Traveling Economies
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Published by The Ohio State University Press

Steadman, Jennifer Bernhardt.
Traveling Economies: American Women's Travel Writing.
The Ohio State University Press, 2007.
Project MUSE. muse.jhu.edu/book/27984.

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Introduction


2. Ibid., 444.


5. My formulation builds on Judith Butler’s insights into the performative nature of gender roles featured in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990). I will discuss this at length in chapter 4.

6. “A Downright Gabbler, or a Goose That Deserves to Be Hissed,” New


12. Arguing for the same level of complexity I want applied to the women in *Traveling Economies*, critics Mark Rennella and Whitney Walton find that narratives dismissed as mass tourism can offer authors “the opportunity to engage in a constructive questioning and self-examination,” rather than only a chance to


19. Schriber, 58.


21. Mary G. Mason, “Travel as Metaphor and Reality in Afro-American Women’s Autobiography, 1850–1972,” *Black American Literature Forum* 24.2 (Summer 1990): 339. Julie E. Hall’s recent work on Sophia Hawthorne argues that Hawthorne uses the travel genre to gain access to literary expression, rather than to the political voice Shadd Cary and Royall gain by using the genre. All three women point to travel writing as a genre open to women and perceived to be a route to authority in other cultural conversations. Julie E. Hall, “‘Coming to Europe,’ Coming to Authorship: Sophia Hawthorne and Her Notes in England and Italy,” *Legacy* 19.2 (2002): 137–51.


29. For a discussion of how women’s travel writing can be both transgressive and supportive of status quo social hierarchies, see Brigette Bailey, “Gender, Nation, and the Tourist Gaze in the European ‘Year of Revolutions’: Kirkland’s *Holidays Abroad,*” *American Literary History* 14.1 (Spring 2002): 60–82.

**Chapter One**

1. Bradley’s papers are held by Duke University’s Special Collections Library and include correspondence and journals (collection I.D. # ADH-9963). This study focuses on Bradley’s journal kept during her visit to Costa Rica (1854–58), which is the volume designated “Diary and Letterbook, November 6, 1853–September 12, 1865.” In her journal, Bradley mixes diary entries with copies of correspondence she sent and received, and the dates of entries do not proceed in strict chronological order. I will indicate diary journal entries by date, copied letters in the journal by “copy of letter” with the correspondent’s name and the date, and correspondence with correspondent’s name and date. AMB is the abbreviation I will use for Amy Morris Bradley.


4. Schriber suggests that Leland’s text may be a spoof, since she can find no census records of Leland and since Leland’s hyperbole and Twain-speak suggest parody. Schriber concludes, and I agree, that even if the text is a fake, it nevertheless speaks to the cultural obsession and familiarity with the middle-class female traveler in the late-nineteenth century (164–65). I will return to this idea and elaborate at the end of the chapter. Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830–1920* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1997).


7. The final section of this chapter will discuss how Bradley’s semipublic diary reaches an audience consisting of her younger female cousins and relatives.


11. AMB journal entry, January 20, 1852.

12. Lang, 15.

13. Letter from AMB to Sarah Baxter, April 1, 1851. Historian Nancy Cott describes “women’s second-class position in the economy” in New England in the first half of the nineteenth century as such: “There was only a limited number of paid occupations generally open to women, in housework, handicrafts and industry, and school-teaching. Their wages were one-fourth to one-half what men earned in comparable work.” Despite her hard work, Bradley struggles as a result of these limited opportunities and low wages. Expectations that women like Bradley would marry actually further reduce their wage-earning potential, as Cott explains: “Wage rates reflected the expectation that [middle-class white women] would rely on men as providers.” Finally, Bradley’s family’s financial position does not allow them to provide her with financial assistance, which would have been her other possible resource. Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: “Woman’s Sphere” in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977). Letter from AMB to Elijah Bradley, August 1851.

14. Letter from AMB to Jeremy Jones, July 20, 1851; ibid.; letter from AMB to William C. Fuller, November 22, 1851.


16. Letter from AMB to William C. Fuller, November 22, 1851.

17. AMB journal entry, copy of letter from Stacy Baxter, November 6, 1853; ibid.

18. AMB journal entry, January 2, 1856; AMB journal entry, copy of letter from Stacy Baxter, November 6, 1853; ibid.


21. Frances Smith Foster, in Written by Herself (1993), emphasizes the importance of Prince’s representation of her marital status: “As implied by her self-designation as ‘Mrs. Nancy Prince,’ Nancy Prince was very careful to establish herself as a respectable woman” (85). Foster suggests that Prince’s insistence on respectability and propriety reinforced her authority as a traveler and a writer, even as her behavior challenged the limits of traditional gender roles (85). See also Frances Smith Foster, “Adding Color and Contour to Early American Self-Portraits: Autobiographical Writings of Afro-American Women,” in Conjuring: Black Women, Fiction, and Literary Tradition, eds. Marjorie Pryse and Hortense Spillers (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985), 25–38. Sandra Gunning makes a distinction between Foster’s reading of Prince’s avoidance of publicity as a strategy for securing respectability and what Gunning sees as Prince’s “judicious” construction of her own “public image” (“Nancy Prince” 49). In either case, the salient features of Prince’s emphasis on respectability for this study are the class ramifications of asserting her own worthiness for middle-class standing, juxtaposed with the denial of that standing based solely on her race.

22. Allison Blakely, in Russia and the Negro: Blacks in Russian History and Thought (Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1986), notes that the inclusion of blacks in the Russian imperial court began during the reign of Peter the Great: “In 1697, Peter hired at least one black servant” (14). Black servants lent exoticism and interest to the court, as Blakely suggests: “[Peter the Great] later acquired a number of Negroes to embellish his court, in the manner that was fashionable in the rest of Europe at the time” (14). Blakely cites Prince’s narrative as “the most revealing account available of these [black] servants’ life in Russia” (17). Blakely credits Prince’s husband, Nero Prince, with recruiting American blacks into service in the Russian imperial court: “As a leading mason, Prince was certainly a possible link between the tsar’s court and certain Negro circles in America” (16).

23. Fish, “Restless,” 484.


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It Is Suicide to Be Abroad,” in Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women’s Travel Writing, ed. Kristi Siegel (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 61. I will discuss the rhetoric of peril in more depth in chapter 4.

27. Myres, 1.
29. AMB journal entry, January 2, 1856.
31. AMB journal entry, January 2, 1856.
32. AMB journal entry, copy of letter to Sarah Bradley Homans, January 1, 1854.
33. AMB journal entry, copy of letter to Dr. Hogan, January 5, 1854. By means of a loan from a friend, Bradley is able to repay the Medinas for her passage to Costa Rica and travel to San Jose, where she takes up residence (Cashman 77).
34. AMB journal entry, copy of letter to Sarah Bradley Homans, January 1, 1854; Cashman, 78; AMB journal entry, September 8, 1856; Cashman, 86.
35. AMB journal entry, copy of letter to her father, Abiud Bradley, December 24, 1853.
36. Fish similarly argues that Prince focuses on representing her working and mobile black female body and that this theme is reinforced through her representation of working black bodies she encounters on her travels (Fish, Black and White, 58).
37. Gunning, 44.
38. Gunning, 45; ibid., 45. Gunning qualifies her comparison, saying, “She was not entirely comparable to the elite white tourists to whom Buzard refers” (45). She further contends that “the ‘escape’ achieved by Prince in Europe—or more appropriately, achieved in the retelling of her transformative journey within Life and Travels—involved much higher stakes than those faced by middle-class white travelers who would have exemplified the name ‘tourist’ in nineteenth-century Europe” (46). Nevertheless, Gunning argues that Prince’s choice of writing in the travel genre problematically participates in discourses “that functioned as the pillars of western imperialism” (39). Traveling Economies foregrounds the importance differences between the material conditions of Prince’s travel from that of elite white tourists and the significant revision of the genre that her travel text constitutes.
40. For further information on Prince’s biography during this hiatus in her travels, see Fish, Black and White, 48–52.
41. Prince’s uplift work in Jamaica has been treated at some length by Foster, Fish, and Gunning; Traveling Economies will focus on her return journey from Jamaica as an example of the extreme risk Prince runs as a black female traveler.
42. Fish, “Restless,” 485.
44. Peterson, 88; ibid., 90.
45. Fish, “Restless,” 483.
46. Peterson, 5.
49. AMB journal entry, copy of a letter to Betsey and Elizabeth Bradley, January 21, 1858.
50. AMB journal entry, January 1, 1856. Bradley also includes a copy of a letter addressed to her cousins Betsey and Elizabeth Bradley in her January 1, 1858 journal entry.
52. Ads for Prince’s Russian lectures appeared in the March 8, 1839 Liberator, and she advertised the sale of her Jamaican pamphlet in the November 12, 1841 Liberator.

Chapter Two

2. Ibid., 260; ibid., 262.
4. Phren and Logos, letter to the editor, New York Commercial Advertiser, July 31, 1829, quoted in James, 255. Phrenology was a pseudoscience of studying the bumps on the head to diagnose disease—it was an eighteenth-century fad that continued to be popular into the nineteenth century.
5. James, 256–57.
6. James, 259.


10. Porter, 39; ibid.; ibid.


12. James, 108.


15. “Editor’s Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 16 (May 1838): 239.


18. “Editor’s Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 22 (January 1841): 46.


21. All of the texts Mrs. Johnstone discusses are published by European women; she does not recognize the growing number of American women travel writers.


24. Schriber, in *Writing Home, American Women Abroad, 1830–1920* (1997), cites Margaret Fuller, Mary Hannah Krout, Kate Field, Nellie Bly, and Lillian Leland (whom we met in the first chapter) as examples of women authors writing “travel-as-politics.” Mary Louise Pratt’s discussion of elite women traveling in South America, whom she terms “exploratrices sociales,” similarly touches on the unexpectedly political content of “bourgeois women’s travel writing” in the early nineteenth century. Complementing Schriber’s and Pratt’s analysis of overt political content, critics approaching women’s travel writing from a postcolonial perspective, such as Sara Mills, Shirley Foster, Susan Kollin, and Chu-Chueh Cheng, trace the link between middle-class white women’s travel writing and

26. Pratt, 162.
27. James, vii.
30. James, 307; ibid., 308.

Chapter Three

1. Mary Ann Shadd, “Hints to the Colored People of the North” (1849), quoted in J. B. Y., “Miss Shadd’s Pamphlet,” *North Star*, June 8, 1849.
chez Literary Review Special Issue on Black Travel Writing 9.1 (Fall 2003): 119–38, are among the recent scholarly treatments of Shadd Cary that attempt to remedy this neglect.


10. Rhodes, 5.

11. As Jane Rhodes suggests, “Her father’s close association with Philadelphia’s black elite may have paved the way for [Shadd Cary] to participate in that world as well” (18).

12. Letter from A. D. Shadd to Mary Ann Shadd, December 8, 1844, Mary Ann Shadd Cary Papers, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.


18. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society appointed John Scoble Secretary of Dawn. Robin Winks characterizes him as “a white liberal of the most paternalistic sort, who could not tolerate sharing responsibility with black men” (202). The Dawn Settlement was initially one of the most successful black settlements in Canada West, but it ultimately resulted in “ignominious and public failure” (Winks 204). Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1971).

19. Begging was one of the most hotly contested issues among Canadian emigrants. Those who adopted a probegging philosophy sought charitable support from individuals and organizations in Canada and particularly from abolitionist
groups back in the United States. Blacks like Shadd Cary who opposed begging thought that communities should develop self-sufficiency, and that begging reinforced stereotypes of blacks as lazy and incompetent.

20. Shirley Yee discusses Shadd Cary’s position on integration in her article “Finding a Place: Mary Ann Shadd Cary and the Dilemmas of Black Migration to Canada, 1850–1870,” and argues that Shadd Cary was politically conservative. However, Richard Almonte, in his introduction to Notes, suggests a more-complicated reading of Shadd Cary’s integrationist stance. According to Almonte: “We must remember her motives. When compared to a country where Blacks had no rights, where many lived as slaves without freedom, Canada appeared a haven. The fact that Shadd stresses conservative assimilationist values needs to be read with the volatile background of American slavery in mind. [S]hadd hopes Blacks will assimilate so that they can benefit from Canadian-British institutions. This is about repudiating a troubling past to make a better present. In other words, a strictly utilitarian decision” (29).


Chapter Four

1. The New York Evening Post (January 26, 1829) referred to Wright as a “singular spectacle of a female, publicly and ostentatiously proclaiming doctrines of atheistical fanaticism, and even the most abandoned lewdness.”


6. “A Downright Gabbler, or a Goose That Deserves to Be Hissed,” New York Historical Society, reprinted in Celia Morris Eckhardt, Fanny Wright Rebel in


10. Recasting travel as “peaceful,” Wright’s formulation of travel is no less powerful than the violence of conquering male explorers and imperialists. As critic Mary Louise Pratt observes, the act of looking constitutes a crucial first step to the conquest of land and people by “seeing-men,” the male explorers and travelers who serve as agents of would-be colonizing nations. For a discussion of “seeing-man,” consult Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (New York: Routledge, 1992), 202.


13. Judith Butler explains the performative nature of gender roles in this manner: “There is no gender identity behind the expression of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results.” Judith Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (New York: Routledge, 1990), 25.


15. In one instance, Seacole is denied passage on an American steamer en route from Panama to Jamaica. After interrogating Seacole about her intentions to travel aboard the steamer, her fellow white female passengers declare their objection, saying, “I never travelled with a nigger yet, and I expect I shan’t begin now” (57). A stewardess tells Seacole that she “can’t expect to stay with the white people, that’s clear. Flesh and blood can stand a good deal of aggravation; but not that” (58). In a toast ostensibly in her honor, a “thin sallow-looking American” berates Seacole for her race and gender (47). The American acknowledges her medical skill, “what she’s done for us—, when the cholera was among us,” but his faint praise is quickly overshadowed by his disparagement of her as a “yaller woman” (47). “Vexed” that Seacole is “not wholly white,” the speaker “rejoice[s]” that as a mulatto, Seacole is “so many shades removed from being entirely black” (47). Indicating the extreme extent of the social prejudice Seacole faces because of her race, the speaker sarcastically suggests that to “bleach her by any means” is the only way to “make her as acceptable in any company as she deserves to be” (47). Mary Seacole, Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands (1857;
22. Terry and Urla, 1.  
24. Terry and Urla, 5.  
25. Schriber, 23.  
30. Frances Trollope, a famous nineteenth-century travel writer whom Wright convinced to relocate from Europe to Nashoba, describes her first impression of the location: “The forest became thicker and more dreary-looking every mile we advanced; but our ever-grinning negro declared it was a right good road, and that we should be sure to get to Nashoba: and so we did . . . and one glance sufficed to convince me that every idea I had formed of the place was as far as possible from the truth. Desolation was the only feeling—the only word that presented itself.” For Trollope, the “savage aspect of the scene” of the settlement in “this wilderness” was devoid of even the “minor comforts which ordinary minds class among the necessaries of life.” Frances Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans (1832; reprint, London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd., 1927), 23–24.

31. Excerpts from the “Nashoba Book,” published in Benjamin Lundy’s Genius of Universal Emancipation in July 1827, shocked abolitionists by revealing physical and sexual abuses occurring at Nashoba. Trustee James Richardson kept the journal of everyday life in the community and, for unknown reasons, forwarded excerpts to Lundy. The “Nashoba Book” revealed that despite Nashoba’s dedication to principles of “human liberty and equality” (Wright, “Explanatory Notes”), the reality of life in the community was marked by violence and exploitation (“Nashoba Book,” The Genius of Universal Emancipation, July 28, 1827: 29–30).


34. Wright, “Explanatory Notes.”


36. White, 29.

37. Frances Wright, England, the Civilizer, quoted in Eckhardt, 281.

38. Eckhardt, 290.


40. Alexander and Dewjee, 37.


42. Alexander and Dewjee, 40.

43. For a discussion of Seacole and Nightingale, see Cheryl Fish, Black and White Women’s Travel Narratives: Antebellum Explorations (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2004), 65–96.

Chapter Five


3. The men were her husband, James H. Holmes; J. C. Miller, a Lawrence Party member who had made the ascent a few days before and served as a guide; and George Peck, another member of the Lawrence Party (Spring 30, footnote).


5. Late-twentieth-century retellings certainly trade on the sensationalism of Holmes’s 1858 summiting of the Peak; A Bloomer Girl on Pikes Peak, the title of Agnes Wright Spring’s edited reprint of Holmes’s narrative, and “A Bloomer Girl Conquers Pikes Peak,” the title of Margaret Solomon’s profile of Holmes for American History Illustrated, both highlight the quirkiness of bloomers and the achievement of being the first woman to climb the mountain. Nowhere does Holmes refer to herself as a “girl,” and neither does the Sibyl refer to its readers as anything other than reform-minded women.


8. Spring, 38.


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25. Ibid., 540; ibid.


27. Sister Fannie, 534; ibid.; ibid.

28. Jane Archibald, Holmes’s mother, forwarded a letter she received from Holmes to the *Lawrence* (Kan.) *Republican*, which published it on October 7, 1858.


Afterword

