the City of Chicago in 1865 had a similar heading, under which were four volumes published between 1831 and 1858. Of these four, one was a London imprint, two were American reprints of British treatises, and one was an American abridgement of prominent travel narratives. The 1831 volume was not an outlier as it might appear; it was a volume on the medical benefits of traveling in southern Europe, more akin to Dr. Kitchiner’s work discussed below in note 10 than to the treatises on traveling to good purpose that are the subject of this chapter. See John M. Horton, *Catalogue*

the century's midpoint, travelers were equipped to be "useful" in ways that the pessimistic Dr. Johnson could not have imagined.

Travelers to a purpose sought a different kind of cultural capital on the road than did the tourist. Travelers to a purpose took on the mantle of explorers—they were travelers whose journeys were productive of new kinds of knowledge, not just the rote repetition of the pieties of pilgrimage. Mary Louise Pratt has argued that in Europe this mode of travel constructed "a new version of ... Europe's 'planetary consciousness,' a version marked by an orientation towards interior exploration and the construction of global-scale meaning through the descriptive apparatuses of natural history" between the middle of the eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth centuries.⁶ The traveler-explorers participated in the acquisition and command of geographical knowledge that contributed to the military, economic, and imperial ascendance of Europe, and in the process, gained important cultural capital for themselves. Although Pratt analyzes European travelers, her insight that travelers' descriptions contributed to a larger project of "global-scale meaning" applies equally well to American travelers. The stakes were high in the gathering of such geographical knowledge, but so too were the potential dividends.

This strategy of traveling to a purpose, of claiming the title of explorer, was a gendered strategy. Male travelers could comfortably claim the mantle of producers of geographical knowledge, because the literature of traveling to a purpose almost uniformly imagined its subjects to have masculine bodies, and because their increasingly gender-

of the Books Belonging to the Young Men's Association of the City of Chicago, Vol. I (Chicago: Rounds & James, 1865), 110.

⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 15.

exclusive association with knowledge-producing institutions like learned societies, colleges, and the military gave them an authoritative outlet for that knowledge. However, the discourse of traveling to a purpose had significant cracks through which female travelers could drive their horses and carriages. Traveling to a purpose could and did often have a female face, and the strategy of the explorer was one that women travelers frequently used to gain cultural capital from their travels. As male travelers claimed the spoils of their increasing domination of the institutions of knowledge production and an increasingly gendered conception of “rationality” in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, female travelers responded with an emphasis on the value of cultivating sympathy and schooling the nation in morality, both of which were increasingly the province of women.

The Literature of Traveling to Good Purpose

It is perhaps apt that Theodore Dwight was one of the first American authors to explicitly prescribe “travelling to good purpose.” Four years after his *The Northern Traveller* helped to open the northern interior to commercial tourism, Dwight published *Sketches of Scenery and Manners in the United States*, a collection of short essays designed to “excite ... new interest in the beauties of our scenery, and in the traits of our manners.” Dwight, or at least his publisher A. T. Goodrich, saw a link between the earlier guidebook and the later miscellany; *Sketches of Scenery and Manners* was advertised as being “by the author of ‘Northern traveller.’” In an essay entitled “Travelling to Good Purpose,” Dwight lamented the majority of travelers who were

capricious seekers of present gratification: “This is to abuse travelling,” he thundered. Presumably some of these superficial travelers were also readers of his guidebook, but nevertheless, Dwight advised that “the annual excursions and tours made by so many families in the northern parts of this country might be rendered much more agreeable, and much more useful than they usually are, by a little forethought and method.”⁷ This call for “forethought and method,” a more conscious, rigorous, and creative approach to travel than the mere reading of a guidebook, became the kernel of Dwight’s and other authors’ prescriptions for “travelling to good purpose” in the subsequent decades.

Dr. Johnson provided an important template for nineteenth-century calls for the “forethought” that Dwight articulated in 1829.⁸ In a dialogue with his biographer, Dr. Johnson observed that “books of travels will be good in proportion to what a man has previously in his mind; his knowing what to observe; his power of contrasting one mode of life with another. As the Spanish proverb says, ‘He who would bring home the wealth of the Indies must carry the wealth of the Indies with him.’ So it is in travelling: a man must carry knowledge with him, if he would bring home knowledge.”⁹ Forethought was necessary for traveling to a purpose.¹⁰ Not only did travelers require foreknowledge of

⁷ Theodore Dwight, *Sketches of Scenery and Manners in the United States* (New York, A. T. Goodrich, 1829), Preface, 181.

⁸ Other authors who were roughly contemporaries of Dr. Johnson in London were also publishing advice on traveling to a purpose. Most famously, a wealthy German traveler and “man of letters” named Count Leopold Berchtold published *An Essay to Direct and Extend the Inquiries of Patriotic Travellers: With Further Observations on the Means of Preserving the Life, Health, & Property of the Unexperienced in Their Journies by Land and Sea* (London: Printed for the Author, 1789), which contained instructions about traveling to a purpose designed “to assist the intellectually curious traveller [to] make the most of his sojourn in foreign parts.” However, Count Berchtold’s essay was never reprinted, and there is no evidence that it ever circulated to the United States, so Dr. Johnson remains the most appropriate provisional origin for this chapter. See Stewart Fraser, “Count Leopold Berchtold: Eighteenth Century Educational Travel Counselor,” *Peabody Journal of Education* 40, no. 1, (July, 1962): 4-11, 5.

⁹ James Boswell and William Wallace, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (Edinburgh: W.P. Nimmo, 1873), 380.

¹⁰ Dr. Johnson’s observation that a traveler to good purpose “must carry knowledge with him” was common among his successors, but parallel advice about practical preparations for a journey was strikingly absent.

routes and destinations, they also required proper conceptual preparation. They had to know “what to observe” as well as how to contrast “one mode of life with another.” Dr. Johnson did not elaborate further on either substantive or conceptual forethought, but his brevity represented an opportunity for his successors.

Dwight was more specific about how the substantive preparation for traveling to good purpose should take place: travelers should read. “The great features of our country, the leading events of its history, and the details of its natural productions; our arts of life, our condition and habits, are now so easily accessible in popular publications,” Dwight claimed, “that foreigners themselves are ashamed to travel without some preparation by reading; and our own citizens have sometimes been hushed into silence while listening to the intelligent remarks of those who have a right to seek of them instruction.” The most appropriate of the “popular publications” with which to prepare were “such books as contain necessary information in a compact and convenient form”—a description that sounded very much like *The Northern Traveller*. Dwight thought that this kind of preparation was not nearly common enough amongst the domestic travelers of 1829; American tourists had “too much given in to the fashion of carrying foreign novels and poems with them to read on their journeys—a habit, which, as far as it

Guidebooks may have provided such information to tourists, but those concerned with traveling to a purpose were almost universally silent on the issue. A British example illustrates this point. In 1827, an English doctor named William Kitchiner published a two-volume work of advice entitled *The Traveller's Oracle; Or, Maxims for Locomotion: Containing Precepts for Promoting the Pleasures and Hints for Preserving the Health of Travellers* (London: H. Colburn, 1827). In the same year, the *London Magazine* published a review of the work that panned Kitchiner's advice. The reviewer opined that “The matter which is derived from former works is either absurd or obsolete; and that which may be supposed to have proceeded from the doctor's proper stock, is either frivolous or inapplicable.” What was worse, the book had a complete “absence of all instruction of a higher order as to the objects of a traveller, and the mode of compassing them, such as is to be found in Count Berchtold's Instructions for Travellers; to say nothing of this, the directions which are given are mere rubbish collected from every source, and thrown together in a mass for the sake of making a book.” Kitchiner's volumes failed not only because the doctor's advice was “laughably strange,” but also because it failed to provide “instruction of a higher order.” In order to prepare a traveler for traveling to good purpose, an advisor had to provide substantive and conceptual advice, not practical advice. See *The London Magazine* 9, no. 34 (October, 1827): 181-182.

prevails, has its origin in taste at least ill-timed, if not in pedantry of a very mistaken kind.”¹¹ The substantive preparation that Dwight recommended was fairly limited compared to what his successors would recommend, which is perhaps unsurprising for the author of a “compact and convenient” guidebook. Nevertheless, Dwight thought it important to be acquainted with the geography, history, economy, and society of the United States in order to travel to good purpose.

Dwight’s admonition to avoid “foreign novels and poems” on the road was more than just an advertisement for *The Northern Traveller*, however. It was also a gendered warning about the epistemological preparation necessary for traveling to good purpose. “Instead of wishing to see the world through a fancied medium,” Dwight wrote, “the rational traveller wishes to view it as it is.”¹² Dwight borrowed this idea, and even his phrasing, directly from Dr. Johnson. On September 21, 1773, while visiting the Isle of Skye in Scotland, Dr. Johnson mused, “The use of travelling is to regulate imagination by reality, and instead of thinking how things may be, to see them as they are.”¹³ Originally penned in a letter, this maxim was widely reprinted in both Britain and the United States in volumes of “Johnsoniana,” advertised as rich “collections of Materials for Thinking.”¹⁴ Indeed, the popularity of this particular aphorism, its wide availability in print in the United States, and the similarity of Dwight’s phrasing, suggest that Dwight was explicitly trying to evoke Dr. Johnson in this passage, or at least was influenced by his thought.

¹¹ Dwight, *Sketches of Scenery and Manners*, 176.

¹² Dwight, *Sketches of Scenery and Manners*, 176.

¹³ James Boswell and John Wilson Croker, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL. D., Including a Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (New York: G. Dearborn, 1835), 550, 557.

¹⁴ Croker and Boswell, *Johnsoniana*, “Advertisement,” 114. This quotation came from his famous journey to the Hebrides in Scotland in 1773, during which Dr. Johnson wrote regular letters home to his friend Mrs. Thrale. These letters, judged by one early nineteenth-century editor to have been “thought the best Dr. Johnson ever wrote, and been by some persons even preferred to his elaborate account of the ‘Journey,’” were more contemplative than his published account of the trip. See Boswell and Croker, *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1835), 550, 557.

Dwight made specific the kind of “imagination” he thought required “regulation” through travel: the “fancied medium” of a “foreign novel or poem.” For Dwight, then, traveling to good purpose required the traveler to shed the imaginative and sentimental constructs of novels and poems and take up instead the objectivity of scientific observation.

As he did with the subject of preparation, Dwight added meat to Dr. Johnson’s bones. The rational traveler “endeavours to divest his mind of all prejudice, as well as to prepare his feelings to slide easily over the little trials he must expect, determined neither to fail of the enjoyments which lie before him by extravagant anticipations, nor to diminish them unnecessarily by unfortunate comparisons.”¹⁵ Objectivity required not only avoiding prejudice of the territory traveled through, but also an ability to control “extravagant anticipations” and “unfortunate comparisons.” In Dwight’s didactic dichotomy, the “fancied media” of “foreign novels and poems” were associated with prejudice, anticipation, and spurious comparison. The gendered nature of this dichotomy would have been transparent to Dwight’s readers in the late 1820s. Novels in particular had begun to become associated with female readers in the eighteenth century, especially those that used the rhetoric of sympathy for their emotional power.¹⁶ Women, and especially young women, were thought to be the largest group of novel readers, and, by the time Dwight was writing, women were increasingly authoring novels as well.¹⁷ This gendering of fiction was laden with moral danger; as Mary Kelley has argued, persistent stereotypes “that ranked women’s reasoning and analytical capabilities lesser than men’s”

¹⁵ Dwight, *Sketches of Scenery and Manners*, 176.

¹⁶ For more on the gendering of sympathy in early American novels and its complex political valences, see Elizabeth Barnes, *States of Sympathy: Seduction and Democracy in the American Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); and Julia A. Stern, *The Plight of Feeling: Sympathy and Dissent in the Early American Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

¹⁷ See Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Noonday Press/Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), ch. 3; and Cathy N. Davidson, *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), ch. 6.

meant that “women who indulged in fiction might become captive to the novel’s flights of fancy.”¹⁸ Traveling to good purpose, Dwight seemed to be saying, required a disavowal of the novel’s claims to knowledge, which were dangerously associated with women readers and the implicitly female travelers who carried novels with them on their journeys. Purposeful travel required instead an implicitly masculine commitment to rational observation.

In drawing this distinction, Dwight was part of a broader movement to associate traveling to good purpose with objective, inductive observation and the systematic recording and reporting of those observations. His essays on traveling to good purpose represented a turning point between the epigrammatic advice of Dr. Johnson and the more didactic counsel of later commentators. However, Dwight’s clearly gendered dichotomy between rigorous masculine observation and the feminized fancy of novelistic travel was more the exception than the rule. Indeed, in the decade after the publication of Dwight’s musings on traveling to good purpose, other authors took up the theme at greater length, and explicitly gendered language and implicitly gendered associations like Dwight’s were often conspicuously absent. As advisors on traveling to good purpose refined what they meant by preparation and observation, they articulated visions that were not exclusive of women travelers and were sometimes explicitly inclusive. Dwight himself even opened significant space for female traveling to good purpose, despite his suspicion of the use of the “fancied media” on the road. As traveling to good purpose became an increasingly scientific endeavor, women travelers carved out a space of

¹⁸ Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand & Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America’s Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 155-160, quotation on 158.

sympathetic, educational observation as a mode of traveling to good purpose of their own.

The new literature on scientific traveling to good purpose came largely out of Britain, where a social and institutional nexus of scientific pursuit was forming in London in the early nineteenth century. No American city had an equivalent concentration of learned societies and scientific publishers, although the growing number of both amateur and professional scientific investigators created a significant market for imported and reprinted British texts.¹⁹ Thus, it was to this British discourse that Stocqueler turned when crafting his speech in 1860, specifically to Colonel J. R. Jackson's 1841 *What to Observe; or, the Traveller's Remembrancer*.²⁰ Although a British book, Jackson's instructions for traveling to good purpose circulated in the United States. It was held by American libraries such as the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Mercantile Library of New York, and the Free Public Library of New Bedford, Massachusetts.²¹ Its publication was noticed by American periodicals like *The United States Magazine, and Democratic Review*, the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, and *American Publishers'*

¹⁹ See Linda K. Kerber, "Science in the Early Republic: The Society for the Study of Natural Philosophy," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 29, no. 2 (April, 1972): 263-280.

²⁰ The extended paragraph from page 301 to page 303 of Stocqueler's address that listed the categories of inquiry pursued by an author "professing to describe a country or countries minutely" (300) was almost a mirror image of Jackson's table of contents. Stocqueler obviously did not delve into nearly as much detail as Jackson, but the structure of his categories is essentially the same. Further evidence of Stocqueler's debt to Jackson is supplied by the fact that they likely moved in the same circles in London in the 1840s, when Jackson was Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society and Stocqueler ran his "general inquiry office" on Indian affairs. Finally, Stocqueler's *Fifteen Months' Pilgrimage through untrodden Tracts of Khuzis'an and Persia in 1831-2* was held the library of the Royal Geographical Society, of which Jackson was the librarian for a short period in the 1840s. Stocqueler and Jackson likely knew of each others' work, which suggests that the similarities between *What to Observe* and Stocqueler's 1860 address are not coincidental. See A. S. Goudie, "Colonel Julian Jackson and His Contribution to Geography," *The Geographical Journal* 144, no. 2, (July, 1978): 264-270, 264, and *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (London: J. Murray, 1851), lxxvi.

²¹ *What to Observe* was available at the Mercantile Library of New York by 1844 and at the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Free Public Library of New Bedford by the mid-1850s at the latest. See the *Catalogue of the Mercantile Library in New York* (New York: E.O. Jenkins, 1844), 107; *Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia*, 1367; and *Catalogue of the Free Public Library, New Bedford, Mass.* (New Bedford: B. Lindsey, 1858), 163.

Circular and Literary Gazette.²² It made at least some impression on American readers in its initial months; in August of 1841, soon after its publication in London, the Philadelphia publishing firm of Carey and Hart announced an American edition, which was never actually realized.²³ It also provided the basis for the pamphlet entitled *Hints to Travellers*, first published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* in 1854 and printed as its own pamphlet in 1865.²⁴ This adaptation of Jackson's work was reissued well into the twentieth century, and it widely distributed the influence of Jackson's notion of traveling to good purpose. Above all, Jackson was concerned with proper observation and the proper recording of those observations, so that travel could make useful contributions to science.

A staff military officer, Jackson was a founding member and secretary of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) in the 1840s. He was himself relatively well traveled, but he "envisaged that a major role of the RGS should be to arrange, classify, and evaluate geographical information." Jackson thought a geographer's "labours of the cabinet" were just as important as travel and exploration and needed to be taken just as seriously. Within the RGS, an organization dominated by travelers who valued the adventure of exploration, Jackson was something of a lone voice in advocating systematic observation, classification, and articulation of geographical knowledge. His *What to Observe* was an attempt to correct the "wrong aims and inadequate achievements" of thoughtless exploration by articulating "the sorts of questions which

²² See *The United States Magazine, and Democratic Review* 1, no. 1 (July 1841), 99; *Christian Advocate and Journal* 36, no. 16 (April 18, 1861), 127; and *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette* 7, no. 24 (June 15, 1861), 206.

²³ The unrealized Carey and Hart edition was announced in *The United States Magazine, and Democratic Review* 9, no. 38 (August 1841), 202.

²⁴ See Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), ch. 3.

should be examined by an explorer or traveller.”²⁵ Jackson’s guide to traveling to good purpose was explicitly intended to make travel more productive of geographical knowledge; in other words, to make it exploration rather than tourism. To whatever extent Jackson was a voice in the wilderness in 1841, his message resonated with the RGS, which envisioned and promoted precisely such disciplined observation in their longstanding *Hints to Travellers*, which ran some to seven editions by the end of the nineteenth century, with each edition being expanded and revised to incorporate the latest technologies for observation.²⁶

However, Jackson did not intend his “remembrancer” to be only a corrective educational measure for members of the RGS. Rather, he “intended [it] for general use,” and he hoped that “it will prove acceptable alike to those who travel luxuriously over civilized Europe, and to those adventurous and ardent spirits who wander undaunted among hostile tribes, braving every obstacle and enduring every hardship in search of knowledge.” Jackson hoped to place his remembrancer in as many traveling hands as possible, because the proper acquisition and arrangement of geographical knowledge was a task that scaled up well—the more travelers to good purpose, the better. “Indeed,” Jackson lamented, “when we consider the total absence of anything like solid information given to us by the legion of those who quit their native country to roam for a while over the various parts of the globe, we cannot but think that some good must result from pointing out how their peregrinations may be turned to better account than they have

²⁵ Goudie, “Colonel Julian Jackson,” 265, 266, 268.

²⁶ Felix Driver has traced the seven editions of *Hints to Travellers* between its initial publication as a monograph in 1865 and its final publication in 1901. As he points out, the *Hints* were continually revised and expanded to keep up with contemporary techniques of observation, adding subjects like photography, climatic instrumentation, astronomical tables, and information on anthropology and medicine, until by the final edition, it filled two volumes. See Driver, *Geography Militant*, 64.

hitherto been.”²⁷ Jackson’s emphasis on the collection of scientific data placed him comfortably within the trajectory taken by the early modern distinction between *peregrinari* and *vagari* over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In its earliest iterations, such a distinction was drawn to educate “the cultivated self,” but it was increasingly made to serve the purposes of institutionalized natural philosophy by scaling up the gathering of geographical knowledge.²⁸ In this imperial vision, metropolitan geographical knowledge would grow exponentially because not only would the members of the RGS travel to better purpose, but because hitherto superficial touristic travelers would also do their share to add to the collective stock of knowledge.²⁹ This growth would only be helped by the distribution of popularized versions of Jackson’s “remembrancer,” like *Hints to Travellers* and the Admiralty’s *Manual of Scientific Enquiry*, which similarly built upon Jackson’s work in order to expand the amount of disciplined observation conducted by travelers.³⁰

²⁷ J. R. Jackson, *What to Observe; Or, the Traveller’s Remembrancer* (London: James Madden & Co., 1841), iv.

²⁸ See Driver, *Geography Militant*, 50 and Justin Stagl, “The Methodising of Travel in the Sixteenth Century: A Tale of Three Cities,” *History and Anthropology* 4, no. 2 (1990): 303-38, 324.

²⁹ Driver has argued that, among its many roles, the RGS served as an “imperial information exchange” for these disciplined travelers’ observations, which gave it an important node in geographical construction of empire and imperial construction of geographical knowledge. This grandiose vision of traveling to good purpose was perhaps easier to imagine in theory than in practice; as Driver points out, manuals on traveling to good purpose such as *Hints to Travellers* were at best “an unsettled attempt to resolve some fundamental dilemmas: how was field observation to be trusted? What were the limits of ‘geographical’ knowledge? And, above all, what attitude should the scientific community have towards the untrained traveller?” Jackson’s and the RGS’s vision of traveling to good purpose on an imperial rather than individual scale was as rife with problems as it was seductive. See Driver, *Geography Militant*, chs. 2-3, quotations on 27, 50.

³⁰ In the late 1840s, the British Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty commissioned Sir John F. Herschel, an astronomer, to compile a *Manual of Scientific Enquiry* for naval use. The resulting volume was first issued in 1849, and it remained in frequent print through the 1880s. The commissioners thought that it would “conduce to the general interests of Science, if new facilities and encouragement were given to the collection of information upon scientific subjects by the officers, and more particularly by the medical officers, of Her Majesty’s Navy, when upon foreign service.” The book was intended for an audience broader than the British navy, however; Herschel’s subtitle declared that his book was “Prepared for the Use of Officers in Her Majesty’s Navy; and Travellers in General.” They chose *What to Observe* as their explicit model, since Jackson’s “excellent book” contained “the fullest directions,” but they thought that such a full volume was “more voluminous ... than is to be desired for a general Manual.” Indeed, the

In keeping with his desire to scale up the collection of geographical knowledge, Jackson was agreeing with Dr. Johnson's observation that "the information we have from modern travellers is much more authentick than we had from ancient travelers." Boswell recorded that Dr. Johnson had more confidence in modern geographical knowledge because "Ancient travellers (said he) guessed; modern travellers measure."³¹ Jackson evidently preferred this moment of Johnsonian optimism to the warning that "books of travels will be good in proportion to what a man has previously in his mind." He put little stress on mental preparation for travel; indeed, he hoped that travelers would "and be encouraged to exertion by the assurance that, without being what is termed a philosopher, he may not only do much to enlarge the sphere of his own ideas, but acquire the means of communicating to others a great mass of valuable or interesting information." In short, Jackson taught technique, not knowledge. His useful traveler did not need to be a "philosopher" because the scope and content of geographical knowledge was to be determined centrally rather than individually; the useful traveler was a collector of data more than a "philosopher." Thus, preparation for traveling to good purpose was largely an affair of packing the right instruments, listing the proper questions to be answered through travel, and receiving the proper inspiration. He "endeavoured to excite a desire for useful knowledge by awakening curiosity," and hoped that the "intending traveller ... will, from a perusal of the present work see what an immense field of

commissioners did not "consider it necessary that this Manual should be one of very deep and abstruse research;" it was to be a guide for generally well-educated gentleman rather than men of science, so that those gentleman could do their part to contribute to a larger scientific undertaking. They sought "Reports upon National Character and Customs ... but for these only very general instructions can be given, though valuable Reports may be expected from men of observation and intelligence." Any man "of observation and intelligence" could potentially act as a data collector for the Royal Navy, no training required. See John F. W. Herschel, *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry; Prepared for the Use of Officers in Her Majesty's Navy; and Travellers in General* (London: J. Murray, 1859), iii, iv. Herschel's *Manual* was originally published in 1849; the 1859 edition was its third.

³¹ Johnson, *Table Talk*, 200-201.

physical and moral research lies open to his investigation."³² The instruments and techniques listed were largely those of the physical sciences and geography, enabling precise scientific measurement of geographical features and the proper preparation of specimens to bring home.

INSTRUMENTS.

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A. Common tin pot, 9 inches high, by 2 in diameter. **B.** a sliding tube of tin, moved up and down in the pot; the head of the tube is closed, but has a slit in it **C**, to admit of the thermometer passing through a collar of cork which shuts up the slit when the thermometer is placed.

D. Thermometer with so much of the scale left only as may be desirable.

E. Holes for the escape of steam.

For the mode of using this instrument, see OPERATIONS.

These thermometers are strongly recommended by Colonel Sykes who has employed them for a great many years in ascertaining heights where strict accuracy is not required, or the means of obtaining it are wanting; they have certainly the advantages, which barometers have not, of being very portable.

Thermometers for ascertaining the

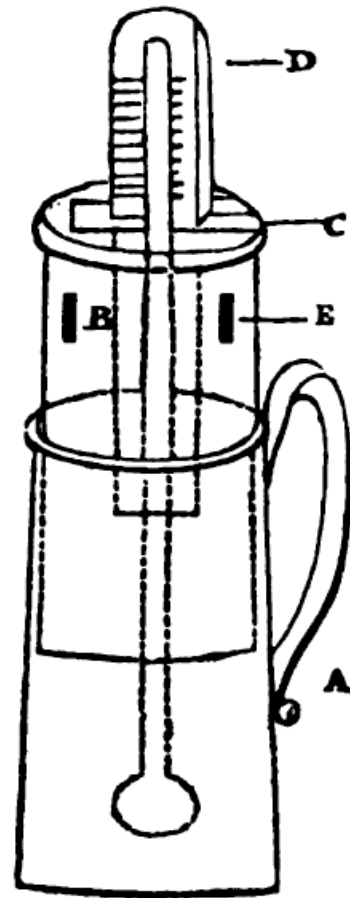


Figure 10: Illustration of an instrument for measuring temperature, from J. R. Jackson's *What to Observe*³³

Notwithstanding Jackson's practical scientific advice to explorers, the bulk of the work was taken up with detailed categories of observation and recording that would serve

³² Jackson, *What to Observe*, iii.

³³ Jackson, *What to Observe*, 463.

the ends of the RGS and other systematizers of geographical knowledge. Jackson went so far as to list questions to be answered and topics to be addressed in any geographical location, whether it be in “civilized Europe” or among “hostile tribes.” He divided the topics worthy of exploration into ten divisions, each of which was subdivided into sections that contained a range of topics to be addressed and specific questions to be answered. Thus, in all cases, observation and the recording of observations would be disciplined. The degree of detail reflected Jackson’s professional interest in thorough observation and classification and his desire to enable an army of travelers to travel to good purpose rather than to groom individual super-travelers. Since they were not necessarily “what is termed a philosopher,” Jackson’s travelers were not explicitly trained to develop creative avenues of inquiry on the fly; instead, he offered them the discipline to be thorough observers and systematic classifiers.

This disciplined, thorough, and systematic approach to observation and recording was the main support of claims to scientific authority, dating back to English philosopher Francis Bacon at the turn of the seventeenth century. It had become even more important by the nineteenth century; as Felix Driver has argued, “In the world of nineteenth-century science, the credibility of claims to empirical knowledge was said to depend on accurate observation, above all else.”³⁴ Beginning in the seventeenth century, most male scientists argued that achieving this discipline of observation required intellectual mastery of the passions and weaknesses of the body, which was a triumph of gender. As Jan Golinski has argued, scientific self-discipline was “an ideology of masculinity that denigrated those mental attributes that were gendered female and denied women the capacity to free themselves from them.” He points out that the rigors of reliable observation were

³⁴ Driver, *Geography Militant*, 51.

precisely such a form of masculine self-control, “a way of subduing the feminine aspect of the individual man of science.”³⁵ The structured habits of observation and recording suggested by Jackson’s method of traveling to good purpose and the strict mental and physical discipline needed to fill in lengthy lists of questions at every stop along the road constructed an implicitly masculine traveler to good purpose. This traveler was comfortably established at the masculine end of Dwight’s implicitly gendered binary between the “fancied media” and objective observation.

However, even if the disciplined habits of observation and recording advocated by Jackson privileged mind over body in an implicitly masculine way, it was not clear that only male-bodied travelers could achieve that self-discipline. While Jackson followed the lead of Dr. Johnson, Dwight, and most other writers on traveling to good purpose by exclusively using masculine pronouns, he also made more of an effort than most others to use “the traveller” in place of the pronoun. When Stocqueler popularized Jackson’s work in his Clinton Hall address, he captured this agnosticism about the gender of objective observation when he proclaimed that “In an age when everybody in America and Germany, and many millions in England and France, read all that is published in the shape of a book of travels,” Stocqueler admonished the crowd, “it behooves the author to observe an exactitude in relation to facts, and a tone of justice and impartiality in the utterance of opinions, which were scarcely expected or desired when the world was little known and superficiality passed current.” His admonitions to the potential travel narrators seated before him were addressed evenly to both sexes; “Men and women write

³⁵ Jan Golinski, “The Care of the Self and the Masculine Birth of Science,” *History of Science* 40, pt. 2, no. 128 (June 2002): 125-145, 140, 139.

too much in a hurry,” he warned, “and too often give way to first or last impressions.”³⁶

Travelers, whatever their sex, came in for criticism in Stocqueler’s speech, but all travelers could also be remade from superficial tourists into travelers to good purpose.

More importantly, traveling to good purpose on the scale envisioned by Jackson and his supporters required the deployment of as many travelers as possible. As Renée Bergland has pointed, the early modern masculine ideal of the lone natural philosophical genius was largely a myth, especially by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when practical science was largely a collaborative endeavor. For many scientists, collaboration meant harnessing (and therefore legitimating) the observational powers of female assistants.³⁷ Since Jackson saw all travelers as potential foot soldiers in a broadly coordinated project to compile geographical knowledge, he wrote his manual to appeal to as broad an audience as possible, including “those who travel luxuriously,” “adventurous and ardent spirits,” and those who were not “what is termed a philosopher”—all categories that contained women as well as men. Jackson remained open to the supporting contributions of both male and female travelers, and in doing so, he was right in step with the leading scientists of his day. While neither Jackson nor his scientific collaborators would have necessarily called their female assistants “scientists,” they did not doubt their reasoning ability. It was in this spirit that *What to Observe*

³⁶ Siddons, *Travel, Its Pleasures, Advantages, and Requirements*, 297-298.

³⁷ See Renée Bergland, *Maria Mitchell and the Sexing of Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2008), ch. 3. According to Bergland, Margaret Rossiter, Ruth Watts, and others, what few opportunities women had for self-directed scientific inquiry in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries decreased in the middle and later decades of the nineteenth century as science professionalized and was increasingly gendered masculine. Indeed, the association of women with assistant positions in collaborative scientific efforts became so strong by the turn of the twentieth century that it came to be seen as inherently “women’s work.” See also Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), ch. 3; and Ruth Watts, *Women in Science: A Social and Cultural History* (New York: Routledge, 2007), ch. 6.

opened a space for women travelers to good purpose, if not for female membership in the RGS.

Jackson, Stocqueler, and other promoters of objective observation may have imagined a circumscribed scientific role for women travelers to good purpose, but theirs were not the only articulations of the subject coming from British thinkers in the years after Dwight. In the mid-1830s, “an association of philanthropic geniuses of both sexes” associated with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) in London undertook the ambitious project of producing a series of books for travelers under the title of *How to Observe*.³⁸ This series was intended to be popular print in the broadest sense, since the SDUK was “devoted to the cause of adult education and the Utilitarian ideal of ‘Knowledge is Power,’” with the “aim of providing a mass readership with cheap but authoritative printed material.”³⁹ As its editor explained, “it was originally intended to produce, in one or two volumes, a series of hints for travellers and students, calling their attention to the points necessary for inquiry or observation in ... Geology, Natural History, Agriculture, the Fine Arts, General Statistics, and Social Manners.” However, a single volume seemed too cumbersome, so the original volume was “separate[d into] the

³⁸ The membership of the “association” behind the “How to Observe” series, and its relationship to the SDUK, remain unclear; the volumes’ introductory materials were intentionally obfuscating, written in the passive voice and attributed only by initials. Its attribution to “an association of philanthropic geniuses of both sexes” was made in a review of Martineau’s volume in *The London Quarterly Review*, which claimed that “This association seems to be an offset from the illustrious ‘Society for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge,’ and means, we understand, to publish a complete encyclopedia *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. The involvement of the SDUK seems clear; Felix Driver makes this attribution, pointing out that both extant volumes were issued by Charles Knight, SDUK’s publisher of choice in the late 1830s. However, it is unclear if the “association of philanthropic geniuses” and the SDUK were the same thing or not. See “ART. II. - *How to Observe - Morals and Manners*. By Harriet Martineau. Charles Knight. London. 1838,” *The London Quarterly Review* 63, no. 125 (January 1839): 34; and Driver, *Geography Militant*, 61.

³⁹ Mead T. Cain, “The Maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge: A Publishing History,” *Imago Mundi* 46, (1994): 151-167, 151. See also Harold Smith, *The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge 1826-1846: A Social and Bibliographical Evaluation* (Halifax: Dalhousie University School of Library Service, 1974).

great divisions of the field of observation.” This plan was carried out for two volumes, one on geology and the other on morals and manners. Noted British geologist Sir Henry Thomas De la Beche’s *How to Observe—Geology* was printed by Charles Knight, the Society’s publisher, in London in 1835. American publishers evidently had higher hopes for the second volume; *How to Observe—Morals and Manners*, by British traveler, journalist, and philosopher Harriet Martineau, was released by Knight in 1838 and reprinted in the same year by the New York firm of Harper & Brothers and the Philadelphia firm of Lea & Blanchard. Of the two, Martineau’s volume received more press and larger circulation, especially in the United States.⁴⁰

These extended treatises of expert instruction were intended for at least two audiences: first, “the scientific traveller and student,” and second, “listless idler[s]” who might otherwise “be changed into . . . inquiring and useful observer[s].” However, given the involvement of the SDUK, the “philanthropic geniuses” behind the *How to Observe* series prioritized those two groups in the opposite way from Jackson, Herschel, and the RGS. Rather than being a scientific text written to be legible to a popular audience, the books in SDUK’s series were intended to be popular texts of such high standards that they would also be useful to “the scientific traveller and student.” The SDUK sought not only to make tourists into travelers to good purpose, they also sought to give them “the power of converting a dull and dreary road into a district teeming with interest and pleasure.” Such “habits of observation” would also make travelers’ writings more

⁴⁰ De la Beche’s volume on geology remained in print for two editions, one in 1835, and one in 1836, both by Charles Knight in London. It was also published in German translation in Berlin in 1836, but after that year, it appears not to have ever been reprinted in either language. Martineau’s volume on morals and manners was printed almost simultaneously in London, New York, and Philadelphia in 1838, although it does not appear to have been printed again in the course of the nineteenth century. The more enthusiastic reception given to Martineau by American publishers and the American press is probably due to the fact that she was better known in the United States, having spent two years there in the early 1830s and having already published *Society in America* a year previously.

interesting, because they would bestow “charm upon the descriptions of the commonest things.” They would stand in contrast to common tourist narratives, “abounding with eloquence and picturesque descriptions, [which] are now nearly forgotten, because they are wanting in that accuracy and minute observation which alone can command a lasting interest.”⁴¹ Properly disciplined, scientifically inspired “habits of observation” made the difference between touring and traveling to good purpose, and would make both the journey itself and its subsequent recounting more substantial, useful, and lasting.

Much as Jackson must have valued Dr. Johnson’s observation that “modern travellers measure,” the SDUK would have agreed that “books of travels will be good in proportion to what a man has previously in his mind.” Of the two volumes, De la Beche’s guide to making geological observations placed more value on the diffusion of substantive knowledge of its subject matter. One reviewer found that De la Beche “labours under the disadvantage of knowing a good deal of the matter he writes about, which makes his book rather perplexing to the uninformed, for whose use the society professes to publish.”⁴² As the reviewer suggested, De la Beche wrote the book as a treatise on geology rather than as one on traveling, apparently assuming that his reader understood the choice of routes, the mode of travel, and the habits of mind that characterized a geological journey. For De la Beche, teaching his reader “how to observe” meant teaching them how to interpret the geological evidence that he or she came across in his or her travels, as well as how to understand the present state of geology so that he or she “may be induced to observe and record facts that may advance

⁴¹ Henry T. De La Beche, *How to Observe: Geology* (London: Charles Knight, 1836), iv-vi.

⁴² “ART. II. - *How to Observe - Morals and Manners*,” 34.

the science, and which might otherwise pass unnoticed.”⁴³ In a sense, De la Beche’s text performed the same function as Dwight’s guidebooks, albeit for a more specialized audience: it provided substantive knowledge of the spaces and places its readers might pass through, such that their travel could be informed. The habits of mind necessary to make empirical geological observations went largely unexplained. This disjunction between the intended purpose and audience of the SDUK series and the specialized geological content of De la Beche’s volume probably explains its failure to command a large audience.

The second and more popular volume of the series, Martineau’s *How to Observe—Morals and Manners*, took a different approach. It was a clarion call for traveling to good purpose, which focused on the highest preparation of an individual traveler rather than on orchestrating a larger project of traveling to good purpose. “We should by this time have been rich in the knowledge of nations if each intelligent traveller had endeavoured to report of any one department of moral inquiry, however narrow,” she lamented, “but instead of this, the observations offered to us are almost purely desultory.”⁴⁴ Martineau included very little information about the “morals and manners” of any particular location or group, and seemed not to share De la Beche’s concern that her readers not duplicate observations that had already been made by other travelers. Instead, she explained how to prepare oneself for making observation and what categories of observation were important in order to make a complete accounting of morals and manners. The same reviewer who found De la Beche’s guide to observation too specialized thought that Martineau’s was ignorant. Since she had never traveled to

⁴³ De La Beche, *How to Observe*, 5.

⁴⁴ Harriet Martineau, *How to Observe: Morals and Manners* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1838), 62.

the European continent, her guide “must produce a fortunate sympathy between the teacher and the pupil, however ignorant and inexperienced the latter may be;” in other words, Martineau’s relative ignorance on the subject made her a better teacher of observation than De la Beche. Although the reviewer did not intend this observation to be a compliment, it inadvertently highlighted Martineau’s interpretation of the “how to observe” genre, which was that the habits of mind necessary to be a good observer were independent of the substance being observed.⁴⁵

The habits of mind espoused by Martineau were intended to create precisely the objectivity of observation called for by Dwight. Where Dwight issued a vague plea for objectivity, Martineau laid out at length a series of philosophical and moral “requisites for observation.” The “philosophical requisites” that she listed read like a primer in the scientific method. The traveler to good purpose, Martineau thought, should possess first “a certainty of what it is that he wants to know,” and second, “principles which may serve as a rallying point and test of his observations”—in other words, such a traveler must have both a clearly defined question and a working hypothesis. However, since the topic under consideration was morals and manners, not geology, such traveler must be acquainted with humanistic philosophy in order to test the hypothesis. He or she must have both “a philosophical and definite, instead of a popular and vague, notion about the origin of human feelings of right and wrong” as well as “a settled conviction that prevalent virtues and vices are the result of gigantic general influence.” Following such a method of systematized observation would lend the traveler the patience to avoid

⁴⁵ “ART. II. - *How to Observe - Morals and Manners.*” The reviewer’s critique of Martineau’s ignorance was unfair because of its myopic view of what counted as travel experience; even if she had never traveled to the European continent, she had already completed extensive travels in North America and had published accounts of them. It was also a gendered critique, because, as we have seen, the European Grand Tour had historically been a prerogative of young men.

superficial judgments. The patience necessary for proper observation could be supplied by the traveler's faith in the project; "Above all things," Martineau warned, "the traveller must not despair of good results from his observations."⁴⁶

Martineau agreed with Dwight that the key to proper observation was objectivity, which she thought was produced through the proper moral requisites. All human travelers were fundamentally imperfect observers, she argued, but "by clearly ascertaining what it is that the most commonly, or the most grossly vitiates foreign observation, we may put a check upon our spirit of prejudice, and carry with us restoratives of temper and spirits which may be of essential service to us in this task." The key moral requisite for objective traveling was sympathy, and this "sympathy must be untrammelled and unreserved." This sympathy, this openness to and identification with the diversity and variety of human cultures, would allow a traveler insight into their inner workings rather than their superficial knowledge. "If he be full of sympathy," Martineau promised, "everything will be instructive, and the most important matters will be the most clearly revealed. If he be unsympathizing, the most important things will be hidden from him, and symbols (in which every society abounds) will be only absurd or trivial forms." Thus, only through sympathetic observation could a traveler begin to approach the objective truth of morals and manners. Sympathy and objective observation, or affection and reason, had long been understood by British and American philosophers and educators as "equally important sources of insight" for morally educated citizens.⁴⁷ Martineau was deploying an intellectual tradition that dated back to the moral philosopher Anthony Ashley Cooper the Earl of Shaftesbury and Francis

⁴⁶ Martineau, *How to Observe*, 44, 19.

⁴⁷ Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak*, 17.

Hutcheson in the eighteenth century when she warned that travelers' tendency to judge the morals and manners of the lands they passed through "absurd and trivial" most likely represented their own failure of understanding rather than actual absurdity or triviality. A traveler to good purpose "will be wise to conclude, when he sees anything seriously done which appears to him insignificant or ludicrous, that there is more in it than he perceives, from some deficiency of knowledge or feeling of his own."⁴⁸

Not only did a traveler to good purpose have to make the proper mental preparations, but he or she also had to make the proper practical arrangements. After all, no "philosophical or moral fitness will qualify a traveller to observe a people if he does not select a mode of travelling which will enable to him to see and converse with a great number and variety of persons." The proper language skills were important, Martineau stressed, but above all, travelers had to choose means of travel that put them in contact with local people and places, which meant avoiding private conveyances. "A good deal may be learned on board steamboats, and in such vehicles as the American stages," she asserted, but "the wisest and happiest traveller is the pedestrian. ... A horse is an anxiety and a trouble." Pedestrian travel had many advantages; while contemplating them, Martineau let slip for a moment her scientific veneer when she acknowledged, "One peculiar advantage of pedestrian travelling is the pleasure of a gradual approach to celebrated or beautiful places." Martineau, not usually one to value the appreciation of scenery, nonetheless thought that the scenic benefits of a pedestrian tour might help convince her audience that it represented the best mode of travel. However, what "is most to our present purpose ... is the consideration of the facilities afforded by pedestrian

⁴⁸ Martineau, *How to Observe*, 44-45, 48.

travelling for obtaining a knowledge of the people.”⁴⁹ Going on foot gave the traveler to good purpose freedom to explore off of major routes and closeness to nature and to people. Furthermore, it would subject the traveler to the rhythms of the weather, allowing more time for exploration and conversation. Martineau acknowledged that pedestrian traveling was arduous, slow, and thus relatively expensive, but she thought it best served good purposes.

In explaining the philosophical, moral, and mechanical requisites for traveling to good purpose, Martineau outlined what she thought represented the ideal traveler. “If the wealthy scholar and philosopher,” she wrote, “could make himself a citizen of the world for the time, and go forth on foot, careless of luxury, patient of fatigue, and fearless of solitude, he would be not only of the highest order of tourists, but a benefactor to the highest kind of science; and he would become familiarized with what few are acquainted with, the best pleasures, transient and permanent, of travel.” Martineau’s wish list for the ideal traveler to good purpose was a tall order; not only did he or she possess advanced moral and philosophical insights and remarkable physical strength and stamina, but he or she was wealthy enough to support an extended expedition. He or she also had to be a self-identified cosmopolitan, a true “citizen of the world.” Indeed, Martineau realized the demands her ideal represented, for she went on to admit that those “who cannot pursue this method will achieve most by laying aside state, conversing with the people they fall in with, and diverging from the high-road as much as possible.”⁵⁰ Wealthy, strong, enlightened cosmopolitans were best suited to travel to good purpose, but other travelers could follow her prescription for preparation to positive effect.

⁴⁹ Martineau, *How to Observe*, 52-53, 53-54, 56, 57.

⁵⁰ Martineau, *How to Observe*, 58.

Martineau's volume also made suggestions about the substance of traveling to good purpose. Unlike the geology lesson of De la Beche or the abridged historical geographical, and social content of Dwight's guidebook, however, Martineau suggested the important categories of observation rather than the contents of those categories. A full accounting of the morals and manners of any society could be made by assessing it in five "departments of inquiry: the religion of the people; their prevalent moral notions; their domestic state; their idea of liberty; and their progress, actual or in prospect." Martineau also included advice about where to find the most reliable information in these categories. "The grand secret of wise inquiry into morals and manners," she confided, "is to begin with the study of THINGS, using the DISCOURSE OF PERSONS as a commentary upon them." The reason for trusting the "the eloquence of institutions and records" was the inherent unreliability of local opinion. Trusting local informants could lead a traveler wrong in multiple ways, since if "three or four agree in their statements on any point, he remains unaware of a doubt, and the matter is settled. If they differ, he is perplexed, does not know whom to believe, and decides, probably, in according with prepossessions of his own. The case is almost equally bad either way." Most travelers only interacted with their own class of people, "like the English in America, for instance, who go commonly with letters of introduction from merchants at home to merchants in the maritime cities, and hear nothing but federal politics, and see nothing but aristocratic manners." Such homogeneity was "fatal" to traveling to good purpose, "but it is less perplexing and painful at the time than the better process of going from one set people to another, and hearing what all have to say."⁵¹ Thus, according to Martineau, travelers to good purpose should attempt to travel widely, should pay attention to the knowledge embedded in

⁵¹ Martineau, *How to Observe*, 66, 63, 62.

“institutions and records” in the five important categories, and save the contributions of local informants for literary garnish in their accounts.

In order to illustrate the sophistication of the mental preparation prescribed by Martineau, it is instructive to compare it to Jackson’s discussion of morals and manners. Jackson’s treatment of the subject was considerably briefer, given the broader scope of his work; it was treated as subcategory of observation in which he offered some general thoughts about where to best observe a society’s “Manners, Customs, Morals and Habits.” He followed these thoughts with a series of leading questions, punctuated by either/or questions. This narrow and rigid list was precisely the sort of preparation that Martineau might have condemned for demonstrating lack of sympathy, enabling oversimplification and prejudgment, and encouraging rushed conclusions. However, Jackson himself did not see his method of creating travelers to good purpose as being in conflict with Martineau’s. Indeed, he saw manners and morals as a topic “of such paramount importance that we would go into it at some length, were it not already treated in a very satisfactory manner by an author of acknowledged ability, Miss Martineau, who, in her book on ‘Morals and Manners,’ gives the fullest instructions for the way in which these should be observed.” He especially recommended that his readers follow Martineau’s system of observation, “contenting ourselves, in this place, with stating briefly a few questions for the traveller’s consideration.”⁵² Jackson may have embraced Martineau’s “fullest instructions,” but it seems unlikely that Martineau would have found

⁵² Jackson, *What to Observe*, 220, 223. The complete list of leading and either/or questions was: “Are the inhabitants generally an imaginative or reflecting people? Are they lively or phlegmatic? Are they distinguished by any particular virtues or vices, and what are these? Are they brave or cowardly; proud or modest; hospitable or inimical to strangers; cruel or humane; confiding or distrustful; witty or obtuse? Are they peaceable or warlike; patriotic or cosmopolite; industrious or idle; sober or debauched; frank or deceitful; religious or profane; liberal or parsimonious; honest or thievish, &c.”

Jackson's impulse towards the collection and categorization of geographical knowledge to be morally or philosophically sound.

After suggesting the proper means of mental preparation and the most effective habits of observation on the road, Martineau turned to the subject of "mechanical methods." By "mechanical methods," she largely meant note taking, including what facts to record and when to record them. She warned that the traveler "who [has] the air of taking notes in the midst of conversation is in danger of bringing away information imperfect as far as it goes, and much restricted in quantity in comparison with what it would be if he allowed it to be forgotten that he was a foreigner seeking information." Instead, she recommended creating "a set of queries ... so divided and arranged as that he can turn to the right set at the fitting moment." These questions, which were not to be used publicly, were critically important in preventing "his researches being so capricious, and his information so vague as his moods and his idleness would other otherwise occasionally make them." Indeed, his "cares will be better bestowed on this than even on his travelling appointments, important as these are to his comfort." These queries would allow a traveler to retain necessary information and observations for recording in a journal or notebook at the proper moment of solitude. The proper "mechanical methods" would allow a traveler to fully execute the good purpose formed by his proper preparation. "Sympathy by itself may do much; with fit intellectual and mechanical aids, it cannot but make the traveller a wise man ... [and] he gains a wisdom for which he will be the better for ever."⁵³

"Making the traveller a wise man" was an apt summary of Martineau's project of traveling to good purpose, and one that suggests that she had a masculine vision of the

⁵³ Martineau, *How to Observe*, 196-197, 201-202.

ideal traveler to good purpose. Like the other authors following Dr. Johnson's model she exclusively used masculine pronouns, but she hardly could have done otherwise, given the contemporary prejudices about women's capacities for useful travel articulated by observers like Dwight. However, several key features of her argument suggest that even when her ideal traveler to good purpose inhabited a male body he was not necessarily strictly gendered male.⁵⁴ At the most fundamental level, Martineau's focus on enhancing the skills of individual travelers rather than organizing traveling to good purpose on a broader level situated her in the tradition that Marina Benjamin has labeled "romantic science." Writers in this tradition pursued the questions of natural philosophy with a romantic emphasis on "an individual and an individual's sensory perceptions, the valuing of the natural over the artificial, and the search through self-knowledge for universal truths about the social or natural world." Romantic science stood in opposition to "the Enlightenment rationalism—institutionalized in the universities and the Royal society—which celebrated diligent observation and notebook recording of external phenomena as the foundation of natural knowledge." Enlightenment rationalism characterized rising American scientific institutions as well, like the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia and, from the 1840s onward, the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Although romantic science was not exclusively a feminine discipline—male scientists also pursued the perfection of their own individual sensory perceptions—women writers used this mode of pursuit of natural philosophical

⁵⁴ As Roger Cooter has written, Martineau was famous for "a life of unceasing journalistic interventions into the major social and intellectual events of her time." However, she was also known for the supposedly ambiguous gender of her intellect; indeed, "she was often regarded as 'one of the finest examples of a masculine intellect in a female form which ... [has] distinguished the present age.'" See Roger Cooter, "Dichotomy and Denial: Mesmerism, Medicine and Harriet Martineau," in *Science and Sensibility: Gender and Scientific Enquiry, 1780-1945*, ed. Marina Benjamin (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 145.

knowledge more frequently than the Enlightenment alternative.⁵⁵ In celebrating the potential contributions to geographical knowledge that could be made by a sympathetic individual traveler to good purpose, Martineau created an opportunity for women travelers to good purpose.

Martineau explicitly contrasted her vision of the ideal traveler to good purpose with that of the gentleman traveler. Which traveler was best suited to “learn most of morals and manners by travel,” Martineau asked, “the gentleman accomplished in philosophy and learning, proceeding in his carriage, with a courier, or a simple pedestrian tourist, furnished only with the language, and with an open heart and frank manners?”⁵⁶ Martineau came down decidedly on the side of the “simple pedestrian,” even if her idea of “an open heart and frank manners” required a good deal of moral and philosophical preparation. Her “simple pedestrians” were not so simple, but they also were not polished, pretentious, or separated from the people whose morals and manners they were studying by displays of wealth and status. She may have referred to her ideal traveler as “he,” but she also gave her anti-hero traveler a flamboyantly aristocratic masculine gendering. In this contrast, Martineau left open the door for a female pedestrian traveler to good purpose.

The ambiguous gender of the ideal traveler went deeper than Martineau’s less than enthusiastic portrayal of the gentlemen traveler, however. According to her, the most important moral requisite for travel to good purpose was sympathy. Both Martineau and her readers on both sides of the Atlantic in the late 1830s would have associated

⁵⁵ See Marina Benjamin, “Elbow Room: Women Writers on Science, 1790-1840,” in *Science and Sensibility: Gender and Scientific Enquiry, 1780-1945*, ed. Marina Benjamin (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 29.

⁵⁶ Martineau, *How to Observe*, 57.

sympathy with femininity. Women in Britain had long been associated with superior sensibility, which G. J. Barker-Benfield has called a “psychoperceptual paradigm” signifying “a certain kind of consciousness, one that could be further sensitized in order to be more acutely responsive to signals from the outside environment and from inside the body.” Eighteenth century observers believed that men could cultivate sensibility, and indeed they were urged to do so, but they thought women embodied it innately—a double-edged sword that called into question women’s capacity for rationality as much as it celebrated women’s superior emotional and perceptual abilities. However, by the early nineteenth century, middle-class women in the United States fused sensibility with rational discernment and moral strength to create a distinct female claim to authority, manifested most commonly in movements for women’s education and in evangelical reform organizations.⁵⁷ This fusion, articulated as the power of sympathy, also carved a place for women in scientific fields in the United States, first and most significantly in medicine, and later in the nascent social sciences that undergirded the Progressive movement.⁵⁸ Martineau’s call for sympathy in observation when traveling to good purpose required a particularly female sensibility.

⁵⁷ See G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), xvii, 395. For more on the relationship between sympathy, sensibility, sentiment, and sentimentality, see Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak*, 50-55.

⁵⁸ For more on women’s use of sympathy to claim authority in medicine and the social sciences, see Regina Markell Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), chs. 5-6, 10. Indeed, the link between Martineau’s notion of sympathy and the foundations of the social sciences of sociology and anthropology is even tighter than in the medical sciences; in 1962 Seymour Lipset called *How to Observe—Morals and Manners* “the first book on the methodology of social research in the then still unborn disciplines of sociology and anthropology.” See Harriet Martineau, *Society in America, Edited, Abridged and With an Introductory Essay by Seymour Martin Lipset* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1962), 7. Martineau’s place in the pantheon of methodological founders of the discipline of sociology has become firmer since Lipset first pointed out her pioneering importance; see Michael R. Hill and Susan Hoecker-Drysdale, eds., *Harriet Martineau: Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

Travelers with the kind of masculine self-discipline advocated by Jackson could engage in other kinds of travel to good purpose, but the observation of morals and manners required more subtle skill. “If a traveller be a geological inquirer,” Martineau wrote, “he may have a heart as hard as the rocks he shivers, and yet succeed in his immediate objects; if he be a student of the fine arts, he may be as silent as a picture, and yet gain his ends; if he be a statistical investigator, he may be as abstract as a column of figures, and yet learn what he wants to know: but an observer of morals and manners will be liable to deception at every turn if he does not find his way to hearts and minds.”⁵⁹ Hard-hearted observation, silent contemplation, and mathematical abstraction were all comfortably masculine emotional registers, but the ability to burrow into another’s heart and mind was a skill generally associated with women. This is not to say that Martineau thought that women were uniquely suited to observe morals and manners; indeed, as Barker-Benfield points out, men could cultivate sensibility with less danger to their authority, a reality that Martineau recognized when she used the masculine pronoun even when describing the power of sympathy. Nonetheless, even if her ideal traveler to good purpose had a male body, he had also to cultivate feminine-gendered qualities in order to properly observe morals and manners.

When taken together, the prevailing discourses about traveling to good purpose circulating in the United States in the 1830s and 1840s created an ambiguous but real opportunity for women travelers to avoid being mere tourists. Jackson’s emphasis on rigorous observation and recording, conducted on a large scale and collected in metropolitan centers of knowledge, resonated with early modern notions of scientific pursuit that required masculine self-discipline to create inductive knowledge. However,

⁵⁹ Martineau, *How to Observe*, 45.

both Jackson's work and those of his popularizers were issued in a world in which much of the practical footwork of scientific observation was conducted by women, whose rational observational skills were both valid and valuable. Martineau's dicta for observing morals and manners championed a kind of romantic science that valued the subjective observations of an individual traveler, and they emphasized above all the importance of the observer's capacity for sympathy, a trait that was gendered female. However, laying too heavy a claim to the authority of sympathy was potentially hazardous for female travelers to good purpose, since it also could imply an incapacity for rationality, which may have explained Martineau's emphasis on the ideal of the wealthy and cosmopolitan traveling gentleman. In both cases, opportunities for traveling to good purpose were structured for male travelers but accessible to female travelers.

The Traveling Education

Women appeared regularly and unambiguously as travelers to good purpose in one specific role: that of educator of children. As early as 1829, Theodore Dwight suggested that "the annual excursions and tours made by so many families in the northern parts of this country might ... [offer] opportunities for administering to the instruction as well as enjoyment of the younger [members of the party]." Dwight gave instructions to the "judicious parent[s]" concerning how best to capitalize upon family travel for the education of their children. They were to prepare their children, like they prepared themselves, by learning "the nature of some of the principal objects they are to observe" and establishing "the foundation on which their future observations are to be built." Both

parents and children would be well served by keeping diaries, both to encourage systematic observation and to provide “subjects on which to enlarge by the winter fire-side, to the little listeners of the family circle.” Dwight’s phrasing suggested that he thought that such education was best furthered by parental teamwork, but he did carve out a special role for the mother. “One of the most interesting objects that can be presented on a journey,” Dwight opined, “is that of an affectionate mother directing the attention of her little family to scenes through which they pass.” Perhaps he found mothers to be “interesting” because he expected fathers to be doing such work, but nonetheless he carved out a space for women travelers to good purpose. Indeed, it may even have been a unique role for mothers, since “an acute observer would hardly wish a better opportunity to form an opinion of the intelligence and judgment of a parent.”⁶⁰

Dwight’s concern for the role of parents in harnessing travel to their children’s education continued into the early 1830s. In his 1834 *Things as They Are; Or, Notes of a Traveller Through the Middle and Northern States* he returned to the theme, albeit on a less prescriptive note. “Oh, had I been taught, in my childhood,” he lamented, “what I so much desired to know, the names, nature, and uses of the trees and plants by which we passed that day, or the composition of the soils which produce them, or a little of the principles of engineering to understand the constructions and excavations of the railroad, or been informed of the history, products, or inhabitants of that part of the country in such a manner as to feel an interest in them.” The deficiency he felt could be best remedied by parents; “How easy would it be for parents to teach their children,” he mused, “as one of

⁶⁰ Dwight, *Sketches of Scenery and Manners*, 181-183.

my fellow-travellers taught me.”⁶¹ Travel was an ideal opportunity for education, especially in childhood, and educational travel was pleasurable for children, as well as instructive. As Jane Loudon, an English botanist and novelist, wrote in 1848, “The use of travelling is, that it affords us more opportunities of observation than we could have at home; but, if we do not avail ourselves of these opportunities, we may travel over the whole globe without reaping any advantage.” She hoped to model the proper use of these opportunities in her own travel, so that young people would “notice all they see, and, particularly, to look for objects of natural history in their walks, whether at home or by the sea-side; and, in return, I promise them that they will find a thousand sources of amusement that before they had no idea of.”⁶²

Dwight was not alone in desiring to correct this lost parental opportunity in the early 1830s, even if few writers on traveling to good purpose addressed it directly. Rather, it was writers of children’s books, and especially books for girls, who emphasized the educational value of travel to good purpose and the opportunities that it offered to women travelers. In the mid-1830s, while Dwight authored his guidebook and essays on traveling to good purpose, the noted educator Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps was publishing a series of textbooks on science and other short works for children. She retired from the vice principalship of Troy Seminary, founded by her sister, Emma Willard, in 1831, and moved to Vermont to start a family. While her children were young, she devoted herself to writing science textbooks for children, the most popular of which, by 1850, had sold hundreds of thousands of copies. In 1838, she returned to education full time, heading

⁶¹ Theodore Dwight, *Things As They Are; Or, Notes of a Traveller Through Some of the Middle and Northern States* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1834), 227, 233.

⁶² Jane Loudon, *Glimpses of Nature and Objects of Interest Described, During a Visit to the Isle of Wight* (London: Grant and Griffith, 1848), v-vi.

seminaries in West Chester, Pennsylvania, Rahway, New Jersey, and Ellicott City, Maryland, before retiring and becoming the second woman elected to the American Association for the Advancement of Science.⁶³

In 1833, in the middle of her most productive years of textbook authorship, she took the time to pen *Caroline Westerley; Or, The Young Traveller from Ohio*, which laid down a didactic template for how young ladies could travel to good purpose, and, in the process, advocated for the value of such travel. *Caroline Westerley* took the form of a series of letters from a young woman traveling with her father from Ohio to Connecticut, written to her younger sister at home. Phelps intended her protagonist to set an example “in describing the events of her journey, and the various objects which she saw” in order to “induce some other young persons to set about acquiring the same habit.” Part of Caroline’s exemplary conduct was her desire to educate her little sister: “remember, my dear Louisa,” Caroline wrote, “that I, as your *senior*, am bound to instruct as well as amuse you, at least as far as my own poor head contains any knowledge which it may be useful to you to participate in; therefore, you must bear patiently with any attempts I may make to communicate the instructions which I may receive during my journey.”⁶⁴ Dwight would have heartily approved of Caroline’s desire to harness travel to the provision of useful knowledge.

Caroline saw fit to record four main categories of information for the edification of her younger sister. She provided lengthy historical accounts of the areas they passed

⁶³ For more on Phelps’ biography and her career as a textbook author, see Emma L. Bolzau, *Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps: Her Life and Work* (Lancaster, PA: The Science Press Printing Company, 1936) and Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, “Parlors, Primers, and Public Schooling: Education for Science in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Isis* 81, no. 3 (September, 1990): 425-445.

⁶⁴ Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps, *Caroline Westerley; Or, The Young Traveller from Ohio: Containing the Letters of A Young Lady of Seventeen, Written to her Sister* (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833), 3, 34-35.

through, especially when their route passed battlefields or forts from the Revolution or the War of 1812, along with “remarks” about “Indians.” Her narrative was also interrupted by lessons on geography, including both passing comments about the soil and rocks of various locations as well as more lengthy expositions on geographical anomalies like Niagara Falls. It is unsurprising that Caroline showed such an interest in natural science—Phelps’s notion of how young women could travel to good purpose was shaped by her scientific interests. Caroline also described scenery in relatively precise aesthetic language, out of her refined love for “waterfalls, and all kinds of beautiful and sublime scenery.” Finally, Caroline harnessed her observations into moral lessons. Caroline’s moral observations were not the philosophically sophisticated insight of a Martineau; rather, they were calls for substantial over fashionable traveling. On a tour of the salt works at Salina, New York, Caroline bemoaned the “fine ladies who accompanied us on this little tour, as they went rather to *be seen* than to *see*, did not go to the salt-works, or to the Indian settlement.” The superficiality of the tourists with whom she traveled, especially the other women, seemed “a great misfortune, since the minds of these young ladies have been so wholly sacrificed to gentility, that they possess so little of it.”⁶⁵ Their superficial pursuit of refinement prevented them from learning history or science, or from having a proper aesthetic reaction to fine scenery. For Phelps, then, traveling to good purpose meant making the proper historical, scientific, and moral observations, and recording them in a useful fashion—in this case, in letters. But more importantly, these observations and recordings had to be harnessed for instructing youth.

Caroline’s father played an important role in providing this instruction, especially on the matters of scientific and historical observation on their journey; indeed, while

⁶⁵ Phelps, *Caroline Westerley*, 135, 182.

Caroline generated the aesthetic and moral content herself, as any idealized young woman would have in the early 1830s, her lessons to her sister were often verbatim accounts of what “Papa” told her. However, even if the information came originally from her father, a source of masculine authority on space and place, Caroline took upon herself the duty of instructing her sister. This translational role in the process of turning travel into instruction was linked not only to Caroline’s gender, but also to Phelps’s. Sarah Josepha Hale, the widely read editor of the *Ladies’ Magazine*, observed in 1833 that *Caroline Westerley* was “a lovely picture to place before the young,” and she linked the education it contained directly to motherhood. “Every Mother,” Hale wrote, “who presents this volume to her daughters cannot choose, but feels a glow of gratitude and love for the excellent mother who wrote it.”⁶⁶ Despite the fact that Phelps was already a widely respected educator who was building a long and distinguished career, Hale linked the power of *Caroline Westerley*’s example to her motherhood, and to the mothers who would buy the volume for their children. Caroline’s father provided authoritative knowledge, but it was Caroline and Phelps who used this knowledge to teach children.

The question of how children should travel well was picked up in 1840 by one of the most popular and widely published children’s authors of the period, Jacob Abbott. One historian has described Abbott as “the Seuss and Spock of the generation between 1820 and 1860,” whose series of books following the life and travels of a boy named Rollo ran to twenty-five titles published between 1834 and 1858. The Rollo books, which were entertaining to read and in stolid support of middle-class Protestant values,

⁶⁶ Hale quoted in Bolzau, *Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps*, 363-364.

were widely read and were reprinted throughout the nineteenth century.⁶⁷ Rollo did many things during his twenty-five-volume run, but travel featured largely among them. Indeed, the final ten volumes recounted Rollo's travels in Europe as a young man. However, he first traveled as a boy of seven or eight in *Rollo's Travels*. In this ninth volume in the series, Rollo took an extended journey with his father in which he enthusiastically received extended didactic instruction on being a good traveler.

Like Caroline Westerly, Rollo traveled with his father, and received the majority of his instruction on traveling from the male authority figure in his life. However, Rollo's father's advice was largely practical, designed to help ease the burdens of travel and face its challenges with equanimity. Rollo's father instructed him to "*always keep a quiet mind,*" by which he meant avoiding worry about things outside of a traveler's control. "There is no avoiding inconveniences and hardships in travelling," Rollo's father instructed, "and the best way is to bear them good-naturedly and patiently. Never complain unless you expect to do some good by complaining." Before sitting down at the breakfast table at an inn, Rollo's father observed that, "It is a good rule, in travelling, to be *polite* to all strangers, but *familiar* with none."⁶⁸ The narrative of Rollo's journey with his father was largely concerned with the practicalities of travel, including the use of various modes of conveyance, the handling of luggage, proper comportment in public houses, and how to improvise when plans went astray.

⁶⁷ Mary E. Quinlivan, "Race Relations in the Antebellum Children's Literature of Jacob Abbott," *Journal of Popular Culture* 16, no. 1 (Summer 1982): 27-36, 27. The Rollo books were among the very best sellers of the pre-Civil War American publishing industry. Historian John B. Boles cites an estimate that "in a quarter century the Rollo books, with their sequels, the Lucy and the Jonas series, sold a million and a quarter copies. If one counted all the reissues of the Rollo books down through the early twentieth century (including the excerpted Rollo stories published in booklet form), [this] estimate would doubtlessly be far too conservative." See John B. Boles, "Jacob Abbott and the Rollo Books: New England Culture for Children," *Journal of Popular Culture* 6, no. 3 (Winter 1972): 507-528, 528.

⁶⁸ Jacob Abbott, *Rollo's Travels* (Philadelphia: Hogan & Thompson, 1841), 12-13, 45.

The preoccupation of *Rollo's Travels* with the practicalities of traveling reflected the division of labor that Stocqueler would articulate twenty years later: while both men and women were responsible for developing the proper habits of observation and recording that would give their travel good purpose, male travelers were still expected to arrange the itinerary, especially including travel and lodging. However, Rollo's mother did make a brief appearance in *Rollo's Travels*; before his departure, she advised her son to equip himself with the instruments of observation appropriate for a child. "Let me think," said she;—"a pencil; you will want a pencil, perhaps. You may see something that you will want to draw." In addition to sketching materials, Rollo's mother advised carrying a "little pocket inkstand, and a steel pen; and I think it would be well to have a little book to write a journal in, and one or two sheets of paper, folded up in the form of a letter, to carry in your pocket; so as to be convenient when you want to write a letter in some situation where you cannot get access to your trunk."⁶⁹ As a whole, *Rollo's Travels* was not concerned with the habits of observation and recording that preoccupied other advisors on travel to good purpose, but to the extent that the subject was addressed, it was addressed by the juvenile traveler's mother. Even in children's literature so dominated by male characters and masculine gendered concerns, the mother's role remained that of tutoring her children in the habits of traveling to good purpose.

Traveling with Good Practice: Explorers on the Road

The literature of traveling to good purpose in the 1830s and 1840s presented a complex if ambiguously gendered picture of the opportunities available for transcending

⁶⁹ Abbott, *Rollo's Travels*, 14.

tourist status. Actual travelers, both men and women, sought to make and to record journeys that carried the cultural weight of being to good purpose, and they took advantage of these guidelines and their gender ambiguities in order to do so. In this way, they sought to avoid, in Dwight's words, "abusing travelling," and to gain the social and cultural capital that could come from traveling to good purpose. In this way, they avoided the stigma of superficial traveling—of mere tourism—and claimed the mantle of socially and culturally useful exploration instead. Travelers had certainly made journeys for the purposes of exploration before the 1830s, but in the context of a growing tourist industry, and increasingly common satire of superficial traveling, their claims of being different, of being travelers to good purpose, grew more strident.

Dwight's formula for traveling to good purpose, the application of "forethought and method," laid the basic groundwork for travelers to good purpose. However, their accounts of travel to good purpose notably favored the latter strategy over the former. Narrators of travel to good purpose rarely included accounts of the preparations they made for their journeys, whether they were mental or physical. Perhaps this oversight was due to the difficulty of turning the contemplative tasks of preparation into readable and interesting narratives. Nevertheless, even when their narratives began at the same moment in time as their journeys, travelers who sought to be travelers to good purpose put exceptional effort into their "method." They made and recorded their observations systematically, and reported them in organized and classified accounts. As a result, their journeys took on a character of exploration, and avoided tourism's taint of superficiality.

Journeys of exploration were most unproblematic when made over territories that were considered "unknown." Travelers to good purpose who were motivated by

Jackson's impulse to collect, record, and catalog geographical knowledge often sought regions and routes that were outside of established patterns of Euro-American travel and settlement, and when traveling these routes, their claim to the mantle of "explorer" was unimpeachable. The model for these explorers of the early republic was the expedition and subsequent published journals of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. Their government-sponsored expedition to the Missouri and Columbia rivers from 1804-1806 gathered information about geography, geology, plants, animals, and Native American populations in the west, and reported it to an eager audience in the government and the general public. As the first expedition of its kind, it spawned many successful accounts of exploration, both official and unofficial, scientific and popular.⁷⁰ The location of the "unknown" changed, but travelers like Zebulon Pike, William Darby, and Ross Cox

⁷⁰ Lewis and Clark themselves were relatively slow to bring an account of their expedition to market. Upon their return in 1806, President Thomas Jefferson was the first to share their findings in his *Message from the President of the United States, Communicating Discoveries Made in Exploring the Missouri, Red River, and Washita...* It was officially printed in Washington, and soon thereafter reprinted in New York, Natchez, and London, and widely excerpted in the periodical literature. In keeping with his vision for the expedition, Jefferson focused his account on the geographical knowledge gained by the explorers rather than a narrative account of their travels. The second account of the trip, by a member of the expedition named Patrick Gass, who rectified Jefferson's oversights in an adventure-filled account entitled *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery Under the Command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke of the Army of the United States*. After its initial publication in Pittsburgh in 1807, it was reprinted in Philadelphia and London and translated into several languages on the European continent. An official account, based on Lewis and Clark's journals, was not published until 1814 in Philadelphia, in an edition heavily edited by Nicholas Biddle, entitled *History of the Expedition of Captains Lewis and Clarke, Through the Continent of North America, Performed During the Years 1804, 1805 and 1806, by order of the Government of the United States*. Jefferson was reportedly disappointed with the Biddle version, which had all of the scientific information stripped out, saving it for a projected companion volume by Benjamin Smith Barton that never materialized. Nevertheless, the account that Jefferson dismissed as a "mere journal" remained the popular and official account of the expedition through the rest of the nineteenth century. See Stephen Dow Beckham, *The Literature of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: A Bibliography and Essays* (Portland, OR: Lewis & Clark College, 2003), chs. 2, 3, 5; Edward C. Carter II, "Living with Lewis & Clark: The American Philosophical Society's Continuing Relationship with the Corps of Discovery from the Michaux Expedition to the Present," in *Lewis & Clark: Legacies, Memories, and New Perspectives*, ed. Kris Fresonke and Mark Spence (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); and Frank Bergon, "Wilderness Aesthetics," in *Lewis & Clark: Legacies, Memories, and New Perspectives*, ed. Kris Fresonke and Mark Spence (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 43.

traveled there to good purpose as explorers, often citing Lewis and Clark by name as examples.⁷¹

The ease with which explorers of the far west claimed status as travelers to good purpose is best illustrated by a familiar example. As we saw in the fifth chapter, Henry Schoolcraft's 1821 *Narrative Journal of Travels through the Northwestern Regions of the United States* conformed to many of the tropes of tourist literature in its initial chapter, which chronicled Schoolcraft's journey from New York to Detroit. However, once Schoolcraft met the rest of his traveling party in Detroit and embarked for the upper lakes, his account of his travels changed sharply. Rather than filling his narrative with historical anecdotes and accounts of the progress of economic development in the regions he passed through, the focus of his observation and record keeping shifted almost entirely to the subjects of natural philosophy: plants, animals, and especially rocks.⁷² He did not use extensive citations of textual sources of geographical knowledge in footnotes that dominated the page; instead, he relied on short list of earlier explorers whose accounts he occasionally confirmed or denied.⁷³ No longer anything like a tourist, Schoolcraft's party

⁷¹ See for example Zebulon Montgomery Pike and Nicholas King, *An Account of a Voyage Up the Mississippi River, from St. Louis to Its Source* (Washington, 1807); William Darby et al., *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana, the Southern Part of the State of Mississippi, and Territory of Alabama: Presenting a View of the Soil, Climate, Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Productions, Illustrative of Their Natural Physiognomy, Their Geographical Configuration, and Relative Situation, with an Account of the Character and Manners of the Inhabitants* (New York: James Olmstead, 1817); and Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River: Including the Narrative of a Residence of Six Years on the Western Side of the Rocky Mountains, Among Various Tribes of Indians Hitherto Unknown: Together with a Journey Across the American Continent* (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1832).

⁷² Schoolcraft's focus on geology is unsurprising, as he "was honoured with the appointment of mineralogist to the expedition, in which capacity, [he] kept ... [his] Journal." See Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels through the Northwestern Regions of the United States: Extending from Detroit through the Great Chain of American Lakes, to the Sources of the Mississippi River; Performed as a Member of the Expedition under Governor Cass in the Year 1820* (Albany: E. & E. Hosford, 1821), xii-xiv.

⁷³ Schoolcraft cited previous explorers upon embarking from Detroit: "The order of travelling, in this region, is as follows: 1. Father Marquette, 2. La Salle, 3. Hennepin, 4. La Hontan, 5. Charlevoix, 6. Henry, 7. Carver, 8. McKenzie." After this initial citation, he referred to them in the text, but his footnotes were

joined the “laudable exertions [being made] in all parts of the Union to explore the geography, and to call into action the hidden resources of the country.”⁷⁴

As a prominent part of this “laudable exertion,” Schoolcraft never doubted that he was traveling to good purpose, and his habits of observing and recording nature would certainly have passed muster with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and the Royal Geographical Society. He was well prepared for the expedition, having been educated at Middlebury College in Vermont and having already undertaken mineralogical exploration in the interior of Missouri and Arkansas.⁷⁵ He had evidently read the accounts of earlier explorers on the upper Great Lakes, and his footnotes suggested that he was up to date on the latest geographical literature. He was a disciplined and regular observer of natural phenomena, especially those that applied to the “hidden resources of the country.” He recorded the rocks and minerals that he passed every day on the trip, along with notes about their potential future utility. He was especially excited on the Ontonagon River, where he found a large copper mass, which, when “viewed in connexion with the mineral appearances of the surrounding country, leaves little doubt that extensive mines of this metal exist in the vicinity.”⁷⁶ He made regular meteorological observations, which, as Jan Golinski points out, was a particularly

otherwise limited to explications of his meaning and citations to relevant scientific literature from other regions. See Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels*, 70.

⁷⁴ Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels*, 135.

⁷⁵ For more on Schoolcraft’s biography, see Donald M. Hassler, “Henry Rowe Schoolcraft,” in *Early American Nature Writers: A Biographical Encyclopedia*, ed. Daniel Patterson et al. (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2008). Schoolcraft’s earlier trip produced two volumes of geographical knowledge, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri: Including Some Observations on the Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, Antiquities, Soil, Climate, Population, and Productions of Missouri and Arkansas, and Other Sections of the Western Country* (New York: Charles Wiley & Co, 1819); and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, From Potosi, or Mine A Burton, in Missouri Territory, in a South-West Direction, Toward the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1818 and 1819* (London: Sir R. Phillips and Co, 1821).

⁷⁶ Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels*, 181.

masculine form of disciplined observation.⁷⁷ Like his geological observation, his recording of the weather combined the regularity of a natural philosopher with attention to potentially commercially useful details, such as a partial confirmation of Charlevoix's claim that storms made the south shore of Lake Superior more hazardous to navigation than the north shore. Finally, he was careful to record in topographical detail the interlocking networks of rivers in the Great Lakes and Upper Mississippi, an included as well as notes about navigability. Upon passing the St. Croix River, for example, he noted that it was "said to be the most practicable, easy, and expeditious water communication between the Mississippi river and Lake Superior."⁷⁸ There could be no question that Schoolcraft's journey was travel to good purpose; he was exploring unknown territory and bringing back rigorous observations for both natural philosophers and entrepreneurs seeking to exploit the natural and commercial potential of the Great Lakes, and disseminating them in an organized and useful format.

Schoolcraft's travel received broad recognition as useful exploration. *The North American Review* thought that Schoolcraft supplied "much valuable information upon the natural history and the geographical features of those unknown parts of our country" from his exploration beyond "the borders of civilization."⁷⁹ A London reviewer judged his work as "clearly given, and, with a few exceptions, we doubt not, with sufficient

⁷⁷ Golinski argues that male scientists needed to practice masculine self-discipline so that they could turn their bodies into "instruments of investigation." The discipline required to keep a regular weather journal "tested the diarist's capacity for routine, diligent observation, requiring a peculiar kind of passionless objectivity and monumental patience," and thus served as an ideal training device for rigorous masculine scientific observers. See Golinski, "The Care of the Self and the Masculine Birth of Science," 14.

⁷⁸ Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels*, 190, 321.

⁷⁹ "Art. XI.—*Narrative Journal of Travels Through the Northwestern Regions of the United States, Extending from Detroit Through the Great Chain of American Lakes, to the Sources of the Mississippi River; Performed as a Member of the Expedition Under Governor Cass in the year 1820*, By Henry R. Schoolcraft. 8vo. Albany 1821." *The North American Review* 6, no. 1 (July, 1822), 247, 245.

accuracy.”⁸⁰ Not only did it this “valuable” work go through several editions in its original form, but it was republished in 1855 with supplementary material from Schoolcraft’s journals as *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River, in 1820*.⁸¹ In this updated version, the daily narrative of Schoolcraft’s exploration was removed, “[o]wing to the time which has intervened since these expeditions were undertaken, a mere revision of the prior narrations.” Instead, the editors summarized, “preserving whatever information it was thought important to be known or remembered, and omitting all matters not partaking of permanent interest.”⁸² Schoolcraft’s narrative remained in circulation, and the fruits of his exploration were distilled to their scientifically useful essence. This essence was treated as useful by other scientists, explorers, and travelers to good purpose in their accounts of the topography and geology of the Mississippi Valley. The citation of Schoolcraft as an authority came as early as William Keating’s geological account of the sources of the Mississippi in 1824 and as late as J. W. Foster and J. D. Whitney’s official report on the copper lands of Lake Superior to the House of Representatives in 1850.⁸³ For an explorer like Schoolcraft, exploring beyond “the borders of civilization” as a traveler to good purpose came easily and gave him an enduring reputation.

⁸⁰ “Art. I,” *The Quarterly Review* 29, No. 57 (April 1823), 5.

⁸¹ Robert R. Hubach and John C. Dann, *Early Midwestern Travel Narratives: An Annotated Bibliography, 1634-1850* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 50.

⁸² Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River, in 1820: Resumed and Completed, by the Discovery of Its Origin in Itasca Lake, in 1832* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Co, 1855), vii.

⁸³ See William Hypolitus Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter’s River, Lake Winnepeck, Lake of the Woods, &C. &C. Performed in the Year 1823, by Order of the Hon. J.C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, Under the Command of Stephen H. Long, Major U.S.T.E.* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1824); and J. W. Foster and J. D. Whitney, *Report on the Geology and Topography of a Portion of the Lake Superior Land District in the State of Michigan* (Washington, D.C.: Hamilton, 1850).

However, not all journeys of exploration took place on such unfamiliar terrain. Travelers with a specific scientific agenda could travel quite close to home and still lay claim to the mantle of explorer. Travel to good purpose was often conducted on familiar ground because the traveler thought that that ground was underexplored or underreported. Timothy Dwight, in his travels around New England in the early nineteenth century, claimed an important place for his four-volume *Travels in New-England and New-York* because “the scene is a novelty in the history of man.” Dwight was a native and lifelong resident of New England, and it was his very familiarity with the landscape that made him aware of its novelty and the poverty of earlier travel accounts. Dwight considered himself a “curious” traveler, and unlike the “incurious” travelers who slid through their journeys content with a general notice of the surface of things, Dwight claimed an “intention to give you a view of my proposed subject, at once comprehensive and minute.” Curious travelers such as himself were “eager in the pursuit of knowledge, both from the pleasure and profit which it affords”—in other words, they were explorers.⁸⁴ Dwight certainly made good on his intentions, with rich and detailed descriptions of flora, fauna, agriculture, and the “morals and manners” of New England’s people.

According to Dwight, the scenery of the northern states was unmatched as well as undocumented, and the economic and social conditions of the region were unprecedented in the history of humankind. “The books, published by foreign travellers, [had not yet] divested it of this character,” of novelty, he bemoaned, and as a result, “in a great measure it is new to my countrymen. To foreigners most of it is absolutely unknown.” Even though Dwight did not stray much from the beaten path in his journeys, his travel was still travel to good purpose because it provided him with an opportunity to observe,

⁸⁴ Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New-York* (New Haven: T. Dwight, 1821), 129-130.

record, and disseminate geographical knowledge that was underreported. Furthermore, Dwight argued, a “country, changing as rapidly as New-England, must, if truly exhibited, be described in a manner, resembling that, in which a painter would depict a cloud. The form, and colours, of the moment must be seized; or the picture will be erroneous.”⁸⁵ He lamented the lack of such accounts from a century earlier, and hoped his account might provide such a description for readers a hundred years hence. The relative lack of traveling to good purpose in New England, as well as its rapid pace of change, made his own journeys through his home territories into journeys of exploration.

Twenty years after Dwight’s tour of inspection of New England and New York, a young Yale chemist whose career he had promoted, Benjamin Silliman, made a similar “excursion” through those states to Quebec. Unlike Dwight, Silliman intended from the outset to publish his travels, in “a series of short articles, in some degree popular and general in their character, and still of such a cast as would admit of their being thrown, occasionally, into the *American Journal of Science*.” But the sum of Silliman’s hasty notes taken “in public houses, and in steamboats” was too large, so he revised them and issued them as *Remarks Made on a Short Tour between Hartford and Quebec, in the Autumn of 1819* in 1820.⁸⁶ Silliman had founded *The American Journal of Science and the Arts* in 1818, the year before his “excursion,” out of nationalist concerns; he hoped to

⁸⁵ Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New-York*, 16, 9.

⁸⁶ S. W. Jackman has suggested that Silliman had some difficulty in recruiting authors for his journal and in getting them to follow through on their commitments, which may have at least partially motivated his trip and its accounting. After all, he may have been his own most reliable author. Also, the original publisher of the *American Journal* failed in early 1820, and Silliman replaced him with Sherman Converse, the publisher of *Remarks*. Silliman may have spun them off into their own volume to consolidate his working relationship with Converse. See S. W. Jackman, “The Tribulations of an Editor: Benjamin Silliman and the Early Days of the *American Journal of Science and the Arts*,” *The New England Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (March, 1979): 99-106, 99-101. Silliman’s remarks were popular enough to warrant an expanded and revised second edition, published by Converse in 1824. In between the two American editions, it was reprinted in London “in a collection of voyages and travels by Sir R. Phillips, & Co.” See Benjamin Silliman, *Remarks Made on a Short Tour between Hartford and Quebec, in the Autumn of 1819* (New Haven: S. Converse, 1824), 6.

encourage interest in science in the United States and to foster its practice there.⁸⁷ Like Dwight, he laid claim to traveling to good purpose because the familiar ground he covered was underreported by serious travelers, and he objected to this oversight on nationalist grounds. For example, he included extensive “historical remarks and citations” because he had “an impression, that less has been said by travellers in America, than might have been expected, of scenes and events, which, to Americans, I conceive, must ever be subjects of the deepest interest.”⁸⁸ Silliman’s “short tour” was to good purpose, because earlier travelers over the same territory had failed to make their tours so, and because the national imperatives of the early republic required scientific knowledge of American land.

Not only was Silliman responding to a general dearth of travelers’ accounts, he was responding to a specific lack of geological information. He recognized that his inclusion of such scientific knowledge might alienate his readers, so he designed his narrative such that “[t]he geological notices are, with few exceptions, placed under distinct heads, and may, without inconvenience, be omitted by those to whom they are uninteresting.” Nevertheless, Silliman made a strong claim to the importance of geology, because “the geological features of a country, being permanent—being intimately connected with its scenery, with its leading interests, and even with the very character of

⁸⁷ See Donald De B. Beaver, “Altruism, Patriotism, and Science: Scientific Journalism in the Early Republic,” *American Studies* 12, no. 1 (Spring, 1971): 5-19.

⁸⁸ Benjamin Silliman, *Remarks Made on a Short Tour between Hartford and Quebec, in the Autumn of 1819* (New Haven: S. Converse, 1820), 3. Silliman redoubled his attention to these “subjects of the deepest interest” in the second edition of 1824. “Since the publication of this book,” he wrote, “I have again visited the Lakes and the battle grounds, and have therefore, in the present edition, interspersed various additional remarks, observations, and notices of historical facts.” This increased attention added another good purpose to the second edition of his *Remarks*; Silliman hoped that they “may be found to add to the value of the work, as a *pocket companion of traveller*.” See Silliman, *Remarks* (1824), 5.

its population, have a fair claim to delineation in the observations of a traveller.”⁸⁹ Not only was Silliman recording the ground he covered in more useful detail than previous travelers, he was also introducing a new and important species of observation that had the potential to produce new knowledge about the economy, scenery, and morals and manners of New England, New York, and Quebec. Once again, he was surpassing earlier travelers, this time by following European example, because “this course [of observing geology], however unusual with us, is now common in Europe. I regret that my limited time did not admit of more extended and complete observations of this nature.”⁹⁰ Like Dwight, Silliman’s travel was to good purpose because it introduced new geographical knowledge earlier travelers had neglected, but unlike Dwight, Silliman brought the rigors of scientific discipline to bear, which gave this excursion over familiar ground the aura of an “expedition.”

Silliman’s use of a specific scientific discourse to transform travel over familiar territory into exploratory travel became a common strategy used by travelers to claim the mantle of explorer and to avoid the stigma of superficial travel in manuscript writings as well as in published narratives. In 1847 and 1848, Philadelphia lawyer and prison reformer William Parker Foulke set out on a trip around Pennsylvania, in order to conduct unspecified business related to his family’s land holdings and to observe the conditions in the state’s prisons. During this tour, he regularly wrote to his aunt Eleanor

⁸⁹ Silliman, *Remarks* (1820), 3. Indeed, as Sally Gregory Kohlstedt has argued, geology was the first “national science” in the United States precisely because of its localness and its permanency. Its link to local landscapes encouraged the formation of local geological societies, which slowly formed into the first national network of scientific societies in the 1840s. It had a relatively shallow learning curve, allowing widespread amateur participation, and its link to religious questions of natural and human origins in the age of Darwin made it a subject of popular interest. See Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, “The Geologists’ Model for National Science, 1840-1847,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 118, no. 2 (April 19, 1974): 179-195.

⁹⁰ Silliman, *Remarks* (1820), 3.

to share his experiences. Curiously, he wrote little about the prisons that he visited; instead, he recorded the geography of the central and western parts of the state. He included observations on geology, surveying, Iroquois history, agriculture, the landscape, and the morals and manners of the inhabitants. The breadth and depth of his coverage of the geography of Pennsylvania was not accidental; in the middle of his travels, he wrote from Harrisburg of the “hugeous epistle” he had previously “despatched,” in which he “had gone through the principal heads of the geography-books except the ‘manners & customs of the inhabitants’.” He then went on to describe the “three modes” of local discourse, the “ludicrous, querulous, and philosophical.”⁹¹ Although there is no evidence to demonstrate that Foulke ever encountered advice on traveling to good purpose from the works of Dwight, Jackson, De la Beche, Martineau, or others, he did carry with him Charles Trego’s *A Geography of Pennsylvania*, an 1843 work that addressed its topic in categories very similar to those recommended by J. R. Jackson’s.⁹² In narrating his journey to his aunt through his letters, Foulke used widely approved methods of turning his trip into travel to good purpose, by using it as an opportunity to collect, organize, and disseminate geographical knowledge.

⁹¹ William Parker Foulke to Eleanor Foulke, dated Harrisburg, Feb. 22, 1848, “William Parker Foulke Papers,” American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

⁹² Foulke referred to “Trego’s book” in the same letter of February 22nd, 1848. “Trego’s book” was almost certainly Charles Trego’s *A Geography of Pennsylvania: Containing an Account of the History, Geographical Features, Soil, Climate, Geology, Botany, Zoology, Population, Education, Government, Finances, Productions, Trade, Railroads, Canals &c. of the State: With a Separate Description of Each County, and Questions for the Convenience of Teachers: To Which is Appended, A Travellers’ Guide, or Table of Distances on the Principal Rail Road, Canal and Stage Routes in the State* (Philadelphia: Edward C. Biddle, 1843). The categories into which Trego divided his treatment of the geography of Pennsylvania were very similar to those into which Jackson divided his fields of inquiry. They included “Boundaries, extent, and political divisions, Face of the country, mountains, &c., Rivers, Soil, Climate, Geology, Botany, Zoology, Population, Religion and morals, Education, Crime and its punishment, Pauperism and the poor laws, Government and legislation, Defence, Finances, revenue and taxation, Productions, Trade and commerce, [and] Internal improvements.” Foulke was in fact as thorough as he claimed, and did address those topics rigorously, despite the fact that his aunt presumably had access to Trego’s work as well. Nonetheless, Foulke turned his correspondence into a new opportunity to collect, categorize, and share geographical knowledge.

The towns and valleys of central and western Pennsylvania must have been relatively familiar territory for Foulke in the late 1840s. Not only had he gleaned geographical knowledge about it from works like Trego's *Geography of Pennsylvania*, he and his family also had extensive real estate dealings throughout the territory that he covered. Despite his evident familiarity with his surroundings, Foulke recounted his relief whenever he encountered a "civilized" man, or conversation, or dinner. He expected his aunt to share his assumption that however familiar the territory might have been, his journey still represented an excursion into the unknown. "You have perhaps been mistified [sic]," he wrote, "by my speaking of oysters in these wilderness places."⁹³ Like Dwight, Foulke traveled in the hinterlands of the region that he had occupied his entire life, but his treatment of those hinterlands as beyond the rhetorical divide between civilization and wilderness allowed him to write his journey as a voyage of exploration, which turned the geographical knowledge that he collected under Trego's headings into useful information gathered by traveling to good purpose. Unlike Dwight, however, Foulke traveled and wrote after the evolution of the distinction between tourism and travel to good purpose, and thus he had to articulate this divide explicitly and to collect information about the "wilderness" according to accepted standards of geographical knowledge, in order to make his trip more than a tour.

The use of the language of exploration to create travel to good purpose on both familiar ground and unfamiliar ground appeared starkly in Frederick Hall's 1840 account of his travels, *Letters from the East and from the West*. As the geographically bipolar title suggested, Hall joined epistolary accounts of two very different journeys in order to

⁹³ William Parker Foulke to Eleanor Foulke, dated Harrisburg, Feb. 22, 1848, "William Parker Foulke Papers," American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

“form a bulk” large enough for “a bound volume.” Hall had served as professor of chemistry and natural sciences at a number of colleges in New England and Baltimore, and at the time of this work’s publication he was about to begin a professorship at Columbian College in Washington, DC.⁹⁴ In the fall of 1838, the Washington *National Intelligencer* published a series of letters from “our scientific fellow-townsmen [sic],” about his summer’s “excursion” to the Connecticut River valley, which “compris[ed] his observations on the mineralogy of various localities visited during his journey.”⁹⁵ According to Hall, “few individuals ... would be glad to preserve [these letters], provided they were in the form of a book.” Since he desired to reprint them “for their gratification,” but since they were not in themselves enough to warrant a book, he added a few letters from another trip he had taken into the Ohio Valley to see if “they suit your taste,” and if they did, “another parcel of the same series, relating to the further west, will follow these.” The letters from the west were originally written to his wife, “to cheer her loneliness,” but “that they were [not] composed for her amusement, only.” He had always intended to rewrite them to “prepar[e] them for the type.” Hall was unable to sell his complete letters from the west to a publisher, because “the world is full of books; none sell, except novels; the taste of the age is so dainty, it will accept of nothing, which is not strongly peppered; times are hard; money is scarce, and [the publisher could not] run the hazard of buying a work of travels.”⁹⁶ Since neither journey was long or significant enough to warrant publication on its own, Hall combined them into the small, bifurcated volume *Letters from the East and from the West* in 1840.

⁹⁴ For more on Hall’s biography, see Rossiter Johnson and John Howard Brown, *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans* (Boston: Biographical Society, 1904).

⁹⁵ See *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, DC), October 3, 1838, 2.

⁹⁶ Frederick Hall, *Letters from the East and from the West* (Washington, DC: F. Taylor and W.M. Morrison, 1840), v-vi.

Hall was regarded and regarded himself as a serious traveler. Not only was he locally known as “our scientific fellow-townsmen,” he explicitly framed his travel accounts in contrast to the “dainty” and “peppered” literary taste of the time, novels. However, he presented his seriousness in different ways when traveling east than when traveling west. When traveling east, through his native country, where he had spent his early career and raised his first family, his letters were almost entirely geological in content. Hall included information about the geological structures that underlay the land he traveled across, as well as their mineral content and the actual and potential commercial uses of those minerals. His travel was to good purpose, and it was worth both its epistolary recounting in the newspaper and its subsequent publishing because of the new geological information it contained, which Hall intended to be useful both to those with geological interests and to those with business interests. For example, in discussing an ore newly discovered in Connecticut called Columbite, he described the mineral itself as “bluish or brownish black,” and occurring “in the feldspar, amorphous, and in prismatic crystals both perfect and imperfect.” However, he also gave indication of the potential utility of the metal; “[n]o use has, I believe, as yet, been made of the new metal, columbium, in either the arts or sciences, owing, perhaps, till recently, to the scarcity of the article.” This lack represented an opportunity and a challenge for inventors and businessmen; “Human ingenuity will, without doubt, devise, ere long, some useful purpose, to which it may be advantageously applied.” Hall’s letters from the east were characterized by this kind of dense geological information, almost to the exclusion of other information about the familiar territory he traveled through. Indeed, he begged forgiveness when his topic strayed from the narrowly geological. In

Middletown, Connecticut, Hall wanted to notice another “discovery,” Wesleyan University; “Will you permit me, Messrs. Editors,” Hall asked, “before I conclude this letter, to say five words about one of the youngest, and yet one of the most prosperous, of the Collegiate Institutions of our young country?”⁹⁷ When covering familiar ground, Hall kept his travel to good purpose by maintaining a tight focus on information that was not otherwise readily available and that would be useful to a narrow but important group of readers.

When traveling to the west, Hall allowed himself a much looser focus while still remaining convinced of the seriousness of his travel, of its avoidance of things “dainty” and “peppered.” As he reminded his wife upon departure, “[t]o study the geological features of the country, and investigate its mineral resources, is, you well know, one of the leading objects of the tour,” much like his journey to New England. However, he devoted relatively little space to geological information, and the percentage decreased as he traveled westward out of Pennsylvania. He reversed his earlier editorial plea with one made to his wife by saying, “As you are yourself a lover of [geology], you will, I am sure, the more readily pardon me for dwelling too long, in the estimation of some, on ‘earthy matters.’” In the place of his previous single-minded focus, he promised her an account of “the most interesting objects and incidents I encounter in those boundless regions.” The apparent difference lay in Hall’s relative unfamiliarity with Ohio Valley, and his presumption that his wife and his broader print audience were equally unfamiliar. Even though Ohio had been a state for more than thirty years by the time he visited it, he still referred to its “native wilderness,” its “wilderness state,” or “the western wilderness,” phrases that he never used in New England. He was also inclined to narrate

⁹⁷ Hall, *Letters from the East and from the West*, 8, 10.

his modes of travel as similarly pioneering; “No human habitation caught our roving gaze,” he wrote as he was nearing Marietta, “not a trace of man’s work was visible, except the zig-zag horse-path, which we were threading.”⁹⁸ As the oldest city in Ohio, Marietta was hardly the edge of civilization, but Hall’s narration of his journey as an exploration and accounting of unknown territory rendered it as such.

As he moved west, Hall increasingly included a variety of information in his narrative—a variety that began to resemble the kind of exhaustive coverage advocated by advisors like Jackson and reflected in geographical texts. He recorded the topography, politics, economy, and internal improvements of Ohio and Kentucky, the states that he visited in these preliminary letters. He wrote extensively on the design and construction of western cities, and, as befitting a man who had made a career out of education, on the state of scholarly institutions. He also included more information about the practicalities of traveling that brought him from place to place, which rendered his letters from the west a more readable travel narrative than his letters from the east. He even included some information on morals and manners, although it was not a central focus for him. In this inclusion but minimization of observation of morals and manners, Hall again echoed Jackson’s notion of traveling to good purpose. Hall evidenced none of the philosophical preparation necessary for objective observation advocated by Martineau. He claimed objectivity with a striking assertiveness; “I do not design to flatter any man. Were I to do it, I could not help despising myself. To commend worth is no flattery,” he declared, presumably to his print audience rather than to his wife. His non-flattering observations on morals and manners more resembled the catalogue of moral judgments suggested by Jackson’s questionnaire than the considered and sympathetic inquiry into the mechanics

⁹⁸ Hall, *Letters from the East and from the West*, 39, 90, 108, 140.

of society enabled by Martineau's methodology. After denouncing Kentuckians' use of maize to distill whiskey, he congratulated their abstemious habits. "In justice, however, to the Kentuckians, I must say, that I believe ardent spirits are less drunken by them, than they are by the inhabitants of some of the Eastern States ... The practice is a most commendable one."⁹⁹ Hall's letters from the west represented a catalog of geographical knowledge about an unknown land, rather than a focused scientific account of a known one. For Hall, though, both were equally serious examples of traveling to good purpose.

These four travelers to good purpose over known territory, Dwight, Silliman, Foulke, and Hall, have one topic in common in their accounts of their journeys: they all commented on the morals and manners of the people whose lands they passed through. Whether it was Dwight's defense of the New Englanders against the calumnies of British travelers, Silliman's claim that geology revealed social truths, or Foulke's and Hall's cataloging of the moral virtues and failures of frontiersmen, they all reserved space in their narratives for human subjects. After all, Dr. Johnson had advised that "the great object of remark is human life," and he thought that "useful" narratives must include notice of human matters. This commonality points to a larger pattern: for those traveling over known territory but who still wished to lay claim to the mantle of traveler to good purpose, the observation and articulation of sociogeographical knowledge—morals and manners—was a critical strategy. Such a strategy was even more important for those without formal institutional credentials as knowledge producers; after all, government-appointed explorers like Schoolcraft and professors like Silliman or Hall had multiple scientific discourses to which they could turn. For travelers without these advantages, the

⁹⁹ Hall, *Letters from the East and from the West*, 137, 139-140.

production of new knowledge about morals and manners could rescue their travel from accusations of superficiality and confer authority on their authors.

As we have seen, the observation of morals and manners presented unique knowledge-making opportunities for women travelers, a group that had increasingly limited access to the formal institutional credentials that could give them access to other scientific discourses. Women travelers thus often wrote analyses of morals and manners, even before Harriet Martineau systematized this strategy in the late 1830s.¹⁰⁰ The most widely published (and controversial) American woman traveler of the 1820s, Mrs. Anne Royall, commented on the morals and manners in nine volumes of travels published between 1826 and 1831. She set out, she remarked, to “note every thing during my journey, worthy of remark, and commit it to writing, and to draw amusement and instruction from every source.” According to Elizabeth Clapp, this journalistic form was a comfortable literary mode for women travelers, but Mrs. Royall intended her travels to be more useful than a mere tour, and to this end she declared, “I shall not imitate most journalists, in such remarks as ‘cloudy, or fair morning,’ and where we stop, dates, &c.” From the beginning of her extensive travels, which took her all across the settled parts of the United States and into its borderlands, she traveled and wrote with an eye for “amusement” and “instruction,” and with a conscious avoidance of touristic

¹⁰⁰ Indeed, as Susan Clair Imbarrato has argued in her study of women travelers in early America, their motives “offered yet another perspective, one that often fostered community and guided social discourse. In their role as cultural purveyors and shapers, women assessed and evaluated while modeling appropriate behaviors.” See Susan Clair Imbarrato, *Traveling Women: Narrative Visions of Early America* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006), 10.

superficialities. So confident was she of the worth of her goals, and of her ability to fulfill them, that she declared these sentences “all the preface I deem necessary.”¹⁰¹

Royall’s idea of the things “worthy of remark” on her journey included “a description of the public institutions, manners and appearance of the inhabitants, and the history of the principal places visited by the author, with sketches of the principal characters, physical remarks on the country, &c.” It is characteristic of Royall’s systematic mode of traveling and writing that her account generally followed the contours of her introductory formula with some precision. While in Philadelphia, for example, she described the layout and history of the city in considerable detail, and she recorded the encounters she had with the city’s “principal characters,” as promised. She summarized and evaluated the residents’ “manners and appearance” in a brief section, in which she found them tall and handsome, and their city more tasteful than splendid, although she castigated them for “their want of charity and hospitality to strangers, one of the brightest of Christian virtues.” She found this lack particularly galling considering the “thousands of dollars [that] are spent here annually by strangers.” She dedicated the bulk of her entry on Philadelphia to the “public institutions” of the city, which she found to “nearly ... resemble” each other, “so far as benevolence and the most exalted charity is concerned,” which seemed to contradict her castigations of Philadelphians’ “charity and hospitality to strangers.”¹⁰² Royall’s opinions were not always consistent, but her judgments on morals and manners were strongly stated and her elaboration on them was the central feature of her narrative of her own travel. She promised her readers instruction and amusement,

¹⁰¹ Anne Newport Royall, *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the United States* (New Haven: Printed for the Author, 1826), 13; and Elizabeth J. Clapp, “Black Books and Southern Tours: Tone and Perspective in the Travel Writing of Mrs. Anne Royall,” *The Yearbook of English Studies* 34 (2004): 61-73, 66-67,

¹⁰² Royall, *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners*, “To The Public,” 228-229, 222.

and she fulfilled this promise with a catalog of properly arranged, classified, and evaluated geographical knowledge.

In Royall's case, this promise was explicitly financial. According to Elizabeth Clapp, Royall turned to travel writing as an economic strategy after widowhood and failed litigation left her destitute in the mid-1820s. She clearly enjoyed investigation and writing for its own sake, but her books were written to inform an audience of subscribers who paid for the geographical knowledge she supplied. "Indeed," Clapp writes, "part of her purpose in travelling was to collect subscriptions for her books."¹⁰³ Given the economic capital that she hoped to accumulate from her travels it is little wonder she sought to avoid the markers of superficiality while she deployed the strategies of traveling to good purpose. She was evidently successful; her extensive travels eventually produced nine self-published volumes. Contemporary sources speak of her popularity, although given the sharpness of her judgments on morals and manners, she was as infamous as she was famous. For example, she thought that "ignorance, impudence and pride, are decided traits in the bulk of the citizens of Washington," a judgment that was so controversial that she was indicted as "a common scold" in that city in 1829.¹⁰⁴ This archaic indictment was matched by the archaic proposed punishment of ducking. Although the ducking never happened, the affair caused a sensation in the press.¹⁰⁵ The publicity was good for business; her works sold in considerable numbers, and in places

¹⁰³ Clapp, "Black Books and Southern Tours," 64.

¹⁰⁴ Royall, *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners*, 157.

¹⁰⁵ See Elizabeth J. Clapp, "'A Virago-Errant in Enchanted Armor?': Anne Royall's 1829 Trial as a Common Scold," *Journal of the Early Republic* 23, no. 2 (Summer, 2003): 207-232.

where she was more complimentary than she was in Washington, “Mrs. Royall’s books were sold ‘faster than the binder could cover them.’”¹⁰⁶

In the same years in which Mrs. Royall was crisscrossing North America observing its people and places and drumming up book subscriptions, Frances Trollope was in the Ohio valley gathering material for her *Domestic Manners of the Americans*. Like Royall, Trollope was driven by financial exigency; her son later recalled that “she was aware that unless she could so succeed in making money [from its publication], there was no money for any of the family.”¹⁰⁷ Although she may have been trying to put food on the table, Trollope also wrote out of political conviction. Although she had gone to the United States a Whig, her experience there had turned her into a committed Tory. “The chief object” in recording her observation, Trollope wrote, was “to encourage her countrymen to hold fast by a constitution that ensures all the blessings which flow from established habits and solid principles.” In the United States, she had come to fear the “jarring tumult and universal degradation which invariably follow the wild scheme of placing all the power of the State in the hands of the populace.”¹⁰⁸ Trollope’s travel was to doubly good purpose; not only would it furnish her with economic capital, but her observations on morals and manners would also supply her with cultural capital to

¹⁰⁶ Sarah Harvey Porter, *The Life and Times of Anne Royall* (Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press Book Shop, 1909), 68. Porter also suggests that her books may also have sold well in towns that did not receive her blessing, if for the opposite reason: “we can hardly wonder that, in some quarters, they were bought up by interested parties and destroyed wholesale.” Either way, her books sold, and for “a few years her earnings were large.” See Porter, *Life and Times of Anne Royall*, 85, 89. For more on Royall’s career, see Alice S. Maxwell and Marion B. Dunlevy, *Virago!: The Story of Anne Newport Royall (1769-1854)* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1985); and Patricia Cline Cohen, *The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 156-165.

¹⁰⁷ This reminiscence comes from Anthony Trollope’s *Autobiography*, and was recounted in the introduction to the 1901 New York edition of *Domestic Manners of the Americans*. He recalled that she “almost immediately received a considerable sum from the publishers—if I remember rightly amounting to two sums of £400 each within a few months; and from that moment till nearly the time of her death, at any rate, for more than twenty years, she was in the receipt of a considerable income from her writings.” See Frances Milton Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (New York: Dodd and Mead, 1901), ix-x.

¹⁰⁸ Trollope, *Domestic Manners*, vi.

combat the political radicals back in Britain who looked to American society for progressive inspiration.

Despite her admittedly political purpose in publishing *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, Trollope wrote little about politics or political economy per se. “Although much has already been written on the great experiment . . . in government, on the other side of the Atlantic,” she wrote, “there appears to be still room for many interesting details on the influence which the political system of the country has produced on the principles, tastes, and manners, of its domestic life.” With her treatise, she hoped “to supply this deficiency, by carefully recording the observations she had an opportunity of making during a residence of three years and six months in different parts of the United States.” Trollope’s unique contribution as a traveler was her ability to interpret the effects of the United States’ political economy on its domestic life, by which she meant “principles, tastes, and manners.” She disavowed observing politics as well as the “considerable variety of interesting objects in most branches of natural science, besides much that is new, a good deal that is beautiful, and some things that are wonderful” in the United States, since they had already been described by British travelers. She framed her limited scope in explicitly gendered terms: “I am in no way competent to judge of the political institutions of America; and if I should occasionally make an observation on their effects, as they meet my superficial glance, they will be made in the spirit and with the feeling of a woman, who is apt to tell what her first impressions may be, but unapt to reason back from effects to their causes.” It is perhaps unsurprising that a woman with her conservative political ideas disclaimed an understanding of politics and science. “As it is the moral and religious condition of the people,” she declared, “which, beyond every

thing else, demands the attention of the philosophical inquirer, the author would consider her work as completely successful, could she but awaken a more general interest on this subject.”¹⁰⁹

Trollope’s bid for “the attention of the philosophical inquirer” may have sounded like Martineau’s call for philosophically enlightened travel, but the philosophies that underlay their notions of traveling to good purpose were profoundly different. Trollope wrote in order to intervene in political debates at home, and as a result all of her observations of morals and manners were made in explicit comparison those in England. It was precisely this kind of facile comparison that Martineau warned against as being counterproductive to philosophically and morally informed observation and thus to travel to good purpose. A philosophically unprepared traveler “views the whole with prejudice, because it is not like what he has been accustomed to see at home,” and as a result “nations may go on judging one another by themselves till doomsday without in any way improving the chance of self-advancement and mutual understanding.”¹¹⁰ Indeed, it was at least partly Trollope’s negative example as an observer of morals and manners that inspired Martineau to make her own trip through the United States, during which she outlined the methodology that would become *How to Observe—Morals and Manners*. In 1833, she wrote to William Tait, “if I am spared to come back, this country shall know something more than it does of the *principles* of American institutions. I am tired of being kept floundering among the details which are all that a Hall or a Trollope can bring

¹⁰⁹ Trollope, *Domestic Manners*, v-vi, 66.

¹¹⁰ Martineau, *How to Observe*, 21-22.

away.”¹¹¹ Trollope observed and cataloged the moral strengths and failings of the United States according to her own lights; she produced a taxonomy of domestic life, but did not, in Martineau’s estimation, produce a true treatise on morals and manners. Trollope did not travel to as good a purpose as she could have.

Both Royall and Trollope used the opportunity available to them as women travelers to find prominence for themselves as commentators on morals and manners, but the observations they made while traveling were highly controversial.¹¹² For every reader who found their travels to be productive of sage observations on the morals and manners of different regions of the United States, there was another reader who found them to be superficial slander, easily dismissed or, in the worst cases, appropriate targets for biting satire. Adding fuel to partisan fires was not exactly what Dwight, Jackson, Martineau, and Stocqueler had in mind when they sought to harness travel to good purposes. As we have seen, they thought travel had been turned to good purpose if it was well informed by previous preparation and if it produced observations that were systematic, useful, and approached a standard of objectivity. After the publication of Martineau’s *How to Observe—Morals and Manners*, however, some American women travelers followed her lead and turned observation of morals and manners into a philosophically informed means of travel.

Foremost among these travelers was Margaret Fuller. It was not an accident that when she traveled to the Great Lakes in the summer of 1843, a journey that she recounted

¹¹¹ Valerie Kossew Pichanick, *Harriet Martineau, the Woman and Her Work, 1802-76* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980), 74. See also Deborah Anna Logan, *The Hour and the Woman: Harriet Martineau’s “Somewhat Remarkable” Life* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002), 81.

¹¹² Mrs. Trollope’s acerbic view of the domestic manners of the Americans spawned a host of “just retaliations” against “our distinguished visitors of the Trollopiian school,” in the words of one critic. See Frederick William Shelton, *The Trollopiad, Or, Travelling Gentlemen in America. A Satire* (New York: C. Shepard, 1837), viii-ix. For more on Shelton, see Chapter 3.

the following year in the short but remarkable *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843*, she traveled to good purpose along the lines laid out by Martineau five years previously. Fuller and Martineau had been friends in Massachusetts during Martineau's 1835 visit to the United States—the trip on which Martineau first outlined her methodology for traveling to good purpose. Fuller had sought Martineau's intellectual guidance. "I sigh for an intellectual guide," she confessed to her journal. "I have had some hope that Miss Martineau might be this friend . . . She has what I want,—vigorous reasoning powers, invention, clear views of her objects,—and she has been trained to the best means of execution."¹¹³ The friendship would not last; in 1837, Fuller criticized Martineau's focus on the abolition of slavery in *Society in America*, because it was "a low and disagreeable" topic unworthy of Martineau's refined mind, and Martineau never forgave her this political trespass.¹¹⁴

On its surface, Fuller's account of her travel on the Great Lakes was not dissimilar to the accounts of Royall and Trollope. She traveled, and recorded her travel, for amusement and instruction. "Long summer days of dear-bought pleasure," ran her opening poem, "You have done your teaching well." She took as her subject the explication of the west, on its own terms. "I come to the west prepared for the distaste I must experience at its mushroom growth," Fuller wrote, in full self-awareness of the

¹¹³ Quoted in Donna Dickenson, *Margaret Fuller: Writing a Woman's Life* (London: Macmillan, 1993), 49 and Charles Capper, *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 155. Not only did Fuller seek intellectual guidance from Martineau; the older woman also engineered one her most important intellectual introductions: Ralph Waldo Emerson. Even though relations between the two women turned frosty in the late 1830s, Martineau remained an important intellectual link for Fuller; in 1846, Martineau arranged for her to visit the English Lake District, where she met a number of important figures, including Wordsworth. See Dickenson, *Margaret Fuller*, 47-52, Meg McGavran Murray, *Margaret Fuller, Wandering Pilgrim* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008), ch. 11; and Capper, *Margaret Fuller*, 153-155.

¹¹⁴ Harriet Martineau and Linda H. Peterson, *Autobiography* (Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press, 2007), 377-378. See also Capper, *Margaret Fuller*, 223-225.

reverence for her native New England that peppered her pages. However, she quickly realized that the natural, social, and cultural world that she encountered in the west was not explicable by a simple narrative of western crudeness and ambition. “While I will not be so obliging as to confound ugliness with beauty, discord with harmony, and laud and be contented with all I meet,” Fuller stressed, “when it conflicts with my best desires and tastes, I trust by reverent faith to woo the mighty meaning of the scene, perhaps to foresee the law by which a new order, a new poetry is to be evoked from this chaos, and with a curiosity as ardent, but not so selfish as that of Macbeth, to call up the apparitions of future kinds from the strange ingredients of the witch’s caldron.”¹¹⁵ In other words, Fuller sailed from Buffalo to produce what she called a “Trollopian record” of Anglo-American cultural decline in the western wilderness, but instead she found herself explaining the emerging “new order” in the west, so that she could describe the west’s future, the “mighty meaning of the scene.” Unlike her predecessors, Fuller’s description of morals and manners in the west sought explanations rather than characterizations, meanings rather than judgments, and an analysis of its potential future rather than a judgment on the present.

Not only did Fuller share Martineau’s goals of traveling to good purpose, she also shared her methodology, that of philosophically and morally disciplined sympathetic observation. She thought, for example that the “reproach among the nations” felt for Illinois, due to its “careless, prodigal course,” was unwarranted, because it had the “resources abundant . . . soon to retrieve, far greater errors, if they are only directed with wisdom.” The natural abundance of the open landscape of Illinois was in the process of

¹¹⁵ Margaret Fuller, *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843* (Boston: C.C. Little and James Brown, 1844), 1, 28, 40. See the discussion of Artemus Ward in Chapter 4 for a more in-depth discussion of the image of the “mushroom city” in travel narratives.

forming “free and independent citizens” into “a pleasant society,” where friendliness and cooperation predominated over exclusion and competition. This “pleasant society” was built of families “from various parts of the world.” Despite difficulties with communication, they had “in common the interests of a new country and a new life” and would thus of necessity come together to form a community. “They must traverse some space to get at one another,” Fuller wrote, and they “must bear inconveniences to stay in one another’s houses; but these, to the well-disposed, are only a source of amusement and adventure.” The physical realities of the novelty and spaciousness of the landscape would produce a new society where “whole families might live together, if they would.”¹¹⁶ Rather than simply describing the morals and manners of the settlers of the Illinois prairie, Fuller sought to explain the formation of those morals and manners by reference to the diversity of the settlers and the characteristics of the landscape. Although Fuller wrote in a more literary mode than the scientifically inclined Martineau might have found ideal, and she was prone to a degree of sentimental overstatement that the hard-headed Martineau might have found superfluous, she nonetheless used sympathy in her observations of morals and manners, and as a result arrived at explanatory truth rather than a catalog of judgments, and thus made her travel to good purpose.

Fuller was more explicit than Martineau had been that this strategy of sympathy was gendered. Like Martineau, Fuller valued sympathetic observation, but unlike Martineau, she thought this sympathy was explicitly feminine. Jeffrey Steele reports “she once lamented, ‘Will there never be a being to combine a man’s mind and a woman’s heart?’”¹¹⁷ Fuller aspired to just such a balance when traveling on the lakes. She was

¹¹⁶ Fuller, *Summer on the Lakes*, 104, 58, 60-61.

¹¹⁷ Jeffrey Steele, *The Essential Margaret Fuller* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), xii.

particularly interested in the Native American women she encountered at Mackinaw, Sault Ste. Marie, and other places around the lakes. In her observations of them, she was generally careful to follow Martineau's advice not to judge them by arbitrary standards of morality simply because those standards were familiar. At the Sault, she saw women "coming home from the woods, stooping under great loads of cedar boughs, that were strapped upon their backs." Suspecting that her readers would rush to the common judgment that Native American men treated their women like drudges, she hastened to add, "But in many European countries women carry great loads, even of wood, upon their backs. I used to hear the girls singing and laughing as they were cutting down boughs at Mackinaw; this part of their employment, though laborious, gives them the pleasure of being a great deal in the free woods." Fuller suggested with her examples that women might derive pleasure from the fundamentally normal tasks of heavy lifting, and cautioned her readers against judging the morality of such practices according to their own preconceived notions of gender. Another aspect of Fuller's cautiousness was her awareness that other travelers were better informed about Native Americans than she was. While stopped in Chicago, she read "[a]ll the books about the Indians" she could find, "a paltry collection, truly, yet which furnished material for many thoughts." However, when it came to Native American women, she found that "[t]he observation of women upon the position of woman are always more valuable than those of men."¹¹⁸ For Fuller, then, her interest in Native American women was a gendered strategy for traveling to good purpose. Female travelers were better able to sympathetically observe women than male travelers, and thus for Fuller their centrality to her narrative represented a

¹¹⁸ Fuller, *Summer on the Lakes*, 245, 30, 178.

uniquely feminine opportunity for making her “summer days of dear-bought pleasure” serve a useful purpose.

Compared to her predecessors, Fuller was rigorous in her application of the methodology that Martineau advocated, and she was rewarded for it. According to one reviewer who was no fan of Fuller or her work, “The publishers tell us that this book has had a very respectable sale, which we are glad to learn, for the writer’s sake.”¹¹⁹ The reviewer’s snide conclusion was supported by the speed with which a diverse array of libraries acquired *Summer on the Lakes*.¹²⁰ It was also reprinted in London in 1846, a sign of wider international appeal, and it was collected with Fuller’s other works and reprinted in the years immediately following her sudden death in a shipwreck in 1850.¹²¹ Her literary career was on the upswing in 1844, and the reviews that she received upon initial publication were decidedly mixed. The conservative Catholic *Brownson’s Quarterly Review* admitted that “Miss Fuller in a woman of more than ordinary abilities, and, we are told, of rare attainments,” but nonetheless they “dislike[d her writings] exceedingly.” Their criticism deployed gendered stereotypes about women writers;

¹¹⁹ “Literary Notices and Miscellanies,” *Brownson’s Quarterly Review* 1, no. 4 (October 1844): 546. Another near-contemporary observer, writing on the occasion of Fuller’s death six years after the publication of *Summer on the Lakes*, recorded that it had “attained wide consideration.” See *The Whig Almanac and United States Register for 1851* (New York: Greeley & McElrath, 1851), 42.

¹²⁰ Copies of *Summer on the Lakes* appeared quickly in the catalogs of American libraries, especially in the more popularly oriented mercantile libraries in large coastal cities. For a sample of library holdings from the first ten years after the book’s publication in 1844, see *Catalogue of the Mercantile Library in New York*, 234; John L. Tillinghast and George Wood, *Catalogue of the New York State Library, January 1, 1846* (Albany: C. Wendell, 1846), 240; *Alphabetical and Analytical Catalogue of the New York Society Library* (New York: R. Craighead, 1850), 166; *Catalogue of the Library of the Providence Athenaeum* (Providence: Knowles, Anthony & Co, 1853), 149; *A Catalogue of Books of the Mercantile Library Association, of Boston* (Boston: Damrell & Moore, 1850), 63; and *A Catalogue of the Mercantile Library Company of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Mercantile Library Company, 1850), 188.

¹²¹ See *Index to the British Catalogue of Books* (London: S. Low, 1857), 128. A volume entitled *At Home and Abroad*, which collected *Summer on the Lakes* and Fuller’s European correspondence from the later 1840s, was published posthumously in Boston in 1856. It was evidently popular, because it remained in print through the end of the nineteenth century. See Sarah Margaret Fuller Ossoli and Arthur B. Fuller, *At Home and Abroad; or, Things and Thoughts in America and Europe* (Boston: Crosby and Nichols, 1856). See the epilogue for more discussion of Fuller’s posthumous publishing history.

“They are sent out in a slipshod style,” the reviewer lamented, “and have a certain toss of the head about them which offends us. Miss Fuller seems to us to be wholly deficient in a pure, correct taste, and especially in that tidiness we always look for in woman.”¹²² On the other hand, the Unitarian *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany*, inclined to be sympathetic to Fuller and her Transcendental preoccupations, called it “an uncommon book, not at all like an ordinary journal of travel . . . a work of varied interest, rich in fine observation, profound reflection and striking anecdote.”¹²³ In both cases, the success or failure of Fuller’s travels was linked to the quality of her observation. Her attempts to explicate the west were either a gendered failure of “tidiness” or uncommonly “rich” and “profound.” Fuller’s book was a controversial success for her because she traveled to good purpose.

In *Summer on the Lakes*, Fuller realized Dr. Johnson’s almost century-old vision of a “useful” travel narrative. Visiting the “mushroom growth” of the west, she brought home something of distinct benefit: she “enable[d her] readers to compare their condition with that of others, to improve it whenever it is worse, and whenever it is better to enjoy it.” Fuller’s journey to the Great Lakes was not “exploration” in the sense that Lewis and Clark’s famous expedition was “exploration:” she stayed well within the boundaries of European-American settlement, she paid little attention to objects of industrial or commercial value, and she even relied on steamboats and other commodified means of transportation to carry her from place to place. But neither did her “summer days of dear-bought pleasure” resemble the negative connotations of tourism. Her itinerary was

¹²² “Literary Notices” in *Brownson’s Quarterly Review*, 546.

¹²³ “Notices of Recent Publications,” *The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* 37, fourth series, no. 2 (September 1844): 274.

not dictated by fashion, and her observations were neither superficial nor trite. The utility of Fuller's travel was constructed on a firm foundation of travel to good purpose, following a model of acute observation, philosophical inquiry into root causes, and ultimately sympathetic understanding as advocated by Harriet Martineau. This travel strategy represented a unique opportunity for women travelers to avoid the taint of tourism, and Fuller, foremost among her peers, used it to great effect.

Epilogue

By the 1850s, the world of domestic travel in the United States had come to resemble that imagined by Dr. Johnson in his own travels, in his *Idler* essay, and in the conversations that Boswell recorded in *The Life of Samuel Johnson*. On the one hand, an increasing number of tourists were taking advantage of fast and relatively inexpensive travel to go see “what is expected a man should see.” They could please themselves “for a time with a hasty change of scenes” with increasing ease and convenience. Thanks to improvements in transportation, guidebooks, and other tourist infrastructure, tourists were less forced to make a distinction between things “worth seeing” and those “worth going to see,” as Dr. Johnson had regarded the Giant’s Causeway. On the other hand, those who sought to travel “for the entertainment of others” had new opportunities for and new guidance in making their journeys useful and productive and creating travel narratives that Dr. Johnson would have hailed for their “profit or delight.” Two examples will illustrate the high state of refinement these two modes of travel had achieved by the 1850s.

In June of 1848, a successful New York author, editor, and engraver named Benson Lossing was traveling on horseback between Greenwich and Stamford, Connecticut, when a set of weathered old steps drew his attention. He asked a nearby “patriarch” about them, and discovered that according to local legend, General Israel Putnam had used them to escape from the British in 1779. He made a drawing of the

place and moved on, but the “incident and its associations made a deep impression on [his] mind.” He “felt an irrepressible desire to seek and find such mementoes of the great conflict for freedom and independence, wherever they might exist to snatch their lineaments from the grasp of Decay before it should be too late.”¹ He fulfilled this desire by spending the next two years “undertak[ing] a journey to the battlefields and other localities hallowed by the events of the Revolution.” The result, which was first published in installments by Harper & Brothers and then in two weighty volumes in 1850 and 1852, was “a record of the pilgrimage, interwoven with that of the facts of past history, [which] would attract the attention, and win to the perusal of the chronicles of our Revolution many who could not be otherwise decoyed into the apparently arid and flowerless domains of mere history.”²

This work, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, was a record of Lossing’s own patriotic pilgrimage, as well as a guide designed to enable its readers to make their own patriotic pilgrimages to the sacred sites of Revolutionary history. Lossing’s two central patriotic motivations, the desire to broaden popular knowledge of Revolutionary history and the desire to make a Revolutionary pilgrimage “the preference with the tourist,” were at odds with each other. “So widely scattered are those localities, and so simultaneous were many of the events,” Lossing wrote, “that a connected narrative of the journey must necessarily break up the chronological unity of the history, and, at times, produce some confusion.” Given the choice between structuring his book according the

¹ Harold E. Mahan, *Benson J. Lossing and Historical Writing in the United States: 1830-1880* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 54. See also David D. Van Tassel, “Benson J. Lossing: Pen and Pencil Historian,” *American Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (Spring, 1954): 32-44, 37.

² Benson John Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution, Or, Illustrations, By Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1850), iii, iv.

narrative of Revolutionary history or according to the geographical logic of his tour, he chose the latter, to give “the work the charm of a book of travel.” The result was a work structured by a series of five regional tours of important Revolutionary sites, filled not only with an accounting of the historical background and the proper patriotic sentiment for each, but also with occasional practical advice for how best to visit these sometimes obscure and far-flung places. It was not really a guidebook; like George Temple’s 1812 *The American Tourist’s Pocket Companion*, Lossing’s authorial presence was too strong, and much of his story was structured by the particularities of his own experience rather than a generalized account of what his readers could expect to encounter if they followed in his footsteps. But it was nonetheless an account of a tour that Lossing hoped others would imitate, because having “the story of our Revolution known and its salutary teachings pondered and improved” would be highly beneficial to the American public, especially young people.³

Lossing’s patriotic pilgrimage was amply rewarded. Despite being much longer and more expensive to produce than Harper & Brothers had originally intended, it became an instant bestseller, running to at least five editions by 1875.⁴ Lossing himself became famous as a result of his tour; in 1853, the *Southern Literary Messenger* claimed that his “books were found ‘on every farm-house table and in every district and private

³ Lossing, *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution*, ix, viii.

⁴ After the original bound editions of 1850-1852, Harper & Brothers reissued *The Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution* in 1855, 1859, 1860, and 1900. The New York Book Concern published it in a combined edition with Lossing’s *The Pictorial Field-book of the War of 1812* in 1875. According to Harold Mahan, Harper & Brothers was initially dismayed by the size and cost of Lossing’s project. In 1848, they initially budgeted \$6,500 for a work of about 600 pages, to be published in twenty installments before being bound into a larger monograph. Instead, Lossing produced 1500 pages published in thirty installments with 1,110 engravings, at final cost of \$11,200. In 1856, Lossing sold his interest in the work to Harper & Brothers for \$14,300. In sum, *The Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution* was a large and expensive undertaking, even for a larger publishing company like Harper & Brothers, but was ultimately a profitable one for them. See Mahan, *Benson J. Lossing*, 56, 63-64.

library.”⁵ It remained “‘the most salable [sic]’ work on its topic” for at least twenty five years after its publication, according to an 1876 survey of American publishers.⁶ Lossing enthusiastically embraced the label of tourist: not only was he unconcerned about the negative connotations of the term, he sincerely thought that his “pilgrimage” was a high patriotic duty and something that should be widely imitated, especially by the nation’s youth. His faith in the value of the patriotic pilgrimage—both his own and those he hoped to inspire to travel along the pilgrimage routes that he laid out in his book—was amply rewarded by broad patronage of his books. The idea of the tour as pilgrimage—that making almost ritualized journeys to go see culturally significant sites was a worthwhile, beneficial form of travel—was so well established by the early 1850s that Lossing’s pilgrimage was hailed even by an old satirist like Washington Irving. In January of 1852, Irving wrote to Lossing, “I have been delighted by the freshness, freedom and spirit of your narrative and the graphic effect of your descriptions.”⁷ Benson Lossing was no Jeremy Cockloft, the younger, and his pilgrimage received its due in the marketplace.

As much as Benson Lossing may have embraced the label of “tourist,” Margaret Fuller, as we have seen, sought to distance herself from its connotations of superficiality and fashionability. Although some contemporary critics dismissed her *Summer on the Lakes* in gendered terms as “a toss of the head,” her posthumous public reputation became almost uniformly positive in light of what *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* called “the interest in the genius and character of Margaret Fuller, which has been

⁵ Quoted in Van Tassel, “Benson J. Lossing,” 33.

⁶ Mahan, *Benson J. Lossing*, 53-54.

⁷ Letter from Irving to Lossing quoted in J. C. Derby, *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books and Publishers* (New York: G.W. Carleton & Co., 1884), 688-689.

constantly on the increase since her disastrous end.”⁸ Indeed, after her dramatic death in a shipwreck off of Long Island in 1850, her work, including *Summer on the Lakes*, received new attention. In 1852, Philadelphia educator John Seely Hart deemed *Summer on the Lakes* “one of the best works in its department ever issued from the American press.”⁹ In the same year, her memoirists recalled that Horace Greeley thought it to be “one of the clearest and most graphic delineations, ever given, of the Great Lakes, of the Prairies, and of the receding barbarism, and the rapidly advancing, but rude, repulsive semi-civilization, which were contending with most unequal forces for the possession of those rich lands.”¹⁰ A reviewer writing in 1857 in *Russell’s Magazine*, a pro-Southern Charleston periodical, called it “a prose poem of a lofty order of merit—the vigorous, hearty, exultant and beautiful utterance of a strong, but sweet and sensitive mind, to whom nature is a muse and an inspiration.”¹¹ In retrospect, the “pleasing narrative” of her travel to the Great Lakes in the summer of 1843 was an important building block of

⁸ “Literary Notices,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 12, No. 72 (May 1856): 838. The only posthumous review of *Summer on the Lakes* that was less than glowing I found in the British periodical *The Popular Educator* in 1855, which concluded that “there is little in it, as far as regards style and story, beyond what might be found in the letters of any well-educated gentlewoman of moderate abilities, who thought it worth while to journalise on a summer’s ramble.” Despite a generally positive, if condescending, assessment of Fuller’s literary talents, *The Popular Educator* found *Summer on the Lakes* to be essentially humdrum. One explanation for this unusual assessment may lie in the class and gender preoccupations of *The Popular Educator*. According to Brian Maidment, *The Popular Educator* was “a key periodical for the development of cultural and educational self-consciousness among artisans” in Britain. Its editors may have resented Fuller’s assertion of feminine authority in her observations of morals and manners, as well as the aristocratic privilege implied by her “gentlewoman[ly]” “summer’s ramble.” See “Biography.—No. XXIV. Sarah Margaret Fuller,” *The Popular Educator*, Vol. VI (London: John Cassell, 1855), 731; and Brian Maidment, “Entrepreneurship and the Artisans: John Cassell, the Great Exhibition and the Periodical Idea,” in *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays*, ed. Louise Purbrick (Manchester, UK: Manchester University, 2001), 111, n. 14. For more on Fuller’s posthumous reception, both by reviewers and by friends, see Charles Capper, *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life*, Vol. II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 515-516.

⁹ John Seely Hart, *The Female Prose Writers of America, with Portraits, Biographical Notices, and Specimens of Their Writings* (Philadelphia: E.H. Butler, 1852), 238.

¹⁰ Margaret Fuller et al., *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Vol. II* (Boston: Brown, Taggard and Chase, 1860), 152. The *Memoirs* were originally published by Phillips, Sampson and Co. in Boston in 1852.

¹¹ “Margaret Fuller Ossoli,” *Russell’s Magazine* I, no. 3 (June 1857): 229.

her considerable living and posthumous literary fame.¹² Just as Martineau might have wanted for the woman who once imagined herself her protégé, travel to good purpose represented an important opportunity for the construction of enduring literary fame. She took advantage of the opportunity women travelers had for the authoritative observation of morals and manners, and parlayed it into a lasting reputation as, as Hart put it, “one of the most remarkable women of the present century.”¹³

In 1856, Margaret Fuller’s brother Arthur wrote the introduction for *At Home and Abroad*, which collected *Summer on the Lakes* and Fuller’s European correspondence from the later 1840s. In this introduction, he may have best articulated the profound divide that her admirers saw between her travel to good purpose and mere tourism. The Boston firm of Crosby, Nichols, & Company brought out this new edition of Fuller’s travel writing because it “for some time has been out of print and inaccessible to the general public.”¹⁴ This new collection evidently filled a posthumous demand for Fuller’s writing; it went through at least three editions, in both Boston and London, in 1856 alone, and remained in print through the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁵ Not only did Fuller’s travel writings garner continued critical acclaim throughout the 1850s, they also remained enough of a sales success to demand new editions. According to Arthur Fuller, they remained uniquely relevant because his sister’s style of travel to good purpose gave them a continued utility where other books of travels failed to stand the test of time.

¹² “Pleasing narrative” was the assessment of *The American Whig Review* in 1852. See “Margaret Fuller Ossoli,” *The American Whig Review* no. 88 (April, 1852): 362.

¹³ Hart, *Female Prose Writers of America*, 239.

¹⁴ *The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* 60, fourth series, vol. 25, no. 11 (March 1856): 6.

¹⁵ See Sarah Margaret Fuller Ossoli and Arthur B. Fuller, *At Home and Abroad; or, Things and Thoughts in America and Europe* (Boston: Crosby and Nichols, 1856). Other editions were issued in Boston by Roberts Brothers in 1874 and 1895, and in New York by The Tribune Association in 1869.

Arthur Fuller echoed contemporary discourses in drawing a distinction between the “three classes of persons who travel in our own land and abroad.” The most numerous were “those who, ‘having eyes, see not, and ears, hear not,’ anything which is profitable to be remembered.” This group, the ultimate tourists, “gaze heedlessly, and when they return home can but tell us what they ate and drank, and where slept,—no more; for this and matters of like import are all for which they have cared in their wanderings.” The second group of travelers “travel[ed] more intelligently,” making sure to visit all the important sites along their road and taking time to record their observations in detail. “Writers belonging to this class of travellers are not to be undervalued,” Fuller declared, because “returning home, they can give much useful information, and tell much which all wish to hear and know.”¹⁶ This second category of traveler, to whom Fuller is careful to pay his respects, are the travelers to good purpose suggested by Jackson, Dwight, and others who sought to harness travelers’ powers of observation so that their travel would transcend tourism. According to Fuller, these travelers supplied valuable geographical knowledge.

The problem with such “intelligent” travelers to good purpose was that “as their narratives are chiefly circumstantial, and every year circumstances change, such recitals lessen constantly in value.” Systematic observation and classification of geographical knowledge was fine as far as it went, but it went out of date quickly. This failing led Fuller to his third category of travelers, who not only “see indeed the outward, and observe it well,” but also “do much *more* than this.” Prophetically, “they see the destinies which nations are all unconsciously shaping for themselves, and note the deep meaning of passing events which only make others wonder.” They not only accurately

¹⁶ Fuller, *At Home and Abroad*, iii-iv.

observed the surface of things, “their eyes discern the character of those whom they meet, and, refusing to accept popular judgment in place of truth, they see often the real relation which men bear to their race and age, and observe the facts by which to determine whether such men are great only because of circumstances, or by the irresistible power of their own minds.” In the narratives produced by this analytical class of travelers, “we have what is valuable not for a few years only, but, because of its philosophic and suggestive spirit, what must always be useful.”¹⁷ This third class of traveler used philosophical preparation combined with a sympathetic and analytical mode of observation to reach a deeper, more explanatory, and ultimately more permanent level of geographical knowledge about the people and places she visited—a program that Harriet Martineau would have wholeheartedly approved of as true travel to good purpose.

Fuller, of course, placed his sister in this third and most exalted category.¹⁸ *Summer on the Lakes* was worthy of continued interest, even twelve years after its initial release, because “it rather gives an idea of Western scenery and character, than enters into guidebook statements which would be all erroneous now.” He thought her “knowledge of Indian character” would be among the most enduring features of the book, and that it gave “additional proof of her sympathy with all the oppressed, no matter whether that oppression find embodiment in the Indian or the African, the American or the European.”¹⁹ Margaret Fuller’s literary reputation—her cultural capital—was constructed on a firm foundation of travel to good purpose, following a model of acute

¹⁷ Fuller, *At Home and Abroad*, iv-v.

¹⁸ Crosby, Nichols, & Company echoed Arthur Fuller’s argument in their advertising when making a case for the work’s continuing relevance. Since, “in the language of the author, ‘it aims to communicate the poetic impression she received of the country at large,’ and not to give a statistical account of her journey, it is as valuable to-day as when first published.” Fuller’s travels had a continuing relevance due to their profundity, which their publisher clearly thought was a valuable selling point. See *The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* 60, fourth series, vol. 25, no. 11 (March 1856): 6.

¹⁹ Fuller, *At Home and Abroad*, v.

observation, philosophical inquiry into root causes, and ultimately sympathetic understanding advocated by Harriet Martineau.²⁰

By the eve of the Civil War, travel in the United States was thriving along the two parallel tracks represented by Benson Lossing and Margaret Fuller. Beginning in the 1850s, the tourist industry began to grow rapidly in the United States, and although the growth of tourism was interrupted by the Civil War, it returned in force in the three decades after 1870.²¹ Turning Fuller's search for "mushroom growth" in the west on its head, *Harper's Weekly* advised in 1878 that "Those who talk of the mushroom growth of our Western cities ... might better spend their wonder and enthusiasm upon our Eastern watering-place."²² This postbellum tourism boom was driven by an acceleration of antebellum trends in print culture and transportation technology. Guidebooks proliferated after the Civil War as tourist routes expanded across the American landscape and deep into the west. Transportation became increasingly commodified as railroad networks expanded across the continent and began to compete with each other, and as hotels, resorts, and other business followed the tourists who took advantage of them. These two trends had begun to come together in the 1850s with the advent of railroad guidebooks like Harper & Brothers' 1851 *Harper's New York and Erie Rail-road Guide*

²⁰ See Charles Capper, *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), ix.

²¹ See Cindy Sondik Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 45-46. This chronology also maps onto Jon Sterngass's distinction between the "public resort" and the "commercial resort," in which mid-century development at Saratoga Springs and Newport transformed public, social, and open resort experiences into increasingly privatized, commodified, and commercialized experiences. See Jon Sterngass, *First Resorts: Pursuing Pleasure at Saratoga Springs, Newport, & Coney Island* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). Brian Bixby has captured this rapid growth and commercialization of tourism in the years after 1850 in his account of visitors to Shaker villages in the nineteenth century; after mid-century, he argues, Shaker villages increasingly oriented their activities and their economies towards catering to visitors rather than to the proselytization of their faith. See Brian Bixby, "Consuming Simple Gifts: Shakers, Visitors, Goods," in *The Business of Tourism: Place, Faith, and History*, ed. Philip Scranton and Janet F. Davidson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007)

²² Quoted in Sterngass, *First Resorts*, 1.

Book, in which transportation companies published their own guides to encourage tourist traffic along their routes.²³ But most importantly, tourism thrived from the 1850s onward because tours like Lossing's demonstrated its social and cultural value. Despite the persistence of tourist satire, Lossing and tourists like him made a convincing case for the importance of the pilgrimage.

At the same time, postbellum travelers and travel writers continued to disclaim the negative and troubling connotations of tourism. The most popular travel narrative of the nineteenth century was Mark Twain's *The Innocents Abroad*, the satirical chronicle of a literal pilgrimage. Published in 1869, it told the tale of the ship *Quaker City*, which carried a party of American tourists to France, the Mediterranean, and the Holy Land in 1867. *The Innocents Abroad* was Twain at his satirical best; it lampooned both the absurdities Twain encountered in Europe as well as the foolish reverence that his fellow tourists expressed for the Old World and the Holy Land.²⁴ It was also Twain's bestselling book in his lifetime.²⁵ He might as well have been describing Benson Lossing when he encountered a strange bird in the Zoological Gardens in Marseilles. "Such tranquil stupidity, such supernatural gravity, such self-righteousness, and such ineffable self-complacency as were in the countenance and attitude of that gray-bodied, dark-

²³ See William MacLeod, *Harper's New York and Erie Rail-road Guide Book: Containing a Description of the Scenery, Rivers, Towns, Villages, and Most Important Works on the Road* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851). Not coincidentally, Benson Lossing provided the engravings for this guidebook. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, railroad guidebooks soon guided tourists all the way to the Pacific. See for example Henry T. Williams, *Pacific Tourist: Adams and Bishop's Illustrated Trans-Continental Guide of Travel, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean: a Complete Traveler's Guide of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads* (New York: Adams & Bishop, 1881).

²⁴ Larzer Ziff has perceptively argued that "*The Innocents Abroad* is a book about touring, not traveling ... At no point did [Twain] pretend otherwise or wish to alter this condition—to imagine that he was traveler rather than a mere tourist—because he brilliant perceived that the originality of his work compared to other books of travel would reside in paying closer attention to the tourist experience and the tourists themselves than to the places visited." See Larzer Ziff, *Return Passages: Great American Travel Writing, 1780-1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 185.

²⁵ See Ziff, *Return Passages*, ch. 4, and Jeffrey Alan Melton, *Mark Twain, Travel Books, and Tourism: The Tide of a Great Popular Movement* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 1-2.

winged, bald-headed and preposterously uncomely bird,” Twain recorded. “We did not know his name, and so we called him ‘The Pilgrim.’”²⁶ The literary and financial rewards that Twain reaped from *The Innocents Abroad* led Twain to return to the genre of travel narrative again and again over the course of his life, and with each new volume, he distanced himself from the touristic experience that he had both engaged and satirized in his first major work. His final travel narrative, *Following the Equator*, published in 1897, revealed a much darker vision of travel. According to Jeffrey Melton, on his last tour Twain was “not only trapped again by the vacuousness of the touristic experience ... but also openly aware of his complicity in the imperial culture he has come to abhor so vehemently.”²⁷ Just as Margaret Fuller had done on the Great Lakes more than half a century earlier, Twain sought to distance himself from the world of the tourist by using his sharply barbed wit.

Thus, the second half of the nineteenth century saw a continuation and intensification of the bifurcation of travel that was established in its first half. The “physiology ... of travellers and travelling” offered by E. L. Blanchard in the spring of 1847 was not only a marvelous delineation of the traveling world as it had evolved up to that point, it was also a prescriptive accounting of the traveling world to come. The distinction between tourists and other kinds of travelers was so new to Blanchard and his contemporaries that the “unceasing movement which is constantly impelling mutable humanity forwards and backwards, upwards and downwards, left and right, over the solid, or fluid, or gaseous portions of the world” needed anatomizing, and each of the categories needed explicating. But even if they were relatively new, these distinctions

²⁶ Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad, or, The New Pilgrims' Progress* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1879), 96.

²⁷ Melton, *Mark Twain, Travel Writing, and Tourism*, 139.

were so firmly rooted in the changing print culture and transportation technology of the time that they would come to seem natural, if problematic, to twentieth century commentators like Daniel Boorstin. What Boorstin and other modern critics of tourism miss is that tourism is a category of travel that is inextricable from modern means of travel and modern ways of writing about travel. The return to a world of “authentic” travel before or outside of tourism is impossible, a historical fact that Boorstin would have found disappointing. But he should not have found it surprising, because as Dr. Johnson wrote in one of his more pessimistic moments, “You have often heard me complain of finding myself disappointed by books of travels; I am afraid travel itself will end likewise in disappointment.”²⁸ Happily, their sense of disappointment was built into the very structure of tourism, and as Benson Lossing and Margaret Fuller demonstrated, it was only one facet of tourism’s ambivalent nature. Tourism is an inherent part of modern travel, and it provides as many opportunities as it forecloses.

²⁸ John Wilson Croker and James Boswell, *Johnsoniana; Or, Supplement to Boswell: Being Anecdotes and Sayings of Dr. Johnson* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1842), 114.

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