

Chapter 2

'How and Where To Go': The Role of Travel Journalism in Britain and the Evolution of Foreign Tourism, 1840–1914

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At the beginning of the 21st century, whole sections of the weekend papers and slots of prime-time television are given over to travel journalists who earn a living by telling us 'where and how to go' and the bookshops are full of travel books that often originated as essays in the printed media. Many are written by household names who use their writing to finance their travels (Holland & Huggan, 1998). New aspirants to the genre participate in the relentless competition for public attention. This chapter examines earlier incarnations of this theme, exploring the nature and function of early forms of travel journalism in Britain and its role in the creation of a 'culture of travel' in which popular tourism to foreign destinations began to expand and flourish.

Foreign travel has become something we take for granted. Historians of travel and travel writing are so busy uncovering the many forgotten travellers of the past, particularly women, that they are inclined to forget the novelty attached to foreign travel in the early days of modern tourism and what the experience meant for the many for whom 'abroad' was still uncharted territory. And yet, it was then that the idea of foreign holidays as a normal and desirable part of life first seeped into general consciousness. Tourism in the second half of the 19th century began to serve as a vehicle for the expression of distinctive personal and social identities in ways that laid the foundations for the further development of tourism in the following century. An example of the extent to which a 'culture of travel' had become part of popular consciousness is the late 19th-century phenomenon of the **fugue**, a form of flight from the everyday that enjoyed an ephemeral status as a form of mental disorder, which Ian Hacking argues was formed by popular tourism, on the one hand, and

vagrancy, on the other (Hacking, 2000). Press coverage reveals a growing complexity in the image of the tourist at the same time as the commercial promotion of tourism anticipated the strategies of modern marketing and its preoccupation with the identification of tourist types differentiated by tastes, preferences and motivations. As magazines and journals began to target reading communities increasingly distinguished by social class and gender, attitudes to tourism as exemplified in the choice of travel destination, type of holiday and tourist practices became important elements in the patterns of consumption and lifestyles of different social groups.

The various genres constituting the body of travel literature are distinguished from each other not so much by their constituent features as through the functions they perform (Todorov, 1998: 287–94). This is certainly true of 19th-century travel literature where the boundaries between the genres replicated the fluidity of boundaries dividing journalism from literature. In this context, not enough credit has been given to the role of the press as a promoter of tourism. Arguably, it was the coverage of foreign travel in the press that helped to make the activity seem normal and routine and a ‘taken-for-granted’ feature of middle-class life. While it is undoubtedly true that the emergence of new forms of visual culture, allied to popular entertainments in the form of dioramas and panoramas, played a major part in familiarising the public with far-away places and making them attractive and fashionable, so too did the circulation of illustrated printed materials using the new reproductive technologies.

The role played by tourist literature in the formation and maintenance of cultural identity was evident in the practices associated with the aristocratic Grand Tour of the previous two centuries (Towner, 2002), not least of which was the recording of the experience by its participants. As James Douglas (1907) put it: ‘Many a man in the epistolary age could not face the terrors of the Grand Tour, for he knew that he would be obliged to spend most of his time describing what he saw or ought to have seen’ (cited in Staff, 1978: 79). Published memoirs of particular tours were extremely popular while discussions of the Tour’s value featured prominently in the 18th-century press (Towner, 2002: 228). As the aristocratic Grand Tour gave way to its middle-class successor, published accounts of tourist experiences continued to play a role in the formation and codification of the cultural practices through which different social groups defined themselves and others. The new middle-class tourists belonged to a culture in which the time and the expense incurred by foreign travel required justification, so that the task of framing and articulating impressions of what had been seen, expressed in the appropriate way, was an intrinsic part of

the experience of travelling. Sometimes travellers would attempt to impress a wider public than just family and friends with their respectability and cultivation by reworking their diaries, journals and letters home into publishable form.

The expansion in the volume of published travel literature indicated both the persistent desire of tourists to see themselves in print and the belief of editors and publishers in the commercial benefits of matching the vanity of authors with the widespread interest in travel. From the 1830s and 1840s onwards, the widespread circulation of articles in newspapers and periodicals through libraries like Mudie's (opened 1842) encouraged their readers' urge to travel. At the same time, the press provided an arena in which different kinds of tourists were able to defend and promote the particular tastes and preferences of the social circles they represented. The removal of newspaper taxes in 1855 initiated a rapid growth in the number of periodical and daily titles enabling many would-be professional writers to make the bulk of their living by writing for the weekly and daily papers. Many took advantage of the fluidity of the boundaries between literature and journalism making it easy to move between them.

The Swedish anthropologist Orvar Löfgren has written of the early pioneers of tourism that their 'aspirations to describe, represent, evaluate and compare also produced an urge to communicate; to show off, to write, to force others into comparison. **Competition** requires social exchanges – you cannot remain silent' (Löfgren, 1999: 26). Early tourism, he says, is therefore very much about the struggle with new modes of experience – how to select, judge and represent it and the norms and genres of representation to which the struggle gave rise. While much of this concerned the aesthetic dimensions of the tourist experience, there was a related social dimension to this phenomenon, as newly emerging professional groups fought for social space and cultural recognition. Nowhere were the competitive exchanges which marked this struggle pursued as energetically or as publicly as in the periodical press, the expansion of which created a space and a context that allowed the tourists from different social and cultural milieus, afflicted with the 'urge to communicate', to give voice to their experiences.

The different contexts in which communication took place provided readers of these 'exchanges' not just with the materials for what Löfgren calls 'mind-travelling' but with different models of how to be a tourist and the particular codes of civility they represented. Nineteenth-century travel literature took a number of forms ranging from the well-established formats of the conventional travelogue, diaries and letters and articles in the periodical press and the daily papers, to the memoirs of 'special' or

'foreign correspondents' (Matthews, 1986: 23–4) who often wrote about their travels. In addition, there were more specialised works such as handbooks and spa guides, reviews of new travel books and, from the 1880s onwards, self-conscious literary essays and directive articles of the 'where and how to go' variety. Editors began to find travel features were useful not just as 'fillers' but as a means of articulating and representing the interests, experiences and aspirations of their particular readers.

Professional journalists were particularly eager to share their experiences. George Augustus Sala, for example, began his career as a travel writer with his account of a journey to Russia, which led to a misunderstanding with his editor Charles Dickens; he was then sent abroad as a special correspondent in America for *The Daily Telegraph*. Like his colleagues, Sala regarded himself as a commentator on the social scene, treating changes in the social profile of Britons travelling abroad as symptomatic of social change at home. These journalists extended to tourists and their habits the same kind of curious interest that they bestowed on the indigenous life and customs of the places they visited. Many of the professional writers, artists and illustrators associated with London's 'Bohemia' found themselves occupying social positions that were sufficiently fragile to make them particularly sensitive to the social significance of the behaviour and cultural habits of their fellow citizens (Fox, 1988: 255–6). Not surprisingly therefore, tourists were often the targets of satirical treatment by the artists and writers of humorous magazines like *Punch, Fun* and the *Man in the Moon* who were preoccupied with the behaviours of the new social types appearing on British streets.

The press were particularly quick to pick up on the growing popularity of short trips abroad among the new suburban types as they ventured to the Channel ports, Paris or down the Rhine, their new geographical mobility hinting at their growing social mobility. Journalists often mocked the new tourists for their xenophobia and fear of foreign ways. The journalist Albert Smith, whose interest in travel took him to Constantinople in 1850 (Smith, 1850) and encouraged his diatribe against the British hotel trade (Smith, 1855), made the 'Gent' the subject of one of his *Natural Histories*, in which he mocked this character's visit to Boulogne (Smith, 1847). Drawing heavily on the stereotypical images of national characteristics circulating in the British press, he made fun of the 'Gent's' attachment to "good John Bull joint, and no French kickshaws"... John Bull being generally represented as a vulgar top-booted man verging on apoplexy, with evidently, few ideas of refinement, obstinate, hard-natured; but the Gent conceiveth that on occasions it is ennobling to form an attachment to him' (Smith, 1847: 86–7). A few years later, Richard

Doyle's popular sketch-book narrative the *Foreign Tour of Messrs. Brown, Jones and Robinson* depicted the misfortunes suffered by characters originally created for the *Cornhill Magazine* and *Punch* as they pursued a 'middle class tour' abroad (Doyle, 1854). Their experiences seemed to illustrate William Makepeace Thackeray's observation:

It is amongst the great and often-noticed faults of the Englishman in a foreign land (and particularly of the class we allude to) that he seems to think everyman's hand is against him, and that he assimilates himself with difficulty to the habits of the people amongst whom he resides. His self-created troubles commence on landing and follow him like a spectre on the road.

Cited in 1859 by John Murray in the introduction to his *Handbook to the Continent*, this passage served as a reprimand to those who adopted a negative attitude to travel (Murray, 1859: iii).

An article entitled 'Off for the Holidays' in the *Cornhill Magazine* (Clayden, 1867: 315–22) indicated the appearance of a more relaxed attitude to leisure and growing recognition of the restorative value of a foreign holiday among the cultivated and professional classes. The latter preferred to represent themselves as relatively sophisticated travellers as they enthused over the Alps and took the 'cure' in continental watering places. Accounts of sojourns in foreign resorts (often written by the editorial staff), of Easter in Rome, summer in the Alps and winter on the Riviera appeared in family magazines like *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Cornhill* at the upper end of the market, encouraging readers to think of continental travel as normal, desirable and relatively straightforward. However, it was these readers who most inclined to dissociate themselves from tourists from outside their own particular social circles, who were invading their favourite resorts and turning the Alps into 'the playground of Europe', according to Leslie Stephen, editor of the *Cornhill*, in 1871.

Most of the *Cornhill's* contributors came from the same background as its audience. As a family magazine, it consciously made an effort to address itself to women by including not only novels but articles by women (Harris, 1986: 382–92). Elizabeth Tuckett's descriptions of informal family holidays in the less-well-known areas of the Alps (Francis Tuckett, her brother, was a prominent member of the Alpine Club) were calculated to appeal to the tastes of her audience and reveal the active involvement of women in new forms of active tourism: her illustrations depicted the ladies tobogganing, for example (Tuckett, 1865a, 1865b: 572–85; 1866, *passim*). Tuckett's sketches of family holidays in alpine resorts illustrate the routines of sightseeing, social events and

communal meals and the formal and informal rules of conduct structuring life in such places (Tuckett, 1867), and her publisher expressed the hope that the work 'may prove useful to some inexperienced travellers who wish to explore parts of the Tyrol that are readily accessible and well-adapted to ladies' (Tuckett, 1866: 312).

Mountain climbing became a vehicle through which members of the professional classes articulated the codes of conduct which defined masculinity and gentility (Hansen, 1995: 300–24). Members of the British Alpine Club often wrote about their activities in the press, which took a close interest in activities which were often described in a kind of rhetorical language that was closely allied to that of imperialism (Hansen, 1995: 319–20). The journalist Albert Smith was thrilled by his ascent of Mont Blanc and he recreated the event so successfully on the London stage 'that Piccadilly and Mont Blanc became allied, as it were, in the public mind' (Hansen, 1995: 308). Sala did not help matters when he told readers of *The Daily Telegraph* that 'the beauties of Swiss scenery can be appreciated by travellers of a very low intellectual calibre...delights girls and children as well as matrons and old men, and, to all save idiots, is cheap' (Sala, 1869: 42). Press attention to the conduct of British visitors abroad distressed 'respectable' tourists like the Rev. Harry Jones, who were anxious that their compatriots' apparent ignorance of the codes of civility should not reflect badly on their 'betters'. In his *Regular Swiss Round: in Three Trips* (1868), the Rev. Jones instructed readers on how to view the Alps in the proper manner so that they would not be mistaken for members of the company of 'idlers and the gamblers, who travel for luxurious pleasure or evil gain' (Jones, 1868: 222).

Not all middle-class tourists were experienced travellers. Advice for such people was to be found in *Queen: the Ladies' Magazine*, founded in 1860 by the publisher Samuel Beeton for a readership comprising a cross-section of middle-class women. Beeton was one of the first editors to grasp that informative features on tourism could help to sell magazines. For three decades, the anonymous editor of *Queen* was Helen Rowe, who had travelled as an 'unprotected female' in Norway (Lowe, 1857) and Sicily (Lowe, 1859) in the company of her mother. She continued to write in this vein for her journal (Watkins, 1985: 185–200). *Queen* made a feature of its travel column '*The Tourist*', which was among the first and most professional of its kind. It set out to meet the concerns of its readers, particularly their anxieties about foreign travel, by offering them highly practical advice on 'where and how to go' and detailed suggestions on accommodation, travel arrangements, etiquette, general behaviour and dress. The question and answer section and postal information service created a form

of direct interaction with readers, many of whom still regarded foreign travel as an unknown quantity. Queen's columns encouraged women to regard tourism as a liberating and invigorating experience, teaching them to negotiate the perils of life in foreign resorts and encounters with strangers. A number of published queries came from women travelling alone or with female companions, a group for whom the services of Thomas Cook's 'personally conducted' tours were particularly valuable.

Cook's activities were viewed with considerable resentment by certain sections of the public, especially those who resented the invasion of their favourite haunts by their 'social inferiors'. They provided the press with plenty of material for a rancorous debate which threw into relief middle-class assumptions about the relationship between social class and tourist practices. One of the best known diatribes against Cook's 'escorted parties' was written by Cornelius O' Dowd, alias Charles Lever, who regaled readers of the conservative *Blackwood's Magazine* with a particularly virulent piece disparaging the dress, manners and deportment of Mr Cook's customers (Lever, 1865: 230–3). *Punch* frequently ridiculed the social ineptitude of the inexperienced traveller, appealing to its readers' sense of social superiority, and offering jocular advice to the inexperienced (*Punch*, 12 September 1863: 107).

Always *shout* your English sentences at foreigners. They are all deaf...

Take it for granted that everyone is trying to cheat and impose upon you.

Dispute every item in every bill separately.

To ensure civility and respect, see that all your portmanteaus, bags, and hat boxes be labelled MURRAY in the largest capitals. (Anon, 1863)

The up-market London papers like the *Belgravia*, the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* were all energetic critics of Cook's 'Cockney hordes'. Favourite lines of attack focused on the vulgarity of Cook's clients, whom they regarded as social upstarts, and their inability to benefit from their travels. Adopting an aggressive attitude to his critics, Cook denounced the insolence of the 'hirelings and wittlings of a very small section of the London press' in his monthly magazine the *Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser* (Brendon, 1991: 95). Using these attacks for publicity purposes, he addressed an angry retort in a pamphlet supported by testimonials from customers who were much aggrieved by public attacks on their respectability. In an interview with Edmund Yates, 'My excursion agent' for the journal *All the Year Round* (1864), he defended

the respectability of his parties, pointing out that while the social profile of his Swiss parties varied according to the season and therefore included ‘the cockney element ...[who] carry London everywhere about them in dress, habits, and conversation, and rush back, convinced that they are great travellers’, at other times they were composed of ‘the ushers and governesses, practical people from the provinces, and representatives of the better style of the London mercantile community... all travel as if impressed with the notion that they are engaged in fulfilling the wishes of a lifetime, in a pleasant duty never to be repeated’ (Wilson, 1951: 311–12). In his own publicity magazine the *Traveller’s Gazette and Excursionist* (subsequently the *Excursionist and International Tourist Adviser*), Cook briskly joined issue in 1872 with the *Athenaeum’s* criticism of his proposed ‘Archaeological Tour to Rome’ pointing out that he was actively attempting ‘to awaken in the mind of the multitude that thirst for intellectual knowledge, the absence or deficiency of which the *Athenaeum* has so often deplored’ (Cook, 1872).

Cook was not without friends in the press. Albert Smith’s (n.d.) *The Adventures of Christopher Tadpole* gave a sympathetic account of a young man and his aunt enjoying Italy with Mr Cook, while the approach of Arthur Sketchley (a pseudonym of George Rose) to the ‘Cookists’, as Sala labelled them, took the form of cockney monologues describing the adventures of the loquacious Mrs Brown, her husband and friends, as they travelled in the care of the ‘sainted Mr Cook’ (Sketchley, 1870). *Out for a Holiday with Cooks* (1870) drew on Rose’s own first-hand experience (at Cook’s invitation). Usually read as condescending middle-class commentaries on Cook’s clientele, these pieces could also be taken as glowing testimonials to the efficiency of the organisation and the satisfaction of its customers. By the end of the decade, as George Augustus Sala (always a supporter) was able to point out, ‘Mr Cook can afford to smile at his detractors’ (Sala, 1879: 1, 157).

Agency magazines like the *Excursionist* were particularly important vehicles for the promotion of tourist opportunities. Cook’s monthly magazine remained the best known and Cook initially wrote much of it himself. In 1864, the *Excursionist* had circulation figures of just over 2000. Three years later, this had risen to about 58,000. By 1873, as a sign of Cook’s growing respectability, it was taken by London clubs and an American edition began. By 1892, it had a global circulation of 120,000 with French, Austrian, American, Indian, Australian and German editions. At the end of the century, it was published in several different languages in London, Hamburg, Vienna, Paris and New York, each edition adapted to a particular clientele (Brendon, 1991: 326, n. 17). The Paris

edition was the most old-fashioned in its layout and typography and reflected the relative conservatism of the French market, while the Hamburg edition became increasingly nationalistic in its tone. Shifts in contents and growing sensitivity to potential markets can be seen as indices of social change, as for example, in an anonymous short story about a pair of young American women (Anon., 1906), published in the Hamburg edition (an important entry point for American visitors to Europe), suggesting an awareness of the potential market among young women.

Underlying the expansion of tourism and publishing was a developing consumer culture with a strong visual component. The production of popular, illustrated travel literature aimed at a wider and less affluent market drew on the same reproductive technologies that placed advertising at the heart of the new visual culture, and linked changes in society to new forms of consumer culture. Stereoscopes, travel posters, postcards and the early cinema at first supplemented and then replaced the dioramas and panoramas of earlier days and gave visual expression to the stereotypical descriptions of people and places constantly reiterated by the travel press. Images of pretty girls were used to sell a range of products including magazines, while advertisements for travel and travel goods positioned readers as potential travellers. The growth of the travel press was bound up with the expansion of the tourist industry where internal competition encouraged the development of new forms of health and recreational tourism. A number of writers began to specialise in the production of travel literature, anticipating the appearance of the modern travel journalist as they helped readers to choose from the many new foreign resorts and spas by identifying the kind of society they attracted, their principal attractions and the range of health and sports facilities they offered.

Press coverage of elite tourism was indicative of the way that the upper classes were fragmenting into discrete circles as their members began to define themselves in terms of wealth, lifestyle, tastes and disposable wealth rather than their social origins (Davidoff, 1973). Choice of recreational activities became an element in the mechanisms by which particular social circles created and maintained the distinctions between themselves and others. The press contributed to this process as it chronicled the presence and habits of the celebrities of British high society and their 'sets' at play in their favourite foreign resorts, and made tourist travel into yet another form of conspicuous consumption through which the socially ambitious sought to improve their position.

Newspapers and journals responded to growing competition by targeting different reading communities and catering for their particular

tastes and interests (Jackson, 2001: 30, 272–4). The *Pall Mall Gazette* for example, like *Belgravia*, included travel pieces by urbane professionals such as Grant Allen (Steward, 2005) in an attempt to accommodate both its more sophisticated readers and those with life-style aspirations (Onslow, 2002: 160–77). Allen expressed himself in typically acerbic mode as he reflected on the wealthy London types to be found in the casino at Monte Carlo (Allen, 1893: 4). *Queen's* coverage continued to be pre-eminent although the magazine's circulation declined from 23,500 in 1890 to 16,000 in 1900. The magazine adopted a format that brought it closer to the newer artistic and literary magazines like the *Idler*, the *Author*, *To-Day* and the *Sketch* as it became more focused on the leisure activities of the 'upper 10,000' as it termed them, many of whom were to be found in the newly fashionable resorts of the Caribbean and the spa resorts of North Africa. *Queen's* preoccupation with fashionable health treatments, such as the air and sun cures at Veldes (1900), was very much in tune with prevalent upper-class concerns about 'degeneration' expressed in medical diagnoses of 'brain-fag', hysteria and neurasthenia (Steward, 2002: 23–36). From 1894 onwards, the *Queen Book of Travel* began to issue its useful annual compendia of up-to-date travel information, including lists of all the principal resorts at home and abroad, both new and traditional (Cox, 1894). It placed particular emphasis on health resorts, indicating their appropriateness to the reader's social situation, pocket and the season and presenting a 'tourist geography' in which places were distinguished by their distinctive qualities of their sun, air, waters and snow, the nature of their health regimes and accommodation and their popularity or obscurity (Shields, 1991; Hughes, 1998).

The enthusiasm for health and exercise was noted by *Punch*, for whom F.C. Burnand dutifully sampled the 'cures' for modern life offered by continental spas and noted their debilitating effects (Burnand, 1884: 148–9). The vogue for active tourism among the aristocracy was extensively covered by *Queen's* competitors such as the *Badminton Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*. George Newnes' *Wide World Magazine*, the editorial motto of which was 'truth is stranger than fiction', aimed at a more popular market and featured anecdotal articles by men and women engaged in active sports such as cycling, tobogganing and shooting, many of whom were anxious to see themselves in print, often accompanied by photographs (Jackson, 2001). The Pennells, a husband and wife team, were particularly active in this respect. Their journey from 'Berlin to Budapest on a Bicycle' (1892), complete with Joseph Pennell's illustrations, was serialised in the *Illustrated London News*. At the turn of the century, motoring became a fashionable new diversion. New specialist magazines also

appeared. The *Picture Postcard: a Magazine of Travel, Philately and Art* offered something of everything. The short-lived *New Traveller's Magazine* was published by one of the many women's clubs springing up in the West End of London (Rappaport, 2000). Its editor, H. Ellen Browning, had previously published a travel book describing her Hungarian adventures (Browning, 1896).

Henry Lunn had begun his career as a travel agent selling Switzerland to the clergy and he continued to seek out various kinds of niche markets not covered by Cook, which he publicised through his magazine *Travel* (Lunn, 1940). He now took advantage of the fashion for active sports, founding the Public Schools Alpine Association, as well as putting on Mediterranean cruises which, complete with educational lectures, eventually became the Swan Hellenic tours. Lunn encouraged his clients to put their experiences into print via the pages of *Travel*. Taking advantage of the publicity accruing to cycling feats, he serialised John Foster Fraser's account of his trip round the world in the company of a younger Lunn although the itineraries of the company's own cycle tours were rather less adventurous (Foster Fraser, 1897–8).

Lunn's Co-operative parties targeted a new generation of cultural tourists, often young teachers of the kind who were graduating from organisations like Canon Barnett's Toynbee Hall and the Regent Street Polytechnic, both of which were introducing their students to the educational benefits of foreign travel (Bailey, 1978). Always alert for new customers, Lunn commissioned L.T. Meade, an established writer for young people, to write a short story for his promotional magazine *Travel*, for which he adopted the format of an ordinary magazine. Meade's story combined the image of the 'modern' young working woman with that of tourist as the 'lady-like' young heroine, exemplifying the new type of independent 'working girl', finds herself out of work and takes a trip to Rome with a Co-operative tour party. Competence as a tourist brings romance and a job as a professional travel writer (Meade, 1898–9: 571–7).

As this story suggests, from the 1890s onwards a number of authors were able to make a living as professional travel writers. One of *Queen's* leading contributors for the period was the travel writer Douglas Sladen, Honorary Secretary of the Authors' Club, whom *Queen's* new editor Percy Cox commissioned to write a series of articles on Canada reflecting the upper-class fashion for travel in the dominions (Watkins, 1985: 198). Sladen's young assistant Norma Lorimer went on to become a travel writer in her own right. Journalism was now a fashionable career for young women wishing to enter the labour market (Onslow, 2001). For these young people, Mrs Alex Tweedie must have seemed something of a

role model. Making her name with *A Girl's Ride in Iceland* (1889), she went on to earn a reasonable living as a travel writer, working for a number of different periodicals including *The New York Times*, *Badminton* and *Queen*.

Writers with literary ambitions and pecuniary needs found that travel writing could be more highly regarded than 'popular fiction' and appeared to be less affected by the exclusive and hierarchical distinctions structuring the market for novels (Frawley, 1994). Even so, in a competitive and over-subscribed market, it was often difficult for would-be writers to find ways of selling themselves and their travels or positioning themselves at the more prestigious end of the literary market place. Here, the location was less significant than the treatment of the subject. 'Sensitivity' and high cultural content frequently reflected the cultural capital of their authors, many of whom remained anxious to distance themselves from the 'common herd' and the commercial taint of 'Grub street'. A good strategy was to be first to a place; but that honour, once bestowed, was gone forever. A more realistic strategy was to seek places off the 'beaten track' or beyond the well-established boundaries of the main tourist regions. It became ever harder to find peasants who had never posed for a camera or new examples of the disappearing peasant cultures feted in the pages of the arts and crafts magazine, *Studio*. The latter's Austrian correspondent Amelia S. Levetus had begun her own career as the Viennese correspondent of *The Daily Graphic* when she had turned in a number of articles on Austrian resorts, before becoming an art critic.

The European borderlands of Russian Poland, the Balkans or the Adriatic all made good copy. 'Adventures' in these regions were made considerably easier and more comfortable by the extension of the railway networks and the appearance of tourist associations in remote areas like the Carpathians. The relative unfamiliarity of such places gave them a novelty value of the kind appreciated by editors and that testified to the authenticity of their experiences and the originality of the author's performance as intrepid tourist. The travel press contributed to changing perceptions of Europe by helping to redefine the relationship between the centre and the periphery, clothing the more backward and alien areas in the language of tourism and making them seem less remote and intimidating, although Emily Gerard's account of the superstitious Romanian peasants in *Land Beyond the Forest* (1888) (first published as a series of articles) caught the imagination of Bram Stoker, author of *Dracula* (1897).

The **domestication of these areas** was assisted by the activities of a handful of young women to whom the press accorded celebrity status. The scourge of the 1890s New Woman, Mrs Lynn Linton, declared in the *Nineteenth Century* (1891: 602–3): 'We are becoming a little surfeited with

Wild Women as globetrotters and travellers... for the sake of a subsequent book of travels, and the *kudos* with the pence accruing'. She was possibly referring to Muriel Menie Dowie, whose articles on her Carpathian experiences in the *Fortnightly Review* (1890) describing her costume (knickerbockers and leggings), shooting practice (in case of attack by bears and wolves) and sleeping in the open, caused a minor sensation (Dowie, 1890: 520–30). Dowie's personal attractiveness, eye-catching outfits and interest in publicity allowed her to infiltrate the world of journalism by making her into a subject of considerable media interest, reinforced by her book about cross-dressing women adventurers and New Woman novel *Gallia* (1895) (Furniss, 1923).

James Clifford and others have recently reminded us that the feelings evoked by particular sights, places and modes of journeying are constituted by the distinctions recognised in the forms of the language in which they are embedded (Clifford, 1997). The authors of the new tourist literature, like many aspiring professionals in Victorian society, were sensitive to their right to social and cultural space and to the implications of the distinction between 'art' and 'commodity' that mapped on to the divisions between 'travellers' and 'tourists' (Buzard, 1993), 'gentlemen' and 'players', 'writers' and 'journalists', 'amateurs' and 'professionals' and the distinctions of feeling, sentiment and moral worth associated with them. The figure of the authentic 'writer' as a form of 'pilgrim', for whom both travel and writing constituted part of an inner journey, could only be given definition by contrast with the 'literary hacks' of 'Grub Street', who, like the generalised figure of the stereotypical 'tourist' for whom they catered, became a metaphor for the commercialised production of literature and the inferior form of cultural experience it engendered.

But '[H]onour the tourist: he walks in a halo of romance', declared Vernon Lee in an essay on 'modern travelling' in *Macmillan's Magazine*, thinking of the schoolteacher, clerk or typist for whom tourist travel was a transformative experience (Lee, 1894: 310–11). The sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, who, like others, has taken the tourist as a kind of allegorical figure for a way of existing that is expressive of our times, commented in 1995 that

one thinks of identity whenever one is not sure where one belongs; that is, one is not sure of how to place oneself among the evident variety of behavioural styles and patterns, and how to make sure both sides would know how to go on in each other's presence. (Bauman, 1995: 81–2, 96)

If, as Bauman argues, tourism has now become a central element in contemporary negotiations of identity, I suggest that the travel press

played a part in the early stages of this process. For it was in the competitive arena of the periodical press that the world was presented as something to be consumed and it was here that the search for novelty, authenticity and difference was at its most frenetic. The new breed of travel journalists not only constructed their images of their own social and cultural identities but also contributed to the formation of those available to others. By presenting readers with the world as a set of potential experiences to be chosen and consumed, by constantly asking 'Where will you go next?', they presented their readers with a set of choices through which they could express their individual tastes and preferences, and thereby their desires and fantasies, if not in reality, at least in their dreams.

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