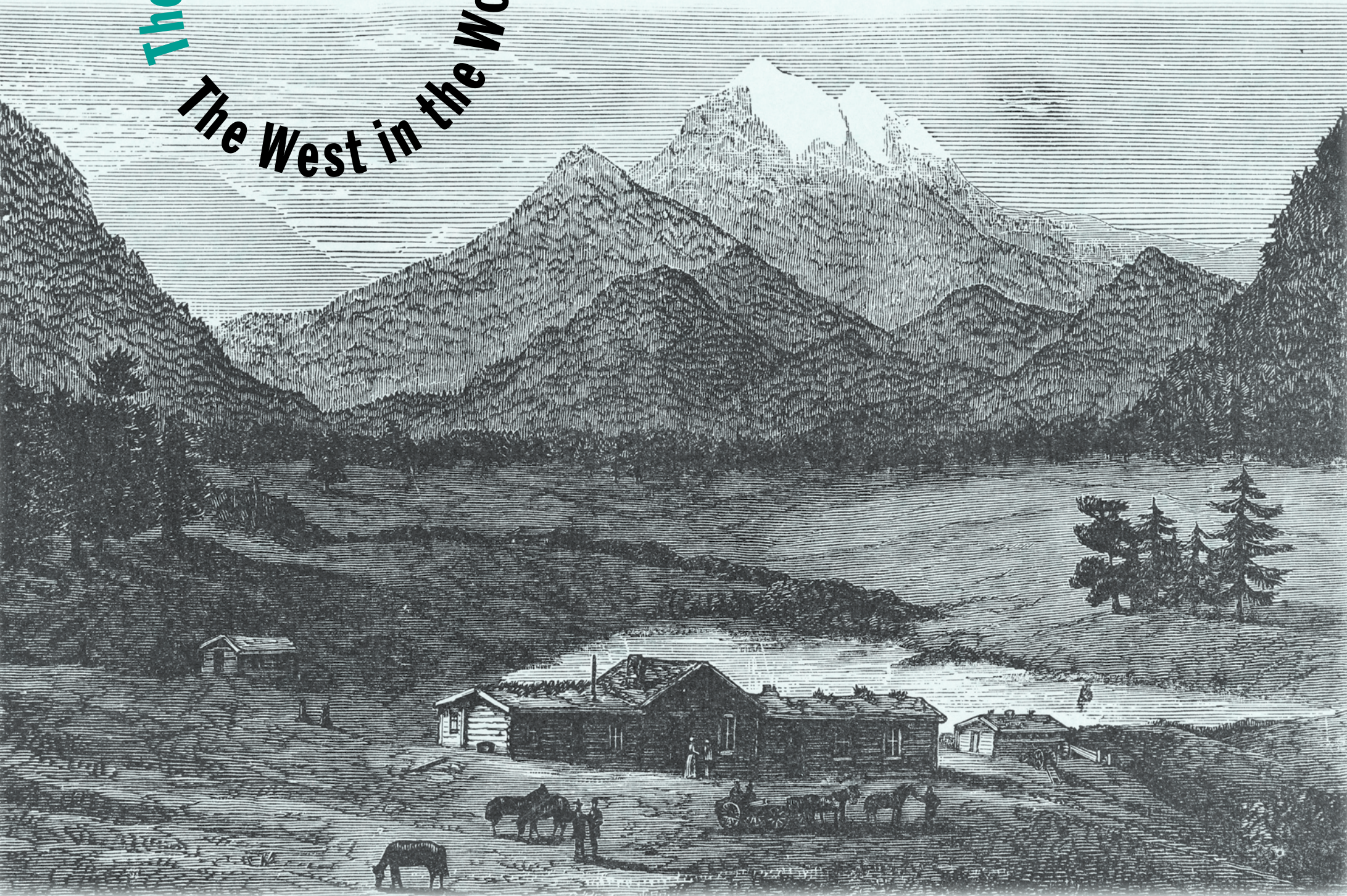


The World in the West The West in the World

Friedrich Gerstäcker, Richard Francis Burton, and Isabella Bird on the Nineteenth-Century Frontier

by David Wrobel



Isabella L. Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (New York, 1881), opp. p. 120

IN THE EARLY twenty-first century, when tens of millions of affluent Americans can travel to virtually anywhere in the world in the space of a day, and can travel anywhere virtually via the World Wide Web in mere seconds, a quaint old companion remains surprisingly popular: the travel book. Even today, the travel book serves as an essential accompaniment for actual travel or, as in classics of the genre—John Steinbeck’s *Travels with Charley* or Jack Kerouac’s *On the Road*, for instance—provides core background reading for a journey. Still, I suspect most travel narratives are read in the comfort of the home, not in the course of “roughing it.” The travel narrative is a vehicle for vicarious travel, one that enables the reader to see the world through the eyes of the writer, but without the hassles and discomforts of the actual journey. Such has been the case for centuries.

Approximately one thousand book-length travel accounts published in the nineteenth century were devoted to, or included significant coverage of, the American West. If we are to know how readers understood the West in this period, the ubiquitous travel book may be our best archive. One western observer and world traveler, Englishwoman Isabella Bird, arrived in Colorado in 1873. *My Home in the Rocky Mountains*, left, illustrated *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*, the book she wrote about her western experiences.



Born in 1816, the intrepid German traveler Friedrich Gerstäcker published approximately 150 books of travel and adventure stories and was an enormously popular writer both in Europe and the United States. Gerstäcker first visited the Arkansas and Texas-Louisiana borderlands in the late 1830s and early 1840s. He returned to the American West during the California gold rush as part of a journey that also took him to South America, the Hawaiian and Society Islands, Australia, New Zealand, and Java. His account of the trip, *Narrative of a Journey round the World*, was published in Germany, England, and the United States in 1853.

One of the favored destinations of travel writers, and thus travel book readers, is the American West, with its spectacular scenery, native peoples, and central place in the collective imagination as “the most distinctly American part of America,” to quote the famous British visitor Lord James Bryce. Travel writings constitute a wonderfully rich storehouse of ethnographic and topographic observation and commentary, particularly about the nineteenth-century American West. Approximately one thousand book-length travel accounts published in that century were devoted to, or included significant coverage of, the West. If we are to know how Americans and readers around the world understood the region in this period, the ubiquitous travel book may be our best archive.¹

But in approaching this mass of printed descriptions, we should be wary of historians’ general assumption that the nineteenth-century reading public, both national and international, was fed a steady diet of mythology about the American West.² The phrase “mythic West” is thrown around with remarkable abandon by scholars, so much so that one might imagine a nineteenth-century audience so hoodwinked by mythmakers that we can only be grateful for the passage of time and the emergence

of a more enlightened populace in our own day. By way of contrast, I’d like to suggest that the travelogue offered readers an important counterpoint to western mythology in general, and more particularly to the notion that the West was like nowhere else on earth. Many well-traveled writers—including the now relatively unknown German Friedrich Gerstäcker and two renowned Britons, Sir Richard Francis Burton and Isabella Bird—placed the West in a global context, viewing it as one developing frontier among many.

A Journey round the World

Born in Hamburg in 1816, Friedrich Gerstäcker first came to the United States at the age of twenty-one and worked at various jobs—hunter, fisherman, silversmith, cattle herder, and chocolate maker—in the Arkansas and Texas-Louisiana borderlands in the late 1830s and early 1840s, returning to Germany in 1843. Upon his return, he found that the journal entries he had sent his mother from the western frontier had been published by a magazine. Gerstäcker quickly revised the entire journal of his American travels, and it was published as a book, *Adventures and Hunting Expeditions through the United States of*

North America, in 1844. Gerstäcker’s first novel, *The Regulators in Arkansas*, appeared in Germany in 1846 and in two different translations in London and New York the following year. In 1848, another Gerstäcker novel, *The River Pirates of the Mississippi*, came out. The next year, with a small government grant and a publisher’s advance, the young German set off again, this time with intent to examine the state of the German colonies in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile.³

Gerstäcker, however, departed quite radically from his announced agenda. He traveled across the Atlantic to South America, across the pampas and cordilleras on horseback, then to California in the midst of its gold rush, and on to the Hawaiian and Society Islands, Australia, New Zealand, and Java, before returning to Germany in 1852.⁴ It was this second great journey that would provide the experiences that Gerstäcker recounted in his most important travel book, *Narrative of a Journey round the World*. The book appeared in Germany, England, and the United States in 1853.⁵ Little known today, it is one of the most remarkable travel books of the century, and one of the most illuminating for those interested in how the American West was viewed in relation to the rest of the world.

In his *Narrative*, Gerstäcker literally put the world into the West, illuminating the deadly consequences of multicultural meetings on the American

frontier. One example is his story of an Indian man from Bombay who suddenly appeared in a miners’ camp in California’s Southern Mines claiming to have been robbed of nineteen hundred dollars in gold dust by local Indians. The miners gave chase and in the process burned an Indian village and shot one of the fleeing Indians, who later died from the wound. In the course of their rampage, however, the miners began to question the veracity of the East Indian’s account. They escorted him back to their camp and sent a deputation to the native village to investigate his allegations. It turned out that the accuser had in fact been run out of the village for making inappropriate advances toward the women there and that he had *not* been robbed. In the trial that followed, the East Indian was held responsible for the death of the California Indian, and he was “condemned to receive twenty-five lashes.”⁶

Gerstäcker vividly described the trial and the execution of justice that took place on the Fourth of July. The “wretched isolated Mohammedan,” Gerstäcker noted, was escorted by a group of white men and Indians to the flogging post “while Yankees, French, Germans, Spaniards, Mexicans, and men of other nations” looked on and the perpetrator “invoked his Allah.” As an American flag waved over the scene, the sheriff administered the first thirteen lashes, while the remaining twelve were dealt out by one of the



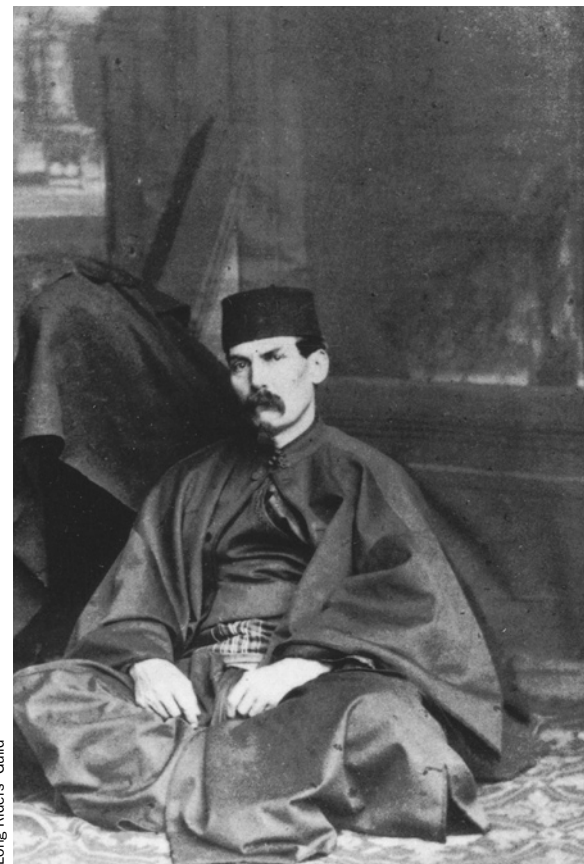
Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Scenes of Life in California* (San Francisco, 1942), opp. p. 178

In his *Narrative*, Gerstäcker described a miners’ attack on a camp of California Indians and the trial and punishment of an East Indian whose false accusations precipitated the melee. Gerstäcker put these observations into a global context with his comparisons of the effects of the Australian gold rush on that country’s native people.

Gerstäcker observed that the native people, the aborigines, would soon be “swept from the face of the earth.”

California Indians. This was crime and punishment in the global West that was mid-nineteenth-century California.

Culturally diverse as the scene was, it was still very much a tragic landscape of winners and losers. Reflecting on the events, Gerstäcker wrote, “The Indians of California no longer exist in reality, though a few scattered tribes may wander about yet in the distant hills, looking toward the setting sun, down upon a country which was once their own.” In recounting the story, Gerstäcker was not implicitly justifying the inevitable destruction of California Indians as a primitive race (a nineteenth-century



Long Riders' Guild

Richard Francis Burton, “a brilliant linguist and translator, a pioneer anthropologist, a poet, a civil engineer, a field cartographer, a soldier, one of Europe’s best swordsmen, a diplomat, and a geologist,” wrote thirty-nine volumes describing his adventures all around the globe. In his travels, Burton often disguised himself to gain entry to areas closed to foreigners. He appears in Arab dress in this midcentury photograph.

practice that scholars have rightly criticized); he was merely explaining the process by emphasizing the effects of white conquest. The story serves as a microcosm of the war of extermination that white settlers were waging against California Indians. California’s indigenous population numbered around 150,000 in 1848; twelve years later, it was 30,000.⁷

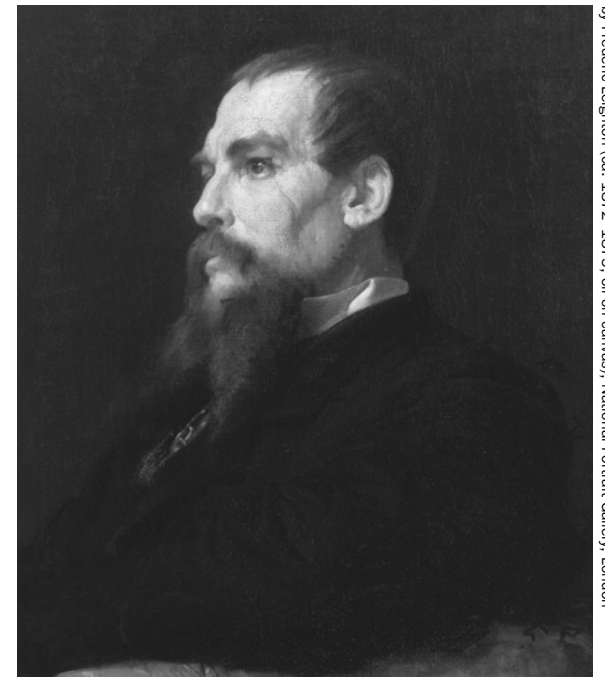
The year after his stay in California, 1851, Gerstäcker traveled via the Hawaiian Islands to Australia, another place that had been turned upside down by the discovery of gold.⁸ Here, too, Gerstäcker commented, the native people, the aborigines, would soon be “swept from the face of the earth.” His account reminds us that the precipitous decline of native peoples around the world was very much in the public eye a century and a half ago. Entire races appeared to be heading for extinction, and Gerstäcker cited the genocidal acts of white people as the cause.⁹

To Salt Lake City via the World

Shortly after the publication of Gerstäcker’s *Narrative*, three of the most thrilling travel accounts of the century appeared: Richard Francis Burton’s *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, which recounted his 1852–53 journey to Mecca disguised as an Arab and his entry into that hallowed site (after having performed a self-circumcision to further hide his white Christian identity); *First Footsteps in East Africa* (1856), describing Burton’s dramatic exploits traveling in disguise as a Moslem merchant through Somalia to the “forbidden” city of Harrar; and *The Lake Regions of Central Africa* (1860), in which Burton recounted his “discovery” of Lake Tanganyika, Africa’s second-largest lake.¹⁰

Burton spent a good portion of his life engaged in remarkable adventures and writing thrilling accounts of his exploits (thirty-nine volumes) for an eager public on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. With knowledge of some twenty languages and an unparalleled understanding (among those in the Western world) of the cultures of the Middle East and Africa, he was “the preeminent nineteenth-century British travel writer, a brilliant linguist and translator, a pioneer anthropologist, a poet, a civil engineer, a field cartographer, a soldier, one of Europe’s best swordsmen, a

Frederic Leighton’s famous portrait of Burton shows the scar he acquired during his journey to the “forbidden” city of Harrar in Somalia in 1855. A javelin launched during an attack on his camp went through both cheeks, “carrying away four teeth and transfixing the palate,” as his wife, Isabel, later described it. Friends managed to extract the javelin and wired up his jaw, and the survivors returned to England. As soon as the jaw had healed, Burton went off to the Crimea, where a war was raging.



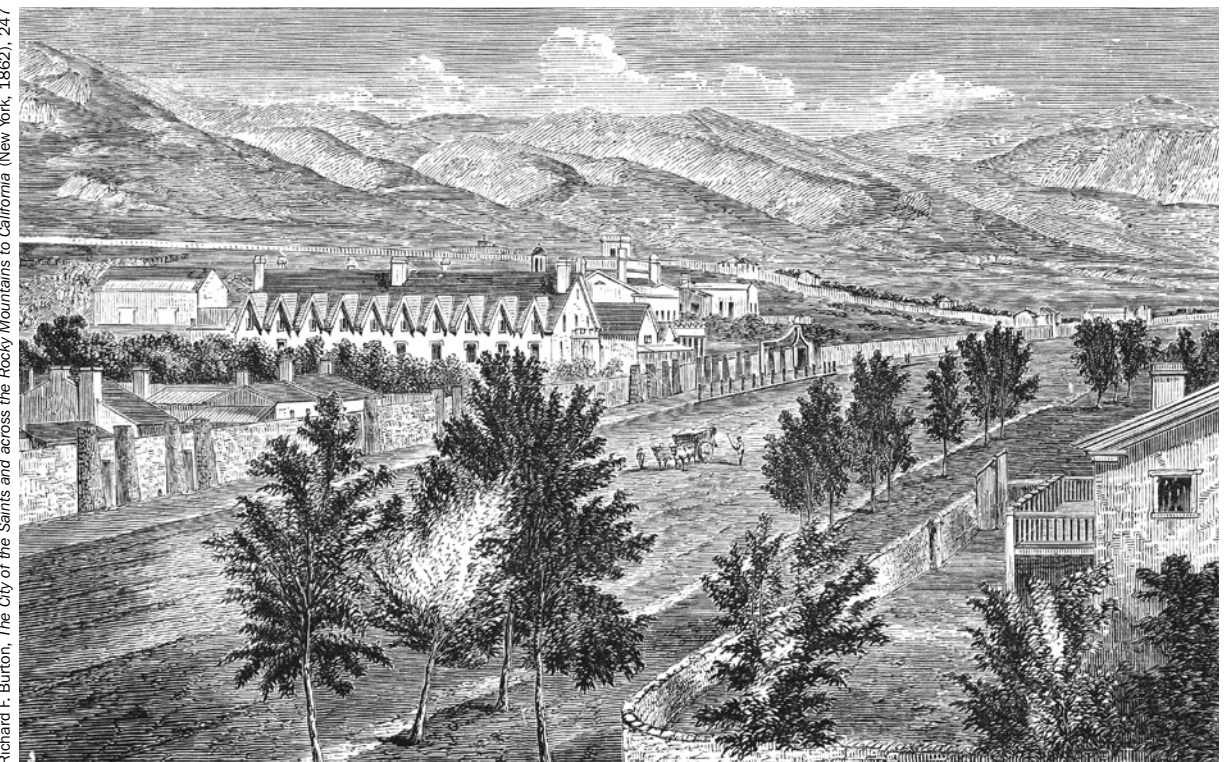
Sir Richard Francis Burton, by Frederic Leighton (ca. 1872–1875, oil on canvas), National Portrait Gallery, London

diplomat, and a geologist.” Today Burton is known to historians of the American West for his weighty (six-hundred-page) work *The City of the Saints, and across the Rocky Mountains to California* (1861), which resulted from a three-month visit to the United States in 1859, three weeks of which were spent in Salt Lake City.¹¹

Burton’s study of the Mormons was a memorable one, but it did not present the Mormon kingdom as a truly exceptional place. As a lieutenant in the British army in India, Burton had demonstrated a rare ability to cut away the veil of cultural stereotypes, and in his account of western American cultures and landscapes he was able to move beyond the pervasive

stereotypes and view Mormonism on its own terms. He declared there was nothing immoral or unnatural about polygamy and exhibited a lack of prejudice that contrasted sharply with the prevailing viewpoint that emphasized the licentiousness and depravity of those professing the Mormon faith.¹²

Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York, 1862), 247



In 1859, Burton spent three weeks in Salt Lake City, adding a “last new name to the list of ‘Holy Cities’” that he had visited. In *the Prophet’s Block*, above, appeared as an illustration in Burton’s description of his stay.



Born in 1831, Isabella Bird was described by an acquaintance as “buck-toothed, stout, sickly, and short (four feet, eleven inches tall).” Earlier in her life, Bird’s doctors “determined that her head was too large for her frame and advised her to avoid holding it up.” This portrait hints of the determination that enabled Bird to conquer her physical frailties.

Nineteenth-century readers of *The City of the Saints* would have been struck by Burton’s comparisons of Native American and African totemism and of the indigenous cultures of the American West and those of the Tartars, Afghanis, and Mongolians in northern India. Indeed, Burton’s global positioning of the West was evident in his stated rationale for taking the trip, which he offered at the beginning of the book: “I had long determined to add the last new name to the list of ‘Holy Cities’; to visit the young rival of Memphis [the ancient city of northern Egypt], Benares [in northern India], Jerusalem, Rome, Meccah.”¹³

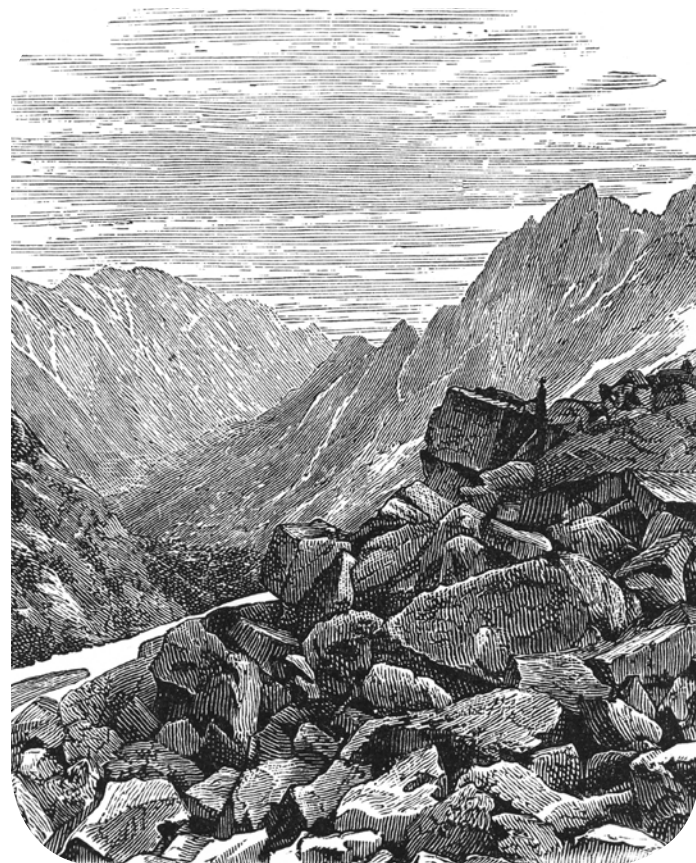
Burton’s narrative also offered comparative descriptions of the Great Plains: “Nothing, I may remark, is more monotonous, except the African and Indian jungle, than these prairie tracks,” Burton wrote, adding, “As far as the eye could see the tintage was that of the Arabian desert.” For a journey across the plains, Burton

recommended travelers carry a pistol (for protection against would-be robbers), a parasol (for protection against the sun), and a good supply of opium (for protection against the boredom of the journey). According to him, Scottsbluff from a distance resembled the Arabian city of Brass, and Independence Rock seemed much like the Jiwe la Mkoa (the Round Rock) in eastern Unyamwezi. Burton’s West was very much like other places on earth.¹⁴

A Lady’s Life in and beyond the Rocky Mountains

Both Richard Francis Burton and Friedrich Gerstäcker viewed the American West globally, but that perspective was by no means limited to men. The remarkable experiences of another intrepid Britisher, Isabella Lucy Bird, can also help us think about the global West of the nineteenth century.

In 1856, the same year that Burton’s account of his adventures in East Africa appeared, Bird published her first travel book, a rather tame and forgettable record of a trip to Canada and the United States she undertook for the purpose of improving her health.



Lava Beds, Long’s Peak, Isabella L. Bird, *A Lady’s Life in the Rocky Mountains* (New York, 1881), opp. p. 108. (above left) Anna M. Stoddart, *The Life of Isabella Bird* (London, 1906), opp. p. 158; quote from Julia M. Georgis, “Isabella Lucy Bird,” in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 166 (Detroit, Mich., 1996), 29–49, 32, 30.

In *A Lady’s Life in the Rocky Mountains*, Bird describes climbing the 14,700-foot Longs Peak in October 1873, with the assistance of an archetypal western desperado, one-eyed “Mountain Jim.” On the ascent, Isabella found a pair of overshoes, which she wrote were “probably left by the Hayden exploring expedition” of a few years previous, and this may well have been the case, since very few other white people had ascended the mountain by that early date.

In 1891, Bird (who had married and taken her husband’s name, Bishop) rode across Persia and Kurdistan. She is pictured here on her “charming Persian horse” in Erzurum, a province of northeast Turkey. In her late sixties, Bird undertook another horseback trip, from Tangier one thousand miles across Morocco. She fell ill after returning to England and died in 1904, just short of her seventy-third birthday.



Anna M. Stoddart, *The Life of Isabella Bird* (London, 1906), opp. p. 228

Fortunately for lovers of good travel writing, Isabella Bird would return to the West a decade and a half later and write *A Lady’s Life in the Rocky Mountains*, a fascinating account of her 1873 travels around Colorado. The book was published in London and New York in 1879; it was in its seventh edition by 1882, its eighth in 1912, and has remained in print to this day.¹⁵

On her Colorado trip, Bird came to the Rockies by way of Hawai’i, and then eastward from San Francisco. *A Lady’s Life* is sprinkled with comparisons between the Rockies and the landscapes of Hawai’i, and she compares her experience herding cattle in Estes Park with her experience as a *vachero* in Hawai’i. In Perry Park, near Castle Rock, while riding with the daughter of John Perry, Bird remarks upon the young woman’s “vivacious descriptions of Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, Turkey, Russia, and other countries” in which she had traveled. One wonders if those descriptions inspired Bird, or if the inspiration for global adventuring had come earlier. Whatever the case, Bird herself became a famous world traveler who climbed mountains, rode across deserts, and wrote book-length accounts (nine all together) of her adventures in Japan (1880 and 1898), Malaysia (1883), Persia and Kurdistan (1891), Tibet (1894), Korea

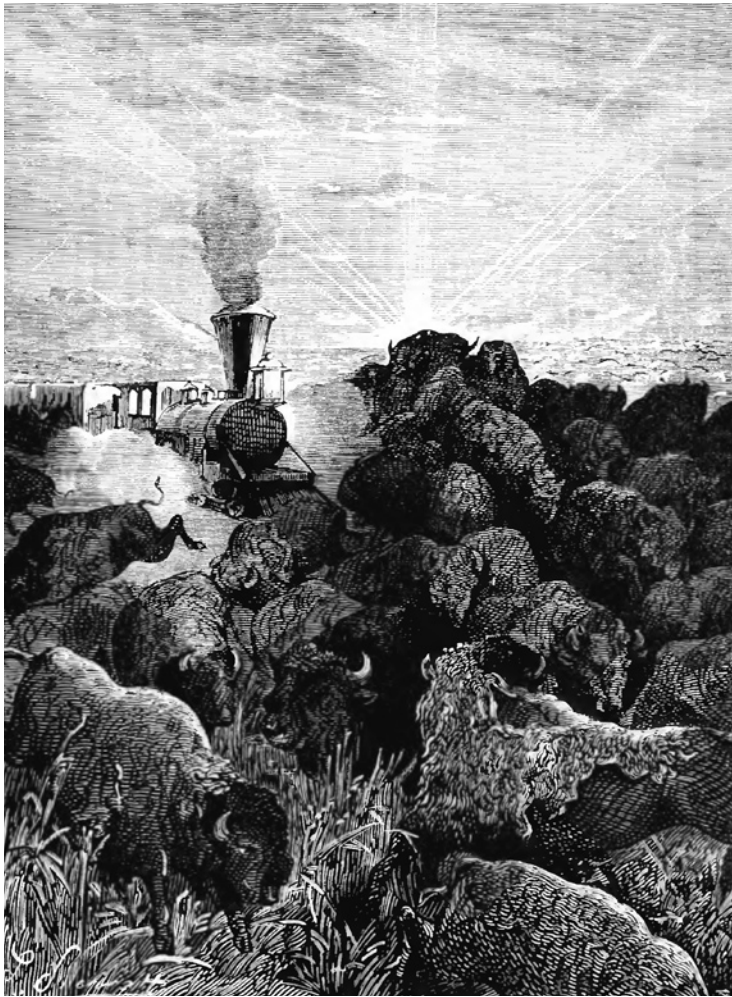
(1897), and China (1899 and 1900), as well as the Hawaiian Islands (1875) and the American West.¹⁶

Scholars of the West have had little to say about Bird’s global travels, and this is unfortunate since some of the same issues that occupied her attention while in the Rockies are evident in her later accounts. While Richard Francis Burton’s descriptions of western landscapes and cultures were very much shaped by his global experience, Bird’s global experience was shaped by her time in the American West. For example, five years after she left the Rockies, Bird was traveling across the Malay Peninsula, where no European steamers landed and a place generally believed to be “a vast and malarious equatorial jungle.” In the resulting 1883 book, *The Golden Chersonese* (also, like *A Lady’s Life*, composed initially as a series of letters to her sister in England), Bird commented on population decline on the Malay Peninsula, writing, rather dismissively, “If they were swept away to morrow not a trace of them except their metal work would be . . . found. Civilized as they are they don’t leave any more impress on the country than a Red Indian would.” Less sensitive about the matter than Gerstäcker, she nonetheless exhibited the same tendency to place the demographic collapse of American Indians into a global context.¹⁷

While Richard Francis Burton's descriptions of western landscapes and cultures were very much shaped by his global experience, Bird's perceptions of her global experiences were shaped by her time in the American West. Five years after she left the Rockies, Bird was traveling across the Malay Peninsula (on the back of an elephant and with an escort, not alone on horseback, as she had in Colorado). This tropical illustration is captioned *The Author's First Ride in Pêrak*.



Isabella L. Bird, *The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither* (New York, 1883), frontispiece



In 1869, the completion of the American transcontinental railroad forged the final link in a global transportation chain. Three years later, Jules Verne's novel *Around the World in Eighty Days* appeared. In the book, the chief protagonist, Phileas Fogg, traveled to Bombay, Calcutta, Hong Kong, Yokohama, and Shanghai, and then on to San Francisco, across the United States, back to Liverpool, and down to London, arriving just in time to win his bet that he could make the trip in eighty days. This illustration shows his train stopped by a herd of plains bison, a "torrent of living flesh which no dam could contain."

Interestingly, it was the very feeling that the far-flung recesses of the earth were now closer than ever because of steamships and railroads that actually nurtured the notion of a distinctive American frontier. The frontier concept served as an antidote of sorts to "globalization," to use a more contemporary term. The growing emphasis in the second half of the nineteenth century on the exceptional nature of that western frontier experience—the creation of a mythic West—provided a kind of nationalist escape from

an emerging global reality in which the immense geography of the United States was just a single stage of an integrated journey around the world.

Today, the United States stands at the very center of the process of globalization as less developed countries seek to insulate their own cultural distinctiveness from global forces. When scholars investigate these contemporary global processes a century from now, one suspects that the travel book will once again prove an important guide.

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Notes

1. James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, 2 vols. (London, 1890), 2:697; Sarah Bird Wright, "Harriett Beecher Stowe (1811–1896)," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (hereafter *DLB*), vol. 189, *American Travel Writers, 1850–1915*, ed. Donald Ross and James J. Schramer (Detroit, Mich., 1998), 305–20. Mary Suzanne Shriber, in *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830–1920* (Charlottesville, Va., 1997), p. 2, notes that 1,765 travel books were published in the United States between 1830 and 1900. Shriber's estimate may well be on the low side. Max Berger, in *The British Traveler in America, 1836–1860* (New York, 1943), 14, notes that fully 230 accounts by British travelers to America were published between 1836 and 1860.

2. Travel writing has often been viewed as a significant contributing factor in the construction, elaboration, and dissemination of a mythologized West. A good example of this view is Ray Allen Billington's *Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1981).

3. Irene S. Di Maio, ed. and trans., *Gerstäcker's Louisiana: Fiction and Travel Sketches from Antebellum Times through Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge, La., 2006), 3–4. In all, during the course of his long career, Gerstäcker published approximately 150 books of travel and adventure stories and was an enormously popular writer, both in Europe and the United States. Erwin G. Gudde writes that Gerstäcker was "known throughout the Western world," in "Friedrich Gerstäcker: World Traveller and Author, 1816–1872," *Journal of the West*, 7 (July 1968), 345–50, 345. Many people would have read his work without knowing it, since many of his western stories were pirated and published as dime novels, with no acknowledgment of the author. It is worth noting that these popular stories were fictions based on real familiarity with the settings—which places them well above the average dime novel.

4. Jeffrey L. Sammons, "Friedrich Gerstäcker," in *DLB*, vol. 129, *Nineteenth-Century German Writers, 1841–1900*, ed. Siegfried Mews and James Hardin (Detroit, Mich., 1993), 110–19.

5. *The Narrative of a Journey round the World* first appeared in an abridged edition in 1854; the British edition was titled *Gerstäcker's Travels: Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, Ride through the Pampas, Winter Journey across the Cordilleras, Chile, Valparaiso, California and the Gold Fields* (London, 1854). Gerstäcker may be best known to American historians as the author of the very

handsome volume *California Gold Mines* (Oakland, Calif., 1946). With its foreword by John A. Sullivan, the book serves as a good example of how the West has literally been taken out of the world in the public memory. *California Gold Mines* is a radical abridgement of the *Narrative of a Journey round the World*. The publisher, one presumes, thought (and perhaps correctly) that the interests of gold rush aficionados would be best served by removing everything from Gerstäcker's original account except for the California gold rush coverage.

6. Gerstäcker, *Gerstäcker's Travels*, 231–33. The story of the Bombay Indian is also told, at somewhat greater length, in the American edition of the book, *Narrative of a Journey round the World, Comprising a Winter Passage across the Andes to Chili, with a Visit to the Gold Regions of California and Australia, the South Sea Islands, Java, &c* (New York, 1853). The American edition, as the title suggests, includes coverage of the whole of Gerstäcker's trip.

7. Gerstäcker, *Narrative*, 214; John Mack Faragher and Robert Hine, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven, Conn., 2000), 249–50. Disease accounts only for a portion of this population loss, and the numbers raise the issue of genocide. In *The American West*, Faragher and Hine refer to the campaign against the California Indians as "the clearest case of genocide in the history of the American frontier" (p. 249) and cite George Harwood Phillips's book, *Indians and Indian Agents: The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849–1852* (Norman, Okla., 1997), 167. See also Benjamin Madley, "The Yuki of California and the Question of Genocide in America," *Western Historical Quarterly*, in press; David Stannard, *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World* (New York, 1992); and Richard Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: The Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Peoples, 1800–1930* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003).

8. Gerstäcker, *Narrative*, 395, 409, 473. The coverage of Australia and New Zealand is left out of the much-abridged British version of *Gerstäcker's Travels*, presumably because British audiences would have been privy to a steady stream of travel accounts of those two countries and thus Gerstäcker's coverage might have struck the British publishers as redundant.

9. Brantlinger, in *Dark Vanishings*, offers quite extensive treatment of the discourse on extinction and argues quite compellingly that the language of inevitable extinction, the "ghosting of the primitive," amounted to a kind of "self-fulfilling prophecy," thereby contribut-

ing to the broader acceptance of these "dark vanishings" in Western culture. However, it is important to emphasize that within the broad discourse on extinction there existed a very wide range of positions—from the forceful advocacy of extermination of indigenous people to the forceful critiques of governments that allowed genocidal acts to take place. The shortcoming of Brantlinger's approach is that he lumps these highly divergent, indeed antithetical, positions together into a single category—"extinction discourse"—which fails to distinguish advocates from critics.

10. Sir Richard Francis Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, 3 vols. (London, 1855–56); Sir Richard Francis Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa; or, An Exploration of Harrar* (London, 1856); and Sir Richard Francis Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa: A Picture of Exploration*, 2 vols. (London, 1860). The descriptions of the books draw on John R. Pfeiffer's excellent overview of Burton's life and work, "Sir Richard Francis Burton," in *DLB*, vol. 166, *British Travel Writers, 1837–1875*, ed. Barbara Brothers and Julia Gergits (Detroit, Mich., 1996), 98–119, 105–6.

11. Pfeiffer, "Sir Richard Francis Burton," 98–119, 100.

12. Fawn M. Brodie, "Sir Richard F. Burton: Exceptional Observer of the Mormon Scene," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 38 (no. 4, 1970), 295–311. Editor Fawn Brodie, in her introduction to *The City of the Saints, and across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York, 1963), p. vii, notes that Burton "was trapped in the century least capable of appraising his talents, confined and penalized by the pruderies of Victorian England."

13. Brodie, ed., *City of the Saints*, 3.

14. Sir Richard F. Burton, *Wanderings in Three Continents* (London, 1901), 153, 155. Brodie highlights these comparisons in her introduction to *City of the Saints*, xix–xx. For an early example of the drawing of comparisons between the landscapes and cultures of the American West and those across the globe, see Harriet Martineau's comparison of Nubia and the Nubians with the Mississippi and the "Indian grounds of Wisconsin," in *Eastern Life, Past and Present*, 3 vols. (London, 1848), 1:101–4, cited in Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750–1915* (New York, 1997), 244.

15. Julia M. Gergits, "Isabella Lucy Bird," in *DLB*, 166:29–49, 32, 30; Isabella Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (1879; repr., Sausalito, Calif., 1977).

16. Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky*

Mountains, 135–36; Gergits, “Isabella Lucy Bird,” 29–30. For more on Isabella Bird’s Hawaiian travels, see *The Hawaiian Archipelago: Six Months among the Palm Groves, Coral Reefs, and Volcanoes of the Sandwich Islands* (London, 1875; New York, 1882).

17. Isabella L. Bird, *The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither* (London, 1883), 338–39. Karen M. Morin does provide some global contextualization for understanding Bird’s *A Lady’s Life* in her essay “Narrating Imperial Adventure: Isabella Bird’s Travels in the Nineteenth-Century American West,” in *Western Places, American Myths: How We Think about the West*, ed. Gary J. Hausladen (Reno, Nev., 2003), 204–22.

18. The material on Cook and Verne in the captions is drawn from Withey, *Grand Tours*, 264–72. Included among the many late-nineteenth-century works of world travel by British writers are John Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings* (1874); Mrs. F. D. Bridges, *Journal of a Lady’s Travels around the World* (1883); John Francis Campbell, *My Circular Notes* (1876); Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries during 1866 and 1867* (2 vols., 1868); Sir Richard Tangye, *Reminiscences of Travel in Australia, America, and Egypt* (1883); Mrs. Howard Vincent (Ethel Gwendoline), *Forty Thousand Miles over Land and Water: The Journal of a Tour through the British Empire and America*, 2 vols. (1885); Sir Henry Morton Stanley, *My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia*, 2 vols. (1895); and George Henry Peters, *Impressions of a Journey around the World, including India, Burmah, and Japan* (1897).