

An Anxious Undertaking: Colonial and Migrational Anxiety on the Nineteenth-Century Pioneer Trails

Keywords: colonial anxiety, colonial discourses, migrational anxiety, pioneer trails, spatial anxiety

Abstract: This article examines the concepts of colonial and migrational anxiety by discussing North American accounts of experiences on wagon trains in the mid-nineteenth century. The focus is on the personal accounts of emigrants across the plains contained in travel diaries and private correspondence. This study aims to identify markers of anxiety identified in a hitherto unexplored primary corpus by discussing these signifiers in terms of discourses which were constructed to mask the realities of the migrational process. The study will draw on the theoretical basis of colonial anxiety in South Asia, discussed by scholars such as Homi Bhabha, Edward Saïd and Ranajit Guha in order to draw parallels between the two contexts. Through the examination of North American wagon train experiences in this way, it will be argued that their role was both colonial and migrational, and should thus be seen as a point of intersection for colonial and migrational anxiety.

Introduction

The concept of colonial anxiety is one which is closely associated with the personal experiences of individuals in both empire and the process of colonization. However, the focus of the topic's discussion in the wider scholarship has largely remained rooted in nineteenth-century colonial understandings. This has had the impact of narrowing the debate of colonial anxiety into a structure which has primarily engaged with aspects of colonial governance, fear

* Edward O. Teggins is an adjunct lecturer at Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, Indonesia. He completed his PhD at Trinity College, Dublin in 2020. He has published studies and presented his research on early modern East India Company trade, the early eighteenth-century East India Company presence in Persia and the evolving role of piracy in the Western Indian Ocean during the period covering the eleventh to eighteenth centuries. His more recent work has been into the American West and migration.

of rebellion, and latterly the uncertainty surrounding decolonization. In his famous article “Not at Home in Empire”, Ranajit Guha points to the cultural instability of European colonial servants in the colonies, drawing attention to the isolation they felt in particular. Due to the vast number of unknowns surrounding them, the cultural differences, and the fears they perceived as a result, Guha reflects that many servants chose to cloister themselves away in culturally stable zones such as gentleman’s clubs in order to alleviate their anxiety (483-484). This, of course, led to an artificial existence for these men.

In discussing migration in the colonial context, it is important to separate modern understandings of organizational migration, together with its freedom of movement and flow of information, from the discussion. As Leo Lucassen and Aniek X. Smit have highlighted, many do not consider corporate expatriates, soldiers or diplomats to be true migrants (1-2). Sanjeev Jain and Alok Sarin have also considered the effect of migration across geopolitical zones in their examination of Arthur Cole, Resident at Coorg, Mysore (1809). Cole’s migration to the colonies, they contend, caused him to experience anxiety as a result of cultural differences in his locale (215-216). The colonial process necessitated that a variety of people removed themselves to remote locations and set up lives for themselves, often for extended periods of time, and acted in a very distinct manner. In the South Asian and Western trails cases in particular, this study will discuss them as migrants in their own right. This article examines these issues in a new context, that of migrant accounts of experiences on wagon trains, drawing attention to the theoretical discussion of colonial anxiety, most commonly associated with European empires in Asia, into the sphere of North American history. This then builds on the theoretical grounding of anxiety linked to both migration and the colonial contexts. With the West in particular in mind, in his 1991 text *It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own*, Richard White has sought to cover a large swathe of topics from the early sixteenth to the late twentieth century. This includes, amongst other subjects, gender, race, violence and diverse others from

a variety of ethnicities. The West, in reading White's work, is presented as a distinct space whose study can incorporate a vast array of subject headings. The colonial-migrational aspect, so important to this study, relies on the vision of the West as both a real geographical place as well as a creation of colonial discourse aimed at dominating the land and people(s).

For the purposes of this study, an effective definition for the concept of anxiety is required, since the methodology applied relies on the viewpoint that both colonial and migrational anxiety are derived from the common root form of anxiety. These phenomena may, it is argued, be objectively compared and contrasted by discussing them in terms of a structure. By demonstrating how the onset of anxiety functions in response to both the colonial and migrational contexts, particularly where they overlap, as in the example of the American plains, this article seeks to differentiate between the two to lay the groundwork for a debate regarding their point(s) of intersection. Anxiety itself, in the Freudian understanding, is a reaction to danger or something unpleasurable (91-93). Lacan, in building on Freud's work and organising a more structural understanding of anxiety, posited that it is something, the object, known to the subject (*Anxiety* 35-36). It is the sudden appearance of the object which causes anxiety, precisely the same action which Homi Bhabha recognises as colonial anxiety when reality suddenly appears and a colonial discourse is disproven (296). How then are we to glean an understanding of the potential colonial, or migrational, anxiety contained in such accounts? The answer, it is argued, is contained in what is known as the linguistic signifier. With the dichotomy of what has been said and left unsaid a key facet of psychoanalysis, we may investigate our sources with this in mind (Lacan, *Écrits* 206). This entails the search for signifiers of anxiety both in the text, as well as through making use of our privileged position of having knowledge of the wider experiences and realities of life on the plains and in the new colonial settings.

The narrow description of colonial anxiety has proven problematic for applying techniques for the investigation of colonial anxiety in different circumstances; difficulties such as pre-colonial state settlement, migrational versus colonial forms of anxiety, and variance of personal experiences are all uneasy within the broad understanding of colonial anxiety. The examination of colonial discourses, and indeed their creation, for example, is a method through which the subtle nuances of each individual's experience can be teased out. The dichotomy of colonial and migrational anxiety is also a fascinating topic to consider; however, there is also the consideration to be discussed that colonial and migrational anxiety may, in certain circumstances, act in unison as a seemingly indivisible whole, as per Sanjeev Jain and Alok Sarin's investigation into Arthur Cole (214-215). I argue that one such circumstance is to be found in the wagon trains crossing the American plains in the middle of the nineteenth century, thus incorporating a global approach into discussions of colonial anxiety. The discussion has begun elsewhere, viewing the plains as a place of anxiety, in tandem with the agency of animals as the means of alleviating such anxiety, but resolution of the colonial-migrational dichotomy has remained elusive for both South Asia and North America (Teggin).

In the early days of the colonial-imperial project, there was a great lack of established European households in empire. Alison Blunt has demonstrated that the role of women in empire has often been underappreciated, with them serving as the makers of European domesticity and cultural stability for their families (421-422). The absence of a familiar home environment, or the presence of an alien one, is one of the hallmarks of both colonial and migrational anxiety. In the case of the Western trails, as we shall see, the process involved a departure from a familiar home setting, the creation of artificial spaces of habitation on the trail, and finally the attempted construction of a new home in the colonial setting. In terms of scholarship on women's history in the American West, this study will build on the foundations laid by scholars such as Gayle Davis and Deborah Lawrence. Davis' analysis of women's

frontier diaries demonstrates that the physical and emotional displacement had a profound impact on the women who undertook such journeys, something that shall also be seen in the examples given below (5-6). However, in her monograph on the subject, *Writing the Trail: Five Women's Frontier Narratives*, Deborah Lawrence, meanwhile, goes a step further in seeking to more fully contextualise women's experiences and to differentiate their responses to the Frontier from that of the traditional male narrative across the text.

This article seeks to draw comparisons between the colonial and migrational forms of anxiety to demonstrate how they can, at times, act in unison on the subject. Lucy Mayblin and Joe Turner have also picked up on the complicated situation of migration within the history of colonialism and empire. This, they contend, is an underappreciated element of migration studies, seeing as it is rare to find references to the colonial project in texts focusing on migration. This is seen as an oversight in the field at large and that colonial histories should be central to migration studies (Mayblin and Turner 1-2). In discussing accounts of experiences on wagon trains, particularly through the lens of signifiers of anxiety, this study builds on the work of Mayblin and Turner by also demonstrating that historical accounts of migration to the American West lack a proper contextualisation with regard to the colonial process. In viewing the organised settlement of the nineteenth-century American West as an act of migration with a colonial intention, the case study of migrant experiences on wagon trains gains additional context. Anxiety, occurring as a result of the colonial-migrational activity, has been used as the fulcrum of this article to develop Mayblin and Turner's thoughts.

The prospect of analysing migration and accounts of experiences on the trails in such a way is based on the fact that the emigrants who undertook to leave their homes and travel West were engaged in both an act of economically-driven migration, much akin to early colonial servants travelling to the Indian subcontinent, as well as forming the basis for the mass settlement and colonizing of lands which were as yet not fully under the control of the Union

government. The transition from migration to settlement was naturally a key factor in this process, and this sudden change in situation could cause anxiety in migrants through the breakdown of a discourse giving rise to the sudden appearance of reality. Travellers' journals, as examples of discourse created during the colonial process, fulfill the criteria for the kind of discourse creation noted above. Anxieties about the colonised other are seen as being inextricably bound to the process of creating a narrative to adequately codify and explain the other and self-other relationship. This is strongly tied to the orientalist scholarly tradition of knowledge creation regarding the Asian sphere. Due to the limits of discourse and the failure to adequately explain colonial experiences in such theoretical discourse, anxiety can be assigned to the place between the creation of knowledge as authority and the failure of that authority to authentically categorize the other(s) (Thakur 242-243). The stereotype is a good example of this as it must continually be challenged every time a new example of otherness enters the discourse. Imagined colonial discourses would then be challenged on a daily basis. Colonial anxiety then, according to Thakur's interpretation, is produced at the forced construction of a narrative of the colonial space and is, as such, a threat to the established imperial identity. Every time the colonised other breaks from the imagined position in the discourse, the imaginary colonial structure breaks down for the self.

The focus of this study will concentrate on signifiers of anxiety surrounding the fixed settings of wagon trains and the ultimate destination; for accounts of experiences on wagon trains, in particular, external threats of the unknown or diverse others such as Mormons and Native Americans will be chiefly considered, in line with the South Asian understanding of colonial anxiety linked to others in the colonial space. This will be done by examining a selection of the published diaries of those who made the journey during the period (Herndon; Ludlow; Porter; Thissell). The current article is divided into two distinct sections. First, that which will outline the aspects of colonial, or migrational, anxiety experienced on the trail itself.

Second, the act of settlement in the new land(s) that the emigrants reached. This will be used to demonstrate that the colonial and migrational aspects of anxiety discussed below are distinct, yet very closely aligned and often act interdependently. In particular, the notion of the unknown will be a key signifier of discussion. Whilst fear of attack and rebellion was the commonly understood identity of colonial anxiety in South Asia, it must be acknowledged that such considerations were also present on the pioneer trail.

The key consideration when discussing colonial or migrational anxiety, however, is to remember that at their root they are a form of anxiety. Anxiety is not an indivisible whole which can be applied to any circumstance in a standard way. It has differing stages and intensities which lead to the full effect of anxiety as we understand it. It is, therefore, something which lends itself to the formation of a structure for its understanding (Lacan, *Anxiety* 77). Whilst descriptions of unpleasant experiences or effects given by our examples of readings from the four personal diaries mentioned above, or indeed other studies involving personal histories, may appear alike, they are each distinct due to the individual's unique outlook.

Spatial Experiences of the Trail: Colonial and Migrational Anxiety

Before a full discussion of anxiety on the pioneer trails can be undertaken in earnest, there are several questions which must first be raised in order to construct a boundary of sorts. First, where does the trail experience start and end for the migrants? This is an important question because of the occasional difficulty in separating colonial and migrational anxiety. In colonial terms, it might simply be suggested that it began with the physical act of travelling on the trail from the starting city, and ended with the arrival at one's destination and attempted construction of the settler-colonial environment. However, with the intertwined nature of

migration with colonization, particularly with regard to emigrants and wagon trains, there is a malleable quality to the migrational aspect. Preparations for the journey West were long and arduous, with emigrants having to liquidate their assets and travel to one of the many fitting-out cities at the start of the trail. Put simply, a radical break from previous lives was often required. Once there, they were faced with the challenge of purchasing appropriate gear and livestock, together with the new experience of training their draft animals to the yokes of wagons (Ahmad 169-170). For many, outdoors life and animal management were entirely new experiences, and so difficulties and anxieties associated with the trail began long before they reached the plains (Hartman 5-6). This was something reported by Lavinia Honeyman Porter in her reminiscences of trail preparation, with her conclusion that she and her husband were not accustomed to manual labour and the hardships of trail life, whilst also being ill-informed as to suitable clothing and supplies to pack. The most poignant signifier of anxiety at this pre-departure stage, however, was the emotional farewell to her sister and friends (2-4). G. W. Thissell also provides us with an intriguing signifier in his account, suggesting that having made it across the Missouri River at the beginning of his journey he became ill and was obliged to delay his journey. "Too proud to return home", he settled in Iowa for nine months and earned his living as a carriage maker. Such a delay, and indeed an apparent failure at such an early juncture, was compounded by his reporting several emigrants returning with great fortunes from the gold fields (12).

The pain of leaving home and loved ones is clear and firmly points towards the articulation of anxiety through the linguistic signifier. This, in itself, is an immensely powerful mechanism of expression with regard to understanding what has been said, and what is left unsaid. Whilst it must be acknowledged that Porter wrote her account some years after her journey across North America, her emotional recollection of the upset at leaving home and those she loved serves as a potent signifier. This is compounded by her admission that she

never recalled that sad day, bar her noting it for her account, due to the intense sadness that it brought. It also represented a departure from familiar space, or “civilization,” as she put it (6). This brings attention to her understanding that she was about to enter a situation where her surroundings were unfamiliar, potentially dangerous, and connected to the process of creating civilization in an unknown wilderness as yet undiscovered. This can be linked to what Guha has written of British colonial servants sequestering themselves away from the great unknown of empire in offices or gentlemen’s clubs (483). Sarah Raymond Herndon expressed her feelings on her departure across the plains in a more reflective and melancholic manner, though this was likely due to her text being a reproduced edition of her travel diary as opposed to the more prose-like account of Porter’s:

. . . when people who are comfortably and pleasantly situated pull up stakes and leave all, or nearly all, that makes life worth the living, start on a long, tedious, and perhaps dangerous journey, to seek a home in a strange land among strangers, with no other motive than that of bettering their circumstances, by gaining wealth, and heaping together riches, that perish with the using, it does seem strange that so many people do it...The motive does not seem to justify the inconvenience, the anxiety, the suspense that must be endured. (2)

Whilst this suggests that emigrants likely experienced similar circumstances with regard to leaving their familiar and loved spaces, it must also be ascertained just who the emigrants were and why they undertook such arduous travel.

Each distinct subset of emigrant had their own backgrounds and expectations for their coming new life, and so also carried with them unique anxieties about their journey and future

habitation. Gold rush prospectors and Southern emigrants, such as Herndon and Porter , have perhaps formed the clichéd understanding of those who used the pioneer trails, much in line with thoughts on how emigrants to South Asia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were driven by economic considerations. Narratives surrounding gold rush emigration are misleading due to the incomplete knowledge which was possessed by individuals in the mid-nineteenth century. For example, Kent Curtis has argued that the presence of gold was already established in Montana prior to the “discovery” of gold which in turn prompted the Gold Rush. Prospectors and emigrants, such as those in El Dorado(Fig. 1), did, however, experience harsh conditions for potentially very little return (Doyle 56-58). Of the Cottonwood, CA mines, Fitz Hugh Ludlow recorded that “. . . for miles in every direction departed gold hunters had burrowed till the ground was a honey-comb, or more properly a last year’s hornets’ nest, since there was no sign of honey in the cells, and, from what a most dejected native told us of the yield, never had been any to speak of” (470).



Fig.1 - Unknown, *Gold miners, El Dorado, California*, c. 1848-1853, *Library of Congress*,

<https://www.loc.gov/item/2012646445/>.

To Kent Curtis, the Gold Rush phenomenon was created by venture capitalist interests in the East which sought to speculate on the opening of mines, as well as the ambitions of an expansionist American state (278). This is reminiscent of the arguments put forward by Peter Cain and Anthony Hopkins in their famous “Gentlemanly Capitalism” thesis, whereby colonial and imperial expansion was driven by privately interested individuals or networks in the metropolis (85-86). This is strongly tied to the current understanding of colonial anxiety, with colonial servants anxious to make their fortunes in empire and return to Europe wealthy before their deaths (Lawson and Phillips 226-228). However, it must also be remembered that emigrants travelled west for social and religious reasons as well. For example, the mass emigration of Mormons from Illinois, and indeed from Europe, also represented a diverse segment of migration that has been highlighted in the wider historiography (Bade; Vassady). Indeed, it is this diversity which played a powerful role in spurring certain aspects of colonial and migrational anxiety. How then might the vast array of differing identities engaged in mass emigration be formed into a coherent unit of measurement for the purposes of colonial and migrational anxiety? The answer is to view the problem through the lens of artificial spaces of habitation.

Guha drew attention to the difficulties and isolation experienced by colonial servants in early-modern India when they closeted themselves away from their unfamiliar surroundings in their offices or gentlemen’s clubs. This effectively created a situation whereby artificial spaces of habitation came into existence in order to deal with the unfamiliar circumstances outside of such loci. However, he has also noted that shared suffering and experiences of colonial anxiety did not necessarily serve to bind individuals together socially once in these spaces (Guha 483-485). A similar phenomenon can be seen to have occurred in the case of emigrants on the pioneer trails as many bound together to create travelling companies or

caravans in order to deal with the dangers and uncertainties of the trail. Guidebooks for emigrants across the plains, such as Randolph Marcy's *The Prairie Traveler* or Joseph Ware's *The Emigrant's Guide to California*, were, of course, available as sources of essential information for novice travellers. Diana Ahmad in particular has discussed the usefulness of such guides, especially in conjunction with the health and wellbeing of animals on the journey (166). In terms of accounts of emigrant experiences on wagon trains, Amos William Hartman provided a very detailed narrative of the many dangers and difficulties which emigrants faced during the period 1849-1860 (1-3). So too has Ahmad, focusing on the role of animals on the Western trails and the key role they had in a successful journey; this work demonstrates the difficulties which could befall a travelling company if illness or fatigue affected their animals (165-167). David Clark, on the other hand, has highlighted that violence, and indeed the potential for violence, was a varied affair on the trail. Indeed, he has pointed out that violence may have come from both within and without the emigrant companies, and the fear of diverse others, such as Mormon pilgrims, may have promoted unrealistic or inaccurate portrayals of danger (81-83).

Strength, it was supposed, was to be found in numbers. The creation of such travelling companies was not, however, merely a loose association of emigrants, but rather a highly structured social construct which possessed laws, customs, routines and a defined hierarchy of leadership (McDougall Gordon 19). Indeed, like the example of European gentlemen's clubs in South Asia, it was the rigidity and sharply contrasted existence between within and without that made travelling companies an effective tool for combatting colonial or migrational anxiety. This can be seen in two ways; first, that whilst the company was moving everyone had a defined role and had to conform to the rules and customs enforced by the company captain (Thissell 20-22, Herndon 74-75). Second, that when camped at night and when the wagons had been circled, the defensive aspect of the wagon train was particularly evident (Thissell 54, Ludlow

560-561). The protective nature of the wagons in such a position created the semblance of an imagined community similar to that of private European community spaces such as gentlemen's clubs in colonial South Asia. The defensive action of retreating into an artificial space such as this pointed to a signifier of anxiety, one which is understandable in both colonial and migrational terms. The creation of wagon trains was a firm step in creating a physical structure through which emigrants could travel in greater safety. They were, however, born out of necessity rather than desire. Although the trains were proven to function as they were intended, they were a form of artificial community often assembled from many individual emigrant wagons. In the same way that Guha's account of Francis Yeats-Brown demonstrated the apathy of colonial servants to each other in shared spaces in empire, Porter, as it shall be seen below, viewed the fabricated wagon train as a wholly negative experience due to the people who occupied the space with her (78).

The concept of space and this notion of an imagined community also plays an important role in discourses surrounding the coloniser and colonised. Taking Gautam Basu Thakur's example, colonial discourse is seen as a symbolic space that contains hierarchical identities constructed within that space as imaginary nodes. Anxieties surrounding the other do not stem from reality, but rather from the danger or threat of the reality which was repressed by the colonial discourse returning. Anxiety, as such, is represented by the intrusion of the real into the symbolic construction of the subject (Thakur 245). Whilst many emigrants did choose to travel together in a company, there were also others who chose to travel alone for various reasons. Disliking the rigid hierarchy of a company was an easily understandable factor, but there was clearly something else which made balancing anxiety, be it colonial or migrational, problematic when deciding whether or not to be within or without the more highly structured travelling company. Herndon, for example, recorded being content with travelling in her company (79), Ludlow largely contained himself to commenting on others' wagon trains and

their experiences (110-111), and Thissell merely noted the practicality of the setting (21-23). In contrast, Porter, quoted below, expressed a dislike for the environment, travelling companions, and separation from her husband. Here, the dissimilarities of ethnicity, class and wealth came sharply into view. Anxiety caused by being forced into an artificial situation of habitation with others may thus have proven a greater source of anxiety for migrants than the perils of travelling alone. The threat of violence within the space, discussed by Clark, ties in neatly here (88-89). This concept returns to the assertion that anxiety, in any of its forms, is not an indivisible whole and exerts different levels of severity in different individuals who may have experienced the same events or circumstances.

Never before had I suffered with such fear as I did while with that Company. I could not rest or sleep while my husband was away from me, exposed to all the perils of the night and the treacherous foe. We might have been in the same danger before, but we were together...My fears were not only of Indians. These people with whom we were traveling were the roughest, most uncouth and ignorant people that I had ever come in contact with. Perfectly lawless, fighting and quarrelling among themselves, using language terrible to hear, they were the champion swearers of the world. (78)

Identifying Signifiers of Anxiety: Reactions and Understandings on the Trail

Now that the problem of space has been identified with regard to colonial or migrational anxiety, it must next be ascertained precisely what the most common sources of anxiety on the trails were. Perhaps one of the most regularly reported sources of anxiety by travellers in their migration diaries was the alleged, or supposed, threat of attack by Native Americans. The threat

of attack was something which could readily be understood by all, particularly given the widespread reporting of alleged atrocities by Native Americans on the trails in travellers' journals (Thissell 62-63, Ludlow 30-31). This, combined with what, borrowed from Edward Saïd's South Asian example, might be described as an "Orientalist" attitude towards diverse others, which enabled cultural, economic and social domination of diverse others by the West, marks out the anxiety caused by a potential attack holding as much, if not more, potency than an actual experienced assault (357). There was a desire to rationally explain empire and colonialism by concealing the true material ambitions of the colonisers. The colonial discourse, as such, sought to fabricate an acceptable connection between colonisation and European concepts of modernity. This naturally created a problem of justifying aggressive overseas expansion with liberal ideals (Thakur 251-252).

In Saïd's view of Orientalism, the phenomenon was used as a justification for dominating diverse others in the East (1-3). Orientalist depictions suggested that Asian rulers were predominantly despotic and that their societies were morally inferior to the West. This necessarily created the foundation for an 'us' and 'them' situation when the Orient was contrasted with Europe (Jacoby 666). This is why the Orientalist outlook is so problematic and inherently imbued with narratives tied to the colonial project and domination. Orientalist scholars, by studying the East and building an artificial edifice around it, sought to control it through their possession of knowledge. It must be noted here that the concept of Occidentalism has never been proposed as a rival subject to that of Orientalism. In seeking knowledge, and thus control, of the East, Orientalist scholars were attempting to bring their own vision of the East to life. Despite being drawn to the curiosity of the so-called Orient, Europeans were also wary of it because they could not adequately understand or penetrate it (Saïd 32). This underpins Guha's arguments surrounding his work into European colonial servants' experiences in empire, with many individuals having chosen the cultural stability of

gentleman's clubs and official spaces (483). By breaking down the vast unknowns of empire into manageable chunks through Orientalist studies and outlooks, Europeans were attempting to regain agency and break free from their state of fear. The sudden appearance of reality, however, caused these narratives to fracture and thus led to anxiety.

The American wagon train example is once again similar to the colonial South Asian example, whereby the vast expanse of unknown territory and unfamiliar peoples created a sense of anxiety which served to limit individuals' freedom of action. Instead of viewing the vast expanse of unknown with excitement, individuals chose to retreat into private European spaces as emigrants on the trails cloistered themselves in wagon trains. The irony of colonial servants or American emigrants limiting their own freedom by giving in to colonial or migrational anxiety in such a way is also an interesting point linked to what Søren Kierkegaard has written of anxiety and the limitations of freedom. According to Kierkegaard, when one is presented with an anxiety-inducing event, a deep abyss being his example, the fault lies equally with both the individual and the source of anxiety. In this way, the individual has created the means for their own anxiety, colonial or otherwise (75).

Whilst Herndon and Porter both reported that they had heard of alleged atrocities by Native Americans on the trail, and indeed witnessed the aftermath of several, it must be acknowledged that the anxiety they felt due to the perceived threat or differences of Native Americans was not grounded in direct negative experiences. Herndon in particular displayed a prejudiced racial attitude towards Native Americans along the lines of Saïd's work on Orientalist thinking regarding diverse others. Indeed, Herndon's colonial anxiety appears to have taken the form of negatively contrasting Native Americans she encountered with the wider reports she had heard in order to more sharply distinguish the division between herself and them (73). This is another signifier of colonial anxiety in that migrant-colonists could construct physical spaces as well as imagined ones in order to seclude and distance themselves from

diverse others. The act of racially comparing Native Americans with herself and her travelling companions was also a powerful linguistic signifier of anxiety on her part. This may have been migrational due to the difficulties of the trail, or colonial as a result of the wider process of differentiating and subjugating native populations.

Negative opinions and stereotypes are immediately recognisable as potentially racially prejudiced and unwarranted, yet they were commonplace amongst segments of emigrants on wagon trains during this period. It is unclear to what extent such attitudes were grounded in phases of anxiety or outright prejudice, though it can be said that anxiety, be it colonial or migrational, was clearly present. Since anxiety is not an indivisible whole and has levels of intensity and locomotion, the existence of less prejudicial attitudes, linked to anxiety, was a certainty. Concerning the question of anxiety central to this study, Lucy Mayblin and Joe Turner have highlighted the onset of European modernity, a driving force in the creation and application of knowledge in the early modern world, as a catalyst for negative stereotyping of colonial others as barbarous, uncivilised or traditional in comparison to modern states (27-29). They have particularly underlined the invention of race as a means of differentiating others from the self. Whereas they have acknowledged that race served as a fabricated tool of oppression and placing people(s) into a hierarchy of sorts, they also recognise that the concept of race has very real consequences despite it being fabricated (49-51). To address the kind of stereotyping suggested above, viewed in private diaries such as those of Francis Yeats-Brown discussed by Guha (483-485), and to be seen in the texts this study examined, Thakur has highlighted Homi Bhabha's view that anxiety does not sit outside of colonial discussion. Rather, it emerges in the actual writing or speaking about the colonial process. In this view, colonial anxiety is not attached to the colonial experiences of the other; it arises out of discourse and the creation of such discourse (241). In this way, it can be seen as a by-product of the colonial-imperial operation.

The accounts of Jerusha Swain and Lavinia Honeyman Porter also suggest this (Cott et al. 179). Though not fully linked to the trails, Swain's account is interesting both in terms of the orientalist connotations linked to her language and desire to possess the child as an item rather than a genuine motherly bond, as well as the settled status of her relationship with the Cherokee community. Ostensibly living amongst the community as a teacher, it may be said that she experienced anxiety through her process of integration and developing ties in an unfamiliar setting. This is connected to both the migrational and colonial connotations of anxiety. Crucially, however, she did not relocate permanently to the Dwight Mission, Oklahoma, and ultimately returned to her family home in Vermont (Cott et al. 184). This might be seen as her failure to overcome anxieties linked to the migrational or colonial process, or perhaps more so as her intended outcome was linked to a short-term mission. The latter would point to a general ambivalence toward the colonial project in North America in general. Further examples are the very transplanting of the Cherokee people to reservations in Oklahoma and contemporary society viewing them as strangers or others (despite many nations colliding as the modern United States was being created). Trapped within the whims of the colonisers and their cruelties, while those same oppressors were unsure or unwilling to engage, anxiety may easily be attached to the indigenous populations, the Cherokee Nation in particular in this example (Krupat 17-19). The ambivalence of migrancy, to borrow a term from Shailja Sharma, and what it meant for the American Western colonial project, viewed particularly well through Swain's account, reinforces the anxious relationship (596-598).

What would you say if I should tell you that I had taken another (Cherokee girl into the household). I almost felt as though I might be doing wrong to make any addition to my cares; for they are now more than any teacher ought to have out of school, & do justice to her school, but I could not resist the temptation, for I wanted some one to love . . .

& I am not sorry that I have taken her, as yet, & hope I shall not be, her name is Ellen Coval . . . a Cherokee girls disposition is the worst to get along with that I know any thing about, they are either all of the time angry with one another or else on such intimate terms that they are silly, & then you never know whether what you say will offend or be taken in good humour. (Cott et al. 181-182)

Porter described instances of Native Americans sitting around her campfire drinking coffee and eating biscuits she gave them, begrudgingly at first, though at base there was clearly some degree of table fellowship involved which served to allay her outright fears or a high level of anxiety (32-33). It must be noted, however, that this did not amount to a fundamental acceptance of Native Americans as diverse others, but merely a level of tolerance for their culture and customs. This was demonstrated by Porter's negative commentary of a Native American village she passed through, whereby she recorded that women were totally subservient to men and led burden-filled lives (65-66). Towards the end of her journey, however, Porter did come to view Native Americans with a level of respect due to their allegedly escorting her wagon through dangerous territory. This, in addition to her teaching Native American mothers how to make rag dolls for their children to play with, demonstrated that colonial or migrational anxiety could increase or decrease in severity depending on experiences (96-98).

The possibility, or perception, of aggression from Native Americans was not, however, the only source of violence or uncertainty on the trail. Indeed, returning to Clark's assertions on the great variety of violence exhibited on the trail, it must be said that violence could come from both within and without the artificial spaces of habitation which emigrants constructed for themselves. Clark has identified disputes, anti-social behaviour, and the pressures of life on the trail as being key signifiers in the emergence of violence within travelling companies. To

support this argument, Clark also uses the interesting phrase “trail stress” to describe the root source of such negative behaviours (88-89). This is a curious term which deserves further discussion with colonial and migrational anxiety in mind. In terms of the connection to the South Asian example of imagined communities in institutions such as gentlemen’s clubs, this can once again be described as the sudden intrusion of the repressed reality into the discourse of the situation. In both cases, imagined community and hierarchical structures were created in order to protect the self from the reality of the other; physical aspects such as the circled wagons and walls of the colonial compounds were present, of course, but it was the imagined barriers, constructed through discourse, which makes the usage of such spaces relatable to the colonial context. Clark has used trail stress to demarcate the likely factor which triggered latent anti-social behaviour amongst members of travelling companies, though it may also be possible to locate it in Lacanian terminology and thus incorporate it more fully into the discussion of colonial or migrational anxiety. The examples of violence on the trails given by Clark as being endemic to travelling companies include whippings for punishment or motivation, threats with weapons such as knives or guns, and the prospect of abandonment on the plains. As the journey involved extended periods of hardship, Clark has discussed how this brought out the worst in emigrants when they were faced with confrontation or difficulty. When confrontation occurred, and individuals were both unsettled and stressed, the likelihood of even minor confrontations escalating to violence was significantly increased (Clark 88-90).

The concept of animal care, most notably raised by Diana Ahmad, is also a crucial factor here, with any injury or illness to the draft animals of a wagon train a potentially fatal occurrence. It was through such a concern that emigrants began to educate themselves about animal care on the trail, often through the help of guidebooks or verbal knowledge (Ahmad 166). Emigrant travel journals are littered with signifiers of the consequences, and particularly the distress, caused by the loss of draft animals. Fatigue, injury, illness, theft, poisoning by

alkali water, or loss during one of the many treacherous river crossings emigrants had to face are some of the examples provided (Ludlow 77). Weather conditions ranging from dust storms to rain and heavy winds also presented challenges when travelling or trying to secure livestock for the night. Sarah Raymond Herndon expressed the dangers of a storm on the plains as “...something to be dreaded, especially a wind storm. Old men who have been freighting across the plains for years, say they have seen wagons upset with three-tons of freight in a wind-storm” (92). These examples are perhaps more closely linked to the notion of a specific migrational anxiety than a colonial one, though it is also relevant due to the underlying purpose involved in emigrating west.

To return to the example of Mormon emigrants, in tandem with the topic of violence, it must be acknowledged that they were subject to a great deal of prejudice by non-Mormon emigrants on the basis of their religion. The distrust of Mormons has been referred to above, though Clark has argued that Mormon travelling companies, as well as inhabitants of their original settlement of Nauvoo, were unjustly labelled as being more violent and criminally inclined than non-Mormon emigrants. In Clark’s view, instances of violence occurred largely at the same level between Mormon and non-Mormon emigrants on the trail (90-91). Whilst the unjust fear of violence from Mormon emigrants certainly served as a consideration, it was perhaps in the concept of private spaces of habitation that served as a more sharply focused signifier of anxiety for non-Mormon emigrants. Indeed, both Mormon and non-Mormon emigrants set out to build a new life and community for themselves; since early Mormon settlements tended to be insular communities comprised of mostly members of their church, the viewpoint from outside tended to view Mormon communities with suspicion. Photographic evidence (Fig. 2) shows the Mormon village in Echo Canyon, Utah, in such an isolated ad hoc setting. Ironically, although non-Mormon emigrants were engaged in creating their own artificial spaces of habitation in wagon trains, it was the more permanent Mormon structures

which caused them colonial anxiety. This is similar once again to the South Asian example of cloistering oneself away from diverse others, though includes another dimension in that two sets of colonial actors were suspicious of each other and were creating new spaces of habitation to deal with their colonial anxiety.

The case studies of both Herndon and Porter in particular provide examples of such a distrust for Mormons and their established spaces of habitation. Herndon's entry for 21 August 1865 followed this line, and yet again displayed a prejudiced viewpoint of the Mormon communities of Bennington and Montpelier: "This is a beautiful valley. Too good to be possessed by a community of bigamists. What a stigma upon the government of these United States that whole communities are allowed to live criminal lives with impunity' (237-238). Whilst Herndon viewed Mormon communities and spaces negatively, her language amounting to a discourse in the same manner as Bhabha's views on colonial discourses, and as such a representation of the underlying anxiety, she also commented positively on her 12 May encounter with a community of Icarians (38). This suggested that it was not necessarily every unfamiliar space of habitation or community that aroused the full effect of anxiety, but that different examples produced separate levels of anxiety in line with Lacan's chart. In the case of the Icarians, it would appear that Herndon was merely curious and aware of the differences between herself and them. This again amounts to differentiation between those within and without her space of habitation and sphere of sociation.



Fig. 2 – Russell, Andrew J. *Mormon Village, on line of Railroad, Echo Canon*, 1868-1870, *Library of Congress*, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2005689281/>

Porter's description of the Mormons she encountered was, however, perhaps more overtly identifiable as anxiety. Indeed, she wrote of how she and her husband had been warned not to disclose the fact that they had emigrated from Missouri due to the alleged great dislike that Mormons had for Missourians arising from their role in driving them from their first home in Nauvoo, Illinois: "Fearful tales had been told us of how whole trains emigrating from Missouri were surrounded and captured by Mormons disguised as Indians, the women and children kept in bondage, and the men put to death" (100). The accuracy of these alleged attacks is highly suspect, though the mere rumour or gossip of them was enough to trigger a specific anxiety connected to Porter's colonial-migrational activity. This was also represented in her recording her fears about being allowed to leave Salt Lake City (Porter 105). However, Porter, like Herndon, also offered a negative viewpoint of Mormon society regarding the status of

women: “Mormon women are only beasts of burden” (103). John Hallwas has highlighted the notion that the creation of Mormonism in the early nineteenth century represented the idea of a providential society with a specific covenanted relationship with God which suggested that its followers held a special status (54). Additionally, the perception that Mormon communities were autocratic and in conflict with the ideals of the developing American state placed the Mormon community outside of the wider liberal society (58-59). As seen in the above accounts, there clearly was a level of prejudice against the Mormon community amongst emigrants which manifested itself as a form of anxiety. Indeed, the central thesis of Clark’s work is to demonstrate that, although the Mormon community was viewed negatively by contemporary travellers across the plains, violence within and surrounding Mormon travelling communities occurred at a similar level to that of other denominations (90-91). I argue that this anxiety was positioned within the arc of both colonial and migrational anxiety owing to the unique situations of both the Mormon community and emigrants on the westward trails.

Anxiety on the trail was not merely linked to the fear of attack from Native Americans and Mormons, however, and attention must also be given to the environmental and topographical elements too, even if this article focuses on the specific spatial signifiers of colonial or migrational anxiety. Travelling on the trails meant traversing difficult terrain including plains, deserts and mountains, which all provided unique challenges to migrants. The variety of conditions which had to be faced was in itself a source of anxiety due to the pressures of being adequately prepared and was something which had the potential to be disastrous for individual migrant wagons travelling alone, such as Porter’s, since it did not benefit from the support network of a wider travelling company. Here it can be ascertained that the choice of travelling method, whether individually or in the company of others, had the potential to cause anxiety for migrants. This choice returns to arguments made in favour of viewing the wagon train as an extension of Guha’s interior/exterior theory on colonial servants.

Choosing to travel in the Company of a wagon train would place the subject within the artificial spatial creation which was designed to limit exposure to the world and other(s) without. Inhabitants would then have been subject to anxieties arising from the sudden appearance of reality, as per Thakur's comments (296). This might have come about due to internal violence, such as that highlighted by Clark, or through external dangers such as attack by Native Americans or environmental factors such as climate and topography. Selecting to travel alone placed a wagon outside of both the imagined space and the physical protection of the wagon train. Whereas the subject(s) may then have not been as strongly tied to a discourse about the journey, they still held inherent views and expectations of their own, such as economic opportunity or conditions, which could be challenged by reality.

The Transition from Migration to Settlement

Crucial to the progress of migration and the ultimate settlement or colonization of new lands is of course the successful creation of a sense of home in the new space. Whilst the comparison between Guha's discussion of the difficulties in constructing a home in South Asian colonies and American emigrants travelling West is not a like-for-like example due to the pre-existing presence of a settled American society, the anxieties that went with long-distance migration and settlement make it tenable due to the shared creation of a discourse aimed at both dominating the geographical locality and other(s), as well as concealing the reality about them (Guha 483-487). This once again points to Thakur's interpretation of Bhabha's views on colonial anxiety, with the anxiety attached to both the colonial and migrational process arising out of the point in which the reality of situations in the colonial-migrational zone suddenly appears (296). Indeed, as Sanjeev Jain and Alok Sarin have

articulated, the mere act of relocating from one geo-political sphere to another may cause the onset of a series of anxiety-related ailments, such as melancholy or phantom pains (214-216). Once the new immigrants to these states and territories had arrived, they were of course also faced with the prospect of having to create their own private spaces of habitation and networks of sociation with their new neighbours. This is linked to what Georg Simmel has written regarding the preconditions for human sociation and the construction of identity, and is also relevant in terms of contemporary social theory on the arrangement and creation of space (Frisby 126).

The most immediate factor, however, was the economic one. Whilst it has been acknowledged that there were social and religious reasons for emigrants moving across the continent, all emigrants ultimately needed a source of income as soon as they arrived or else they would starve. For some, it was to be found in professions or trades, whilst for others it was more closely aligned to the gold rush narrative. A large part of the emigrant trail narrative has naturally been the discussion of westward-bound wagon trains of emigrants seeking their fortune and a new life full of opportunities. This has been represented in terms of both success and failure (Clay and Jones 997-998). While this is similar to the colonial South Asian example, it must also be acknowledged that there were emigrants who succeeded in creating a new life and those who did not. The gold rush phenomenon created a situation whereby emigrants were lured by the seeming promise of an easy path to fortune, something which, in turn, led them to have inflated expectations about what their new life was to be like, which expectations became sources of anxiety when the reality was revealed. Whilst travelling west, both Herndon and Porter in particular described their experiences of encountering former emigrants who had not succeeded in building a new life for themselves, had grown desperate, and then returned home to the east along the same trail that they had come along. For Herndon, on May 14, such action was akin to lacking moral fibre and the willingness to succeed: "Poor fellows, how I pity any

man that has so little grit. I should think that they would be ashamed to show their faces to their neighbours, and say: ‘we were afraid, so we came back home’” (40-41). However, by August 24-26 when she and her party had nearly reached their journey’s end, her discourse on the topic had changed to reflect the growing uncertainty regarding the reality of prospects in Montana:

We have been meeting men all day returning from the mines. They give a doleful account of the hard times in Montana. They say: ‘There are a few fortunate ones who are making money, like dirt, but they are the exception, about one in a hundred...The boys say we have met as many as two-hundred men today returning from the mines. I believe we are all somewhat discouraged this evening. We have always heard such flattering reports from Alder Gulch and Virginia City. (Herndon 243-244)

This was a marked change from her former dismissal of failure as emigrants succumbing to “homesickness,” something which was also curious given it serves as a linguistic signifier of anxiety witnessed in others (24-25). In such homesickness, the reality of the departure from home and familiarity has suddenly appears for the subject, producing a signifier of anxiety through the written word; in the present study, such signifiers are to be found in first-hand letter and diary accounts. Jain and Sarin’s discussion of Cole’s letters highlighted melancholy and imagined ailments as having been signifiers caused by his realisation of his predicament in the colonies (214-216). Herndon’s discussion of homesickness, above, would suggest a connection to Lacan’s understanding of the mirror stage, in that a subject’s ego is totally dependent on external objects as a means of garnering understanding (Lacan, *Anxiety* 72-73). The mirror stage represents the subject’s identification with their own image, stemming from the recognition of the self as “I” or the ego. This is

juxtaposed with the ego-ideal, the perceived ideal of perfection. The slippage or alienation in between, where the reality of a lack is revealed and the ego is overwhelmed, causes anxiety (252-253). Herndon identified anxiety in the form of homesickness in others, thus becoming more acutely aware of her own anxiety. This is demonstrated by her recording past experiences of her own homesickness after identifying anxiety in returning emigrants as a means to contextualise it in others (85). This is due to what Freud has explained as anxiety serving as the signal function in relation to something, the object. In terms of the mirror, Lacan describes the descent of the signifier into the real, with the spectral image presented in the mirror suddenly changing (*Anxiety* 86-88). Homesickness, being an effect, which could be active in both the migrational and colonial stages, is a good example of how intertwined the migrational and colonial anxieties of the trail were. Like Herndon, Porter also described how her expectations of life in the West had failed to live up to their promise. Perhaps the most telling example Porter gave was her description of Denver, shown below. As it can be seen from this narrative, the settlement was not affluent and can be seen to have been a congregating place for disconcerted miners returning from the pits to contemplate their journey home. Indeed, the seeming preponderance of public houses and lawlessness also pointed towards a disappointing revelation which in turn caused Porter anxiety: “I had pictured Denver a thriving, bustling, busy city, but nearly fifty years ago it was an exceedingly primitive town, consisting of numerous tents and numbers of rude and illy-constructed cabins, with nearly as many rum shops and low saloons as cabins, horses, cows, and hogs roamed at will over the greater part of the village” (54). It was clear that the creation of a new life and private spaces of habitation was a slow and arduous process for emigrants to the West, with numerous social and economic challenges to overcome. It was, however, in the sudden transition from migration to settling, or colonization, that the greatest amount of anxiety was to be found for the newly arrived emigrants. This again brings us back to the concept of the sudden appearance of reality which

had been repressed in the colonial or migrational discourse. While before they had possessed a sort of artificial space in the form of their individual wagons and caravans, they were now required to discard such familiarities and attempt to recreate private spaces of habitation in a strange place far from home. This sudden end to their migration, viewed through the new reality and understanding of “home,” is best represented in the linguistic signifier provided by Herndon, quoted below, when she and her family were suffering from the transition between migration and settlement in Virginia City, 5-6 September 1865. Her description of meeting many strangers and not seeing one familiar face is reminiscent of Guha’s quoting from the journal of Francis Yeats-Brown, a colonial officer in nineteenth-century India. In this extract, Yeats-Brown described how he and his fellow Europeans were closeted away from the vast unknown of empire which was outside, yet they did not necessarily construct a shared sociation in this artificial space. Shared experience and anxiety, therefore, was not a guarantee of community (483-485). In this way, homesickness can, once again, be seen as a key signifier of the anxiety brought on by the dichotomy of migration and colonization: “I believe I am homesick this evening. It is so dreary to go into a strange place and meet so many people, and not one familiar face... We moved into our cabin this morning. It does not seem as much like home as the wagons did, and I believe we are all home-sick if we would acknowledge it” (268). The transition from the migration to the settlement phase can also be considered in terms of anxiety being caused by the sudden appearance of the suppressed reality. While the journey to the frontier was undertaken with the promise and hopes of wealth and opportunity, the facts on the ground did not always align with expectations. The dismal reality of what was to be the new life and conditions on the frontier should perhaps not have been such a shock, however, given that newspaper reports of the region(s) were readily available in the east of America. The imagined community space of the wagon train served to mask the reality of what was coming, yet when that imaginary space was dismantled, anxiety was allowed to enter. Herndon,

summarizing Virginia City, Montana, as “the shabbiest town I ever saw,” in tandem with her homesickness and her diminishing discourse across the journey, very neatly demonstrates this.

Conclusion

There are inherent similarities between the concepts of colonial and migrational anxiety when examined through the lens of such a specific movement of people for a given purpose, such as the Western emigrant trails. Thakur and Bhabha’s thoughts on anxiety appearing at the moment in which the fallacy created by the colonial discourse is removed for the South Asian example can, as it has been suggested in this study, also be applied to the North American case. The majority of emigrants were travelling for a specific purpose; this might have been economic, political, colonial, etc. At the point of their departure, they all had instilled in them some degree of expectation for what the journey and end product should be. When the reality of the undertaking was revealed to emigrants, such as dangers and threats on the trail, or economic hardship at journey’s end, the signifier of anxiety arose through the same process for colonial as it did for migrational anxiety. Both used narratives that were fabricated discourses of assumed, or active repression of knowledge. For the American case study, the gold rush phenomenon is an excellent example. The false discourse surrounding gold rushes transitioned into a lack, to use the Lacanian term, when discussing anxiety, in the same way in which stereotypical discourses of colonised peoples did in South Asia when the reality of a lack of understanding was witnessed.

What is evidenced from the investigation into the diaries of Herndon, Porter, or indeed any combination of emigrant journals, is that they contain a fascinating mixture of excitement, fear, wonder, confusion and, for the purposes of this study, anxiety. Anxiety is reflexive in

nature and can produce varied effects depending on the circumstance, individual or experience. This is particularly well demonstrated by the comparison between Herndon and Porter's experience of the trail, whereby they approached different issues from distinct standpoints. It can also be seen how anxiety may develop or recede to form different effects; Herndon's detailed discussion of homesickness, with the accompanying alteration of discourse, across her journey is a good example of this. By using an interdisciplinary approach, such as incorporating Lacanian thought and a global standpoint into postcolonial historical discussions, it also opens up the field to new areas of debate for histories of the American West. The current methodology has thus sought to draw together theoretical strands in the wider discussion of colonial and migrational anxiety in order to position the local case study of the American trails within the global context. The artificial creation of spaces of habitation is another excellent example of the colonial-migrational anxiety action at work. Gentlemen's clubs and accounts of experiences on wagon trains were of course the cases flagged in this study, with the failure to transition from migration to settlement a major source of anxiety. This was seen in both the Indian example with Blunt's discussion of the lack of European-style homes curated by women, and in the American example with the sudden break with the travelling 'home' that was the wagon into a disappointing new space which did not meet with expectations.

Whereas migrational anxiety suggests something uniquely to do with the act of migration, it has been shown both above and elsewhere that it can also lack definition when tackled in the same space as colonial anxiety. In a similar fashion, this also requires colonial and migrational anxiety to be viewed with a degree of structure. The example of the pioneer trails is a good case study for demonstrating an instance where the lines of definition are blurred, meaning that it might easily be glossed over rather than attempting an accurate reading. This is no longer tenable, however, due to the increased interest in personal histories of colonialism and empire within the wider congregation of postcolonial studies. Whilst it may

ultimately be proven, or agreed upon, that migrational and colonial anxiety are distinct and cannot be used together, or even that they are two mutable terms which are to be applied fluidly, the current state of the field has not yet provided sufficient debate. I hope that this study, and others like it, will provoke discussion amongst the interdisciplinary stakeholders of migrational and colonial histories so that we may progress to a more detailed understanding of what is increasingly becoming a popular strand of investigation.

Works Cited

- Ahmad, Diana L. ““I Fear the Consequences to our Animals”: Emigrants and their livestock on the Overland Trails.” *Great Plains Quarterly* 32.3 (Summer 2012): 165-182. Web. 7 October 2020
- Bade, Klaus J. “From Emigration to Immigration: The German Experience in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.” *Central European History* 28.4 (1995): 507-35. Web. 12 November 2021.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. 1st ed. London and New York: Routledge, 1994. Print.
- Blunt, Alison. “Imperial Geographies of Home: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925.” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24.4 (1999): 421-440. Web. 2 June 2022.
- Cain, Peter and Hopkins, Anthony, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914*, 1st ed. New York: Longman, 1994. Print.
- Clark, David L. “Violence and Disruptive Behaviour on the Difficult Trail to Utah, 1847-68.” *BYU Studies Quarterly* 53.4 (2014): 81-108. Web. 7 October 2020.
- Clay, Karen and Randall Jones. “Migrating to Riches? Evidence from the California Gold Rush.” *Journal of Economic History* 68.4 (December 2008): 997-1027. Web. 12 November 2021.
- Condos, Mark. *The Insecurity State: Punjab and the Making of Colonial Power in British India*. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2017. Print.

- Cott, Nancy F., Jeanne Boydston, Anne Braude, Lori D. Ginzberg, and Molly Ladd-Taylor. Eds. *Root of Bitterness: Documents on the Social History of American Women*, 2nd ed. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996. Print.
- Curtis, Kent. "Producing a Gold Rush: National Ambitions and the Northern Rocky Mountains, 1853-1863." *Western Historical Quarterly* 40.3 (Autumn 2009): 275-297. Web. 7 November 2020.
- Davis, Gayle R. "Women's Frontier Diaries: Writing for Good Reason." *Women's Studies* 14 (1987): 5-14. Web. 17 May 2022.
- Doyle, Susan Badger. "Journeys to the Land of Gold: Emigrants on the Bozeman Trail, 1863-1866." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 41.4 (Autumn 1991): 54-67. Web. 17 August 2021.
- Fischer-Tiné, Harald. Ed. *Anxieties, Fear and Panic in Colonial Settings: Empires on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown*, 1st ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. Print.
- Freud, Sigmund. *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety*. Trans. Alix Strachey. 1st ed. Reprint. Mansfield Center: Martino Publishing, 2013. Print.
- Frisby, David. *Georg Simmel*, 2nd ed. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. Print.
- Guha, Ranajit, "Not at Home in Empire." *Critical Inquiry* 23.3 (Spring 1997): 482-93. Web. 3 May 2020.
- Hallwas, John E. "Mormon Nauvoo from a Non-Mormon Perspective." *Journal of Mormon History* 16 (1990): 53-69. Web. 11 June 2022.
- Hartman, Amos William. "The California and Oregon Trail, 1849-60." *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*. 25.1 (March 1924): 1-35. Web. 7 October 2020.

- Herndon, Sarah Raymond. *Days on the Road: Crossing the Plains in 1865*, 1st ed. New York: Burr Printing House, 1902. *Archive.org*. Web. 11 November 2021.
- Jacoby, Tim. "Turkey and Europe: Culture, Capital and Corruption." *Review of International Studies*. 36.3 (July 2010): 663-684. Web. 5 June 2022.
- Jain, Sanjeev and Alok Sarin. "Madness and Rulers: Events in Coorg and London in 1810, as observed by the Hon. Arthur Cole, the resident at Mysore." *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*. 57.2 (April-June 2015): 214-6. Web. 3 May 2020.
- Kierkegaard, Søren. *The Concept of Anxiety*, Trans. Alastair Hannay. 1st ed. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2015. Print.
- Krupat, Arnold, "Representing Cherokee Dispossession." *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 17.1 (Spring 2005): 16-41. Web. 12 November 2021.
- Lacan, Jacques. *Anxiety: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book X*. Ed. Jacques-Alain Miller. Trans. A. R. Price, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity, 2016. Print.
- Lacan, Jacques. *Écrits*. Trans. Bruce Fink. 1st ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006. Print.
- Lawrence, Deborah. *Writing the Trail: Five Women's Frontier Narratives*. 1st ed. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006. Print.
- Lawson, Philip and Jim Phillips. "'Our Execrable Banditti': Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain." *Albion* 16.3 (Autumn 1984): 225-241. Web. 3 May 2020.
- Lucassen, Leo and Aniek X. Smit. "The Repugnant Other: Soldiers, Missionaries, and Aid Workers as Organizational Migrants." *Journal of World History*. 26.1 (March 2015): 1-39. Web. 5 June 2022.

Ludlow, Fitz Hugh. *The Heart of the Continent: A Record of Travel across the Plains and in Oregon, with an Examination of the Mormon People*. 1st ed. New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1870. *Archive.org*. Web. 12 January 2022.

Marcy, Randolph B. *The Prairie Traveler: A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions*. 1st ed. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859. *Archive.org*. Web. 21 April 2022.

Mayblin, Lucy and Joe Turner. *Migration Studies and Colonialism*. E-book ed. Polity, 2021. Kindle.

McDougall Gordon, Mary. "Overland to California in 1849: A Neglected Commercial Enterprise." *Pacific Historical Review* 52.1 (February 1983): 17-36. Web. 7 October 2020.

Porter, Lavinia Honeyman. *By Ox Team to California: A Narrative of Crossing the Plains in 1860*. 1st ed. Oakland: Oakland Enquirer Pub. Co., 1910. *Archive.org*. Web. 11 November 2021.

Russel, Andrew J. *Mormon Village, on line of Railroad, Echo Canon, 1868-1870*, *Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division*. Web. 14 February 2022.

Säid, Edward. *Orientalism*. 1st ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1979. Print.

Sharma, Shailja. "Salman Rushdie: The Ambivalence of Migrancy." *Twentieth Century Literature* 47.4 (Winter 2001): 596-618. Web. 27 November 2021.

Teggin, Edward O. "A Companion on the Way: Horses and Ponies, Agency and Material Culture on the Montana Trail, c. 1865." *Cheiron: The International Journal of Equine and Equestrian History* 2.1 (2022): 141-160. Print.

Thakur, Gautam Basu. "Reading Bhabha, Reading Lacan: Preliminary Notes on Colonial Anxiety." *The Literary Lacan: From Literature to Lituraterre and Beyond*. Ed. Santanu Biswas. London and New York: Seagull Books, 2012. Web. 20 May 2022.

Thissell, G.W. *Crossing the Plains in '49*. 1st ed. Oakland: Oakland CA Press, 1903.
Archive.org. Web. 17 November 2021.

Unknown. *Gold miners, El Dorado, California, c. 1848-1853, Library of Congress Photographs and Prints Division*. Web. 14 February 2022.

Vassady Jr., Béla. "The "Tochman Affair": An Incident in the mid-Nineteenth Century Hungarian Emigration to America." *The Polish Review*, 25.3/4 (1980): 12-27. Web. 12 November 2021.

Ware, Joseph E. *The Emigrants' Guide to California*. 1st ed. St. Louis: J. Halsall, 1849.
Archive.org. Web. 21 April 2022.

White, Richard. *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West*. 1st ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991. Print.

Wilson, Jon E. *The Domination of Strangers*, 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
Print.