British Women Travellers and Constructions of Racial Difference Across the Nineteenth-Century American West

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At a time coinciding historically with the height of the British Empire, the immigrants’ rush to occupy American West lands and the wholesale removal of Native Americans onto reservations, encounters between Native peoples and women travellers became emblematic of a whole range of socio-spatial relations of domination, subordination and resistance. In this paper, I examine representations of western Native Americans in the travelogues of ten British women travelling the late nineteenth-century American West, produced primarily during excursions along the western rail lines. Constructions of racial and gender difference in the texts can be tied to British colonial discourses, as well as to the social and economic transformations inherent in the multiple contact zones within which the encounters took place.

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Introduction

A particular nexus of British and American empire-building coincided in the final decades of the nineteenth century on American land west of the Mississippi River. Britain’s rise as a powerful world empire galvanized its citizenry to travel in unprecedented numbers around the globe. New and improved forms of transportation, as well as the social and political similarities and a (ostensibly) common language between Britain and the United States, enticed many British travellers during this period to turn to America as a destination for travel (Foster 1990, 71–9). Many of Britain’s more affluent were among the first people to take transcontinental railroad tours of North America when the New York to San Francisco line was completed in 1869. The railroad made the American West an especially attractive tourist destination for wealthy tourists, who could now experience an ‘uncivilized’ place in relative comfort and safety, especially after George Pullman introduced the Pullman sleeping car, designed for long-distance travel (Farrar-Hyde 1990, 107–15).

Much of what British visitors observed during their travels in the West attested to their own version of empire-building. Encouraged by national expansionist politics and a measure of scientific and technological advance, Euro-American industrialists, labourers, miners, settlers and others rushed to claim and control western lands, and travelogues described the situation of Native peoples as being dislocated by this process. With few exceptions in the last decades of the nineteenth century (the decade of the twentieth) represented as part of the history of most western Native Americans, the US government undertook their removal onto reservations. Most tribes were decimated, dependence on government payments and rations was established, and diseases such as tuberculosis and other diseases ran rampant through their communities.

This nadir coincides with the American West travels of a group of elite British women who published travelogues about their journeys in the 1870s–90s. In this paper, I examine how these women travellers represented western Native peoples, especially Native women, during encounters with them at sites along the western rail lines. Encounters between British women travellers and western Indians became emblematic of a whole range of socio-spatial relationships of domination, subordination and resistance. Constructions of racial and gender difference in these texts can be traced to British Victorian colonial discourse, as well as to the social relations inherent in the multiple ‘contact zones’ within which the encounters took place. A range of representational tropes about Native Americans appear in the texts, ranging from revulsion at Native ‘savagery’; to romanticization of the primitive but ‘vanishing’ American; to moralistic, reform-minded concern for the abused ‘squaw’ and her corollary, the Indian Princess; to a recognition of the Native peoples’ self-definition. My primary aim here is to examine these and other constructions of race and gender difference in texts as yet largely unstudied, about a place rarely discussed in the context of European imperialism. I explore ways in which the contexts for the production of the travel texts were racialized and gendered, producing a multiplicity of discursive representations of both women travellers and the Native Americans whom they encountered as gendered and racialized individuals. I outline particular representational tropes that were common in the travel narratives, focusing specifically on how these operated within the context of railway travel. I also consider how certain tropes were accessible to or exclusive of women travellers and their ideas of proper female conduct – even if a gendered or racialized response to western Indians is by no means apparent. Multiple voices and subjectivities appear in these texts, both as authors/subjects and as subalterns.

The women whose narratives I examine here were of wealthy aristocratic or professional-class society in England and Scotland, and all were published authors, however dissimilar their professional and personal motivations for travel. Some were travellers and travel writers by profession, including Isabella L Bird (1879) and Maria Theresa Longworth (1875). Others were philosophers, poets and essayists, including Duffus Hardy (1882), her daughter F D Bridges (1883), Lady Theodosia Rose Pender (1888), Lady Winefride Glossop (1897) and Mrs Howard (1897). These women’s texts all cover the American West in the last third of the nineteenth century, and all were published within the same time period, when they were immigrants to North America, or they were on tour, collecting material for their books, typically staying for several weeks to months in the West. The women devoted varying amounts of attention to Native Americans, ranging from single quotations to multiple encounters at train stations or on stops along logical arguments on their social and cultural encounters.

After travelling throughout the western US and/or American South, these women followed a transect across the West, along the Union Pacific railroad from Chicago connecting with the Central Pacific railroad from San Francisco (Figure 1). The transect was typically from east to west. A trip straight across Chicago to San Francisco by rail, or Sox possibly, stopped at approximately 250 stations along the way (Athearn 1953, 17). Train travel was key to how travellers represented Native peoples, because it was one of the few places along the railroad routes that Native Americans most often encountered one another. And again, these meetings were typically brief, and during what could be considered the early days of many Western Indian nations.

Situating the contact zones

Retaining Thomas Jefferson’s vision of the ‘American Revolution’ comprised of agrarian and traders, American expansionists of the 1840s argued that the American ‘frontier’ was to occupy the entire North American continent (White 1991, 61–84; Smith 1950, 1987, 58, 175). To make room for new settlers, beginning in the 1830s un
Jackson administration, the federal government undertook the forced removal of eastern Indians, the inhabitants of the 'unpeopled continent'. A permanent Indian Territory in the central and southern Great Plains was first envisioned (White 1991, 85–91; Limerick 1987, 191–6), but white encroachment, broken treaties, wars and a host of inhumane atrocities made this idea short-lived. By the 1850s, Euro-American settlers desired this area as well, and the American government continued to sell traditional homelands for unconscionably small payments (Wishart 1994). Native Americans were restricted to smaller and smaller reservations, and in the western United States, even these were engulfed by land-hungry settlers.

Paternalistic reformers and US government officials alike sought a more durable solution to the 'Indian problem' after the slavery question was (theoretically) removed from the nation agenda by the Civil War, and a new policy emerged in the 1860s and 1870s. Reservation system essentially separate official government discourse articulated policy that would ensure assimilation. The attempts to transform indigenous people into Christianized farmers and housewives accused a concept of private property according European pattern. This private property eventually, after the 1887 General Allotment Act, be imposed in the form of family allotments. Reservation lands were then allocated in (generally) 160-acre quarters to individual Indians, and any 'surplus' land was sold off. Allotments too were eventually the government's trust period was (abridged), and the Native Americans...
was decimated. Estimates are that the allotment process alone reduced Native American landholdings by two-thirds, beginning in 1881. By the late 1870s, all Native peoples were effectively under American sovereignty. Many tribes’ survival depended upon government payments from the sale or lease of land, and on government rations (White 1991, 108–15). With the exception of some tribes in the Northwest, Southwest and Oklahoma, by the end of the nineteenth century, most Indian nations could no longer feed or clothe themselves without federal aid.

Train station power politics
The contact zones for nearly all of the encounters between British travellers and Native Americans were the many train depots along the railroad route from Chicago to Denver to Salt Lake City to San Francisco – public spaces in predominantly white settlements. Train stations were their own peculiar kind of contact zones, within which the social and spatial distance between travellers, vendors, onlookers, residents, servants and others could be fleetingly diminished. Yet they embodied imperial spaces where the sovereignty of indigenous peoples uniquely collided with that of both travellers and Euro-Americans, which cultivated an idealized form of distance between travellers and residents. The poverty-stricken Native Americans symbolized the degradation suffered by others, and in particular signaled the inferiority of the reservation system. Native people performing feats of skill or offering souvenirs of babies for a nickel or dime also (Attearn 1953, 126) (Figure 2) provided evidence that federal Indian policies had disastrous outcomes. Paradoxically, their presence also served to reinforce perceptions about the need for those same policies.

Wishart (1994, 185) asserts that, ‘Indians of Nebraska were “made into beggars in their own land.” He notes that they rode the Union Pacific freight trains, but that, since passes were required
reservation, Indian agents sent soldiers to bring back Indians who congregated at the rail depots. One Indian agent complained that the "idle and vagrant members of the tribe" who assembled at stops along the Union Pacific line "gave travellers a bad impression" (Wishart 1994, 185, 196). But while the Native peoples' presence served to reify the notion that they did not belong in the new settlements - that were, after all, 'replacing and expelling "savagery"' - their continued presence, especially in an impoverished state, was necessary to confirm white cultural and moral superiority (and thus white entitlements to land) (Carter 1993, 155).

Without minimizing the poverty and rootlessness that many Native peoples faced with the onslaught of the Euro-American invasion - the real 'loss of subsistence, history and identity' (Wishart 1994) - it must be acknowledged that a more complex set of social relations took place between Native Americans and whites than the simple oppositional 'oppressor-oppressed' model implies. Notions of a power-wielding dominant group (white European or American), which believed in a natural right for white takeover of Native lands, and an essentialized singular group of subordinated others oppressed by this process, emerge from such binary constructions. This model problematically postulates two separate, coherent and stable groups, embodying predetermined collective identities with identical interests or shared oppressions (Mohanty 1988; Ashcroft et al 1995, 214), and with consequently limited potential for explaining the range of discursive subjectivities that emerged when they came into contact with one another. It further presumes a diffusionist model of European ideologies and modes of thought, which were simply exported around the globe, ignoring how they were played out, received and modified in various locations (Pratt 1992; Stoler 1995). Locations of the production of the travel texts were gendered and racialized in a number of ways, and British women took on a number of narratorial voices and positions on Native Americans, thus discursively producing multiple 'others' in their texts. I now turn briefly to British Victorian discourses on race and gender to help situate these multiple and complex discursive positions.

Colonial discourse and British women's travel writing
Colonial discourse theorists have concentrated considerable attention on the many venues within which Europeans articulated their missio
undeveloped and immature lands and self-proclaimed great cost and effort on the colonizer nations, but for the greater progress of the benighted members of the colonies (Said 1978; Young 1995; et al 1995; Kaplan and Pease 1993). European figures and others constructed civilization as an evolutionary move from the (feminin
ent state of primitiveness to an increasingly manly state of civilization with, of course, a 'pecking order' built into the process (Said 1978, 269, 280; Young 1995, 43–54; Stoler forthcoming). Said's foundational thesa
usalism (1978, 113–23) focuses on how the European observer, or subject, of the eighteenth and nineteenth century portrayed, legitimized, and reinforced European expansionism in the process of exporting racial and other ideologies from home country to the process of domination of indigenous peoples. Yet, how European women themselves were actually produced in these discourses is ignored in an orientalist framework. Women are treated as objects of the European gaze and are seldom credited with influence over the orientalists' opinions. Offering an alternative, this paper argues for a more relational and contingent understanding of how various conceptions of racial and cultural whiteness were developed and made visible in particular colonial contexts, involving different notions of race and gender positions on Native Americans. Ultimately, if these discourses are to be understood, we must consider the specific locations in which they were produced, the agents who produced them, and the political and social contexts in which they were consumed.

Many critics in the past couple of decades have modified and challenged Said's original model, considering more specifically time, place, and scale of colonial intervention; and, most significantly, have been challenging the dualistic construction of European (in this case, British) white women in the colonies both as an ideological construct and in association with imperialist cultural values (Ashcroft 1991; 1994; Strobel 1991; Chaudhuri and Beilby 1992; Callaway 1987; Blake 1990; McElroy 1991; Blunt 1994; Blunt and Rose 1994).

When gender is taken into consideration, the slippage in homogenizing orientalist discourses is evident for British women writing within the empire context of the American West. As Sherry L. H. Hyde (1990, 110, 125) contends that, by
European and American tourists expected to see not only evidence of the West as ‘uniquely American’, but also dramatic feats of engineering and ‘exotic’ animals and people, such as Indians. The job of the travel writer was to textualize those features of the place that were most unique and different from home; attention to Native Americans became a stock requisite of western travel narratives in the nineteenth century (Athearn 1953; Allen 1987; Foster 1990; Georgi-Findlay 1996). Since women travellers’ material and discursive positioning gave them legitimate access to insights centred in the female experience (Mills 1991, 81–3; 1994; 1996; Blunt and Rose 1994; Birkett 1989, 191–200; Morin 1995; 1996; forthcoming), much of what these travellers to the West implicitly defined as the substance of western America was that which revolved around the personal and domestic, morality and religious piety, and women’s social roles. Taken together, British women’s attention to Native peoples took on special features in the texts, such as displaying a high moral concern for their welfare, and closely regarding their appearance. Further complicating the subject position of upper- and middle-class British women were a range of ideologies linked to the themes of ‘civilizing’ Native women, and properly extending charity to those in need. These and other gendered and genteel-class identities were not simply norms or attributes, but sites through which travellers’ representations of Native Americans intersected, and through which I problematize them.

In addition, I open a discussion here on ways in which the voices and ‘agency’ of Native Americans might begin to be recovered from these texts. Much post-colonial scholarship focuses on retrieving subaltern voices and ‘reading resistance’ from colonial texts (Spivak 1988; Ashcroft et al 1995, 85–113; Kaplan and Pease 1993, 365–495). Between and among these women travellers and Native Americans, a host of negotiations and cultural clashes were being played out along multiple lines of difference. A focus on ‘difference’ complicates, but more fully captures, the discursive complexity of the travel narratives than does the simple othering process that orientalism defined. A focus on difference calls for a more two-sided or multi-layered cultural exchange between groups of people, with the terms of difference emerging only out of the encounter itself, as different groups and individuals seek to define the ‘contested zone’ in their own way (Jehlen 1993). Following Mary Louise Pratt (1992), then, I argue that moving locations aboard the train across the West were cultural spaces within which many heterogeneous actors and exchanged ideas and possessed varying degrees of power in the British travel narrative.

### Travellers’ representations of Native Americans

**Aesthetic objects and ‘vanishing’ objects:**

Many of the women travellers who mentioned the novels of James Cooper, who, asserts Robert Berkhofer, was ‘more than any other American writer published the Indian as a significant world literature.’ Cooper’s The last of the Mohicans (1826), for instance, portrayed images, a romanticism and nostalgia dying out as a result of the onslaught (Berkhofer 1978, 86–95). But a visit between Cooper’s representations of cherished people at train stations sometimes deployed distancing to preserve the literary images intact.

Guest, sister of the Duke of Westminster and on her way to North America with her husband and her maid in the spring of 1895 on a 11 000-mile, seven-week journey, published an account of her trip in North America (1895). Guest, a party of ten Indians she met at the train station in Salt Lake City, Utah, had a ‘stupid, almost sullen air of countenance, which quite dispelled illusions of chivalry about them, which lingered in my mind from the other novels’ (Guest 1895, 86). When the Indians from a distance, had a swiftly moving train, she could not see images intact. Later in her journey through the Flathead reservation in the Northwest, some Indians riding by, ‘robed in red saddle-cloths, who] looked rugged and effective, as they were not too tall. Such stereotyped images of Native Americans were more easily appropriated inside the white-dominated towns, where white racial oppression was transparent.

At the train station, though, they were rarely matched to stereotypical images.
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displaced as they were by the catastrophic reservation system and by white settlements ‘replacing and expelling savagery’ (Carter 1993). As constructions of racial difference at train stations rested on this contingency (Stoler 1995, 101–16), travellers registered a number of rhetorical disappointments over the Native people that they encountered, such as complaints about their appearance. F D Bridges, a world traveller who spent the summer of 1880 in the American West, described seeing her ‘first Indian’ as she travelled by train east of Oregon. He was dressed as a lumberer, with ‘calico shirt, baggy trousers and slouch hat’. Bridges complained that she expected to behold something ‘picturesque’, but instead saw only an ‘ugly commonplace individual’ (1883, 351). The British suffragist Emily Faithful, in her Three visits to America (1994), argued that ‘[t]he most characteristic Indians . . . [were] not in the Far West but at the Indian delegation at Philadelphia’ at the Centennial Exposition (1884, 201). Faithful’s passage reads more ironically than Bridges’: to her, popular representations are not only artificial, but the most obviously commodified images are the most ‘characteristic’ (to add to which, these characteristic Indians were undoubtedly tribal leaders, dressed in ceremonial garb).

Native women received their own particular ‘defilement’ in the nineteenth-century public discourse; they were represented primarily within the confines of the distorted and antithetical stereotypes of Indian ‘squaw’ and ‘princess’, the logical parallels to the good and bad Indian (Riley 1984, 21–4, 31–3; Berkhofer 1978, 86–95).6 British women travellers typically portrayed Native women’s lives as drudgery, reinforcing representations of the plain, dirty, hardworking but discontented ‘squaw’, who was caught in an apparently coercive polygamous relationship. Lady Mary Duffus Hardy, in her Through cities and prairie lands; sketches of an American tour (1882), sarcastically described Ute women at train stations across the Rocky Mountains as ‘evidently got up for [the] effect’ of being seen by railroad passengers:

The women wore striped blankets pinned round their bodies, and bright handkerchiefs or shawls over their heads. Their long matted hair streamed over their shoulders, sometimes over their eyes; and they had added to their natural attractions by bitsches of coarse red paint daubed on the dark faces. (Hardy 1882, 260)

F D Bridges similarly regarded Native women in train depots across the Rockies, commenting that they ‘can scarcely be accused of undue [their] appearance – like the hard-working, unpretending hen, [they are] content to have “fine feathers” to the nobler creature’ (1883, 351).

In these passages, Guest, Faithful, and Hardy described Native peoples as distinctly as primarily visual objects. Whether or not within the relatively close confines of train stations, or from a more detached position like a moving train, Native Americans appear in texts as aesthetic components of the modern landscape, racialized in their dress and hygiene. Aesthetically unpleasing and therefore were often used to justify larger imperial and even genocide, as when Lady Guest described why they . . . live (or indeed why they cannot conceive. The hair of these Indians is excessively thick and coarse, black, not reaching above the shoulders, and straight and stark expression absolutely animal. (1895, 89)

The recurring obsession in these transcriptions with dirt, matted hair and untidiness can be understood within the larger discourses of cleanliness circulating among nineteenth-century bourgeois Europeans. McClintock, for instance, that cleanliness was a ‘God-given symbol of Britain’s evolutionary superiority’ (1995, 100). Part of the European civilizing mission was to get rid of the ‘commodity racism’ of soap to the ‘Victorian poetics of racial hygiene and progress’ (McCintock 1995, 209). This discourse might find an easy outlet in the women writers travelling in an imperial context whose own racial divide between savages and civilization would be situated within the same realm.

Even though travellers’ concern with men’s and women’s hairstyles, clothing and painted faces took on a special significance in these texts, a diversity of representations can, nonetheless, be seen in them, suggesting a diversity of Native lives being lived within the larger context of land dispossession. The recurring trope of the ‘Vanishing American’ also appeared as a trope in the travellers’ texts. While some British women did not question who the aboriginal peoples ‘belonged’ at sites of work and dominance in impoverished conditions, the travellers considered them out of context, stations, displaced from their ‘real’ environment.
of some immutable racial characteristics for extinction. In this trope, real life has no place in the present, and can only be found in relation to a split-off, archaeological past.

Rose Pender, who travelled with British women in the American West in 1881 to invest in cattle, became involved in a narrative around a ‘search for a cattle ranch’ (Thomas 1992). Pender simultaneously invoked the image of the ‘Indian Princess’ and ‘Vanishing American’ when she described stopping at a roadhouse near Laramie, Wyoming. She recounted the story of the daughter of the Brule Sioux chief Spotted Tail, who was buried there. Pender described the image with discursive exaggeration, speaking of a ‘nameless’ daughter; she embodied the image of the Native woman who was chaste, innocent, beautiful, inclined to tears, and who mediated between white and black Americans by siding with the white settlers. (Pender 1987, 65; Armitage 1987, 14). Pender described Spotted Tail’s daughter as the ‘flirt of the tribe’, and fell hopelessly in love with the American officer, ‘who had made confession upon her young heart.’ She eventually died.

Possibly she mistook the natural conditions of the land, with which he treated her for a war brazen captive. Women are not accustomed to gentle treatment in the hands of their lords and masters. While on his expedition, the young officer retired to a deserted home at Fort Laramie he left a desolate home and set off on foot in search of her lover. Despite her efforts she never looked again. Her strength failed, and she fell down on the summit of the small hill overlooking the site.

In her caricature of the noble, sanguine savage, Pender portrayed a woman whose love was ill-timed, and she died at the site.

Isabella L Bird, probably the best known British women traveller to the west, especially (then as well as now), spent four months in the Estes Park region of the Colorado Rockies in the early 1870s, and produced A Wild Life on the Rocky Mountains (1879). While Bird had interviewed Native Americans in her writing, she did assess those whom she observed on a platform at 1870s Yosemite. She described Digger Indians, with their squaws, children, and dogs, ... [were] perfect savages, without...
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even aboriginal civilization, and are altogether the most
degraded of the ill-fated tribes which are dying out
before the white races. (1879, 6)

Bird proceeded to describe in detail their height
(on average five feet one inch), facial features (‘flat
noses, wide mouths, long black hair’) and clothes
(‘ragged and dirty, with unornamented mocca-
sins’), concluding that they ‘were all hideous and
filthy, and swarming with vermin’ (1879, 6). Fur-
thermore, as ‘only’ hunters and gatherers subsis-
ting on fish, game, roots and grasshoppers, these
Shoshone and Piute Indians seemed to Bird further
down the ‘chain of being’ than either their more
noble ancestors or Euro-American immigrants.
While Bird’s comments can be understood within
the discourses of scientific racism (Jones 1980) and
the Victorian quest for cleanliness (McClintock
1995), she also introduced the Victorian discourse
on ‘levels’ of civilization revolving around relation-
ships between civilization, use of land and social
survival (Young 1995, 31). To Bird, the conse-
quences of contact with whites, with their fixed
agriculture and secure title to land, meant the
inevitable evaporation of the ‘lower’ forms of sub-
sistence. As they were hopelessly removed from
their own aboriginal civilization, they were de-
tined to die out in the face of the white advance,
and in fact are revived in the text as already dead
(cf Pratt 1992, 134).

‘Squaws’ and spinsters: representations of reform

The civilizing mission of professional Indian
reformers (philanthropists, ethnographers and
missionaries) centred on transforming Indian
social and cultural life with Christianization, edu-
cation and Euro-American domestic ideals. Protes-
tant female reformers’ authority to improve
the lives of others was based on notions of women as
properly pure, pious, self-sacrificing ‘moral guar-
dians’, whose virtuous status entitled them to rescue
their downtrodden sisters (Pascoe 1990; Armstrong
1987; Hall 1988). The role of professional reformer
was one of the few accepted ‘careers’ open to
women, and women travellers might well have
adopted their rhetoric during their travels to the
American West as a way to compensate for their
own movements into the public sphere.

Reformers’ representations of Native peoples
came the closest to challenging the ‘noble savage’
or ‘bloodthirsty redskin’ images (Berkhofer 1978,
27–8, 167), and challenged prevailing attitudes
about Indian capabilities and equality with whites.
Although resisted by many Native peoples as just another infringement on
determination, the works of some well
reformers did expose American duplicity in deal-
with Native America,
reformers rejected the notion that Native
permanently inferior and that they should
imitating white people, avoid extinction.
women’s reformist rhetoric took several
of these texts: they emphasized the ‘natural
qualities of contemporary Native American
articulated a moral concern for them
often by contrasting the scandalous be-
whites to Natives’ reactions to it; and the
reformers sought policies intended to help
adapt to the white advance, such as by em-
to Euro-American gender roles. Their
usually involved highly limiting stereotypes
travellers failing to recognize cross-
differences.

Not surprisingly, once travellers moved
the idealized imperial setting of the train
specific form of gendered racial discourses
in their texts. A few of the women who
fostered Native peoples in villages or encamp-
typically during excursions into Yosemite
California, on horseback or by stage, ex-
interest in indigenous women’s lives and
was not obvious from the train station
ovations and at Indian encampments,
trains. Representations of ra-
tence in the travellers’ texts, then, depend
intrinsically relational and contingent on
the encounter (Stoler 1995). 8

The poet Emily Pfeiffer, in her Flying east and west (1885), simultaneously praised and
published the work (and life) of a ‘Digger’
she met in Yosemite Valley. The woman
‘considerable ingenuity’ in her ability
culinary and other utensils, and
approached her settlement, she ‘looked
at a not unkindly glance’ (1885, 247–8).
Guest also described Yosemite Indians as
‘peace’ (1895, 138), and F D Bridges men-
numerous fish caught in a day (4)
with only ‘bait and crooked pin’ (1883,
Howard of Glossop and several other of
stated Indian mythologies of Yosemite.
These descriptions of ‘primitive’ life illustrate the textual necessity for establishing a position against which the writers can define themselves as civilized. Shirley Foster (1990, 102) contends, moreover, that representations such as these display an ambivalent attitude toward civilization: while the writer tends to idealize the natural and express what might be a ‘genuine feeling for the primitive’, she does not actually ‘see’ it. That is, the writer appears to place value on the primitive, yet simultaneously codes white culture as superior. To the reform-minded traveller, attributes of quality, refinement, dignity, respectability and even aesthetically ‘white’ characteristics, signal that reform is possible, while primitiveness and crudity signal that reform is necessary. Thus the ‘pleasant-looking baby . . . in a birch-bark cradle and gaily-decorated blanket’ that is ‘almost as fair as a European child’ represents a hopeful case to F.D. Bridges (1883, 402) (Figure 4).

Spending a good deal of time on the trains, but with little else to occupy their attention across the long stretches of the plains and deserts of the West (Morin forthcoming), travellers often filled portions of their books with expositions about local Indian-white conflicts. Indians themselves were largely absent from such ‘contact zones’, as the British women were detached from the landscapes passing by, ‘swaddled in [the] Victorian luxury’ of the train cars (Farrar-Hyde 1990, 117) and surrounded by other wealthy and leisureed travellers. Some writers focused their discussions on economic and political causes for Native peoples’ conditions, blaming an inept or corrupt American government, or the greed and arrogance of white settlers. Theresa Longworth, Viscountess of Avonmore, who traversed 20,000 miles of North America in two years (1872–73), stopped at several military forts during her journey. Such sites of concentrated white American power inspired Longworth to reflect on the ‘clap-trap pretence’ of the forts: ‘ostensibly [they are] for the protection of the few scattered inhabitants, but in reality [they] prevent the Indians from occupying and enjoying their former hunting-grounds’ (1875, v2, 23–4). F.D. Bridges similarly contemplated the (collapsed) Black Hills treaty as she journeyed near the Yellow Stone River region. She explained that,

The hills were granted by treaty as ‘Indian reservations’; but all promises were scattered to the winds when, a few years ago, gold was discovered in these parts, and an army of white faces, mad for gain, defied both the Federal troops and the still pressing on, in spite of, now massacres by the red men, (1883, 41).

In this passage, Bridges distanced herself from the deceit and wrongfulness of the greed and covetous whites, and as such against ‘civilizing’ forces that can associations of greed and ignorance, travellers convinced both Emily Theresa Longworth of the unjustifications against Native peoples. A woman who had spent much time with the north-western tribes convinced them near Cheyenne, Wyoming, that they were ‘defrauded’, and, contrary to popular belief, ‘far from dying out under the influence . . . [they] are increasing beyond the normal’ (1885, 260–61). In this way, a ‘cultivated trap’ considered Longworth on board the train across that the government had taken them from the first, and that the Indians cruelly; that their attempts at retaliation in comparison with their wrongs. (1875, v2, 23–4)

These passages negatively portrayed the United States. Moreover, Putnam alluded to the persistence and even prospering peoples under the influence of Euro-American culture. Treated as a fait accompli, white culture had the ability to help Native peoples avert otherwise inevitable extinction, according to reformist principles. She argued against the narrative that ‘the ill of ills is the suddenness from insufficient virtue of the people’ dealing with Indian affairs (Pfeffer 1890). Longworth’s conversation with a similar end. Conversely, Theodor Herzl commenting on the Black Hills situation, of the F.D. Bridges (above), aligned herself with the government in US-Indian relations.

The United States Government is for them, and does what can be done to maintain them; but restricts them, reservations, where they are supplied all they need; and will probably not trouble. (1895, 86)

Taken together, these passages are as part of the very fluidity of reform rhetoric in the aspects of ‘civilization’ ostensibly desirable). The passages also indicted
to criticize, or at least to appraise, the policies and actions of the US government, transgressing the limits, perhaps, of imperial women’s proper discursive domain (Suleri 1992, 75–110). However, it should also be acknowledged that, in the cases of Longworth and Pfeiffer, it was encounters with knowledgeable men on the trains that produced these specific representations of Native life. Such second-hand evidence allowed them to deflect full responsibility for the arguments they themselves and on to the more ‘authentic’ masculine voice.

The third and final expression of rhetoric in these travelogues revolved
construction of Native societies as fundamentally sexist. Travellers frequently complained that Native women suffered from (Native) patriarchal oppression. With few exceptions, Native men appear in these texts as barbaric and lazy slave masters. Recall Rose Pender’s assertion that ‘Indian women are not accustomed to gentle treatment at the hands of their lords and masters’ (1888, 66). In her 1881 trip to the American West, passing through villages in Indian territory by train, Pender also reported that,

[The squaws, with their papooses, stared stolidly at us. Here and there we met a (no doubt) great chief, riding, bare-backed, a very little mustang. At one small station we actually saw four ‘braves’ engaged in the exhilarating game of croquet. (1888, 17–18)]

To Pender, these Native men (and their horses, for that matter) appear emasculated, engaged in a frivolous game of croquet unfit for a manly ‘brave’ (and invoking the Eurocentric association of savagery itself with the feminine: Young 1995, 43–54).

Rose Kingsley, cousin to the more famous Victorian traveller Mary Kingsley, came to the US in 1871 as a representative of the Episcopal Church of England at a convention in Baltimore, and later spent four months at her brother’s home in Colorado Springs. Kingsley described the Utes in 1870s Colorado Springs as ‘hideous’, the most ‘revolting specimen[s] of humanity’ she had ever seen, the smell of which even horses and mules could not stand (1874, 102, 106). Later, driving alone to shop for supplies between Colorado Springs and Glen Eyrie, Kingsley described what she considered the animal-like behaviour of some Ute men:

Two Indians were outside one of the stores, indulging in such extraordinary antics that I was really afraid to drive past. They ran along like beasts on all-fours; then they tumbled down and rolled over; and they then crouched and pulled their bows. One of the men from the store seeing me, kindly ran and held them till I had passed... These Indians are disgusting people; and my terror of them grows greater the more I know of them. (1874, 133–4)

One cannot help wonder whether these men’s performance was not purely for Rose Kingsley’s benefit. She had spent several months in their community, helping her brother to keep books for a railroad company, and also took on ‘civilizing’ projects of her own, for which she may have gained something of a reputation. The ‘terror’ of the Indian man can perhaps be understood as a literary expression of captivity narratives so melodramatic before the Victorians (see Note 9, especially so in the light of Kingsley’s emphasis that ‘their cruelties to [white] women are worse, than to men’ (1874, 134). Kingsley hints at the sensationalized brutality of abduction of white women by Native men; viewed ultimately to rationalize America’s expansionism. And whereas captives were often shored up the heroine’s proper virtues of courage and fortitude in the face of danger, Kingsley instead emphasized the need to be rescued by the gallant white man, not straying too far afield of a patriarchal voice (Mills 1991; 1994; Blunt 1994; 1994).

Beatrice Medicine (1983) interroges the cultural bias also distorted understandings of American gender relations. She argues Native American women as subordinate in marriage and in work relationships, and to their fathers and then to their male-dominated popular Anglo discourse. Observers incorrectly assumed that heavy loads meant low status for the Omaha and Pawnee societies. On the contrary, the women gained owning many of the moveable goods of the dwelling and most of its contents. This was especially an affront to the patriarchal and domestic ideal of femininity bedded in British Victorian patriarchal aristocratic and upwardly mobile women ‘proved’ the success of their coming economically idle, and then retired (Hall 1988, 62–3). Regardless of women themselves were ambiguous with this ideal, Native societies were judged in these texts by the degree they approximated Western ideals of the employment of women. To Rose Kingsley, the gender relations of a Ute family did not approximate Western ideals; described ‘a quantity’ of Indians with hotel, trailing their tent-poles, with the pappoeses on their backs, with all the belongings of the tribe,
rode on in front with no load save their guns and bows’ (1874, 134, her italics). On another occasion, Kingsley reported that a ‘swarm’ of Utes came to town, and her brother Maurice recognized one of the ‘young braves [as] the greatest thief unhung in New Mexico. He has five squaws, and makes them all steal for him’ (1874, 104). Kingsley went on to describe the ‘ugly faces’ of the squaws, who were dressed like the men (1874, 104) (Figure 5).

In these excerpts, Kingsley posits her own life as an index of women’s empowerment (Strobel 1991, 49). She construes Native women’s treatment as

Figure 5 ‘Indians’ Rose Kingsley 1874
(Courtesy of Johns Hopkins University)

barbaric, and thus avoids confronting (relative) powerlessness at home and her power in America derived from institutions (Mills 1994, 41). This is itself an expression of white racial superiority, perceived low status of Native women is not from Native men, not from unequal economic relationships with whites (80–85; Blunt and Rose 1994). While Kingsley fails to sympathize with Native women who ‘have to steal’ for their husband, she fails to see that Native women have their own points of view.
ignores how they may have welcomed their own social arrangements.

Theresa Longworth took exception to the dominant view of Native women’s lives as drudgery, when she described the lifestyles of Indians in Yosemite Valley. ‘It is true’, she writes,

that the women carry the heavy burdens, while the men walk at their ease, with their bows and arrows, or rifles. But, if the men were burdened, they could not pursue their game whenever it might appear. (1875, v2, 80)

In this more empathetic representation of Native gender relations, Longworth acknowledged, but dismissed, dominant understandings of Native women’s work as unfeminine or inappropriate, perhaps, again, because she was distanced from the more obviously oppressive centres of white power in towns and railway stations. Calling into question an essentialist construction of gender and racial difference in these narratives, Longworth foregrounds herself in sympathy with both Native women and men, a rhetorical position perhaps more available to women who perceived travel as an opportunity to escape the social boundaries of the Victorian aristocracy. In other parts of her narrative, Longworth clearly asserts a feminist voice, either in pointing out her heroic conquering of the self in dangerous mountain settings (1875, v2, 82–90), or by supporting suffrage in Wyoming (1875, v2, 28). From her viewpoint, Native women’s physical labour was not detrimental to their welfare (nor perhaps to other women’s), and in fact her passage highlights another ambivalence of reformist policies – (white) women’s ‘moral authority’ sprung from their position in the home, yet many reformers argued for more expansive working roles for women outside of the home.

British women’s associations with larger social reform movements finds ready rhetorical outlet in their travel narratives, whether by acknowledging the potentialities of the ‘primitive’ (Pfeiffer, Guest, Bridges); in criticizing (Longworth, Pfeiffer, Bridges) or praising (Guest) the actions of the US government and white settlers; by finding fault with Native men (Pender, Kingsley); by disclosing the supposed drudgery of Native women’s lives (Kingsley); or by offering a more positive portrayal of non-Western gender relations (Longworth). Widely varying discursive interpretations of racial and gender difference emerge from the encounters, with the same individual often positioning herself in multiple ways. Importantly, the rhetorical positions were primarily framed around racialization of reform rhetoric itself: Native women were not American Indians; they did adopt aspects of reform rhetoric; they position themselves legitimately as agents within their own narratives. Furthermore, Native American subjectivities emerge in embodied documents, racialized and gendered in different ways: the chivalrous Indian (see Note 9); a ‘not unkindly old woman’ from a European-looking baby (Bridges) to an angered people (Longworth); preferring (Pfeiffer); ‘beasts’ running amok (Kingsley); hardworking squaws (Longworth); and non-violent huns (Longworth and Guest), among others.

While some of the reformers’ accounts challenged Anglo-American capitalism with their ignorance, their positions left little space for imagining Native people’s own terms. A focus on these texts involves Native peoples’ own self-representations that plays them only in relation to all-Americans. Miller (1997, 64) reminds us that even today, in academic scholarship and exhibitions, nineteenth-century Americans are represented as only violent or cruel images that wrongly suggest that their ancestors had [nothing] else on their minds, such as quill-making, dancing, or political issues or playing ball. Distinctions built into reading Native Americans points from these ruling-class dot-out my discussion with an attempt to understand those self-representations of Native from the travellers’ texts.

Textual boundaries of train-stations

While British travel narratives are well able to expose Native people’s powers of discursive subjectivities of both black and Native Americans were produced by the British subject/authors emerging from engagement with specific Native peoples and specific material circumstances. Colonialism’s process of orientalism focuses on race and cultural values and their ability to read the travel text, and in effect has
reproduce the very European-centred discourses that it seeks to replace. Namely, it assumes the passivity of the colonial subject, and therefore has the potential to ‘recolonize’ the subject (Sara Mills 1996, 127 makes a similar point). Mary Louise Pratt argues that reading colonial texts simply as ‘symptoms of imperial ideologies’ diffusing from Europe is incomplete in the way that it reproduces metropolitan authority (1992, 5–6, 111–43). She writes that ‘while the imperial metropolis tends to understand itself as determining the periphery … it habitually blinds itself to the ways in which the periphery determines the metropolis’ (1992, 6). In her model of the contact zone, colonial cultures met and produced each other.

The post-colonial critic Gayatri Spivak (1988) has led the way in retrieving the voices and histories of subaltern subjects, those ‘objects’ of colonial processes whose own speaking positions have been silenced. While she is interested in uncovering voices of resistance against oppression, she also argues for subaltern voices that are heterogeneous and not ‘essentialized fictions’ (Spivak 1988). A post-colonial focus on difference (eg Ashcroft et al 1995; Kaplan and Pease 1993) likewise attempts to eliminate the centrality of the European observer by locating the resistance and agency of subalterns in the contact zone, thus demarcating their influence on hegemonic discourses. Though the material circumstances of many Native peoples in the late nineteenth-century American West was one of war and poverty, in which British travellers could easily be construed as wrongful trespassers, following Miller’s lead it is important to keep in mind that these were probably not ‘the only things on their minds’ (Miller 1997).

Several scholars have focused on direct quotations of oppressed people in travel texts as a rhetorical manoeuvre that establishes sympathy and reciprocity, a ‘subject-to-subject’ discursive position associated with feminine discourse (Blake 1990, 353–4; Mills 1991, 3, 97–8; 1994). Direct quotations potentially subvert the authority of the powerful, all-seeing observer, as they work against the aesthetic homogenizing of diverse groups of people, locating both the traveller and the ‘travellee’ in the landscape. And yet, none of the travellers here directly quoted a conversation with an indigenous woman or man—they appear as speakers of only sentence fragments (single words and phrases). For instance, F D Bridges commented that ‘[n]othing will induce the Indians to come on this lake [Tahoe], “where one time we did our fires”, they say’ (1883, 385–6). Emily Pfeiffer meeting a man in Yosemite who ‘came and addressed us in his Indian speech, a “tabac”, which he was evidentlybeginning the only [word] we understood’ (1883, 388). Certainly, interpreters or Indian English could have been located had they been and attempts to place the reader in sympathy, the uncomprehending traveller are understood. Furthermore, while travellers sometimes that they conversed with Native American content of those conversations were not closed. Theodora Guest, for instance, ‘interviewing’ some Ute Indians in Salt Lake out of which came simply a description appearance—they were ‘horrible-looking miserable’ (1895, 85). She also reported visiting a chief Rain in the Face and his band aboard the train near St Paul, Minnesota, again, she focused on aesthetic appearance: the squaws were not so bad-looking and were taller, smarter and cleaner than ‘the specimens’ in Utah (1895, 172–3).

Anything, these passages recall the aesthetic gazes discussed previously ‘smarter’ itself derived from ‘taller’ and ‘more’. These passages also highlight, though, the co-presence with poverty-stricken peoples, station in one case, and well-positioning riding the trains to New York, as Guest in the other.

The little interpersonal communication interaction that took place between British and indigenous peoples, both verbal, was usually at train stations, only certain kinds of communication (Strobel 1991, 17–33). In passages aloud, several British travellers complained about how stared at by Native people at train stations in order to be ‘seen’ by railroads (eg Pender 1888, 17–18; Pfeiffer 1885). At the station in Reno, Nevada, Iza Harsh finding that ‘the noble red man and his “come out for to see” us; and we return compliment by all turning out on the train to see them’ (1884, 219). Her mother, similarly described a scene at a train in Colorado, in which ‘[t]he men stood solemnly regarding us with their big
still as statues; the women squatted on the platform or peeped at us from round corners’ (1882, 260). Such passages offer the possibility for interrogating the socio-spatial subject-positioning that occurred between travellers and locals at train stations. In these passages, the traveller appears self-consciously aware of being the object of the gaze of men and women on the platform. This interaction marks Native peoples as both that which is signified in the text, and as producers of signification. While both Hardys surveyed the scene as ‘objective’ outsiders, the onlookers’ gazes simultaneously embodied and located them in the landscape, fully disrupting an interpretation of Native people as passive objects.

Many encounters at train stations involved Indian families begging from travellers, often in the stereotyped stoic silence of the ‘noble’ Indian (cf Faithful 1884, 201; Hardy 1884, 219), but also in ways that challenged the stereotypic, homogenous subaltern position (after Spivak 1988). Mrs Howard Vincent (1885), for instance, in her account of her world tour in 1884–85, quoted a Piute mother begging from her at a train station in Nevada: ‘one mother brought her “papoose” (baby), slung on to her back in a long basket … [and] begged for “two bits for the wee papoose”’ (1885, v1, 96). Furthermore, Theresa Longworth challenged the stereotype of the silent and passive Indian:

After entering Wyoming territory, the Indians began to collect around the cars at each station. They besieged the doors and windows, and were wildly importunate for white bread and cakes. They were wretched, famished-looking creatures, clad in tatters of European dress. Their natural food and clothing have been wrung from them by the appropriation of their lands for the rail. They hung about the small stations subsisting on charity, and fully expecting that each passenger should share with them whatever he possessed. (1875, v2, 25)

As well as placing Indians in a proactive begging position, demanding compensation, Longworth here situated their poverty within the larger social context of white–Indian relations: their poverty was not the outcome of intrinsic racial characteristics, but was inflicted from the outside.

Such passages require analysis, too, in the light of the highly publicized concerns of London’s educated elite in the 1880s to solve problems of poverty. As bourgeois tensions heightened over social unrest and proximity to the ‘dirt and disease’ of the poor, proscriptions on how to behave as well as how to interact properly proliferated (Walkowitz 1992, 265; 1995; Wood 1991; McClintock 1995). ‘poor laws’ of the mid-nineteenth divided the poor into ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ charitable cases, and the Victorian ethic of thrift, hard work, self-control and almsgiving into the widely held belief that the self-inflicted, should be employed in houses, where a proper morality of work would be stimulated (Humphreys 1995, 104–10). Charity was described by some of the leading philanthropists as sinful. They argued that vagrants and drunkards were ‘undeserving impostors’, as their ‘sympathies were so easily touched by preferment’ (quoted in Humphreys 1995, 111). The poor primarily needed to help themselves, and in interpreting many travellers’ contact with poverty with laziness, dirt and disgust, for instance, contended that the Indian station in Carson City, Nevada, ‘do not beg they are not ashamed. They are disgusting people’ (1888, 46–7). W. H. Sympathetic to their poverty-stricken, Theresa Longworth, too, appeared amongst the Wyoming Indians ‘fully expect’ the passenger should share with them ‘the possessed’ (1875, v2, 25).

A heterogeneity of Native voices and conditions of poverty can be read least in passages that locate restive conditions via non-verbal communication, as Adler described paying a nickel or a dime to lead a baby was a common practice at train stations, especially the western railroad routes (cf Adler 1988). In part, no doubt, of the larger-scale of any Native. In the following, Pfeiffer described her encounter with a mother of the ‘Sioux tribe’ at a train station with whom non-verbal communication probably established some mutuality between the women. As Pfeiffer offered the most
a look at her baby, she remarked that ‘[t]he young squaw has clearly a turn for business’:

I hold the coin within range of her vision, and an almost imperceptible quiver of an eyelash tells me that she has seen it; but the squaw knows full well that the sight she has to offer is worth more ... and her great eyes continue to look past us or through us, contemplating, as it might seem, the immensities. (1885, 181)

As the woman finally accepted a silver dime, Pfeiffer described the situation as one in which

The quick eye recognizes the difference in a flash, and tilting the papoose in such a manner that no other shall share the spectacle with the one who has paid for it, she makes a sign to me to bend low, and quickly removes the curtain. A little reddish-brown face, with round, rather hanging cheeks, and eyes and mouth just opening in a cry, is exhibited to me for a moment, and the curtain of the peep-show is abruptly closed, when a low laugh tells the Indian woman’s enjoyment of the discomfort of the bystanders. (1885, 181–2)

The mother in this scene displays considerable power to determine the basis for the encounter with Pfeiffer, and as such this passage can be read as Native American ‘resistance’ literature (Kaplan and Pease 1993, 365–495; Ashcroft et al 1995, 85–113). The mother’s ability to set the terms of the display of the baby, as well as her enjoyment over the ‘discomfiture of the bystanders’, subverts and undermines Pfeiffer’s otherwise uncontested privilege to give alms or not. While the Indian mother appears capable of eroding the power of the traveller, Pfeiffer herself must be read as complicit with the mother’s ‘strategy of resistance’. It is in her text, after all, in which this scene is played out (even if she presented herself as at first unwilling to impart a nickel to someone who may have appeared to her an ‘undeserving’ case).

Closing comments

I could hardly divest my mind of the idea that we should be attacked by Redskins; for the name of Fort Wallace is associated with such horrors: but we met with no worse a misfortune than a very bad supper. (Kingsley 1874, 42)

Rose Kingsley’s rhetorical disappointment at not encountering stereotyped threatening Indians at the train depot in Kansas reproduces a theme running throughout all of the travelogues I have examined here: images of American Indians appear in the texts in their capacity to overturn travellers’ positions as discerning, civilized ladies. The post-colonial critic Horne argues that, to succeed, colonial discourses upon images of indigenous people must be ‘prefigured, already known and that must be repeated’ (1983, 18), and must ultimately reproduce the heterogeneity of colonial subjects. We have outlined many ways in which British racial and gender ideologies might be transplanted onto American West stereotypes and travel narratives, my purpose in reading Horne has been to show how Native American women’s racialized and gendered experiences in spatial frameworks intersected in a number of ways and, notwithstanding the refinement of the lady or stereotyped dangerous Indian, the heterogeneity of both British women and American subjects. British travellers’ gendered, genteel-class identities were played out in several contact zones of the West, where gendered and racialized in diverse and often imperial relations at train stations were particularly important, as these were where contact took place.

A multiplicity of discursive subjectivities and objects of travel and Native peoples unsettle these essentialized gendered responses and consider the heterogeneous ways in which Native American ‘other’ in travel literature. British women’s identities were represented as belonging to many social sites, such as bourgeois domesticity, dirt and poverty; racialized bourgeois subjection to women’s moral authority; and gendered discourses on women’s styles of writing. Nine concerns. Thus, while most of the represented Native Americans as aesthetically racialized in dress, manner and hybridity, complex and intersecting speaking positions, produced a diverse range of traveller subjectivities from the sympathetic and more refined and religious concerns of Emily Pfeiffer and Theresa Cranch to the more Eurocentric modes of imaginings of Theodora Guest and Rose Kingsley. While the unequal social relations of the Euro-Palestine limited the types of intertext could take place between travellers and native peoples, a range of discourse against imperial relations is active resistance to imperial relations in these texts is in the imperative, rather than either stereotyped stoic silence or constrained violence. And, certainly, my methods of reading recover Native ‘agency’ in these narratives.
difficult questions about who can speak for whom here, and whether these people would want their agency to be recovered in this way. As unresolvable as these questions might seem, they are worthy of consideration.

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Notes

1 Following David Wishart’s lead (1994; 1995), I will be using the term ‘Indians’ interchangeably with ‘Native Americans’ and ‘indigenous’ or ‘Native’ peoples throughout the article. I have noted tribal designations whenever they appear in the travelogues.

2 Brief biographical sketches are available on most of these authors in Robinson (1990), Atcham (1953) and Rapson (1971), as well as from the travelogues themselves. With the obvious exceptions of Isabella Bird and Emily Faithful, most of these authors have not yet, to my knowledge, been studied in any depth. For biographical background on Bird, see Birkett (1989), Middleton (1965) and Boorstin (1969), for Faithful, see Frawley (1994). The names and social titles I use here are those that appear on the covers and title pages of the books themselves. While this produces inconsistency in naming conventions (and also ignores the aristocratic titles of some of the women), these are the names and titles under which the women themselves apparently wished to be known publicly.

3 After Pratt (1992, 171) and Mills (1991, 74), I distinguish the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century bourgeois era travelogue as an ‘autobiographical narrative’ with a dualistic nature. Texts in this form combined events surrounding the protagonist with observational detail.

4 While this transect identifies a typical journey, several caveats to this model inhere. Two of the travelogues primarily chronicle only a particular region of the West, rather than a transect. Pender (1888) devoted nearly her entire text to the Platte River valley of Wyoming, and Bird (1879) concentrated on the Estes Park region of Colorado. Bridges (1883) and Vincent (1885) followed the transect as part of a larger world tour. Kingsley (1874) and Howard of Glossop (1897) continued on to these cases, though, the travelled travel and train stations throughout Limerick (1987, 198–9) reports that were in the possession of Native people, and that in the next 47 years, 6,000 were declared surplus and sold, and another 27 million left Indian people, that allotment and then as sales to White (1991, 115) notes that, between 1800 and 1900 alone, half of the remaining acreage was lost, the number of acres lost was 155,632,312 to 77,865,373.

5 The social construction of Native American ‘squaws’ has received considerable attention in Western women’s histories (see, for example, Medicine 1983; Medicine 1983; Albers and James (1987) also discuss the construction of Native American women’s images during the past century. The Indian princess or maiden has probably appeared in many of the images appeared in collectible postcards, they often present a more exotic, romantic and anachronistic view of the past. Weaving, milling corns, making pottery, performing for tourists and appearing as characters, roles that did not mark the lives of most women. The ‘Digger’ Indian woman rarely appeared in the British travelogue, probably because the location of the Indian train station – offered travellers high-class imaginary settings within which white people could be transformed into seeing. See Pender 1888, 66 and Pfieffer 1888.

6 ‘Digger’ Indian was a derogatory term which collected roots for food (Riley 1888). Kay Schaffer’s (1994) analysis of the auto-biography narrative in colonial Australian travel narrative and a similar process. Frazer’s story of transformation as she describes the women as increasingly savage as they travel farther away in space and time than them and the scene of her shipwreck.

7 In one notable exception, though, Bird recalled being introduced to a Ute couple in Denver, Colorado, street:

\[
\ldots\text{Governor Hunt introduced me to a young chief, very well dressed, and bespoke his courtesy for me.\ldots}
\]

The Indian stores and fur stores interested me most. (1879, 139)

Bird here presents a very different type of American maleness from that of her encounter (cf Bird 1879, 6): she recognizes the difference among the men, and between class alliance between herself,
British women travellers and constructions of racial difference

governor. As a woman travelling alone, the chief’s chivalry also served as a possible source of empathy for Bird (as in Blake’s 1990 study of Mary Hall’s relationship with African chiefs). At the same time, she located Denver as a scene offering attractive exchange commodities between Indians and whites, with the young chief himself ‘well dressed in beaded hide’, perhaps becoming an admirable commodity.

For instance, Kingsley promoted a reading room, ‘where the young [white] men may spend their evenings, instead of lounging about the town, or going up to drink in the saloons’ (1874, 72).

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