

“A COMPANY OF THREE”:
TRANSATLANTIC CONCEPTIONS OF MASCULINITY, TOURISM, AND THE
AMERICAN WEST IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

by

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Preface:

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Introduction

On March 3, 1806, Daniel Constable sold his drapery shop in Brighton, England, and began preparations for an overseas adventure. After he closed the shop's door behind him, Daniel grabbed his belongings and walked with his brother William to their family home in Horley. For the next couple of months, they excitedly prepared for their adventure to America and boarded several different ships in order to find the most accommodating vessel. They finally settled on the ship *Walter*. After making this decision, the brothers gathered their things and said many goodbyes to family and friends. Finally, on May 1, 1806, the *Walter* departed England and the Constables began their most adventurous trip yet.¹

Prior to their adventures in America, Daniel had owned his drapery business from 1802 to 1806, and he focused on establishing his business and spending time with his friends. Economic success offered him the leisure time to socialize, and he spent his nights with people who supported radical political ideas. For example, Daniel engaged in frequent conversations with his friend Clio Rickman, the former secretary to philosopher Thomas Paine. Daniel's radical ideologies celebrated the overthrow of monarchies as witnessed in the French Revolution, and he followed the French Revolutionary Wars and Napoleonic Wars closely. He often gathered with a group of friends that had similar political opinions, which alarmed some Brighton citizens. During this time, the brothers lived a comfortable life of work and leisure. Daniel frequently traveled around England, spending his days conversing with friends and colleagues. The radical conversations that Daniel and William engaged in

¹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 3 March 1806, 11 March 1806, 15 March 1806, 20 March 1806, 22 March 1806, 1 May 1806, Constable Papers, Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth, TX [henceforth ACM]; William Constable Journal 1, 1 May 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

have led some people to speculate that they went to America for the nation's political freedoms. Despite this assumption, the brothers never discussed how their specific political ideologies affected their lives in England nor did they investigate the American political system. Daniel and William – along with their dog Frank – traveled throughout the United States from 1806 to 1808 and they explored the western edge of American society, bypassing the larger cities where they could witness the democratic government in favor of the west.²

Following the United States' independence, the country's leaders instituted a democratic form of government that gained the world's attention. This political experiment piqued the curiosity of some, and many individuals decided to witness the government's inner workings firsthand. Yet, the country offered more than just political inspiration. With the undeveloped nature of the west, this area became another attraction. While Europeans had visited America since its "discovery," the United States became a tourist destination and reached new heights of popularity during the 1820s. People who traveled to the country started publishing their journals for a voracious reading public. Individuals who wrote about their adventures in the United States often achieved a level of renown, with some authors capitalizing on their fame and others acquiring celebrity from their books. The overwhelming popularity of traveling in the mid-nineteenth century overshadowed the adventures of earlier individuals, but the travel movement did not begin in the 1820s. Earlier in the nineteenth century, adventurous people traversed the continent without the assistance of steamboats and

² Daniel Constable Journal 1, 29 May 1802, Constable Papers, ACM; Brian Jenkins, *Citizen Daniel (1755-1835) and the Call of America: Early Correspondence of the Constables of Horley* (Hartford, CT: Aardvark Editorial Series, 2000), 10-19; For references to time spent with Clio Rickman see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, 13 July 1798, 29 April 1798, 24 May 1798, 12 June 1798, 13 August 1798, 20 December 1798, 4 August 1799, 21 January 1800, 16 August 1800, 18 October 1801, 25 October 1801, 27 April 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For references to ideas about France see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, 27 July 1799, 12 January 1800, 13 October 1799, 28 April 1802, Constable Papers, ACM; Claire Constable, *The Constables of Horley Mill* (Great Britain: Surrey Mills Publishing Ltd, 2001), 46-47.

canals. These individuals also wrote about their journeys and revealed many aspects about the developing American nation.³

This study examines the earlier travel movement through the journals of two Englishmen – Daniel and William Constable, who traversed the United States from 1806 to 1808 in an adventurous trip, different from typical pleasure tourists of the time. Generally, people visited the larger cities and stayed within the safety of stagecoaches as they viewed the country. The Constables embarked on a different adventure as they experienced the west in its natural state. After arriving in New York City, they traveled north to Albany and west to Niagara Falls. Next, they ventured south to Pittsburgh where they decided to purchase a canoe because it eased and quickened their journey. After a couple of weeks in Pittsburgh, Daniel and William floated down the Ohio River and then descended the Mississippi River to New Orleans. After a few days in this bustling city, they returned to New York City via an overland route. With this decision, they packed up their possessions and walked the Natchez Trace. Then, they passed through Tennessee, Virginia, and into Washington, D.C. After finally returning to New York City, the Constables decided to take a quick trip to New England where they visited Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. This section of their trip hardly constituted an adventure compared to their previous journey, yet the brothers walked six hundred miles in eight weeks through New England. Daniel and William had a curious spirit and they investigated the United States by walking – their common mode of transportation – but they also used a canoe, ark, and rode with other individuals when possible. Before they returned to England, they revisited Pittsburgh and bought a large quantity of apples to sell in New Orleans, but the frozen river

³ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, Inc., 2004); Charles Dickens, *American Notes* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985); Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (London: Whittaker, Treacher & Co., 1832).

delayed their trip and the fruit started to spoil. Worried that they might lose everything, the brothers sold their cargo to a local businessman and returned to New York City. Following this unsuccessful venture, the Constables took a boat back to England where they shared their experiences with family and friends.⁴

Many people looked to the west for inspiration – including Englishman. British travel culture inspired the brothers' trip; when the Constables toured the United States, many people had already moved to the west and their journals documented the changes that had occurred in this area. Their adventure demonstrated America's transition from a rural to a developing society. By looking at it through the eyes of two British travelers, an Anglo-centric view of the country emerges that revealed the cultural connections and differences between the two nations. The Constables' trans-Atlantic depiction of American life uncovered the British influences that shaped some Americans decisions. The influences that convinced Daniel and William to visit the United States – as well as directed their journey – inspired Americans to create the infrastructure to support incoming tourists. Twenty years after their trip, British citizens continued traversing the Atlantic Ocean to witness the growing country, which also enlarged the tourism industry in America. With England's urbanization, the trip became more popular because America presented countless possibilities for adventurous individuals.⁵

⁴ For information about their entire trip see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 3, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 1, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 1 May 1806, 26 June 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For information about their business attempt in Pittsburgh and return to England see: Daniel Constable Journal 3, 29 October 1807, 30 October 1807, 3 November 1807, 28 November 1807, 5 December 1807, 25 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 4 September 1807, in Jenkins, *Citizen Daniel*, 146.

⁵ Gordon Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 358-359; Thomas K. Murphy, *A Land without Castles: The Changing Image of America in Europe, 1780-1830* (New York: Lexington Books, 2001), 13-26; Kariann Akemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British:*

Prior to the War of 1812, most historical studies focus on the events within America that led to the war, but the Constables' journals reveal the cultural conditions within the western frontier. The brothers' trip along the periphery of American civilization uncovered a different society than what existed in the eastern cities. With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the frontier the brothers anticipated had vanished – it had moved farther west. The cities they visited on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers were in the midst of becoming established communities. Changes that they witnessed would come to define American culture as these areas blended into the republic. The Constables' journals reveal the changes that occurred as people moved to the west, but their memoirs tell more than that. On the frontier, opportunities existed for countless individuals that did not exist in cities. In these areas, Americans developed their own distinct cultural identity. The study of the Constables' journey demonstrated that the west offered many opportunities and that some British theories shaped how people viewed and used the land.⁶

Throughout this study, the Constables' writings reveal the cultural influences that directed their journey and the aspects of the American nation that they viewed as important. As travelers, they recorded information that local citizens might not have viewed as significant, so their writing reveals a new perspective. Yet, their contribution is larger than that. The overarching thesis demonstrates the connections between England and America. It had only been thirty years since Americans had declared independence from England and the two countries still had some cultural similarities. British theorists inspired Americans, whom then used these theories in their own way to shape the future of America separate from

How Revolutionary America became a Postcolonial Nation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 75, 155-159.

⁶ Gordon Wood, *The Rising Glory of America 1760-1820* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1971), 11-16; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 358-359; Yokota, 232.

England. The west symbolized the future of the United States and many of these English theories shaped how people viewed the space. Therefore, this study of the Constables' trip in America offers two distinct parts. The journals of Daniel and William reveal a developing America in the west that offered many opportunities for settlers. Additionally, their trip also demonstrated the British theories that the brothers used to plan and understand their journey. These theories influenced what sites subsequent visitors would view as tourist destinations and shaped the way Americans created a unique path for the country, independent from England.⁷

Rather than construct a day-by-day account of their excursion, the Constables' journals provide the unique opportunity to achieve an overarching description of American culture in the west prior to the War of 1812. Comparing their journey with more than forty other travel journals uncovered an account of American life in this developing area. In the interest of restricting the number of journals to only relevant works, certain qualifications limited the memoirs selected for this study. First, the journals needed to discuss similar geographic territory as seen in the Constables' journals. The memoirs also needed to encompass different decades to provide a comprehensive picture of America. Finally, the supplementary journals needed to be from trustworthy sources that did not embellish or elaborate their trips. By including these supplementary journals, they provide a well-rounded picture of the landscape, different travel methods, and various experiences in the west.⁸

Previous historical interpretations of the American travel movement provided a generalized overview of the people traversing the country. For example, Historian Jane

⁷ Yokota, 59-75; Wood, *The Rising Glory of America*, 11-16.

⁸ For an example of a book that used a diary to reconstruct the life of a family and local community see: Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: the life of Martha Ballard, based on her diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Knopf, 1990).

Louise Mesick examined English travelers to America from 1785 to 1835 and wrote a comprehensive account of motivations that included a synopsis of stereotypical trips. She determined that many people visited America because of curiosity and pleasure. Other motivations of British citizens included a desire to see the political experiment, strange customs, Native Americans, and the natural landscape that differed from England. Previous historians followed a similar procedure by generalizing motivations and experiences, which provided a comprehensive account of travelers and their narratives.⁹

While looking at different journals does present an overarching view of peoples' motivations, deconstructing individual journals reveals larger influences and trends in American culture. When examined simply for their story, the Constables' journals present an amusing depiction of the west, but these sources also offer insight on the Atlantic World. A closer examination of the journals revealed a connection between America and England. British theories influenced the Constables, and these philosophies inspired Americans and shaped how they envisioned the west. As migrants moved west, they altered the environment by clearing and cultivating the land. With people moving to the area, opportunities arose for individuals to create a new life. Additionally, with more foreigners visiting the country it influenced how local citizens shaped certain regions. Tourists flocked to see the land, and local entrepreneurs built a tourist infrastructure to accommodate these larger numbers of people. With this attraction to the west and nature, picturesque painting became popular.

⁹ Jane Louise Mesick, *The English Traveller in America, 1785-1835* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1922, Reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1970), 7-9; For more examples see: Marc Pachter and Frances Wein, eds. *Abroad in America: Visitors to the New Nation 1776-1914* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1976); Christopher Mulvey, *Anglo-American Landscapes: A Study of Nineteenth Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), Christopher Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Catherine Armstrong, *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007).

While originally British theories, they inspired an American movement with the Hudson River School painters in the mid-nineteenth century. The Constables' journals provide a depiction of the Atlantic World, revealing the cultural connections between the United States and England.¹⁰

With many travel journals published in the nineteenth century, some authors fabricated their journey. Historian Percy Adams in *Travel and Travel Liars* argued that with the popularity of travel literature, authors attempted to differentiate their books to attract readers. British travel writer Joseph Addison acknowledged the ease of including falsehoods in journals. He noted that if a person went to an unknown area, he could change the geography in his book because few people would contest his claims. In other cases, editors decided to make the journal more attractive by adding exciting passages that did not actually occur. Likewise, people who rewrote their memoirs after their trip could add or alter the details. Sometimes falsehoods occurred simply with the passing of time, which made the memories less clear.¹¹

Early adventures to America presented an easy venue for fabrications since most travel literature – until the latter eighteenth century – focused on Europe. For example, the journal of François-René de Chateaubriand contained falsehoods and plagiarism in his 1791 book that discussed his trip to North America. Chateaubriand claimed that he ventured through New England and New York, down the Mississippi River and then overland to Philadelphia in six months. The veracity of his journals went unquestioned until the end of

¹⁰ Yokota, 59-75; Wood, *The Rising Glory of America*, 11-16; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 358-359; Linda S. Ferber, *The Hudson River School: Nature and the American Vision* (New York: Skira Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2009), 13-28; Barbara Babcock Lassiter, *American Wilderness: The Hudson River School of Painting* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc, 1978), ix-xi.

¹¹ Percy G. Adams, *Travel and Travel Liars, 1660-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 1-10, 44, 80.

the nineteenth century, when people doubted that he completed his journey in the aforementioned timeframe. In 1915, Historian Gilbert Chinard demonstrated conclusively that Chateaubriand took most of his writings from previous travelers, specifically William Bartram, Gilbert Imlay, and Jonathan Carver.¹²

Other well-known travelers within America also fabricated their journeys. In 1801, J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur tried to emulate his successful first book *Letters from an American Farmer* with the publication of *Le Voyage dans la haute Pensylvanie et dans L'etat de New York*. The three-volume manuscript contained descriptions of natural landscapes, local settlers, and Indians. Within the published account, he included the writings of previous adventurers such as William Bartram and Jonathan Carver and did not attribute the passages to these men.¹³

Oftentimes, readers uncovered fabrications and plagiarism years after the author's death, but these incidents marred the factualness of all subsequent travel books. In order to prove they had actually visited a country, writers needed to include a detailed description of their trip, with minimal exaggerations. Travel writers needed to prove that they had explored the country discussed within their book, and if they included too many entertaining or irrelevant depictions, it aroused suspicions within the reading public.¹⁴

The Constables' journals offer a straightforward account, substantiated by other sources. The brothers wrote their journals as they traversed the United States so they did not add copious details and fabrications that would make the journal appear unrealistic. Rather

¹² Adams, *Travelers and Travel-Liars*, 80-85; Also see François-René de Chateaubriand, *Chateaubriand's Travels in America*, trans. Richard Switzer (1827, Reprint, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1969).

¹³ Adams, *Travelers and Travel-Liars*, 129; Percy G. Adams, ed. and trans. *Crèvecoeur's Eighteenth-Century Travels in Pennsylvania and New York* (University of Kentucky Press, 1961).

¹⁴ Adams, *Travelers and Travel-Liars*, 190-191; Charles Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 63.

they entered a daily account of their trip that included such mundane facts as meals, miles traveled, and sleeping conditions. Because they did not edit these journals for publication, they provide a simplistic version of America with their everyday observations. The Constables traversed a large area of the United States providing daily summations of what they saw and ate. When they witnessed truly fascinating sites, such as Niagara Falls, they tried to paint a rhetorical picture in order to describe it to family and friends back home. Additionally, the brothers became a part of American history when local history books mentioned them. In one instance, they resided in Pittsburgh for a couple of weeks, and William surveyed a new town. After he completed the task, local citizens asked him to name the city. He named the community New Brighton – after the town where he and Daniel had lived in England. In 1904, a local history book mentioned his contribution to the new community in Beaver County, Pennsylvania. Additionally, while they resided in New York City, the brothers interacted with Thomas Paine and some local citizens noticed their visit on July 4, 1806, and recorded it for posterity. In addition to these brief references in local history books, they also included the names of citizens they met in their journals. These details demonstrated their knowledge of local people, which secondary sources and census rolls confirmed. Furthermore, the Constables had opportunities to embellish their journals, but they kept to the facts. At one point on their trip, the brothers became involved with some friends of former Vice President Aaron Burr. Details emerged about his alleged plot to start a new country in the west and their interactions provided them with many opportunities to exaggerate their knowledge after the fact, but despite this temptation, they discussed the interaction only briefly.¹⁵

¹⁵ For their initial reactions to Niagara Falls see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, 12 September 1806, Constable

After ascertaining the veracity of their journals, the Constables' travels were deconstructed in order to tease out important themes. By searching these journals for prominent ideas and theories, certain terms and phrases stood out. The following six chapters look at the world that Daniel and William witnessed on their journey. Each chapter describes a different concept that emerged from their story to provide a better understanding of early nineteenth century America.

The first chapter examines the cultural motivations that inspired the Constables' American adventure. Within England, a culture of travel influenced their decision to embark on their journey. Additionally, viewing their lives and interests in England provides more insight into their decision and reveals cultural motivations. The Grand Tour of Europe inspired people to travel for educational purposes. The tour's itinerary directed tourists along a preplanned route through specific cities, which became the preferred way for foreigners to visit America as well. This culture of travel eventually inspired many people to explore the United States, especially once the infrastructure and accommodations improved in the country. Originally, people only visited the larger cities, but eventually Americans encouraged tourists to explore the wilderness or frontier – an American phenomenon.¹⁶

This culture of travel inspired and changed how Americans viewed and marketed their own country. The second chapter examines the Constables' trip as they embarked on

Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 12 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For references to William surveying the town of Brighton see: William Constable Journal 2, 29 November 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Joseph Bausman, *History of Beaver County, Pennsylvania and its centennial celebration*, vol. 2 (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1904), Heritage Quest, 702; For local histories that mentioned people they met see: George C. Bragdon, *Notable Men of Rochester and Vicinity* (Rochester: D.J. Stoddard, 1902), Heritage Quest; Urban R. Bell, *Louisville, a guide to the Falls City* (New York: M. Barrows, 1940); For references to their interactions with Thomas Paine see: John Keane, *Tom Paine: A Political Life* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1995), 514-515.

¹⁶ Percy G. Adams, ed. *Travel Literature through the Ages: An Anthology* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1988), xi-xxii; Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 3-10, 152-167.

adventure tourism – a new form of tourism that bypassed cities and examined the western rural regions. When the brothers visited, they engaged in touristic activities inspired by the British travel culture. Other tourists followed a model inspired by the Grand tour of Europe. During the early nineteenth century, tourists generally stayed in the larger cities and rode in stagecoaches. People wanted to see how the American political experiment operated and the city offered the best opportunity to witness its evolution. The Constables varied their trip from these earlier ventures, because they traveled to see the frontier or the wilderness. They journeyed by foot except when injured. Later they bought a canoe and an ark to make their trip easier by using the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The brothers planned their route by reading about these western areas and highlighting specific features that they wanted to visit in America. They pinpointed tourist attractions they hoped to see and made detours to view sites they labeled truly remarkable.¹⁷

The Constables' travels revealed how Americans would market their country to foreigners in subsequent years. In 1806, local entrepreneurs in regions close to large cities marketed natural sites – such as waterfalls – to tourists. Additionally, they constructed an infrastructure to attract visitors. Later the more popular sites were located farther from the larger cities and foreigners started to travel west in order to see these destinations for themselves. With the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, visiting the west would become common for tourists, especially traveling to popular destinations like Niagara Falls. Local entrepreneurs marketed these attractions by building the roads and hotels necessary to support tourists, which increased interest in the American west. Europe became enclosed and urban, and many people found this American region appealing, especially with easier

¹⁷ Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: regional tourism in the nineteenth century* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 10-18; Richard Gassan, *The Birth of American Tourism: New York, the Hudson Valley, and American Culture, 1790-1830* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 70-92.

methods of travel. The Constables' trip reveals the beginning of tourism as the brothers blurred the line between adventurer and tourist.¹⁸

Adventurers journeyed to certain natural sites inspired by the philosophies of British theorists. The third chapter examines how Daniel and William viewed the natural landscape of America. Picturesque traveling became an artistic way to tour the country, which later defined America separate from Europe. Popular British theorists posited the ideas of sublime and picturesque as a way to view the world. William followed this method and brought with him art supplies so he could document their trip pictorially.¹⁹

While British theorists inspired picturesque traveling, it developed into an American movement. The Hudson River School became popular during the 1820s and the Constables found themselves on the cutting edge of this trend. Additionally, the picturesque movement prescribed what sites adventurers should visit. This desire to paint natural landscapes had not been widely popular prior to the Constables' arrival. Generally, art critics defined historical representations and portraits as the ideal paintings, whereas landscapes merely decorated the background. People started participating in picturesque touring, which popularized landscape painting as its own genre. The increasing popularity of landscape art correlated with a rise in American tourism. People went to picturesque sites, such as Niagara Falls, and this made the paintings popular because travelers wanted to remember their trips through these beautiful pictures. After visiting the natural landscapes, the art became more interesting to potential

¹⁸ Brown, 10-18; Gassan, *The Birth of American Tourism*, 70-92; Carol Sheriff, *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817-1862* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996), 12-21.

¹⁹ William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye, and several parts of South Wales, &c. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty* (London: 1782), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University; William Gilpin, *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape* 2d ed. (London: R. Blamire, 1794, Reprint: Westmead, England: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1972); Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. J.T. Boulton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958); Uvedale Price, *An essay on the Picturesque, as compared with the sublime and beautiful; and, on the use of studying pictures, for the purpose of improving real landscape* (London, 1794), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University.

buyers. Therefore, these British theories helped shape how people viewed the landscape within America and determined what sites would become popular tourist destinations.²⁰

People cultivated and enclosed the English countryside, which inspired British citizens to use travel as a way to explore the world and define themselves. The Constables also engaged in masculine pursuits during their time in America. The fourth chapter examines another motivation that influenced their decision to travel – to engage in masculine activities. In England, women experienced a period of independence and some even engaged in their own domestic and international trips. With this female encroachment into the male world, some British men reconsidered their own masculinity. The Constables journeyed to an area of the United States that allowed them to explore their own manly pursuits in a frontier region that they defined as masculine. While they traversed the western United States, Daniel and William encountered different conceptions of masculinity from those they had experienced in England. In this developing territory, women and men observed different gender roles, especially within Native American societies. The brothers chose the less populated regions because of their desire to demonstrate their own masculinity. Yet, they also experienced new gender roles that challenged their concept of self.²¹

The opportunities that presented themselves on the frontier also created a democratization of society. The western United States offered many opportunities for women. Female religious leaders gained a level of control in these western areas during the Second Great Awakening that would not have been possible in the east. Not only did women gain additional rights, but also opportunities opened up for adventurous and entrepreneurial

²⁰ Ferber, 13-14, 28; Frances Dunwell, *The Hudson: America's River*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 88; Lassiter, ix; John K Howat, *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 6-23; Wood, *The Rising Glory of America*, 16-22.

²¹ Anthony E. Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 7-11.

individuals. The subsequent chapter explores society in the west during the Constables' trip. The brothers traversed an expansive area and encountered many people moving west as well as those already established in the area. They documented their perceptions of the people living in the west. Individuals joined to create a "civilized" society, and some people took advantage of the developing situation to improve their societal position. Religious individuals, immigrants, and American citizens moved to the west and they tried to find a common ground for this shared environment. Migration created opportunities for adventurous people – even the more nefarious. These freedoms also provided the opportunity to raise support for an illegal expedition. Former Vice President Aaron Burr had associates that lived in these less settled regions who recruited individuals to help with their plan.²²

People moving west created permanent environmental changes because of the decisions they made. Many of the settlers continued European traditions and thoughts about the environment. The sixth chapter documents the environmental changes that occurred on the Constables' route. Americans picked up their lives and moved west to the land of opportunity, and they carried with them many theories that the original settlers had believed – inspired by European ideas. Originally, people believed that the wilderness represented an area of darkness that contained evil. Settlers surmised that by clearing the land, chopping down the trees, and planting crops they brought the land to civilization. The process made it perfect for settlement as well. Individuals often believed that un-cleared land did not live up to its full potential. The Constables mentioned this repeatedly during their trip in Louisiana. William walked through a large area of un-cleared land, and he speculated that the French citizens that lived there did not clear the land because of laziness. He surmised that as more

²² Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 358-376; Smith-Rosenberg, 207-215; Stephen Aron, *How the West was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 193-197.

Englishmen acquired land that it would be properly cleared and therefore used to its full potential. Many of the western settlers reaffirmed this notion as they cleared the land in order to plant crops. With more people civilizing the area, the environmental changes became obvious. By comparing the Constables' journals with other travel journals, a vision emerges of the environmental effects from western settlers' actions; environmental changes had occurred rapidly during this era with the large numbers of people moving to the area.²³

With stories circulating throughout England about American adventures, more people traveled across the Atlantic Ocean, which led to drastic changes. Individuals who visited witnessed an improved infrastructure that helped them reach their destinations with relative ease. These travelers then published their memoirs, which only whetted people's desire to visit America. Daniel and William traveled before this mass movement began and experienced the republic in its natural state. They traveled because of British philosophical theories, which also shaped the direction of American society.²⁴

As the Constables traveled across the Atlantic Ocean, they anticipated their adventures in America. On June 27, 1806, the brothers finally spotted land as they had reached their destination. The ship neared the shores, and houses started to appear on the horizon. The passengers bristled with excitement as they watched the landscape grow larger with each minute. Finally, on June 28, Daniel and William walked on American soil. Daniel bent down and picked up the first stone he set foot on as a remembrance of the experience. After almost two months at sea they felt like they had finally reached their destination, but

²³ D.W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Continental America, 1800-1867*, vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 3-23; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁴ Yokota, 59-75; Wood, *The Rising Glory of America*, 11-16.

the brothers were just beginning their adventure. Two years of exploration lay ahead of them.²⁵

²⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 27 June 1806, 28 June 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

Culture of Travel

As Daniel returned home from a leisurely Sunday walk, a burst of wind pushed him through the entryway. He quickly grabbed the open door and shoved it back into its frame. After securing the door, he walked over to his favorite chair and grabbed a book from the table. A Sunday afternoon ritual, Daniel spent the day leisurely reading. This Sunday he opened the book *Canterbury Tales* and settled in for an entertaining afternoon about travel and exploration. The collection of stories, first published in 1478, described a pilgrimage to the martyr Saint Thomas Becket's shrine in Canterbury. Along the way, each of the twenty-nine pilgrims told two stories as a way to pass the time and win the title of best storyteller. An early example of fictionalized travel literature, the story revealed England's long fascination with travel and Daniel's interest in exploration.¹

Daniel and William embarked on a lengthy trip to America in 1806, and they reached their decision to venture overseas within a British culture that encouraged travel. Beginning in the seventeenth century, adventurers journeyed to France and Italy on a Grand Tour that enhanced their position within society. By the end of the eighteenth century, the tour increased in popularity as prominent philosophers suggested new reasons to travel. The Constables' journey demonstrated the effect of these popular ideologies that first influenced Europe, but would later shape America. While Daniel displayed an inclination to travel on the traditional Grand Tour and visit France, the Napoleonic Wars made this impossible.

¹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 18 August 1799, Constable Papers, ACM; A.C. Cawley, Introduction to *Canterbury Tales*, by Geoffrey Chaucer (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co Inc, 1958), vii-xiii; Derek Pearsall, *The Canterbury Tales* (George Allen & Unwin Publishers Ltd, 1985; reprint, New York: Routledge, 1994), 24-29.

Therefore, the brothers decided to create their own Grand Tour that took them along the western edge of the United States.²

During the Constables' early years in England, many intellectual philosophers and authors shaped ideas about society and travel. Regarding the brothers specifically, Daniel's journal shows the philosophies that he embraced and popular culture's influence upon his decisions. William did not write a journal prior to their departure, therefore his voice remains silent in these early years. Despite this unfortunate circumstance, William would have been acquainted with cultural experiences similar to those that affected his brother since they exhibited the same radical tendencies and interests. Daniel read numerous works by the prominent philosophers of the day, placing him among the radical republican group of citizens within England. In addition, these readings offer a glimpse into his intellect, as well as his place within society. He read extensively about travel, philosophy, history, women's rights, and current events in Europe.³

The Constables' decision to visit America developed within a society that promoted travel, originally through the popular European Grand Tour. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English citizens embraced the concept of the Grand Tour, which started as an educational experience for aristocratic males where men learned about politics, cultures, languages, and international diplomacies. In the beginning, tutors often accompanied the young men while they studied at French academies and went to historic sites in France and Italy. The length of trips varied by person, but originally students stayed abroad for approximately three years. During the height of its popularity, a Catholic priest,

² Percy G. Adams, ed. *Travel Literature through the Ages, xi-xxii*; Black, 3-10, 152-167.

³ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 8 July 1798, 22 July 1798, 29 July 1798, 5 August 1798, 12 August 1798, 26 August 1798, 26 January 1799, 21 April 1799, 18 August 1799, 25 August 1799, 1 December 1799, 12 January 1800, 7 August 1800, 14 September 1800, 28 September 1800, 27 October 1800, 2 November 1800, 28 December 1800, 1 March 1801, 6 December 1801, 31 January 1802, Constable Papers, ACM.

Richard Lassels, coined the term “Grand Tour,” which created a specific category for the adventure and promoted the trip as a necessary act of good breeding. In his 1670 memoir *Voyage of Italy*, Lassels wrote a guidebook for the tour that directed people’s attention to art and art history and at the same time made Italy the country most associated with the excursion. With travel increasing in popularity, British citizens marked Paris, Rome, and Naples as specific destinations essential to a proper Grand Tour and few individuals veered from the well-worn paths set by previous adventurers. By keeping the Grand Tour geographically confined, people retained a sense of safety and security while they journeyed through countries and cultures similar to their own.⁴

The popularity of the European Tour increased, and many individuals wrote about their trip in order to share the experience with those unable to travel. Yet even before people embarked on the Grand Tour, Europeans had journeyed around the world and used their memoirs to explain the foreign lands they encountered. Historian Percy Adams noted that Herodotus, generally labeled the father of history, also received the title the father of travel literature. While he explored the Mediterranean world, Herodotus described cities, people, and the places he visited. Herodotus, like many early adventurers, journeyed to his destination without any guidebooks or established routes and included little information in his accounts for subsequent explorers to follow his route. Within these early expeditions, individuals focused their energies on trying to understand the new cultures and climates they witnessed. While they expected a certain level of alterity, most explorers found it easiest to explain the different societies in direct relation to their home culture. In 1978, Edward Said

⁴ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1997), 206; Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1998), 67, 203; Black, 21-53; Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. Catherine Matthias (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 43-46.

in his book *Orientalism*, introduced the concept of the “other,” which he used as an analytic tool to describe these different cultures. For example, when explorers traveled to new regions vastly different from Europe they understood these new areas by comparing them to the more familiar European culture they recognized. Using the concept of “other,” limited true understanding of new societies because instead of comprehending them as their own entity, adventurers compared new cultures to the European nation state. Through this labeling, European explorers symbolically conquered and restructured these new societies within the written word. Conversely, Elizabethan era explorers ventured to America but did not categorize the inhabitants as the “other” as had been done by explorers to Asia or Africa. In contrast to these earlier voyages, explorers viewed the North American continent as an empty territory just waiting for European citizens to inhabit it.⁵

While first explorers to America viewed the country as vacant, the Constables initial interactions with Native Americans demonstrated how they responded to unfamiliar individuals and cultures. Their first contact placed them face to face with a previously unknown group of people and they used European comparisons to understand the foreign inhabitants they met. Daniel remarked “saw a squad of Indians the first we had seen they had much the appearance of our Gypsies.”⁶ In order to comprehend this new encounter, Daniel reached for the familiar to provide an adequate comparison that others from England would understand. Using the concept of the “other,” this labeling shaped the way they approached

⁵ Adams, *Travel Literature through the Ages*, 3; Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1978; reprint New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 1-9; Korte, 23-35.

⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 11 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel’s and William’s journals were written for private consumption, yet William later used these journals to create a manuscript that he showed to family members entitled *Notes of a Travel in North America in the Years 1806, 7 and 8 by a Company of Three*.

Native Americans throughout their trip and how they mentally processed truly foreign concepts.⁷

With the increasing popularity of travel accounts that described foreign cultures and peoples, some readers embarked upon their own journeys and recorded their trips. Many of the early accounts attempted to describe the exotic places, geography, and the unfamiliar nature of foreign lands. Each person approached the foreign circumstances differently and recorded their adventures according to their intended audience and mode of travel. Those who journeyed to regions recently discovered by Europeans often wrote guidebooks, which appeared in two genres: land or water journeys. In addition to this approach, people generally recorded their trips with three different writing styles: letters, diaries, or journals. Daniel and William chronicled their trip with personal journals, letters home, and after their return to England, William used his notes to produce one self-published manuscript in 1858.⁸

People traveled and recorded their journeys inspired by popular philosophical ideologies that shaped how explorers thought about their experiences. In the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* published in 1690, John Locke argued that intellectual development required stimuli from the external world. Locke asserted, “All ideas come from sensation or reflection. Let us then suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas: - How comes it to be furnished? ... To this I answer, in one word, from Experience...Our observation employed either, about external sensible objects, or about the internal operations of our minds perceived and reflected on by ourselves, is that

⁷ William Constable Journal 2, 11 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁸ Adams, *Travel Literature through the Ages*, xxi-xxii; William Constable wrote his narrative based upon his journals and showed it to family members. The narrative was entitled *Notes of a Travel in North America in the Years 1806, 7 and 8 by a Company of Three*.

which supplies our understandings with all the materials of thinking.”⁹ Within this period, travel became the most obvious way to interact with new stimuli and the Grand Tour developed as a finishing school. This concept would later become a more individual experience as people moved off the well-worn routes of the Grand Tour and started creating their own itinerary. Another philosopher who changed ideas about travel, René Descartes, posited the separation of mind and body. He believed that this metaphysical division enabled individuals to have inner journeys, and he promoted travel as a way to discover these internal connections. These popular theorists changed ideas about intellectual development and identity while at the same time they increased the popularity, depth, and diversity of travel writing.¹⁰

Just as European philosophers affected the way people thought about the Grand Tour, some notable individuals also acquired a popular following through their journals and changed how future adventurers viewed the world. Widely read throughout England, authors such as Joseph Addison, Tobias Smollett, and Laurence Sterne influenced the physical and intellectual direction of future travelers. While these men only journeyed across Europe, they contributed to the growing popularity of touring and the way subsequent people approached their trips.¹¹

Many explorers on the Grand Tour influenced European concepts of travel and tourism, thus inspiring how the Constables and other later adventurers toured. Joseph Addison, a student at Oxford, toured the European continent from 1699 to 1704, following

⁹ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London: 1690; reprint, Kitchener, Ontario, Canada: Batoche Books, 2001), 74-75.

¹⁰ René Descartes, *A Discourse on the Method of Correctly Conducting One's Reason and Seeking Truth in the Sciences*, trans. and ed. Ian Maclean (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 29-31; Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), 4-12.

¹¹ Adams, *Travel Literature through the Ages*, 345-353; Korte, 48-77; Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liar*, 44; Chaney, 102.

which he published his very popular account, *Remarks on several parts of Italy*. Within his narrative, he purposely differentiated his focus from previous travelers. Addison viewed places no author had discussed and compared his firsthand experiences to ancient poets' portrayals of the sites. Within this literature, he inserted descriptions of the Italian people and their culture as well as complex explanations about the environment. Additionally, Addison penned "On the Pleasures of the Imagination" a series of essays in the *Spectator* – the magazine he founded – that introduced a romanticized approach to landscape and travel. Within the articles, he emphasized the importance of beauty and sublimity within nature, which changed how people looked at the world. After these essays, landscape descriptions attained a more central role within journals.¹²

Following Addison's popular travel treatises, accounts started to change even more because of patriotic sentiment. A Scotsman, Tobias Smollett published his *Travels through France and Italy* in 1766. In this book, he highlighted an area on the French Riviera not originally included in the Grand Tour. Yet upon his arrival in France, Smollett started glorifying England by comparing the luxuries of home with the poor conditions he encountered in France. He stated, "This was such a bad specimen of French accommodation, that my wife could not help regretting even the inns of Rochester, Sittingbourn, and Canterbury; bad as they are, they certainly have the advantage, when compared with the execrable auberges of this country, where one finds nothing but dirt and imposition. One would imagine the French were still at war with the English, for they pillage them without

¹² Joseph Addison, *Remarks on several parts of Italy, &c. in the years 1701, 1702, 1703* (London: printed for J. Tonson, at Shakespear's-Head over –against Catharine-Street in the Strand, 1733), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University, preface. np; Korte, 48-63.

mercy.”¹³ While Smollett and his wife initially found accommodations intolerable, they eventually found an inn more agreeable to them, as a British citizen ran the second establishment. The account went through seven editions in the twelve years after its initial publication, thus demonstrating the popularity of travel literature. While Smollett’s trip revealed a subtle change in writing styles, subsequent authors diverged even more from preceding examples.¹⁴

The method of comparing both countries resembled the earlier technique of the “other” and became a popular way to write and sell more travel literature. By disparaging the countries that they visited, people in the home nation were more inclined to buy the book that exalted their country above all the others. Prejudice against America affected the writing of explorers and Thomas Ashe’s book *Travels in America Performed in 1806* provides the best example of this sentiment. In his summary of the southern states Ashe noted, “Society is here in a shameful degeneracy; an additional proof of the pernicious tendency of those detestable principles of political licentiousness, which are not only adverse to the enjoyment of practical liberty, and to the existence of regular authority, but destructive also of comfort and security in every class of society.” While authors who published their journals often disparaged the countries they visited, in unpublished manuscripts writers maintained a more evenhanded description of the sites.¹⁵

¹³ Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, vol. 1 (London: printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater-Noster-Row, 1766), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University, 9-10.

¹⁴ Black 234; James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 8-9; Carl Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 33-37; Smollett, 13-14; Korte, 53.

¹⁵ Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America, performed in 1806, for the purpose of exploring the rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississippi, and ascertaining the produce and condition of their banks and vicinity* (London: 1808; reprint., Newburyport, MA: for William Sawyer and Co. by E.M. Blunt, State-Street, 1808), 12; Adams, *Travel and Travel Liars*, 190-191; Ashe also plagiarized material from Jonathan Carver, William Bartram, J. Hector St John de Crèvecoeur, and others, but while using their material the public would have believed the descriptions he provided until proved that he plagiarized.

As the Constables viewed the country, they both praised and criticized their surroundings and the people they met, but overall favored the new environment. While they walked around New York City, William admired many different churches and Daniel praised the exterior style of the local theater. William proclaimed that Second Trinity Church and St. Paul's Church exceeded his expectations for elegance and architectural beauty within the burgeoning country. The brothers rarely criticized the buildings, rather they marveled at the advances the young American republic had made in just thirty years. While the buildings and growth impressed them, some habits received less praise. Daniel noted, "The poor and middling class of the people in this country are certainly more dirty and slovenly in their houses and persons than the people of England."¹⁶ While some of the manners they witnessed turned their stomachs, they did not disparage everything within America. The men marveled at the advances the country had made, which they viewed as an unexpected surprise.¹⁷

Starting with the Grand Tour, people traversed Europe with certain expectations about their adventures. English Literature scholar Chloe Chard in *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour* asserted that explorers had two demands for the topography they viewed: alterity and similarity. Travelers expected the regions they visited to demonstrate a level of exotic difference, but in order for them to understand the new area, the topography needed to be similar enough to their previous experiences. One of the main expectations adventurers hoped to see on their journeys was some level of dissimilarity within the lands they traveled. People subconsciously imposed a sense of otherness on foreign countries, which often manifested in their writings as wonder, exoticness, or strangeness. By placing themselves in

¹⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 3, 19 November 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

¹⁷ William Constable journal, 1 May 1806, 6 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

the midst of these new places and experiences, people viewed it as their responsibility to describe the scene in order to explain it to audiences back home. Within writings that attempted to define these differences, authors struggled to find the right words to describe the sights they witnessed, and in the end, they often exaggerated. British citizens explored foreign countries, and they compared historic sites, cultures, people, and the circumstances they encountered to those in England; this technique helped them define the differences between countries. Tourism's bureaucratic infrastructure also helped reinforce this type of comparison and reminded citizens about the superiority of their home countries, as passports ensured the repatriation of travelers. Additionally, by inserting themselves into the foreign territory with the intention of returning home, the tourists entered the environment with the intent of witnessing it, not becoming a part of it.¹⁸

Travelers struggled to describe the new environments they encountered, and science emerged as an easy way to list items with a simple and straightforward method. Professor of Literature Mary Louise Pratt argues that two European events in 1735 transformed the way Europeans viewed the world and their place within it, and subsequently affected the contents of travel literature. Initially, the first European expedition to determine the shape of the earth redirected people's attention to scientific matters, thereby changing what emerged within journals. The second event that altered Europeans' worldview occurred with the publication of Carl Linee's *Systema Naturae* (The System of Nature), which presented a specific method to classify all plants on the earth according to their reproductive parts. With the introduction of this system, people methodically recorded the plants, animals, and minerals they

¹⁸ Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600-1830* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 3-20; Susan Lamb, *Bringing Travel Home to England: Tourism, Gender, and Imaginative Literature in the Eighteenth Century* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 17-18.

encountered. By looking at the world in this way, it changed travel writing as explorers tried to understand new regions scientifically.¹⁹

During the second half of the eighteenth century, travelers collected specimens and wrote about nature within their journals. Previously, people had discussed scientific data in their writings, but they had usually reserved this for appendices. Natural history increased in popularity, and authors started to discuss the plants within the narrative. Pratt theorized that this fascination with natural history established a male dominated authority over the world, which created a rational understanding of the natural world in relation to people, plants, and animals. Initially, with the discovery of new territories, men viewed possession of land and resources as representing control over these nascent nation states. Through this new scientific mentality, an anti-conquest or utopian view of European global authority emerged. Natural history and science became rational ways to order and control the world, in direct contrast to the earlier imperialistic drive.²⁰

As more people engaged in diplomacy, missionary work, trade, and scientific exploration, travel journals highlighted different aspects of the world according to the author's objectives and ideals. By the 1800s, more explorers wrote their personal experiences and a new template soon emerged. Within their journals, people included daily events, opinions, references to nature, and individual ideas about cultures. Daniel's and William's journals certainly included these new components of travel literature. Every day they recorded their meals, the weather, their finances, and lodging. After 1830, scientific thought

¹⁹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 15-27.

²⁰ Pratt, 15-39.

became another important component of personal accounts when British travelers used science to conquer the rest of the world intellectually through a veiled form of imperialism.²¹

Daniel himself was an avid reader and intellectual enthusiast who felt the implications of science on society. Throughout his first journal, which chronicles his activities from 1798 until September 1806, he noted books he read and people with whom he engaged in conversation. He visited with Clio Rickman numerous times before his journey to America, and Daniel held him in the highest esteem. Rickman had been the secretary to Thomas Paine and Daniel remarked upon entering Rickman's home, "every thing about his house bespeaks a man of science and the philanthropist he showed me the table, where that best of men the inimitable Thomas Payne [sic] wrote his sacred rights of man." Daniel bought books from Rickman and embraced the philosophical and scientific lifestyle, making it a regular part of his life.²²

The Constables had read Paine's writings, and their interest in republican philosophies attracted them to America and led to their decision to visit the country. Within Paine's popular and controversial work *Rights of Man*, the author argued that a republican government elected by the people would focus on the prosperity and well-being of its citizens. Additionally, he believed that a king obtained his power by accident and this did not qualify an individual to govern a nation. With this predilection for Paine's ideas, the brothers visited the country that exemplified the philosopher's theories.²³

As a result of Daniel's enthusiastic interest in the written word, he read many works that reflected popular culture within England and treatises that focused on traveling.

²¹ Roy Bridges, "Exploration and Travel Outside Europe (1720-1914)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 53-59.

²² Daniel Constable Journal 1, 22 April 1798; 20 December 1798, Constable Papers, ACM.

²³ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 3 July 1806; 4 July 1806; 14 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man* (London: 1791; reprint, London: Wordsworth Classics World of Literature, 1996).

Amongst popular literature, Laurence Sterne's fictional accounts garnered widespread attention and affected both the popularity of tours and direction of travel literature. Daniel noted in his journal that he read *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, Sterne's fictional biography published between the years 1759 and 1766. The loquacious work consisted of nine volumes, and Sterne finally discussed Tristram's birth in the third book. He shaped his novel with Lockean principles, in that Tristram viewed the world from the narrow restrictions of his own subjectivity and underwent both emotional and physical travels.²⁴

Within *Tristram Shandy*, Sterne posited that life and writing both represented a journey, whereas in his subsequent work *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy*, life as a journey became the essence of the book. Published in 1782, *A Sentimental Journey*, inspired adventurers to embark upon trips for entirely new reasons and popularized the sentimental traveler as a new tourist figure. Mr. Yorick, the fictional main character, frequently spoke in soliloquies in which he advocated different reasons to see the world. The new sentimental travelers expected to acquire knowledge and personal improvements with their overseas journeys, but whether this actually happened depended upon luck. Arriving in France, Yorick extolled the country's wonders and set a model for the way subsequent sentimental tourists thought and acted. Within the book, Mr. Yorick proclaimed, "But there is no nation under heaven – and God is my record, . . . where the sciences may be more fitly woo'd , or more surely won than here – where art is encouraged, and will soon rise high – where Nature (take her altogether) has so little to answer for – and, to close all, where there is

²⁴ Laurence Sterne, *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (Westminster, MD: Random House, 2004); Peter M. Briggs, "Locke's *Essay* and the Tentativeness of *Tristram Shandy*," in *Critical Essays on Laurence Sterne*, ed. Melvyn New (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1998), 88-91.

more wit and variety of character to feed the mind with.”²⁵ The sentimental travelers thought and spoke more abstractly about the world in which they journeyed, and opened their minds to nature and art.²⁶

Daniel read works by Sterne and other prominent authors that shaped his ideas about travel and revealed his scholarly interests. Throughout his journal he demonstrated his intellectual thirst by noting books he had read and also recorded when he visited libraries. On days when neither of these activities happened, he summed up the day’s events with the trite entry “read nothing learnt nothing.”²⁷ Daniel constantly read the day’s most popular and controversial literature keeping him abreast of fashionable conversation topics. When he did not have a book at home to enjoy, he often visited the local library. Within Brighton, England, he could visit one of the four subscription libraries or a musical circulating library to satisfy his curiosity. In addition to the books he read on travel, he also devoured books on French culture and English history, reading works that described the reign of Oliver Cromwell, Charles II, and Queen Elizabeth.²⁸

In his first journal, Daniel noted international matters he deemed important, and many of these dealt with conditions in France. With the country consumed by the French Revolution, British citizens interested in traveling to France did so only with great peril.

While unable to further his education through the traditional tour to France, Daniel studied

²⁵ Robert Folkenflik, introduction to *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* by Laurence Sterne (Westminster, MD: Random House, 2004), xv; Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy, by Mr. Yorick*, 2d ed., vol. 1 (London: printed for J. Wenman, Bookseller, No. 144, Fleet-Street, 1782), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University, 32-33.

²⁶ Adams, *Travel Literature through the ages*, 345-353.

²⁷ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 8 December 1800, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁸ F.G. Fisher, *Brighton new guide; or, a description of Brighthelmston, and the adjacent country*, 4th ed. (London: printed for the editor by T. Burton, Little Queen-Street, 1800), 22-24; for his mention of visits to the library before their expedition see: Daniel Constable journal 1, 24 November 1799; 26 January 1800; 23 February 1800; 27 April 1800; 17 May 1801, Constable Papers, ACM; For his interest in English history see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, 7 August 1800; 14 August 1800; 2 November 1800, Constable Papers, ACM.

the French language in his free time. He revealed his enthusiasm for learning the new language by placing a star next to the entry in his journal. Daniel displayed his interest in contemporary French affairs when he spent a Sunday, “reading a manuscript journal (of Mr. Lovelace now at Brighton) kept in France in 92 & 93 while a prisoner under the Tyrant Robespierre.”²⁹ Keeping a close watch on activities in France and supporting the revolutionaries, he noted that a preliminary to peace was signed on October 2, 1801. In another entry, he emphasized in big bold print that on Wednesday, April 28, 1802, “Peace Proclaimed in London.”³⁰

Daniel also read other works written by French authors or books that discussed France. While not originally from France, Jean-Jacques Rousseau became a personal favorite. Daniel read the author’s works *Eloisa*, *Émile*, *Reverie of the Solitary Walk*, and *Confessions*, showing partiality to Rousseau’s ideologies and political leanings. While Rousseau was born in Geneva, he later moved to France where he mastered the language, even publishing his autobiography in French. Additionally, Daniel read other works by popular French writers including the satirical comedy by French playwright Molière *The Miser*, French Historian Charles Rollins’ work *Ancient History*, and Louis-Sébastien Mercier’s book *Picture of Paris*. Similar to earlier travelers that engaged on the Grand Tour, Daniel demonstrated an intellectual curiosity and motivation to learn about French theorists and ideologies.³¹

²⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 12 January 1800, Constable Papers, ACM.

³⁰ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 2 December 1800; 12 January 1800; 2 October 1801; 28 April 1802, Constable Papers, ACM.

³¹ Georges May, “Rousseau and France,” *Yale French Studies*, no. 28 (1961): 122-135; For Daniel’s references to these works see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, 6 Dec 1801; 28 Sept 1800; 27 Oct 1800, Constable Papers, ACM.

Another author that Daniel mentioned frequently within his journal also had a direct bearing on the French Revolution. The Constantin François de Chasseboeuf, comte de Volney impressed Daniel enough that he read his book *Les Ruines, ou Méditation sur les revolutions des empires* and interacted with others who expressed familiarity with Volney's work. Daniel even became awestruck when he met some men that had memorized Volney's book. While he was one of the most widely read philosophers of the French Revolution many countries banned his works because of his controversial ideas. In 1791 he published *Les Ruines*, which resulted in his condemnation by many people as they referred to him as a political and religious incendiary. Within *Les Ruines*, the narrator traveled in the Levant where he encountered ruined civilizations, and during his sojourn a genie appeared to explain the logic of human history. Dividing society into two classes, the privileged and the poor, Volney exclaimed that vices and political disorders stemmed from individual accumulation of goods at others' expense. In order to break the cycle, people needed to undergo an enlightenment about societies' strengths, and those in positions of power needed lessons in good government. The climax of the book occurred with a vision of the French Revolution, displayed in the book as a future event, which signaled to all people that they should rise up against their oppressors. Even though many European countries banned his compositions, Volney eventually published his works in fourteen languages, and his books became widely popular in America and Europe. Daniel mentioned Volney's works frequently within his early journal and eagerly shared his knowledge with friends and new acquaintances.³²

In addition to his revolutionary ideas, Volney also journeyed to the United States and wrote a memoir about his experience. Published in 1804, *A View of the Soil and Climate of*

³² Daniel Constable Journal 1, Constable Journal, ACM, 20 Dec 1798, 26 Jan 1799, 21 Apr 1799, 4 Aug 1799, 12 Nov 1800, Constable Papers, ACM; Alexander Cook, "Volney and the science of morality in revolutionary France," *Humanities Research* 16, no. 2 (August 2010) : 7-19.

the United States of America chronicled his trip from Virginia through the Shenandoah Valley to the Ohio River and then north to Niagara Falls. On his return to France, Volney brought rocks, minerals, fossils, and the notes he wrote about his journey. His contribution to the travel literature genre included a geologic examination of Niagara Falls as well as other regions in the United States. Daniel and William visited the area, and they encountered a local person that had talked with Volney while he toured the region. William noted “Mr. De Latour knew Volney well whom he describes as a man rude and unpolished in his manners in the extreme and a glutton even to friggishness. Volney traversed the states on foot and unattended, taking only a shirt in his hand.”³³ Though Volney traveled a different route than the Constables, their journeys mirrored each other in mode of transportation and both included an excursion to Niagara Falls.³⁴

Volney displayed a fondness for science as he collected natural artifacts and geologically examined America, but by the end of the eighteenth century the precarious balance between science and sentimentality decreased in importance as the subjectivity of the Romantic Period increased in significance. In 1788, English aristocrats and businessmen founded the London-based Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, also known as the African Association, that led British exploration into the dark continent. Mungo Park – a Scottish citizen and the first explorer supported by the association – volunteered for the opportunity because of a curiosity about the little known country and its inhabitants. Written after his return from Africa, Park used notes he took on his journey to recreate the expedition and published his account in 1799, thereby opening this area to the world. Park demonstrated a change in writing style from previous travel literature by

³³ William Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³⁴ C.F. Volney, *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America*, trans. C.B. Brown (Philadelphia: 1804; reprint New York: Hafner Publishing Company, Inc, 1968), v-vi, 93.

downplaying the scientific focus and making himself the hero in his narrative. For example, Park met the king of the Bondou territories, Jatta, and then, “saluted him respectfully, and informed him of the purport of [his] visit. The king graciously replied that he not only gave me leave to pass through his country, but would offer up his prayers for my safety.”³⁵ Park brought himself into the writing and included his feelings about the people and places he encountered, which differed markedly from previous scientific journals.³⁶

The transition to a romanticized approach originally occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when explorers varied their writing and focused on the idea of the “conquering hero.” With Christopher Columbus’s voyages, Europeans discovered the American continent and soon thereafter stories of riches filtered throughout Europe. Accounts of explorers and the riches they acquired gave the term “conquering hero” a visual representation. With this inclusion of a central hero, the narrator’s voice appeared more prominent than in previous travel literature. Historian Casey Blanton in *Travel Writing: the Self and the World* argues that within the eighteenth century the ideas of self and world entangled. This occurred when the emotions and personality of the narrator emerged more prominently as they interacted with other people, places, and cultures. Daniel’s and William’s journals did not portray themselves as the heroes, but their narrative voice appeared throughout the text. Rather than dispassionately describing their surroundings, both men included their own opinions and interpretations of what they witnessed.³⁷

Daniel lived amongst these changing notions about society and he embraced his culture and the Romantic Movement. Within his early journal, he noted the books he had

³⁵ Mungo Park, *Travels in the interior districts of Africa: performed under the Direction and Patronage of the African Association, in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London, 1799), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University, 36.

³⁶ Thompson, 172-182; Park, 1-9.

³⁷ Blanton, 4-19.

read that Rousseau wrote, and these works embodied the Romantic Period and its beginnings within Europe. *Romanticism and the Heritage of Rousseau* by Thomas McFarland described *Confessions* as the introductory text of Romanticism. In his work, Rousseau demonstrated the major themes of Romanticism such as rejecting the city and glorifying solitude. The new approach that Rousseau introduced with his manuscripts also appeared within Daniel's journals as he viewed situations more idealistically. Daniel demonstrated this tendency while still in England. Upon encountering a large number of individuals he noted, "There was a large field of Hay that had been left in large stacks the night before, entirely spread over the whole field, should I think there was 4 or 500 people of all ages, in the best humour and in almost every position enjoying the scene and purity of Nature, in all its lovely forms, all the shackells of society seem'd thrown of [*sic*], for the innocent simplicity of Nature."³⁸ He saw a large number of people enjoying the haystacks and turned it into a romanticized interpretation of the day's events, discussing purity, innocence, and the simplicity of nature.³⁹

With the onset of the Romantic Period, walking developed a larger role within English society and perambulatory travelers used this mode of transportation to differentiate themselves from tourists. Early tourists explored the countryside by carriage, because people labeled those who walked great distances as either a pauper or a robber. The negative perception started to change in the 1770s when a few intellectuals started walking for pleasure. Rousseau talked about the benefits of walking for his own personal creativity and writing. He stated, "I have never been able to produce anything, pen in hand, in front of my table and paper; it is during a walk, in the midst of rocks and forests...that I write in my

³⁸ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 9 June 1798, Constable Papers, ACM.

³⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 5 August 1798, 22 July 1798, 29 July 1798, 1 December 1799, Constable Papers, ACM; Thomas McFarland, *Romanticism and the Heritage of Rousseau*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 51-52.

brain.”⁴⁰ Rousseau continued to challenge society’s views on transportation with the publication in 1782 of *Reverie of the Solitary Walk*. He glorified walking as a useful way to reach difficult destinations stating, “As there are no large thoroughfares suitable for coaches on these happy shores, the countryside is seldom frequented by travelers; but it is interesting for solitary contemplators who like to become intoxicated with the charms of nature at leisure and collect their thoughts in a silence.”⁴¹ Daniel followed Rousseau’s advice literally by taking “a charming walk over Church hill before dinner with Rousseau’s *Reverie of the Solitary Walk*.”⁴² Even prior to this statement, Daniel demonstrated his acceptance of the ideas posited by Rousseau by recording his everyday thoughts and actions in his journal. On April 29, 1798, he noted that “I than [*sic*] set out for a walk to Primrose hill, the scene was truly beautiful, but my mind was so unhinged with various reflections that I had no enjoyment.”⁴³ As he walked and thought, Daniel represented the societal change that occurred as more people viewed walking as a useful tool for intellectual reflection first introduced by Rousseau within his manuscripts.

Tourists continued to engage in excursions domestically and internationally, and many travelers viewed walking as an act of rebellion. English Professor Carl Thompson in *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* argues that the act of walking itself turned into an anti-touristic statement. In this way, people defined their adventures in contrast to those less worthy tourists who journeyed by mass transportation and visited only the popular sites. By walking, individuals exposed themselves to dangers that most tourists never

⁴⁰ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Confessions of Jean Jacques Rousseau*, (London: Bibliophilist Society, 1900), 115.

⁴¹ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Reveries of the Solitary Walker, Botanical Writings, and Letters to Franquières*, trans. Charles E. Butterworth, Alexandra Cook, and Terence E. Marshall (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2000), 41.

⁴² Daniel Constable Journal 1, 22 July 1798, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁴³ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 29 April 1798, Constable Papers, ACM.

witnessed and this contributed to the belief that walking excursions were superior to those by carriage. While carriages at this time were not always the safer option because of mechanical difficulties and poorly maintained roads, pedestrians often differentiated themselves by including in their journals the perilous environment they experienced firsthand. Additionally, walking during this period carried a level of symbolism. By dismounting from the horse, a symbol of aristocracy, modernity, and privilege, the traveler placed himself on the common man's level. By engaging in the physical activity of walking, the pedestrian encountered pain and experienced the discomfort suffered by the lower classes.⁴⁴

Daniel's first journal chronicled his life from 1798 to 1806, and during these years he frequently traveled domestically to spend time with friends and family; in the majority of these trips, he walked to his destination and enjoyed the feeling of exhaustion that reached him most nights. Daniel even determined that it took him 1,900 steps to travel a mile and that he could walk three miles in fifty minutes; the ability or desire to calculate these things demonstrated the frequency and utility of his walk. Yet, if the opportunity presented itself, he would borrow a horse or ride in a carriage if he felt he was getting too tired. For example, on February 18, 1802, he left his childhood home and noted, "left Horley ½ past twelve, with an intention of walking to Brighton, was fearful of being very tired, the coach overtook at Crawley thought it most advisable to get on and ride."⁴⁵ Daniel traveled most often by foot and during the time of his journal it never appeared to be a disrespectable mode of transportation. The influence of Rousseau and other intellectuals helped change the negative concepts associated with walking. Additionally, when the brothers journeyed through

⁴⁴ Buzard, 1; Thompson, 138-142.

⁴⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 18 February 1802, Constable Papers, ACM.

America they also selected walking as their common mode of travel, which demonstrated their desire to engage in adventurous tourism.⁴⁶

With more people meandering through their journeys by foot, specific rules emerged that dictated how to view nature and which types of settings were notable. British citizens who journeyed across the English and European countryside searched for gentle rolling landscapes, but the focus shifted in 1760 with the publication of James Macpherson's book *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland*. The first volume directed people's attention to waterfalls, mountains, and mist. While this book constituted the first study that pointed out important features in nature, another author introduced additional rules and gained a loyal following.⁴⁷

In 1782, William Gilpin popularized nature journeys and promoted a new type of traveler with his book *Observations on the River Wye, and several Parts of South Wales, etc., Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; made in the summer of the year 1770*. In this work, he redirected the adventurer's eye to the picturesque landscape. Gilpin did not correlate picturesque beauty with scientific rationalization; rather, he denoted it as a matter of simple enjoyment. He stated that, "The following little work proposes a new object of pursuit; that of not barely examining the face of a country; but of examining it by the rules of picturesque beauty: that of not merely describing; but of adapting the description of natural scenery to the principles of artificial landscape; and of opening the sources of those pleasures, which are

⁴⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 1, front inside cover, 12 April 1799, 18 February 1802, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁴⁷ James Macpherson, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Galic or Erse Language* (Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1760), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University; Thompson, 33-37; for another example see: Joseph Craddock, *Village Memoirs: In a Series of Letters between a Clergyman and his Family in the Country, and his Son in Town*, (London: Printed for T. Davies, in Russel-street, Covent-Garden, 1765).

derived from the comparison.” By searching for picturesque beauty, it increased the traveler’s pleasure and grounded their words in truth rather than theory.⁴⁸

In his subsequent work, *On Picturesque Beauty*, Gilpin created a more detailed definition that helped people identify picturesque sites on their journeys. He argued that objects described as smooth or neat did not meet the requirements of picturesque, but rather the opposite, items that portrayed ruggedness. For example, he believed that the crags of a mountain would translate better to a painting, and consequently represent a more picturesque sight, than an open field with its smooth and unchanging appearance. Additionally, Gilpin advocated that people should hunt for the picturesque; therefore, the real adventurer pursued his object rather than accidentally encountering it.⁴⁹

During the late eighteenth century, the popularity of the picturesque traveler changed nature’s prominence within memoirs. Originally, people described nature in scientific jargon that classified flora and fauna in order to categorize each new plant encountered. With the emergence of the picturesque traveler, writers hoped to elicit an emotional response from readers with their description of the landscape. This transformed the focus of memoirs from science to art. As the popularity of exploring for the aesthetic appreciation of landscape increased, William Gilpin’s writings popularized and embodied the movement. The

⁴⁸ William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye, and several parts of South Wales, &c. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty; made in the summer of the year 1770*, 4th ed. (London, 1782), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University, 1-2.

⁴⁹ William Gilpin, *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem, on Landscape Painting*, 2d ed. (London: Printed for R. Blamire, in the Strand, 1794; reprint, Westmead, England: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1972), 4-7; James Buzard, “The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840),” in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 43-45; Brewer, 649-652.

picturesque books he wrote stimulated domestic tourism in England and encouraged the modern adventurer to look for beauty.⁵⁰

Rousseau added to the picturesque theory within his book *Confessions*. Within his widely popular tome he stated, “No flat country, however beautiful, has ever seemed so to my eyes. I must have mountain torrents, rocks, firs, dark forests, mountains, steep roads to climb or descend, precipices at my side to frighten me.”⁵¹ Rousseau’s book completed in 1769, but not published until 1782, demonstrated the increasing popularity of picturesque landscapes. Additionally, because of Daniel’s obvious interest in Rousseau, it confirmed his interest in and knowledge of the picturesque movement that directed his trips in America and at home.

While tourists started searching for picturesque scenery, warfare on the European continent changed the destination and motivation of travelers. With the onset of the French Revolution in 1789, touring changed as British citizens relinquished the European trip and more people began traveling domestically. Within England, travel drastically increased during the eighteenth century because of improved roads that led to less affluent classes sightseeing and the rise of middle class tourism. With these transportation and communication improvements women and families engaged in journeys more frequently. Travelers started to justify their excursions based on utility and pleasure, while disregarding the educational benefits of touring. At the same time, the growing popularity of nature led to more people engaged in picturesque touring and pedestrianism, which eventually produced a democratization of travel. The French Revolution and French Revolutionary Wars, from

⁵⁰ Larzer Ziff, *Return Passages. Great American Travel Writing, 1780-1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 8-9; Brewer, 633; Korte, 78-80.

⁵¹ Rousseau, *Confessions*, 176.

1789 to 1802, disrupted the same process of gradual democratization within the European continental Grand Tour, as fewer people ventured to countries engaged in warfare.⁵²

While the French Revolution had interrupted travelers' movements throughout Europe another disturbance in European touring occurred during the Napoleonic Wars that occurred from 1803 to 1815. During this time, British citizens once again chose different locations in which to spend their free time. Following the Napoleonic Wars, Europe opened up to curious adventurers. Improved roads, carriages, and trains allowed people to reach their destinations with more ease and less expense than previous tourists had experienced. After Napoleon's defeat, the continent once again opened to tourists and some 45,000 individuals embarked on their tours. Those people who wanted to follow the earlier Grand Tour focused on France, while others continued from there and went to Italy and other European countries.⁵³

In the nineteenth century after the Constables' trip to America, touring increased in popularity with the democratization of travel created by more amenities and better transportation. Notable scholars on travel literature and the Grand Tour uncovered a change that occurred after more individuals joined in the adventure. Professor of Literature James Buzard in *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to culture, 1800-1918* argues that after the Napoleonic Wars trips on the European continent became more accessible, which led to questions about what constituted an "authentic" cultural experience. A renewed fervor for exploring Europe resulted in a surge in adventurers. The era ushered in

⁵² Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 53-54; Black, 3-10; Katherine Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe, 1750-1800: authorship, gender, and national identity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2001), 25; Brewer, 631-640; Charles Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 2; George D. Dekker, *The Fictions of Romantic Tourism: Radcliffe, Scott, and Mary Shelley* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 13; Buzard, "The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840)," 42.

⁵³ Korte, 43-46; Buzard, "The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840)," 47-50; Brian Dolan, *Exploring European Frontiers: British Travellers in the Age of Enlightenment* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 2000), 12-13.

people from every class within British society and mass tourism developed. With the vast amounts of travel literature published before and after the Napoleonic War, people found it difficult to present a new voice. At this point, individuals clung to the label of traveler and rejected the title of tourist, as it acquired a derogatory connotation.⁵⁴

Many people engaged in the same routes and experiences, yet some tourists altered their courses in order to make their journeys more authentic. Between the years 1800 and 1918, an anti-touristic sentiment emerged in Europe with travelers trying to differentiate themselves from other tourists. This competition produced memoirs that displayed originality. Some individuals visited places off the main path to engage in unique adventures that elevated them above average tourists.⁵⁵

Searching for a new traveling experience, many people looked to America and turned their focus away from England and the Grand Tour. While the true popularity of American travel narratives occurred in the later nineteenth century with the tours of individuals like Frances Trollope, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Charles Dickens, earlier adventurers followed a similar path. Initial travelers viewed the American landscape with a utilitarian sense of destiny and many journeyed with the intent to settle these regions. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, people perceived the American wilderness as an unruly and challenging environment not admired for its aesthetic qualities but tamed for enterprise and success. The chaotic early lives of these settlers demanded pragmatic reason rather than romantic ideologies. For example, in J. Hector St John de Crèvecoeur's popular narrative *Letters from an American Farmer* he discussed the dangers he encountered on the American frontier. Originally from France, Crèvecoeur fought in the French and Indian War and after the

⁵⁴ Buzard, "The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840)", 4-8, 47-50.

⁵⁵ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 4-8.

conflict remained in America, where in 1769 he married and settled down as a farmer in New York. He returned to France during the American Revolution and published his letters in 1782. Upon describing the turmoil encountered near the frontier he stated, “From the mountains we have but too much reason to expect our dreadful enemy; the wilderness is a harbour where it is impossible to find them. It is a door through which they can enter our country whenever they please; and, as they seem determined to destroy the whole chain of frontiers, our fate cannot be far distant.”⁵⁶ The frontier represented a dangerous region within America, one that would not immediately attract numerous tourists. Nevertheless, when the Constables traveled through America they searched for the frontier wilderness, a truly American concept that was much harder to locate with the pervasive growth of the country.

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Daniel’s quest for knowledge about explorers and the unsettled lands they encountered included some prominent Americans’ descriptions of the western frontier. While the brothers traveled throughout America they carried a copy of Gilbert Imlay’s *A topographical description of the western territory of North America* to provide them with a guidebook for their backcountry journey. Imlay fought in the American Revolutionary War and following the conflict, he headed for the rural state of Kentucky as a deputy surveyor. During his time there, he became involved in land speculation and accrued a large debt. Imlay’s inability to pay the debt forced him to leave the western United States. Following this decision, he clandestinely left America in 1787 and disappeared. He reemerged in London as the author of the aforementioned book in 1792, which he presented as a series of letters to a friend. The book became an immediate bestseller and went through subsequent

⁵⁶ J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, ed. Susan Manning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 188.

⁵⁷ Catherine Armstrong, *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 80-82.

printings becoming an authoritative guide on the trans-Allegheny west. British citizens celebrated Imlay's work, especially amongst radical thinkers who viewed their society and government as corrupt. As American Studies Professor Wil Verhoeven stated in his article "Gilbert Imlay and the Triangular Trade," Imlay's book offered the promise of a return to the innocence and purity of nature, touted the plentiful environment in western America, and offered a guide for immigration to Kentucky. Imlay addressed the differences between America and Europe on the first page of his text: "I undertake with the greatest pleasure, as it will afford me an opportunity of contrasting the simple manners, and rational life of the Americans, in these back settlements, with the distorted and unnatural habits of the Europeans: which have flowed no doubt from the universally bad laws which exist on your continent, and from that pernicious system of blending religion with politics, which had been productive of universal depravity." Imlay's book combined travel with political theory, and influenced the Constables' decision to embark for America with this book as a guide.⁵⁸

Another popular American work that Daniel referenced within his journals was *Notes on the State of Virginia* by Thomas Jefferson. While not carried with them on the journey, Daniel mentioned this work while they traveled through America. Within this book, Jefferson looked at Virginia and its western territories, which in 1780 included Kentucky, and parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Jefferson revealed his interest in the west as he included chapters that meticulously described Virginia's rivers, mountains, population, towns, colleges, buildings, and manufacturers. This book also increased the brothers' interest in the western

⁵⁸ Wil Verhoeven, "Gilbert Imlay and the Triangular Trade," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, No. 4 (October, 2006), 827-830; Gilbert Imlay, *A topographical description of the western territory of North America: containing a succinct account of its soil, climate, natural history, population, agriculture, manners and customs, with an ample description of the several divisions into which that country is divided*, 3d ed., vol. 1 (London: Printed for J. Debrett, 1797), 25, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University.

territories of the United States and provided them with a detailed look at the American culture and environment.⁵⁹

The Constables' journey within the United States foreshadowed subsequent tours that numerous Europeans would take in the nineteenth century. With the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, traveling became easier as steamboats brought tourists through the Hudson River Valley and over to Niagara Falls with ease. This change in transportation created the popular American Grand Tour that brought many people into the country. Similar to the Constables, subsequent travelers entered the nation with cultural baggage that influenced the way they viewed America and its burgeoning society.⁶⁰

William and Daniel came to America in 1806 and all these popular European concepts that had shaped their understanding of the world and their place within it traveled with them. While Daniel's voice is the most prominent prior to their departure, William encountered many of the same influences and ideologies. The Grand Tour mentality influenced their decision to embark on a long overseas journey to America. Additionally, popular culture and prominent theorists influenced their method of travel and what sites they viewed as important. Daniel and William chronicled their overseas adventures in journals and letters that revealed these cultural influences. As they traveled, the brothers searched for picturesque sites while William sketched the beautiful landscapes. They walked through most of their journey, eventually buying an ark after they reached the Ohio River, but chose to walk once again on their return from New Orleans. Their travels diverged from previous

⁵⁹ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. Frank Shuffelton (New York: Penguin Books, 1999); William Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For Thomas Jefferson's interest in the west see: James Ronda, *Finding the West: Explorations with Lewis and Clark* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001); Dan L Flores, ed., *Jefferson and Southwestern Exploration: The Freeman & Custis Accounts of the Red River Expedition of 1806* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984).

⁶⁰ Dunwell, 68; Gassan, *The Birth of American Tourism*, 70-92; Sheriff, 12-21.

tourists to America as they spent very little time in the larger cities and explored the west. In their search for the wilderness, the brothers engaged in an adventure inspired by ideologies that shaped what sites they traveled to and viewed as important.⁶¹

America embodied many of the different ideologies that advocated civil liberties and a general leveling of society. These theories influenced the Constables' opinions and mindset. With France closed to tourists because of war, the brothers turned their sights on America. The American nation represented many of the things they admired within the European revolutionary society. America had broken free of its British shackles and developed a democratic nation rid of class restrictions. Daniel and William – with their political leanings – should have demonstrated a more direct focus on governmental structures, but within their journey, they did not examine the developing government. Rather, they embarked on a tour of the United States over the western territory, an area infrequently visited by European travelers but prompted by their past influences.⁶²

Inspired by contemporary intellectual thought and the changing meaning of travel, Daniel and William embarked upon a journey that would take them around the periphery of the United States. Intellectual European theories shaped the way they viewed the landscape, people, and culture of America. Prior to their departure, Daniel had been involved in the drapery business for quite some time before he bought his own shop on May 29, 1802, in Brighton, England. The shop resided on North Street, which by 1800 was the main street in the town. William moved to Brighton in order to work with his brother in the store, a profitable venture since only two other drapery shops existed in Brighton. Within the domestic tourism boom started by the closing of Europe, many people traveled to the seaside

⁶¹ Percy G. Adams, ed. *Travel Literature through the Ages, xi-xxii*; Black, 3-10, 152-167.

⁶² For a more detailed description of America's transition from colony to republic, see Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1992).

town of Brighton because of its beautiful landscape and the commonly held belief that sea bathing cured chronic disorders. The popularity of healing vacations in addition to its location fifty-four miles south of London even made it popular with royalty during these years. During the summer season, crowds flocked to Brighton and visitors could spend the day on pleasure boats, at the hot baths, or with a book from the circulating library. Often the large crowds taxed the cities' resources during the summer so much that it required most people to reserve these aforementioned items a couple of hours before they wanted them. On March 3, 1806, despite the popularity and growth of Brighton, Daniel sold his profitable store and prepared for their adventure overseas. Because of his time in a city that was a tourist attraction, he understood the transforming importance of travel to the public in England.⁶³

On a thick hazy day five years before they departed for America, Daniel engaged in one of his favorite Sunday activities – reading. The books he read introduced him to explorers and many concepts associated with travel. March 1, 1801, was no different. Daniel curled up in front of the fire with the widely popular *Voyage in Search of La Pérouse*. A depressing story, it discussed the recent disappearance and search for Jean-François de Galaup La Pérouse, a naval officer sent by the French government to complete Captain James Cook's unfinished exploration. In 1785, Pérouse left Europe with two ships, rounded Cape Horn, and entered the Pacific Ocean. After three years at sea, the ships disappeared. The French government hurriedly gathered a search and rescue expedition, but this initial venture never found the missing captain. The rescue party described new scientific and geographic discoveries they encountered as they followed the same path as the earlier

⁶³ Fisher, 16, 103; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 29 May 1802, 3 March 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Jenkins, 21.

expedition. As Daniel turned the page, he entered the world of explorers and scientists who bravely ventured into unknown territories. The daring exploits intrigued Daniel from the safety of his home, and within five years, he began his own adventurous trip across the Atlantic Ocean.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 1 March 1801, Constable Papers, ACM; Jacques-Julien Labillardière, *Voyage in search of La Pérouse, performed by order of the Constituent Assembly, during the years 1791, 1792, 1793, and 1794*, Translated from the French (London, 1800), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University; Jean-François de Galaup La Pérouse, *The voyage of La Pérouse round the world, in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, with the nautical tables* (London, 1798), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University.

Adventure Tourism

Daniel turned his back to the falls and grabbed the ladder firmly before he lowered his right leg onto the first rung. His ears filled with the roar of Niagara Falls, and he felt a constant spray of water on his back. With each step down the ladder, his heart raced with fear. Loose rocks flew past him into the water below lessening his courage, but he continued lowering first his legs and then his arms down the imposing ladder. After climbing down more than two hundred feet, his foot surprisingly stepped on a slippery rock. As he caught his breath, Daniel assessed the area until William finished descending the ladder. The initial view disappointed them, so they decided to keep exploring. They climbed over many large boulders and each rock presented a new challenge as the fall's spray made them dangerously slick. Finally, they both stopped abruptly. There in front of them was the most overwhelming view of Niagara Falls. The brothers stared in mutual amazement as the waterfall's immense size and power hypnotized them. After a few hours, they decided to return to the top of the falls before they became too tired. They ascended the ladder, and the men carefully measured each step to ensure they made it safely to the top. After the harrowing excursion, the Constables returned to their inn slightly shaken, but exhilarated by the expedition. Just six months earlier – from the safety of their homes in England – the brothers could scarcely have imagined the adventurous outing they had just experienced.¹

When the brothers visited Niagara Falls, America had not become a popular tourist destination yet, but as the United States matured so did tourism. Many foreigners began

¹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 12 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 12 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

visiting the country and Americans profited from this by promoting local attractions. Initial travelers explored the larger cities to get a glimpse of the democratic American government, but with the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, a tourist boom flourished in western New York. As more people ventured to this area, entrepreneurs built an infrastructure to accommodate travelers with hotels and taverns that increased its popularity as a tourist region. The route became so popular that people eventually began calling it the American Grand Tour. Modeled after the European Grand Tour, the American version directed tourists from New York City to Albany and then west along the Erie Canal to Niagara Falls. The Constables witnessed different stages of the developing tourist infrastructure as they ventured farther west. Even before the widespread popularity of the American tour, some regions had already built a substantial infrastructure prior to 1806. These sites gained more publicity because many visitors wrote about their experiences, which then attracted even more tourists to the sites. The popularity of the tour increased as America's wilderness presented a distinctive attraction unavailable in Europe because the Old World had become more cultivated and enclosed.²

Many individuals had journeyed across the United States before the Constables made their trip, but the brothers marked a change from traveler to tourist. As they trekked across America, they searched for specific landmarks that they had read about while in England. Daniel and William planned their trip with the assistance of books that described the American environment, and they used these to highlight specific attractions they intended to see. The Constables traveled to America as adventure tourists, which meant that they planned

² Brown, 10-18; Gassan, *The Birth of American Tourism*, 70-92.

their trip around specific attractions they learned about before they left England. The sites they chose to see led them to the west.³

Travelers generally followed two different strategies when they toured the United States. Many individuals visited the larger cities and took stagecoaches between their destinations, whereas bolder people went off the beaten path to Niagara Falls and other areas farther west. The brothers – as adventure tourists – used books to guide them to attractions and traveled without the assistance of stagecoaches or organized tours through western America. Rather than confine their journey to the established cities, they embarked on adventure tourism. They hiked through the wilderness and accepted rides only when they injured themselves, which differed from the stereotypical tourist who paid for a carriage and stayed within safe or civilized regions. In their search for the wilderness, the Constables represented a new type of traveler who experienced the republic and at the same time formed a new appreciation for America separate from the European legacy commonly witnessed within established cities. The books they consulted raised their expectations for a scarcely populated area, yet many of the regions they visited had already experienced a tremendous population growth.⁴

The Constables followed the initial route of typical adventurers, which took them to Niagara Falls, to Pittsburgh, to the Ohio River, and then to Kentucky, but Daniel and William went farther. Rather than turning back at Limestone, Kentucky, which represented the more common route for travelers, the brothers ventured on to New Orleans. For example, François Michaux – a typical traveler in 1805 – engaged in his own adventurous journey, but he turned around at Limestone in order to return east. The brothers' desire to see the wilderness

³ Brown, 10-18; Gassan, *The Birth of American Tourism*, 70-92.

⁴ Maurice Kane and Hazel Tucker, "Adventure Tourism: The freedom to play with reality," *Tourist Studies* 4, no. 3 (2004): 217-234.

and specific tourist attractions directed their trip, which led them farther from the traditional route.⁵

With the increasing popularity of the European Grand Tour, tourists used many travel guidebooks – available in England since 1700 – to plan their trips. Traditionally, guidebooks had advised how to avoid disreputable areas. With the popularity of domestic and overseas journeys, entrepreneurial authors published books that advised people how to plan the perfect trip. Additionally, authors discussed their personal experiences and directed people’s attention to the appropriate sights and attractions. More people published memoirs from European jaunts, and some readers planned their trips from the information contained in these treatises.⁶

The Constables read the popular literature prior to their arrival, designed their route around attractions, and expected the scenery to correspond with the descriptions contained within these books. While they did not use traditional guidebooks, they read many accounts that discussed America. Throughout their journey they carried with them Gilbert Imlay’s *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*, which described many of the western regions they visited. They also glanced at William Winterbotham’s *An historical geographical, commercial, and philosophical view of the American United States*, which offered specific information about all the regions they visited. Additionally, they used

⁵ François Michaux, *Travels to the west of the Alleghany Mountains, in the states of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and back to Charleston, by the upper Carolinas* (London: 1805; reprint, Cleveland, 1904), 187, Library of Congress, General Collection; for earlier travelers that turned around at Kentucky see: Thaddeus Mason Harris, *Journal of a tour...northwest of the Alleghany Mountains; Made in the Spring of the Year 1803* (Boston, 1805; reprint, Cleveland, 1904), Library of Congress, General Collections; Nicholas Cresswell, *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777* (New York: L. MacVeagh, the Dial Press, 1924), Library of Congress, General Collection; André Michaux, *Journal of André Michaux, 1793-1796* (Cleveland, 1904), Library of Congress, General Collection; C.F. Volney, *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1804; reprint, New York: Hafner Publishing Company, Inc., 1968).

⁶ Richard Gassan, “The First American Tourist Guidebooks: Authorship and the Print Culture of the 1820s,” *Book History* 8 (2005): 51-52.

Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* to guide their trip through that state. They entered the country with what Historian Hal K. Rothman described as a scripted space, which he defined as an essential way to organize the new physical world they encountered and a way to remember it. Books similar to the ones they read, introduced an imagined landscape, providing readers with preconceived notions prior to their arrival about what the American republic resembled. The use of non-traditional books as travel guides represented a common idea used by people venturing into America. Daniel and William encountered a French man near Buffalo, New York, who also used popular literature; he recommended that before the brothers visit Virginia they should look at Jefferson's notes on Virginia again, which they did. Because of the books they had read prior to their adventure, the brothers anticipated undeveloped cities and wilderness and searched attentively for these places throughout their travels.⁷

The publication of numerous travel books shaped the expeditions of subsequent travelers. Picturesque travelers, inspired by the theories of William Gilpin, popularized artistic touring and shaped the modern *tourist gaze* that directed people to certain sites.

⁷ Imlay *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*; William Winterbotham, *An historical, geographical, commercial, and philosophical view of the American United States, and of the European settlements in America* (London: 1795), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University; Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. Frank Shuffelton (New York: Penguin Books, 1999); Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas), 10-14; For references to Gilbert Imlay see: Daniel Constable Journal 2, 18 December 1806, 14 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; For references to William Winterbotham see: Daniel Constable Journal 2, 18 December 1806, 12 June 1807, 15 June 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; For references to Thomas Jefferson see: William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 15 June 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 3, 28 June 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; For references to comte de Volney see: William Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Other travelers also used Imlay's book as a guide to their western journey as traveler Francis Baily noted within his journal a discrepancy in the width of the Muskingum River's Mouth compared to Imlay's measurements. Baily measured it at 150 yards whereas Imlay measured it at 200 yards, for more information see: Francis Baily *Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 & 1797*, ed. Jack D.L. Holmes (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1969), 31, 83; William Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

Sociologist John Urry has argued that the *tourist gaze* occurred when people focused on landscapes and townscapes as a way to remove themselves from their everyday lives. Individuals would capture a truly remarkable view in a painting, or later in a photograph, which allowed the person to continue to gaze at the site thereby recapturing the feelings and emotions that it had previously evoked. The act of tourism separated an individual from their everyday life. It constructed a point where the ordinary and extraordinary met, providing a distinctive experience unattainable at home.⁸

With the increasing number of people embarking on journeys, a term emerged to define the new class. *Tourist* first appeared in the *Oxford English Dictionary* during the 1780s as a synonym for *traveler*, while *tourism* did not appear until the 1820s. These words entered the lexicon because of the dramatic increase in British citizens traveling for leisure and educational purposes. Despite emerging later in the dictionary, the term *tourism* did not mark the beginning of the event, but simply that people had thought about it differently, commonly adopted it, and started shifting their focus from the type of person touring to the infrastructure of tourism. Initially, *tourist* represented simply a new word for traveller, but throughout the nineteenth century it developed a negative connotation. As a flood of people embarked for foreign countries, an anti-touristic sentiment emerged and *tourist* obtained a more derogatory meaning.⁹

While tourism had become a more recognized recreational activity, scholars dispute the date of its emergence in America. Many scholars have defined tourism as beginning with the advent of organized tours, thereby marked by large numbers of people engaged in the activity. According to this definition, English Literature scholar Chloe Chard believes

⁸ Urry, 3-12.

⁹ Thompson, 32-43; Buzard, 1; Lamb, 18-20.

tourism emerged in 1820. This study defines adventure tourism as occurring prior to the establishment of organized tours. Rather than marking adventure tourism's beginnings with its widespread popularity, the term itself denoted when a person embarked on a dangerous adventure where they also searched for specific sites. By adhering to this definition, adventure tourism emerged between 1790 and 1810 in America.¹⁰

Despite the undeveloped nature of American tourism when the Constables ventured to the west, local entrepreneurs searched for an attribute that would attract people and unite the country at the same time. America did not have the ancient ruins like Europe to bring people to the country. Instead, the natural environment had potential to attract visitors if marketed appropriately. Within his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Thomas Jefferson praised the American environment, specifically the Natural Bridge in Virginia. He believed that people would traverse the Atlantic Ocean to see this site by itself, not to mention the other natural wonders in the nation. Jefferson's promotion of the west was just one part of a popular movement. Americans promoted nature rather than culture to tourists, and it became the primary interest of visitors. In order to attract people, local entrepreneurs emphasized the difference between nature in Europe and the United States, and this distinction appeared in America's wilderness; nature alone would not increase tourists, but rather the wildness of that nature represented a quality non-existent in Europe.¹¹

Many early travelers searched for natural sites within America, and waterfalls assumed a prominent position as fashionable attractions. In certain cases, a specific waterfall became popular because of the many people that described and sketched it. Niagara Falls attained this sense of renown, but rather than simply remain an attraction for many, it became

¹⁰ Chard, 215-216; Lamb, 18; Brown, 10-16.

¹¹ Jefferson, 26-27; Ronda, 62-63; Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3d ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 69-70; Yokota, 155-156.

a tourist destination. A tourist destination differed from an attraction because it drew large crowds to view it, developed an infrastructure to support those people, and became the final goal for trips. Niagara Falls earned the title of a tourist destination as more people planned visits to the site, which was encouraged by new methods of travel. Entrepreneurs started viewing the potential value of the falls, and they constructed roads, canals, and hotels to increase the number of visitors and make money from the natural spectacle. This transformed the surrounding environment. Local business owners exploited the site that led tourists such as Isabella Bird to complain in 1856 about the many shops, museums, and taverns that disfigured the falls making it less attractive.¹²

While tourism reached widespread popularity during the 1820s, many people visited the United States earlier and stayed within the safety of cities. John Davis represented a stereotypical English traveler when he explored America from 1798 to 1802. He began in New York City and proceeded to New Jersey while focusing on the cities and political institutions. Additionally, rather than embarking for Niagara Falls he continued to Philadelphia by carriage. After Davis investigated and recorded the inner workings of Philadelphia, he boarded a ship for Charleston. While in South Carolina, he did venture into the backcountry, but always within sight of civilization. Another traveler, John Lambert, also confined his exploration to larger cities. Visiting America at the same time as the Constables, he paid carriages to transport him from New York to Charleston and Boston. Lambert, an Englishman, followed the earlier tourist routine and went to established cities, claiming that “I had to see the effect of a *foreign* government upon the minds and manners of a people widely differing from ourselves: and in the other, the effect of a *new* government upon those

¹² Brian Hudson, “Waterfalls, Tourism and Landscape,” *Geography* 91, no. 1 (spring 2006): 4-7; Isabella Bird, *The Englishwoman in America* (London: John Murray, 1856), 219, Library of Congress, General Collection.

who a few years ago were British subjects.” [original emphasis]¹³ Davis and Lambert characterized the stereotypical traveler in the United States during this time. They stayed within the safety of the cities, transported by carriages, and focused on the inner workings of the country. The Constables’ adventures denoted a change in tourism with their decision to venture by foot across the country and visit the less populated but more dangerous regions.¹⁴

Throughout their time in America, the Constables stayed at various lodgings and eventually met a man from England who discussed the American Republic with them. Only referred to as Mr. White in their journals, the new acquaintance also toured the United States but expressed much disgust with everything he encountered. White believed that he paid too much for traveling expenses, complaining that he spent as much a day in America as he would have paid in England. The Englishman journeyed with considerable baggage and hired a wagon and driver to escort him around the nation. Rather than touring like the stereotypical Englishman, the brothers traveled for adventure and walked the majority of their trip.¹⁵

Normally when English citizens embarked on a journey to America, they attempted to gain access to the upper levels of society. Tourists sent out numerous letters of introduction and then fraternized with men of leisure who mirrored their own standings in England. John Davis described this method in his journal. Throughout his trip, he explored America and spent his time cavorting with men of political standing. He developed relationships with

¹³ John Lambert, *Travels through Canada, and the United States of North America, in the years 1806, 1807, & 1808: to which are added biographical notices and anecdotes of some of the leading characters in the United States*, 2d ed. (London: Printed for C. Cradock and W. Joy, 1814), Library of Congress, General Collections, xvii.

¹⁴ John Davis, *Travels of four years and a half in the United States of America; during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802* (London: R. Edwards, 1803), Library of Congress, General Collections.

¹⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 17 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

notable people such as Thomas Jefferson. While Daniel and William met with Thomas Paine, the majority of their travels focused more on discovering the country.¹⁶

With an increased number of people starting to visit America, different regions of the United States experienced surges in tourism. In Paterson, New Jersey, this occurred relatively early. Its location close to New York City and the presence of a waterfall – the Passaic Falls – drew many people, including travelers who had only intended to stay in New York. In 1787, Abraham Godwin announced that he had opened a house of entertainment near the Passaic Falls only twenty-three miles from New York City. By this point the falls had already gained publicity; Godwin noted “the curiosities and beauties of this place are so well known by many who have seen it, that a description of it may appear unnecessary.”¹⁷

Advertisements touted its picturesque view and constructed roads to and from the attraction, which increased its popularity. By 1802, the Passaic Falls had become a noted tourist attraction in New Jersey. An advertisement promoting the site noted “such as delight in picturesque scenery, ought to avail themselves of the present opportunity of enjoying this charming prospect.”¹⁸ The announcement asserted that the perfect time to witness the falls was in the autumn with the colorful foliage. A stagecoach, running twice a week from New York City to Passaic Falls, reinforced the tourist business by providing people with easy transportation to the site. The natural wonder acquired a wider appeal in 1804 with descriptions of the falls reaching cities farther away. A Philadelphia newspaper noted that “Passaic Falls is one of the greatest natural curiosities in the state of New Jersey: it is resorted to not only by foreigners, but by great numbers of our own citizens, being situated but 18 miles from Newark, from whence there is a good road and a regular stage to

¹⁶ Brown, 21; Davis, 183.

¹⁷ *Elizabethtown New Jersey Journal*, 13 June 1787, p. 4.

¹⁸ “Passaic Falls,” *New York Daily Advertiser*, 29 September 1802, p. 3.

Patterson.”¹⁹ Newspaper articles attracted large crowds to the falls, which resulted in a local decision to build an infrastructure that made the site more memorable. When the tourist approached the waterfall, large rocks blocked the view, so local promoters installed ladders next to the cataract so guests could view the scenery from the top, offering people a birds-eye view. The description and advertisements for the site circulated across the United States. A paper in Charleston, South Carolina, printed an ad in 1804 that highlighted the falls and signified the beginning of the season to potential tourists.²⁰

Entrepreneurs from the Passaic Falls started promoting more seasons for tourists to view the beautiful site. In the *New York Gazette* a letter to the editor announced that with the late fall rain the area teemed with life. In the letter the author described the beauty of the falls to entice visitors: “As the water is of a proper height...to display the Rainbows caused by the reflection of the sun on the spray thereof, to the greatest advantage; which certainly add great beauty to the scene.”²¹ By 1808, traditional advertisements were no longer necessary because people knew about the site. In the newspaper *The Olive-Branch*, a piece of poetry entitled “Passaic Falls- A Tradition,” demonstrated its established position as a favorite tourist destination.²²

A few weeks after their arrival in New York City, the Constables decided that they wanted to see the famous attraction. When observing the region William remarked that Paterson, New Jersey, near the Passaic Falls had acquired fame with its manufacturing plants, “but it obtains a much wider celebrity from a most beautiful cataract on the Passaic,” thus

¹⁹ *Philadelphia Repository and Weekly Register*, 7 January 1804, p. 5.

²⁰ “Passaic Falls,” *Charleston City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 29 August 1804, p. 2; “Passaic Falls,” *New York Morning Chronicle*, 14 August 1804, p. 2.

²¹ *New York Gazette & General Advertiser*, 12 June 1805, p. 3.

²² *Norwich (New York) The Olive-Branch*, 2 July 1808, p. 4.

demonstrating their awareness of the tourist destination it had become.²³ The transition from natural site to tourist attraction revealed the increasing popularity of the waterfall. Local papers featured articles and advertisements that changed how people thought about the falls, viewing it as a tourist destination rather than just a passing sight. The brothers viewed the site as tourists, with William engaged in sketching the falls and Daniel spending his time in more active pursuits. They also encountered other tourists visiting the waterfall. A man from South Carolina shared poetry that he had written about the Passaic Falls, demonstrating that people traveled great distances to view the attraction.²⁴

The sights of the Passaic Falls impressed the Constables so much that they visited the attraction on two separate trips. On their first excursion they simply took a retreat from New York City. Then fifteen days later, they started their larger overland journey and decided to stop again so William could get a better sketch of the falls. The initial trip to the Passaic Falls represented pleasure tourism, which existed in areas relatively close to larger urban settings. At the transportation hub on Courtlands Street where they stayed in New York City, Daniel and William boarded a stagecoach that took them to a ferry in order to cross over to New Jersey. Despite an unimpressive stagecoach, they made it to Newark in less than two hours. Constructed roads eased transportation through swamps and lightly settled regions, which allowed many passengers to make a day trip of the excursion.²⁵

Though day travel to the Passaic Falls from New York City was easy and comfortable, overnight accommodations lacked quality. Daniel and William stayed one week at the Passaic Falls, excitedly leaving the boarding house where they resided during their

²³ William Constable Journal 1, 26 June 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁴ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 26 July 1806, 28 July 1806, 29 July 1806, 30 July 1806, 31 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 28 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 10 July 1806, 25 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 1, 11-13, Constable Papers, ACM.

visit. The Constables felt that their landlord and his family disregarded the rules of polite society because the sixteen-year-old wife often appeared dirty and rarely wore stockings. While the newspaper ads demonstrated that the Passaic Falls had become a popular attraction, the infrastructure to support tourism took longer to develop.²⁶

After leaving the Passaic Falls, the brothers proceeded north to Albany and then west along the Mohawk River; when they traveled farther inland, they moved past the tourist destinations close to large cities that had quickly attained popularity. Despite the distance, spas in upstate New York had become more popular amongst tourists – specifically Ballston Spa and Saratoga Springs – as businessmen built hotels and promoted the areas as elite getaways. During the nineteenth century, mineral spas became very popular destinations where affluent individuals relaxed and rejuvenated in northern New York. While the Constables did not visit these facilities, they did encounter some sulfur springs and deviated from their planned route. Across from Harrowgate Springs near Albany, New York, they visited a sulfur spring discovered by local people. The site had become popular for the medicinal water sold there for two cents a glass. They also encountered one more sulfur spring farther along on their journey, after viewing the Genesee Falls in northwestern New York; this one did not contain as much sulfur as the one at Albany. Even so, the springs did not constitute a major tourist attraction, yet the natural environment impressed the brothers and they ventured off their route to visit them.²⁷

After Albany, the Constables followed the Genesee Road, which eased the movement of travelers and tourists. As people continued to migrate westward, roads assumed greater

²⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 2 August 1806, 10 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁷ William Constable Journal 2, 9 August 1806, 7 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 7 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Gassan, *The Birth of American Tourism*, 9-28; Brown, 24-28.

significance. By 1803, builders had constructed two-thirds of the turnpike from Boston to Albany, and then on to Niagara Falls. The completion of the road enabled people to go into the western territory of New York and eventually to Niagara Falls. By the time Daniel and William moved through the area, taverns lined the road and offered visitors a place to sleep and food to eat.²⁸

The developed roads in western New York would attract many tourists, but at the beginning of the nineteenth century local people promoted their construction with different motivations in mind. In 1802 as the turnpikes survived the heavy spring rains, local citizens advocated extending them because the floods had destroyed the other roads. A group of men who owned companies located in the area between Schenectady and Canandaigua also promoted the extension of the road on to Niagara Falls, which business owners believed would lead to a constant stream of stagecoaches. In 1802, an anonymous article in *The Providence Gazette* predicted, “a trip to Niagara Falls will become the order of the day – not only for the sake of seeing the Falls, but for the pleasure of travelling over one of the finest countries in America.”²⁹ Additionally, a desire to cultivate and renovate western lands corresponded with earlier ideas about land development. Americans believed they had arrived in the New World to complete God’s work. Thereby, cultivation and civilization improved the territory, just as improving the turnpike would facilitate transportation and make it easier for people to travel.³⁰

By the early nineteenth century, many changes had occurred in the Mohawk Valley that presented the Constables with an environment unlike the area they had read about prior

²⁸ “To Congress,” *New York City The Daily Advertiser*, 28 January, p. 3; Mesick, 18-19, 60.

²⁹ “Extract of a letter from a gentleman travelling in the western parts of the state, to his friend in Albany,” *The Providence Gazette*, 17 July 1802, p. 3.

³⁰ Sheriff, 16-17; Yokota, 59.

to their journey. For example, a bridge over the Little Falls of the Mohawk completed in 1792 changed the original view of the falls. Local newspaper articles promoted the site and discussed how the bridge enhanced the beauty of the falls; “the arch spring upon the rocks falling perpendicular 25 feet to the surface of the water, which breaks and rolls in a wild confusion, most romantically, on each side of the curious bridge.”³¹ Bridges crossed the river and roads lined the countryside, showing a less wild version of the region than they thought they would encounter.

Land farther west possessed fewer roads and bridges, which delayed the development of western sites such as Niagara Falls from becoming popular travel destinations until years later. In 1683, the first European eyewitness account of this waterfall reached Europe. Father Louis Hennepin had accompanied an exploratory expedition to find the Mississippi River and published his description of Niagara Falls in *Description de la Louisiane*. Following this publication, several French explorers printed their accounts, but the first English language description did not appear until 1751. Peter Kalm’s journal provided England with its first eyewitness depiction of Niagara Falls. “I cannot with words express,” Kalm proclaimed, “how amazing it is! You cannot see it without being quite terrified; to behold so vast a quantity of water falling headlong from a surprising height!”³² These early descriptions intrigued adventurous individuals who flocked to the site. Some fifteen years later, traveler Jonathan Carver felt that so many authors had described Niagara Falls he did not need to explain its features; rather his account discussed items disregarded in previous journals – such as the river’s origin – to differentiate himself from other authors. In a 1799 description of Niagara Falls, an anonymous author explained the horrifying awe he experienced upon

³¹ *Providence The United States Chronicle: Political, Commercial, and Historical*, 20 September 1792, p. 2.

³² Charles Mason Dow, *Anthology and Bibliography of Niagara Falls*, vol. 1 (Albany: J.B. Lyon Company Printers, 1921), 56.

viewing the famed site: “As the view of the water opens to him, he is lost in amazement, while he bobbles down the steep bank and places his foot on the Table Rock, at the very edge of this tremendous cataract. Here for a long time he remains, half petrified with horror, till he is wet with mist.”³³ At this time, a ladder allowed visitors to descend the cliffs to the water’s edge. This provided the tourist with a more overwhelming view of the cataract, as the individual could descend into the base of the waterfall. With this new addition to the falls, traveler Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur described his adventurous trip, highlighting his brave descent down the cliff. His harrowing description attracted subsequent travelers to the site.³⁴

With the popularity of Niagara Falls increasing, many artists recreated the waterfall on canvas. In 1800, artist Mr. Earl advertised his painting of Niagara Falls, which he had displayed in several American cities. Not only did art increase the popularity of a site, it also promoted a sense of nationalism over these great natural wonders. Word spread about the waterfall’s beauty, and paintings of Niagara Falls became so popular that American artists marketed and sold their art overseas.³⁵

Similar to other adventurous tourists, the travel guides that the Constables referenced increased their desire to witness Niagara Falls firsthand. Gilbert Imlay noted the magnitude of Niagara Falls stating that the cataract had the largest quantity of water falling over the edge than any other waterfall in America. Winterbotham’s book advertised the falls as well, comparing it to other cataracts that paled in size and grandeur. In another description of the

³³ “A description of the Falls of Niagara,” *The Newburyport Herald and Country Gazette (Massachusetts)*, 1 March 1799, p. 4.

³⁴ Pierre Berton, *Niagara: A History of the Falls* (New York: Kodansha America, Inc., 1992), 12-20; Dow, 66. While Crèvecoeur plagiarized much of his account, when it was published it was believed to be true and influenced the direction of subsequent travelers, thus increasing the popularity of the Niagara Falls.

³⁵ *Boston Columbian Centinel*, 12 March 1800, p. 2; “Falls of Niagara,” *Northampton (Massachusetts) Republican Spy*, 25 June 1805, p. 4.

falls, Volney praised it as “the greatest of the American cataracts.”³⁶ In fact, these glowing reviews of the waterfall influenced Daniel’s and William’s decision to visit the site, and with these descriptions they developed their own ideas about Niagara Falls.³⁷

When they visited the waterfall, they viewed both the Canadian and American side and even climbed down the falls. Daniel described this harrowing adventure and noted, “we descended the rock which was here perpendicular near 100 feet high at the bottom of which the rocks and large stones sloped away to the waters edge very steep near 200 feet more, our ascent was obliquely among the roots of trees and small shelving places in the rocks, the slipping [sic] of a foot the breaking away of the roots...or the slipping away of these projecting parts of the rock, all of which seemed likely enough to happen would have been certain destruction.”³⁸ Daniel remarked that the large scale of the falls and their roar produced an overwhelming sensation. The feat so overwhelmed him that he vowed never to climb another large waterfall again. By the time the Constables visited the falls, the ladder had already been set in place for the more adventurous individuals. While they traversed the site, the brothers searched for specific features they had read about before their American excursion. William wanted to witness a famous whirlpool located one mile downriver, yet he never found the attraction. He noted that previous explorers claimed that the whirlpool took down whole trees with its force.³⁹

While they stayed at Niagara Falls, the brothers resided in a number of different locations, but many of the nearby accommodations did not impress them. When they arrived within two miles of the waterfall they stopped at Shannon’s tavern, but after staying there for

³⁶ Volney, 83.

³⁷ Imlay, 504-505; Winterbotham, vol. 3, 84.

³⁸ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 15 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 12 September 1806, 15 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 14 September 1806, 15 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

one night, they vowed never to return. William complained, “we had every thing [sic] here very comfortable except our hostess, who seem’d to have more acid in her composition than the milk of human kindness, in one word she is one of the most uncivil b---hes we have yet met with.”⁴⁰ They looked for a new inn and William mentioned his astonishment that “this is but a very little place with two Inns but very ill-furnish’d considering the great resort of people of wealth and pleasure who come to visit the falls.”⁴¹ Before they arrived, the brothers already considered Niagara Falls an established tourist destination; therefore, it surprised them that so few accommodations existed near the falls.

In subsequent years, transportation to the waterfall improved which led to local entrepreneurs constructing more inns and taverns to accommodate tourists. When the Constables traveled through western New York, affluent individuals rode in carriages on the turnpike to its western terminus at Canandaigua. A western stage publicized its readiness to carry people to these regions, “Ladies and Gentlemen, visiting the falls of Niagara may at all times be accommodated.”⁴² As tourists became more aware of the waterfall, local businessmen invested money in the region. Following the War of 1812, William Forsyth built the first large scale luxury hotel by Niagara Falls, the Pavilion Hotel, which he designed for the upper classes with expensive wines and liquors to entice the elite visitors with its luxury. Realizing the key to attracting and keeping the tourists at his establishment required harnessing the potential of Niagara Falls, Forsyth also built a covered stairway down the cliff to the base of the waterfall in 1818. With discussion of opening a canal across western New York, more entrepreneurs looked at Niagara Falls as an investment. Originally, upper class citizens had endured a nine-day excursion in wagons, but once the canal opened, in 1825,

⁴⁰ William Constable Journal 2, 12 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁴¹ William Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁴² “Western Stage,” *Albany The Balance*, & *New-York State Journal*, 25 May 1810, p. 1.

they enjoyed smooth and comfortable sailing to their destination. As a result, more tourists visited the site.⁴³

Niagara Falls became the pinnacle of the American Grand Tour, and local promoters developed more elaborate ways to entertain tourists. Ships plunged over the falls and daredevils jumped off the cliffs into the river below. Travelers sent their notes to newspapers and editors published them as recurring story segments. In an article by an anonymous traveler, he described the general area, but focused on the majesty and size of the falls. In many newspapers, these letters to the editor promoted tourist destinations to an interested public, thus providing another form of advertisement for local promoters.⁴⁴

After Niagara Falls, Daniel and William embarked on other adventurous escapades, while also demonstrating their tourist tendencies. To make their trip easier the brothers purchased a canoe despite having little knowledge of such a vessel. They demonstrated their lack of experience shortly after attaining the canoe as William tried to steer it through rapids but ended up stuck on a sandbar with water pouring into the boat. Their canoe quickly filled with water, and they grasped for their most valuable possessions. Daniel grabbed William's sketches saving them from destruction and a stick he had obtained at Niagara Falls. The Constables acquired souvenirs throughout their journey that helped them remember their time in America. For example, after killing a young rattlesnake outside of Buffalo, New York, William cut off its tail and brought it with him as another memento.⁴⁵

As the Constables ventured through the western regions, they searched for locations they had read about in their books. They encountered one of these sites at the confluence of

⁴³ Berton, 23-33; Sheriff, 12-21.

⁴⁴ Berton, 37-50; *Windsor (Vermont) The Post-Boy*, 21 January 1806, p. 20; "Genesee Country," *Peacham (Vermont) The Green Mountain Patriot*, 4 February 1806, p. 1.

⁴⁵ William Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, 27 September 1806, 30 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 27 September 1806, 30 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

the Muskingum and Ohio Rivers, an Indian burial site that intrigued them with its mysterious past. A 1798 article described the location as consisting “of walls and mounds of earth, in direct lines, and in square and circular forms. The largest square contains 40 acres. On each side are three openings, at equal distances, resembling twelve gateways.”⁴⁶ The dirt walls reached a height of eight feet and a width of twenty-five to thirty feet, with one of the mounds having a diameter of 115 feet. At this point, scientists provided a date for the structure by looking at tree circles from felled trees on top of the mounds. With this new information, scientists dated the structures at 450 years old. By 1811, settlers had built the city of Tomlinson, Ohio, on top of the mounds. The people even dug away sides of the ancient forts to construct their stables and homes. An 1811 article in the *Alexandria Daily Gazette* reported that, “one of the mounds in Col. Brigg’s garden was excavated in order to make an ice house. It contained a vast number of human bones, a variety of stone tools, and a kind of stone signet of an oval shape.”⁴⁷ While Daniel and William displayed a noticeable interest in the site, the destruction of these mounds demonstrated that settlers did not value them as important pieces of America’s history that could attract tourists. Instead they destroyed them.⁴⁸

Daniel and William consciously searched for this site on their journey, demonstrating a curiosity about the ancient structure. The Constables had read about the mounds in Imlay’s book, which noted that “these works are very extensive, and evidently mark the ingenuity of man in very remote and former ages...there are here several mounds still retaining a conical figure, and forming the sepulchres of a people far more advanced in civilization than any

⁴⁶ “American Antiquities,” *Philadelphia Claypoole’s American Daily Advertiser*, 24 November 1798, p. 2.

⁴⁷ “Western Antiquities,” *Alexandria Daily Gazette, Commercial and Political*, 24 May 1811, p. 2.

⁴⁸ Henry Clyde Shetrone, *The Mound-Builders* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, Inc., 1930), 261-262.

which have yet been discovered in this part of the continent.”⁴⁹ Within his journal, Daniel revealed his interest in the site. He remarked that at, “Marietta are the Remains of ancient military works which historians and travelers of the present day, have no knowledge about [;] there is one large mound and many smaller ones, which on being opened were found to be full of human bones, - we meant to have viewed them, had not the snow been so deep.”⁵⁰ While this site did not attract traditional European tourists, it did appeal to more adventuresome individuals not afraid to embark on their own paths.

Other regions in the western territory also gained popularity for unique features. The Constables purposely went out of their way to visit Big Bone Lick in Kentucky in order to view the mammoth bones found in that location. As they grew closer to the site, Daniel revealed his excitement, writing, “we got up and made her fast, as we was fearful of passing the Big Bone Licks before day.”⁵¹ Despite their enthusiasm, the region disappointed them. The people they met focused more on the value of the land than the bones within it. This interest in the land’s value appeared in a 1794 newspaper ad selling the territory, noting the presence of salt, but not mentioning the mammoth bones. Americans believed the importance of the land came from its natural minerals.⁵²

Despite this decidedly business-minded attitude, some newspaper articles complained about the lack of decorum scavengers had when they encountered these prehistoric bones. A Philadelphia paper noted, “Bishop Madison will be disappointed in getting an entire skeleton; the bones, at least several of them after having been exposed several days in the open air

⁴⁹ Imlay, 21.

⁵⁰ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 8 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵¹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 16 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵² “Valuable Property in the State of Kentucky for Sale,” *The Philadelphia Gazette and Universal Daily Advertiser*, 9 June 1794, p. 4.

become very brittle, and the country people have carried off several.”⁵³ Many local people did not view the bones as remarkable except in their ability to make money by selling them to tourists.

Big Bone Lick appeared in the books of Imlay and Winterbotham and alerted the Constables to a tourist attraction. According to Imlay, the site had once contained mammoth skeletons, but scavengers had removed many of the bones and sent them to museums. Winterbotham also mentioned the large sized bones found along the Ohio River, but provided a more detailed depiction. He claimed that “these bones have attracted the attention of philosophers; specimens of them have been sent both to France and England.”⁵⁴ The two different accounts demonstrated the various attitudes to the site. Winterbotham’s description appeared more like a tour guide than Imlay’s book, which took a businesslike approach. In Daniel’s journal he demonstrated his familiarity with these works by writing, “These huge bones which have so much excited the attention of the philosophers were first discovered here and since I believe at some other salt licks, for a particular account of which see Imlay or Winterbotham.”⁵⁵

As they floated down the Ohio River, Daniel and William actively searched for the location of Big Bone Lick. When they found the site, they went to a house and inquired about where to find the bones. William spoke to a man who possessed a mammoth tooth that he showed the Constables, which measured nine inches in length, four inches in width, and eight and a half pounds in weight. After speaking with the man, they departed again for Big Bone Lick before encountering another local man at a salt manufactory who also had a tooth. They

⁵³ *Philadelphia The United States Gazette*, 3 February 1806, p. 3; *Walpole (New Hampshire) Political Observatory*, 21 February 1806, p. 2.

⁵⁴ Winterbotham, vol. 3, 137-140.

⁵⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 18 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Imlay, 301.

asked if more of these could be found at the site because the brothers wished to bring some back with them. The local man remarked that no more appeared near the surface. Pointing to the site, he told them that by digging fifteen or eighteen feet they might come upon some more bones. The local man also noted that upon first discovery scavengers took wagonloads of bones, thus depleting the region of the artifacts that Daniel and William expected. The Constables offered him one dollar for his tooth, which the man accepted, laughing heartily at their naiveté.⁵⁶

After they left Big Bone Lick, the brothers continued to New Orleans because Imlay's description of the city piqued the Constables' interest; although after they visited, they left with an unfavorable impression. Imlay's information stemmed from his previous commercial enterprises sending goods to New Orleans and thus dictated how he discussed the city. As businessmen, the commercial transactions made this city notable and interested the brothers, but local conditions did not impress them at all. Initially, New Orleans shocked them with the outright disrespect of the Sabbath and dirty streets. Even so, the city had a tourist infrastructure already in place with hotels and taverns because many people visited the city on business or pleasure.⁵⁷

Although the brothers had many sites that they planned to visit, they frequently altered their trip if they encountered an intriguing location. While drifting down the Ohio River, they noticed a cave on the Indiana shore and they decided to delay their journey while they explored it. The cave had a manmade ladder that led to an opening, and they attempted to ascend the ladder, "but the look of the place deterred us, the opening in the rock being

⁵⁶ William Constable Journal 2, 18 December 1806, Constables Papers, ACM.

⁵⁷ Imlay, 34, 71, 266, 328-334; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 15 March 1807, 16 March 1807, 17 March 1807, 18 March 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

quite upright and as difficult to get up as a chimney.”⁵⁸ Though they did not go farther into the cave, Daniel and William nonetheless displayed an adventurous spirit by exploring natural wonders that deviated from their original plan.

While traveling from New Orleans to Natchez, the Constables decided to visit Attakapas and Opelousas, some 500 miles out of their way. Daniel explained the decision by stating “as this is said to be the flower of the western world we have a strong desire to see it.”⁵⁹ In order to make their way back, they ventured north on the Mississippi River in a pirogue fighting against the current. Next, they followed a bayou to a canal that led to the lakes of Lower Louisiana, but the dry canal forced them to walk over this passageway. To travel this longer land journey, Daniel and William had to carry numerous items, which made the trip more tedious and exhausting. Along the route, the brothers found very few friendly accommodations where patrons would allow strangers to spend the night. The French inhabitants who lived near the Mississippi River refused to accommodate any outsiders because previous boatmen had taken advantage of them. They no longer trusted strangers.⁶⁰

The farther they ventured into Louisiana the more unwelcoming conditions Daniel and William faced. Two days travel south of Natchez they found accommodations, but the supper they received disappointed Daniel with its poor quality. He decided to leave and go to the next establishment to eat breakfast. When Daniel asked the next owner for breakfast, “he flatly and surly refused us,” and they walked twelve miles to the next town for their meal.⁶¹ The accommodations paled in comparison to those they had encountered along the Mohawk River in New York, which had developed finer establishments because of the many people

⁵⁸ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 11 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 24 March 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶⁰ William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 31 March 1806, 6 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶¹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 25 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

traveling through the region. This area in Louisiana had not witnessed too many sightseers, so the tourist infrastructure did not exist yet. As such, the Constables encountered less than hospitable conditions.⁶²

Daniel embraced the tourist experience in Louisiana by interacting with wildlife. He shot an alligator for sport; later he encountered the dead carcass of an alligator and hammered some of the teeth from the jaw for a souvenir. In a move that demonstrated his bravery, he later roped a live alligator's jaw and held it until a boatman broke its skull with an axe. Daniel displayed little fear of these animals because some local people had told him that men could walk away from the creatures. This false information almost got him into trouble. Daniel washed at a river, and a large alligator quickly darted towards him; a local man shot the creature, saving his life.⁶³

Daniel and William had read about the wilderness prior to their excursion and they searched for it throughout their trip; they hoped to experience the real wilderness, which they defined as an area only inhabited by the Native Americans. The Constables searched for the

⁶² The accommodations were much better from New York City to Albany than later parts of their journey. For the discussion of accommodations from New York City to Albany see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, 2 August 1806, 3 August 1806, 4 August 1806, 5 August 1806, 6 August 1806, 8 August 1806, 9 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 25 July 1806, 2 August 1806, 3 August 1806, 4 August 1806, 5 August 1806, 6 August 1806, 9 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; There were still plenty of accommodations from Albany to Niagara Falls along the turnpike, but many of the taverns were not as nice. For the discussions of accommodations from Albany to Niagara Falls see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, 13 August 1806, 14 August 1806, 15 August 1806, 17 August 1806, 18 August 1806, 19 August 1806, 21 August 1806, 28 August 1806, 1 September 1806, 5 September 1806, 6 September 1806, 8 September 1806, 9 September 1806, 10 September 1806, 11 September 1806, 12 September 1806, 13 September 1806, 15 September 1806, 16 September 1806, 18 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 13 August 1806, 15 August 1806, 16 August 1806, 17 August 1806, 18 August 1806, 21 August 1806, 30 August 1806, 31 August 1806, 5 September 1806, 7 September 1806, 8 September 1806, 9 September 1806, 10 September 1806, 12 September 1806, 14 September 1806, 15 September 1806, 18 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For their journey from Niagara Falls to New Orleans there were less accommodations. Additionally because there were less places to rest at night, the brothers bought an ark with a brick chimney that they slept on as they encountered fewer places of habitation. For mention of the ark see: Daniel Constable Journal 2, 14 December 1806, 15 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For their thoughts and comments on accommodations in the latter part of their journey see: Daniel Constable Journal 2, 24 September 1806, 25 September 1806, 26 September 1806, 26 September 1806, 27 September 1806, 28 September 1806, 28 September 1806, 30 September 1806, 1 December 1806, 17 March 1807, 16 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶³ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 7 April 1807, 14 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

wilderness all the way to New Orleans. At the junction of the Mississippi River and the Ohio River, Daniel noted, “all here is perfect wilderness, no traces of any living human except Indians, the woods are so thick with vines, canes and bushes that it is no easy matter to get about.”⁶⁴ While their true experience with wilderness came later, they searched nonetheless. They finally encountered these conditions on their 170-mile trek along the Natchez Trace.⁶⁵

The brothers continued searching for tourist attractions they had read about, so they walked to Virginia where they finally visited the Natural Bridge, a site that had brought increased tourism to the state. Thomas Jefferson generated more interest when he completed *Notes on the State of Virginia* in 1781 and published it in 1785. Following this publication, American newspaper editors printed many articles about the natural wonder. Prior to Jefferson’s publication, the Natural Bridge rarely appeared within newspapers. Jefferson’s description immediately brought it to light as a prominent tourist attraction for domestic and international travelers. While the route to view the Natural Bridge did not become as popular as the route through New York, the site gained celebrity because of Jefferson’s fame and popularity. People visited the site in order to view it for themselves and measure out the dimensions of the bridge. In later years, newspaper articles focused on Jefferson and mentioned the Natural Bridge only as a side note to an article about the famous American. Because of its association with Jefferson, the site remained a popular tourist attraction and descriptions of it intrigued the Constables. Additionally, Winterbotham described the Natural Bridge as one of the most sublime natural wonders and proclaimed that, “it is impossible for the emotions arising from the sublime, to be felt beyond what they are here: so beautiful an arch, so elevated, so light, and springing as it were up to Heaven, the rapture of the spectator

⁶⁴ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 24 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶⁵ William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

is really indescribable.”⁶⁶ While the site acquired fame for its natural beauty, the tourist infrastructure did not develop in the region as quickly as in New York, which led to only the more adventurous people visiting the site.⁶⁷

After leaving the wilderness, the Constables described the Natural Bridge as the highlight of their subsequent trip. William noted the universal celebrity of the natural wonder and included some of Jefferson’s words about it in a letter to his parents. He proclaimed that, “We proceed on to the Natural Bridge...our expectations had been raised very high by Mr. Jefferson’s description and at first we felt rather disappointed but the more we view it, the more stupendous and sublime it appears.”⁶⁸

Jefferson’s influential book persuaded the Constables to alter their route in order to see some of the more spectacular sites that he discussed. During their journey through Virginia, they debated whether to go straight to the nation’s capital or to travel twenty miles out of their way to Harper’s Ferry, Virginia. They decided that since Jefferson had described the city as worthy of an Atlantic voyage, they would visit it. The town contained some fifty homes inhabited by mechanics employed in the armory, and Daniel noted the beautiful scenery that emerged as the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers combined forcefully with the Blue Ridge Mountains in the background. Daniel and William again altered their route, when they traveled seventy miles out of their way to view a falling spring that Jefferson had also

⁶⁶ Winterbotham, vol. 3, 94-95.

⁶⁷ “The Natural Bridge,” *The New-Haven Gazette, and The Connecticut Magazine*, 26 April 1787, p. 73; “The Natural Bridge,” *The New York Daily Advertiser: Political, Historical, and Commercial*, 16 May 1787, p. 2; Jefferson, 26-27; “Extract of a letter from a gentleman, now travelling for the purpose of viewing the natural curiosities in the Western parts of this state,” *Alexandria Expositor, for the Country*, 27 August 1804, p. 2; “Natural Bridge,” *Alexandria Daily Advertiser*, 1 September 1804, p. 3; “Natural Bridge,” *The Boston Democrat*, 5 September 1804, p. 4; For those who discussed it because of Jefferson’s fame and book see: “Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in Washington county, Virginia, to the editor,” *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 21 August 1799, p. 2; “Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Washington county, Virginia, to the editor,” *Richmond City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 5 September 1799, p. 2; *The Salem (Massachusetts) Impartial Register*, 20 November 1800, p. 1.

⁶⁸ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 15 June 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

discussed in his book. The brothers willingly increased the length of their journey to view attractions they had read before coming to America.⁶⁹

The Constables revealed their vast interest in America not only by their preparatory reading, but also by their awe of celebrity. Within their journals, they excitedly mentioned when they encountered someone famous. As they descended the Ohio River, William noted that they passed the residence of Judge Jesse Bryan Boone, the son of Daniel Boone. Later in Louisville, they stayed at the inn of Owen and Ann Clark Gwathmey. William noted with an impressed air that Ann Clark Gwathmey was the sister of Captain William Clark of the famed Lewis and Clark expedition that had just returned from their excursion to the west. Finally, while they walked around the nation's capital, the Constables spotted President Thomas Jefferson riding alone in the city. The brothers marveled at the American celebrities, and noted their excitement at seeing these people.⁷⁰

The biggest celebrity they visited while in America was Thomas Paine. While they resided in New York City, Daniel and William met with Paine and they pondered America's reception of this great man. While in England, Daniel frequently visited Clio Rickman, Paine's friend who had housed him while he authored the *Rights of Man*. While they anticipated meeting the man with revolutionary ideas, Paine's condition surprised them. In the years before the Constables' arrival, Thomas Paine had lived a vagabond lifestyle. He had decided to leave France for the United States when Thomas Jefferson invited him in 1801 to come to America as a guest of the nation. By the spring of 1806, Paine resided in New Rochelle, New York, and friends found him depressed and living in unsanitary conditions.

⁶⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 28 June 1807, 29 June 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Jefferson, 23; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 17 June 1807, 18 June 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁷⁰ William Constable Journal 2, 14 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 3, 23 December 1806, 3 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

After William Carver saw the conditions of Paine's house, he proposed that the author live with him in New York City. Paine accepted the offer and moved to the bustling metropolis. Daniel and William visited him in the city, and "On July 4, 1806, a scorching hot and humid day, he even joined in the celebration of America's independence by accompanying two English visitors for a sprightly stroll 'in the midst of the hustle' of poplar lined Broadway, his companions expressing surprise that Paine lived 'quite retired, and but little known or noticed.'" ⁷¹ They found it difficult to believe that so great a revolutionary could walk the streets of New York without hassle. ⁷²

As they journeyed back to the larger cities, Daniel and William visited tourist attractions that reinforced their previous trip. When they arrived at Philadelphia, the Constables amused themselves with traditional activities in the city. They went to Peal's Museum and remarked that it compared favorably to the Leverian Museum in London, because it contained the mammoth skeleton from Big Bone Lick. Next, they visited the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts that had only one landscape painting in their collection; Daniel lamented that, "this is quite a new establishment and as yet a poor collection, consisting only of some plaster figures and one landskip [sic] painting." ⁷³ After returning to New York City, they visited the City Library to view paintings of Niagara Falls, which Daniel found more interesting now than before they had seen the waterfall. ⁷⁴

The brothers wandered around New York City in 1807, and they saw Fulton's steamboat going up the Hudson River to Albany. This was the second voyage; the first one

⁷¹ Keane, 514-515.

⁷² Keith Hardman, *Seasons of Refreshing: Evangelism and Revivals in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1994), 105.

⁷³ Daniel Constable Journal 3, 13 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁷⁴ Daniel Constable Journal 3, 13 July 1807, 27 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

had returned from Albany in four days. The Constables had witnessed at this moment the future of tourism in the United States, which would mark the end of adventurous excursions like those that they had just experienced. With the steamboat, people flocked to the American Grand Tour because the vessel made the journey easier and more pleasurable. The Constables' trip represented the past, while Fulton's steamboat embodied the future of American travel.⁷⁵

Tourism did not become overwhelmingly popular in the United States until the middle of the nineteenth century, which occurred because of an improved infrastructure that led to more people visiting attractions. Additionally, a version of adventure tourism became more fashionable later in the century. Popular authors such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau shared their interest in the activity with the public. They both touted the benefits of adventure tourism, claiming that it allowed an individual to search for transcendent enlightenment. This endorsement led to an increase in popularity as people traveled for personal insight. Once American tourism became more popular, many memoirs emerged. Widely popular tomes, such as the travel journals of Alexis de Tocqueville and Charles Dickens, showed the increasing popularity of touring America and demonstrated how individuals varied their routes. Tocqueville initiated his American trip in 1831 with an official mission from the French monarchy to see the prisons and political institutions within the republic. Following his expedition, he published his book in 1835 where he revealed how the democratic nation worked. While on his journey he visited the wilderness and acknowledged that this region constituted a truly American phenomenon. Tocqueville mused that,

⁷⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 3, 4 September 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

All other peoples seem close to achieving the limits traced for them by nature and henceforth need only to preserve what they already have; but these two are still growing. All the others have stopped, or move forward only with the greatest of effort. Only these two march with an easy and rapid stride down a road whose end no eye can yet perceive. The American does battle with the obstacles that nature had placed before him; the Russian grapples with men. One combats wilderness and barbarity; the other, civilization with all its arms. The American makes his conquests with the farmer's plowshare, the Russian with the soldier's sword.⁷⁶

Dickens' adventure from January to June in 1842 mirrored some of Tocqueville's experiences. He explored the country and visited the typical tourist sites of New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Washington, and Niagara Falls. Similar to Tocqueville, Dickens also visited prisons as well as mental institutions and factories to gain a better understanding of the American character. On his journey, he also visited the prairie near St. Louis. He traveled by steamboat, rail, and stagecoach using the expedition to do an assessment of the American society. With the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, competitive steamboat pricing, and more tourist accommodations, people started relying on rivers in order to carry them to western New York and even farther west. This ease in travel led to the establishment of the American Grand Tour.⁷⁷

While the brothers marked a transition from traveler to tourist, adventure tourism did not become popular in America until the 1820s; therefore, the Constables' travels signified the beginning of a new type of American tourism. The new form of tourism deviated from the cities, and people journeyed to the uncivilized sections of America. A tourist infrastructure did not yet exist, therefore traveling within these western regions brought a level of uncertainty and danger because people did not have the safety of organized and guided trips. Courageous travelers ventured into unfamiliar areas farther west in order to

⁷⁶ Tocqueville, 475-476.

⁷⁷ Kane, 221; Dunwell, 68; Gassan, *The Birth of American Tourism*, 92-97; Dickens, vol 1., 37-65, 111-124; Dickens, vol. 2, 196-204.

witness these regions. The popularity of traveling in Europe, led to many people venturing to America looking for new experiences. As more people started going to western areas, local entrepreneurs privatized and structured travel with tour guides, hotels, and transportation. This, in turn, increased the number of people that decided to travel because the new structure promised a safe return. During the Constables' adventure few of these comforts existed in the western regions. Their adventure tourism embodied an exciting journey to remote areas.⁷⁸

The brothers experienced unanticipated adventures as they traveled north from New Orleans on a series of bayous, lakes, and rivers. They waited aboard a raft on a lake south of Natchez, when a sudden storm forced the boat's pilot to find safety in a cove. The wind blew the entire day, and Daniel searched for an escape but swamped land surrounded them. After dining on raw bacon and bread, Daniel constructed a shelter by placing some rods over one end of the pirogue and spreading his blanket out as a roof. After a restless night, the storm still raged, but the pilot decided to venture out of the cove's safety. Each of the people on the raft took turns rowing and by sunset, they reached the other side. Daniel and William did not want to spend another night on the boat and in order to reach the nearest accommodations they had to travel through unknown woods at night. After a brief discussion, the brothers decided to sleep on the ground rather than getting lost. Miraculously, they found enough dry wood to start fire. Daniel spread their blankets over pieces of old fence because the rain had saturated the ground. They immediately lay down to rest. Daniel and William tossed and turned as the hardness of the beds, hunger, and cold prevented them from getting the restful night of sleep they needed. As the sun rose over the horizon, the two men packed up their belongings and trudged three miles where they encountered a man who directed them to the nearest town. Daniel complained that it had been twenty hours since their last meal and their

⁷⁸ Kane, 218-219.

strength dwindled as they slogged through knee-deep mud. Finally, they came upon a home where they got a good breakfast and rested before they continued their adventure. Rather than traveling from New Orleans to New York City by boat, the brothers' decision to travel overland resulted in new adventures they had not anticipated.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 19 April 1807, 20 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

Picturesque Tourism

After the sudden rainstorm, the sky parted. Two rainbows appeared on the horizon, with only one visible in its entirety. The brighter rainbow originated from the base of the waterfall, as the river continued its descent over the Great Falls of the Mohawk. The painting presented an overall dreary depiction of the site as the muddy watercolors illustrated a gray-blue sky that barely differed from the water below it. The water fell beneath the aerial display, as a row of large trees framed in the falls. The many points of interest in the painting created a picturesque view of America that at the same time helped William remember the experience.¹

With the growing popularity of tourism during the nineteenth century, an American artistic style emerged that originated from people who traveled the American Grand Tour. From 1825 to 1875, the Hudson River School defined a group of landscape artists who painted the American natural environment. The loosely knit group of artists, poets, and writers posited a truly American landscape through their works that encouraged a national identity. Artists of this movement united together less under a common style of painting than under a reverence for nature and a desire to portray its spiritual side to the public. The inspiration for this group of painters initially came from the Hudson River, Catskill Mountains, Adirondack Mountains, Berkshires, and White Mountains, but as the century progressed, they started to capture the natural beauty in areas outside the United States. The movement increased in popularity, because of newly constructed internal improvements that

¹ William Constable, *The Great Falls of the Mohawk*, watercolor on paper, 1825-1830, ACM, Gift of J.A. Curran.

eased travel to the harder to reach natural sites. With the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, an increased number of tourists journeyed to Niagara Falls. Not only did more people reach the popular destination, the new mode of travel also provided a picturesque landscape along the way.²

With the opening of the Erie Canal, painters traveled farther inland to view natural sites and recreate the scenes in their paintings. The opening of the American Grand Tour created an audience for the Hudson River School. After travelers visited these American scenes, they appreciated the artwork that immortalized the sight they had witnessed on their journeys. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, art critics proclaimed the superiority of portraiture above landscape art, but as more people toured the United States and shared their trips through journals and pictures, landscape paintings attained a more respectable position in the art world. The steps to this transition occurred with a travel friendly culture in the United States, both inspired and popularized by the artistic concepts of sublime and picturesque. Daniel and William demonstrated the connectedness of art and travel on their return to New York City. They visited the New York City library and decided to view the paintings of Niagara Falls by John Vanderlyn. Daniel remarked that “they appeared much more interesting now than last year, having since seen the falls.”³ Visiting the region increased people’s interest in the American landscape and as more individuals engaged in trips throughout the United States, the Hudson River School grew in popularity creating an American form of art.⁴

British artistic theories that instructed individuals to search for beautiful, sublime, and picturesque sights inspired some painters to produce American landscape art. The Hudson

² Ferber, 13-14, 28; Dunwell, 88; Lassiter, ix; Howat, 6-23; Sheriff, 12-21.

³ Daniel Constable Journal 3, 27 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁴ Ferber, 28-43; Howat, 22-27, 126-127.

River School began when Thomas Cole came to the United States from England in 1818, settling in Ohio with his family where he befriended a local portrait artist. This mentoring relationship inspired Cole to produce landscape art instead of portraits, which was the more popular artistic movement of the time. This decision led to the Hudson River School movement, but its roots went much deeper. In the eighteenth century, prominent British theorists, William Gilpin, Edmund Burke, and Uvedale Price directed artists' attention to nature. In the early nineteenth century, artistic travelers started coming to America and searched the country for landscape that exemplified these theories. Picturesque Tourism transformed into an American movement as many artistic minded individuals journeyed in the United States. The growing popularity of the sublime and picturesque increased the popularity of American travel and landscape art, in addition to establishing the nations' tourist destinations for subsequent travelers.⁵

The artists and philosophers who influenced the Hudson River School painters came from the eighteenth century when earlier travelers and amateur landscape painters – like William and Daniel – journeyed with an artistic mindset. Within the Constables' trip to America, their familiarity with popular British theories directed their attention to the landscape. As they traveled, William sketched the scenes that he believed represented the Sublime and Picturesque Movements; the theories that inspired this form of artistic tourism opened the way for subsequent generations of artists to popularize landscape art. The initial wave of artistic travelers to the United States, in which the Constables participated, influenced the direction art followed during subsequent generations. When people returned home, they brought with them their journals and sketches of the American wilderness, which

⁵ Ferber, 28-43; Howat, 22-27, 126-127; Joseph Czestochowski, *The American Landscape Tradition: A Study and Gallery of Paintings* (New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1982), 13-14.

popularized this region and gave it a sense of renown. The recognition that American sites received led to a popularization of the natural environment, especially as more of Europe became enclosed and less wild. Daniel and William were among the forefront of the American landscape art movement, inspired by British theorists. By looking at the Constables' journals, as well as other contemporary travelers' writings, prominent artistic theories emerge that led to the increased acceptance of landscape art, which reached its apex in American culture with the Hudson River School artists during the mid-nineteenth century. Daniel and William journeyed during a transition period, where people changed from the earlier scientific traveling to a more artistic style, which became more popular in the nineteenth century. The brothers participated in this transition and early artistic movement, which ultimately led to mass tourism, the Hudson River School movement, and the popular American Grand Tour in the nineteenth century.⁶

When the brothers visited America, landscape painting did not hold a revered status. Critics viewed history painting and portraiture as the prominent artistic style. Landscape painting emerged in the early fifteenth century, and it originally assumed a secondary role within the other genres as painters enhanced the background in their religious and historical paintings. Beginning in the early sixteenth century, landscapes obtained a more central role. Despite this change, landscapes still served as a background to main subjects and critics viewed art without a human subject as an unfinished work. This transition still occurred during the Constables' travels, as William included people within some of his landscapes. In his final painting of the Genesee Falls, William placed a man in a canoe at the base of the waterfall to add the human element to his drawing. Additionally, a painting of Harper's Ferry

⁶ Ferber, 43; Czestochowski, 7-13; Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 1-2; Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 6-30.

included three men at the top of Jefferson's Rock. In another painting he drew a flat boat at the center of the piece, which differed from his earlier landscape focused drawings. He created the paintings when he returned to England from America and the landscape movement had reached its peak in popularity. Even so, he still demonstrated a tendency to include other points of interest in his work.⁷

With the changing views of the environment, the term *landscape* entered the English lexicon early in the seventeenth century, but originally it served as a technical term used by painters. The definition of *landscape* transformed throughout the years, as more people used it as a descriptive term. Originally in the sixteenth century, Dutch and Italian artists used the word to describe the scenery they painted. Eventually it became more widespread within the Dutch language, and artists identified *landscape* as houses with fields surrounded by the wilderness or ocean. When it entered the English language it referred only to Dutch paintings, but by 1630, the definition of *landscape* expanded to include hilltop views of woods, roads, fields, towns, and also ornamental gardens. The Grand Tour in Europe affected the perception of landscapes, and those with the correct view of them secured their elite status by demonstrating their sophisticated taste with the identification of worthy views.⁸

With more people embracing the term *landscape* in the English language, the definition continued to evolve. Environmental Historian John Stilgoe examined American landscapes from 1580 to 1845 and asserted that the term *landscape* described a planned section of the environment meant for permanent human habitation in forms such as

⁷ Ian Whyte, *Landscape and History since 1500* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2002), 56, 132; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 18 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Luke Herrmann, *Nineteenth Century British Painting* (London: Giles de la Mare Publishers Limited, 2000), 4, 92-94; William Constable, *Early Topographical Views of North America* (New York: Wunderlich & Company, 1984), np, painting 9, 16, 18.

⁸ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 10; Lassiter, x; Michael Conzen, ed. *The Making of the American Landscape* (HarperCollinsAcademic, 1990: reprint, New York: Routledge, 1994), 1-2; John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 24-25; Whyte, 89-90.

agriculture, worship, houses, and manufacturing. Stilgoe argued that the definition of *landscape* described a rural scene with a mixture of man-made and natural structures or objects. In contrast, he asserted that forests, swamps, prairies, and mountains could not constitute a landscape, but rather represented wilderness. Additionally, when buildings completely covered the land, it transformed from a landscape to a cityscape.⁹

While the definition changed, the process involved in explaining the term demonstrated that landscapes themselves are socially constructed. Each society defined the term according to their own values and ideals, which stemmed from a relationship between the physical environment and the people. Because of this, the values and ideals of an individual affected how they thought about landscapes. Additionally, culture informed people's perceptions of landscapes, as different cultural constructs of race, class, and gender, shaped people's perceptions of the external world.¹⁰

Within the Constables' journals the term *landscape*, appeared only once, while the meaning of *landscape* appeared throughout their travels. Coming from the Picturesque Movement, the brothers looked at the entire scene rather than just parts of nature. Daniel and William frequently talked about the scene or scenery that included rivers, towns, and even the mountains that framed in the settings. They clearly understood the concept of *landscape*, especially William with his artistic eye and constant creation of sketches, but the term appeared only once within their writings. In New York, William noted "a rich setting sun contrasted with the cold grey of the Catskill Mountains behind which he [sic] was sinking [and] formed the most striking feature of the landscape at Rhinebeck."¹¹ With his knowledge of the artistic movements popular in Europe, William used the term *landscape* in the

⁹ Stilgoe, 3-12; Whyte, 87.

¹⁰ Whyte, 7-18.

¹¹ William Constable Journal 2, 6 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

technical painter term and he described the scene with colorful language to provide a rhetorical picture of what he encountered. Since this is the only time the Constables used the term *landscape*, it demonstrated that it was not prominent in their lexicon as a descriptive term for the environment. The brothers demonstrated more comfort using the terms *scene* or *scenery* to describe a whole picture that they witnessed on their travels. A *scene* generally depicted an area with many textual differences between the trees, grass, rocks, and water, thus presenting an overall picturesque environment. For example, Daniel, upon seeing the Mississippi River for the first time described the scene as “surpassing fine and beautiful [sic], many trees new and unknown to us being in full bloom and foliage whose fragrance was amazing fine, the laurel trees grow very large often above an hundred feet high, their dark green varnished leaves interspersed with the varied tints of the other trees give a vast variety and beauty to the scene.”¹² While he only mentioned the trees in this excerpt, they still provided enough variation with the different shades of green to consist of a beautiful and picturesque landscape.

The Constables did not only view the combination of scenery and nature as a memorable sight, but also considered the melding of nature and civilization as beautiful. When they first encountered the American shores, Daniel rejoiced saying, “we were quite charmed with the appearance of the scenery which was truly beautiful, the trees grew quite to the waters edge interspersed with many good houses.”¹³ The brothers celebrated the American scene that they first witnessed and they reveled in its natural beauty. With Long Island on the right and Staten Island to their left, they noted the beautiful landscape that appeared before them. An abundance of trees grew to the shoreline with houses interspersed

¹² Daniel Constable Journal 2, 24 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

¹³ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 27 June 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

at various intervals, making an emotionally moving first impression of the continent. The boat pulled into the waterway between Long and Staten Islands, and New York City appeared on their right; the following day William delighted when they officially landed in the new world of the west. The cohabitation of nature and human structures made the sights even more beautiful as they rejoiced in man's progress.¹⁴

Prior to their departure for upstate New York and Niagara Falls, William and Daniel embarked on a short trip to investigate New Jersey that also demonstrated this mixing of nature with civilization. On their way to the Passaic Falls, the landscape emitted a feeling of rural order with the scattered farmhouses adding to the quaintness. In Newark, New Jersey, a vast green lawn surrounded the broad streets, placing a barrier between the roads and the houses. William enjoyed the rural appearance this produced in the town. He continued to appreciate the mixture of rural and populated areas in the towns Belleville and Aquackinhack; where he noted that the beauty of both villages derived from the towns' proximity to the Passaic River. The Constables viewed the mixture of human and natural attractions as beautiful landscapes popularized by contemporary artistic movements in England.¹⁵

Earlier travelers viewed nature in a more scientific way as they classified and categorized the American landscape. Within Englishman Andrew Burnaby's journal, he reacted unemotionally to the Passaic Falls in 1759. While he did discuss the falls' beauty, he followed this declaration with specific details about the cataract's measurements. Burnaby's account of his trip continued to follow this template as he dispassionately described the sights

¹⁴ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 27 June 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 1, 1 May 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; See also: Daniel Constable Journal 2, 21 February 1807, 23 February 1807, 25 February 1807, 28 February 1807, 4 March 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

¹⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 11 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 1, 25 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

he viewed within America, paying more attention to minute details than the overall experience. This type of scientific writing represented the earlier method, whereas when the Constables arrived in America travelers influenced by the theories of sublime and picturesque changed their approach.¹⁶

The new artistic movement began with Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. In his 1757 treatise, Burke defined the *sublime* as a sight within nature that created a sense of astonishment or horror. Additionally, he classified less significant sights as *sublime* if they evoked the emotions of reverence or admiration. With this perception of the *sublime*, the Romantic Movement of the eighteenth century changed how people felt about places such as the wilderness by connecting it with the *sublime*, as a place where the divine existed. Theorists, such as Burke, poetically described landscapes as the one place you could view the face of God. According to this theory, God existed in the mountaintop, waterfall, thundercloud, and chasm. The most certain way to know one had entered a sublime landscape derived from the emotion that the sight produced. Eventually, the sites became more popular because many tourists flocked to the attractions, and this sense diminished because it became a more tamed and less remarkable experience. For a site to be considered sublime it had to convey a unique experience, and once an attraction became overcrowded with people it was no longer considered as inspiring because of its over-accessibility.¹⁷

¹⁶ Andrew Burnaby, *Burnaby's travels through North America; reprinted from the third edition of 1798*, ed. Rufus Rockwell Wilson (New York: A. Wessels Company, 1904), 106, Library of Congress, General Collection.

¹⁷ Burke, 57; William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), 72-73; Czestochowski, 7.

While Edmund Burke characterized the *sublime*, he also discussed the definition of *beauty*. Whereas a *sublime* sight required constant variation or ruggedness, he classified smoothness as the primary trait of *beauty*. Additionally, sublime objects needed to be large, but beautiful things were generally small. Burke's theories codified people's perceptions of landscape, which retained and propagated the gendered idea of nature. Beautiful landscapes were rounded, smooth and feminine, whereas, sublime ones appeared rugged and masculine.¹⁸

By the mid-nineteenth century, *sublime* assumed a more complex meaning. While previous sites had been associated with sublimity and the presence of a deity, the terms *God* and *nature* became interchangeable. Barbara Novak in *Nature and Culture* argues that the late eighteenth-century definition of *sublime* characterized large and fearful landscapes that dwarfed the observer with their majestic size, thereby reminding them of the infinite deity. With the changing definition of *sublime* in the mid-nineteenth century, travelers also viewed the calm and subdued sites as sublime because they brought the individual closer to nature/God with their quiet peace.¹⁹

Demonstrating the different views of sublime and beautiful, two painters influenced the nineteenth century American landscape artists. Claude Lorrain produced calm, beautiful landscapes; whereas, Salvator Rosa painted dark, dramatic, sublime scenes. These popular European painters influenced the Constables' trip. While in Norwich, Connecticut, Daniel noted the presence of scenery that resembled Salvator's works when he remarked that "the Falls is one of those Rugged Salvator scenes."²⁰ By identifying the sublime within the falls at

¹⁸ Burke, 114-124; Whyte, 72-73.

¹⁹ Novak, 6-30.

²⁰ Daniel Constable Journal 3, 7 August 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

Norwich, Connecticut, they demonstrated their familiarity with the painters who shaped their journey through America.²¹

With the popularity of Rosa's and Lorrain's art, *sublimity* became widely popular in the eighteenth century. A new popularization of the wilderness dispelled the notion that only orderly and comfortable environments were beautiful; rather *sublimity* posited that the chaotic and fearful wilderness could also inspire. The wilderness appealed to those bored with the well-maintained gardens throughout England, thus they turned their attention to the unkempt wilderness. Theorists further defined the *sublime* as a quality found in mountains, deserts, storms, and aesthetically pleasing objects. These changing ideas inspired men to travel in America and journey throughout the west.²²

During this period, the popularity of the sublime movement produced changing perceptions about the concept of *wilderness*. Rather than just seeing it as a dark and frightening space, people started to focus on the aesthetics of uninhabited land, thus searching for the picturesque and sublime. While fear of wilderness remained a dominant sentiment, the new search for beauty and awe-inspiring nature started to change people's perceptions about it. Additionally, with the Romantic Movement that influenced people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the mysterious and private conditions of the wooded areas became revered places of solitude.²³

The new definition of *sublime* appeared much earlier than the emergence of the American landscape movement popularized by the Hudson River School. In 1803, American Thad Harris traveled from Pittsburgh to Wheeling, Ohio, and he felt a moment of overwhelming emotion: "There is something which impresses the mind with awe in the

²¹ Novak, 6-30; Whyte, 72-73.

²² Nash, 44-47.

²³ Nash, 44.

shade and silence of these vast forests. In deep solitude, alone with nature, we converse with God.” In his journal, God becomes present within the solitude and silence of the uncultivated forests, which marked a drastic change from earlier perceptions of the wilderness. Initially, Americans viewed the wilderness as a place of danger and evil that needed to be cleared and cultivated to bring it into the light of God. During the early nineteenth century, this had changed to a place where God, in fact, resided and communicated with people. The change that has been associated with the Hudson River School painters actually occurred earlier as people started to view uncultivated spaces with more reverence and protection.²⁴

The wilderness became an enjoyable area as more people moved to the west because civilization eased settlers’ lives and they spent less time as a pioneer. American traveler and botanist William Bartram, marked this change as he journeyed throughout the southeastern United States, and paid significant attention to the wilderness as a whole. In 1775, he ascended a mountain and rejoiced in the magnificence of the landscape. Throughout his journal, he expressed his awe with the sublime that he witnessed in nature. Bartram rejoiced in the wilderness stating, “The steady breezes gently and continually rising and falling, fill the high lonesome forests with an awful reverential harmony, inexpressibly sublime, and not to be enjoyed any where, but in these native wild Indian regions.”²⁵

The increasing popularity of environmental art proliferated with the popularity of European theories that directed people’s attentions to the environment. Jean-Jacques Rousseau promoted the wilderness and sublime movement within his works. In *Julia, or the*

²⁴ Harris, 359.

²⁵ William Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida* (Philadelphia: Printed by James and Johnson, 1791; reprint, London: reprinted for J. Johnson, in St Paul’s Church-Yard, 1792), 178, 333-334, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University; Nash, 54; For other examples of his views on the wilderness see: Bartram, 36, 88, 105, 137-138, 182, 222, 228, 307, 379, 386, 419, 457.

New Eloisa, he praised the sublimity that existed in the wilderness throughout the Alps. François-René de Chateaubriand demonstrated how these ideas redirected travelers' attention, as he noted within his journal the sublimity in the forests and wooded areas rather than scientific observation. Later other popular adventurers such as Alexis de Tocqueville followed his example and searched for the wilderness. The popularity of uninhabited regions grew and in the 1840s authors frequently made excursions into these wild areas and returned with glowing descriptions of the scenery.²⁶

The Constables had their own ideas about which natural wonders they classified as *sublime*. The best indication of William's definition came as they crossed the Atlantic Ocean. When a solar eclipse surprised all the ship's passengers, he described the scene as sublime and beautiful. The sudden disappearance of light appeared awe-inspiring and terrifying, making him feel a divine presence within the event. The *sublime* to William evoked images of God and his presence within the mortal world. Large waterfalls surrounded by rocks, trees, and forests constituted an example of the sites he viewed as sublime. Daniel agreed with his brother's perception and at the Passaic Falls he remarked that, "No language can figure to you the awful sensations which this stupendous scenery inspires, it is not the falls of the River only, which astonishes the beholder, every object in its neighbourhood trees, rocks, hills valley, etc. has its portion of greatness and beauty."²⁷ William also believed that the Passaic Falls exhibited the sublime and mentioned his inability to describe the sight with words. Despite this momentary speechlessness, he remarked, "here the sublime and beautiful

²⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Works of J.J. Rousseau*, vol. 1, *Julia, or the New Eloisa* (Edinburgh: printed for J. Bell, J. Dickson, and C. Elliot, 1773-1774), 66-67; Chateaubriand, 22; Nash, 49-60.

²⁷ Daniel Constable letter to James and Susanna Constable, 12 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

rule with uncontrolled sway and everything that is little or common is struck from the scene.”²⁸

While Daniel and William demonstrated their awareness of the Sublime Movement, they differed in their use of the word. Throughout Daniel’s journal he used the term *sublime* less often than William and the longer they traveled through America the more the scenery needed to truly inspire Daniel for him to use the term. As they descended the Mississippi River north of Natchez, Daniel noted “after much hard climbing we gained the top and we thought ourselves well paid, the scene being grand and sublime in the extreme we were elevated far above the boundless woods or forest with a fine and broken view of this great river.”²⁹ He equated the top of mountains with the sublime, and he continued to do this throughout his trip. When they reached Hudson, New York, from their tour of New England, the view from the top of the Catskill Mountains amazed the brothers. The ability to see out, as God would, brought to mind the sublime sentiment. Other regions that Daniel considered sublime inspired him because of the extensive variation presented within the scenery. For example, as they traveled through New England, Daniel mentioned the landscape they witnessed, which contained a mountainous riverbank and violently flowing water that overwhelmed his senses. The combination of fast-moving rapids with mountainous cliffs in the background, created an amazing artistic picture that Daniel qualified as sublime.³⁰

The brothers considered water with elaborate backgrounds as the most romantic or sublime scenery. Similar to the Hudson River Painters, the Constables found water as a noteworthy subject. Art Historian Barbara Novak argues that within a painting water

²⁸ William Constable Journal 2, 26 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 1, p. 2, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 28 February 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

³⁰ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 29 May 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 3, 20 August 1807, 21 August 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

aesthetically links different scenes together, and the different types of water the artist chose to recreate, represented their definition of the *sublime*. In the earlier meaning, travelers focused on waterfalls and their violent nature, whereas with the later definition people focused on the calm silence of lakes and rivers. While water formed an important part of the Constables' version of *sublime*, they focused on both waterfalls and placid scenes of still water, revealing their position in this transition period. In northern New York, they went to see the Genesee Falls, and Daniel responded to the sight with the same awe-inspiring rhetoric about sublime nature that he used at the Passaic Falls. Once again, the waterfall alone did not elicit this reaction, but the scenery around it completed the sight and made it truly awe-inspiring. When the Constables first witnessed Niagara Falls, they also responded with words about the sublime grandeur of nature. Similar to his brother's reaction at the Passaic Falls, William found that he lost the ability to describe Niagara Falls with words: "To say anything worthy of this place is absolutely impossible, and any description given in human language must fail of conveying even the feeblest idea of the sublimity and grandeur of this majestic scene."³¹ The many waterfalls they encountered within America all provided William with some sense of the sublime sentiment.³²

Niagara Falls, described by travelers as the most overwhelming cataract within the United States, attracted many people to witness its beauty. Prior to the opening of the Erie Canal, few people traveled all the way to Niagara Falls because it was an inconvenient and costly trip. The people who did visit generally used stagecoaches on the turnpike, which made the trip more costly. Nevertheless, with the opening of this turnpike, more people went to the site and this increased the number of artists that depicted it in their paintings. When the

³¹ William Constable Journal 2, 12 September 1806, ACM.

³² Daniel Constable Journal 3, 2 September 1807, 3 September 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Novak, 34-35; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 5 September 1806, 18 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

Constables approached the falls in 1806, they encountered a tavern two miles away where they could see the spray rising above the woods. The noise generated by the falling water overwhelmed their senses and sounded like the sea during a storm. Upon first sight, William lost the ability to describe the falls because of its vast size and impressive nature. The size and grandeur of Niagara Falls often overwhelmed visitors with its sublimity, but after six days of viewing the site, William described its magnificence in terms that people could understand. He decided to explain the falls using language that resembled a more scientific approach, which appeared often in earlier travelers' journals.³³

The Constables' journals demonstrated a change from the writings of previous travelers, as those earlier adventurers wrote in subdued less emotional rhetoric. In 1803, French traveler, Constantin François de Chasseboeuf, comte de Volney published a description and analysis of his trip to the United States that did not include the stereotypical scientific approach and technical jargon that had been popular in previous years. Despite this change from the scientific approach, he displayed no emotion upon seeing Niagara Falls. Instead, he directed readers' attention to other great cataracts in America that people should visit, thereby disregarding his emotional response to the scene. Another visitor to the falls, Yale University President Timothy Dwight, traveled from 1796 to 1815, and eventually published his memoir in 1821 where he presented the same type of review. His perception of Niagara Falls differed from the artistic interpretation as he mentioned that, "the cataract is formed by the brow of that vast bed of limestone which is the base of all this country."³⁴ While he edited his journal for publication, Dwight included no record of his emotions after

³³ Ferber, 122; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 11 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 12 September 1806, 18 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³⁴ Thomas Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, ed. by Barbara Miller Solomon, vol. 4 (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), 58.

viewing the site; rather he focused more on the history of western human settlement. In this transition period between scientific and artistic travel accounts, people often used one or the other approach to describe their adventures.³⁵

The sentiment of the sublime within nature was not only a European movement, but it also affected American travelers. While they viewed the Passaic Falls, the Constables encountered an American from Charleston, South Carolina, visiting the site. He also sketched the falls and shared with Daniel and William a poem that he wrote inspired by the scene. Demonstrating his familiarity with the artistic traveling movement he wrote:

Here as amidst Passaic's scene I pause
My wondering mind its solemn grandeur awes
A God appears more present to my eyes
Where torrents Roar or lofty mountains rise
Than were the glittering pomp of Phidian art
In vain solicits the unwilling heart
Should 'eer a brother or a friend repair
To view the scenes that rise sublimely here
Oh may his breast congenial pleasures feel
Whith what these lines strive vainly to reveal
And Swell'd with Raptures never known before
With me admire and with me adore.³⁶

The *sublime* brought about the idea of a deity, or the feeling that the individual saw the same thing as God. The American traveler encountered scenes that appeared sublime and filled the viewer with pleasure. The American man's poem demonstrated that the popular European concepts of the *sublime* had affected the way people toured America and how they thought about nature.

The Natural Bridge in Virginia constituted another site that awed and impressed travel writers, but visitors responded differently to it depending on their own perceptions of

³⁵ Volney, iv, 83-93; Dwight, vol. 4, 18-43.

³⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 28 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

sublimity and *beauty*. On his 1794 journey, American Geographer Jedidiah Morse included measurements and unemotional descriptions of trees and other parts of nature, but departed from the scientific rhetoric to declare the natural bridge to be one of nature's most awe-inspiring creations. He allowed emotion to come through in his works, stating "it is impossible for the emotions arising from the sublime, to be felt beyond what they are here: so beautiful an arch, so elevated, so light, and springing as it were up to Heaven, the rapture of the spectator is really indescribable!"³⁷ This is notable because Morse included this statement within a scientific study of American geography, so a scientist used artistic terminology because of overwhelming emotion. Another traveler, Irishman Isaac Weld toured from 1795 to 1797 and while he did not use the word, he came close to identifying the sublime within his reaction to the natural bridge in Virginia. He remarked, "the amazement which fills the mind is great indeed...you find yourself on the brink of a tremendous precipice. You involuntarily draw back, stare around, then again come forward to satisfy yourself that what you have seen is real."³⁸ Despite not specifically using the word *sublime*, the emotion that consumed Weld in his description conveyed its sublimity. Scottish traveler John Melish journeyed through the United States from 1806 to 1811 and demonstrated the old style of scientific description with his halfhearted attempt at artistic interpretation. When he entered Virginia and saw the site, Melish labeled it as one of nature's most sublime works, but followed up with Thomas Jefferson's description of the Natural Bridge. He surprisingly decided to include Jefferson's depiction of the site rather than his own emotional response. Travelers demonstrated the beginning sentiments of approaching nature with an artistic eye,

³⁷ Jedidiah Morse, *The American Geography, or, a view of the present situation of the United States of America* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1794), 486, Library of Congress, General Collections.

³⁸ Isaac Weld, *Travels through the states of North America: and the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797*, 4th ed. (London: Printed for J. Stockdale, 1807), 222, Library of Congress, General Collection.

popularized by European theorists, which led to the increased acceptance of landscape art within America.³⁹

Following the popularity of Edmund Burke's treatise on the sublime and beautiful, William Gilpin's works introduced the Picturesque Movement to the traveler's itinerary. In his first book on the subject, *Observations on the River Wye*, Gilpin explained that the benefits of traveling included observing art, looking for beauty in nature, learning new cultures, and investigating different soils. Additionally, he added a new motivation when he proposed that people should examine a country with picturesque beauty in mind. Gilpin argued that this new method brought more truth to travel literature because authors' impressions arose directly from nature rather than biased opinion. Gilpin's tutorial, first published in 1782, also introduced touring as a pastime to middle class citizens. The Grand Tour had been an extension of aristocratic education, but as war ravaged the European continent, Gilpin's books about traveling, popularized domestic excursions for middle-class families throughout England. These new travelers looked at the world differently and searched for picturesque beauty within the natural environment.⁴⁰

In his subsequent book, published in 1792, Gilpin expanded upon the theories of travel in regards to sketching and painting landscapes. He asserted that an individual would know when they found the ideal environment because artists could duplicate that scene in an interesting painting. Within his book, Gilpin defined some of the essential components of picturesque beauty as roughness and ruggedness. These qualities were essential within a scene because if the artist painted only the smooth landscape, there would be no composition, and therefore, it would be a boring painting. Rough objects allowed the contrasts of light and

³⁹ John Melish, *Travels in the United States of America, in the years 1806 & 1807, and 1809, 1810, & 1811* (Philadelphia: T & G Palmer printers, 1812), 109, 169, Library of Congress, General Collections.

⁴⁰ Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye*, 1-2; Whyte, 100.

dark to add depth to nature and the painting as well. The pursuit of the picturesque included all parts of the landscape in their totality, including rivers, trees, rocks, mountains, and valleys.⁴¹

Gilpin noted that the primary difference between sublime and picturesque existed in the idea of smooth beautiful scenes. For example, the ocean in its vastness could be sublime, yet on its own it had little of the picturesque and would make a rather boring artistic subject; therefore, the artist needed to add a mountainous background to make it appear more interesting. The picturesque traveler needed to search for the natural landscape that presented the perfect painting, which led people to seek out new scenes throughout the domestic and international environment.⁴²

Within his treatises, Gilpin encouraged the picturesque traveler to sketch the beautiful landscapes that they encountered as a way to record their journeys. He advised artists to use black lead, take accurate measurements of distances, and then use this initial sketch to recall the setting and create a painting upon their return home. He directed that artistic minded individuals search for qualities in between the beautiful and picturesque, which he defined as roughness. Roughness or ruggedness existed in the mountain's crags or a tree's bark – items that the artist must search for within nature. In contrast, areas within nature that exhibited smoothness did not make paintings interesting. Therefore, Gilpin suggested adding points of interest such as stones or old trees to make the landscape picturesque.⁴³

Picturesque traveling increased in popularity with the publication of Uvedale Price's *Essay on the Picturesque*. Responding to Gilpin's earlier works, Price published his book in 1794 and introduced a more detailed differentiation between *picturesque*, *sublime*, and

⁴¹ Gilpin, *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty*, 42-50.

⁴² Gilpin, *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty*, 1-20, 41-48.

⁴³ Brewer, 637; Gilpin, *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty*, 4-8, 61-68.

beautiful. Price considered Gilpin's characterization of *picturesque* too ambiguous, as he believed Gilpin defined it as anything that an artist could illustrate within a painting. By adhering to this explanation, artists included anything they found pleasing, even items not associated with landscape. Price defined *picturesque* as a landscape with roughness, sudden variations, and irregularity. As an example, he noted the process by which a Grecian temple changes from a place of beauty with its newness, to a more visibly interesting structure as it becomes a ruin. As it aged, weather stains enhanced its character, by loosening its stones and increasing the roughness of its façade. Despite his different characterization, he agreed with Gilpin that the term applied only to objects or scenes that an artist could represent in a painting. The qualities that made a scene *picturesque* varied significantly from those that qualified as *beautiful* or *sublime*. For example, sublime pictures required uniformity, whereas picturesque needed variety. Despite these differences, picturesque and sublime objects often appeared together. Price offered the prescriptive advice that studying art alone would provide a narrow view of these artistic concepts and diminish a person's ability to understand and paint landscapes. He argued that in order to analyze landscapes and accurately represent them within artwork, the artist must witness actual mountains and trees and not just artistic representations. By offering this advice, he further encouraged people to travel domestically and internationally in the search of picturesque beauty, which ultimately led to increased trips to America.⁴⁴

The picturesque tradition reached its peak of popularity during the 1790s, and it introduced a new set of environmental themes related to tourism, landscape, travel literature, and art. Gilpin noted that a picturesque landscape signified one that looked good in a picture

⁴⁴ Price, 3, 35-61, 76-81, 99-125.

painted by a great artist, specifically those seventeenth century Italian artists Claude Lorrain or Salvator Rosa. As previously demonstrated, the popular currents that had formed the Picturesque Movement in Europe influenced the Constables' own view of nature, and they noted their familiarity with Rosa's sublime works. Because of the popularity of the *picturesque* and *sublime*, landscapes categorized as beautiful and smooth received less praise. For example, Daniel viewed the landscape around Kinderhook Falls in New York and stated "the scenery around is quite of a placid [*sic*] kind, the banks of the River being free from Rocks and covered with brush wood and small trees."⁴⁵ The absence of large rugged rocks and lofty grandiose trees rendered the scene calming and less awe-inspiring than previous sights.⁴⁶

Within Price's and Gilpin's books they advised picturesque travelers on how to search for remarkable landscapes, and advised that artists carry Claude glasses. The small convex mirrors converted the landscape to framed views, while also presenting different representations of the scene. The artist could diminish the background, reduce contrast, color, and tone, and use different color overlays to change the landscape to a sunset or moonlit picture. William carried a Claude glass and a filter on his journey in America, which he used to search for picturesque scenes within the landscape so he could sketch them for posterity.⁴⁷

European travelers carried with them this concept of the picturesque, which informed their views about nature. While on his 1780 tour, the Marquis de François Jean Chastellux, a participant in the American Revolution as a French military officer, approached his trip in the United States with a decidedly military attitude, but the Natural Bridge in Virginia brought forth new emotions. In his journal, he unemotionally listed the sights around the bridge and

⁴⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 3, 29 August 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁴⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 3, 7 August 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Whyte, 97-99.

⁴⁷ Whyte, 100; William Constable Journal 2, 8 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

its measurements, which he followed with an acknowledgment of picturesque sentiment: “If we consider this bridge simply as a picturesque object, we are struck with the majesty with which it towers in the valley.”⁴⁸ Chastellux incorporated the picturesque into his account, which would become a more ingrained part of American culture in the nineteenth century.⁴⁹

The American concept of picturesque and its influence on art were already apparent at the Passaic Falls in 1802. In *The New York Evening Post*, Alexander Robertson advertised the opening of his New Academy of Painting and Drawing that opened in New York City in May. The Academy trained young women in the arts, and in his classes, Robertson directed his students attention towards interesting American landscapes, which included the Passaic Falls and the Hudson River. The opening of this art studio demonstrated the influence of European theorists on the artistic scene in America, and the changing views of landscape art.⁵⁰

While the Constables demonstrated their awareness of the Picturesque Movement through their actions while in America, they rarely used the term *picturesque*. Daniel only used the word twice in his three journals and the times that he directly used the term, he associated it with beauty and solitude. As they entered Franklin, Pennsylvania, the Constables witnessed a natural scene that presented them with a moment of stillness amidst the wooded area where they traveled. They examined the confluence of French Creek and the Alleghany River, and Daniel noted that he had not “seen a place that presents more Picturesque quiet beauty than this does.”⁵¹ The serene and solitary surroundings presented a place of calm, the opposite of the earlier definition of sublime landscapes that had an

⁴⁸ François Jean de Chastellux, *Travels in North-America in the years 1780-81-82. Translated from the French by an English Gentleman* (New York, 1828), 356, Library of Congress, General Collection.

⁴⁹ Chastellux, 249-250, 355-356.

⁵⁰ *The New York Evening Post*, 30 April 1802, p. 4.

⁵¹ Daniel Constable 2, 26 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

overpowering quality. Later, when he wandered through the rural area around Kinderhook Falls, New York, Daniel mentioned that the second waterfall he encountered demonstrated a more pleasing scene than the first one. He characterized a picturesque site as the whole scene, which taken together presented a beautiful view with constant variation. The first waterfall had fewer rocks and less variation, which presented a more placid and calming scene, but not more picturesque.⁵²

William, who demonstrated more of the artistic tendencies because he sketched the landscape and carried a Claude glass on their journey, also used the term *picturesque* more often than Daniel. He used *picturesque* to describe five different scenes on their trip, so despite using the term more, he still used it sparingly. He first used the word upon viewing the famed Passaic Falls for the first time. William described the falls as, “this fine spectacle perhaps as interesting as any in the world in point of picturesque beauty, is not safely indebted to the mere fall of water for its effect; the stupendous rocks with which it is every way surrounded contribute infinitely more to the formation of its grandeur.”⁵³ The falls alone did not constitute a picturesque scene, but needed the rocks to create a contrast to the smooth sheets of water propelling down the chasm. While they viewed many waterfalls on their journey – including the large Niagara Falls – William only used the term picturesque on one other cataract and that was to note its lack of the scenic quality. The Falls of the Mohawk River near Troy, New York, greatly disappointed the Constables and demonstrated how they defined a non-picturesque sight:

The rocks on each side of the river are likewise entirely unbroken and have nothing beautiful or picturesque on their appearance, this place cannot view with Passaic falls in any thing except the mere fall of water which is in greater abundance, in every other respect it is unworthy a comparison, Passaic has ten thousand beauties, this has

⁵² Daniel Constable 3, 29 August 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵³ William Constable Journal 1, 26 June 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

but one when you have seen the waterfall you have seen every thing at the Passaic you have a new scene at every step and every scene is fraught with grandeur, beauty and sublimity.⁵⁴

According to this comparison of the two falls, a picturesque scene required more than just a beautiful waterfall. In order for William to describe it as picturesque, the landscape needed more variation and points of interest. Rugged rocks around the waterfall and lofty trees that colored the picture were necessary components in the picturesque scene. William described another site as picturesque at Lake Geneva in New York. He entered the Utica Coffee House, where he met two French artists that had recently painted scenes of the lake, and they kindly pointed out a picturesque spot that they had found pleasing. The Constables encounter with these self-professed artists – who journeyed along the Mohawk River to the Niagara Falls – demonstrated the increasing popularity of artists traveling to the American west.⁵⁵

Within the American environment, other areas besides water garnered the designation of picturesque. William also felt that the Catskill Mountains appeared pleasing as the backdrop to Hyde Park, New York. He also described Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, as another cityscape that had a pleasing landscape. The city provided the best of both worlds, as “its situation is extremely beautiful and is calculated equally to captivate the eye him [*sic*] who loves the native charms of picturesque scenery and the merchant who delights in the more solid and palpable business of commerce.”⁵⁶ The idea of picturesque beauty depended on the whole landscape within a field of vision. There needed to be enough variation to keep the viewer’s interest. William used the term to describe waterfalls, mountain scenes, and the landscapes surrounding developing cities, but it always signified the larger picture. While he

⁵⁴ William Constable Journal 2, 9 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵⁵ William Constable Journal 2, 17 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵⁶ William Constable Journal 2, 3 October 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

only used the word five times within his journals, he continued his pursuit and interest in the picturesque through his sketches that focused on many different natural American scenes.⁵⁷

As the brothers traveled throughout the United States, the definition of *beauty*, *picturesque*, and *sublime* shaped the way they viewed the natural landscapes. The popularity of the outstanding scenery led to William gravitating towards certain natural features that he believed worthy of recreating. Waterfalls, rivers, and lakes dominated the scenes he drew. Rarely did they pass a waterfall without William having to stop and draw the scene. Daniel wryly mentioned in Connecticut that William had spent the day sketching a waterfall, and after they left, they encountered another waterfall within four hundred yards more beautiful than the first. Daniel knowingly stated “and to get WC past it without a sketch is next to impossible, as he is become quite a waterfall enthusiast.”⁵⁸ Throughout their journey, William stopped to draw the Passaic Falls, Little Falls of the Mohawk, Genesee Falls, Niagara Falls, Kinderhook Falls, Cohoes Falls, Youghiogheny Falls, Wapping Creek Waterfall, and Connecticut River Falls. In addition to the beauty of waterfalls, he considered water in general worthy of pictorial representation. William also drew depictions of Lake Geneva, Nashua River, and the Connecticut River. These water scenes dominated his attention, but he also drew some of the more majestic sights he saw, which included the larger mountains and rocks that he encountered: the Catskill Mountains, Blue Mountains, Hanging Rocks, a cave on the Ohio River, the Natural Bridge in Virginia, a bridge across the Delaware River, Monadnock Mountain, and a simple drawing in the woods. While the sights

⁵⁷ William Constable Journal 2, 6 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable, *Early Topographical Views of North America*.

⁵⁸ Daniel Constable Journal 3, 29 August 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

he deemed artistic varied, he followed the popular British perceptions of the *picturesque* and *sublime* to determine what should be copied for posterity.⁵⁹

When Daniel and William labeled a site as *romantic* or *picturesque* it meant a less awe-inspiring experience than the sublime views that they saw at the larger waterfalls. After they left the Passaic Falls, they walked alongside the river and encountered some different falls that “are about 12 or 14 feet, the country around very romantic but none of that bold and scenery that you see at the great falls.”⁶⁰ They had the same disappointment at the falls near Troy, New York, that did not display the “wild Rugged Romantic beauty which we found at Patterson,” where the Passaic Falls existed.⁶¹ They did find the rugged romantic beauty they searched for at the Little Falls of the Mohawk River. Bold rocks, mountains, and trees lined the river creating a truly spectacular view. They described the romantic scene as picturesque because of the drastic differences between the smooth falling water, rugged rocks, various trees, human structures, and different points that caught their attention.⁶²

The brothers encountered many different combinations of romantic landscapes and wild scenery that created a truly remarkable experience. The men enjoyed the beautiful

⁵⁹ For his interest in sketching falls see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, 27 July 1806, 28 July 1806, 9 August 1806, 16 August 1806, 6 September 1806, 12 September 1806, 13 September 1806, 15 September 1806, 16 September 1806, 18 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 14 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 3, 8 August 1807, 24 August 1807, 27 August 1807, 29 August 1807, 5 September 1807, 6 October 1807, 7 October 1807, 10 December 1807, 9 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 27 July 1806, 28 July 1806, 29 July 1806, 30 July 1806, 31 July 1806, 31 July 1806, 2 August 1806, 9 August 1806, 16 August 1806, 31 August 1806, 6 September 1806, 7 September 1806, 12 September 1806, 13 September 1806, 16 September 1806, 17 September 1806, 18 September 1806; For his interest in rivers and lakes see: Daniel Constable Journal e, 18 August 1807, 21 August 1807, 22 August 1807, 23 August 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 24 August 1806, 25 August 1806, 26 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For his interest in mountains, bridges and rocks see: Daniel Constable Journal 2, 11 January 1807, 15 June 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 3, 18 August 1807, 30 August 1807, 12 September 1807, 9 December 1807, 12 December 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶⁰ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 1 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶¹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 9 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶² Daniel Constable Journal 1, 16 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 7 October 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For more sites deemed romantic see: Daniel Constable Journal 2, 8 November 1806, 11 January 1807, 27 February 1807, 18 June 1807; the Little Falls of the Mohawk River differed from the Falls of the Mohawk River, which William labeled uninteresting.

scenery as they walked through the wooded areas of New Jersey; they noted that grapevines formed a canopy that shaded them from the sun, while within the less settled regions the berries grew larger than in England. William proclaimed that, “The whole road of today has been extremely romantic and beautiful, many parts of it cannot be surpassed even by the fine scenery of Switzerland.”⁶³ Additionally, near the Youghiogheny Falls, the Constables witnessed a romantic scene as William sketched the natural sight and stated, “the water rushes with great impetuosity, with the high mountainous banks of the creek form a scene uncommonly romantic and wild.”⁶⁴

The larger and more detailed scenes that they started to encounter aroused feelings of awe, grandeur, and bewilderment. The mountain top vistas presented the Constables with an overwhelming panoramic scene as they viewed the region around them. In the Cumberland Mountains they saw a vast sequence of hilly ranges; Daniel found the sight so impressive that he described the scene as a grand amphitheater. The peaks of mountains provided a perfect space to witness the majesty of nature, and they appreciated the views. After they ascended the Alleghany Mountains, Daniel noted “part of the top of these mountains presents a very wild and desolate scene, being covered with large rugged rocks, among which grow a few scrubby pitch pines, together with a vast forest over which we have a most extensive view.”⁶⁵ The scene presented an overview of the area, but also contained some aspects of the picturesque in the foreground. The large rocks and pitch pines on the mountaintop provided the Constables with a sense of beauty in their immediacy, which contrasted with the view of the immense forest they witnessed in the larger landscape. Nature itself presented some of

⁶³ William Constable Journal 2, 3 August 1806, ACM.

⁶⁴ Daniel Constable Journal, 3, 7 October 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 4 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 3, 2 October 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

the awe-inspiring activities. When they traveled down the Mississippi River, Daniel and William encountered a storm, which itself exhibited much of the terrible and grand. The visibly whirling wind contrasted with the dark and stormy sky to invoke within them a sense of awe and terror from nature's majesty.⁶⁶

The Picturesque Movement continued during the nineteenth century as a tool to understand American scenery. With the development of American tourism, better, quicker, and cheaper modes of transportation eased tourists' trips, but the natural wonders remained the same. John Benwell, an Englishman who toured in America, published his memoir in 1857; he continued the picturesque tradition by his description of the scenery in New York City. When he viewed the scene at Battery Park on Manhattan, Benwell highlighted the people who promenaded under a canopy of tree branches. Yet the picturesque sight required more. In his journal, he exclaimed that the sight was completed only when he included the sea and woody shores of New Jersey in the background. The entirety of the scene provided enough variation and ruggedness to classify it as picturesque. Benwell continued searching for these views as he traveled to Albany on a steamship, and on the rest of his journey he observed a romantic scene along the river.⁶⁷

While easier traveling in the mid-nineteenth century welcomed an onslaught of tourists into the west, earlier adventurers established the route. Benwell typified the average traveler on the American Grand Tour as he relaxed and took the steamboat to Albany, and then to the Niagara Falls across the Erie Canal. These later travelers went to sites inspired by earlier adventurers' decisions to visit regions they qualified as sublime and picturesque. The Constables' trip demonstrated that they, along with other travelers of this time, had an

⁶⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 17 February 1807, 31 May 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶⁷ John Benwell, *An Englishman's Travels in America: his observations of life and manners in the free and slave states* (London: Ward and Lock, 1857), 24-38, Library of Congress, General Collection.

awareness of the *sublime*, *picturesque*, and landscape theories that would become more visible with the Hudson River School painters in the mid-nineteenth century. The changing perceptions of nature and landscape into an artistic idea had begun with these earlier adventurous individuals.⁶⁸

The artistic mentality with which the Constables approached the American landscape directed their journey and would later define the American Grand Tour. European theories influenced the direction and focus of travelers' trips as they explored America. Edmund Burke, William Gilpin, and Uvedale Price directed people's attention towards the landscape. With the increasing popularity of these theories, more individuals changed the focus of their trips from touring cities to exploring the environment. The sites that the brothers, and later the Hudson River School, characterized as *picturesque* or *sublime* became tourist destinations for subsequent travelers. For example, waterfalls, mountains, and forests became the most visited sites by tourists. As more people painted and wrote about these places, it increased the interest in visiting these hard-to-reach areas in the United States. Conversely, these theorists determined which scenes would not become tourist destinations. Travelers and artists judged areas with less variation – such as open fields – as non-picturesque sights. With this classification, people bypassed the less picturesque landscapes, thereby removing them from subsequent tourists' itinerary. These theories that shaped the beginnings of the landscape art movement also dictated what sites would be built up as tourist destinations.⁶⁹

With the increasing popularity of United States' tourism, authors wrote traditional guidebooks that reinforced these theories and created a specific itinerary for the American Grand Tour. Gideon Minor Davison highlighted the traditional route that adventurous

⁶⁸ Ferber, 27-31, 134; Czestochowski, 7-18.

⁶⁹ Ferber, 50, 82.

individuals – like the Constables – had taken to Niagara Falls. In his book, Davison wrote a straightforward account that he disguised as a travel narrative to gain popularity within that burgeoning genre. Another author, Henry Dilworth Gilpin – relative of William Gilpin – brought the picturesque framework to his book. Within his narrative, he focused on the sublime sights such as Niagara Falls and directed more people to visit these American wonders. The guidebooks demonstrated the widespread popularity of traveling within America, and directed people to the picturesque and sublime sights on the tour.⁷⁰

With this change in travelers' focus, it also affected the acceptance of landscape art. As more individuals published their journals and sketches, people became more interested in this natural type of art. With more people recreating scenes from their American excursions, art critics started to accept landscape art as a legitimate artistic genre. Additionally, travelers recently returned from their American trips found the pieces more interesting after they had witnessed the sites for themselves. This made the art more personal. People bought landscape art to remember their own individual experience traveling in the American west.⁷¹

The new attention directed towards nature and landscape reshaped how individuals viewed the environment around them. British theorists inspired Daniel and William to visit the less settled western regions and view these areas with an artistic lens. The Constables' journals and artwork demonstrated that they formed part of a movement of travelers that viewed the United States in the sublime and picturesque framework prior to the popularity of the Hudson River artists. These movements redirected people's attention to undeveloped landscapes and provided artists with the terms to describe their emotions adequately. Even while the Constables traveled, landscape art retained a lower form within critics' eyes, but as

⁷⁰ Gassan, "The First American Tourist Guidebooks: Authorship and the Print Culture of the 1820s," *Book History* 8 (2005): 52-63.

⁷¹ Ferber, 28-43; Howat, 22-27, 126-127.

more people journeyed in the United States and shared their trips through journals and paintings, landscape art attained a more respectable position. The steps to this transition occurred with a travel friendly culture in the United States, both inspired and popularized by the artistic concepts of sublime and picturesque.⁷²

The view from the mountain's top awed and inspired Daniel and William as it presented a breathtaking view of the valley. The Mississippi River snaked its way around mountains covered with trees. The gray-blue river changed into a yellowish hue as it reflected the setting sun. In the tranquil scene, four birds flew at various levels, each one searching for its last meal before the sun disappeared. When the brothers looked out upon the miles of green and yellow trees, they viewed a tranquil sight both sublime and picturesque in its essence. Seeing out as God would evoked the sublime sentiment, while the diversity of the scene made the final painting picturesque. While the sunset became more colorful, the brothers resumed their journey inspired by the sublime picture that William captured within his sketch. Later in England, William finished the painting and while he did, he remembered his excursion and the amazing scenery of the American west.⁷³

⁷² Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Technology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 1-2; Novak, 6-30.

⁷³ William Constable, *View of the Mississippi River above Natchez*, watercolor on paper, 1807, ACM, Gift of J.A. Curran.

The Diversity of Masculinity

Eight years before they embarked for America, Daniel roamed the English countryside looking for ways to occupy his free time. One lazy Sunday, on a leisurely walk with friends they decided to engage in a hunting expedition. They meandered to the riverside, and started hunting weasels. The men spent the whole day engaged in the activity, eventually catching one weasel. At the age of twenty-two, Daniel and his friends searched for active ways to spend their free time. He played baseball, went ice-skating, and rented a boat. They took the boat in the river without any training and almost drowned when the current carried them in front of a big barge. Luckily, the boatmen redirected their ship and then lashed Daniel's boat to their larger vessel to take him to safety. On weekends less active, he walked to spend time with male companions and engaged in conversations about the world and their place within it. Throughout this time, he tried to impress young women. One time he threw stones into a river for his dog to fetch, so as to impress two young women sitting by themselves. Daniel's masculine adventures in England would only continue in America, as he found more places to display his male attributes.¹

Thirty years after independence, the United States had established its own identity, and the creation of this new democratic society led to the formation of distinctive American concepts. Because of the undeveloped nature of the United States, citizens created social connections unique to the new republic, especially in the frontier regions. When the

¹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 23 September 1798, 3 February 1799, 5 February 1799, 17 March 1799, 9 June 1799, 12 May 1799, Constable Papers, ACM.

Constables toured the country, they noticed a difference in American gender roles compared to those in British society, particularly within Native American cultures. The different relationships they witnessed challenged their innate thoughts about gender roles, ultimately altering their opinions.²

During Daniel's and William's formative years, traditional gender roles dramatically changed in England and this affected how the two men approached experiences within America. For example, women gained new positions in industry, engaged in foreign travels, and published popular literature, which then changed men's seemingly established positions within society. Men had to decide how they would respond to these new women's roles. While men may not have consciously realized the reasons for their actions, each man dealt with this change individually and on his own terms. Generally, within societies the dominant gender roles are such an established part of a culture that they often go unnoticed, but despite this fact, people respond to actions that challenge the status quo. Most of the time, these reactions take place without the person's awareness that they are changing the way they interact with the opposite sex.³

By looking at the differing notions of masculinity in England and the United States, a transatlantic vision about the fluidity of gender roles emerges. Within America, a new masculinity developed, that was affected by unfamiliar customs and the Native American

² For references to gender roles in Native American society see: William Constable Journal 2, 8 September 1806, 14 September 1806, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, 23 September 1806, 20 January 1807, 8 February 1807, 5 March 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; For gender roles of Anglo American women in the western settlements see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, 5 September 1806, 6 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 6 September 1806, 28 September 1806, 29 September 1806, 30 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 25 September 1806, 27 November 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 3, 19 November 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

³ Katrina Honeyman, *Women, Gender and Industrialisation in England, 1700-1870* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc, 2000), 100-119; Brewer, 80-81; Merry Weisner-Hanks, *Gender in History: Global Perspectives*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2011), 88-90.

gender roles that differed markedly from Anglo society. When the Constables traveled through these regions, they noticed the differences in customs and behaviors that specifically challenged their conception of masculinity. They entered the nation with specific ideas about manly activities and their frequent interactions with situations that did not conform to these beliefs challenged and changed their thoughts about male and female roles. Daniel and William traveled to America in order to experience masculine behaviors, but the fluctuating gender roles on the frontier transformed their definitions of masculinity.⁴

In order to understand these changes within both England and America it is necessary to understand how gender roles developed in both countries, and therefore how they affected society. The conventional rules that define gender roles change between nations and cultures; as defined by Webster's dictionary, culture refers to "the totality of socially transmitted behavior patterns, arts, beliefs, institutions, and all other products of human work and thought typical of a population or community at a given time."⁵ All of these aspects combine to create a unique definition of gender roles within each culture. Gender is a social construct people have used to divide the world into two distinct categories, male and female. Different from the chromosomal variances that separate the sexes, gender is an abstract concept that imposes socially constructed rules and ideas upon people that separates them by behavior and thought into feminine and masculine categories. Because these definitions are not hardened or permanent, the socially constructed differences between men and women change between generations, cultures, and geographic regions as new generations impose their standards upon men and women. Joan Scott, noted gender historian, defined gender as "the social

⁴ Anthony E. Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 7-11.

⁵ Webster's II: New College Dictionary, 3d ed., s.v. "culture."

organization of sexual difference.”⁶ In other words, society defines physical differences between men and women through sexual characteristics, whereby most cultures distinguish gender differently according to their unique societies. What is considered masculine in one culture may be considered feminine within another because of popular beliefs. For example, within Native American communities women did most of the physical labor, which in English culture was considered a masculine job. In addition to the socially dictated rules of gender differentiation, gender roles vary between people because of personal life experiences that shape individual definitions.⁷

Power also affects gender roles because cultural and physical relations between men and women can represent relationships of power. For instance, war, diplomacy, and politics can affect traditional gender roles in a society as young men defend their “feminine” country, thereby women and children as well. Additionally, the connections between gender and power create associations that also connect masculinity and national strength.⁸

Academics started to examine the different definitions of gender and the cultural rules that kept them in place, which led some scholars to investigate masculinity’s part in creating gender roles. While the study of masculinity has existed for centuries, its academic credibility increased with Sociologist Robert Connell and his 1980s concept of “hegemonic masculinity,” which he defined as the most prominent form of masculinity within a country or culture. He acknowledged that many different versions of masculinity developed within each culture, but that these various definitions combined to create what people viewed as a hegemonic masculinity. While many scholars acknowledged the most well known male

⁶ Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 2.

⁷ Harriet Bradley, *Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 3-5; Scott, 42-48; William Constable Journal 2, 8 September 1806, 14 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁸ Bradley, 186.

characteristics as macho, tough, controlling, and aggressive, different versions that emerged could include softer forms of masculinity that developed in contrast to this stereotypical version. The terms *American masculinity* would be considered a hegemonic masculinity, and while an overarching definition existed, each individual developed their own unique interpretation based upon this hegemonic view that changed because of their individual life experiences.⁹

While Connell's work introduced masculinity to scholars in many different academic areas, the difficulty with his concept of hegemonic masculinity lay in its disregard for aberrant versions. Despite the overarching definition of masculine or feminine characteristics, ultimately individuals decide their own paths. Historian Graham Dawson maintains that cultures construct the conditions that characterize masculinity and that men select from these choices to define their own manhood. He asserted that within multi-faceted societies, one dominant masculine ideal is impossible to obtain. Dawson insisted that cultures categorize certain masculine characteristics as more dominant, making them very recognizable. According to his research, the distinguishing traits of the ideal man include courage, endurance, and strength, which the American frontier unquestionably embodied.¹⁰

Prior to their arrival, Daniel and William developed their views about traditional gender roles within the English culture that was then experiencing its own changes. Initially,

⁹ R.W. Connell, *Gender and Power: society, the person, and sexual politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 183-188; Bradley, 47; Chris Blazina, *The Cultural Myth of Masculinity* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2003), 39-41; John Tosh, "Hegemonic Masculinity and history of gender," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 42; Michèle Cohen, "Manners Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005): 312-314; Karen Harvey, "The History of Masculinity, circa 1650-1800," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005): 298-299; Alexandra Shepard, "From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005): 290-291.

¹⁰ Graham Dawson, *Soldier's Heroes: British Adventure, empire and the imaginings of masculinity* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 1-24.

the Industrial Revolution in England affected traditional gender roles as women became involved in the workplace, and this led to a feminization of society. As women in England broke free from their domestic roles during the mid-eighteenth to late nineteenth centuries to become public actors, painters, and authors, men's traditional roles changed as well. Historian John Brewer defined this as "the feminization of a culture they believed should embody masculine values."¹¹ Females advanced into public confidence while men fell into effeminacy. Brewer defined the term "effeminacy" as men unable to control their passions and desires, therefore appearing similar to the "weaker" sex. During this time, the redefinition of gender roles inspired some men to embark on adventurous excursions. Travels to exotic and undeveloped countries increased and allowed men to prove their masculinity and strength, thereby reestablishing a traditional sense of self. Additionally, many Englishmen viewed the American frontier as a masculine space where they could spend their time doing manly activities not often available in urban society, which attracted men of leisure confused by transforming gender roles within their country. Daniel and William wanted to experience the frontier, thereby developing a better sense of self.¹²

Popular literature reinforced the changing roles of women as British society navigated through these new gender definitions. Daniel read books that informed him about the changing concepts of gender in England. In his earliest journal, he noted that he had read the *Memoirs of Wollstonecraft* by William Godwin. He also mentioned that he read Mary Wollstonecraft's *Wrongs of Woman* published in 1798, which promoted equality for females. This book provided a fictional example to reinforce Wollstonecraft's earlier book, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* published in 1792. Within her works, Wollstonecraft

¹¹ Brewer, 80.

¹² Brewer, 80-81; Honeyman, 35-36, 100-119.

disputed traditional gender roles. She argued that women should break free from their socially imposed positions, specifically, the use of romantic love and physical desirability to define women. Rather she believed that women should disprove these stereotypes, which required that women receive more education that would enable them to fight for equality. The traditional educational constraints of English women prepared them specifically for marriage and therefore left them in a perpetual state of childhood that she believed more schooling could correct. In addition to this prescriptive advice, Wollstonecraft pushed further and argued for the independence and redefinition of traditional gender roles. Increasing women's roles within society would, in turn, affect men's places as they responded to female encroachment into their traditionally masculine areas. Not surprisingly, political backlash developed from Wollstonecraft's writings, which challenged the gender roles in England and opened up the topic to debate and negotiation. Daniel's inclusion of Wollstonecraft's books in his list of reading material demonstrated an awareness of the changing roles of women. Because of the fluidity of gender roles, women's challenge against conventional feminine positions resulted in a renegotiation of men's traditional place in society.¹³

Daniel's early journal provides some perspective on the circumstances that the brothers encountered in England, and therefore how their early life shaped the way they would view America. Within his life in England, Daniel witnessed changing gender roles firsthand and he repeatedly expressed frustration. He courted an English woman named Mary Whitbourne, whom he referenced numerous times in his earliest journal. Daniel joined Mary

¹³ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 26 August 1798, 25 August 1799, Constable Papers, ACM; William Godwin, *Memoirs of the author of A vindication of the rights of woman 1798* (Oxford: Woodstock Books, 1990); Mary Wollstonecraft, *A vindication of the rights of woman: with strictures on political and moral subjects* (London, printed for J. Johnson, No 72, St. Paul's Church Yard, 1792), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University; Maria J. Falco, ed., *Feminist Interpretations of Mary Wollstonecraft* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 1-15; Bradley, 39; Honeyman, 99.

on walks and presented her with gifts, yet despite the frequency of his early visits to her in 1798, she suddenly disappeared from his journal. Demonstrating his frustration with Mary, one day while walking with her in Hyde Park he boarded a coach by himself destined for Iselworth, with the only other passenger a young girl of eighteen. While traveling he placed his arms around the young lass and kissed her. He reveled in her innocence and inability to practice the seductive arts demonstrated by most other women and noted, “She was about 18 and entirely free from that artful cunning which is to[o] often exercised by the sex, in fact I loved the girl, and the rolling the coach with so precious a charge in my arms, were moments of indescribable and heartfelt pleasure.”¹⁴ The simplicity he experienced with this girl differed from his previous encounters with women because she exuded an aura of innocence reminiscent of traditional gender roles. Daniel’s interaction with both of these women demonstrated his confusion with the roles of women in England. Similar to many young men, Daniel’s communications with women intensely shaped his views on the opposite sex.¹⁵

During the nineteenth century, domestic life also contributed to the formation of “separate spheres” within society. These separate gender spheres in England kept women and men in specific occupations clearly labeled male and female. Domesticity and working in the home constructed the nineteenth century definition of femininity; whereas, work and the ability to support the family financially outside the home formed the male identity. Women’s roles enlarged into the male sphere, and confrontations occurred. Within the Constables’ occupational field, women had started to make their presence known and replaced many

¹⁴ Daniel noted on January 31, 1801 that a female had disappointed him but he did not provide a name. Daniel Constable Journal 1, 2 June 1799, Constable Papers, ACM.

¹⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 22 May 1798, 24 May 1798, 19 December 1798, 2 June 1799, 31 January 1801, 2 June 1799, Constable Papers, ACM; While it is not apparent if Daniel was practicing the upper classes “privilege” to objectify women of the lower classes, I do not believe that was the case. His knowledge of women’s rights and tenor of his journals do not demonstrate that type of emotion.

apprenticed and skilled male workers. Between 1806 and 1810, strikes emerged amongst male hatters, tailors, and knitters, against female encroachment into their business. Daniel opened his own drapery shop in Brighton, England, and competed against not only men but also women that entered the workforce.¹⁶

The changing gender roles within England shaped the way that the Constables approached the United States. An involuntary response to the expanding roles of women in the workplace led them to engage in different masculine activities while they traveled through America. Additionally, each man responded to women's changing positions within society differently, and their journals demonstrate some of the differences that existed within male responses. Daniel and William, aged thirty and twenty two respectively, each approached their situation differently, thereby demonstrating the various reactions men had to women's changing place within society. Men who grew up with women already involved outside the home felt less threatened than those men who had grown up with the earlier traditional gender roles. In addition, the Constables had a sister who shaped William's concepts of female roles more than Daniel's, because Mildred was closer in age to William than Daniel. William referenced Mildred explicitly within his letter to his parents, demonstrating his closeness for his sister; whereas, Daniel did not mention her at all. William's relationship with his older sister was close, which also affected William's perceptions of gender roles and created his individual idea of masculinity separate from Daniel's version.¹⁷

¹⁶ Honeyman, 100-119.

¹⁷ Stephen M. Whitehead, *Men and Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002) 118-119; Deborah Valenze, "Gender in the Formation of European Power, 1750-1914," in *A Companion to Gender History*, ed. Teresa Meade and Merry E. Weisner-Hanks (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 463-464; Honeyman, 122-143; Constable, *The Constables of Horley Mill*, xvii-xix; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; the other sister, Susanna, was fifteen years younger than William and nine years younger than Daniel and made less of an impact on their impression at this time.

While men struggled with the changing roles of women, travel emerged as a way to contest those new roles. In the early eighteenth century, young aristocratic men developed their refined notions of masculinity while on a Grand Tour throughout France and Italy. They used this time abroad to perfect their language skills and develop gentlemanly traits of refinement by visiting the ancient ruins. Beginning in the 1760s, the British aristocratic view of masculinity on the Grand Tour started to change. Richard Hurd, the Bishop of Worcester, in *Dialogues on the uses of Foreign Travel* was the first to question this rite of passage from youthful exuberance to manhood. Hurd criticized the Grand Tour because it changed what he saw as the manly British character to an effeminate nature. He decried the politeness men learned on their trip as a quality prominent within French culture and as a characteristic more suitable for women. Hurd posited that to prevent travelers from adopting this French trait, British men on the Grand Tour should distinguish themselves with their unpolished and rough manners. Through his book, Hurd presented a concept that viewed the British man as the model for masculinity and conversely the Frenchman as effeminate.¹⁸

The Grand Tour increased in popularity as improved roads and communications allowed more people to travel, and eventually women embarked on these long distance excursions. Initially, the Grand Tour had started with young aristocratic unmarried men making an intellectual pilgrimage throughout Europe, which separated these men from the familial and feminine influences of home. When women and families started taking the tour, this threatened the idea of masculine travel. Beginning around 1770 with the increased number of women touring domestically and internationally, women travel writers became

¹⁸ Cohen, 323-325; G.M. Ditchfield and Sarah Brewer, "Richard Hurd," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online database, accessed 9-26-2012. Richard Hurd, *Dialogues on the uses of foreign travel: considered as a part of an English gentleman's education: between Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Locke. By the editor of Moral and political dialogues* (London: 1764), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University, 105.

more popular and also challenged traditional concepts about female roles, thereby forcing men to redefine their place in the world.¹⁹

Despite the democratization of the tour, people continued to think of travel as a male-dominated activity even as more women embarked on foreign ventures. Male explorers often commented on the inadequacy of female travelers, especially after women initially started touring in greater numbers. Historian John Tosh has argued, “The appeal of empire to men might be summed up by saying that it represented an unequivocal assertion of masculinity, a place where autonomy could be achieved without constant negotiation with the opposite sex.”²⁰ With Britain’s outward gaze, the world became a place to assert masculinity. Truly masculine activities not available within England attracted men to areas like America where the wilderness and frontier beckoned to men wishing to engage in manly pursuits.²¹

Travel writings published about rugged American excursions appealed to the adventurous British adventurer and offered the promise of a venue to demonstrate masculine behaviors. Some of the authors that the Constables read prior to their adventure discussed conditions within the United States and promoted the western and more adventurous territories. Gilbert Imlay’s *A Topographical description of the western territory of North America* introduced the Constables to a less populated region that required strength and determination to venture through it. Additionally, British travel writers published their accounts of journeys through the western United States which piqued the interest of readers searching for a new region to tour. By visiting foreign places, writers shaped a national sense of identity in contrast to the foreignness of the societies they ventured through within their

¹⁹ Buzard, 130-150; Turner, 53.

²⁰ John Tosh, “Masculinities in an Industrializing society: Britain, 1800-1914,” *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005): 341.

²¹ Chard, 37-39; Tosh, “Masculinities in an Industrializing society: Britain, 1800-1914,” 341-342.

publications. Gender roles became an important topic in this discourse of national identity, and the intersection of gender and class emerged as writers started to disparage the aristocratic effeminate travels and started praising the middle class adventurers more masculine pursuits.²²

Daniel's and William's early adventures were gendered within their writings in addition to the notion that it was much easier for men to explore these less populated regions of America. An individual journeying to unknown lands, less inhabited territories, or frontiers, advanced the masculine image and mentality. The act of travel separated a boy from his mother, thereby making him appear manly. During the eighteenth century sex, gender, and travel became entwined and led to the feminization of objects, cities, and landscapes. On the Grand Tour of Europe, people could acquire new characteristics that labeled male explorers as effeminate, but it could also work to reinforce a man's masculinity. The image of the rugged male adventuring into the wilderness existed in many areas of the world, but the North American terrain the Constables encountered exemplified the ideal environment for more than two hundred years. Famous male explorers traversed the newly "discovered" continent and endangered their lives by encountering the unknown. American men who traveled to the region developed a rugged masculinity from "civilizing" the country and its native peoples, which relegated the feminine to merely a bystander in the process.²³

With the changing ideas about women's roles in society, men's concept of themselves altered in response to the fluctuating gender roles. Historian Stephen Whitehead discussed this mythological portrayal of man as adventurer and argued that despite its inaccuracies it

²² Turner, 1-2; Imlay, 51-64; For examples of British travel writers see: Baily, *Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 & 1797*; Cresswell, *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1775-1777*; Winterbotham, *An historical, geographical, commercial, and philosophical view of the American United States*.

²³ Susan Bassnett, "Travel writing and gender," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 225; Lamb, 46-56.

remains a prominent presence in many cultures. The popular image of man as a hunter demonstrated this and revealed how women affected masculinity. The male leaves his female counterpart in the safety of their home so that he can endure the dangers of the wilderness, through this way he viewed his trials in relation to the feminine “other.” For example, men on the frontier assumed an ultra masculine role in the Constables’ trip. Travelling through the Allegheny Mountains, they stopped at a house to spend the night where the man of the house returned from a hunting expedition. After a long day, the hunter complained that he killed only two deer instead of his usual five, which he believed constituted a bad day’s haul. During the day his wife remained at home maintaining her domestic sphere. This reference in Daniel’s journal demonstrated the clear-cut ideal of separate gender roles that had formed on the frontier.²⁴

The act of travel in itself was gendered male through writing and publishing, while the objects of interest such as landscape had a feminine depiction. The male view of landscape appears explicitly in William Wordsworth’s book *Descriptive Sketches. In Verse. Taken during a pedestrian tour in the Italian, Grison, Swiss and Savoyard Alps* published in 1793. In his poems he stated:

Rest, near their little plots of wheaten glade;
Those stedfast eyes, that beating breasts inspire
To Throw the “sultry ray” of young Desire;
Those lips, whose tides of fragrance come, and go,
Accordant to the cheek’s unquiet glow;
Those shadowy breasts in love’s soft light array’d,
And rising, by the moon of passion sway’d.²⁵

²⁴ Whitehead, 118-121; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 9 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁵ William Wordsworth, *Descriptive Sketches. In verse. Taken during a pedestrian tour in the Italian, Grison, Swiss, and Savoyard Alps* (London: printed for J. Johnson, St. Paul’s Church-Yard, 1793), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, Texas Christian University, 14.

Wordsworth, equated the landscape that he viewed with feminine characteristics that travelers commonly attributed to nature.²⁶

Throughout the Constables' journals the gendered nature of travel appears. In a letter to their parents Daniel and William attempted to describe the beauty of Paterson Falls in New Jersey but felt that words failed to express its true splendor. They noted that "Nature here has wrought in *her* boldest manner and every object around is stamp'd [*sic*] with grandeur and majesty"²⁷ (emphasis added). In their writings, nature assumes feminine characteristics and they, as explorers, possess more masculine traits. In addition, William referred to the sun as a masculine object when he admired the sunset: "A rich setting sun contrasted with the cold grey of the Catskill Mountains behind which *he* was sinking forms the most striking feature of the landscape"²⁸ (emphasis added). The sun assumed masculine qualities as it descended behind the feminine landscape. While they did not create the masculine and feminine traits within nature, their use demonstrated the pervasiveness of gendered descriptions within society.

Gendered language described other aspects of their trip as well. Daniel frequently referred to ships, canoes, and arks as feminine, which denoted that he conformed to the common custom of the day. When they traveled down the Mississippi River, the brothers went through some difficult rapids and came across an abandoned boat. Daniel noted "about 4 miles below we found the boat that had sunk with the peltry, *she* mett [*sic*] with *her* disaster in the above mentioned channel, *she* filled with water but the lightness of *her* cargo buoyed *her* up, *she* was so unmanigable [*sic*] they could not land *her* sooner"²⁹ (emphasis

²⁶ Lamb, 14.

²⁷ Daniel Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 12 June 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁸ William Constable Journal 2, 6 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 9 February 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

added). The Constables demonstrated a gendered view of the world with such descriptions of nature and ships. Additionally, they challenged themselves in the unknown landscape that they viewed as the feminine “other.”³⁰

While they prepared for their journey, the brothers had different expectations for their travels within America. Both men wanted to engage in their idea of masculine activities while they ventured through the country, but their visions differed. While on the two-month journey overseas, William’s and Daniel’s journals describe their adventures, but the diversity of their writings demonstrated the dissimilarities in the men and their ideas about masculine activities.³¹

Within Daniel’s journal his perception of the trip demonstrated that he focused on spending time in physical activity that often bubbled over into disagreements with other passengers. Daniel had acknowledged his temper early within his first journal, and the troubles he found demonstrated the stereotypical masculine qualities of physical strength. Following an argument with his friend Wigney “blows ensued, fought like Tygers [*sic*], he first tore my waistet then I his handkerchief, he again my handkerchief – stop’d, half an hour after shook hands, - and all was well.”³² Daniel’s quick temper easily escalated to physical confrontations, and his penchant for these fights demonstrated his physical and aggressive version of masculinity. With the changing women’s roles, he responded with “stereotypical” behavior to demonstrate his macho and aggressive emotions more prevalent within an overarching hegemonic masculinity. This attempt to prove himself continued throughout

³⁰ For more examples of gendered language see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, 9 June 1799, 22 May 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 28 September 1806, 29 September 1806, 16 December 1806, 18 December 1806, 26 December 1806, 2 January 1807, 18 January 1807, 26 January 1806, 2 February 1807, February 1807, 27 February 1807, 7 March 1807, 13 March 1807, 15 March 1807, Daniel Constable Journal 3, 15 July 1807, 7 November 1807, 16 November 1807, 12 March 1807, 15 March 1807, 21 March 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

³¹ Constable, *The Constables of Horley Mill*, 46.

³² Daniel Constable Journal 1, 9 September 1798, Constable Papers, ACM.

their journey. He frequently fought with a fellow passenger named Hoby, and these arguments led to fistfights. Daniel's account of their overseas trip discussed the violent encounters he participated in and the daily difficulties he faced.³³

William's perception of the overseas adventure differed markedly from Daniel's description, as William's journal entries do not begin until one month after they left when the first entry mentions an eclipse. He seemed less inclined to discuss the difficulties that Daniel encountered on the trip, remarking that the trip moved seamlessly. William concerned himself less with overt demonstrations of masculinity because he grew up with women having a more independent role. Daniel, on the other hand, witnessed many of these changes during his adolescent years, which was when he formed his ideas about masculine and feminine roles. Contrary to Daniel's eventful trip, William noted that nothing extraordinary occurred during their overseas travel until the eclipse appeared. The passengers dined below deck unaware of the situation until the total eclipse of the sun produced darkness. William remarked that the eclipse, "resembled more the commencement of twilight, during this time many stars were visible, the wind was still and the face of nature wore a solemn and impressive aspect."³⁴ He relished in the natural wonders experienced at sea, labeling this experience as the most memorable aspect of the Atlantic trip.³⁵

The overseas adventures of the Constables demonstrated the different stages of masculinity that the brothers exhibited. Daniel demonstrated a hyper-masculinity that focused on strength and physical dominance in response to the changing role of women he witnessed in his everyday life and within literature. He often overtly demonstrated his manhood, which manifested with his desire to engage in physical activities and sometimes

³³ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 24 May 1806, 4 June 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³⁴ William Constable Journal 1, 1 May 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 16 June 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

his interactions escalated into violent altercations. William's concept differed greatly from Daniel's perception. While on the overseas journey, he engaged in intellectual pursuits, such as creating a book of patriotic songs in order to present them to the captain and marveling at the solar eclipse. William stayed away from the constant controversy that Daniel found, preferring to develop his own character instead. As William matured, he established his own sense of identity; therefore, he felt less need to respond with an overtly masculine personality. While their sense of manhood differed, both men relished the opportunity to experience the manliness associated with the sea.³⁶

As witnessed by the disparity in the brothers, many different concepts of the ideal man developed. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, men broadened their focus away from home and family, which changed the way men defined themselves. Middle-class masculinity underwent a sea change as a new hegemonic masculinity that emphasized the Protestant work ethic developed, which meant that a man's commitment to work and its accomplishments established his base level of manliness. Within the educated populace, a form of enlightened manhood replaced the traditional ideas of masculinity that praised physical strength. Society promoted thoughtfulness and compassion within literary publications rather than the male version of power.³⁷

Between 1750 and 1830, gentlemanlike behavior constituted the overarching dominant idea of masculinity within England. While the traditional version of masculinity that portrayed a man with military prowess who hunted and drank continued to emerge within society, the more gentlemanly qualities comprised the hegemonic masculinity of the time. During the eighteenth century, popular manuals reflected and reinforced the appropriate

³⁶ Bradley, 4-6; Dudink and Hagemann, "Masculinity in politics and war in the age of democratic revolutions, 1750-1850," 14-18; Valenze, 463; Shepard, 288-292.

³⁷ Shepard, 281-295; Connell, 183-188; Blazina, 40; Valenze, 463-469.

manners for the polite and refined masculinity of a gentleman. Popular journals such as the *Spectator* helped to spread this image throughout England. The definition of a gentleman changed during the eighteenth century as Lockean liberalism challenged then replaced classical republicanism, first in England and then in America. The dichotomous definitions of masculinity were demonstrated in the brothers themselves. Daniel displayed the traditional form of masculinity with his hunting, fishing, and exploring; whereas, William displayed more of the gentlemanly traits. William spent the majority of his time sketching the American landscape rather than engaging in the physical pursuits that Daniel followed.³⁸

Very shortly after arriving in America, they encountered the perfect conditions to demonstrate masculine behavior in the two different forms. In Paterson, New Jersey, Daniel admired the scenery and remarked that their brother James would find the current location very agreeable because of the abundance of hunting and fishing. Daniel proclaimed, “As fishing, hunting and shooting is considered as the birth right of every man and he here pursues it uncontrolled, there are plenty of snipes, woodcocks, and rabbits.”³⁹ The brothers viewed the undeveloped regions as an uncomplicated way to engage in manly pursuits not easily available in England. The farther they got from the established cities the more they enjoyed the American republic and the impressive scenery. Daniel delighted in fishing and continued to embrace this manly pursuit, while William focused on capturing beauty in his sketches. Later in their travels, they enjoyed the rewards of these fishing expeditions. Yet early in the journey, he highlighted the sport as an activity not for sustenance, thus demonstrating the importance of the act itself. William continued to improve his skills, which

³⁸ Cohen, 312-313.

³⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 26 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

demonstrated his adherence to the new gentleman masculinity. The two men demonstrated the different versions of masculinity.⁴⁰

The brothers continued to develop their individual concepts of masculinity throughout their travels, especially as the American version of masculinity challenged their European ideas. Because one person's idea about masculinity is socially constructed and adaptable, it would never be identical to another man's concept. For example, Daniel and William developed their core ideas about masculinity within England, but their adventures in America changed and shaped their subsequent ideas about manhood and masculinity.⁴¹

While the Constables traveled throughout the North American frontier, they encountered a new form of masculinity. American manhood developed its own separate identity from Europe during the American Revolution, and the growing divergent republic produced a plurality of masculinities. The nation's founding fathers rid the country of hereditary aristocracy and placed fewer boundaries between collective and individual virtue, which led to a new masculine ideal at the center of the republic. The successful democracy encouraged republican ideals that promoted the self-made man. In comparison to these ideals, Americans viewed manhood in England as effeminate and weak. The Old World structures of monarchy and aristocracy pointed to luxuries that many Americans classified as feminine. When the United States broke away from England, the new country ended its childhood and dependence on its European progenitor. As stated by Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, "The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore

⁴⁰ William Constable Journal 1, 26 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 28 July 1806, 31 July 1806, 1 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁴¹ Weisner-Hanks, *Gender in History*, 88.

entertain new ideas, and form new opinions.”⁴² Therefore, this new political experiment also created its own ideals of manhood different from Europe’s standards.⁴³

Masculinity became a dominant feature within the national culture, as the American nation developed. With the signing of the Constitution, the founding fathers withheld full citizenship from women. Unable to vote within the new nation, women did retain certain inheritance rights but not full rights as did white male property owners. Additionally, the available western lands created a unique environment where masculine behaviors flourished. These western lands presented a distinctive opportunity to the new republic, because it offered the promise of growth and opportunity to the people and a place to develop a distinct identity apart from England.⁴⁴

Within the United States, the concept of manhood had undergone its own change in meanings. The first phase, communal manhood, originally appeared in colonial New England. Within the tight-knit communities, a man’s sense of self coalesced with the duties he contributed to the community. At this point, public usefulness determined his sense of value rather than economic success. In addition, the conditions for masculinity developed in opposition to women. Before 1800, men occupied a superior position to women because men believed themselves to be more sensible, thus in control of their emotions. Within western New York, the brothers ventured through an area developing rapidly that exhibited communal manhood. This region in the west was in the same developmental process that colonial New England held when communal manhood defined masculinity. Traveling from

⁴² J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 44.

⁴³ Stefan Dudink and Karen Hagemann, “Masculinities in politics and war in the age of democratic revolutions, 1750-1850,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 8-9; Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: a cultural history*, 3d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 14-16.

⁴⁴ Dudink and Hagemann, “Masculinities in politics and war in the age of democratic revolutions, 1750-1850,” 18.

Geneva to Canandaigua, New York, Daniel encountered a logging bee where he witnessed forty men with twenty oxen and horses clearing the land by cutting down trees and burning them. The men all worked together and after finishing they would move on to the next house. Daniel continued on the road about a mile farther and he encountered a log cabin filled with girls occupied by a quilting bee. The women in the area had all gathered to work on a bed quilt, and they celebrated the day's work by having a dance with the men. The separation of women and men into gender specific activities reinforced notions of masculinity and femininity. Additionally, the men in this quickly developing region of New York engaged in a form of communal manhood reminiscent of the earlier New England communities.⁴⁵

With the continuous growth of American communities, the definition of manhood changed. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, self-made manhood emerged as the new view of masculinity within America. Men based their concepts of identity on personal achievements, which meant that work became the defining characteristic of their identity. Different cultural transformations created this change in identity, with the emerging republican government, growing economy, and growth in middle class families. Because of this changing definition, men sought success in business, which made public service less important.⁴⁶

Starting in 1800, the country expanded its commerce into what has been termed the "market revolution." The term, "market revolution," denoted a change in America's economic focus from a loose confederation of states that focused on agriculture to a tightly connected industrial nation. Demand for American exports increased, and as money flowed into the country the government focused on connecting the republic with a better

⁴⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 28 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Rotundo, 1-3.

⁴⁶ Rotundo, 1-3.

infrastructure. These economic fortunes created urban growth, and also westward expansion. With the self-made man and the rising middle class that emerged because of the market revolution, manhood was now no longer tied to land ownership, but rather associated with wealth, mobility, and business acumen. This change meant that masculinity now needed to be earned and constantly re-demonstrated as life changed rapidly. This westward expansion also meant that those men on the outskirts of society would form their own unique definition of gender roles and masculinity, developed from their individual experiences.⁴⁷

When the Constables journeyed through the region, American masculinity on the frontier represented a change from the self-made manhood that dominated in the eastern cities. With this western version of masculinity, men focused on a combination of survival and economic gain. Internal American immigrants flocked to the west in large numbers to take advantage of the opportunities that abounded with its fertile land and rivers for easy transportation. Once these families arrived, they focused on survival, which meant that many everyday activities obtained a gender-neutral status. Daniel and William experienced different situations that blurred the lines between men's and women's activities. For instance, while they stayed in Pennsylvania with some newfound friends on Beaver Creek, the brothers initially partook in housekeeping at the log cabin, but eventually the owner's wife arrived and reestablished the traditional gender roles. She assumed the duties of housekeeping, which relieved the Constables of the task. Their mention of the incident demonstrated their perception of women's roles within society, rather than the aberrant customs they had observed prior to the wife's arrival.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ John Lauritz Larson, *The Market Revolution in America: Liberty, Ambition, and the Eclipse of the Common Good* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1-10; Kimmel, 17-21.

⁴⁸ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 11 October 1806, 12 October 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

When they traveled in upper New York approaching the Genesee Falls, the brothers stayed with William Billinghurst and engaged in traditional masculine pursuits. The Constables chopped down trees, which seemed like a common task that they could have engaged in to help their new friend, but Daniel's and William's assessment of the situation implied that it meant more than simply physical labor to the Englishmen. Daniel noted in his journal that "We this afternoon chopped down a large maypel [*sic*] tree and many others, this exercise pleased us much, particularly the fall and thundering crash of the trees."⁴⁹ William also remarked on the uniqueness of chopping down trees, writing, "we proposed to try our dexterity at felling trees, we accordingly took a felling axe and went into Mr. B's wood and by tea-time we had lain three trees of no inconsiderable size upon the ground."⁵⁰ These two images of the everyday chore demonstrate that it provided them an opportunity to demonstrate strength and manliness within the American wilderness, both concepts that Daniel equated with masculinity.

Throughout the rural regions of America, the brothers encountered traditional male gender roles. On the way to Niagara Falls, Daniel received important hunting advice from some of the local men in the neighborhood of Geneva, New York. The hunters shot a stag and explained their technique of using the lake to corner the animal. Following this discussion, Daniel engaged in his own hunting when he killed a snake, one and a half feet long. Hunting represented another masculine activity and Daniel relished the advice offered by local men.⁵¹

Women's activities and roles in society affected masculinity, therefore the Constables devoted some of their journals to the description of American women in comparison to those

⁴⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 4 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵⁰ William Constable Journal 2, 4 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵¹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 23 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

in England. The brothers noted the paleness of women in New York City, which could not compare to the rosy cheeks of English women that they remembered. Additionally, they criticized the loose fitting clothing and lack of decorum women demonstrated by choosing not to wear hose. They ventured into rural areas, and the American women continued to shock Daniel and William farther with their daily activities and social positions in frontier societies.⁵²

The activities and habits of American women in the west continued to shock the brothers as they differed from women's behaviors in England. On their way to Pittsburgh they stayed with some people on Mahounmen Island in the Allegheny River and both men noted a habit that turned their stomachs. Daniel noted that "It is a nasty fashion among the young women about here to smoak [*sic*]; here was a pipe constantly going with 2 women one a young woman about 22 or 23 years old, who sat with her spinning wheel before her, her pipe in her mouth and spit a spun at a furious rate."⁵³ The following morning William also mentioned his disgust when he "rose at 6 and found the missus of the house with a pipe in her mouth whiffing away again."⁵⁴ The Constables viewed the use of tobacco as a male practice yet the women they encountered challenged that assumption.

Just outside of Pittsburgh at Colonel Porter's establishment in Washington County, the brothers compared the cleanliness of poor and middle-class Americans to those in England. Once again, tobacco created the disparity between the Constables' view of home cleanliness in England and America. Spit covered the floors in many of the houses they visited and while the American men chewed more tobacco than the Constables'

⁵² Daniel Constable Journal 1, 28 June 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 1, pp. 9, 17, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 25 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵³ William Constable Journal 2, 29 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵⁴ William Constable Journal 2, 30 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

acquaintances in England, the numbers of women who participated in the habit continued to shock them. Daniel remarked that “Both men and women have a nasty disgusting habit of spitting very frequently upon the floor of their houses ...I have frequently had my appetite checked when sitting down to a meal by the woman of the house spitting a mouth full of slaver upon the boards, and drawing it over the floor with her naked foot.”⁵⁵ Later travelers also commented on American’s proclivity for using tobacco; Charles Dickens in *American Notes* deplored the common occurrence and the nasty consequences it produced although he focused on male consumption. These subtle changes in everyday activities affected the traditional concepts of gender roles. Women using tobacco made them appear very masculine to the Constables, and, at the same time, challenged their own sense of masculinity.⁵⁶

While these experiences appeared foreign to Daniel and William, interactions with Native Americans challenged them even more. The gender roles within Native American societies differed greatly from England. When they left Genesee County, New York, on the way to Niagara Falls, the brothers immersed themselves in Indian culture and noticed many of these differences. During the journey they observed that the Indian women grew, cultivated, and picked the corn, while the men relaxed in the cottages’ shade. William noted this reversal of gender roles and witnessed that it carried over to all labor-intensive practices in the village. In addition to their farming responsibilities, Native American women busied themselves with the creation of ornaments, which they decorated with beads to adorn their clothing. Daniel and William always referred to Indian women as “squaws” demonstrating their knowledge of derogatory names, which kept the Native Americans as an “other.” The

⁵⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 3, 19 November 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵⁶ Dickens, 125-126; Daniel Constable Journal 3, 19 November 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

Native American women in upper New York shared many attributes or characteristics that would themselves appear foreign farther on in their journey.⁵⁷

The ample documentation of Native American gender roles demonstrated the Constables' fascination with these new cultures and their societies. They proceeded down the Ohio River past the confluence of the Tennessee River, where they encountered many Indians and passed numerous camps. In order to continue on their journey to New Orleans, Daniel purchased a canoe from a Cherokee Indian woman who could not speak English. The fact that he bargained with a woman and it did not draw any special notation from him implied that because of his earlier experiences he did not find it remarkable within Indian culture. They also interacted with Native Americans who approached them wanting to bargain. The trading parties generally consisted of combinations of men and women, bringing wild turkeys to trade for whiskey. Daniel and William did not have whiskey on their boat so they often traded biscuits for these turkeys. Similar to the canoe sale, the Constables did not seem shocked by the inclusion of women in these economic ventures.⁵⁸

Another aspect of Native American life that both impressed and shocked the Constables was the attire worn by the women. In their journals they noted that the women of the Seneca tribe in northwestern New York carried a blanket to cover them during the day and few women left home without it. Later on their journey, the brothers encountered a Christian missionary ministering to the Native Americans near Niagara Falls; the Native American women also wore these blankets when they appeared in public. At Buffalo, New York, Daniel remarked, "we found several hundred of these gay savages some of which was most splendidly dressed, haveing [*sic*] a vast profusion of broaches, crosses and broad silver

⁵⁷ William Constable Journal 2, 8 September 1806, 14 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵⁸ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 20 January 1807, 8 February 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

bracelets.”⁵⁹ The women lined their petticoats with silver broaches as well and the men placed lace scallops on their hats. The men and women dressed in these elaborate outfits to celebrate the annual receiving of presents from the government. When they moved farther away from cities, the brothers encountered less familiar styles of clothing. Daniel entered a Choctaw Indian camp where he noticed the women lay by the fires with only a woolen cloth around their waists. Later he encountered a similar scene on the banks of the Mississippi River at the settlement of Point Coupee. The men had all left to hunt while the women remained to grind Indian corn into meal. Daniel mentioned again that the women were “naked except the breech cloth.”⁶⁰ The Constables expressed shock at the different clothing styles seen in Native American villages as they learned about the different gender roles and customs of the various Native American cultures.⁶¹

Another incident that completely fractured their previous gender stereotypes were the actions of slaves. On their way to Lake Fausse Point, Louisiana, the Constables came across a young slave girl working in the fields. Daniel remarked that she plowed with three horses unassisted, managing the process with dexterity and ease. The treatment of slaves always shocked the brothers, but in this case, the ability of a young girl to do the work of a grown man challenged what they believed about women.⁶²

Throughout their travels in less inhabited areas, they also witnessed practices of necessity that made them uncomfortable as they resided with women at their most vulnerable. The Constables stopped to view the Genesee Falls in New York on their way to Niagara Falls and wished to remain nearby for a few days. While they searched for

⁵⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶⁰ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 5 March 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶¹ William Constable Journal 2, 8 September 1806, 14 September 1806, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 23 September 1806, 5 March 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶² Daniel Constable Journal 2, 14 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

accommodations, they encountered different customs. About half a mile from the falls they came upon a log cabin and convinced the owner, Charles Harford, to let them stay at his house. He was building a mill on his farm; therefore, he had a full house with the mechanics and their families that stayed at his home as well. Daniel and William pleaded with him for floor space, and the hospitable farmer decided he could find a place for them. Harford lived in a large log house with only one room where everyone rested until they went to bed. When bedtime approached, the women went outside because the house contained no chamber pots. In addition, everyone slept in the same room and men undressed in front of the women and children. The brothers questioned how to proceed with their nighttime ritual of undressing with this unusual situation, so they undressed as quickly as possible. The embarrassing and awkward circumstances presented itself again in the morning as people started getting up at 5:00 a.m., but Daniel and William waited in their beds until 6:30 a.m. to rise. At this time, the women were engaged in various tasks such as preparing breakfast and picking wool when the Constables hurriedly dressed in broad sunlight. Daniel noticed that the women did not appear embarrassed by the situation. William also felt uncomfortable in these open surroundings and he wrote in his journal that as morning broke four young women remained close to his bed, and William lamented that a curtain did not divide the room. When two of the women left the room they seized the opportunity to dress with “the young women sitting quite unconcern’d while we changed our shirts, drew on our trousers and except that she very frequently favor’d us with a full stare, and happy were we to find that we had not at all shocked female delicacy.”⁶³ The lack of English decorum in the western rural region of

⁶³ William Constable Journal 2, 6 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

America shocked the Constables, yet they grew more accustomed to the circumstances as their adventure continued.⁶⁴

The brothers took less notice of the shared sleeping quarters with women as their journey proceeded. During a tumultuous rainstorm two miles from Franklin, Pennsylvania, the Constables frantically sought shelter at the nearest house they found owned by Mr. Pachall. He graciously allowed them to stay, but the room they slept in had two beds, one of which a young woman occupied. As the morning dawned Daniel noted of their roommate, “she sit up in bed and pulled her petticoat over head and out of bed she went about her business.”⁶⁵ This encounter received less shock and acquired a more matter of fact tone within his journal. After these initial scandalous experiences, William admitted his new indifference to sleeping in the same room with women. After leaving Franklin, Pennsylvania, they stayed at Colonel Parker’s house and slept in the same room as his daughter. William nonchalantly remarked that, “we are...so used to see[ing] women get up and go to bed in the same room with us that we think nothing at all of it.” Developed out of necessity, these sleeping routines changed the Constables’ perception of women’s and men’s roles in general. The ability to see the activity as a normal everyday occurrence represented a change in their perception of shared spaces for women and men.⁶⁶

With the developing American society, these new patterns affected gender roles and provided frontier women a level of autonomy. Subsequent travelers such as Alexis de Tocqueville concluded in his memoir *Democracy in America*, that women held a position of higher esteem within their husbands’ eyes than women in Europe did. Tocqueville surmised,

⁶⁴ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 5 September 1806, 6 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 25 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 25 September 1806, 27 November 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 28 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

“Americans do not believe that man and woman have the duty or right to do the same things, but they hold both in the same esteem and regard them as beings of equal value but different destinies.”⁶⁷ This sense of limited equality differed from Europe where men viewed women as “seductive but incomplete beings.”⁶⁸ The new gender roles that occurred in frontier societies challenged traditional rules, while maintaining the separate spheres of influence for men and women.

They stayed at various houses along their route in America, and the Constables used gendered language to describe the company they kept. Throughout their journals Daniel and William often refer to men as *gentlemen*, whereas women’s names varied from *woman*, *lady*, *squaw*, *whench*, to *old hag*. Despite their higher esteem for American men, they did encounter some questionable figures within a few of the boarding houses where they stayed. In Louisville, Kentucky, William noted, “The company of our house who are Merchants, Lawyers, Doctors etc up all night at cards, they seem much like professed Gamblers we notice in the people of this place a haughtiness of conduct and self importance greater than in any other set of people we have met with in the States, this they display particularly by swearing immoderately in their common conversation.”⁶⁹ The men they encountered in the western parts of America frequently earned the title gentleman, but this area also attracted more offensive people. Often through their journals, the brothers complained about inhospitable women, often landladies, whom did not provide them with their every need.

⁶⁷ Tocqueville, 708.

⁶⁸ Tocqueville, 707.

⁶⁹ William Constable Journal 2, p. 24, Constable Papers, ACM.

Western America presented them with many challenges that sometimes resulted in disagreements with local people not accustomed to foreign tourists.⁷⁰

Daniel and William encountered different gender roles within America from the ones that they grew up with in England. Native American societies offered the biggest challenge to these notions as the women took on the more physical tasks and dressed differently, ranging from fully clothed to nearly naked. The Constables became accustomed to the gender roles within Native American society as they continued to travel through the wilderness inhabited primarily by Indians. Within the Anglo-American population, the brothers also expressed surprise by the women's roles within rural America. Women and men all shared the same room with only the Constables shocked by the circumstances. Women also used tobacco and had more independence than in the larger cities on the Eastern seaboard. Despite these differences, the brothers quickly became used to the new situation and by the end of their journey did not find it shocking at all. Their European notions about gender rules altered with their exposure to new concepts.⁷¹

⁷⁰ For examples of their use of the word squaw see: William Constable Journal 2, 8 September 1806, 14 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, 20 December 1806, 21 December 1806, 8 February 1807, 12 February 1807, 29 March 1807, 2 May 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; For their use of the word whench see Daniel Constable Journal 2, 8 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; For use of the word hag see: Daniel Constable Journal 3, 7 June 1807, 10 August 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; For use of the word lady they had two general uses for lady of the house see: Daniel Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, 10 March 1807, 6 April 1807, 23 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 3, 10 August 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; for landlady or motherly old lady see: Daniel Constable Journal 3, 5 September 1807, 29 September 1807, 3 October 1807, 4 October 1807, 27 November 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 24, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁷¹ For notations of Native American society see: William Constable Journal 2, 8 September 1806, 14 September 1806, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, 23 September 1806, 20 January 1807, 8 February 1807, 5 March 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; For notations of Anglo American women's actions in the western settlements see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, 5 September 1806, 6 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 6 September 1806, 28 September 1806, 29 September 1806, 30 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 25 September 1806, 27 November 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 3, 19 November 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

William and Daniel came to America searching for the frontier, the epitome of masculinity. On the American frontier, the wilderness dictated how people lived and men could engage in traditional gender roles. Daniel and William enjoyed fishing and lumbering, and the brothers associated this type of activity with masculinity as a result of cultural conditioning. Additionally, because of William's experience with a more demure form of masculinity he also tried to develop his character by experiencing the wilderness and capturing it on his sketchpad. Englishmen viewed the encounter of civilization and wilderness on the frontier as the ideal place to demonstrate masculinity in a "civilized" world. With more families moving to the west, the frontier masculinity became not just a part of the frontier, but part of America. It came to represent a unique and truly American construction of masculinity. Daniel and William sought out the wilderness; in search of this area that civilization had not touched.⁷²

When the brothers moved farther west from American cities, they depended upon themselves to find food. After leaving, Marietta, they floated past seven turkeys on the Ohio River. William pulled out his gun and loaded it. He aimed at one of the turkeys and shot. The bullet missed the bird and the noise scared the turkeys away. Later in their journey after reaching Fort Massac, Daniel took his gun and went on land to find some food. He quietly slinked through the woods. After a few minutes, he spotted some robins on a branch. He raised the barrel of his gun, aimed, and shot. One of the birds fell down. A little later on he spotted another bird and shot it as well. He returned to the ark with two birds, which would

⁷² Daniel Constable Journal 1, 26 July 1806, 28 July 1806, 31 July 1806, 1 August 1806, 23 August 1806, 4 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 1, 26 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 4 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

tide them over for a little while. While necessary to provide food, traveling through the western edge of America allowed them to engage in daily masculine activities.⁷³

⁷³ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 9 December 1806, 20 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

Land of Opportunity

In the distance, a single line of people trekked towards the west. The family grew closer, and the father – bent over with the weight of a bed – took each step carefully as he greeted the Constables. The man had already traveled four hundred miles with the imposing weight and planned to carry the burden for at least another four hundred miles over the Cumberland Mountains. His wife carried their youngest child, while the other five children walked behind her each carrying their share of the load. The Constables wished them a safe trip, and Daniel watched them walk away. After a few minutes, Daniel turned around one last time and was shocked to realize that no one in the family had shoes. The impoverished family traveled more than eight hundred miles without shoes or transportation to reach a land that symbolized opportunity and offered the promise of wealth – the west.¹

The west offered opportunities. The eastern cities became crowded, which led to many adventurous and entrepreneurial individuals looking to the west for their future. Because of the fertility and availability of land, this area experienced a large population growth in the early nineteenth century. When cities developed on the frontier, people focused on survival, accumulating land, and making money, which produced a democratization of society. Women and immigrants attained more power and rights in these backwoods regions than they would have received in the larger eastern cities. Men also flourished. Daily life superseded the petty customs and concerns that controlled urban living as people concentrated on survival. By focusing on the land, individuals who would have had a difficult time making money in the larger cities prospered. Additionally, the glorification of

¹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 2 June 1807, 8 June 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

the west increased the number of people who migrated to the area. While male, female, Anglo-Americans, and immigrants flourished with the democratization of society in the west, Native Americans' opportunities decreased as they adapted to the influx of settlers.²

In the years before their trip to America, Daniel and William investigated the western United States, but the region they visited differed markedly from the place referenced in their books. When they traveled through the west from 1806 to 1808, they anticipated a frontier, yet the region had already experienced a transition. Settlers had flooded into the area searching for a better life. People from European and American cities relocated, where they melded into a new society. The former frontier developed into a settled region, and religious, local, and federal institutions hurried along the transition from rural to urban.³

While Daniel and William traveled through the American frontier, they witnessed many people moving west because opportunities existed for foreign immigrants, internal migrants, religious leaders, and entrepreneurs. Because of their time in these less-settled regions, they absorbed much about the culture of the west. In fact, the Constables' journey provides the unique experience of witnessing different areas of the United States in various stages of development. Though not yet modernized, the northern New York region had already built turnpikes and established stagecoach services, which increased the number of people traveling through the region. When the Constables ventured west so did many other emigrants who searched for cheaper and more fertile land. The region between the Ohio River to the Mississippi River offered the brothers a rare look at the conditions of a rural environment quickly developing. Also throughout their travels, the brothers witnessed

² Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 358-376; Smith-Rosenberg, 207-215; Aron, 193-197.

³ Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Continental America 1800-1867*, 78-80, 222-223; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 358-376; Smith-Rosenberg, 207-215; Aron, 193-197.

different stages of religious development. They encountered missionaries, new religious communities, and Indian prophets, each arising because of local conditions and a desire for religious freedom. With this population growth, Native Americans adapted as they struggled to maintain a life distinct from white society. The Constables observed this process, and they developed their own opinion about Native American society that changed throughout their trip. Despite the attempt to separate from white society, many Indians interacted directly with white civilization, bypassing traditional hierarchical rules. The brothers encountered many Indians on their journey, and their trip shows their changing perception of Indian nations. They entered America with few preconceived ideas about Native Americans, but throughout their journey they developed a disdain for the struggling people.⁴

Before departing from England, the brothers studied the United States and Gilbert Imlay's descriptions informed them about the type of people they would meet on their journey. Imlay claimed that until 1784, the first immigrants to the west originally came from Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina. Additionally after the American Revolution, military officers who had fought in the war moved west. Daniel and William met some of the former revolutionary soldiers who had migrated after the war. These former soldiers relocated to the west for the fertile land and promise of wealth that it offered. After leaving Louisville, the brothers agreed to take General Sam Hopkins down the Ohio; Hopkins had just left Frankfort, where he attended a legislative assembly as a member of the Kentucky legislature. A former Revolutionary soldier, Hopkins then owned twenty-five miles of Kentucky land on the banks of the Ohio River. When the brothers traveled through

⁴ Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective in 500 Years of History, Atlantic America, 1492-1800*, 357-360; Neil Adams McNall, *An Agricultural History of the Genesee Valley, 1790-1860* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 21-33; E.W. Vanderhoof, *Historical Sketches of Western New York* (Buffalo: 1907. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1972), 34-49.

western New York, they interacted with another former soldier. The first house they encountered after Genesee Falls belonged to Colonel Josiah Fish, who had led Vermont troops in the American Revolution, and in 1783 he had selected land in western New York and moved his family there. Fish built his log home in 1796 near the mouth of Black Creek, and later became an important part of his community when he became chairman for the Ontario County board of supervisors. Both of these former revolutionary soldiers had become important parts of their community, therefore integral parts in the development of the west.⁵

Imlay argued that the second wave of immigrants came from England, Philadelphia, New Jersey, New York, and the New England states. When the Constables journeyed, they experienced this change firsthand. The brothers noticed that many of the western settlers included people with a genteel nature, which they had not expected. They also encountered many individuals originally from England or Ireland, including some who became involved in the Aaron Burr conspiracy. These individuals had moved to the United States to start a new life free from the troubles of their homelands.⁶

Farther away from cities, the brothers encountered many people in the midst of uprooting their families. At Gallipolis, Ohio, Daniel and William ate dinner on an Orleans boat with five families from Vermont headed for the Miami River; altogether, the party

⁵ William Constable Journal 2, 7 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 25 December 1806, 31 December 1806, 1 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 31 December 1806, Constable Papers ACM; Imlay, vol. 1, 136; Bragdon, xxiii; "Soldiers of the American Revolution," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 5, no. 2 (July 1812), 274; "The Board of Supervisors," *The Albany Centinel*, 27 March 1801, p. 3; William Constable Journal 2, 7 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 31 December 1806, 1 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 31 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Imlay, vol. 1, 136; For examples of the changing immigration see: William Constable Journal 2, 22 August 1806, 25 August 1806, 3 September 1806, 19 September 1806, 25 September 1806, 6 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 25 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 25 September 1806, 11 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

included fifty people. Some of these families did not know who owned their property or if they had any right to the land. The desire to move west overcame logic, especially within the fertile land between the Big Miami and the Little Miami Rivers. Another family in Virginia some two miles north of Guiandot Creek, paid one hundred bushels of corn for their log cabin and the eight acres where they lived. William remarked that “they know not who is owner of the land they occupy, nor how long they shall be suffer’d to hold it in place, the person whom they pay for improving having no farther claim to it than what he derives from having bestow’d his labour on it.”⁷ Settlers willingly risked everything for even the most uncertain status because of the desire for land and the freedom it would provide.

Not only did the promise of fertile land entice settlers, but also the possibility of a cheap cost of living encouraged people to move. The brothers encountered individuals from North and South Carolina, Georgia, and West Virginia moving to western Tennessee, Mississippi, and New Orleans territories. A prime location, Duck River in Tennessee attracted immigrants because it emptied into the Tennessee River, occupied a prime location just south of Nashville, and contained fertile lands. Additionally, William noted how inexpensively people could live in the western lands, unless they desired imported goods that carried high taxes because of shipping expenses. If settlers desired goods from the east, Nashville merchants received their products from Baltimore or Philadelphia; these items arrived by wagon over the mountains to Pittsburgh, and then they shipped down the Ohio River to the Cumberland River. Consumers paid for the added carrying costs on goods, and because of the lengthy and arduous trips this made them very expensive. During their time in Pittsburgh, they bought clothes from a merchant who bragged about the city’s cost of living. Married with three children, he lived in a well-furnished house and boasted that his expenses

⁷ William Constable Journal 2, 12 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

totaled merely two hundred dollars a year. Yet the merchant assured the Constables that even one hundred dollars a year could make a man independent in this area. Opportunities abounded that could make a family financially stable and offered even more prospects to adventurous entrepreneurs willing to take an economic risk.⁸

While people who moved to these developing areas tried to maintain a thriving economy, occasionally local conditions could not keep up with growth. At Genesee Falls, New York, for example, locals complained about a lack of specie that forced them to barter for most goods. This lack of hard money forced storekeepers to travel to Philadelphia with the oxen that they had accepted as payment from farmers. Other individuals transported potash to sell in the larger eastern cities in order to acquire money. Daniel and William met one man who traveled 169 miles to Albany from western New York to sell his potash that he had acquired from clearing his land.⁹

Opportunities abounded for entrepreneurial businessmen, yet those with less honorable intentions also flourished; the Constables experienced the penalties for this firsthand. With the lack of specie, counterfeit money became a major concern for western citizens. At one point on their journey, the brothers purchased a canoe for four dollars, but Daniel only had twenty-dollar bills. No one would give him change because of the fear that the money might be counterfeit. Eventually the person selling the canoe provided them with change for their large note. The Constables experienced additional difficulties concerning counterfeit money. At Montgomery, Virginia, Daniel bought some cloth and negotiated with the tailor to make trousers. Daniel walked down the street toward the blacksmith's shop, and

⁸ William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 3 October 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 7 September 1806, 20 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Potash was used to manufacture glass, soap, and black gunpowder.

two men grabbed him. One of the men, the tailor from whom he had just bought linen from, told Daniel that he had used counterfeit money. They dragged Daniel down the street, but he twisted out of their grip and demanded they act with civility. Arriving at the court, the magistrate showed Daniel the supposedly forged money and questioned Daniel. The guards escorted him to a local tavern to wait as the judge examined the coin's composition. The men examining Daniel could not determine if the coins were real, so they rubbed them in their hair, weighed them, and at last, finally cut them, which proved that they were composed of silver. Daniel was acquitted. Silver money rarely appeared in this area and its brightness, in conjunction with Daniel's ragged trousers, had aroused local suspicions.¹⁰

Despite the monetary difficulties, many of the people that the Constables encountered relocated their families in the search for more opportunities and a better life. After leaving Genesee Falls in New York, they met a large family headed for the Holland purchase in western New York. The family had already journeyed four hundred miles from Vermont and they planned to travel 160 miles farther. They traveled with many of their material possessions, and they had oxen pull the wagons and cows for milk. At a local tavern they off loaded their beds from the wagon and slept on the floor. Remarkably, the family had never seen the land. Many people traveling to the west had only heard about the promise of fertile land, which convinced them to move.¹¹

On the first part of their adventure, the Constables met many emigrants who planned to travel to western New York, an area then undergoing rapid development. Western businessmen had completed many improvements that made it attractive to migrating families. Initially the New York state government had forbidden the private purchase of Indian lands,

¹⁰ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 27 September 1806, 12 June 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

¹¹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 9 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

but in 1790, the Treaty of Fort Stanwix expropriated the land that had previously belonged to the Iroquois. At this point, a group of European investors formed the Holland Land Company, and during the early 1790s bought extensive tracts of western New York land from Robert Morris, a speculator and senator from Pennsylvania. In 1797, the company planned for future immigrants by undertaking the task of building the Genesee Turnpike, which made it easier for immigrants to travel to this area. Soon thereafter, the Holland Land Company began selling land.¹²

Though the business started selling property, the Holland Land Company did not immediately encourage immigration. According to Yale University President Timothy Dwight, the Holland Company originally purchased some sixty thousand acres of land, but eventually saw no reason to entice customers because investors knew the land would increase in value. When Dwight traveled through the region in 1804, the village of Buffalo, consisted of twenty houses, yet the company refused to sell any more land. Settlers continued to migrate to the area and eventually started cultivating land without a title. A common occurrence in the west, many settlers squatted on land with the intention of ultimately gaining control of the property. Eventually, the company leased some of the land, but their overall policy of holding land convinced many immigrants to travel across New York, looking to settle in areas farther west.¹³

Many western cities demonstrated a unity amongst the settlers as they created new communities. In New York, the small, tight-knit communities evoked a simplicity and

¹² Christopher Densmore, *Red Jacket: Iroquois Diplomat and Orator* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 24-29, 48-60; Joel Henry Monroe, *A century and a quarter of history: Geneva from seventeen hundred and eighty-seven to nineteen hundred and twelve* (Geneva, NY: W.F. Humphrey, 1912), Heritage Quest, 38; McNall, 11-16.

¹³ Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, vol. 4, 43, 18; The village of Buffalo was destroyed in the War of 1812 but had been rebuilt by the time of publication of Dwight's book and boasted 150 houses in 1820.

trustfulness that shocked the brothers. They proceeded west of Canandaigua with Englishman William Billinghurst, whom they had first met in New York, when they arrived at an inn after dark. Daniel prepared to knock but Billinghurst unceremoniously walked in, awakening the landlord and his wife who both slept next to the door. Billinghurst later explained to the brothers that most people in this region did not use locks or bolts on the doors. Ironically, farther from established towns, people had less fear of strangers. Local sentiment towards strangers differed drastically in this area from regions that had experienced numerous travelers, where the locals developed policies to safeguard themselves. While north of New Orleans on the Mississippi River, Daniel and William had a difficult time gaining access to houses during a storm because the French owners did not speak English. Additionally, the people from this area did not trust strangers and generally refused to house travelers in their homes. Regions that experienced considerable traffic generally trusted visitors less than in newly developed areas, but both territories developed tight-knit communities.¹⁴

Many of the people who resided in the western regions surprised the Constables because of the finery of their establishments. Fifteen years prior to the brothers' trip through New York, Utica grew from a settlement of one or two log houses to more than four hundred homes. The community had experienced rapid growth, but the houses in the city were also some of the best Daniel had seen since his arrival in America. Individuals who moved in the area planned to stay, and they demonstrated their intention by building fine houses. Additionally, when they arrived at Genesee Falls, the brothers convinced Englishman Charles Harford to permit them to stay at his house for the evening. The west – a place where many people newly immigrated to America decided to settle – offered more opportunities for

¹⁴ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 30 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 30 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 31 March 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

advancement than eastern cities and some immigrants brought their prized material goods with them. Daniel noticed Harford had a bound collection of E. Swedenbough's books and the encyclopedia Britannica, as well as other books in a large mahogany bookcase. Several large paintings and prints decorated the walls of the main room, most notably a large oil portrait of Harford and his wife in a gilt frame. While these decorations would not have garnered much attention in the eastern cities, Daniel mused that these items seemed unusual within the confines of a log house. Irishman, Harman Blennerhassett also decorated his property with many of his family heirlooms that he had brought from overseas. The three hundred acre island in the middle of the Ohio River – where he resided – impressed visitors with its elaborate gardens and elegant furnishings in the backwoods of America.¹⁵

Increased immigration drove white society's desire for land and pushed the Native Americans farther west. As a result, the threat of attack decreased as Indian communities moved farther away, which guaranteed the safety of citizens in cities like Pittsburgh. A similar process had occurred in southern Indiana, as additional land became available and more settlers moved into the region. After the organization of Indiana territory in 1800,

¹⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 17 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Oneida county does not list Utica in its 1800 census, merely referring to this region as Western Oneida County, which had a population of 1,492. For more information see: 1800 Federal Census, Oneida County, Western Lands, New York, Heritage Quest; The entire population of Oneida County was 33,792 within the 1810 census, which did not separate the results out by township, for more information see: 1810 Federal Census, Oneida County, New York, Heritage Quest; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 5 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 5 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Mr. Harford happened to be an Englishman living in the rural area in North America he had moved there to build a grist mill. The first mill in the area had been built in 1789 for the white settlers in the region, but it a sudden flood in the spring of 1804 destroyed it. When the Constables stayed with him, Charles Harford was in the process of building the second mill near the upper falls of the Genesee River in what is today Rochester, New York for more information see: Carl F. Schmidt, *One hundred years: a century of commerce in Rochester, N.Y.* (Rochester: Rochester Chamber of Commerce, 1934) 4-5, Heritage Quest; William Safford, *The Life of Harman Blennerhassett* (1850: reprint, Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 58-59; Buckner F. Melton Jr, *Aaron Burr: Conspiracy to Treason* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2002), 74-76; William Constable Journal 2, 8 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

Governor William Henry Harrison finalized treaties with the Indians, adding 46,000 square miles of land available to new settlers during the next five years.¹⁶

The west also presented the ideal situation for militarization schemes. During the Constables' travels, the presence of foreigners greatly aroused people's suspicions, a sentiment only heightened by the Aaron Burr conspiracy. When the brothers reached Pittsburgh, people feared that they might be Tories and questioned their motives. Burr's questionable actions across the west brought a heightened sense of alarm to individuals living in this area. After serving as vice president under Thomas Jefferson, Burr left Washington D.C. for a tour of the west. On his trip he stayed in Philadelphia for a few weeks, proceeded to Pittsburgh, and then floated down the Ohio River in an ark. Burr had allegedly concocted a plan to acquire territory in the west and start a new nation. During the spring of 1805 he questioned some of the western citizens about separating from the United States. He also enlisted recruits. During his tour, Burr landed on an island in the Ohio River where Harman Blennerhassett and his family resided. A diminishing family fortune had convinced Blennerhassett to join Burr's venture. Born in County Kerry, Ireland, Blennerhassett had been too vocal in his desires for Irish independence, and, as a result, forced to flee. After their meeting, Burr continued down the river to Cincinnati, where he stayed at the home of Senator John Smith, who reportedly had connections with Spanish officials in Louisiana. On his return trip from New Orleans in 1805, Burr traveled north along the Natchez Trace.¹⁷

¹⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 9 October 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Francois Michaux, 156-157; David W. Welch, *History of Posey County, Indiana* (Chicago: Standard Pub. Co., 1913), Heritage Quest, 30.

¹⁷ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 9 October 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Nancy Isenberg, *Fallen Founder: The Life of Aaron Burr* (New York: Penguin Books, Ltd., 2007), 292-294; Walter Flavius McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy and A New Light on Aaron Burr* (New York: Argosy-Antiquarian Ltd, 1963), 25-29, 72; Safford, 59-60; Melton, 74-85; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 384; William C. Davis, *A Way Through the Wilderness: The Natchez Trace and the Civilization of the Southern Frontier* (New York: HarperCollins Books, 1995), 25-31; Major Smith from New York had treason charged against him. The Constables had lived with

Then, in late August of 1806, Burr departed for Pittsburgh to set his plan in motion. Burr associate Comfort Tyler had been gathering men and supplies east of the Alleghenies. In fact, Daniel and William interacted with Tyler as they visited Pittsburgh. Tyler intrigued the brothers when he mentioned:

That if we would wait and descend the river with him, he should be able to put us in a situation where a mutual reciprocity might subsist between us. That he with many other gentlemen were engaging in an enterprise in which if we chose to take an active part, both pleasure and emolument might accrue to us at the same time... and at the same time offer'd to board us in his house till the time of descending when he would likewise take us to Orleans free of expence [*sic*], where if we did not like the nature of the engagement which would be offer'd to us we should be at liberty to retract.¹⁸

By keeping the details secretive and offering a free trip to New Orleans, Tyler gained the brothers' affections and they resided with him at Beaver, Pennsylvania. Later, Daniel journeyed to New York City on business for Comfort Tyler, while also planning to retrieve some of their clothing they had left in New York City. While he engaged on this adventure, William traveled with Tyler to Ohio. After the two-week journey, the Constables decided against becoming involved with the secretive plan. Additionally, a local Pittsburgh merchant warned William to remove himself from the scheme because "he thought the project and source of the leaders not the most honorable."¹⁹ On a trip to Pittsburgh, the brothers excused themselves from the venture as Daniel informed Tyler that, "it was not probable we could go with him any farther on his enterprise as it had every appearance of a military scheme."²⁰ Their decision was reinforced when they learned that Burr had contracted for fifteen large

him several weeks in Pittsburgh and then traveled with him from New Orleans to Natchez, for more information see: William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

¹⁸ William Constable Journal 2, 11 October 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

¹⁹ William Constable Journal 2, 20 November 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁰ William Constable Journal 2, 22 November 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

bateaux, which would have transported some five hundred men, and for one large keel boat to move ammunition and weapons. This reeked of revolution.²¹

Despite removing themselves from the expedition, throughout their journey they witnessed the repercussions of the venture. When they continued to New Orleans, the brothers kept meeting people they had befriended who were involved in the Burr expedition. In fact, after leaving Marietta, Ohio, they stopped at Blennerhassett's home, and again met former companions who were still involved in the Burr venture. Throughout their trip to New Orleans, they also witnessed the unfolding of events surrounding Burr's expedition. President Thomas Jefferson received information from General James Wilkinson about the purpose of Burr's expedition on November 12, which convinced the president that action was necessary. He sent federal agent John Graham to convince Ohio Governor Edward Tiffin to organize the militia in order to start searching boats for weapons and men involved in the expedition. With local officials organizing the militia in early December, by the time Daniel and William traveled down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers the militia appeared ready for action. Prior to their arrival at Cincinnati, the brothers encountered men who demanded to pull their boat ashore. They knew the militia was searching for Burr conspirators on the river, yet they refused to land their boat. When they reached Cincinnati, a sentinel accosted and yelled at them while four other men surrounded their boat. The Constables refused to cooperate because the sentinel had offended them; they refused to go to the guardhouse and demanded that the American captain come to them. When the captain came and searched the boat, he found no arms or ammunition. Because they had not complied with the initial guards' orders to bring their boat ashore, the militia had raced to Cincinnati to warn the guards of their

²¹ Isenberg, 304; Melton, 99-106; William Constable Journal 2, 22 October 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Safford, 74-75.

impending arrival. Local officials took this threat very seriously and demonstrated that even in a developing state they could react appropriately to dangerous expeditions.²²

The militia searched thoroughly for members of the Burr expedition. They invaded Blennerhassett's island on the Ohio River, but by the time they arrived, everyone had already left. On December 9, local militia captured and seized Blennerhassett's boats on the Muskingum River, while more militia waited nearby. The massive force Daniel and William had encountered at Cincinnati intercepted the rest of Blennerhassett's flotilla a week later, and resulted in the capture of fifteen boats and two hundred barrels of provisions.²³

The Constables continued their trip, and they saw militia searching for Burr. Near Louisville, they encountered three hundred militiamen setting up camp; these men, too, had traveled to search for Aaron Burr, or at least to disrupt any provisions coming down the river. The militiamen also exuded an air of unprofessionalism as Daniel noticed; they were "the wildest looking American soldiers we have ever seen [;] none had had any uniform except a piece of white calico put over their hats...and a piece of woolen cloth tied loosely over the legs which is a hunting fashion."²⁴

At Fort Massac, on the Ohio River, troops boarded the Constables' boat, and they learned officials had arrested Colonel Burr. The news had come from a credible source at Natchez, as Daniel noted that "we had scarcely made our landing but we was visited by some of our old beaver acquaintance a great number of them are still here many have departed to their different homes and the scheme whatever it is completely frustrated by the interference

²² Isenberg, 314-315; Melton, 132-136; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 8 December 1806, 16 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 8 December 1806, 17 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

²³ Isenberg, 315-346; Melton, 135-136; McCaleb, 206-207; Safford, 106.

²⁴ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 26 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 26 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 14 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

of government.”²⁵ When the Constables finally arrived in Natchez, they found four government gun boats had come up from New Orleans to capture any remaining boats of the Burr conspiracy.²⁶

The Spanish also demonstrated their military organization and fear of western insurrection, joining in the search for members of Burr’s group. When the Constables left Natchez, the Spanish gunboat *Revenge* pulled alongside their boat and the soldiers told Daniel and William that they should secure a passport from the Commodore to prevent future troubles downriver. They visited the Commodore’s ship where the Spaniards treated them very civilly and even helped lash their canoe alongside the boat. Later, at Baton Rouge, the brothers had to appear immediately before the governor, to prove they were not associated with the Burr conspiracy.²⁷

The aftermath of the Burr conspiracy demonstrated the ability to organize military schemes in the west, in addition to the local government’s capability of responding and suppressing these military threats. Even before President Jefferson gave the order for mobilization, local governors started preparations to stop the conspirators. The large numbers of militiamen that the Constables encountered, and their determination to investigate every boat, revealed the effectiveness of these local governments. The expedition also demonstrated that the west offered the freedoms to organize a military scheme, even an unsuccessful venture. Comfort Tyler organized men and supplies in the western areas relatively undisturbed until the conspiracy threatened the nation. The freedom and

²⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 25 February 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 18 January 1807, 15 February 1807, 25 February 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Isenberg, 320-323; McCaleb, 219-223; Safford, 125-128.

²⁷ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 27 February 1807, 8 March 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

independence in this region offered many different types of opportunities, but the local governments started to restrict some of the more controversial ideas.²⁸

Even though local governments established control of these developing cities in the west, people still came to the region for the freedom it presented; as more individuals immigrated, established religious organizations and new religions also moved to the west to acquire members. Prior to American independence, few people moved across the Appalachian Mountains. Following the Revolution, the American government lifted many restrictions and between 1790 and 1820, some 800,000 people moved west. Initially, as settlers arrived there were no churches or preachers, so religious habits ceased for many. With this lapse in religious practices, preachers traveled across the region and, beginning in 1800, a Second Great Awakening began as revivals became an important connection for these settlers. The movement continued until the 1850s but reached its peak in the 1820s and 1830s. The Second Great Awakening shaped the early national period, especially in these western regions. Religious renewal began in earnest in the burgeoning states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and western Pennsylvania.²⁹

Daniel and William avidly investigated the religious movement that swept over the western United States. The revivals of the Second Great Awakening abandoned Calvinist theology, as preachers believed people held the responsibility for their own destinies; therefore, individuals could decide on their own accord to follow Christ. Traditionally, preachers in the western revivals elicited a more fervent emotional response than those of the east, which these itinerant preachers hoped would inspire wayward people to repent. The

²⁸ Isenberg, 315-316; Melton, 132-136.

²⁹ Barry Hankins, *The Second Great Awakening and the Transcendentalists* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 2-5; Hardman, 109; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 582-595; Wood, *The Rising Glory of America, 1760-1820*, 78.

larger exhibitions used an open camp that attracted hundreds and even thousands of people to hear the sermons. In many of the rapidly developing areas in upstate New York, settlers without religious guidance improvised and created unique religious communities. With the spiritual movement in America, religious institutions continued to develop.³⁰

Daniel and William experienced religion in developed and undeveloped regions as the religious movement spread throughout the country. Religion and spiritual life meant different things to various communities within America. Even in the regions along the east coast, some people used the spiritual life of a community for tangible purposes. William and Daniel tried to attend a church near Passaic Falls, but the Dutch Reformed Church only held services every third Sunday. Despite the unfortunate luck, they learned that religious principles did not form the foundation of this settlement; on the contrary, the local citizens used their religion to cultivate ties with other families. Around the Passaic Falls, Sundays were a time to visit others within the community. Daniel noticed many wagons filled with merry individuals and that “the people here seem to take their pleasure on Sundays in visiting their friends, much more than in England, in the evening we observed many of their light waggons [*sic*] returning filled apparently with whole families of sires, children, and grandchildren.”³¹ Religion formed different parts of communities and in this area of New Jersey, it primarily developed as a way to maintain connections with the community.³²

Along the frontier, non-traditional preachers and religions coexisted with traditional missionaries. Many missionary societies supported itinerant preachers and shared meetinghouses with other faiths; local people listened to whichever preacher was available.

³⁰ Hankins, 7; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 18 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³¹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 27 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³² Daniel Constable Journal 1, 27 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 27 June 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

Western New York emerged as a hotbed for missionaries during the Second Great Awakening. The religious revival began in earnest during the winter of 1799-1800 with new sects and religions, and also the more established New York Missionary Society, Massachusetts Missionary Society, and the Shaftsbury Baptist Association coming to the area. By 1805, traveler and reverend Jacob Cram toured the region and noted that thirty regular preachers occupied the area. Religious services in these undeveloped areas surprised the Constables because of their informal and laid-back nature. Daniel visited a barn in western New York, where a service with fifty people occurred without a preacher or music and led by a man who unceremoniously read a sermon. Daniel thought the whole scene appeared unusual, especially as hay and corn filled most of the barn.³³

When they moved farther into the country, they started to encounter many different unfamiliar religions. Because of the freedoms that the west presented, this region attracted many newly developed religions that easterners had not accepted. They encountered a group of Shakers, when Daniel and William stopped at an inn near Albany. Local citizens informed the Constables that a considerable community of Shakers lived near Troy, and in this religion men and women lived separately, because they took a vow of celibacy. In these regions, a weak authoritative and social structure allowed new faiths to develop separate from large religious institutions. Additionally, with the popularity of the Second Great Awakening, individuals searched for signs and meanings in everyday life and shared these visions with others.³⁴

³³ Matthew Dennis, *Seneca Possessed: Indians, Witchcraft, and Power in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 53-57; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 595-598; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 31 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³⁴ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 9 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Henri Desroche, *The American Shakers: From Neo-Christianity to Presocialism*, trans. and ed. John K. Savacool (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1971), 16-30, 88-89; Stephen J. Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 7, 31-58; Aron, 183-184.

The freedoms in the west provided a place where not only new religions flourished, but women attained positions of power. For example, in the Shaker community female leaders directed members on their spiritual quest and the location in a remote area of New York enabled them to retain this control. Ann Lee joined the Shaker society in 1758 and preached that nobody could follow Christ while living in lust. Moreover, in 1774 she received a vision that told her to seek safety in America, which she and eight other members did in May. Another female leader, Lucy Wright, expanded the Shaker's influence when she encouraged a missionary expedition into the Ohio Valley in 1805. The religious group also formally acknowledged the equality of the sexes, the first American religious institution to announce this statement publically.³⁵

The west became a haven for religiously inspired individuals, whom often received harassment and ridicule in larger eastern cities. The less settled regions provided a safe place to spread spiritual messages. In the town of Geneva, New York, the Constables met a local man who discussed Jemima Wilkinson, a woman without any education, who established a colony south of Geneva called New Jerusalem. In 1776, Wilkinson's prominence as a spiritual leader began when she "died," but came back to life in a new form, which she called the second coming of Christ. She then started proselytizing and referred to herself as the "Publick Universal Friend." When she traveled through New England and the Middle Atlantic States she encountered hostility and violence as she spread her apocalyptic millennial message. Finally, she went with her followers to the safety of western New York and established New Jerusalem on a piece of land adjacent to the Seneca Nation.³⁶

³⁵ Stein, 7, 31-58; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 595-598.

³⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 25 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 22 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Monroe, 40; Dennis, 56-62; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 598.

Daniel and William encountered other religious nonconformists led by women who also embraced the freedoms in the west. Yet independence did not always guarantee a lack of regulation. In Marietta, they went to a Christian service by a new group who called themselves the Halclons, which they derived from the word *Halcyon*. While the Constables did not become experts on their beliefs, they did learn from members that “the resurrection of the human race can never be accomplish’d without the assistance of the female part of our race.”³⁷ The female preacher also claimed that salvation would not occur until every husband and wife separated. The sect had formed only one year earlier near the Ohio River, and the female preacher had left her husband and home to spread the word. The Constables claimed that the woman professed that God had given her direct inspiration. A week before their meeting she had supposedly fallen down the stairs and entered a trance-like state. When she awoke, she claimed to have been in heaven and that the world would end in three days. The prophecy never came true and a judge at the local courthouse ordered her not to preach in the city anymore.³⁸

The religious movement into the west also affected Native American communities that resided in this “middle ground.” The expansion of white settlement into regions farther west, affected the relations between Native American and Anglo-American society. Missionary societies preached to Indians. Local citizens attributed these religious services with more Indians abstaining from alcohol use within the past five years. Many people contested the cause of this sea change. Some credited Christianity, but a growing majority believed that an Indian prophet on the Ohio River, who had risen in fame, had inspired the Indians to change. William remarked that “he preaches to all those who visit that the power

³⁷ William Constable Journal 2, 7 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³⁸ William Constable Journal 2, 7 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

which the white people exercise over the Indian nation is a punishment,” and they needed to amend their ways and give up alcohol.³⁹ The prophet’s message affected local Native Americans, as William noted only few Indians in this western New York region drank liquor anymore. Additionally, Native American prophets emerged that advocated separating their societies from the white civilization, while ironically at the same time they also displayed many of the customs and tenets of western religion.⁴⁰

Two different Native Americans preached a message of divine inspiration in this region. During the winter of 1804-1805, a village of Shawnees had suffered from a terrible epidemic. One of the men, Lalawethicka, considered the sickness his people endured and while deep in thought, he fell, knocked himself out, and had a vision. Following the vision, he changed his name to Tenskwatawa and shared the visionary ideas with his fellow Shawnees. In the new religion posited by his vision, Tenskwatawa warned against close ties with Americans and advised that new converts confess their sins and then shake his hand as a symbolic gesture of beginning their new life. Tenskwatawa proved his legitimacy in early June 1806, when he declared he could use his power to darken the sun. He directed people to come to Greenville, Ohio, on June 16, 1806, where he performed an elaborate ceremony. The sun darkened at midday. The ostensible cause was a solar eclipse, of which the British had informed him, but the Native Americans believed he had powers and this event increased the mystery surrounding Tenskwatawa. The Seneca nation went through a similar experience at approximately the same time. Handsome Lake, a Seneca tribe member, started having visions in 1799 after a period of illness; his visions warned against immoral behavior and included

³⁹ William Constable Journal 2, 14 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁴⁰ The “middle ground” refers to the place between cultures, people, and empires where Native Americans and Europeans interacted, for more information see: Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, empires, and republics in the Great Lakes region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), ix- xv; William Constable Journal 2, 14 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

Christian traditions. For example, in his second vision, Handsome Lake claimed to have met Jesus Christ, who criticized white society for its practices. In addition, his teachings promoted a new Seneca patriarchy that had not existed in the tribe's history, but reflected the structure of white civilization.⁴¹

Missionaries to the Native Americans faced many challenges as they tried to negotiate with the Indian prophets or orators. Daniel and William went to Tuscarora Castle in New York to hear the ministers preach to a group of sixty Indian men and women dressed in their finest clothes. The service began with the pastor blowing a horn to announce the beginning of the service and the priest's sermon consisted of short direct sentences that an assistant interpreted into the Native American language. Elkanah Holmes presided over the meeting at his missionary society – the Indian for Divine Worship – and he addressed the Native Americans as children; they sang a song in their native language and then read a chapter from the bible. He had come to the area with the support of the New York Missionary Society. In 1803, Holmes approached Seneca leader Red Jacket and proposed that his missionary society build a structure for public worship and the education of Indian children. Red Jacket presented the proposal to an Indian council that represented Seneca, Onondaga, and Cayuga Indians and they approved the idea. The missionary societies eased the Native Americans through the transitory process they faced with the influx of immigrants.⁴²

Throughout western New York, the brothers witnessed Native Americans in different stages of relationships with white civilization. When the missionary societies and immigrants

⁴¹ R. David Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 28-48; Dennis, 65-80; White, 503-511; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 675-676.

⁴² Daniel Constable Journal 1, 14 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 14 September 1806; Densmore, 3, 63.

arrived in the western regions, the Indian nations had already lost much of their lands, and the government assisted those individuals who had not yet moved farther west. During the 1780s, an Indian village constructed of huts that resembled military barracks existed between Schenectady and Albany. Already at this time, the state provided rations of meat and flour, while the Indians cultivated a small plot of their own land and hunted for animals. Traveling through the region in 1806 Daniel and William did not see their first Indian village until Oneida, New York, which demonstrated how far white immigration had driven the Indians west. In Oneida, the Native American huts scattered beside the road and the Indians dressed ornately and painted their faces. The women wore white shawls, and Daniel noted their cleanly appearance. One of the older men had slits cut in his earlobes, and at first Daniel believed these slits had to be from an accident, but he later learned such wounds were fashionable. Daniel examined the village, and he noted that they were not the filthy people others had described to them. The Indians in Oneida village numbered some seven hundred and each person received seven dollars from the state of New York annually, which came from the interest accrued off the lands they had sold to the state. The Native Americans in western New York existed in a transitory state of their own as they tried to reestablish their societies in the face of increased settlers.⁴³

They neared Niagara Falls, and Daniel and William encountered a Seneca settlement of thirty people who lived in log houses beside the road. When they entered these homes, they saw rifles, and in one of the huts, carved masks that the Seneca people wore on festivals. The children went without clothing and the women wore printed calico dresses with silver broaches. The Indians had land for cattle and horses and an orchard of apples and peaches. The women farmed while the males rested outside their homes. Despite the different gender

⁴³ Chastellux, 183-184; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 18 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

roles in this village, the brothers admired and respected the Native Americans who existed farther away from civilization because they practiced a level of autonomy not seen farther east.⁴⁴

In mid September the Constables took a ferry to Buffalo, New York, in order to witness a meeting between the American government and various Native American tribes. When they arrived at Buffalo, several hundred Indians dressed in their finest clothing with silver broaches celebrated the event. All of the chiefs of the six nations were present. Daniel noted with an impressed air that Red Jacket, a famed Seneca Indian orator, was present. The people spent the day peaceably, with many young boys engaged in foot races and the older men racing their horses against white men's horses. American government officials sponsored the annual meeting to distribute presents of blankets and clothing. Daniel noted that "I did not observe one of them drunk until about 10 clock when a few of both squaws and men were rather merry but not drunk or quarrelsome."⁴⁵

In this western land of opportunity, the Native Americans also received assistance from foreign governments. When they passed through Fort Erie, Daniel noticed the British soldiers in the midst of building a new fort: "We understood at Buffalo that he was dispatch'd here on some business from the British at Fort Niagara to the Indians of the states, it is curious that the British government are in the habit of giving annual presents to the Indians of the States, and they give to twice the amount of the state do."⁴⁶ The supply of money and presents from the English to the Native Americans became one of the reasons the

⁴⁴ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 8 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 8 September 1806, ACM.

⁴⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 19 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Densmore, 3, 63; The tribes of the Iroquois nation consisted of Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Tuscarora, and Seneca.

⁴⁶ William Constable Journal 2, 20 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

American government cited for the War of 1812. Even at the time, William supposed the generosity of the British government might have stronger motives than simple kindness. Local people mentioned that the British government spent 60,000 dollars per year in presents to the Indians.⁴⁷

While government agencies attempted to help the Native Americans in their position between Indian and white society, others took advantage of this situation. When they dined with a boat captain on Lake Erie, he described the trading tactics of the Northwest Company, which had clerks in stores three thousand miles northwest of Erie. The trading strategy that the captain described stunned Daniel as he learned the traders often got the Indians drunk before stealing from them. The captain explained that “when the whole family are senseless the trader sets to work and packs all the pelting he can find in the hut up in bundles...when the poor savage recovers, the trader says to him ah you sold me your skins and deer, when in fact not a word has been said about price.”⁴⁸ The Indians went away distraught and ashamed that they had made deals while intoxicated. The traders used this method in order to obtain anything – whether animal skins or vegetables – they wanted from the Indians. Daniel noted, “this is the method the Christian traders acquire vast fortunes, which many of them spend in as disgraceful a way as they get it.”⁴⁹

After the Constables left New York State and entered the Ohio and Mississippi River basins, the encounters they had with Native Americans were more fleeting and their interactions involved only the basic task of trading. With more Americans moving west, a familiarity developed between these two cultures that resulted in changes to traditional

⁴⁷ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 20 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 20 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 661.

⁴⁸ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 21 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁴⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 21 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

Native American practices. Following the American Revolution, the Choctaw Indians relocated their villages near present-day Monroe, Louisiana, and south of the Red River in an attempt to create new trading relationships. By 1803, some 1,500 Choctaw Indians had moved west of the Mississippi River. With this search for new trading relationships, some young Indians negotiated directly with traders rather than doing business through chiefs. British trading practices had disrupted the chiefs' traditional role of controlling the availability of outside goods. Now an Indian who had accumulated many foreign goods could challenge the traditional chief's authority.⁵⁰

The last years of the eighteenth century demonstrated the changing status of the tribes in this western region from an older more traditional world to one concerned with material goods and economies. The Constables witnessed this as Native Americans constantly visited their ark. For example on February 13, 1807, two different groups visited. In the morning, two Shawnee Indians boarded, and the brothers bought a large venison leg for thirty-seven cents. After four o'clock in the afternoon, two Choctaw Indians boarded the ark looking for flour and whiskey, but the Constables had none to spare. Despite being in a very isolated region, a day hardly passed without having someone board their ark and engage in trade negotiations.⁵¹

Just past the Wabash River on the lower edge of Indiana territory, they entered a thinly inhabited region where eight Indians approached them in a canoe and motioned that they wanted to trade venison for whiskey. Daniel noted that "we had tied our boat to a willow

⁵⁰ Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 278-286; Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *American Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Social and Economic Histories* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 99; Greg O'Brien, *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750-1830* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 51-75.

⁵¹ O'Brien, 78-105; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 13 February 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

a little distance from the shore so that they could not get to us, we were uniformly told we had nothing to fear from them, however I can never divert myself of fear among them, away from all settlements they are generally well armed, as was these with a rifel [sic] gun, tomahawks and knives.”⁵² When they continued down the Ohio and then the Mississippi River, their interactions happened more often and they were no longer fearful of the Native Americans. Even with a language barrier, Daniel and William could signal what they wanted. At one point, they bought a canoe from a Cherokee woman, but Daniel had trouble negotiating because she did not understand English. Despite the difficulty, he managed to navigate the process successfully and buy the boat for one dollar. Farther down the river, they frequently encountered Native Americans and traded with them, but many of the Indians in this area tried to barter for whiskey, of which the Constables had none. Daniel said “they all seemed very friendly and the first thing they do is to present you their hand as a token of friendship.”⁵³ This gesture represented the transitory process of Native Americans as they tried to survive in the land becoming more and more inhabited by white settlers.⁵⁴

The Constables had frequent interactions with the Shawnee Indians, who had relocated to the region and had many difficulties dealing with the American government. In the 1650s, the Shawnees lived in the southern Ohio and northern Kentucky region. When the Shawnees moved into the Scioto Valley, they quarreled with local tribes and these disagreements led to the dispersal of the Shawnees throughout the United States. Nevertheless, by the mid-1750s, the majority lived in villages along the Scioto River in Ohio. In 1794, the Shawnee suffered a defeat at the Battle of Fallen Timbers and signed the Treaty

⁵² Daniel Constable Journal 2, 9 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵³ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 8 February 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; For more interactions see, Daniel Constable Journal 2, 21 January 1807, 1 February 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵⁴ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 20 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

of Greenville in 1795, which traded the majority of their land for presents and an annuity. This agreement reduced their land to the northwest section of Ohio, where many of the Indians the Constables encountered lived.⁵⁵

Daniel's and William's perception of Native Americans transformed during their trip to America. After their first encounters with Indians at Albany, they compared them to European gypsies. When they traveled down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, their perception changed as they met many Indians begging for food and whiskey. These experiences left Daniel with a poor impression of Native Americans, and resulted in derogatory diary statements about the Indians. Later, Daniel got sick on their journey in the Tennessee wilderness, forcing them to sleep at Indians' homes. Prior to his illness, they had slept on the ground outside. In the Indian cabin, Daniel slept on a bearskin spread upon the dirt floor. While they rested at these homes, the brothers noticed that the Indians grew corn that they sold to people traveling through and the women made earthenware from clay and pulverized shells, living a more modern life than expected within this wilderness region. When the Constables reached the edge of the wilderness, they encountered a white man who had married an Indian woman with whom he had three children. Daniel noted in his journal that "they had much of the Indian about them being dirty and lazy looking." Their impression of Native Americans changed significantly throughout their journey.⁵⁶

They also encountered many new situations that reinforced the negative stereotypes that they had learned while in America. The Natchez Trace led men through the wilderness, after the United States government obtained permission from the Chickasaw tribe in 1792 for Americans to travel through their territory, resulting in a road from Natchez to Nashville.

⁵⁵ Edmunds, 6-16; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 16 February 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 25 May 1807, 2 May 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

After Natchez the Constables entered three different rural areas, the first stretch of 170 miles owned by the Choctaw Indians, the next stretch of 150 miles owned by the Chickasaws, and the final stretch of fifty-five miles recently purchased by the United States government from the Chickasaws. The Chickasaw and Choctaw lands were similar because the Indians built their cabins by the road and the Constables could not travel thirty miles without seeing a home. Each house had a piece of cultivated land in addition to cows, horses, and chickens on the property. Several white men had married Indian women and lived in this area, which was one of the houses they stayed at when Daniel got sick. William believed the mixed race houses were cleaner, “which is far from the general character of what they term a full-blooded Indian, particularly of the Choctaws or Chickasaws, who are of a much more filthy and indolent disposition than the Indians of the North.”⁵⁷ Daniel and William had arrived in America with minimal knowledge of Native Americans. By the time they returned to New York City they had interacted with many different people and through these experiences they developed negative perceptions about the various Indian nations.⁵⁸

While Native Americans had limited opportunities, Anglo-Americans and immigrants – of both genders – found more possibilities for economic and personal advancement. The movement of urban society to the west limited the opportunities for Native Americans and they faced only two choices, move farther west or assimilate. However, this region offered many opportunities to American settlers and entrepreneurs. The west created a leveling of society that allowed many of these migrants to attain a lifestyle unachievable in the east. These communities offered more economic opportunities to inhabitants and allowed women to achieve positions of prominence less likely in eastern cities. With more people moving to

⁵⁷ William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵⁸ H.B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), 387; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

the region, traditions and lifestyles combined to create a unique western culture. The developing society incorporated traditions from the incoming residents to create a new culture teeming with vibrancy and opportunities.⁵⁹

While offering more opportunities, these areas had changed dramatically in a few short years. The possibility of land brought in many families looking for a better life. The Constables expected to find unsettled areas throughout their western journey. When they traveled through the United States, they searched for the wilderness, an area they defined as only inhabited by the Native Americans. During their travels, they encountered a region they had not anticipated. Throughout the west, cities had developed along the waterways that provided many of the comforts available in the east. These western regions changed dramatically after the Constables' visit. Within a few short years, the towns they traveled through experienced a population explosion that transformed these areas. The opportunities presented in the west encouraged many people to relocate their families and businesses. Many families uprooted their lives for land they had never seen, which led to a transition from a frontier to a "civilized" society. With the frontier moving farther west, adventurous individuals continued to brave the unknown to acquire land and opportunities. The rapidly developing cities blended incoming cultures, which produced a distinctive society.⁶⁰

On a Sunday morning, the brothers entered New Orleans expecting little activity, but on the contrary, every storeowner swung their doors open to welcome people into their establishments. Down the avenue, men and boys huddled together on street corners throwing money in a pile as they wagered on their favorite bird to win the cockfight. Conversely, a life

⁵⁹ Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 358-376; Smith-Rosenberg, 207-215; Aron, 193-197; Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Continental America 1800-1867*, 78-80, 222-223.

⁶⁰ Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Continental America 1800-1867*, 78-80, 222-223.

size statue of Jesus Christ – removed from the cross and covered in blood and tears – sat outside the Catholic Church. A parade of people carrying flowers and candles walked solemnly towards the statue where parishioners lined up to kiss the feet of their crucified savior. The dichotomous scene shocked the Constables. They walked around in amazement, ready to leave the dirty and confusing city. Later, they wandered around the outskirts of town, where they witnessed a Choctaw wedding that demonstrated the mixture of societies. The brothers quietly observed the ceremony as the bride received rings and clothing in front of family and friends to signify their new life as husband and wife. The blending of societies occurred in these rapidly developing areas where situations that appeared contradictory coexisted harmoniously.⁶¹

⁶¹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 21 February 1807, 15 March 1807, 23 March 1807, 26 March 1807, 29 March 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

Environment of Expansion

From Albany to Schenectady, the brothers walked upon the Genesee Turnpike, a road that led settlers to western New York. Marble stones marked off each mile, as they grew closer to their destination. The pine and cedar woods extended on both sides of the road and provided a beautiful view as they walked. Farther on their journey the brothers paid a man seventy-five cents to ride in his wagon for thirty miles past Utica. In the wagon they admired the scenery, and they saw three-foot tall tree stumps that extended for some four hundred yards on each side of the road. Later, continual fires consumed the tree stumps and surrounded the road with flames and smoke. Daniel and William covered their faces as the smoke and smell of turpentine overwhelmed them. After they passed these fires, they continued witnessing settlers clearing the land for cultivation. With more people journeying to the west, they quickly tried to bring the land to “civilization” by clearing and cultivating it, which ensured their survival.¹

The Constables embarked on a long distance journey during which they described the environmental conditions that they saw. The western American regions that they witnessed differed from those that previous travelers had seen thirty years earlier. With the increased movement of people to the western territories, the environment changed rapidly because of settlement and cultivation: cities appeared on the frontier, Indians moved farther west, animals disappeared, and settlers cleared the land of trees. The changes that occurred within

¹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 13 August 1806, 18 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

the first thirty years of the American republic would be quite small compared to the transformations that occurred shortly after the Constables finished their journey.²

Historian Frederick Jackson Turner argued in *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, that these western areas had transformed from frontier to civilization. With the continual movement of the frontier line, civilization moved farther west, and many of the regions the Constables visited no longer constituted a frontier because of rapid development. The brothers traversed through a region in the midst of a momentous shift from rural to urban societies. They observed American culture during a period of tremendous growth and change, and the transformations in the west would eventually affect culture within eastern cities, as the west became a central part of the American nation.³

Many of the different regions that the brothers journeyed through were undergoing various levels of development. On the first part of their excursion, they traveled from New York City through the Mohawk Valley to Niagara Falls, an area fast progressing into a cultivated and highly populated area. In contrast, during their trip from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, they encountered recently established areas that still had some aspects of the pre-European environment. On the final leg of the journey, the Constables traveled overland from New Orleans to New York City and passed through what they described as a wilderness. This area had the least population or settlement and introduced them to an early phase in the process from wilderness to civilization. The brothers traveled through a vast area of the United States, and in each region they witnessed a different phase in the transition from frontier to settlement. By looking at each section of the journey, it reveals the different

² D.W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Continental America, 1800-1867*, 3-23.

³ Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History"; available from <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/turner/>, accessed 5 April 2010.

stages of development along the frontier, how Americans used the natural environment, and how these decisions affected nature. British theories about the wilderness inspired Americans who moved west to clear and cultivate their land in an attempt to bring it to light, and the western regions underwent tremendous environmental transformations because of the increased number of settlers.⁴

Travel journals from this period best document the environmental changes that occurred throughout the United States. The brothers commented on the natural environment and the progress of American cities and farms. The cultivation techniques farmers used affected the environment differently because of the methods employed and how much land the farmer cleared. When one compares the Constables' notations about the western environment with travel journals from previous and contemporary accounts, it uncovered a description of nature that revealed profound ecological changes. Most studies that look at environmental conditions focus on a very small geographic region, but with the length of the Constables' travels throughout the western United States, they provided information on the environmental transformations of a larger area. The sizeable geographic region under consideration will provide a more cursory but still overarching depiction of the environment's status in the west.⁵

By examining each leg of their journey separately, it reveals the different levels of development occurring in each area. On their trip from New York City to Niagara Falls, the brothers witnessed an area in the midst of a large population growth with settlers already

⁴ For details of their journeys see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 3, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 1, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 6 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵ William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 6-14.

beginning the process of cultivation. Whereas, on their trip from Niagara Falls to New Orleans, the men ventured through an area not yet largely populated that demonstrated early stages of environmental change. This area would experience significant growth in the years after their travels, which led it through changes similar to what they had already seen in western New York. On the final leg of their trip, they journeyed from New Orleans to New York City by way of the Natchez Trace. This section of their trip had seen the least number of alterations by American citizens, but this would also change in subsequent years. Each leg of their excursion revealed the American environment in different stages of transformation and development as more people settled in these western areas.⁶

The American environment experienced constant transformations and never existed in a truly pristine or untouched state. Even the Native Americans' way of life affected the natural world. The Indians were not passive recipients of the environment but affected it by their daily lives and later with their response to the colonists' arrival. When the European colonists came to America, they viewed this new land as a commodity or way to make money, which led to decisions that affected the environment. Both settlers and Native Americans modified the land to their purposes. In order to understand an ecological history, the relationship between people and land requires a brief examination regarding the connection between environment and culture. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz defined culture as a set of rules that governs behaviors. The environment presents a set of choices to people, and the way they respond to these choices allows their culture to reshape the environment.

⁶ For details of their journeys see: Daniel Constable Journal 1, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 3, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 1, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 6 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

Each animal and plant is a part of a larger complex system responsive to these environmental and cultural relationships. Some commonly held misperceptions about the environment propose that the natural world in its untouched state is a stable community that could preserve a balance if humans did not disturb it. Scientists have disproven this theory and revealed that the environment is constantly changing within its own ecosystem; this demonstrates that nature in itself is a human construct. In order to reach a definition, people use their values and ideals to understand, define, and categorize nature.⁷

When the Constables traveled through the western United States, it had been thirty years since independence, and the presence of native European plants and animals appeared throughout the areas east of the Mississippi River. In all the regions they visited, non-native vegetation grew in abundance throughout the land. Grapevines flourished alongside the roads, and the many plants they witnessed made it appear as if it had always existed on the North American continent. The grapevines had a utilitarian purpose as well in the western locations where provisions were in short supply and people used the vines as a substitute for rope. Peach trees also appeared throughout the entirety of the Constables' trip. They often enjoyed the peaches as they found them generally close to the road and the fruit provided them with welcome refreshment on a day's journey. In America, the peach tree was classified as a weed because of its widespread growth across the country and that led to many later settlers assuming it was a native plant. In this sense, weed referred to any plant that grew so

⁷ Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 6-14, 164-166; Donald Worster, "Historians and Nature," *Current* (June 2010): 29-33; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: selected essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 45-51; William Cronon, Introduction to *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), 24-25.

quickly it dominated the other plants in the soil, which differed from the notion that weeds were unwanted pests.⁸

Just as the native and non-native plants grew alongside each other and spread across the country, people also started to spread farther west. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, white settlement extended to western New York, down the Ohio River to the Wabash River, then back to central Tennessee. Substantial movement westward began in 1790 when many tracts of land became available for sale in western New York, Pennsylvania, and the Ohio Valley. Also at this time, settlements in Kentucky spread west because of the previous prosperity among people in Nashville and the Blue Grass basins. In New York, internal improvements revealed a change from western outpost to settlement in the Mohawk Valley, as, by 1800, scheduled stages connected New York City with Albany, and branches went to Rutland and Utica.⁹

When the Constables arrived in America, they spent some time in New York City and witnessed how this burgeoning city of ninety thousand people incorporated nature into its civilized streets. William searched for nature within the cities, and, as he examined the organization of New York City's streets, he noticed that a row of poplar trees separated the walkways from the thoroughfares. William proclaimed, "The effect of this union of Nature and Art, this blending of woodland scenery is uncommonly fine and is far more grateful to the eye than the most superb building could be alone."¹⁰ The city of New York had long

⁸ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 14 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 4 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 4 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 18 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 149-156; Daniel Constable Journal 3, 9 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁹ Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Continental America, 1800-1867*, 222-223, 363.

¹⁰ William Constable Journal 1, 5-7, Constable Papers, ACM.

before changed the natural environment of its location, but city planners had brought nature back into the urban area with trees and parks.¹¹

The towns around New York City offered a more rural setting for the Constables to enjoy before embarking on their larger overland adventure. Long Island, a summer retreat for those living in the city, impressed the Constables as they encountered “the native original undisturbed woods, of America,” and Daniel noted that, “among the vast varieties of trees and shrubs we scarcely found any of them we knew.”¹² The natural setting offered them a pleasing array of trees and rivers that surpassed those natural delights within England. In New Jersey, they traveled to the famous Passaic Falls and marveled at the impressive scene that they encountered. They wandered through “a thick wood, the incessant chirping of grasshoppers and the notes of birds and the swarms of fire-flies which were everywhere to be seen swarming as thick as the stars in firmament and with a far brighter lush cheered the gloom of night and rendered our walk pleasant in the extreme.”¹³ The birds and insects brought light to a thick wooded area that would otherwise have presented a dismal trip, while also demonstrating the natural world available in close proximity to larger cities.

Despite this abundance of natural sights, at Paterson, New Jersey, the Constables noticed how the American citizens treated the natural environment. William lamented that “it is strange that in this country so abundantly supplied with wood of all kinds and where you cannot walk out without everywhere seeing large trees rotting on the ground that there should be a complaint of the dreary and scarcity of firewood, at the very same time they make no use of spray or underwood, when they cut timber they save the trunks for firewood, the spray

¹¹ William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 6 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

¹² Daniel Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 6 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

¹³ Daniel Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 12 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

they heap together, set fire to it and reduce it to ashes on the spot.”¹⁴ The settled portions in northern New Jersey exasperated the brothers as they viewed plenty of available firewood, which the American citizens considered insignificant.¹⁵

When they began their journey, Daniel and William left New York City and traveled to northern New York, a region that had grown significantly in previous years and demonstrated how settlers affected the environment. Albany, one of the earlier rural cities to experience a population expansion, had grown markedly in previous years. According to Isaac Weld in his travel journal, during the 1790s, the city had one thousand houses, a hospital, and four public places of worship. Additionally, the 1790 census revealed that 5,349 people lived in Albany. When the state capital moved from New York City to Albany in 1797, the northern city transformed. Before the Constables arrived the city had grown substantially – between 1800 and 1810, the population increased to 9,356 citizens. This 74.9 percent increase in population denoted a rapidly transforming city, as demonstrated by the quickly built structures that made Albany a functional yet unattractive city. William remarked, “Albany is a place very destitute of beauty [;] the streets are generally narrow and the house[s] have nothing elegant about many of them sticking their uncouth gable ends into the street.”¹⁶ This population growth also impacted the surrounding countryside. William noted that Albany “is a place of great trade being the principal market for the Northern and Western Country, in the winter it is not infrequent to have 2 or 3 thousand stay in the city.”¹⁷ When the brothers walked from Albany to Schenectady, they encountered this population

¹⁴ William Constable Journal 2, 1 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

¹⁵ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 31 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

¹⁶ William Constable Journal 2, 10 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

¹⁷ William Constable Journal 2, 10 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

density firsthand, as they continually saw wagons full of farmers and their families traveling along the road.¹⁸

With the growth of new communities, internal improvements varied in levels of development, from nonexistent to new constructions. Closer to New York City, developers built roads to lead people to popular travel destinations. For example, construction of one road had occurred because of the increased popularity in traveling to the Passaic Falls from New York City. The rise in traffic convinced developers to construct an impressive road that hurried stagecoaches through a fifty-mile swampy morass. Builders had laid tree trunks crosswise to make the road's foundation and then filled in the cracks with dirt and stone. The swampy thoroughfare required frequent maintenance because the road would often sink or spread in the marshy ground.¹⁹

Development of roads and bridges farther west became more important with increased immigration that began in earnest after the American Revolution. During this time, many New Englanders migrated into areas of upper New York and northern Pennsylvania. Utica, New York, which lay beyond original colonial settlements, became a gateway for New England citizens moving west. The Genesee Road took settlers from Utica to lands farther west. With the popularity of this region, Joseph Ellicott – the rural agent for the Holland Land Company – established a supply center, which surveyed lands and placed them for sale. The Holland Company's base in Philadelphia supplied the operation as Ellicott surveyed the

¹⁸ Weld, 271; Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History*, *Atlantic America, 1492-1800*, 366; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 10 August 1806, 13 August 1806, 14 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 10 August 1806, 11 August 1806, 12 August 1806, 13 August 1806, 14 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For the period between 1790 and 1810 Albany grew by 167 percent, thus demonstrating its rapid growth. For more information see: 1790 Federal Census, Albany County, Albany, New York, Heritage Quest; 1800 Federal Census, Albany County, Albany, New York, Heritage Quest; 1810 Federal Census, Albany County, Albany, New York, Heritage Quest.

¹⁹ William Constable Journal 2, 25 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 1, page 13, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 25 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Weld, 262; Melish, 109.

new towns of Franklin, Meadville, and Erie in 1795. The company owned most of these lands and focused on improving the roads farther west to support a larger population. People traveled through the Mohawk Valley to Utica, from whence the settlers embarked in various directions. The Genesee Road became the main route of entry into these western areas because it received more maintenance than smaller roads. Because of large migration and improved roads, by 1800 the area had surged to 100,000 people and Ellicott, stationed in Batavia, then focused on extending the road to Lake Erie.²⁰

On their way to Schenectady from Albany, the Constables traveled along the Genesee Road, which local developers designed to encourage settlement. This new road pleased the brothers with footpaths for pedestrians that provided a safe walking area, yet William noticed that few people used them preferring to travel by wagon rather than walk. Daniel praised the road and declared it comparable to thoroughfares in England. The turnpike thrived with settlement as houses lined the road. Approximately twenty-five years earlier the land between Albany and Schenectady had consisted of an uninterrupted forest of trees not yet touched by the ax. By the early nineteenth century, it teemed with civilization and settlement as immigrating families traveled on the turnpike. After reaching New Hartford from Utica, the Constables accepted a ride upon a wagon, and the next thirty miles they witnessed the rapid growth that had occurred along the road. During the ride, they did not go half a mile without seeing a house. In fact, the many immigrants to the Mohawk Valley prompted the construction of the turnpike to make travel easier and to transport goods throughout the area.

²⁰ Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Atlantic America, 1492-1800*, 357-359; Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Continental America, 1800-1867*, 223-225.

In subsequent years, local developers turned their focus to building a canal in order to make transportation of goods even easier.²¹

Clearing and cultivation of the land followed throughout these areas where settlers migrated, which led to a changing landscape. The environmental transformations that occurred with the introduction of European farming techniques first manifested themselves in the New England settlements and provided an example of the changes that occurred later in the west. Beavers, deer, turkeys, and wolves no longer lived in Southern New England. By 1800 forests still exceeded cultivated land in New England, yet techniques used to prepare the land for cultivation had changed the environment. Farmers cleared the fields and overplanted them with maize, which led to a quick loss of soil fertility. The local inhabitants continued to plant maize because the initial yield was so great that they saw no need to rotate crops, thus leading to soil exhaustion. With the grazing, cutting, and burning of trees, great oaks and white pines disappeared and cedar became scarce. The clear cutting had decreased the magnitude of forests as the trees that remained grew from the stumps and were much smaller. In New England, deforestation led to extensive changes in the environment from fewer trees to the widely fluctuating temperatures. New England naturalists posited that by the 1790s deforestation and farming had led to a drying of the soil, hotter temperatures in the summer, and colder weather in the winter. The changes that occurred in these earlier settlements represented the transformations that would occur in the western regions as more people moved into the area and cleared the forests.²²

After leaving the well-traveled turnpike, the brothers journeyed through less visited regions and witnessed how settlers affected the environment. They entered an area that had

²¹ William Constable Journal 2, 13 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Melish, 510; Chastellux, 182-183; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 18 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

²² Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 122-160.

recently come under cultivation with the ground not completely cleared yet. William observed that, “but little of it cleared at all, every where the stumps of trees were remaining in the ground, and at every little distance we saw large piles of fine large timber burning to ashes, and the smoke along the road seemed to denote one general fire.”²³ Cutting down trees served numerous purposes for settlers and each objective connected the people differently with the markets. For example, a farmer’s land cleared for agriculture represented a step removed from the market, whereas lumbering brought these natural resources directly into the marketplace. The commodities that people valued and prized within the American landscape varied little from earlier years when European citizens came to the American colonies and searched for valuable products they could send back to Europe. By looking at the environment in this way, American citizens worried less about the tree stumps littered across the landscape, which to them signified progress. The lands in this area contained many tree stumps, as the cultivation process had recently begun. Daniel stated, “Never had we seen such vast quantities of stumpy fields and timber, the trees are chopped of about three foot from the ground and stand so thick one would think it impossible to plough or cultivate the ground.”²⁴ The cleared land appeared so frequently across western New York that during the majority of their journey the Constables often smelled smoke and turpentine.²⁵

While traveling in upstate New York, the brothers encountered many farmers directly selling natural resources acquired from clearing the land. In the Mohawk Valley, one of the most prevalent byproducts of clearing and cultivation was potash. Settlers made potash by leaching the ashes of trees in large pots. The solution would then evaporate, leaving behind a

²³ William Constable Journal 2, 18 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁴ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 18 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁵ William Constable Journal 2, 18 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 108-109, 20; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 18 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

white residue settlers referred to as “pot ash,” and people used it to manufacture soap and glass. The process made potassium carbonate, which artisans used to manufacture a more resistant glass. The need for soap and glass in this area led settlers to utilize the environment in new ways, rather than simply growing crops to make additional money.²⁶

Settlers continued clearing the land in New York, and they used additional ways to hurry along the process. A few miles outside of Geneva, where Daniel encountered the previously mentioned logging bee, forty men gathered together with twenty oxen and horses to clear the land of timber by cutting and burning it. After clearing the first farm, the men then moved on to the next person’s land and continued the process, so eventually everyone would have land ready for cultivation. When the brothers turned off the main road, four miles after Canandaigua and headed towards Northfield, they encountered more fires of logs. William mentioned that in some areas, “there were 20 or 30 of these fires blazing on the small compass of an acre of ground.”²⁷

While they traveled through New York, the Constables encountered few animals, but the ones that they did see, excited the brothers. Beginning in Genesee County, Daniel mentioned that they saw wild ducks and geese “so tame we could almost knock them down with our sticks.”²⁸ The Genesee River also supported other wildlife as they witnessed three turtles, each a foot wide, swimming in the water. Upon discussion with local citizens, the brothers learned that many turtles existed in the area. When they reached Lake Erie, Daniel and William looked at the waters in amazement as the lake teemed with fish. Daniel

²⁶ William Constable Journal 2, 14 July 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Robert C Fite, “Origin and Occurrence of Commercial Potash Deposits,” *Proceedings of the Oklahoma Academy of Science for 1951* Vol. 32, in the Oklahoma State digital library 123-125, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/OAS/oas_pdf/v32/p123_125.pdf, accessed 28 June 2012; J.W. Turrentine, *Potash in North America* (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1943), 75-80.

²⁷ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 28 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable Journal 2, 30 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

²⁸ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 7 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

excitedly watched as some fishermen caught forty-eight fish within an hour with just hooks and lines. While he observed this feat, he also witnessed some other men in a canoe who carried a torch to attract fish, which they then killed with a trident.²⁹

On this first leg of their journey, the Constables witnessed many environmental changes caused by more settlers moving farther west in New York. Deforestation occurred rapidly as new settlers arrived and cleared the land so they could prepare it for cultivation. Farmers used the fallen timber for homes, potash, and the construction of roads. Besides changing the air quality, constant fires also affected the animals within this natural environment. While traveling from New York City to Albany, the brothers encountered few animals on the established roads. In the waters of New Jersey they did encounter many small fish, but nothing in comparison to the amounts available in Lake Erie. The animals they encountered did not demonstrate fear of people, but rather appeared to interact with them quite frequently. Even so, the Constables never mentioned any large animals in this area. Most probably, many of the animals had already been pushed farther west by the incoming people and the destruction of their natural environment.³⁰

After leaving Lake Erie, the Constables continued south toward the Ohio River, and the roads they encountered in Pennsylvania paled in comparison to those in New York. The road from Presque Isle to Le Boeuf went from one path to many different paths that all ended at the same point. Once a path became impossible to traverse – because of fallen trees or mud – somebody cut a new path around that section. When they moved toward Franklin, the road

²⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 1, 7 September 1806, Constable Papers ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 20 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³⁰ For examples of clearing fires see: William Constable Journal 2, 1 August 1806, 18 August 1806, 30 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 14 August 1806, 20 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM. For information on the free land see Daniel Constable Journal 1: 2 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM. For more information on the fish in the lakes in New Jersey see: William Constable Journal 2, 26 July 1806, 28 July 1806, 1 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For the fish at Lake Erie see: Daniel Constable Journal 2, 20 September 1806, 21 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

worsened because massive trees lay across the thoroughfare. The thick woods presented a gloomy appearance, and with only three houses on the way to Le Boeuf, Pennsylvania, the road felt very lonely.³¹

Many of the towns they passed through after Fort Erie were relatively new settlements that had experienced rapid growth because of the great numbers of western immigrants coming to the region. For example, Franklin, Pennsylvania, one of the towns they visited, began as a fort in 1787 to protect the white frontier settlements from the Indians. By 1803, many people had decided to settle in this town as it contained about fifty houses and several stores when the Constables traveled through it.³²

After passing Franklin, the brothers decided to buy a canoe to make the journey easier. With this new means of transportation, they witnessed a far different side of the country than on the turnpike and back roads. The Allegheny River and its clear waters delighted Daniel with the many perch, bass, and pike. The woods on the riverbank presented them with constant entertainment and possible food as deer, bears, ravens, turkeys, ducks, and black squirrels roamed nearby. Daniel noted that groups of turkeys of thirty to forty birds rested on the river and flocks of wild ducks enjoyed the river ecosystem in this region as well.³³

While in their journey after New York the brothers saw wildlife in larger numbers, they also visited important cities undergoing rapid development. Pittsburgh contained many stores and natural resources that made the city important to western settlers. A mile from the city, freestone, limestone, and clay for brick making existed in large quantities. Additionally,

³¹ William Constable Journal 2, 23 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 23 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³² Harris, 340; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 26 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³³ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 29 September 1806, 2 October 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

on the shore of the Monongahela River a vast supply of pit coal existed, which Pittsburgh citizens could buy for two and a half sterling per bushel. William proclaimed that, “with all these advantages Pittsburgh must rise into consequence in proportion to the settlement and population of the western country.”³⁴ The coal found in Pittsburgh and other western areas appeared on the surface, which many believed meant an inexhaustible supply. The city attracted more people as the Indians moved farther west and constituted less of a threat to the white settlement. James Vance’s book *The Merchant’s World* argues that western settlements similar to Pittsburgh preceded the frontier and made it possible for settlements to develop farther west. Their position as supply centers and connections to the east eased the process of cultivation and settlement, without which these western areas might not have flourished.³⁵

The expanding nation needed cities along the western frontier, and Pittsburgh – often referred to as the gateway to the west – experienced significant growth because of its location and resources. When traveler Nicholas Cresswell reached Fort Pitt in 1775, he noted the fertile quality of the land, yet very few settlers lived in the area. The town consisted of but thirty houses and the majority of the people mainly worked in the Indian trade. By 1803, Pittsburgh’s prime location had attracted immigrants and the population swelled to more than seventeen hundred people. Thad Harris, who traveled through the region during the early nineteenth century, mentioned the rapid increase in population, businesses, and economic prosperity; he counted four hundred houses – forty-nine of which contained stores – three

³⁴ William Constable Journal 2, 3 October 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³⁵ Michaux, *Journal of André Michaux, 1793-1796*, 32; Harris, 342; William Constable Journal 2, 3 October 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 3 October 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Fortescue Cuming, *Cuming’s Tour to the Western Country* (Cleveland: The A.H. Clark Company, 1904), 76-77, Library of Congress, General Collections; John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America* (Liverpool: 1817, reprint, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), 284; Michaux, *Travels to the west of the Alleghany Mountains*, 156-157; Meinig, *The Shaping of America, A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Continental America, 1800-1867*, 248; James E. Vance, *The Merchant’s World: the geography of wholesaling* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1970), 80-98.

major churches, and even two printing offices. By 1810, the population in Pittsburgh reached 4,768 people, which marked a 170 percent increase from the 1800 census.³⁶

At Pittsburgh, William stayed behind while Daniel traveled back to New York City to pick up some of their articles and deliver a letter for a friend. With the movement of people west, the fertile land between the Laurel Mountain and Pittsburgh presented a different picture in the 1770s than the one Daniel witnessed. Prior to settlers clearing and cultivating the land, massive trees dotted the landscape. Cresswell, an English traveler to this region between 1774 and 1777 observed nature on a much grander scale. The walnut and cherry trees he saw grew much larger. He measured one with a three-foot diameter and a height of forty feet before any limb branched out. In addition, he saw a large sycamore tree of fifty-one feet circumference and twenty feet high. These large trees were already gone by the time that the Constables visited the region, demonstrating the environmental changes that occurred because of settlers' clearing the land. The brothers mentioned tree sizes in their journals, but the measurements always discussed the tall thin trees, and they mentioned their amazement at the height of trees, never the width. Additionally, during these earlier years people found coal above ground and Cresswell witnessed coal stratum of fourteen feet thick, whereas the majority of the top layer through this mountainous region in Southern Pennsylvania did not exist thirty years later.³⁷

In other regions travelers had also noted their amazement at the size of trees that no longer existed by 1806. Jedediah Morse, an American geographer, published his famous

³⁶ Cresswell, 65-66; Harris, 342-343; The population in the borough of Pittsburgh totaled 1,765 in 1800 and 4,768 in 1810, representing a 170 percent increase in population; On April 22, 1794 an act was passed by the legislature that incorporated the town of Pittsburgh into a borough. Census records differentiate between Pitt Township and Pittsburgh borough in 1800 and 1810, for more information see: Thomas Cushing, *History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago: A. Warner & Co., Publishers, 1889), 528-532, Historic Pittsburgh General Text Collection, available at <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/p/pitttext/>, accessed October 7, 2012.

³⁷ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 23 October 1806, 26 October 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Cresswell, 68-72.

book, *The American Geography*, in 1789 and discussed some of the natural wonders in this region. The trees near the Muskingum and Ohio River, where the town of Marietta later stood, inspired Morse. While traveling in this area, he measured a Black Walnut tree with a circumference of twenty-two feet at five feet from the ground. Additionally, he noted a sycamore that measured forty-four feet in circumference. Marietta did not exist when Morse ventured through the area, but by the time Daniel and William arrived, there were two hundred homes and the large trees had disappeared.³⁸

With the rapid expansion of towns in this western area, some of the animals moved farther west. On the Ohio River, north of the Little Miami River, in 1775, Cresswell saw many buffalo that frequented a salt lick. Throughout his journal he commented on the numbers of buffalo he witnessed in the eighteenth century. At one point on their journey, he and his fellow travelers surrounded thirty buffalo and shot some of the animals. The wildlife that Cresswell experienced thirty years earlier did not exist in the same numbers or species that the Constables witnessed. While they still passed the salt licks and regions named for these creatures, the brothers never encountered a buffalo. They stopped at Big Bone Lick Creek and walked on shore. Daniel observed that, “These places are called licks, from the thousands of Buffaloes that used to frequent these salt springs to lick the ground for particles of salt adhering about the sides of the springs.”³⁹ With the decrease in animals, local citizens took advantage of the natural abundance of salt and excavated it, which produced fifteen or sixteen bushels a day.⁴⁰

³⁸ Morse, 458-459; Michaux, *Travels to the west of the Alleghany Mountains*, 177; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 9 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

³⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 18 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁴⁰ Cresswell, 74-88.

The unsettled nature of this territory also brought with it the danger of Native Americans. In 1775, the entire party Cresswell traveled with worried about an Indian invasion, as a group of Native Americans had reportedly killed some white settlers in the territory they traversed. During this earlier period, people traveled at great risk on the Ohio River as the Indians usually did not allow white people to enter the Mississippi River. The Constables experienced less of these dangers as the Indians frequently interacted with them, often merely asking to trade. Daniel and William expressed little fear of the Native Americans, even choosing to journey expressly through Native American lands without any guides or a larger party.⁴¹

Traveling along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, wildlife became much more prevalent than they had witnessed on their journey across upstate New York. After they passed the city of Wheeling along the Ohio River, wild ducks appeared in greater numbers than they had seen before, and William exclaimed that, “we found them as thick on the River as sparrows in the farm houses of England.”⁴² When the Constables floated down the Ohio River, they encountered several large flocks of wild turkeys that “stood on the banks at the distance of about 15 yards and looked at us with the utmost composure,” as the canoe approached them.⁴³ During the course of the entire afternoon, wild pigeons covered the skies as they attempted to leave the wintery north; these pigeons were passenger pigeons, which at this time lived in massive numbers. When Europeans first arrived, they estimated that five billion passenger pigeons lived in the United States, or roughly twenty-five to forty percent of the total bird population in North America. The wildlife in this area demonstrated that the

⁴¹ Cresswell, 54-79; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 9 January 1807, 21 January 1807, 8 February 1807, 12 February 1807, 13 February 1807, 14 February 1807, 16 February 1807, 23 February 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁴² William Constable Journal 2, 4 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁴³ William Constable Journal 2, 5 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

region had experienced enough local traffic to acclimate the birds to the presence of people, yet not enough to affect their population through hunting.⁴⁴

On this leg of their journey, the brothers witnessed fewer settlements than they had seen in New York, and the towns they encountered frequently disappointed them. When they entered Limestone, Kentucky, one of the oldest towns in the state, the Constables viewed a flattened landscape with unattractive log houses. The townspeople occupied themselves by storing merchants' goods for forthcoming trips to New Orleans. Ten years before the brothers arrived, Limestone had been the depot for emigrants, who would land at the town from the Ohio River and then travel inland by wagons laden with their possessions. Despite many people simply traveling through the city, the town grew rapidly because in 1797 it contained thirty to forty houses, but by 1807 seventy homes lined the dirty streets.⁴⁵

Even before the Constables visited the western United States, previous travelers had remarked on changes to the environment because of increased migration. Francois Michaux noted that until 1797, the sparsely populated banks of the Ohio River contained few houses and a traveler barely encountered thirty families in four hundred miles. In the next few years, emigrants from Pennsylvania and Virginia invaded the area and, by 1805, Michaux could rarely travel more than three miles without seeing a house. The influx of people affected

⁴⁴ William Constable Journal 2, 4 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 4 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Lynn Berry, "Passenger Pigeon," *Encyclopedia of Environment and Society*, Ed. Paul Robbins, Vol. 4. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc., 2007). 1343-1344, Gale Virtual Reference Library, accessed 27 June 2012; William Constable Journal 2, 5 December 1806, 6 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 5 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Michaux, *Journal of André Michaux, 1793-1796*, 33.

⁴⁵ Limestone, Kentucky is currently known as Maysville; William Constable Journal 2, 16 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal, 16 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Baily, 87.

Kentucky's population, which expanded from 73,000 in 1790 to more than 220,000 people in the state by 1800.⁴⁶

Other areas the brothers visited also exhibited this hurried development. Louisville, Kentucky, for example, experienced a rapid influx of immigrants that shaped the city's future. French philosopher Volney traveled through the area in 1796, and Louisville had but one hundred houses. When the Constables arrived, there were some 250 houses and other people in the midst of building homes. The developing nature of the city offered constant work, even on the Sabbath, as laborers built houses, wagons carried goods to market, and all the stores and taverns remained open. With new settlers arriving in the years immediately following the Constables, the city boasted more than 1,300 people by 1810.⁴⁷

The woods surrounding Louisville also experienced increased activity. According to Owen Gwathmey, the landlord at Gwathmey's Indian Queen Hotel, passenger pigeons threatened the wooded environment where they stopped to roost while migrating south. They migrated in such large quantities that the birds broke branches with their weight, making it appear as if a whirlwind or hurricane had blown through the woods. Additionally, the number of dead pigeons overwhelmed the many domesticated hogs that died from overeating them. The birds affected the natural environment by eating all the beechnuts, thereby leaving few for the squirrels and hogs. They disrupted the forest ecosystem with this pattern of roosting in large numbers, taking the forests decades to recover. In addition to this destruction of the environment, with the clearing and cultivation of land these pigeons lost more of their natural roosting sites; this, in turn, confined them to smaller areas causing additional damage. Local

⁴⁶ Michaux, *Travels to the west of the Alleghany Mountains*, 189; William Constable Journal 2, 17 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁴⁷ Volney, 331; William Constable Journal 2, 21 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; U.S. 1810 Federal Census, Jefferson County, Louisville, Kentucky, Heritage Quest; the 1800 Federal Census for Kentucky was lost so previous scholars reconstructed the 1800 population numbers from tax lists.

inhabitants reduced the number of pigeons in the area directly; the pigeons' pattern of roosting and eating the hogs' food, resulted in many people shooting them to remove the pests from the area.⁴⁸

Although pigeons affected the livelihood of the hogs, these feral quadrupeds also changed the environment where they lived. Gwathmey reminisced that when he moved to Louisville the cane had been so thick he had to part it with his hands to navigate through the crops. The cane, a reed that grew in these areas, reached heights of ten to twelve feet with a two-inch diameter. Now hardly any cane remained as the hogs ate that plant. Hogs ate virtually anything including nuts, roots, grass, small animals, and peaches and this capability had led to many problems in more settled regions where they ate cultivated crops destined for market. Local people raised many hogs in the woods, which made a large profit when they sold the animals in New Orleans. Easy to care for and a prosperous business, hogs thrived in the area by the Mississippi River where they had less chance of invading human settlements as they had done in the eastern cities. Being able to farrow three times a year producing twelve to sixteen piglets per litter, these animals reproduced rapidly. In addition, they could defend themselves against wolves and bears. The men who raised hogs devoted little attention to them until time for slaughter when they captured and butchered the animals. Farther down the Ohio River, hogs had not affected the environment yet, as dark green cane grew from ten to thirty feet high on both sides of the river.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Bell, 16-18; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 29 December 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Berry, 1343-1344; Thomas D. Clark, *Kentucky: Land of Contrast* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), 73.

⁴⁹ Inlay, 59; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 29 December 1806, 2 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 129-137; Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, 173-175; William Constable Journal 2, 2 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991), 226-227.

While the hogs adapted to the environment and flourished, other animals in the region would not fare well with the larger influx of people. While they rested at Henderson, Kentucky, William shot a parakeet, which they had never seen until they reached this location. The bird the Constables had seen was the North American Parrot, or Carolina Parakeet. The subspecies that he killed was the Louisiana Parakeet that lived in the Mississippi and Missouri River basins. The bird grew to about twelve inches long with green plumage, an orange and yellow head, and yellow feathers on the wings. The parakeet made its home in the Sycamore and Cypress trees, traveled in large flocks, and stayed near salt licks. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the bird existed throughout the eastern United States, but it disappeared by the end of the century. In Henderson, they appeared more frequently than any other bird and gathered in flocks of fourteen. The birds quickly took a liking to people, since they no longer appeared shy within a few hours. Local farmers labeled the bird a nuisance, and it made an easy target. After a farmer shot a bird, other birds would fly away and then return shortly to the same site, making it easy to kill more of them. The many people moving to the region resulted in fewer parakeets because of overhunting, which eventually led to their extinction.⁵⁰

Farther down the river they visited the bustling city of Natchez, which seemed beautiful in its spring state with the peach trees in full bloom. The city contained three hundred brick houses in 1807, which demonstrated significant growth from ten years earlier when ninety houses existed in the city. The export business thrived in Natchez with cotton already being the king, or main article of trade; Daniel noted that many people became rich

⁵⁰ William Constable Journal 2, 5 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 6 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Mikko Saikkei, "The Extinction of the Carolina Parakeet," *Environmental History Review* 14, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 1-10.

with this business. The city's location made it dependent upon the Mississippi River for everything it needed to import and export.⁵¹

The establishment of New Orleans next to the Mississippi River produced drastic changes to the surrounding environment. Originally, when the French considered where to locate their capital city they considered Natchez, which had been an Indian village and required less maintenance. Yet as French citizens searched for a cash crop, they yielded to the environment and started growing rice. With the decision to use the yearly Mississippi River floods to cultivate rice, French citizens looked farther south. New Orleans grew in population, and some local citizens introduced cattle to feed the inhabitants. These animals destroyed the cane, and because they stayed relatively stationary, the flora they ate had little time to recover and replenish. While the river produced natural levees, with the vegetation removed spring floods swept the earth away. This resulted in the river's patterns becoming more unpredictable and therefore inhabitants started to create manmade levees. Local citizens brought slaves to Louisiana in order to plant crops and build levees beginning in 1719. Starting in 1722, slaves constructed levees to protect valuable private property from flooding, thereby redrawing the boundaries of the natural environment. Within ten years, levees stretched twelve miles below the city and thirty miles above. City engineers continued to struggle with containing the river and preventing flooding in the city.⁵²

When the brothers traveled farther south, the banks of the Mississippi River took on a more cultivated appearance rather than the rugged or wild look that had existed even ten years earlier. A levee constructed of earth and surrounded by pickets from two to ten feet

⁵¹ Baily, 148-149; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 25 February 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵² Christopher Morris, "Impenetrable but Easy: The French Transformation of the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Founding of New Orleans," in *Transforming New Orleans and Its Environs: Centuries of Change*, ed. Craig Colten (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), 31-41.

high, began at Point Coupée and continued to New Orleans, protecting the plantations that lined the river. Another levee along Bayou La Fourche that communicated with Attakapas and Opelousas went on for about five miles with settlement along the banks. This levee kept out the water and doubled as a causeway in difficult weather. Since levees at the time were made of dirt and supported by timber, water leaked through. Local inhabitants tried different methods to support the levees and irrigate their fields. The Constables saw some fifty slaves digging trenches around the fields, which plantation owners used to store excess water during the spring floods. Slave owners used the winter months to order their slaves to dig ditches and build the levees. About twenty-five miles north of New Orleans, the banks of the Mississippi River filled with settlement as numerous houses appeared with only a few feet between each house. While this gave the impression of a large settlement, no houses existed behind them as the woods started immediately in the backyard. Later, as they walked around New Orleans the brothers noticed some of the repercussions of building a city on such low ground. The unpaved roads became very muddy in the early summer as the Mississippi River rose higher than the city itself. The land surrounding – and in the city – retained a swampy appearance.⁵³

The trip from Pennsylvania to New Orleans presented the Constables with a different environment than they had encountered in New York. Immediately upon entering western Pennsylvania, the poorly maintained roads alerted them to the decreased population in the region. When they traveled down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, they encountered vast amounts of wildlife. Birds flocked to these regions in such great numbers that they destroyed many of the places they stopped to roost. Additionally, deer, bears, panthers, and squirrels

⁵³ Baily, 159-160; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 9 March 1807, 10 March 1807, 11 March 1807, 13 March 1807, 14 March 1807, 16 March 1807, 22 March 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Morris, 35.

frequently traversed the area that the Constables traveled. The brothers saw many animals and uninhabited lands on this section of their trip, which gave the impression of a more natural setting than western New York. Nevertheless, environmental changes had already occurred due to the actions of the immigrants who moved to the area. Animals such as the buffalo that had roamed through these river basins just thirty years earlier were now gone from this landscape.⁵⁴

The numbers of animals that became extinct in this area would increase in the subsequent years as more people moved to the region. The towns that Daniel and William visited had already increased in population but the numbers of immigrants would increase dramatically in the years following their trip. The advance of civilization would change the landscape even further as settlers cleared the land and killed the animals. The passenger pigeon and Louisiana parakeet are prime examples of this situation. Both birds became extinct by the early twentieth century because of overhunting as the settlers considered them pests. Last spotted in the Ohio region in 1840, the Carolina Parakeet went extinct with the last one shot in the wild in 1904 in Florida. Passenger pigeons encountered a similar fate with intense commercial hunting, which led to the last bird shot in the wild in 1900.⁵⁵

Human settlement also affected the foliage that the brothers encountered. At Louisville, Kentucky, the reeds that had once thickly surrounded the river now disappeared because of the hogs in the area. Farmers that raised hogs allowed them to forage throughout the woods and this had changed the environment with the disappearance of reeds. When the

⁵⁴ For the condition of the roads see: William Constable Journal 2, 23 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 23 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For wildlife see: William Constable Journal 2, 25 September 1806, 30 September 1806, 22 December 1806, 5 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal, 25 September 1806, 30 September 1806, 18 December 1806, 29 December 1806, 6 January 1807, 10 January 1807, 15 January 1807, 16 January 1807, 20 January 1807, 21 January 1807, 3 February 1807, 14 February 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Cresswell, 74-88.

⁵⁵ Saikkei, 1-10; Berry, 1343-1344.

Constables entered areas farther from settlements in western Kentucky, the reeds appeared in their natural state as the brothers could not proceed through them without parting them with their hands. Grazing animals removed plants and ground cover from the forests, which resulted in a depleted soil susceptible to floods and increased erosion.⁵⁶

On their trip from New Orleans, the Constables traveled overland to New York City and encountered regions and animals they had not seen before. When they entered the Lafourche from the Mississippi River, the brothers saw their first alligator basking in the sun. The path they followed directed them to a twelve-mile long dry canal that led to Attakapas. They packed their mosquito bar – a net to protect from the ravenous insects – and headed down the canal through a cypress forest with thirty-foot high canes. Traveling along the canal, the brothers encountered the most snakes, frogs, and lizards that they had ever seen in a day. Later, they passed through a few lakes that contained many alligators, much more than they had seen in the Mississippi River. In one of the bayous they saw some five hundred alligators, and they covered parts of the water’s surface entirely. The reptiles varied in length from three to fifteen feet long, and as the canoe approached, the animals submerged themselves under the water.⁵⁷

At Attakapas, they witnessed a new landscape not yet seen on their journey. Natural meadows offered pasture for “thousands or even millions of cattle, [as] many individuals in Atakapas [sic] have herds of 12 or 15 thousand cows and oxen.”⁵⁸ In addition, the vast prairies contained intermittent wooded areas with live oak. French inhabitants dominated this

⁵⁶ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 29 December 1806, 2 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 129-147; Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, 173-175; William Constable Journal 2, 2 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵⁷ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 5 April 1807, 6 April 1807, 7 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 1 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁵⁸ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 8 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

area and William noted their lack of motivation to cultivate the prairie. He believed that with the influx of Anglo-Americans the area would soon see prosperity and cultivation.⁵⁹

After leaving Natchez, they headed for Nashville along the Natchez Trace through what Daniel and William termed the wilderness. The Constables' understanding of wilderness stemmed from the English culture's interpretation of the natural environment. Elizabethans defined wilderness as an uncultivated land dense with woods. Initially, these wooded areas did not represent treasured ecosystems, but rather obstacles to human progress. Wilderness presented a direct challenge to survival and many Europeans, and, later, Americans celebrated their conquest of this desolate land, as people believed that savages filled these unknown areas. Similar to the western settlements especially in New York, settlers cleared the land to bring in progress and plant fields, which they believed improved the environment.⁶⁰

Religion also affected European perceptions of wilderness, especially in early American settlements. Colonists believed that the spread of civilization dispelled evil and darkness, which explained settlers' desire to clear land of wooded areas and expose the environment to light. Wilderness itself, according to environmental historian Roderick Nash, actually designates a quality rather than a thing, which makes the definition of wilderness elusive as each person defines it according to his or her values and culture. Etymologically wilderness meant place of beasts; however, modern definitions describe it as undeveloped land.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 8 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 1 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶⁰ Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 194-212; Nash, 24.

⁶¹ Nash, xvi, 1-3.

Since the concept of nature itself is socially constructed, each civilization creates its own definition for wilderness. In the late eighteenth century, wilderness meant a deserted, savage, or desolate area and it produced bewildering emotions from those who entered it.

William noted within his journal when they entered the American wilderness that:

From Natchez struck the wilderness; by the wilderness is understood the Indian lands, which are occupied solely by the Indian tribes – the Wilderness we now enter is the extensive tract belonging to the Chactow [sic] Nation and is about 170 miles through, it is generally a fine country being a kind of small prairies or rather savannahs, having timber growing pretty much all over it but in many places so thin that you may see all around to the distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ mile bearing no unseen wood.⁶²

After leaving the Choctaw lands, Daniel and William entered territory owned by the Chickasaws, which constituted another 150 miles of wilderness. The area fifty-five miles past this had been recently purchased from the Indians, but William still qualified it as a wilderness because it had only one house the entire distance.⁶³

When the Constables traveled through the wilderness they first encountered prairies with beautiful blooming flowers and delicious strawberries, thus offering entertainment and sustenance to the brothers as it reminded them of England. Hickory and various kinds of oak sheltered them through this travel. Daniel noted that a poor specimen of lofty pitch pine also presented itself with no branches and the naked trunks grew to about one hundred feet high. During their adventures in the wilderness, the Indians altered their environment and kept the woods thinned by burning the underbrush. By doing this, they believed it made the environment a better hunting ground.⁶⁴

⁶² William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 1 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶³ William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), 69-72; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 1 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶⁴ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 1 May 1807, 25 May 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

The Constables demonstrated less caution when entering the wilderness than some earlier travelers had displayed. Francis Baily entered the same region during the 1790s but in a group of thirteen men, because at that time it was dangerous to enter in small numbers. While he and his men traversed the wilderness, Baily interacted with Native Americans and his account reinforced derogatory notions that they lived in a backwards and savage state. They initially encountered Indian warriors who spoke with the group while holding onto scalps, and later in their journey, Native Americans stole their horses in the night.⁶⁵

While the Constables traversed this same intimidating and lightly settled area, the Indian lands had a less savage nature than they expected. The Native Americans lived along the roads, and the brothers rarely went more than thirty miles without encountering a cabin. Next to their homes, Indians cultivated corn and each family raised cows, horses, and chickens. Despite this sense of civility, the brothers still felt a sense of relief upon entering familiar territory. After crossing the Tennessee River, William rejoiced as they re-entered the habitations of white men, “we can now again enjoy the common comforts of life, as a bed to sleep on and shelter from the storms, which before this we have been glad to seek in the hollow of a tree.”⁶⁶

Even after they re-entered white settlements, Daniel and William still traveled through areas with small populations. It took the Constables one week to travel the 211 miles from Nashville to Knoxville and a couple of times they went as far as twelve miles without encountering a town. Throughout this journey five hundred miles of the road was still considered a wilderness, but many immigrants had started to change that definition. On the road to Knoxville, the brothers encountered areas that had flourished in recent months. They

⁶⁵ Baily, 199-206.

⁶⁶ William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 1 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

passed through Carthage, which had twenty houses, several stores, a tavern, and a brick courthouse. All of these buildings had emerged within twelve months, as before it was a thick forest with only one log house.⁶⁷

The trip from New Orleans to New York City presented the Constables with the most adventurous section of their journey. These areas appeared relatively untouched by modern society and they even traveled through their first wilderness, as defined by Daniel and William. When they left Louisiana they saw lakes covered with alligators, demonstrating that the many people who moved to the area had not been enough yet to decrease or relocate the animals. With more people moving to this region, the inhabitants negatively affected the animals by killing them because many people considered them dangerous nuisances.⁶⁸

The wilderness that they journeyed through gave them the best picture of the American environment before white settlement, but it was also the least commented section of their travels. The month that the Constables spent in the wilderness in Tennessee constituted but one paragraph within Daniel's journal. While he had frequent bouts of ague within the wilderness, their reaction to leaving the region demonstrated their views on this ecosystem. The Constables viewed the wilderness as a place waiting for cultivation. When they re-entered white civilization it appeared that Daniel and William had once again entered the light from the dark depths of the woods. That they considered this area wilderness, but not the uninhabited areas on the Mississippi River is also telling. Daniel defined a wilderness as an area inhabited by savages, but viewing the situation only thirty years earlier demonstrated the changes that occurred in this area. When Francis Baily traveled through the

⁶⁷ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 2 June 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Baily, 246; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 1 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

⁶⁸ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 5 April 1807, 6 April 1807, 7 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 1 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

region he entered in a large party for safety, whereas Daniel and William journeyed alone and mentioned no concerns about their safety. Additionally, the Indians they encountered differed markedly from those described thirty years earlier. Baily discussed savages holding scalps and stealing their horses, whereas the Constables mentioned the Indians' houses, the cultivated lands, and their domestic animals. The wilderness had changed with the influence of white society and this was evident with the way Native Americans lived in this region.⁶⁹

The Constables long overland and water journey through the western United States revealed a lot about the environmental conditions in the early nineteenth century. Immigrants flocked to New York and produced numerous environmental changes with the clearing and cultivation of land. Roads guided people to the flourishing towns and many of the native animals existed in smaller numbers – or not at all – by the time the Constables visited the region. The journey from Pennsylvania to New Orleans presented the brothers with an untamed land as birds flocked to the region and wild animals appeared on the riverbank. Despite this change, the buffalo had moved farther west and the towns' growth affected the environment with the clearing of land, foraging of hogs, and shooting of annoying birds. The final stage of their trip introduced them to wilderness, which presented the Native Americans in a more civilized state than the term wilderness would have suggested. Through their long journey the Constables witnessed an American landscape in the midst of tremendous changes. With more immigrants settling in the west, the landscape altered further as settlers cleared their land to build houses and raise crops. The decisions that these settlers made

⁶⁹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 1 May 1807, 25 May 1807, 2 June 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 1 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Baily, 199-206.

resulted in the destruction of ecosystems, extinction of animals, and eventually an area no longer considered the frontier as an increased population made these areas thriving cities.⁷⁰

The men continued down the Ohio River, when suddenly the sky grew dark and the wind picked up, which convinced them to seek the safety of a cave. Within a couple hours, the sky cleared up without a drop of rain falling. They assessed their surroundings, and birds flocked to the trees in such great numbers that William grabbed his gun. Parakeets, ducks, turkeys, and bald eagles taunted the brothers as they escaped the bullets by maneuvering through the woods or flying to the highest branches. With evening fast approaching, the brothers decided to stay at this site until the morning. Miles from any western settlement, they heard a bellowing noise that convinced them that others resided in this area. Although they did not see anyone, they surmised that the noise came from Native Americans somewhere within the woods. The next morning they continued on their journey, and stopped the boat below the mouth of the Tennessee River. Daniel and William stretched their legs and stepped on land to hunt some animals. They struggled to leave the riverbank because the tightly packed reeds blocked their pathway. When they pulled the plants apart to create a path, they uncovered more reeds. After unsuccessfully trying to walk through what Daniel

⁷⁰ Baily, 199-206; Cresswell, 74-88; For examples of clearing fires see: William Constable Journal 2, 1 August 1806, 18 August 1806, 30 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 1, 14 August 1806, 20 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM. For information on the free land see Daniel Constable Journal 1: 2 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM. For more information on the fish in the lakes in New Jersey see: William Constable Journal 2, 26 July 1806, 28 July 1806, 1 August 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For the fish at Lake Erie see: Daniel Constable Journal 2, 20 September 1806, 21 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For the condition of the roads see: William Constable Journal 2, 23 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 23 September 1806, Constable Papers, ACM; For wildlife see: William Constable Journal 2, 25 September 1806, 30 September 1806, 22 December 1806, 5 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Daniel Constable Journal 2, 25 September 1806, 30 September 1806, 18 December 1806, 29 December 1806, 6 January 1807, 10 January 1807, 15 January 1807, 16 January 1807, 20 January 1807, 21 January 1807, 3 February 1807, 14 February 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; for wildlife in the Louisiana area see: Daniel Constable Journal 2, 5 April 1807, 6 April 1807, 7 April 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 1 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; for their concepts of the wilderness see: Daniel Constable Journal 2, 1 May 1807, 25 May 1807, 2 June 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 1 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

called a “cane wilderness,” the brothers gathered an armful of the reeds to use in their fire and returned to their boat. Western settlers had not reached these regions yet, but within a few years people moved to the area bringing with them the environmental changes already seen in the east.⁷¹

⁷¹ Daniel Constable Journal 2, 15 January 1807, 16 January 1807, Constable Papers, ACM.

Conclusion

When they returned to New York City from New Orleans, an incident occurred that would start the United States on the path to war with Great Britain. While wandering through Baltimore, the brothers shoved through angry crowds protesting on the docks. The British frigate *Leopard* had just fired on the American frigate *Chesapeake* and Americans clamored for war. Americans had tired of British impressments and disrespect. President Thomas Jefferson momentarily calmed the waters, but in 1812 the two countries went to war. After pushing through the angry mob, Daniel and William continued on their journey in the midst of this discontent.¹

When the Constables returned to England they entertained family and friends with details about their adventure, but their journals uncover more than just a simple story. A closer examination of the journals revealed many aspects of American and British culture that united the countries, but also that made them different. Frequently the war with Great Britain in 1812 overshadows this period in American cultural and social life. Yet the period preceding this war shows the cultural connections that still existed, an important part of America's history.²

The brothers' journey revealed many significant aspects of the British and American connection as well as conditions in the American west. Daniel and William lived in a culture fascinated by travel. With the country becoming urbanized, English citizens began searching for unique experiences outside their country. The American landscape attracted many tourists

¹ William Constable to James and Susanna Constable, 19 July 1807, Constable Papers, ACM; Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 15-16.

² Yokota, 59-75; Wood, *The Rising Glory of America*, 11-16.

because transportation to the west became faster and easier. America offered something unique from the Grand Tour in Europe – a wilderness. The civilized cities on the European Grand Tour could not compete with the natural wonder that existed in the United States. Yet with the recent purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803, the area that the Constables visited would soon be a stopping point for destinations farther west as it rapidly transformed from a rural to urban environment. During this change, western civilization experienced a democratization of society. Because individuals in this environment focused on survival and daily life, settlers followed few rules. In this space, women achieved a level of prominence. Some women led religious movements, while others adopted male behaviors. Americans constructed a unique lifestyle in the west because of the everyday struggles for survival, which created less societal rules, and for a brief time, a leveling of society.³

With the availability of land, settlers migrated from the east and relocated their entire families to lands they had never seen before. As a result, dramatic environmental changes occurred that would only become magnified as additional people moved west. Entire species disappeared or some relocated farther west. European theories labeled the wilderness as a place of darkness and prescribed that by clearing the land settlers would bring it to light. With this premise and the desire to plant crops settlers cleared the land of trees, which affected the air and soil quality. As people introduced new animals into the environment, vegetation disappeared. Hogs rooted for food by the riverbanks and ate the reeds that had once been so thick it was difficult to walk through them. With people moving to the west, the decisions they made continued to affect the natural environment.⁴

³ Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 358-376; Smith-Rosenberg, 207-215; Aron, 193-197.

⁴ Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Continental America, 1800-1867*, 3-23.

Tourists flocked to America in the mid-nineteenth century, and Americans responded by creating a tourist infrastructure. The Constables represented a new type of traveler as they ventured to the west looking for specific attractions they had read about prior to their trip. During this time, some areas close to eastern cities had already developed a tourist infrastructure and advertised their amenities to attract visitors. The natural American environment appealed to many people and with the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, adventurous individuals traveled farther west to view spectacular natural destinations. The 1820s and 1830s marked the beginning of the Grand Tour of America as local entrepreneurs responded to the increase in tourists by building hotels and roads to encourage their trips.⁵

The rise in tourism coincided with an increased interest in landscape art. British intellectuals inspired the theories behind this movement in America. While people visited the United States, the popularity of picturesque touring took British philosophies and turned these ideas into an American art form. Inspired by picturesque touring, the Hudson River School movement embraced America's nature and promoted these scenic views in their paintings, which inspired people to visit.⁶

The brothers boarded an England-bound boat and resumed their lives. Eventually Daniel returned to America in 1820, applied for citizenship, and settled in New York. He died while visiting England in 1835. William returned to America in 1837. He traveled to the United States on his way to Jamaica in order to take a position as an engineer and surveyor of a proposed railroad. The project fell through, and William remained in America for a year visiting the countryside. He returned to England and in 1841 started the Photographic Institute of Brighton where he photographed many famous people, including Prince Albert.

⁵ Brown, 10-18; Gassan, *The Birth of American Tourism*, 70-92; Sheriff, 12-21.

⁶ Ferber, 13-14, 28; Dunwell, 88; Lassiter, ix; Howat, 6-23; Wood, *Rising Glory of America*, 16-22.

With travel journals reaching new heights of popularity, William decided to use his journals to create a more polished memoir. In 1858, he self published a single copy of his adventures adding pictures and new anecdotes.⁷

Tourism in the United States increased dramatically following the Constables visit to America. During the 1820s, fashionable tourists traveled from New York City to Albany on the Hudson River and then went west on the Erie Canal to Niagara Falls. Visitors were impressed by the beautiful scenery and attractive amenities at the Ballston and Saratoga spas. Travelers mirrored the Grand Tour of Europe as they quickly traveled through rural areas to arrive at cities, where culture resided. One organized tour of America spent five days traveling and seven weeks in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. The American Grand Tour and excursions to the larger cities increased in popularity, and local entrepreneurs started constructing hotels adjacent to tourist attractions instead of developing cities. These hotels attracted fashionable travelers, because the new accommodations featured long hallways and single rooms for privacy.⁸

With a fashionable trip that transported tourists along the Hudson River and Erie Canal, many people published their travel journals starting in the 1820s. Bookstores sold numerous copies of these adventures in America. Many writers differentiated themselves by looking at unusual aspects of American life. Some of the authors disparaged American culture in order to attract readers in England and Europe. With travel journals flooding the market, people tried to present a new story they hoped would make their book special.

⁷ Constable, *The Constables of Horley Mill*, xvii-xix, 48-49; “Constable, William (1783-1861),” Philippe Garner in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, <http://www.oxfordnb.com.ezproxy.tcu.edu/view/article/37311> (accessed January 2, 2013); William Constable, *Notes of a Travel in North America in the Years 1806, 7 and 8 by a Company of Three*.

⁸ Brown, 7-26; Gassan, *The Birth of American Tourism*, 2-6; Gassan, “The First American Tourist Guidebooks,” 52-53; Damrosch, 43.

Visitors traveled to America for a variety of reasons – from tours, business, writing for newspapers, and immigrating. Each person wrote his or her own perspective on the developing United States. These books about America sparked interest in new adventures, while those who had already visited – such as the Constables – reminisced about their time of exploration⁹

On February 25, 1808, Daniel and William boarded a ship destined for England. After more than twenty-five days of seasickness, Daniel rejoiced at the sight of land as it appeared on the horizon. Arriving at Falmouth on March 25, they decided to continue their journey by walking home. The brothers sent their baggage ahead of them by wagon and finished the trip they had begun some two years earlier. Three hundred miles later, they walked into Horley, England, greeted by their family and friends and they immediately began sharing details of their dramatic adventures.¹⁰

⁹ Damrosch, 130-155; Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners*, 33-51, 130-151; Mulvey, *Anglo-American Landscapes*, 6-8, 175.

¹⁰ Daniel Constable Journal 3, 25 February 1808, 21 March 1808, Constable Papers, ACM; Constable, *The Constables of Horley Mill*, 92-93.

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ABSTRACT

“A COMPANY OF THREE:” TRANSATLANTIC CONCEPTIONS OF MASCULINITY, TOURISM, AND THE AMERICAN WEST IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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This dissertation examines the travel journals of Daniel and William Constable that they wrote during their trip to the United States from 1806 to 1808. A thorough examination of their journals revealed how some British theories shaped how Americans visualized and developed the west. A thorough examination of their journals in addition to more than forty other travel journals also revealed the status of western America. Each chapter looks at their adventure through a different scholarly lens beginning with a brief history of the British travel culture that inspired them to engage in picturesque and adventure tourism. Their journals also reveal the environmental changes that had occurred in the United States that stemmed from the population growth occurring in the west. Additionally, a masculine desire inspired their travels. As they journeyed through the west, they encountered new masculine ideals that challenged their individual versions. The Constables' travels through western America from 1806 to 1808 reveal an exciting and changing society that developed rapidly in subsequent years with many individuals using British ideas in an American way to shape the country.