The Search for Authentic Travel in Early Twentieth-Century British Magazines

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THE SEARCH FOR AUTHENTIC TRAVEL IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY
BRITISH MAGAZINES

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by
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Abstract

Edwardian travel writing between roughly 1905 and 1914 serves as a bridge between the closing of the long Victorian period, the beginnings of modernism, and the changes to come in the twentieth century. The search for authentic experience characterizes travel writing in the Edwardian era. Significant cultural, technological, and social changes caused Edwardians to examine their perceptions about possibilities for authentic engagement with other places and people in their travels. As a result, Edwardian travel writers explore various methods by which to engage authentically with other cultures. Drawing on literary theory, anthropology, and cultural studies, this dissertation examines a number of periodicals published between 1905 and 1914 to suggest that while travel writers often displayed an anxiety of authenticity, they nevertheless developed and relied on multiple means of marking their experiences as authentic. Particular attention is paid to the magazine *Travel & Exploration*, published from 1909 to 1911. This magazine communicates a middlebrow perspective on travel values that frequently differs only slightly from the highbrow literary themes emerging in the same period.

Like other aspects of the Edwardian period, travel writing exhibits Janus-faced qualities. Some travelers relied heavily on traditional means of authenticating experiences and fostering connections with a place. In particular, the persistence of long-established
cultural and aesthetic values such as the picturesque and the sublime and the continued opposition between traveler and tourist speak to these entrenched categories. However, Edwardians were also rooted in the present and interested in the future, as evidenced by their unique temporal experiences of nostalgia and simultaneity and their creative reshaping of the categories of adventure and exploration. The Edwardians experienced significant change in their rendering of temporality, which appears in two major themes in the travel writing: nostalgia and simultaneity. At the same time, travelers expressed concern that opportunities for truly authentic travel were diminishing as the blank spaces on the map were filled in. This impending sense of closure prompted travelers to redefine authentic travel through engagement with adventure and exploration. While these thematic categories were not necessarily new, some Edwardians found them to be ideal options for finding authenticity in their travels.
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Appendix Five: “The Yosemite Falls.” *Travel & Exploration*, March 1909. .... 262
Chapter One: Framing Early Twentieth-Century Travel Writing

Travel articles during the period between 1905 and 1914 constitute a search for authenticity in travel experiences. Travelers called the concept of authenticity into question as a result of advances in technology; the camera, the cinema, the automobile and the airplane all had profound impacts on travel experiences. Additional changes in the class and social structures in England during this period transformed how travelers conceptualized authentic travel. Historian Jose Harris writes that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, “the organization of work, schools, housing, welfare, culture, and recreation all conspired to compartmentalize British society on class lines” (7). But both Harris and historian Samuel Hynes caution against oversimplification of Edwardian England solely on class lines; Hynes argues that classes were not “homogenous enough” to allow us to draw final conclusions about the period (8). Nevertheless, these massive cultural shifts generated a heightened sense of self-awareness, the questioning and redefining of the purposes of travel, and increased anxiety about the possibility of having authentic experiences. They also produced travelers willing to experiment with their expectations, desires, and ways of interpreting scenes and events. Therefore, travel articles written for a middle-class audience in the early twentieth century help us understand the priorities and values that travel perpetuated in British culture just after the turn of the twentieth century.
I have identified four themes that recur in the primary magazine articles and that
criticism and theory explore, and I return to these themes throughout the following four
chapters. First, I focus on the concept of authenticity as the central motivating factor for
most of the journeys travelers write about during this period. One finds, of course, many
arguments to the contrary of which I take note. Chapter Two discusses these conceptual
frameworks in detail to situate my argument in the current discourse about authentic
tavel experiences. Three other themes emerge in the critical texts on travel writing in the
early twentieth century besides authenticity: the tourist versus traveler dichotomy, a
predominant sense of self-consciousness, and the particular characteristics of a
specifically Edwardian sense of tourism.

Travel writing has long occupied a contested space between literature, journalism,
and ethnography. In *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*
(1997), anthropologist James Clifford articulates a key rift in travel discourse between
literature and anthropology: “The travel writer’s transient and literary approach, sharply
rejected in the disciplining of fieldwork, has continued to tempt and contaminate the
scientific practices of cultural description” (65). Clifford clearly sees his own
ethnographic work as a science and therefore as superior to literary production. This
perspective can be found in both anthropological and literary critiques of travel writing: it
is “a genre that sometimes staggers under the weight of its own attempt at objectivity”
(Fraks xxvi-xxvii). However, Clifford and others who critique travel literature in this
way do not acknowledge that travel writing and anthropology, despite significant
overlaps, have fundamentally different aims in their approaches to understanding different cultures, even as the two fields complement each other.

In particular, the commissioned travel writer occupies a space distinct from both the tourist and the scientist. The travel writer’s role as something more than a tourist, yet something other than an anthropologist, denotes a liminal space important to depictions of travel. Clifford’s anthropological perspective contributes an approach to travel that influenced many writers: the desire accurately to reflect experience and space. However, travel writers also balanced this desire for authenticity with the imperative to create cohesive and interesting narratives—otherwise, their books would neither be literarily meritorious, nor would they sell. Clifford, then, contributes to one part of the discussion of competing motives behind the writing of travel literature in this period.

**Edwardian self-consciousness**

In addition to the long-established divide between the tourist and the traveler that orients a good number of travel narratives, Edwardian writers also exhibited a particular sensitivity to their own positions as travelers (or as tourists). Historian Jill Steward writes of the apparent crowding of the field of travel writing at the turn of the century. It was often expected that travelers would write about their experiences, and so a glut of travel writing exists, particularly about popular destinations such as Italy or France (as Henry James notes, “there is notoriously nothing more to be said” about Venice [*Italian Hours* 287]). This sentiment is echoed in the magazine articles I explore: a common beginning to an article often consists of an apology for writing about a well-worn destination, while the subsequent section reveals a new angle on the place.
Travel writers also sought means to be stylistically innovative. Steward claims that writers were haunted by romantic attitudes to travel but found it increasingly difficult to demonstrate the originality of their performance. Acutely aware of the social meanings of style and place, impressionistic essays of the kind written by Vernon Lee or Arthur Symons exemplified the mode of ‘the writer as embodied sensorium’ (Clifford 1997: 53), a phrase that neatly describes the narrative devices of the telling detail, casual erudition and self-reflexive allusion through which they tried to distinguish themselves from the less perceptive or gifted. (67)

While not all Edwardian magazine articles exhibit these specific characteristics, Steward’s observation highlights the central awareness of, and attention to, stylistic choices that place an article within an existing discourse already thick with commentary.

The marked sense of self-awareness Edwardian travel writing exhibits is a complicating factor in Steward’s observation. On a basic level, self-consciousness and self-awareness are not unexpected features of travel writing for several reasons. Travel narratives are often about one’s own experience, so writers found it necessary to make intentional decisions about how to frame the narrative and how to situate themselves in a story or place. Nonfiction travel narratives are unusual in their genre-bending qualities, combining journalistic and essayistic structures while also experimenting with literary techniques. Travel writers, both then and now, are faced with defining the boundaries of what travel writing is, in terms of genre, while also determining narrative structure and how to frame the point of view of the article. This question of personal perspective produced an overwhelming sense of self-consciousness in the travel articles I explore in this project. The writers directly and indirectly address their anxieties of authenticity about how they fit into a scene, a place, or a particular experience. They are particularly
aware of the passage of time and especially anxious about whether an experience is authentic or not.

Edwardian self-consciousness is not a cultural feature many writers examine; similarly, I could not find critics who focus specifically on self-consciousness in travel writing, or in literature more broadly. In The Tourist, Dean MacCannell writes in broad terms about the ways in which the tourist figure is a symbol of modernist qualities, and he points to areas in which self-consciousness becomes salient. He claims that touristic feelings of shame or nervousness do not result from being a tourist; rather, this self-consciousness is based on “not being tourist enough, on a failure to see everything the way it ‘ought’ to be seen” (10). The intersection of Edwardian travel writing and the expression of authorial self-consciousness as a widespread cultural phenomenon points to an interesting omission, as it is a theme that emerges repeatedly in my research.

Part of the lack of discussion about this self-consciousness might be a symptom of its pervasive nature. In her article on modernism and worry, Francis O’Gorman describes worry in a similar manner: she claims that unlike mental states such as bipolarity, worry exists outside the terms of compelling histories, far from the odd, almost perverse thrill of the manic, the spectacle of gothic darkness that may constitute mental breakdown. Worry neither invites, nor easily sustains interest. [. . .] it is rarely very interesting to others. Its nature is a long courtship with boredom. (1007)

It also is not treated as a pathological condition as other emotions sometimes are. Like worry, self-consciousness emerged as one of the defining features of the modern Edwardian aesthetic, both for highbrow and for middlebrow culture. Edwardian travel writers continually expose awareness of their own position within their narratives of
travel. I find this to be a feature of travel writing particular to late Victorian and Edwardian travel writing: like worry, self-consciousness belonged with the present, with mental states that were perceived as constitutive of the current moment. The strain of living in the modern world was—a strain. But worry, as a symptom and descriptor of that strain, was also a marker of a modern world. (O’Gorman 1005)

Self-consciousness, too, was both cause and effect of living in this particular moment and negotiating the complexity of situating oneself in the context of travel. I explore this theme throughout the following chapters, arguing that self-consciousness traverses the other thematic categories as a pervasive characteristic in early twentieth-century travel writing. In the magazine articles, the element of self-consciousness often directly influenced a traveler’s evaluation of the authenticity of an experience.

Why travel magazines?

Given the cultural and historical context of the first years of the twentieth century, I chose to write about travel magazines for several reasons. First, I was interested in tracing how literary trends related to popular writing during this time. Magazines generally have several shared characteristics: they are usually middlebrow, yet they are not exclusive to one particular class or audience, and they were a popular form of inexpensive entertainment and thereby very accessible. The magazines I examine are decidedly not of the class of “little magazines” that also gained recognition during this era. Those magazines were known for their avant-garde literary content and were not intended for or read by a mass-market, middle-class audience. Rather, the travel magazines discussed here serve as cultural artifacts that can be read for their transmission of values to a broad audience hungry for knowledge of the world.
At the same time, my interest lies in the ways in which mass-market writing exhibits many of the same traits exemplified in “high” literature. More than a small group of artists were writing about their impressions and experiences in a different way—a massive cultural shift was underway that influenced both celebrated artists and the average middle class reader alike. I discuss popular magazines to provide more context for the larger discourse about travel writing during this time. Writing categorized as “literature” appealed to a particular audience, but I hope to show that ways of talking about travel and conceptualizing ideas of the tourist, nostalgia, and the relationship with the past were themes treated by both literary types and popular journalists. A voracious reading public and an interested group of armchair travelers may very well have read literary fiction and popular nonfiction magazines, both of which took up travel-related topics regularly. By examining popular travel magazines, I hope to show that middlebrow Edwardian writing provides context for literary and artistic choices—and vice versa.

Travel as a topic appealed to such a broad audience that it would be remiss to focus only on writing by well-known authors. The work of obscure travel writers helps to form a more complete picture of how English travelers saw their places in the world as they made their ways across the globe. As Denise Gigante states in her introduction to a discussion of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century periodicals, many periodicals asked for “no specialized knowledge, political or philosophical, of their readers. Instead, the essayists filtered historical and sociopolitical critique through the lenses of character and narrative voice” (xvi). While I certainly am not arguing that these travel articles always are of a quality comparable to an essay by Richard Steele, the point is that much can be
learned about how the British public viewed travel by reading articles intended for a very broad audience. Because travel experiences did not necessarily require the traveler or the reader to have “specialized knowledge,” this topic allowed writers to provide diverse perspectives on their travels.

The publishing industry in the first decade of the twentieth century was characterized by a multitude of “exquisitely obscure” magazines and publications, a product of the “splintering-up of Victorian culture, of a process of fragmentation” (Gross 211). Travel writing provides an excellent metaphor for understanding this fragmentation of society. John Gross argues that while “the bookstalls were crowded with periodicals as never before,” “the Edwardian era was an age of great journalists rather than great journals” (226). Many of the great Victorian periodicals still remained, but most had “lost their dynamism” (227). Barbara Dunlap agrees:

Many journals were foundering at that time [the end of the Edwardian period]—intellectually if not financially. Many of the older, serious periodicals, such as the Saturday Review, had lost their impetus and excitement, and the underlying ferment in politics, literature, and art would soon change the face of literature. (180)

It comes as no surprise, then, that many magazines did not survive the first decade of the twentieth century, and still more were out of print by the beginning of the First World War.

In contrast to the demise of the periodical market in the late nineteenth century, Anne Ardis contextualizes the publishing industry during the Edwardian period to explain why the market for fiction, and entertaining reading material more generally, “exploded” in the early twentieth century (119). She points to a number of forces,
including the increase of available publishing venues, a decreasing reliance on libraries, and the aggregation of publishing firms that aligned to cater to an “increasingly literate populace” who were “anxiou[s] to be taught what to read” (119). These competing forces (the end of the Victorian era, the “underlying ferment” felt in the broader public, and the growth of a literate middle class hungry for reading material) all combine to produce a dynamic market with room for plenty of writers and publishers to try their hands at magazine publication.

*Which magazines, and why?*

Edwardian magazines provide a large area for potential research. Sandwiched between the end of the Victorian era and the high modernist period, the period between 1905 and 1914 is routinely overlooked in favor of either earlier or later material. Andrew Horrall notes the omission of this time period in critical investigation more broadly: “histories of Britain in the two decades before the First World War have been surprisingly silent about popular culture” (1). Critical publications on the period are often misleading: critics who study the first half of the twentieth century often begin in 1918, for example. While the process of indexing this material continually improves, the explosion of periodical publication from the 1840s on means that many periodicals have almost disappeared from the historical record. This is unfortunate, since the significant cultural and social changes taking place since the 1870s in many ways came to a head in the decade before the First World War erupted in 1914. The diversity of the Edwardian era makes it difficult to come to overarching conclusions about this time period. Jose Harris notes that “anyone who looks closely at the social history of late Victorian and
Edwardian Britain cannot but be struck by the immensely varied, contradictory, and fissiparous quality of many of the movements, values, and institutions there encountered” (2). Harris attributes this multiplicity to the “immense diversity of objective reality itself” in this period and the often-conflicting perspectives expressed in areas as diverse as family, social class, or cultural norms (2). One can only gain a more comprehensive sense of the complexity of this era by looking at cultural productions from as many perspectives as possible.

It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that literary criticism since the early 1990s has taken a turn toward recovering archival material that previous decades of scholarship had overlooked. This work contributes important scholarly context to the study of literature: by examining not just the most popular or the most innovative works of a given point in history, but also the more average or lesser-known publications, we are better able to understand the context of how literature develops, evolves, and exists as one avenue among many for both reflecting and shaping a culture.

The publishing industry catered to many specific interests during this time period, and one such interest was travel. The first two decades of the twentieth century saw significant changes regarding how the British conceptualized travel and what they sought to accomplish by traveling, and these changes are evidenced in the travel writing of the time. Many popular magazines, ranging from the Spectator and the Athenaeum to the Art Journal, the Idler, and Travel and Exploration, ran travel articles that revealed larger cultural beliefs about the point of travel itself and how travel influenced shifts in English culture during this time.
A search for articles containing the terms “tourist/travel/traveler” in several databases of English periodicals returns an astoundingly large set of results. I chose to focus mainly on articles that had more content than simply an advertisement, and this method brought me to a much smaller group of publications. Not surprisingly, I was able to find several periodicals that regularly ran articles about travel, even if the periodical covered a broad set of topics. Some of these magazines are the Spectator*, The Idler*, Art Journal*, Athenaeum, The Gentleman’s Magazine, The Pall Mall Magazine*, The Quiver, and The Nineteenth Century and After, Travel & Exploration*, The Nation, Punch, Academy and Literature, and The Westminster Review.¹

Most magazines I reviewed catered to a middle class or upper middle class audience. Some, like Academy and Literature, aimed at an upper-class audience of “university men” (Kent 3). Founded in 1869, the intention of the Academy magazine was “to serve as an authoritative intellectual organ to which serious readers could turn for reliable judgments on matters of high culture” (3). However, this aspiration quickly changed and became more inclusive to gain a larger readership, and by the turn of the century it had become one of the “liveliest literary journals” in England (3-4).

Other magazines, such as The Idler, catered directly to the literate working and middle classes. This “sixpenny monthly” ran for 19 years from 1892 to 1911 (Dunlap 177). The magazine appealed to a “literate rather than literary” audience (177). Editor Jerome Klapka Jerome had a strong “ability to give a certain charm to the ‘shabby genteel’ poverty many of his readers knew, or had known, first hand” (178). Short

¹ Those with asterisks included the most recurring articles during this time period.
articles with illustrations characterized the bulk of the magazine. *The Idler* is famous for publishing several well-known writers, including Mark Twain, Bret Harte, Robert Louis Stevenson, and G. K. Chesterton. Still other magazines evolved from roots in specific interests or beliefs, such as *The Quiver*. A magazine that began with more overt religious content in the 1860s, *The Quiver* evolved to include, by the turn of the century, content with more understated religious undertones (Kubitschek 333).

Patterns emerged in my research: for example, in the *Spectator*, a recurring “article” ran for several years that is actually a thinly veiled advertisement for tourist travel to Ireland. This is only one example of an entire class of articles that are difficult to distinguish from advertisements. However, the articles I focus on are more than creative advertisements; some display rhetorical techniques and literary style that place them alongside what might be called travel “literature” (as opposed to mere travel “writing,” which might be characterized by relatively less emphasis on the artistic crafting of language). By this, I mean that many of the same themes and characteristics found in the writing of E. M. Forster, Mark Twain, or Henry James (such as an interest in defining and conveying what constitutes an authentic travel experience) are also taken up in these magazine articles. They sometimes even display literary techniques similar to those in longer literary pieces. This is not a surprise; rather, it suggests a larger cultural approach to thinking and writing about travel in this period. Themes in these travel articles include focusing on the past, contemplating history with a strong sense of nostalgia, juxtaposing the past with the present, questioning the proper place of the “tourist” and suggesting how a tourist should behave and experience a foreign place, and a desire to get “off the
beaten track” (James Buzard did not choose his book title without intention; this phrase appears in nearly every article I read and remains a cliché to this day). These same themes could be said to categorize longer literary works and nonfiction travel narratives of the same time period, such as Mary Kingsley’s *Travels in West Africa* (1898), George Gissing’s *By the Ionian Sea* (1901), E. M. Forster’s *A Room with a View* (1908), or Henry James’s *Italian Hours* (1909).

However, some characteristics of the articles are, not surprisingly, less avant-garde than contemporary travel literature: romantic idealization of a place, coupled with overwhelming nostalgia for the past and the persistence of the picturesque, makes some of these articles “feel” of an earlier time period than more cutting-edge writing by prominent authors such as D. H. Lawrence, Ford Madox Ford, or Joseph Conrad. At the same time, a few articles were surprising in their artistic representations of places, cultures, and temporal experiences during travel.

Presently, researchers and critics have at their disposal a wealth of primary and critical source material for studying the publications of the past. As Kate Jackson discusses in her work on the publisher George Newnes and his role in Victorian and Edwardian periodical publication, an explosion of interest in Victorian periodicals has occurred since the 1960s, which, in turn, has led to the development of research societies, journals, and a general structure for the academic research of periodicals (5). In more recent years, databases like *C19*, the searchable online archive of the *Times Literary Supplement*, and the Modernist Journals Project run by Brown University and the University of Tulsa exemplify the move to digitize and catalog archival periodical
material. However, the critical interest in two overarching genres, Victorian periodicals and modernist literary periodicals, has meant that areas like publications between 1900 and 1914, as well as middlebrow periodicals, are still in the process of discovery, digitization, and research.

A case in point is *Travel & Exploration*. Published monthly from 1909 to 1911 by Witherby and Company and edited by Samuel Carter Gilmour, *Travel & Exploration* was one of many monthly magazines available to a mainly middle-class audience in search of entertainment and knowledge of the world. Almost no historical record of this magazine exists: while it is listed in the British Library Public Catalogue and recently digitized through the Hathi Trust and therefore now accessible online, no scholarly articles have been published specifically about this magazine. Therefore, it has proven difficult to find any supplemental information about the magazine, such as circulation and subscription numbers, correspondence between writers and editors, or even information about the magazine’s editor. The publisher still exists in Edinburgh but currently publishes seafaring manuals for industry. The publisher unfortunately did not respond to repeated inquiries about the existence of any archival materials, as these materials could help to illuminate, for instance, the identity of several anonymous authors in the magazine, or reasons why the magazine ceased publication after the February 1911 issue. This remains an area for further research. As a result, I focus on the content available in the magazine itself.

In some ways, the loss of contextual material about this magazine is not surprising: it had a very short run and was not remarkable in terms of the quality of
writing or the writers published. However, its very ordinariness is a main reason why a magazine of this sort should receive close attention. As Jackson points out, scholarship on periodicals has “generally been limited to magazines deemed particularly influential in their age and belonging to a particular, generally middle and upper class, cultural ethos” (4). As a result, those periodicals that did not demonstrate cultural uniqueness or lasting influence of some kind have not received the same kind of attention. This systematic omission means that our perceptions and understanding of earlier time periods may be incomplete. If we repeatedly turn to well-known titles and authors, we choose between ordinary and extraordinary and may inadvertently form an unbalanced understanding of an era. Reading H. G. Wells’ *The Time Machine* or E. M. Forster’s *A Room with a View* for the first time might have changed the perspectives of countless readers. But so too did the less well-known everyday reading materials of the mass market: magazines like these helped to shape the opinions of many about class, imperialism, nationalism, and the aims of culture in general. Both ordinary and extraordinary writing—famous novels as well as mass-market magazines—fed the appetite of the middle class and helped define the values of those readers. The very title of *Travel & Exploration* plainly expresses two subjects of mass appeal to Edwardians, yet this magazine has not been analyzed until now for its value as an important cultural artifact. These kinds of magazines also allowed those armchair travelers who might never travel an opportunity to imagine what such travel would be like.

Therefore, much scholarly space still exists for the resurrection and analysis of magazines like *Travel & Exploration*. This dissertation features that publication as its
centerpiece, using textual analysis and examples to provide an overall sense of the magazine and some of the themes communicated in its articles. I supplement the discussion of this magazine with articles about travel published in other periodicals from the same time period to give a sense of Travel & Exploration’s typicality and the ways in which it stood out from other magazines.

One distinguishing feature of Travel & Exploration is its engagement with the intersections between several related activities: travel, adventure, exploration, sport, and tourism. The articles weigh the merits of different reasons for undertaking a journey. For instance, should people travel for the sake of science? Geographic exploration? Pure curiosity about human civilizations? The glory of Britain? In search of capitalist opportunities through imperialism? For simpler motives, such as pleasure or relaxation? All of these factors often overlapped, and it is often difficult to extract one single reason for travel by the early 1900s as provided in the magazine.

Many writers in Travel & Exploration explicitly discuss the purpose of travel at this time. For example, F. G. Aflalo writes of the

[. . .] dual charm of travel: the love of it for its own sake, amid scenes which are beautiful or historic, or both, and the higher passion for adventuring into the unknown. No ethical comparison is possible between the two, since the first is merely a delightful way of passing the time, whereas the exploration of the ice, the sand, or the jungle carrying with it not merely great glory, but also tremendous risks. (210)

A. R. Hope Moncrieff, in contrast, argues that traveling is simply “a business developed by modern facilities for travel” (366). Comte D’Ussel provides another alternative: that travel is primarily for instruction and learning about history (128). These, and many other reasons, are debated in the pages of the magazine. However, the debate about travel’s
central purpose had reached a turning point in the early twentieth century, and travelers exhibited anxiety about defining their own purposes as well as the increasing difficulty in finding authentic experiences in travel. The three opinions above demonstrate the varying opinions about finding authentic experiences in travel.

Literature review

Several academic disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, and literary studies, examine the relations among travel, tourism, and travel writing. The interdisciplinary nature of this topic allows for a critical scaffolding from multiple perspectives, which is especially crucial when trying to understand a particular cultural moment. The following chapters draw on close readings and social history as well as on literary and social science theory. These complementary tools allow more breadth and depth in the coverage of the topic than simple literary analysis.

By the late nineteenth century, the figure of the tourist was already firmly established in English culture and literature, as companies such as Thomas Cook’s had been providing the means to mass tourism since the 1840s. In The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918 (1993), James Buzard studies literature through the discipline of cultural studies, drawing on history, anthropology, and literary criticism to discuss travel literature as a lens through which to understand the broader society of the time. As Buzard argues, the tourist figure was tightly bound with the opposing figure of the traveler, and these two categories are part of the same social structure. He urges his readers to “conside[r] the formation of modern tourism and the impulse to denigrate tourists as a single complex phenomenon” (4). He
argues that “anti-touristic” attitudes are an important tool that travelers use to mark their own experiences as authentic (4). The tourist/anti-tourist formation provides a central premise for most of the travel narratives I discuss in the following chapters. Writers express varying levels of concern for their own roles as one or the other kind of figure, and often this underlying identification with this framework informs the writer’s engagement with other aspects of his or her travel experience (such as how he or she measures the authenticity of an experience).

Dean MacCannell’s *The Tourist* (1976) provides one of the foundational texts for Buzard’s study, because MacCannell explores tourism and anti-tourism in a similar manner and argues that the tourist can be seen as something distinctly modern. MacCannell begins with his recollections of a lecture given by Claude Levi-Strauss. Levi-Strauss claims that it would be impossible to perform an ethnography of modernity, but this is precisely what MacCannell attempts, at first by trying to understand “the place of the tourist in the modern world” (2). MacCannell is delighted to find, through his study of tourism and travel, that the figure of the tourist is a perfect metaphor for modernity itself. He finds an “intimate link” between “modern society” and “modern mass leisure, especially to international tourism and sightseeing” (3). He realizes that tourists are in fact his “colleagues,” meaning that they are after the same purpose: to understand modern society through the observation of cultures and practices outside of their own (4).

One way tourists attempt this understanding is through the act of sightseeing, a practice crucial to MacCannell’s argument. Sightseeing helps tourists determine their own relationships to modern society. When tourists visit a sight that is out of the ordinary
and that allows for interaction with another culture, they are able to define a small part of themselves by examining their relationships with this location. MacCannell writes, “the act of sightseeing is a kind of involvement with social appearances that helps the person to construct totalities from his disparate experiences” (15). This act of cultural involvement occurs in a specific manner and involves self-consciousness. According to MacCannell, “usually, the first contact a sightseer has with a sight is not the sight itself but with some representation thereof” (110). This prior contact can come in many forms (e.g., a tourism brochure, a history text, a painting in a museum, or a travel article in a magazine), but all of these prior points of contact constitute the discourse surrounding a particular destination and inform the tourist’s expectations and standards for evaluation of a place or experience.

However, “just seeing a sight is not a touristic experience” (137). Rather, sightseeing is actually a ritualistic performance based on the evaluation of authenticity, according to MacCannell: “an authentic touristic experience involves not merely connecting a marker to a sight, but a participation in a collective ritual, in connecting one’s own marker to a sight already marked by others” (137). This concept is not new in the twentieth century; travel writers as early as James Boswell wrote critically about the ritualistic aspects of sightseeing in Italy and Scotland, and by the late nineteenth century, writers like Mark Twain went so far as to lampoon the topic. Many travel writers between 1905 and 1914 did not question the existence of this divide between tourist and traveler. Yet, they implicitly assumed that the values of the traveler were loftier than those of the tourist. One characteristic of travelers was their ability to move beyond what MacCannell
terms the “front regions” designated for tourists, to the more desirable and authentic “back regions” of a culture, where real life exists and cultural connection is possible (MacCannell 92-93).

The interpretation of sightseeing as ritual is therefore an important means to understand how these travelers valued their experiences in the early twentieth century. If, as Harris and Hynes argue, Edwardian England experienced a number of seismic cultural and social shifts in a short time period and Edwardians felt their world become increasingly destabilized, collective travel experiences helped to confirm at least one stable element of culture. Tourism provided a canon of activities to be accomplished in a given place, and sightseeing developed “its own moral structure, a collective sense that certain sights must be seen” (42). This collective sense contributed to the interpretation of sightseeing as modern ritual, and the ritualistic element of tourism and the camaraderie these rituals produced may have helped combat collective social instability in England.

MacCannell bases his analysis on Thorstein Veblin’s theory of the leisure class, which is founded on socioeconomic class distinctions. According to Veblin, in order for a leisure class to exist, a society must be sufficiently developed to allow for a class uninvolved with industry to emerge. This happens under two conditions: the community must be “predatory,” and “subsistence must be obtainable on sufficiently easy terms to admit of the exemption of a considerable portion of the community from steady application to a routine of labour” (8). Historically, Veblin traces the rise of the leisure class to “barbarian” times since this class existed in feudal societies. Later, the rise of tourism coincides with the rise of industrialism and the rise of the middle class in
England. “Sufficiently easy” subsistence is a crucial factor in the relation between the structured existence of a leisure class and the development of mass tourism. Many of Cook’s tourists had middle-class incomes, so their working conditions allowed for exemptions from their communities in the form of two weeks’ holiday. Additionally, Veblin clarifies the fact that the middle class uses the leisure class as a model for ideal behavior: “abstention from labour is the conventional evidence of wealth and is therefore the conventional mark of social standing” (41). Therefore, the possession of disposable income ideally should translate into leisure time, if one is to be (or temporarily masquerade as) a part of the leisure class.

Whereas Veblin finds the structure of leisure time to be class-based, MacCannell speaks in terms of “social structural differentiation,” in which class is only one of many factors that contribute to an understanding of the modern tourist (11). MacCannell attempts to find structure beyond one factor in one (capitalist) economic system, to find a pattern of differentiation that accounts for all societies’ attitudes toward modernity. He claims that man’s most important relationship is not with other men, but with his own productions (21). Further, more than just the production and accumulation of commodities form the bulk of these relationships; these commodities are emblematic of experiences. The collection of experiences (often symbolized by commodities) is how modern man makes sense of his place in society (23). MacCannell focuses specifically on “cultural experiences,” which are defined by their representation of an aspect of life (called the “model”), and the “influence,” which is “the changed, created, intensified belief or feeling that is based on the model” (24). Integral to cultural experiences is the
“medium”: the “agency that connects a model and its influence” (24). Altogether, these constitute a “cultural production.” Travel writing is unique in its ability to serve both as a model and as a medium and therefore to have immense potential as a cultural influence. Writers experience a place, and then convey these experiences to their audiences, thereby both reacting to a place and shaping expectations for readers about what their own experiences could be in these places. The Edwardian readership soaked up complex underlying cultural values about nationalism, imperialism, class, aesthetic values, and international relations, all in the context of seemingly straightforward travel narratives.

Like MacCannell, critic Jonathan Culler recognizes the figure of the tourist as more than simply as an “embarrassment” to contemporary cultures. Rather, careful cultural criticism goes beyond “nostalgic vituperation” of tourists (1). Culler argues that semiotics offers a natural means of studying the cultural significance of the tourist. Culler, MacCannell, and Buzard all recognize the potential in viewing the tourist as a critical symbol of modern society.

Drawing on Roland Barthes, Culler applies the concept of signification to tourism: to the tourist, everything in a foreign place is a sign of itself. He argues that A semiotic perspective advances the study of tourism by preventing one from thinking of signs and sign relations as corruptions of what ought to be a direct experience of reality and thus of saving one from the simplistic fulminations against tourists and tourism that are symptoms of the touristic system rather than pertinent analyses. (9)

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<td>This position is a backhanded critique of the attitude a variety of writers and critics express, from literary criticism to anthropology and sociology, though this comment seems pointed specifically at Paul Fussell’s Abroad.</td>
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Culler illustrates one of the seeming paradoxes inherent in tourism: it is at once a “consensus” of people engaged in the same activity, but it simultaneously “sets members of the group against one another” (4) because tourists usually do not want to be seen as such and consequently loathe being associated with other tourists. A hierarchy exists here: the tourist sees himself as less “touristy” than others, because his experience is somehow more authentic than that of his compatriots. This perspective corresponds with MacCannell’s and Buzard’s understandings of the binaries of tourist/traveler or tourist/anti-tourist as providing different means for understanding the same underlying cultural desires for authentic experiences.

Whereas MacCannell interprets tourism as a structural system influencing all aspects of modern life, sociologist John Urry defines his subject, the tourist gaze, primarily by what it is not—namely, the performance of labor: “Tourism is a leisure activity which presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organized work” (2). Like MacCannell, Urry draws on Veblin’s understanding of the leisure class as a product of socioeconomic conditions that allowed for disposable income and sufficient time outside of work activities. Urry distinguishes between tourism and travel by describing the “mass character of the gaze of tourists” in opposition to “the individual character of ‘travel’” (3). At first glance, this distinction makes sense: tourists constitute a mass grouping of people, whereas travel connotes a more individual experience. However, “travel” has mass character too: in the same way that the figure of the tourist carries with it certain assumptions and characteristics, so too does the figure of the traveler.
In contrast to MacCannell, Urry argues that the tourist gaze is socially constructed and that tourist practices can best be understood “not in terms of some intrinsic characteristics, but through the contrasts implied with non-tourist social practices, particularly those based within the home and paid work” (2). Whereas MacCannell understands the object of tourism to be the search for authenticity, Urry believes that tourism reveals a binary opposition “between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary” (12). While this binary relationship may seem reductive to others involved in tourist studies, it allows for the definition of “tourism” to include various forms of travel to distant destinations as well as to less-exotic locales.

MacCannell’s subsequent response to Urry’s work further develops Urry’s conception of tourist theory. While at times MacCannell’s portrayal of “the Urry Tourist” is decidedly unflattering, MacCannell elucidates some of the “unintended theoretical effects” of Urry’s work on the tourist gaze (26). In particular, MacCannell discusses the character of a Urry tourist:

The idea that these things [that a tourist goes to see] should be ‘out-of-the-ordinary’ means that every object of the tourist gaze is measured by its relationship to what is ‘ordinary’ for people who view their lives as essentially uninteresting. (25-26)

Urry’s binary arrangement of ordinary/extraordinary allows for readers to construe “the Urry tourist” as someone for whom tourism is necessarily the opposite of “real life.” As MacCannell points out, this configuration’s underlying premise also assumes that the everyday is less interesting, or less stimulating, than the extraordinary. Urry later addresses this very point by stating that “the ordinary is not fixed, it changes and it changes within a system of differences. [. . .] There is nothing fixed about the ordinary,
let alone the extraordinary within system of differences [sic]” (Franklin 122). Regardless of this later clarification, Urry’s definition of the gaze is still constructed around the tourist’s response to an unordinary stimulus—thus allowing the equation of ordinary and uninteresting to persist as the opposites of extraordinary and authentic.

In answer to Urry’s work, MacCannell offers what he refers to as “the second gaze,” which is meant to allow some flexibility in an otherwise confining and deterministic structural understanding of tourism. The second gaze, necessarily tied to the first, privileges the unexpected over the extraordinary. Using Stendhal’s Memoirs of a Tourist as an example, MacCannell argues that for Stendhal, “the extra-ordinary is always over-rated. The unexpected that can happen any time, in everyday life and while on tour, is cherished by [Mr L____]” (33). To summarize the difference here, the first gaze is the institutionalized, paralyzing gaze—one that the tourist industry predetermines. The second gaze exists simultaneously and offers an alternative way of seeing: it is always aware that something is being concealed from it; that there is something missing from every picture. [.] The second gaze turns back onto the gazing subject an ethical responsibility for the construction of its own existence. It refuses to leave this construction to the corporation, the state, and the apparatus of touristic representation. (36)

Tourists are no longer simply subject to forces acting upon them; rather, they “are ethically responsible for coming up with their own narrative accompaniment to what they see” (34). While the difference between “extraordinary” and “unexpected” may seem slight, MacCannell’s framing of the unexpected element of the second gaze returns agency to the tourist.
The interaction between MacCannell and Urry provides two separate but not unrelated frameworks for understanding touristic motivation. Both perspectives are crucial to understanding the cultural ideologies that would have influenced travel writers in the early twentieth century. Urry’s work focuses on economics and questions of tourism as an industry as opposed to just a frame of mind. He looks, for example, at the history of the British seaside resort, including its rise and decline; the element of providing service to tourists and tourism as an industry; postmodernism and “post-tourism”; and the authenticity of historical tourist sites. These provide points of departure for his discussion of what the tourist gaze is and how it operates in postmodern society. MacCannell, in contrast, appears to be less interested in postmodernism and more focused on the concept of modernity. MacCannell’s theory aims to be all encompassing as a metaphor for modernity. Urry instead examines one feature of postmodernity: the tourist gaze, which is constructed out of an essential difference between ordinary and extraordinary. In the magazines examined here, I find that both frameworks are applicable in individual instances: many writers defined their versions of authenticity in simple terms similar to those MacCannell and Urry describe.

*Middle-class England and middlebrow writing*

In her discussion of the emergence of “middlebrow” culture in Edwardian England, Ann Ardis argues that the elitist stance modernist writers such as Joyce, Eliot, and Pound take is used to establish their own literary craft and distinguish themselves from realism and other traditions (115-17). This tactic largely worked: this stance helped to define modernism for an entire generation, and it brought into the limelight a certain
aesthetic dominance. Ardis argues, “these spokesmen for literary modernism as the aesthetic of modernity claim its centrality and high status in the cultural landscape by putting competing aesthetic paradigms and narrative strategies ‘behind’ them” (115). As a result, our general understanding of modernism writ broadly includes a certain set of aesthetic principles, usually to the exclusion of others (i.e., the large market for middlebrow writing). By its very definition, a literary movement is marked by its difference from what came before. However, Ardis makes a critical point:

Literary modernists themselves don’t necessarily acknowledge this ‘common ground’; instead, they promote a characterization of realism and modernism as ‘conflictual literary movements’—movements in historical succession, moreover, not contemporaneous competitors. Their failure to recognize the middlebrow as a distinctive in-between space is an offshoot of these practices. (116)

I would add that not only literary modernists, but also the ensuing literary criticism for generations has taken this exclusionary perspective. Because the focus has been mostly on high modernist works and aesthetics, criticism has avoided more average or middlebrow themes and works. As a result, the methods used for self-definition by some modernist writers ended up defining modernism as inherently anti-middlebrow.

But this definition of modernism is not inclusive of all the existing nuances, because a wealth of writing was published and read during this time period that does not fit into the high modernist aesthetic. I refer here to material written and published for a mass-market audience that arguably had an equal influence in defining a moment in history. Ardis focuses on the works of Netta Syrett, a middlebrow writer from the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, to “re-map an arena of literary production in early twentieth-century Britain that the Joyce-Eliot-Pound nexus of modernism obscured

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entirely from history’s view through its characterization of a high/low cultural dichotomy” (117). She acknowledges that “recent attempts to rethink ‘the great divide’ between high and low culture have both enhanced and greatly altered our mappings of turn-of-the-twentiyth-century literary and cultural history” (117).

I hope to contribute to this effort in my focus on middlebrow travel writing published in magazines during the same time period. Significantly, I find that the aesthetic features of the travel writing I examine exhibit some of the very same central concerns for which highbrow modernist writing is often remembered: middlebrow travel writers were interested in the concept of the authentic, were highly aware of their position in a particular cultural moment, wrote of the experience of time, and experimented with style and expression in non-realist and non-linear ways. But just as often, the opposite is also the case: Edwardian travel writing is rife with clichés, draws strongly on long-standing traditions of the picturesque and the sublime, and often fits well within the realist tradition. The point is that both highbrow and middlebrow aesthetics can be located in popular travel writing. By examining this time period from the perspective of more commercial writing, we can understand that the central questions of the modernist movement were not only taken up by a select group of artists.

Themes of the following chapters

The following four chapters of this project investigate how the search for authentic travel experiences serves as an overarching theme for writers just after the turn of the century and how this larger theme can be seen across other motifs in travel writing at the time. Chapter Two continues to trace the concept of authenticity to demonstrate
how travel writers’ motives and central concerns often stemmed from this central aspiration to define and experience the authentic in travel. By examining several approaches to this concept, I explain that while many critics conceptualize the search for authenticity as the most important factor in motivating travel, another group of critics argue that travelers’ valuation of authenticity is highly variable. What I find, then, is a number of conflicting opinions regarding the place of authenticity in travel writing during this time period. The next two chapters explore some of the means by which travel writers conceptualize authentic travel in the magazine articles. Chapter Three examines how Romantic concepts of the picturesque and the sublime remained as dominant influences on how travelers defined the authentic in the Edwardian period. Chapter Four discusses the presence of the concepts of nostalgia and simultaneity in travel writing: the former looks to the past in search of the authentic, while the latter values both the past and the present as contributors to the authentic. These chapters highlight the Janus-faced perspectives characteristic of the Edwardian era, which leads to the final chapter. Chapter Five looks to the new horizons travelers sought during the Edwardian period. I focus on instances of adventure travel in *Travel & Exploration* and argue that in an era when authentic experiences were seemingly more difficult to locate, travelers set their sights on different horizons, such as extreme and remote destinations or sport-based travel and continued to debate the best motives for travel.

Taken together, these four chapters portray the ambivalence present in how authenticity and inauthenticity are defined in early twentieth century travel writing. One major factor in determining authenticity is the level of reliance on temporal positioning:
does the authentic lie in the past, the present, the future, or in some combination of these three (or nowhere/no time at all)? As we will see, there is no one clear-cut answer; rather, the cultural circumstances of the early twentieth century allow for competing and contradictory answers to this issue.
Chapter Two: The Search for Authentic Travel Experiences

Travelers have sought authenticity in their journeys for centuries. James Boswell wrote in the 1700s about his desire to get at the heart of Italy, to experience what Italy was really like. (Boswell’s version of the real Italy was often found in a brothel bedroom. Late Victorian and Edwardian travelers chose to write about more conservative routes to authenticity in their magazine articles, such as painting, art, architecture, and social intercourse that did not involve the potential contraction of syphilis.) By the turn of the twentieth century, travelers’ ability to locate and define the authentic became more complicated as access to travel increased, partially because Edwardian travelers perceived that the world felt conquered and that few undiscovered places remained. Some writers at this time found a close tie between the authentic and the importance of discovery or their ability to be one of the first to see a place. This particular conception of authenticity emphasizes strong connections to imperialism: the legacy of colonization reinforced the importance of discovery. During this time, as the map continued to fill up, an increased sense of urgency and sadness at an impending end to travel permeated certain strands of travel writing. This may also explain the strong desire to reach the South Pole, the top of Everest, or the remotest parts of the Congo and the Amazon.³

³ This anxiety could also explain the race to space several decades later: once the travel writers of the 1930s declared the end of travel, the post-World War Two generations had
While these desires were concentrated and amplified after the First World War, they did not begin after 1918; rather, these interests were rooted deeply in the first decade of the twentieth century.

In tandem with the impulse to discover an authentic place came an increased sense of the approaching end of discovery during the Edwardian era. Technological advances in mapping, air flight, and quickly expanding railroad systems meant that people could reach more remote places with speed and increasing ease, and the exploratory expeditions of the past began to change their purpose. By the early twentieth century, traveling for the sake of discovery was simply not needed at the same volume or pace. As a result, more travel writers expressed a shifting sense that the location of authentic experience was changing and shrinking.

This search for an apparently disappearing authentic experience manifested itself in the travel writing of the time. The writers expressed, often directly, the difficulty of validating one’s position when encountering a foreign place or culture. And because travelers were more conscious of their status as outsiders, they were also more aware of two things: whether they could have authentic experiences of other places, and how their concepts of authenticity were formed.

Authenticity is a polysemous term difficult to define, because in many cases it is defined apophatically: the inauthentic determines the boundaries of the authentic. Since

a similar need to find sources of national pride. A parallel exists between the conquest of Everest in the 1920s and the first man in space in the 1950s.
these boundaries are slippery and always changing, travelers are constantly trying to breach that boundary, to glimpse the background, enter the authentic space that may or may not exist in a travel experience. Edwardian travel writers in particular were preoccupied with the search for the authentic experience of a place because they felt urgently the need to find meaning in a world that was changing rapidly around them. However, “the authentic” was a constantly moving target; thus, it was increasingly difficult for travelers to mark their own experiences as authentic. My intention in this chapter is to explore the term “authenticity”: to provide theoretical perspectives on this often-ambiguous term, to examine how travel writers used it at the time, and to demonstrate how its centrality illustrates Edwardian travel writers’ tendency to question the validity of their experiences. The search for authenticity particularly in travel provides a lens through which to understand how the English understood authenticity more generally at this time.

Authenticity is a central theme that ties together the magazines discussed in this project. Although the following chapters explore other thematic concepts, those concepts serve as means to attain authentic experiences or as measures for defining the authentic in travel. For this reason, this chapter lays the theoretical groundwork for understanding how travelers perceived the authentic. The latter part of the chapter begins to examine these perspectives as exemplified in the primary sources.
Conceptual organization

In outlining the following perspectives on authenticity, I find three main groupings in terms of how critics have approached this concept:

1. Those who see authentic experiences as virtually impossible to achieve in modern society. As a result, travelers locate authenticity only either unconsciously or by managing somehow to penetrate the back region of a culture. Even then, they cannot be sure of the authenticity of the experience. (MacCannell, Culler)

2. Those who allow for the possibility for authenticity to exist in a much more open manner, because the subjective traveler, and not an external set of criteria, defines authenticity. (Cohen, Pearce and Moscardo, Olsen, Outka, Clifford, Bruner)

3. Those who argue that authenticity is an inherent feature of all travel experiences, or conversely that it is not a central defining feature of travel experiences. They define authenticity in opposition not to inauthenticity, but in opposition to everyday routine or work. (Urry, Buzard)

My goal is not to prove that one perspective is more accurate than another or that one best defines the experience of the travel writers in the magazines I examine. Rather, I hope to show how all three general points of view influenced how travelers marked their experiences as authentic. These three perspectives were increasingly part of the broader social discourse about defining travel goals and experiences during this period.
Significantly, these critics refer to the beginnings of modernism or to the Edwardian period as the starting point for their understandings of the authentic. Sociologists and cultural critics or the intelligentsia were not the only people exploring these issues in their writing, however. Rather, a broad cross-section of society struggled with the concept of authenticity in a variety of ways in their travels.

However, even if some travel writers found authenticity to be unachievable in theory, their experiences illustrated otherwise. In other words, travel writers expressed their belief, on some level, in the possibility of having an authentic experience when traveling (thus aligning itself with option two above). Many thought that this window of opportunity was shrinking or finite, and that in the future, authenticity might not be possible. Others found the opposite to be the case: travelers could experience authenticity through negotiating experiences with history or the picturesque in their travels. For still others, different modes and goals of travel (such as travel for the sake of adventure) provided room for authentic experience.

*Anthropology and authenticity*

Aside from travel for the purpose of trade (as it is outside the scope of this dissertation), travelers have found various reasons for traveling, including exploration, discovery, advancing the progress of humankind, or fulfilling a simple curiosity about other places and peoples in the world. This eagerness for cultural interaction and understanding over the centuries led to the desire to interpret those interactions. For this reason, one finds a strong relationship between travel writing and ethnography, or more
specifically, with anthropology. Anthropologists in particular are concerned with how to make sense of our cultural interactions with others and how our own relative positioning influences our understanding of others.

My understanding of authenticity then is grounded not only in literary and theoretical understandings and applications of the concept. The social sciences, particularly anthropology, strongly influenced the public understanding of authenticity in the Edwardian period, as well as in the criticism and discussions of today. The difference between authentic and inauthentic is central to anthropological work, and the discipline has long debated this issue. In fact, many of the critics that influenced this dissertation—MacCannell, Urry, Buzard, Culler, and Clifford, in particular—either are anthropologists themselves or ground their theoretical understandings of authenticity in anthropological methodologies and ethnography. The work of anthropologists such as James Clifford and Edward Bruner informs some of the contradictions inherent in this term.

**Clifford**

I would be remiss, then, not to address James Clifford’s particular orientation to authenticity. In his discussion of how a new cultural center portrays the natives of Papua New Guinea, built both to “preserve older culture for future generations and to appeal to tourists” (176), he describes how traditional, “primitive” artifacts fill the museum. He finds this choice to be troubling and incomplete, because in the desire to preserve the past, the present material lives (which usually include non-primitive elements) of these indigenous peoples are excluded. In a way, the drive to preserve the past creates an
inaccurate or inauthentic representation, since it does not at the same time portray the lives of contemporary Papuans. Clifford wonders, “Does inauthenticity now function, in certain circles at least, as a new kind of authenticity?” (178), meaning that tourists interpret the incomplete representation in the museum as authentic. This representation is in fact inauthentic and thus misrepresents the full range of experiences of Papuan culture. Clifford accounts for this inversion by explaining how dominant Western understandings of native cultures view traditional or historical representations as both complex and authentic, while representations that more fully depict contemporary life appear to be less authentic. In this configuration, authenticity only exists in the past. In suggesting a resolution to this paradox, Clifford hopes for a more nuanced understanding of cultural authenticity that recognizes and embraces hybridity by including both historical interpretations of culture as well as current realities. He recognizes that hybridity itself is a troubled concept, but he argues that it provides more “hopeful” or inclusive possibilities for cross-cultural interactions (187). How does this relate to English travel writers’ understanding of authenticity a century before Clifford writes about Papua New Guinea? Clifford offers a perspective by which we may begin to understand the competing urges and ambivalent perspectives on authenticity present in so much travel writing from the early twentieth century.

Bruner

An anthropological lens can provide categories by which to understand authenticity. Edward Bruner, for example, develops a series of four definitions for
authenticity: 1) “credible or convincing”; “believable to the public”; 2) “historically accurate”; 3) original (not a copy); and 4) “duly authorized, certified, or legally valid” (399-400). Bruner’s taxonomy, developed as a result of his research about New Salem, Illinois, shows the various ways in which both museum employees and tourists might judge the authenticity of a site. Further, Bruner explains how the term is used in an ever-shifting manner: one element of New Salem might meet the criteria to be authentic in the first sense, while another element of the town might be authentic in the third sense. “The problem with the term authenticity, in the literature and in fieldwork,” Bruner concludes, “is that one never knows except by analysis of the context which meaning is salient in any given instance” (401). Bruner’s definitions speak to the importance of context in any understanding of authenticity, whether that is in 1990s Illinois at a tourist site, or in a small town in southern France in 1908. Both situations could possess elements of authenticity and inauthenticity, depending on the perspective of the observer.

Clifford’s and Bruner’s anthropological origins differ from the next several theorists, in that the following writers incorporate other disciplinary approaches in their analyses, including sociology, tourism and leisure studies (based sometimes in economics), cultural studies, and literary theory.

*Contemporary theorists*

**MacCannell**

In *The Tourist*, Dean MacCannell’s concept of the separation between front and back spaces provides a concrete application of how modernism influenced and helped
create a conceptual framework for authenticity. MacCannell’s discussion of “staged authenticity” explains his differentiation between front and back. When tourists visit a place, they find a “front”: the side that everyone can see, tourists and residents alike. But the residents try to keep this space separated from the “back,” which is where real life happens as opposed to a staged show for the benefit of observers. However, tourists often know when they are only seeing the front, and they want to see the back. At the same time they always are ridiculed for not reaching the back region or not understanding that they aren’t really in the back (94-102). So, various tourist sites make an effort to include the back region as part of the site visit to authenticate experience. The trouble is that while penetration of the back region is often the goal of tourists, they can never be sure if this breaching of boundaries is authentic or not.4

This explanation of tourist interactions with a foreign place is tied to MacCannell’s argument that the search for the authentic is central not only to travel and tourism, but to modernity itself. He explains that modernity is composed of disorganized fragments, alienating, wasteful, violent, superficial, unplanned, unstable and inauthentic. On second examination, however, this appearance seems almost a mask, for beneath the disorderly exterior, modern society hides a firm resolve to establish itself on a worldwide base. (2)

4 Cohen provides a counter-argument to MacCannell’s position. Since authenticity is defined by the traveler and not by an outside determining force, the staged nature of some touristic experiences does not necessarily mean a) that the tourist does not recognize the fact that they are staged, and b) that the acknowledgment of staging does not mean that the experience is necessarily inauthentic. In other words, authentic experiences can happen in staged settings, according to Cohen (379). See further discussion in following section.
This approach lays out the inherent contradictions surrounding the search for the authentic. MacCannell elaborates that “instability and inauthenticity” are inherent features of the progressive vision of modernism, because the authentic is always located “elsewhere” (3). This seemingly futile search for authenticity is “not merely [a] casual and somewhat decadent, though harmless, attachment to the souvenirs of destroyed cultures and dead epochs” (3). Rather, this search constitutes the very “unifying consciousness” of modernism (3). In a sense, modernity depends on defining itself in contrast to its opposite. If one of the features of modernization is an inherent instability—movement produces instability, so inertia would be its opposite—it is no surprise that a lack of solid footing caused Edwardian travelers to question the authentic and locate it elsewhere. That “elsewhere” could be a different place, another time, or a combination of both (as is discussed in the following chapters). At the turn of the century, because so many factors contributed to a sense of constant cultural momentum (as discussed in Chapter One), travelers had more difficulty defining and locating the authentic, or rather, they could not be quite as sure of the authenticity of an experience.

This pronounced sense of never knowing whether an experience was authentic or not was new to the Edwardian period. Before this, if we look to writers as diverse as James Boswell, Charles Dickens, or Henry James, we find less anxiety or questioning of whether or not their observations were accurate. In contrast, Edwardian travel writers were increasingly haunted by self-questioning in this area, while they simultaneously still searched for authenticity. As I note in Chapter One, turn-of-the-century travel writers’
anxieties about authenticity were uniquely exhibited via heightened self-awareness and self-consciousness about their own roles within their narratives, and therefore about their roles as travelers. Depending on how writers perceived their roles as both consumers and transmitters of culture when traveling, their perspectives were often directly related to whether or not they could deem their experiences authentic. The magazine examples below illustrate the varying ways in which self-awareness of one’s position directly related to the evaluation of the authenticity of the experience.

The definition of authenticity is similarly complex in MacCannell’s theory. He formulates six “stages,” from front to back, describing the sixth “back” region as “the kind of social space that motivates touristic consciousness” (102). He discusses the problems with these regions, since a tourist can never be sure that he has actually reached Stage Six (which otherwise could be described as an ideal, authentic experience). However, whether Stage Six actually exists at all is unclear—not just in the imagination of the tourist, but for anyone. If travelers recognize authentic experiences by their difference from inauthentic ones, once they feel as if they have reached the back region, the true authentic experience, then its authenticity is obliterated. Recognition of the authentic wipes away authenticity.

However, MacCannell does not necessarily go so far as to suggest that authentic experiences are unattainable; rather, the pursuit of authenticity just does not operate outside of this structure. He writes,

It is only when a person makes an effort to penetrate into the real life of the areas he visits that he ends up in places especially designed to generate
feelings of intimacy and experiences that can be talked about as ‘participation.’ [. . .] Once tourists have entered touristic space, there is no way out for them so long as they press their search for authenticity.” (106, my emphasis)

So, what is an ordinary tourist to do? Is it possible for a tourist ever to find authenticity in travel? At first, MacCannell’s construction seems to say yes—but only if one is not looking for it. Once tourists become aware of their motivation to find authenticity they have created a structure that makes locating authenticity virtually impossible.

Nevertheless, MacCannell examines the various methods tourists use to assign meaning to their experience by using “markers.” His use of this term includes “any information about a sight, ranging from guidebooks to anecdotes to advertisements” (110). Markers thus emerge as a crucial aspect of the discourse surrounding a given attraction, partially because a tourist’s first encounter with a sight is usually “not the sight itself but with some representation thereof” (110). This pre-existing discourse ultimately influences a tourist’s interaction when actually visiting a sight. It can influence whether a tourist is involved with the sight itself or just with the sight’s marker, meaning that the marker acts as mediation (and sometimes as a barrier) between the tourist and the sight (111-17). A dilemma for modern tourists is that the distinction between marker and sight is often blurred. Tourists may not always be aware (or may not even be concerned) that the focus of their interactions is directed toward a marker instead of the unmediated sight. MacCannell remarks, “even where there is something to see, a tourist may elect to get his thrills from the marker instead of the sight” (115). The obfuscation of marker and sight makes authenticity that much more difficult for modern tourists to locate.
Culler

The emerging double bind inherent in MacCannell’s explanation of the search for authenticity brings us directly to Jonathan Culler’s article “The Semiotics of Tourism.” While he does not explicitly use the term, Culler points to one complicating element of the search for authenticity in travel: its relativity. He writes,

Even tourists who take the most packaged package tours, who are indeed, as Ruskin predicted, sent from one place to another like a parcel, venture bravely forth from their hotels in search of atmosphere and discover something which for them is unusual, authentic in its otherness, a sign of alien culture. [. . .] And characteristically tourists emphasize such experiences—moments regarded as authentic—when telling others of their travels. (5)

Culler indicates a sliding scale of authenticity as part of the root of the anxiety modern travelers feel. However, he also reassuringly implies that all travelers have the potential to have an experience that they regard as authentic.

Culler expands this complicated search for authenticity beyond relativism. When a tourist evaluates an experience to determine if it is indeed authentic, touristic satisfaction comes at least in part from external validation of the authenticity of an experience. As he explains,

the paradox, the dilemma of authenticity, is that to be experienced as authentic it must be marked as authentic, but when it is marked as authentic it is mediated, a sign of itself, and hence lacks the authenticity of what is truly unspoiled, untouched by mediating cultural codes. (8)

While MacCannell allows for the possibility of authentic travel experiences, albeit often difficult to locate, Culler argues that the very act of mediation negates the possibility of authenticity. When defined in this way, authenticity as Culler perceives it becomes
impossible and unreachable: “The authentic sight requires markers, but our notion of the authentic is the unmarked” (8). In a world in which everything is “a sign of itself” (2), a touristic experience can only ever be inauthentic, because the moment something is deemed to be authentic, it becomes a sign of authenticity, thereby losing its status as an unmarked experience. It is impossible to extract oneself from this dilemma so long as authenticity is defined in this way.

The tourist’s competing desire for unmediated experiences further complicates this construction. Often authentic experiences are defined by their lack of mediation, mention in guidebooks, or presence of other tourists. However, even if someone found a place that was truly “undiscovered” or lacking markers, the very fact that the traveler was aware of his own role as a “discoverer,” his lack of outside knowledge circumscribing the experience would mediate that experience. Walter Pater suggests that this kind of modern self-consciousness results from the decreased sense of stability or permanence in contemporary society: “To regard all things and principles of things as inconstant modes or fashions has more and more become the tendency of modern thought” (118). This “inconstancy” prompted travelers to question their impressions and perhaps to become more aware of both internal and external impressions.

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5 This paradox clearly relates to Culler’s use of Barthes’ Elements of Semiology. Culler quotes a key passage from this work: “once society exists, every usage is converted into a sign of this usage.” [ . . . ] This process is crucial, Barthes continues, and exemplifies the extent to which reality is nothing other than that which is intelligible” (2).
How does this concept work in practice when we think about how an Edwardian travel writer might describe an experience? In the case of Travel & Exploration, the magazine’s editors seemed aware of the varying comfort levels of their readership, as the organizational sections of the magazine imply. All issues contain feature articles that focus mostly on places that would not have been regarded as typical tourist destinations: there are no overviews of the classical artwork in Rome, or of the current culture in Paris, for example. Instead, readers would have considered the featured destinations to be more exotic, such as places in Africa, eastern Asia, the Middle East, South America, and the remote west of Canada and the United States. Some writers directly address the fact that most of their readers will not visit these locations, and they tailor the articles accordingly. Importantly, however, every issue also contains a section entitled Tourist Travel, which consists of short tidbits and suggestions about cruises, golfing, hotels, and new train lines, most of these focused on European travel.

This combination of article types suggests a keen awareness of the magazine’s readership, in terms of comfort level, imaginative fodder, and practical information. Further, the editors could simultaneously perpetuate the idea that the authentic was located outside of tourist destinations (via the feature articles), while also recognizing that most of the middle-class readership was not within reach of these categories of authentic experiences. As a result, they aimed to balance this paradox by also addressing the kinds of travel that their readers might actually undertake. Neither type of travel nor location choice presents authenticity as an unattainable or futile goal in travel.
experiences. Rather, they suggest the opposite: that authentic travel is possible both in remote Siberia and in a day trip to Yorkshire.

But was the average magazine reader capable of authentic travel? Culler’s perspective suggests that perhaps neither the feature articles nor the tourist tidbits display authentic experience, because both kinds of travelers are labeling their experiences, which necessarily negates the way he understands authenticity to be fundamentally unmarked. Additionally, Culler suggests that authenticity is not a means by which to evaluate an experience at all. Instead, he states that “the authentic is not something unmarked or undifferentiated; authenticity is a sign relation” (6). Rather than a fixed characteristic of an experience, authenticity is simply a semiotic tool that tells something not about the experience itself but about how that experience is codified in a specific cultural structure.

However, literature and travel narratives do not suggest that the desire to travel, which has been a feature of human culture for centuries, has produced only inauthentic experiences. The kind of satisfaction travelers feel comes from the belief that one has had an authentic experience. Even if this experience exists within a framework of signs, Culler’s definition in the end only accounts for one of many possible outcomes of an experience. It is possible that a person could have an authentic experience without even realizing it or naming it (which might then fit in at least partially with Culler’s
It is also possible that when a tourist has a cultural experience, instead of searching for external validation (as Culler’s example does), he or she simply is satisfied with what happened and accepts the experience as representative of the place he or she is visiting. That representation produces satisfaction as opposed to anxiety. The point is that travelers have myriad ways of experiencing a place—some of them indeed authentic. Culler’s construction closes the door on this possibility.

Culler ends by celebrating what tourism brings to semiotics: “its illustration of the structural incompleteness of experience, its dependency on markers, helps us understand something of the nature of semiotic structures” (9). However, the magazine articles show that the use of markers is not the only way by which tourists make sense of their experiences and deem them to be authentic or inauthentic. Rather, the structural incompleteness and variance by which people measure or identify the authentic shows where a purely structural analysis gives only a partial picture of this concept.

**Urry**

John Urry’s approach to authenticity and tourist motivation in *The Tourist Gaze* is in many ways a response to MacCannell’s perspective on this topic in *The Tourist*. Urry disagrees with MacCannell’s position that authenticity is the central motivation for tourists; rather, he argues that the distinguishing quality is the

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6 This kind of authentic experience is consistent with Heidegger’s explanation of authenticity, which has an “unexpected gift-like quality” and cannot be sought out as such (Pearce and Moscardo 122).
difference between one’s normal place of residence/work and the object of the tourist gaze. Now it may be that a seeking for what we take to be authentic elements is an important component here but that is only because there is in some sense a contrast with everyday experiences. (12, emphasis added)

Urry argues that tourism results from a “basic binary division” between ordinary and extraordinary and that the visual aspects of tourism cause this division, since “the visual gaze renders extraordinary, activities that otherwise would be mundane and everyday” (12, 13).

Three editions of The Tourist Gaze have been published since 1990, and this book has sparked a variety of critiques. Urry has been criticized for his central premise (that the object of tourism is found in the search for contrast to the everyday), as well as his privileging of the visual gaze over other sensory impressions. David Crouch, for example, argues that the portrayal of tourist activity as a surface-level gaze directed at something discredits the other, deeper experiences that are possible in tourism. Urry himself has since further elaborated on his binary premise by clarifying that “the ordinary is not fixed, it changes and changes within a system of differences” (Franklin 122). This stance allows for travelers to interpret the term “ordinary” as a relative term. This clarification opens up possibilities for assuming a touristic position, and, by extension, for having authentic experiences.

In his overview of what motivates tourists, Richard Prentice usefully compares MacCannell’s and Urry’s theoretical perspectives by framing them in terms of consumption. He argues that both of their works contribute to a divide between two
paradigms: the romantic, which is a pre-mass-tourism approach in which travel is “primarily for personal enlightenment, with motivations to consume the extraordinary as a means to self-education and spirituality” (264), and mass tourism, in which the primary reason for travel is to escape “the everyday tedium of work” (264). The result of the latter is a “vicious circle of mindlessness” characterized by “the proffering and consumption of both inauthenticity and triviality” because that is the only option (264). Although both paradigms can theoretically exist in the modern world, Prentice argues that it is very difficult (if not impossible) for a modern tourist to operate outside of the paradigm of mass tourism. He thereby acknowledges the boundaries of MacCannell’s and Urry’s perspectives that felt limiting to so many critics, which in turn prompted alternative responses such as those of Cohen or Pearce (see below).

Although some scholars subsequently find fault with Urry’s definition of authenticity as difference from the everyday, James Buzard provides historical evidence to support Urry’s reliance on this binary opposition. Buzard traces how guidebooks, such as the Murray’s Guides, both shaped and reflected the tastes of travelers in the nineteenth century. He notes, “Murray’s ‘ethnographic principle’, placing a premium on the different-from-home, helps to establish the handbook’s and the impressionistic travel volume’s common ground” (175). While many may argue that Urry’s position is overly simplified, Buzard provides evidence that the “quest for signs of alterity and ‘authenticity’” often conflated these terms (175).
Buzard and Urry both investigate authenticity under a shared premise: that its separation from everyday life defines the authentic. For them, authenticity in tourism is everywhere, because travel offered a welcome separation from modern work life and instead represented leisure, difference, and an opportunity to “exercise thwarted human potential” (Buzard 176). In this way, tourists and their guides could represent what provided such opportunities as sources of ‘authentic alterity’. Physical departure from one’s busily modernizing society could be overlaid with the ideological appeal of a temporarily revivifying departure from compromised social being. (176) This position provides yet another perspective on the definition of authenticity. In this configuration, authenticity is possible everywhere in travel, just by virtue of travel’s difference from work, home, or routine. This perspective allows some of the more mundane aspects of travel—buying a train ticket, finding a place to launder clothing, or mailing a letter, for instance—to include the authentic experience. In other words, travel as a process can inspire recognition of authentic experiences just as much as the end product (such as seeing a famous sight or another such “goal” of a trip). The inclusivity of this position also creates space for the tourist to become perhaps a more authentic self. If, in Buzard’s and Urry’s words, everyday routines do not all allow for full expressions of human potential, then the unusual experiences travelers encounter can have the effect of challenging and expanding their individual senses of self.

Buzard considers several influences on the search for the authentic in travel writing from 1800-1918. He argues that in the latter half of the nineteenth century, authenticity was to be found in alterity—in fact, he comes close to conflating the two
terms in his description of how guidebooks presented notable features of foreign places (174-175). He shares examples from Trollope, Hazlitt, and Dickens of how travelers should avoid the commonplace of life in other places: these writers were not interested in seeing how ordinary people washed their clothes or bought their groceries, because they could easily find these elements of life at home. Guidebooks and nonfiction travel accounts of the time reinforced this division between home and not-home by highlighting those elements “peculiar” to a certain place. In doing so, they helped to define what made an experience valuable to travelers as well as what kinds of experiences were authentic.

Cohen

Erik Cohen addresses the sense of futility that MacCannell and Culler communicate regarding the search for authenticity. He argues that the problem with using authenticity as a concept in travel studies is that it “is a philosophical concept which has been uncritically introduced into sociological analysis,” and that “MacCannell and others who adopted his conceptual framework did not raise the possibility that the tourist and social analyst may conceive of authenticity in different terms” (374). Two separate but related critiques are present here.

First, Cohen provides a short synopsis of how, historically, authenticity came to be valued in modern society. He cites Friedrich Nietzsche and Peter Berger to describe the increasing sense of opposition between the self and society: in this configuration, the self is seen as authentic, and therefore society is seen as inauthentic. “Since modern society is inauthentic,” Cohen writes,
those modern seekers who desire to overcome the opposition between their authenticity-seeking self and society have to look elsewhere for authentic life. The quest for authenticity thus becomes a prominent motif of modern tourism. (373)

Cohen accepts this premise, but argues that these concepts originated in philosophical discussions and cannot just be imported into sociological discussions without careful examination of what happens when a term such as this is used within another framework.

Therefore, he unpacks the way that “authenticity” is used in sociological discussions. He finds a sliding scale of criteria provides a structural definition for this term: tourists “appear to seek authenticity in varying degrees of intensity, depending on the degree of their alienation from modernity. [. . .] it can be argued that they will also conceive ‘authenticity’ in different degrees of strictness” (376). Rather than just one version of the authentic existing as an ideal goal or end point of travel, a variety of experiences could be perceived as authentic—it all depends on the perspective of the traveler and the criteria with which he or she judges the experience and how it is aligned with his or her expectations. To put it another way: “the question here is not whether the individual does or does not ‘really’ have an authentic experience in MacCannell’s sense, but rather what endows his experience with authenticity in his own view” (Cohen 378). This reorientation of perspective effectively empowers the tourist and makes him subject rather than object. It also affects the perceived separation between tourist and traveler and
the animosity this creates within travel writing, as well as the class-based differences between various writers and their relative expectations for authenticity.\footnote{Cohen expands on this concept at length; see discussion of the relationship between class and authenticity in Chapter One.}

**Pearce and Moscardo**

Philip Pearce and Gianna Moscardo provide a complement to Cohen by acknowledging the limitations of views such as MacCannell’s or Culler’s. They argue that other definitions of authenticity “have not allowed for the possibility that tourists can achieve authentic experiences through relationships with people in tourist settings” (125). Rather, they emphasize another element of the concept of modern authenticity: the notion that not just places or things, but also encounters with people, can be used to produce authentic experiences. For example, a person could be in a clearly inauthentic place, such as on a tour of a reconstructed medieval village in England, complete with actors dressed in costume, but a conversation with one of the actors who breaks character to tell a tourist about his own perceptions of working as an actor could thereby be marked by the tourist as an authentic experience.

Pearce and Moscardo also argue that authenticity “can be achieved either through environmental experiences, people-based experiences, or a joint interaction of these elements” (125). They propose a classification system of nine kinds of positive tourist experiences which all can produce authentic experiences, further complicating MacCannell’s taxonomy from front to back. According to Pearce and Moscardo,
authentic experiences can even happen within a “front” or “staged” situation. This is possible because the criteria for authenticity are not defined externally; rather, they are determined “on the basis of people’s [here, the tourist’s] perception of which element or elements are important” (126). The nine stages take MacCannell’s six positions into account, but they also reach beyond MacCannell’s range, because in some cases, “authenticity is just one aspect of tourists’ experiences. There are a number of holiday experiences where the backstage/frontstage distinction is irrelevant or not appropriate” (128). The very existence of this possibility shows the importance of understanding that authenticity/inauthenticity is not solely a system from which a modern traveler cannot escape. While I agree with MacCannell’s premise that the search for authenticity is, for many travelers, the very goal of travel, some experiences during travel lie outside of this search and still complement the sum of experiences of a place.

**Olsen**

Kjell Olsen aligns himself with Cohen, Pearce, and Moscardo in his critique of the limits MacCannell places on authenticity. He argues instead for the necessity of reorientation. Instead of seeing tourists solely as spectators, Olsen argues that tourists can occupy multiple roles in different contexts. He gives an example of how traveling as a family unit often sidesteps the question of authenticity. He uses the case of Norwegian families who choose to camp in the same location every summer for years (169-70). While the family may engage in “touristic” activities such as hiking on famous trails or visiting nearby theme parks, these particular activities often are secondary to building
relationships. Further, these tourists do not shed their familial identifications to assume the role of tourist. Instead, Olsen argues, “the tourist role is something one moves in and out of depending on circumstance” (169). These social situations produce a space in which authenticity becomes “a reachable state,” because the tourist is not simply a subject upon which forces act; rather, his role is one of many factors impacting whether an experience is perceived to be authentic (160). This reading of tourist behavior allows for tourist agency and active interaction when traveling, rather than passive subjection to cultural constructions far beyond individual control.

Outka

Elizabeth Outka interprets authenticity in terms of commodity from a materialist position. She coins the term “commodified authentic” in reference to the contradiction that began in the early twentieth century in consumers’ search for authenticity (4-5). During this period, she argues, authenticity became a marketable quality used to sell goods and experiences. Once this trend proliferated in society, a different iteration of authenticity came into being in that “new objects and places were packaged and sold as mini-representations of supposedly noncommercial values” such as the English countryside, for example (4). Outka argues that the commercial element made these experiences appealing, because the experiences retained their air of authenticity while making them readily accessible and controllable to consumers. This created a central paradox: “instead of choosing between past and present, between an alluring sense of endurance and the chance to reinvent and possess, consumers might unite all these desires
in one attractive package” (5). Travelers therefore could visit a location advertised as
historic or otherwise marked, engage in varying ways with the historical aspects of the
place, buy a souvenir, and mark the experience as authentic. In other words, the
advertisement of the authentic elements of the location does not detract from the
authenticity of the encounter; instead it makes it more accessible to tourists. Introducing
“noncommercial values” into the commercial sphere changed the very notion of
authenticity.

The magazines exhibit ambivalence toward the commercialization and packaging
of authentic travel experiences. Thomas Cook revolutionized travel by negotiating
discounts on group train tickets in the 1840s, and his business quickly expanded to
dominate transportation, hotels, tours, and other travel experiences across Europe, and, by
the 1870s, around the world (Williamson 17, 63). While some writers appreciated the
modern developments that made travel easier (such as the expansion of railroads and the
ease of use of Thomas Cook’s services), they were also aware that these amenities, the
selling of travel experiences, obscured the very experiences they sought. This
complication caused anxiety for some writers, while others did not appear to be bothered
by the commercial aspect of their experiences.

Taken together, Cohen, Pearce and Moscardo, Olsen, and Outka provide
important counterarguments to those of MacCannell and Culler by reorienting
authenticity from an outside, fixed definition to an internal and individual one. Whereas
MacCannell’s and Culler’s use of the term makes it virtually impossible for a traveler to
have a truly authentic experience because of the term’s fraught opposition to modern society, the other group of writers above offer alternative methods for achieving authentic experiences. The difference lies in whether one sees authenticity as externally defined or as an impossible paradox, or whether the tourist is recognized as having the agency to define the terms by which authenticity is found (thereby allowing for many more possible instances of authentic experience in travel).

These perspectives indicate a theoretical progression in terms of how the tourist’s role has evolved from one with little to no agency to one in which a tourist can have both agency and authentic experience. In other words, critics reacting to the work of MacCannell, Urry, or Culler tend to see the latter’s perspectives as limiting. The critics who followed attempt to provide a more expansive understanding of the multiple roles tourists can occupy.

*The magazines*

The magazines provide evidence of travelers’ awareness that the very nature of tourism created barriers to authentic experiences. Many writers explore a common theme that caused these barriers: the feeling of being part of a horde, and the desire to break away from this bovine pack of roving gawkers. However, another reason for the strong desire to separate oneself from the pack is a fear that the label of “tourist” bars one from having an authentic experience. If a person is gazing at the same scene as hundreds of

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8 This concept recalls the discussion of self-loathing and self-identification in relation to the tourist/traveler dichotomy; see Chapter One for discussion of this relationship.
others, how can that person’s individual experience possibly be authentic? Here we see originality in the definition of authenticity: in order for a tourist to mark his or her experience as authentic, it need not only be validated as authentic by external forces (see MacCannell’s definition of markers), but also differentiated from the experience of others who witness the same thing. If we take both ways of authenticating experience together, tourists are placed in an impossible bind: they cannot know if their experiences are authentic unless those experiences are validated, but at the same time, the saturation of a place by people like ourselves makes a place *feel* inauthentic.

A 1909 article in the *Spectator* entitled “The Charm of Paris” illustrates this conundrum. The British go to Paris to see France (or “Frenchness”), but cannot see France because there are too many other British tourists in the way. The author notes:

> The annual army of British tourists is invading Paris, and for some days Paris will be as much unlike itself as it is possible for it to be. It is an irony that those who wish to see foreign cities should so often convey with them—by their great numbers—the certainty of distorting the vision” (569).

The author acknowledges that it is impossible for average tourists to have “back room” experiences (in MacCannell’s sense of the phrase), such as “the good fortune to come into relations with a French family” or “dine with a party of Frenchmen and Frenchwomen” (570). The author here acknowledges that because most cannot have this experience, they necessarily will not be privy to unmediated French life and will thereby reinforce the hierarchy of possible touristic experiences.
However, the author tries to offer some possibilities for getting closer to understanding “real” French life. Most of these suggestions sound like typical advice to get off the beaten track: “Do not be afraid of missing some of the chief ‘sights’”; “watch the Frenchman with his family on Sunday in the Bois”; “Above all, cross the river to the ‘other side’, and penetrate the students’ and artists’ quarters” (570). These culminate in a suggestion to leave Paris altogether: “If our advice to get afield were accepted heroically, we should suggest going by steamboat to Meudon and then walking through the woods to Versailles. The woods are real woods, wild and old” (570).

The description of the woods recalls the discussion of authenticity in anthropological or ethnographic terms that presupposes the existence of a premodern or pure, untouched location where one can find an essential distillation of a place. The message seems to be, if one tries hard enough, and moves far enough away from the other tourists, he or she can find a place that is wild and real and therefore truly “French.”

Again, we see the necessity for touristic alterity and differentiation to achieve authentic experience. However, part of the problem is that tourists hear such advice everywhere as part of the discourse about tourism and the strong desire to get off the beaten path. If tourists were to follow strictly this author’s advice, they would still be following a path nonetheless, and likely one that others before them (including the author of the article) had already taken. Their choices would be unoriginal, and originality is a key factor in the definition of authenticity for many tourists. So within this model, authenticity may
feel impossible to achieve, because the very existence of the advice on how to be original disallows its reuse by anyone else.

However, a reorientation to focus on the actual experiences from the point of view of the tourist, and not of the outsider examining or providing recommendations to the tourist, can allow for a different experience of authenticity—in fact, it allows for what seems like the only possibility for authenticity to exist. Even if tourists are simply part of a system in which they have many, but ultimately limited, possibilities, they may not perceive the finite nature of this complex web of choices. They still have agency to choose their own paths, even if others choose the same ones. The existence of a modern system that seems to nullify the possibility for authentic experience does not necessarily impact a person’s experiences at every moment—indeed, if this were the case, many people’s desires to travel would disappear. Instead, individuals are able to interpret their experiences first from a personal perspective, and then from a social or larger point of view, and then they have the choice as to how to interpret their perceptions as individually or socially determined (and sometimes both). The magazine writers exemplify this sense of self-determination in their awareness (and subsequent disregard for) their positions as tourists. Their confidence represents a shift away from earlier periods when more prescriptive frameworks (such as guidebooks or social constructions like the picturesque) drove perception. As a result, Edwardian travelers may have interpreted some experiences as authentic and some as inauthentic in the same place, depending on how each individual interpreted the experience.
Part of the complexity here lies in the goals of the articles, some of which aim to convey advice, as in the article above. The didactic tone of the articles necessitates a sense of vicarious or secondhand experience. If readers were to follow the advice, they would find it more difficult to have the same authentic experiences—the words of the advisor would echo in the heads of the readers, and they would have to be aware of an element of difference from the didactic voice in order to deem an experience to be authentic. This echoes much criticism of guidebooks in general: while many guidebooks promised experiences of getting “off the beaten track,” they ended up producing a different, but still well-beaten, alternative to the main attractions. This has been part of the discourse of guidebooks since at least the time of Ruskin’s *Stones of Venice*.

In contrast, other contemporary writers recognize that positive, fulfilling travel experiences are possible even in the presence of other tourists, thereby showing that the absence or presence of difference is not the only deciding factor about authenticity. Rather, one can find authenticity while other tourists are nearby. A 1909 review in *The Nation* of Henry James’s *Italian Hours* discusses this possibility. Among other criticisms, the anonymous reviewer feels that James goes too far in his disdain for other tourists—the reviewer claims that the presence of other Englishmen and women in Italy would not bother a truly “deep-thinking traveller”:

What is it to him that others also would know and understand? Let them, too, prosper in their undertaking. Why should their presence pollute the springs of knowledge? You do not find a traveler of this calibre fainting at the sight of a Baedeker, or seizing occasions for the display of his emotional sensibility. Yet it is precisely his emotions which are of value; which have stuff in them and are
communicable. It is for him that the doors of the past are opened and old scenes re-enact themselves and the dead live. (304)

The reviewer’s faults James for his inability to contain his sense of superiority over his peers and therefore his own emotional reactions to Italy consume him to a point that he does not let Italy itself shine through in the book. The reviewer critiques more than just James’s style. He positions James in relation to an “ideal” traveler and discusses how James falls short of the ideal and instead produces “the book of a stranger, the book—if its author will forgive us for using the word—of a tourist” (306). The fact is, James knew Italy well, much better than the average tourist and the seasoned traveler alike. But the manner in which he portrays himself, particularly his inability to get over the fact that other people might actually want to visit Italy, lands him in the category of “tourist” in the reviewer’s eyes. The reviewer argues that the ideal traveler instead should not mind that others are also able to appreciate a foreign place, because in the end, the presence of others makes no difference to the individual ability to learn about and connect with a place—in short, to have an experience that can be authentic. This ideal traveler is able to focus on his personal, emotional experience of a place, in order to see past the other tourists having the same or similar experiences. To the ideal traveler, it does not matter whether there are many other fellow countrymen present or not. Instead, the traveler is able to tune out or take fellow tourists in as part of the scenery. So, according to this reviewer, it should not matter to the ideal tourist whether or not there are throngs of tourists in Venice—he can find authenticity in solitude or in vast company of others.
This perspective shows that some travelers understood authenticity to be highly personal and, by extension, purely situational. In other words, tourists could locate authenticity at a tourist “trap” or in a rarely frequented village in a remote country. It depended solely on the perspective of the traveler. For authenticity to exist as a way of moving beyond commodified experience, then, the focus needed to remain on individual, highly subjective experiences. This concept functions best not within the tension between tourist and traveler or simply by how far one is able to veer from the beaten path. Rather, authenticity is more an interpretive, subjective lens than an objectively verified state of being. In this way, it becomes a possibility for any tourist, even the most timid member of a Cook’s tour of the highlights of Italy.

Even the Cook agency, that emblem of typical tourism, addresses these sentiments in its travel offerings. By the first decade of the twentieth century, Cook was both renowned and reviled for its far-reaching networks of arranged worldwide travel. Cook had also by now anticipated and determined how to provide services for the “anti-tourists” who sought a more authentic experience than their compatriots. The fact that the original tourist agency was able to cater to anti-tourists who preferred to think of themselves as travelers shows how much both of these terms are part of the same system.9

Cook’s tours were a subject for satire and critique by the turn of the twentieth century, and the bumbling Cook tourist was a common figure in magazines like *Punch* in

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9 See discussion of Buzard in Chapter One.
the late 1800s. An 1878 George de Maurier cartoon in *Punch* entitled “A Philosophical Excursionist” features an “Elderly Gentleman” and a “Middle-Aged Spinster” (who is “evidently one of Cook’s tourists”) at dinner at a hotel in Geneva, discussing where they were going next. The Spinster’s answer makes clear that she does not even know she is in Geneva currently; she cannot distinguish among the string of cities she visits on her tour. The Cook tourist was characterized as unoriginal, naïve, often offensive, and a general nuisance to the host country. However, this discourse shifted slightly in the early twentieth century, as some travel writers acknowledged that tourists operating within the Cook framework were capable of having authentic travel experiences.

In an article in *Academy and Literature*, W. H. Koebel describes his experience with the Cook agency during his 1913 trip in Norway. After finally deciding to go to the Cook office in Bergen, he tries to communicate his resolve to resist becoming one of the hordes: “We would have no fixed hours and no tours, no publicity, no guides in uniform—in fact, we would follow no one and nothing more domineering than our own noses! We demanded to be pushed, not led. The distinction may be subtle, but it is deep” (438). In establishing this self-conscious separation from typical tourists in such an obvious manner, Koebel signals a certain set of values to his reader and also sets up the let-down that follows. As the official answers his group’s demands, they found out that what we had demanded with such trouble was only an ordinary item of the Cookine routine. [. . .] We begged to be sent away from crowds and tourists. To our relief Cook’s man seemed neither insulted nor taken aback. In the end we departed, our pockets bulging with coupons! (438)
The placid response of the Cook agent shows that this type of desire—to travel using the convenience of a travel agency without feeling oneself to be a tourist—was neither uncommon to Cook’s agency nor was it difficult to satisfy this kind of desire. Rather, it depended on where each traveler set his individual bar for where authenticity ended and the inauthentic began. For Koebel, it was acceptable to use Cook for travel arrangements, as long as he stayed “true to [his] principle” by “remain[ing] without Baedeker, map, or any printed guide whatever” (439). The map and guidebook symbolize unwanted external guidance for Koebel—he expresses the desire to experience as much as possible “a journey into the unknown” (439).

Koebel’s reluctance to use Cook’s services stems from his desire to differentiate himself from his fellow tourists. He fears that a packaged experience could not possibly provide the kind of authentic experience he sought. However, he was surprised to find that Cook’s services actually enabled him to find what he was seeking. This anxiety to differentiate himself from his fellow tourists, followed by surprising satisfaction, exemplifies how strict understandings of authenticity actually were more situationally based.

Travel & Exploration

Most of the writers published in Travel & Exploration do not engage directly with questions of whether a destination or experience is authentic or inauthentic. Rather, the editors’ publication choices convey an underlying assumption that the topics of the feature articles are sufficiently off the beaten track to produce authentic experiences. The
magazine adheres to the entrenched hierarchical relationship between traveler and tourist and between traveler and explorer. Many articles follow a similar pattern, in which the article begins in a well-known location, but then the writer quickly distances himself from such a commonly visited location in order to talk either about a more obscure nearby destination or about an unusual facet of that location. The theme of focusing on destinations off the beaten track speaks to the desires of the magazine’s readership and to the specific angle that the editors chose to pursue.¹⁰

Other writers recognized that some aspects of travel were inauthentic, but that tourists still took away from the experience some elements of the “real thing.” These writers’ perspectives are aligned with Cohen’s explanation of how even casual tourists can find authentic experiences:

[Their] concern with authenticity is relatively low, [so they] may well accept even a substantially staged product and experience as ‘authentic’. This would not be necessarily because they have been misled by the staging, but because even the faintest vestige of, or resemblance to what experts would consider an ‘authentic’ trait of the product, may suffice for them to play the make-believe game of having an ‘authentic’ experience. (379)

This ability to find meaning came as a matter of course to many writers: it was not as if tourists were unable to recognize artifice. Instead, tourists were often adept at navigating the artificial elements inherent in modern travel to find authentic experiences. F. G.

¹⁰ See, for example, “Albegna—an Ally of Carthage” (Nov. 1909), “Off the Beaten Track in Syria” (Dec. 1909), and “Unknown New Zealand” (Nov 1910).
Aflalo writes about the obviously inauthentic elements of his travels in the Yosemite valley:

It was pleasant to live once more in camp, even under the somewhat artificial conditions which made life comfortable. [. . .] Our American friends leave the real thing to schoolboy fiction, and stage-manage their holiday camps in agreeable imitation of it, with none of the drawbacks. Ahwahnee is just such a comfortable make-believe. (242-43)

Aflalo is a seasoned traveler who indeed has spent time in much more rustic camps than those set up for tourists in Yosemite and knows what “real” camping is in other parts of the world. He reminds his readers that true camping is not glamorous and often is misremembered as more “romantic” than it really is: “My last camp [in the Atlas mountains] was the real thing, with native servants, prowling thieves from neighbouring villages, and all the other minor discomforts incidental to this romantic style of life” (241). He argues that selective memory is to blame for travelers who only remember the positives of this kind of camping: upon returning home, travelers all too often tended to “forget that the meals are mostly garbage, and the picturesque natives thieves. They omit to mention that if you camp near water you get mosquitoes, and that if you camp away from it you are overrun with ants” (242). Instead, he prefers to acknowledge and embrace the inauthentic nature of the Yosemite camps, thereby showing that authenticity in all aspects of travel was, at least for him, not a priority.

More importantly, Aflalo accepts certain elements of artificiality, because they do not impede his experience. Similarly, the presence of other tourists does not pose a problem, which becomes clear as he rides with a tour group in a coach out to see the giant
sequoias. As they catch their first glimpse of the giant trees, he writes, “Then comes something that makes everyone on the coach hold his breath” (245). This is significant because the sighting of the sequoia causes a collective reaction on the part of the tourists. But unlike the critique of James above, Aflalo does not perceive this shared experience to be negative. It is also not necessarily a positive; it is simply part of the experience that others are witnessing the same thing. This collective experience calls to mind MacCannell’s discussion of markers and how the discourse surrounding a sight can serve as a set of interpretive guidelines for understanding an experience.

However, Aflalo describes his feelings in a way that opposes MacCannell’s position regarding the necessity that others validate markers in order to gain credibility. Aflalo writes, “That they happen to be the tallest trees, the oldest trees, the most famous trees in the world is nowise the measure of my appreciation, for I lack the soul for record-breaking” (245). Here, his “lack of soul” could be read rather as a reorientation of how significance is attached to a sight. While he might have come to the Yosemite valley precisely to see these trees, designated as important by others, his actual experience cuts through the mediating discourse surrounding the giant sequoias:

My joy was rather that, looking up at them I was in the Presence. I felt minded to remove my shoes. It was as if we all stood in the dim nave of some ancient cathedral reared ages before man worried the earth. I uncovered in their cold shadow as before the Holy of Holies. (246)

What began with the expectation of a touristic experience by Aflalo (he remarks earlier that “trees, even the biggest and oldest of them [. . .] have not, as a rule, appealed to [him] for their own sake” [242]), became, to his surprise, an experience bordering on
the religious or the sublime. He is unconcerned by the many signs of tourism enveloping
this experience: he came by rented coach, on a group tour, to visit a sight designated by
many others before him and even marked with a name. He is seemingly unbothered by
his fellow tourists or his own position as a tourist. Instead, he is able to witness the
enormous trees, reflect silently on their significance, recognize that he was not alone in
their presence, and remember the experience as personal and therefore authentic.

Aflalo communicates this experience to his readers in a manner that preserves the
possibility for them to have authentic experiences, even if they undertake the exact same
trip. Because he writes in the first person singular, the reader is afforded a glimpse into
the personal experience of one traveler, and is not told that “you” really should go see
these trees. What’s more, he traces the actual movement from witnessing to experiencing,
from bystander to participant in his surroundings. It is this movement that validates his
experience as authentic.

As mentioned above, a key element of the authentic for some tourists is being
able to identify markers and to reconcile preconceived notions with actual experiences.
The differences and similarities between preconception and experience can be a measure
of authenticity for some tourists: if a place lives up to expectations, then its authenticity is
less questionable than when the experience falls short in some manner.¹¹ In an article

¹¹ This relates closely to the ways in which aesthetic traditions helped to shape
preconceptions about what places should look like. I examine this at length in Chapter
Three by examining Amy Gretton’s disappointment at her experience of the forest of
Fontainebleau.
about his travels to Constantinople, F. H. Shaw falls into the latter category. Upon entering the city, Shaw warns the traveler that the first impression of the city is one of [. . .] keen disappointment. Where is the sumptuous coloring, the lavish profuseness of decoration; where is the air of duplicity and mystery, which you have been taught to recognise as an essential of the place? None of these things is visible; your attention is chiefly taken up with the grime and squalor, the filth and profanity, the unimaginable poverty. (404)

He continues by describing the dirty street dogs, the narrowness of the alleys, and other unpicturesque aspects of the city for two full paragraphs. Yet he ends by claiming that it is possible to see past the filth, only if the tourist is “sufficient [enough] of an artist” to do so (404). Part of being this kind of “artist” means both looking past the surface as well as being selectively imaginative. If the tourist can achieve this, then he will be able to witness the “marvellous sights” present in the city. The tourist thereby becomes an artist who crafts experience.

The paradox of looking is a consistent theme throughout the article: as Shaw describes it, all he sees is filth and squalor. But if he looks past this, he sees beauty in the architecture and the people. Both of these perspectives are highly dependent on the visual, but Shaw writes as if two competing views of the city coexist. One view that sees the beauty is the ideal, achieved by the eye of the artist. This view requires reframing experiences so that one layer of meaning becomes the preferred view. In this article, the tourist must make a conscious choice to overlook the outward squalor of the scene. To borrow from photographic techniques, it is a matter of filtering and focus. The raw image shows the grit and grime of the city, and the frame is limited to the street-level view. But
a traveler with an artist’s perspective is able to soften the focus, widen the lens, and take in a broader and more sympathetic view of the city.

Which, then, is the more authentic view of Constantinople? Shaw seems to suggest that those tourists who possess the artistic skills necessary to see past the cacophony of the street level are thereby able to see the “real” beauty of the city. But the inverse could also be true: those wanting to bypass ugliness in their search for beauty attempt to ignore the actuality of life in this place, the coexistence and mingling of perceived highs and lows. They thereby impose the ideal on the real, not unlike how the picturesque perspective re-envisions a scene within a frame.

Shaw ends the article by informing the reader which of these impressions will last after the trip: when the average tourist remembers Constantinople, he often will be “confronted in the main by a picture of domes and minarets, of tiny booths and horrible cripples, of squalor, filth, and—most pronounced of all [his] memories—the ubiquitous, mangy, wholly unpleasant dogs” (410). So while the minarets are part of this backwards-looking view, they are crowded out of the frame by the inartistic and ugly parts of the city. If the artistic view of the city has not been successful, then is it possible for a tourist, even one capable of an artistic view, to experience the authentic Constantinople?

The elusive element in this article is the definition of the authentic. To Shaw, both contrasting views are part of the same city, but he continually tries to escape the one in order to focus on the other. He gives the impression that if only the streets were clean, the dogs expelled, and the houses given a fresh coat of paint, he would be able to experience
what Constantinople is really like. This attitude toward a place is not unlike Henry James’s perspective of tourists in Venice: if all the other tourists in the city would leave, then his view would be unspoiled and he could experience what Venice was “really” like. He complains that Venice is crowded by a herd of fellow-gazers. There is nothing left to discover or describe, and originality of attitude is completely impossible. This is often very annoying; you can only turn your back on your impertinent playfellow and curse his want of delicacy. (290)

James and Shaw share a sense of annoyance that certain aspects of actual experience of a place get in the way of desired experiences that lead to authentic experiences. But what neither recognizes is that these desired experiences are impossible to achieve: if the filth were gone, Constantinople would not be the same, in the same way that tourists are part of the fabric of everyday Venice. Both fail to accept that their frustration comes from the inability to reach an impossible ideal.

Of course, Shaw’s evaluation of these obstructions is based on romantic notions of an exotic scene, and these notions, not the mangy dogs or dirty streets, are themselves inauthentic. Instead of an integrated or holistic assessment of the city, Shaw continually separates attractive from unattractive. The result communicates dissatisfaction with the whole. Part of this dissatisfaction is due to Shaw’s inability to reconcile his preconceptions about Constantinople with the reality of his experiences—a constant

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12 Other articles in *Travel & Exploration* display this same tendency. See, for example, “A Naturalist’s Trip to New Guinea” (Jan. 1909), or “Some Aspects of Morocco” (Feb. 1909).
source of tension for modern tourists. This inability in turn makes Shaw judge parts of his experiences as inauthentic, because his notion of the “real” city was formed before he had even arrived and does not coincide with his experiences, making him question not his perceptions, but the validity of the city itself.

Shaw’s perspective lies on the brink of enunciating what other writers in *Travel & Exploration* and other magazines of that era recognize and celebrate: that authentic experiences can be found not only in beauty or in idealized versions of a place, but rather, also in seeking an integrated perspective of a place in all its intricacy. This obviously is not the only way that travelers found authenticity, given the highly relative and various ways of understanding what makes something authentic. But in discussing why Shaw was so disappointed with Constantinople, it seems that the source of his dissatisfaction was his inability to synthesize what seemed to him to be incongruous elements of the city.

**Conclusion**

This chapter presents theoretical perspectives for understanding the concept of authenticity. The travel writers themselves applied the term “authentic” in a number of ways, some mapping easily onto critical perspectives, and others further complicating these positions. The result is that no single satisfactory definition for “authentic travel” exists in this time period—to try to pin down one definition would be oversimplified and inaccurate in terms of the many ways that writers examined and expressed their
experiences. However, a few general conclusions can be drawn about how travel writers conceptualized the authentic during the Edwardian era:

1. Broadly speaking, a strong desire for authentic experiences existed for both tourists and travelers. However, this desire manifested itself in highly individualized ways.

2. When travelers found or experienced the authentic, it was often expressed as a matter of internal perception or reaction, rather than evaluated by external groups or persons.

3. Edwardian travel writers shared a sense that the ability to find the authentic was changing and becoming more difficult as tourism changed along with the emerging self-consciousness characteristic of modernism. This modern self-consciousness differs from the Romantic sense of the term, which allowed more room for transcendence of the real and a move to the ideal. The notion of the ideal is more suspect in the modern period. While modern travel writers still clearly negotiated the relationship between real and ideal in travel experiences, more varied conceptions of the ideal grounded their particular manifestations of self-consciousness.

4. Understandings of authenticity as a concept depended on the tension between the real and the ideal. This tension resulted in the individual tourist carrying the burden of interpretation with regard to the search for authenticity.
The following chapters continue to examine how travel writers understood authentic experiences during the Edwardian period. In early twentieth-century travel accounts, writers express stronger resistance to or disregard of perceived expert advice or existing discourse about how to find authentic experiences in travel. The themes of the picturesque and the sublime, nostalgia and simultaneity, and adventure and exploration all speak to different ways in which travelers sought out authentic experiences in travel.
Chapter Three: The Persistence of the Picturesque and the Sublime

While traditionally English Grand Tourists had been motivated to visit historical sites or cities, by the late 1700s, more became interested in traveling for the sake of visiting landscapes and remote areas to experience picturesque or sublime qualities. The picturesque, which owed its popularity to the rise of landscape painting, and the sublime, which combined elements of the picturesque with more rugged and remote landscapes, both became part of a larger trend to seek encounters with nature as a primary goal of travel. In this chapter, the terms “picturesque” and “sublime” are used in two ways: as aesthetic frameworks resulting from a long history of landscape painting and poetry, and as goals or experiences that travelers sought to find by visiting particular locations. This search for ideal landscapes frequently determined the choice of destination and placed emphasis on what travelers should see on their journeys, thereby defining what was of value to English travelers.

The concepts of the picturesque and the sublime evolved throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but at the beginning of the twentieth century, British travelers still used these broad concepts and their associated sets of values as important goals of travel. Why did this remain constant when so many other changes to travel were taking place? James Buzard suggests that the picturesque contributes to what he calls the “authenticity effect”: the sense that a traveler’s notion of a place is best encapsulated
through an amalgamation of its parts. He argues that a picturesque vantage point helps a traveler pin down a feeling of wholeness: “the picturesque vision promised travellers a Coleridgean ‘symbol,’ shot through with the essence of the whole for which it stood” (188). For early twentieth-century travelers, the picturesque and the sublime also offered Edwardian travelers two means of assembling their experiences into a manageable frame. Despite shifts in other aspects of travel (for instance, the perception of a sharp divide between traveler and tourist, or the popularity of various destinations, or the technological advances of rail and automobile), the picturesque and the sublime consistently provided potential frames through which to shape an authentic experience.

To characterize these concepts in the first few years of the twentieth century, I begin by providing context for these terms to situate their use historically. In particular, I give a brief overview of how painting came to influence travelers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and how relatively little change occurred in the use of the terms from that time to the Edwardian period. I then discuss examples from the early twentieth-century magazines to show how travel writers used and wrote about these concepts in their travels. Articles in a range of magazines utilized the picturesque and the sublime in a number of ways, but the enduring proliferation of these concepts suggests stability in the presence of these frames in travel writing. Finally, I suggest possible reasons for why these conventions may still have served as functional frameworks for finding authenticity in travel during the rapidly changing years at the beginning of the twentieth century. In a period characterized as Janus-faced in its tendency to look to the past for guidance and
stability and simultaneously to anticipate the future, Edwardian travelers found familiar traditions in the picturesque and the sublime and were able to use these conventions as grounding elements for their travel experiences.

In the years leading up to 1914, various factors such as the onset of Cook’s tours and the increased speed of travel and communication by train, airplane, and telegraph may have intensified travelers’ desires to witness something ideal, beautiful, and timeless in their travels. Whether travelers realized it or not, the picturesque and the sublime were familiar concepts, as they provided ready-made categories for finding beauty. The conventions of the picturesque and the sublime did not diminish the perception of authenticity at a given location for this generation of travelers; rather, these conventions allowed travelers to mark their experiences as authentic and to ratify those experiences.

The sublime, the beautiful, and the picturesque: origins

By 1900, travel writers regularly employed the terms “sublime,” “beautiful,” and “picturesque” as descriptors for a scene. However, these terms were the subject of earlier debates in the eighteenth century regarding changes in aesthetic tastes. While Edwardian travel writers sometimes used the terms loosely, a brief overview of the origins of the terms in landscape painting helps explain the ways in which travelers used these framing devices to prioritize and understand their travel endeavors.

The preference for picturesque and sublime landscapes in travel also owes its lineage to the Romantic poets, who both influenced and were influenced by the landscape painters. Any Edwardian traveler likely would have been familiar with the work of
landscape painters as well as the writing of Shelley, Wordsworth, or Coleridge. These poets’ highly visual conceptions of landscape and nature and their emotional reactions to picturesque and sublime places contributed to cultural norms that lasted well after the turn of the twentieth century. Edwardian travelers were no exception: the evocation of Romantic poetry in the presence of idealized landscapes was not uncommon in the travel writing of the time. However, early twentieth-century travelers also faced a host of changes and factors that they carried with them to these picturesque or sublime landscapes. Specifically, many Edwardian travelers were quite aware of their positions as tourists. Since destinations were increasingly accessible due to expansion and improvement of train lines and road systems, more and more people could visit these destinations. English travelers therefore saw their compatriots in locations across the world, so the search for a highly personal, individual experience of a picturesque or sublime place was likely to take place in the company of others or be the result of the recommendation of others. This is to say that the sheer volume of tourism, in general, had an impact on the individual’s experience of the sublime or the picturesque.

Many discussions of the picturesque and the sublime as concepts in art and aesthetics begin with Longinus’s essay “On the Sublime” (c. 250 A.D.), in which Longinus outlines the effective use of rhetorical structures and techniques in writing to achieve “elevated style” (63). He describes five main sources of “elevated language”: 1) the ability to “form great conceptions;” 2) “vehement and inspired passion;” 3) the effective intersection of thought and expression; 4) “noble diction,” which includes
effective word choice and use of metaphor; and 5) “dignified and elevated composition” (65-66). He distinguishes between the first two sources, which are “innate,” and the last three, which result from the creation of art (65). While much of the essay is dedicated to discussion of various rhetorical techniques, it provides a foundational structure for later application of the sublime. In particular, the combination of innate characteristics and art influenced later writers such as Edmund Burke.

In his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1756), Burke differentiates between two related concepts: the sublime and the beautiful. He emphasizes a division between the passions caused by “self-preservation” and those caused by “society” (32, 33). Passion caused by self-preservation (also referred to as “delight” by Burke) is a result of the reduction of pain, whereas passion caused by society (also referred to as “pleasure” by Burke) is inherently good in and of itself (Boulton, xxxix). The former type of passion is the sublime, caused by the delightful experience of a brush with danger and is “the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling,” because “the ideas of pain are much more powerful than those which enter [the mind] on the part of pleasure” (32). The latter type of passion refers to the beautiful, which is passion caused by the pleasurable experience of affection, tenderness, or love.

These concepts combined ideas from several related fields, including poetry, landscape painting, and garden and landscape design. However, as Christopher Hussey argues, Burke’s two categories of sublime and beautiful “did not touch objects that had
neither the smoothness of the beautiful nor the overwhelmingness of the sublime” (60). A third category was needed to explain the gap between these characteristics; therefore, scenes that fit neither the sublime nor the beautiful were known as the picturesque.

Two important works responded to Burke’s *Enquiry* and ultimately formed the concept of the picturesque: William Gilpin’s 1782 *Observations on the River Wye*, and Uvedale Price’s 1794 *Essay on the Picturesque*. Boulton argues that the key distinction Gilpin makes between the picturesque and the beautiful is a quality of “roughness” present in the picturesque (xcv). Price, a member of the landed gentry who was interested in landscape design, defined the picturesque as exhibiting qualities that opposed those found in beauty: “namely roughness, sudden variation, and irregularity” (Hussey 66). Both Gilpin and Price used Burke’s concepts as foundational, but their works taken together form a third category that neither the sublime nor the beautiful had yet fully explained.¹³

In his study of the picturesque, Malcolm Andrews succinctly describes the standard characteristics usually found in a picturesque painting. These included the use of three distances (background, darker foreground, and a brightly lit middle distance) and *repoussoir* objects such as trees or ruins in the foreground on the sides of the painting and often extending in the shape of an arch on top to frame the view (29). We can see these

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principles at work in paintings such as Claude Lorrain’s 1646 *Landscape with Hagar and the Angel*. Often cited as a typical example of picturesque painting, this work follows all of the standards described above: the hazy background contains a bridge, gentle hills, and an old stone structure placed above the scene. Tall trees frame the image, and three small birds arch across the top, creating a circle and drawing the eye to the center of the painting. In the foreground, dwarfed in contrast with the rest of the landscape, the Angel bends over Hagar. While the title of the painting mentions these figures, the focus is clearly the landscape itself and the figures are complementary to the centrality of the landscape.

This collection of characteristics established a standard for what was desirable to travelers in an ideal landscape. By the twentieth century, such a picturesque scene would have been easy for the average traveler to recognize. Places that exemplified these characteristics were obvious travel destinations, because the picturesque had by then dominated aesthetic preferences so completely that to visit a place known to be picturesque would be almost a guarantee of a positive experience. As we will see, this assumption became more complicated and problematic in the twentieth century.

Similar to the picturesque in some ways, twentieth-century conceptions of the sublime also had their roots in landscape painting. However, the sublime prompted a different set of emotional reactions from the picturesque. By the turn of the nineteenth century, an increasing fascination with the sublime accompanied the conventions of

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14 See Appendix One.
landscape painting. According to Andrews, the sublime prompted an alternative response to beauty that was characterized by a heightened level of intensity:

All that directly threatens self-preservation causes terror; and terrifying experiences are the source of the sublime. Our experience of the Sublime is far greater in intensity than our experience of Beauty. Beauty attracts and reassures: the Sublime intimidates. (42)

However, Andrews argues that the sublime was not an experience travelers wanted to avoid; rather, it was attractive and thrilling, a safe flirtation with the suggestion of danger and fear.

An important element of safe distance was part of the formula: if danger came too close, the traveler was consumed by terror and the elements of enjoyment and critical distance disappear, thereby negating the possibility of attraction to and understanding of the experience. Andrew Benjamin explains that if the danger became too real, the subject simply would be consumed by his emotion (156). The sublime only exists as such when the intensity of the experience includes an element of distance from actual terror. Benjamin continues,

The sublime as a possibility only arises because of distance and modification. The role of analogy [ . . . ] arising in the move from pure terror to its comparable situation—allows for that which terrifies to become, through a form of modification, an object for a subject and thus able to be experienced. (156)

Here, we can see the separation of the actual and the ideal in landscape painting and in travel experiences and perceive how the sublime is a result of often controlled, measurable distance between the actual and the ideal. Instead, the sublime relies on
activating the imagination of the beholder. We can see this balance between imagination and reality in the descriptions of the Himalayas discussed below.

The foregrounding of emotion in both sublime and picturesque experiences reveals another important influence on travel writing in the early twentieth century: Romantic poetry. As both Andrews and Hussey discuss, landscape painting evolved in tandem with Romanticism, and British Romantic poets describe both sublime and picturesque scenes. Wordsworth’s “Tintern Abbey” and Shelley’s “Mont Blanc,” for example, explore characteristics of both concepts and stress the experience of nature and landscape through emotional experience.

“Tintern Abbey” is often cited as representative of the landscape, and also the corresponding emotional engagement with that landscape, characteristic of the picturesque. The poem depicts quiet woods, the “soft inland murmur” of the river, overgrown hedgerows, and pastoral farms in slight decay (2-4, 14-16). The natural elements of the poem prompt physical and visceral responses: “sensations sweet, / Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart; / And passing even into my purer mind, / With tranquil restoration” (27-30). The scene connects to the blood, heart, and mind of the speaker, producing calm and positive physical sensations and then prompting reflections on other aspects of the speaker’s life. The close connection between physical, emotional, and mental reactions to a landscape with particular characteristics exemplifies the desired effect of visiting a picturesque location: the visitor experiences the restorative qualities of an encounter with nature.
“Mont Blanc,” in contrast, conveys a sublime landscape: the river in this poem “ceaselessly bursts and raves” above the mountain, which “pierc[es] the infinite sky” (10-11, 60). Whereas deep connection and positivity characterize the speaker’s response in “Tintern Abbey,” the speaker in “Mont Blanc” expresses different emotional and physical responses. Here, the speaker’s mind “hold[s] an unrelenting interchange / with the clear universe” (39-40). Awe at the vastness and power of the universe (as the mountainous scene represents) dominates the speaker’s experience. He learns of the “remote, serene and inaccessible” power that “dwells apart” in nature (97, 96). Rather than satisfactory connection with the natural scene as in a picturesque landscape, the speaker receives knowledge, is in awe of the power he beholds, and is left with a lasting impression of fearful respect.

Both poems engage with physical landscape as well as with the affective impact of the landscape on the poets’ thoughts. Taken together, these poems inform the larger discussion for two reasons: first, they are representative of a body of writing that shaped the concepts of the sublime and the picturesque. They are also part of the literary and cultural legacy with which early twentieth-century travelers would have been familiar. Indeed, the travel articles discussed below reveal the direct impact that the Romantics had on the ways in which travelers framed and wrote about their experiences in the early twentieth century.

The picturesque and the sublime permeated cultural understandings of beauty and provided different frameworks for what made a place attractive and desirable. By the
time Edwardians were traveling all over the world, they carried with them these inherited notions of what to look for when encountering landscapes and how to measure them against conceptions of the ideal.

*The picturesque and the sublime at the beginning of the twentieth century*

If we move forward to the beginning of the twentieth century, the three terms “picturesque,” “sublime,” and “beautiful” had become so ingrained in the tourist’s vocabulary that they no longer retained their novelty from a century and a half earlier. All three terms had also become interchangeable at times, and many of the articles profiled in this chapter often use these terms loosely or without discussion of the difference between the concepts. In particular, “sublime” and “picturesque” continued to be used to describe scenes that travelers witnessed throughout the world. (“Beauty” in particular was used so broadly and to describes so many types of experiences that it becomes less useful to trace the evolution of this term in the particular travel writing in the magazines during this time period.) By this point, “the devices became conventions, and the conventions in turn supplied the descriptive vocabulary of the Picturesque tourist” (Andrews 29). The conventions associated with the picturesque and the sublime then helped tourists understand what to privilege in their travels. Though they are concepts that originated much earlier than the turn of the twentieth century, the sublime and the picturesque persist as devices tourists and travelers alike used in order to make sense of travel experiences and to achieve a feeling of authenticity. Because their meanings had broadened to describe a more general scene or a reaction to a scene, it is fitting that these
concepts remained easily accessible terms to convey to readers a sense of a place. Nevertheless, a few basic elements remained true to the origins of the terms. Different kinds of landscapes evoked different kinds of reactions. As a result, locations often appealed to tourists based on the kind of emotional experience that a tourist could expect to have when visiting that place.

Why are the concepts of the picturesque and the sublime particularly relevant at the beginning of the twentieth century? In an increasingly fragmented world characterized by technological and social changes, these frames offered a sense of stability, connection, and understanding that often counteracted the experiences in other aspects of people’s lives. These connections dovetailed with a contemporary desire to impose structure on the chaos of culture: if the traveler could find a sense of structure, then he or she experienced a sense of satisfaction resulting from the ratification of feelings of connection and authenticity. Tourists desired not just to have experiences when traveling, but also to understand those experiences. No one wanted to feel like a tourist—even self-identified tourists still sought authentic experiences. The picturesque and the sublime offered two lenses, accessible to “tourists” and “travelers” alike, through which to perceive experiences.

Travel writers in the early twentieth century used the sublime and the picturesque in different contexts, despite the terms’ relation to each other. First, the burgeoning

15 See Chapter One for discussion of changes between 1905-1914.

16 See Chapter One for discussion of how these particular terms evolved.
middle class could more readily access locations fitting criteria of the picturesque at this time. For instance, travel writers often cited locations in Wales or the Lake District as examples of ideal picturesque scenes within England. Likewise, Italy, the ideal location of the original landscape painters, was at this time already accessible to Cook’s tourists. Travelers could reach these locations at relatively little expense via established transportation routes, and members of both sexes and a wider range of social classes considered these destinations to be socially acceptable.

In contrast, travelers had to make longer journeys to reach landscapes described as sublime in nature: these were often found outside of England or Italy, in places such as America, Canada, the Middle East, or the Himalayas. The accessibility of these places to the middle class was necessarily limited by factors of time (a short holiday made it difficult to travel extensive distances) and expense. Even if travelers were not limited by time, reaching sublime landscapes often incurred a large expense. For example, visiting a remote peak in the Rockies required travel by ship, then by train, and then by either motor car or carriage just to reach a resort or hotel located in the foothills. The traveler would then have to arrange the logistics of actually reaching the desired mountain peak to witness the sublime view. This could involve hiring porters, buying (often expensive) gear, and investing a good deal of time to make the climb. As we can see, this type of experience is not best suited to a budget tourist with a short two-week vacation. Even those English middle class travelers who could reach the Alps on a short vacation might not have had the means to travel beyond established tourist destinations.
These class-based constraints directly impacted the articles in the travel magazines. Editors chose to publish articles that appealed to both the armchair traveler as well as to the tourist with the means or desire to get off the beaten track occasionally, because these two groups were often part of the same audience. A large portion of English travelers may have chosen to travel to more popular destinations like Italy because of budget and time constraints, but they still wanted to read about more exotic destinations like South America. Magazines like *Travel & Exploration* therefore ran articles catering to these varying desires.

Despite the evidence shown in the publications’ sensitivity to class and audience, not all sublime landscapes were beyond the reach of the average early twentieth-century traveler. The concept of the sublime was born in discussions that included both the Alps and the smaller mountains of Cumbria, and by this time, travel to northern England was easily accessible. However, the relative difficulty of visiting a sublime location resulted in the publication of many articles in general-audience travel magazines about landscapes that most of the readership would not be visiting in person. The travel writers knew they were not writing for their fellow travelers; rather, the audience consisted mainly of armchair travelers. Their job, then, was twofold: to convey a sense of place through writing, and, by extension, to help the reader understand what was important about that place or experience. By starting with the basic concepts of picturesque and sublime landscapes and experiences, writers could assume that their audiences would understand
this cultural shorthand, thereby situating their experiences in an already-established framework of principles.

As the following sections argue, the picturesque and the sublime provide two frameworks for travel in a changing world. While tourists in 1909 might have read Shelley’s “Mont Blanc” in preparation for their trips to the Alps, they knew that Shelley’s experience of the Alps was only a partial preparation for their own. The changes to elements of travel over the intervening decades influenced how a twentieth-century traveler’s reactions to the sublime or the picturesque, including the means of travel, the explosion of tourism, the connections to home while traveling, and even concepts of home or nationhood.

One may wonder why the sublime and the picturesque continued to be such pervasive themes in travel writing. Evidence from Edwardian travel magazines suggests that it may be the very sense of stability or familiarity inherent in these terms’ legacies that kept these concepts at the forefront of travelers’ minds. While the picturesque offered a safer, more demure kind of experience, the sublime promised something more extreme. Still, this sense of thrill was achievable within a recognizable set of characteristics. This feeling of recognition would likely have been welcome to travelers whose social and cultural contextual footing was shifting. In a society that was increasingly ambivalent about imperialism and its decline, in which social class structures were undergoing upheavals, and in which technology was changing the ways in which people experienced
time and space in fundamental ways, it is no wonder that certain elements of traditional ways of thinking about travel would have remained dominant.

Jose Harris, for example, writes of the ways in which on the surface, social class in Britain between 1870 and 1914 came to be an “all-embracing” category between the “ruling class” and the “working class” (6-7). Harris complicates this simple division, explaining that while this two-class model begins to explain the dominant divisions in British society, examples related to religious beliefs, household practices, politics, and education show social movement that defied this two-class system. Travel habits and practices often existed outside of the restrictions of social class back home. For example, Harris points out that “the British on holiday moved up a class” (10). The social freedom allowed on vacation could help to explain tourists’ reliance on categories like the picturesque and the sublime. These concepts were broad enough to provide recognizable points of reference when one’s class status was in flux. In two different ways, these categories offered travelers the potential to have an authentic travel experience within an already-established framework.

*The picturesque in the magazines*

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the term “picturesque” was so commonplace in the tourist’s vocabulary that it became a watered-down term often used to refer to any pretty place worthy of seeing during one’s travels. However, upon closer examination, I find that the magazines actually constructed multiple definitions of the term and using them in different ways. The writers use the picturesque for several
purposes: to describe both people and landscapes; to conjure images of pre-modernity; to convey qualities of being both rustic and structured (or formulaic); and to describe actual nature as well as the manipulation of nature to form an idealized or artificial version. Many descriptions recognize the picturesque as inauthentic, but travelers still seek it in order to have authentic experiences. This apparent contradiction was possible because of the multitude of possibilities for authentic experience that Pearce and Moscardo describe. In their figuration, authenticity in seemingly inauthentic circumstances is possible because tourists are able to choose which particular elements are important about the situation.\footnote{See discussion of Pearce and Moscardo’s perspective in Chapter Two.} Many tourists understood the constructed nature of the picturesque: that it was a cultural construction and not necessarily an innate characteristic of a place. At the same time, the long legacy of the picturesque added credibility to its existence and its attraction as a defining feature of many tourist destinations. If a tourist was able to identify and mark a location according to its picturesque characteristics (even if those characteristics were artificial or manipulated), then the act of identification produced satisfaction and a feeling of having had an authentic experience. These variations and contradictions indicate the complicated cultural constructions in early twentieth century travel, all packaged in a seemingly straightforward concept.

In particular, travel writers use the term in ways that reveal several opposing elements present in the travel magazines. First, the picturesque was desirable to some precisely because it was seen as anti-modern. It also often felt authentic, even though it
was a long established and defined framework that could be redeployed repeatedly for each new traveler. Finally, this framework either subtly or overtly often revealed an imperialist perspective: the gaze of the traveler served to frame the experiences of the other in exotic locations. Far from being a simple term, the picturesque is both a cultural construction as well as a tool used to construct authentic experiences for Edwardian travelers.

The travel articles provide descriptions that exemplify the picturesque in landscape painting, thereby alluding to the importance of visual representation and communicating the idealized principles that determined what one should see while traveling. For example, in a 1907 article in the *Idler* magazine, a writer who only calls him or herself an “Impressionist” describes one of the valleys in Spain by gesturing toward a conventional ideal of a picturesque landscape:

> In short, with its background of hills, its magnificent belt of woodland, and its sparkling river, it is most happily situated in every respect, while the surrounding gardens, with their tree-shaded walks, their nightingales, their fountains and their flowers, form such a bright and glowing picture that it would seem as if nature and art had both combined to render it beautiful. (650)

This description incorporates key elements of an idealized picturesque view: varied hills in the background and lighter elements (the river) in the foreground (Andrews

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18 See Chapter One for introduction to this and the other magazines discussed below.

19 Correspondence files prior to 1915 for Chatto and Windus, the publisher of the *Idler*, no longer exist. The Victorian Research Guide database entry on the *Idler* does not provide any detail on this pseudonymous author.
29). However, the “Impressionist” simultaneously fails to adhere to the picturesque ideal: the author describes the scene as “bright and glowing.” One of the early picturesque standards in the eighteenth century was, simply put, an overwhelming use of brown paint, since muted tones in shades of brown were felt to best represent a natural scene (Andrews 28). However, as artistic tastes evolved, so did adherence to these older standards. As a result, “picturesque” evolved from a specific term to mean something as loosely defined as “a beautiful landscape.” This usage is typical of how writers used the word in several contexts in many travel publications of the time, but it indicates links to the word’s origins in painting.

One reason for the staying power of the picturesque is the proliferation of its multiple uses and distinctions: it was an easily recognizable way to describe a place. In the same article, the “Impressionist” expresses his or her delight upon visiting Granada:

> it at once recalled to my mind Moore’s poem about Bendemere’s Stream, with its nightingales and its roses. For Granada is literally embowered in roses, and the nightingales sing there so sweetly ‘all the day long’ that every sense is this pleasantly ministered to for the time being. The views it commands, too, are enchanting [. . .] Even the rocks are covered with wild flowers and, in addition to other blooms, the brilliant crimson blossoms of the pomegranate make what painters call such ‘a charming spot of colour,’ that the picture is thus complete in every detail. (655)

Here, the “Impressionist” expresses a common touristic experience and regular feature of the picturesque: what I call the “thrill of recognition.” While the “Impressionist” had never been to Granada before, the experience immediately recalled a lyric poem about an
idyllic, natural scene that resembles this current experience. While Moore’s poem is about Persia, the “Impressionist” is reminded of the imagery of the poem and therefore takes great pleasure in associating the natural elements of Granada with those in the poem. The poem acts as an idealized view of nature, as a standard against which the “Impressionist” can evaluate Granada. This recognition of beauty, through comparison to the poem, is heightened by the painterly qualities surrounding him or her: the wild flowers and beautiful scenery. This combination produces a satisfying picture of beauty, partially because the “Impressionist” is able to recognize beauty that a poet and a painter would both appreciate.

The inclusion of both poetry and painting in the description of this ideal landscape points to another aspect of the picturesque: a set of broad conventions exists that teach the tourist what and how to see. In this way, travel becomes a vehicle for perpetuating ideological positions embedded in society. Values of imperialist idealism, individuality, and aesthetic conservatism underlie many travelers’ understandings of authentic travel experiences as communicated to the middle class Edwardian audience. By conveying these principles in the context of travel, the magazines communicated their centrality to the armchair travelers at home, who could then carry on these values when they themselves went abroad.

20 Thomas Moore’s 1817 poem is part of a larger collection entitled *Lalla Rookh, An Oriental Romance*. This connection conveys both picturesque and imperialist themes, since Granada was the site of Muslim rule prior to the reconquest.
The “Impressionist” makes clear his or her deference to poets and painters alike in setting the standards by which one judges beauty. In this way, the writer trusts the authority of others to help define the experience. Perhaps counterintuitively, the turn to convention and established norms helps to produce a satisfying, authentic experience. While tourists sought destinations and experiences that were off the beaten track, clearly a competing impulse was at play: more commonly visited destinations were often surrounded by a particular discourse, while less frequented places could not offer the same points of reference. Therefore, the further a tourist strayed from the beaten track, the less he was able to interpret his experience within a known set of preconceptions about a place. The lack of points of reference could result in the tourist’s inability to mark an experience as either authentic or inauthentic.\textsuperscript{21} The choice of “Impressionist” as pseudonym, then, seems quite fitting and intentional. Impressionist painting used the same subject matter as picturesque landscape painting, but defied its conventions. Similarly, this writer sought to portray picturesque landscapes and locations, but worked to convey the new or authentic elements of these places to the readers.

Also important to address here is the connection between the picturesque and imperialism. With its connections to a deeply rooted Muslim past, Granada functions as a site full of rich history. The “Impressionist’s” connection of Granada with Moore’s poem,\textsuperscript{21} E. M. Forster addresses this very possibility in \textit{A Room with a View} in 1908. When Lucy Honeychurch loses her guidebook in Santa Croce, she becomes confused and unsure of where to focus her attention. Forster makes clear that for Lucy, this lack of guidance is precisely where authentic experience begins. Not all of Forster’s contemporaries portray the lack of guidance in this manner.

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itself characterized by imperialist themes, illustrates the British traveler’s tendency to conflate the values of imperialism with the characteristics of the picturesque. By virtue of its broad application as a term, the picturesque offered a starting point for many tourists visiting destinations across the globe. Whether in Spain, Egypt, or India, a tourist could use the picturesque as a rough standard for identifying beauty. Once that moment of identification occurred, tourists could feel as if their experiences were validated and therefore authentic. Colonialist structures complicate the picturesque in many cases: at the turn of the century, the British empire still dominated vast swaths of land across the globe, so the imperialist mindset would have been an unconscious element of most English tourists’ perspectives. This made for a particularly complicated experience of the picturesque in British colonies, especially since for many writers, the people themselves were a part of the picturesque landscape.\textsuperscript{22}

The “Impressionist” was not alone in her loose application of the term. Several articles in \textit{Travel & Exploration} use the term, but not always in the same sense, thereby adding to the complicated ways in which the picturesque functioned at this time. For instance, in an article entitled “A Tyrol Holiday” in the February 1910 issue of \textit{Travel & Exploration}, Frankfort Sommerville describes traveling through various towns in this Austrian region. He uses the term “picturesque” in several different contexts within the same article, each suggestive of different ways in which the term was implemented. He

\textsuperscript{22} See, for example, Colonel Beresford’s description of Uzbekistan published in \textit{Travel & Exploration}, below.
applies the term not only to landscapes, but also to people. First, he writes that the phrase “A Tyrolean peasant,”

brings to mind the idea of a picturesque countryman, sturdy, athletic and keen-eyed, well enough off in his own way, loving colour like an Italian, self-confident and proud, who if he greets you does so because he is a gentleman and not because he expects to get anything out of you. (99)

The image of this countryman is quaint, rustic, and decidedly un-modern. By pairing the term “peasant” with characteristics of athleticism, sturdiness, confidence, and politeness, Sommerville emphasizes that this particular combination of features should be admired.

Sommerville’s use of the term “picturesque” to describe a person suggests further extension of the term. If the picturesque originated in the discourse of landscape painting, why would it be applied to a person? Traditionally, landscape painters often used the figures of rustic peasants as focal points within landscapes: the peasant was a part of the landscape itself, just as much as the trees or buildings. And peasants were often an important feature of the landscape, as they conveyed notions of a simpler lifestyle, recalled an agrarian past, and to an upper-class viewer, highlighted the contrast between the viewer’s life and that of the peasant. John Constable’s The Hay Wain is a classic example of the use of the peasant figure in landscape painting.23 The painting features farmland, an old cottage, and mature trees, all surrounding two central figures of men driving a cart pulled by oxen through a pond. The figures of the two men performing this laborious task contribute to the overall image, as they are inextricably tied to their setting.

23 See Appendix Two.
In the same way, Sommerville perceives that the characteristics of the Tyrolean man reflect his heritage and location. In other words, some underlying characteristics are unique to the picturesque and can be applied both to people and to places. One of these characteristics could be a feeling that the Tyrolean, as well as places felt to be picturesque, existed in opposition to contemporary culture. For example, the physical characteristics of the Tyrolean suggest a connection to the land or an agrarian past that was felt to be lost in the modern world. And the Tyrolean’s ability to be a peasant with the innate mannerisms of a gentleman (as opposed to a scheming opportunist) also recalls an idealized past or state of nature. Sommerville’s choices reveal that his use of the term “picturesque” incorporates an opposition to modernity as a defining characteristic.

This opposition to modernity provided an opportunity for authentic experience to Edwardian travelers. Both upper and middle class tourists could encounter difference from their everyday lives by seeking the values of the picturesque, thus aligning themselves with John Urry’s formulation of authentic experience as originating in the touristic experience of difference or the extraordinary. Sommerville’s expression of the pull of the picturesque represents a distinctly Edwardian attitude toward tradition and the past. As a set of aesthetic values, the picturesque privileges the pastoral. But an Edwardian traveler like Sommerville would have had to reconcile his contemporary context and experiences with his desire to value picturesque experiences—the latter of which would likely have opposed his normal framing of the world. This ambivalence was
a large part of early twentieth century travelers’ sustained attraction to picturesque landscapes.

Sommerville also uses the term “picturesque” to show how it often resulted from artifice or manipulation, while it also emphasized the value of the past. As discussed above, the picturesque evolved through the arranging of natural elements to form an ideal image. Sommerville remarks on this traditional characteristic directly:

At our door was an almost virgin forest, with moss-grown tree trunks lying as they had fallen—things of beauty wrought by the embroidery of time. Little streams ran down the mountain side—whither they listed. I make a point of this because in parts of Germany and Austria the streams are made to flow in the direction required of them to suit man’s idea of the picturesque. (102)

Here, we see a literal and physical application of a principle to a natural landscape as opposed to a choice made on a canvas (not unlike the ha-ha walls of country houses in England). In picturesque painting, allegiance to realistic representation was less important than rearranging certain elements to form an idealized version of nature. This concept, borrowed from landscape painting, was applied to actual physical landscapes to reshape them to conform to an artistic ideal.

Sommerville’s direct commentary on his knowledge of this trend in Germany and Austria contributes to his understanding of the picturesque. He consciously distinguishes between the scene he is looking at—an “almost virgin forest”—and the landscape that was often shaped to create a picturesque scene. Here in the Tyrol, he finds no evidence of this kind of manipulation; only the passage of time has created a picturesque scene, and he prefers this natural decay to the manipulated version. In his use of the term,
Sommerville describes both manipulated and naturally occurring scenes as equally picturesque.

How then can travelers see both artificial and natural scenes as representative of an ideal version of a place? As Pearce and Moscardo discuss in Chapter Two, the beholder’s perspective and preferences define authenticity, and these points of view are unique to each person. Therefore, while one traveler might define truly “Tyrolean” by the absence of artifice, another traveler might not care that a stream was rerouted to make an Austrian forest a bit more beautiful and more aligned with picturesque principles. The apparent self-contradiction of this element of the picturesque (that it can be either wholly natural or artificial and still be considered picturesque) can exist within the framework of this concept. Here, we can see how modern understandings of subjectivity influenced Edwardian travel writers’ expressions of authentic experience. Sommerville shows that tourists were able to ignore the obvious contradictions between nature and artifice in scenes like these. Perspectives that validated individuality and subjectivity would have influenced Edwardian travelers. Walter Pater, for example, writers of experience as a highly individualized “swarm of impressions” (119). This ability to suspend disbelief was both a possibility and a choice, meaning that a subjective, individual point of view was an acceptable form of engagement with a place.

The articles by both Sommerville and the “Impressionist” illustrate the complex and varied use of the picturesque as a framework for their travels. Both grapple with the relationships among nature, art, and artifice, and how each of these elements contributes
to the authentic experience. In particular, the “Impressionist’s” description of how nature and art combine to form a beautiful picture is significant. The description of the scene is not separate from the writer’s conception of nature in terms of art; both elements combine to produce beauty. This instantaneous oscillation between art and nature produces a situation in which the best way to describe the natural scene is through comparison with a picture—a position many of his or her fellow writers echo. By the early twentieth century, the dominance and endurance of the picturesque conditioned travelers to understand the real or the authentic in terms of virtual or mediated experiences, as expressed through art and poetry.

The description of both people and places as picturesque highlights another element of this theme: the imperialist undertones that often surfaced in descriptions of picturesque places. For example, in a 1909 article in Travel & Exploration, Colonel Beresford describes the people of Bokhara (in present-day Uzbekistan) by focusing on their exoticism and their inferiority:

Nothing can exceed the picturesque aspect of the people in the streets. Scarcely a woman is seen; if one be visible, she is swathed in indigo blue, her features hidden behind a horsehair veil. The men [. . .] all wear turbans of the finest white muslin [. . .] The robes that clothe him are of the softest silk from Samarkand, dyed in the brightest, but not inharmonious tones of yellow, green, or a splendid, rich brown [. . .] They are of noble appearance and of perfect manners. Some ill-looking scoundrels, a few blind, halt, maimed, or lepers, contrast in their wretched rags with the general cleanliness and comfort. The streets are constantly swept, and but for the indefinable ‘Asian’ smell, Bokhara on the surface seems clean to the beholder. (169)
In this passage, and in many similar ones throughout the travel articles of this time, writers express the contradictions characteristic of imperialist attitudes: the people of Bokhara are at once noble, exotic, and clean, but they also have the capacity to be wretched and smelly. The combination of awe, attraction, and revulsion to many cultures travelers visit helps characterize what a “picturesque native” might look like, whether in Africa, or the Middle East, or any number of colonized or formerly colonized places in the world visited by British tourists.

Beresford writes as part of a long tradition of infusing travel narratives with imperialist perspectives—an unsurprising tradition, given Britain’s extensive imperial past. Mary Louise Pratt explains how Victorian discovery narratives express and create value in a given situation. First, the landscape is “esteticized. The sight is seen as a painting” (204). Next, the discoverer expresses the features of the landscape as imbued with a “density of meaning”: “the landscape is represented as extremely rich in material and semantic significance” (204). And finally, Pratt explains the “mastery” that the discoverer exerts over the landscape:

The metaphor of the painting itself is suggestive. If the scene is a painting, then Burton is both the viewer there to judge and appreciate it, and the verbal painter who produces it for others. From the painting analogy it also follows that what Burton sees is all there is, and that the landscape was intended to be viewed from where he has emerged upon it. Thus the scene is deictically ordered with reference to his vantage point, and is static. (205)

Pratt expresses the complicated position of Victorian travel writers in many situations: as both the viewer and the interpreter of a given place within this cultural framework.
influenced by imperialism, travel writers were often in positions to judge as well as to recreate a scene in writing for the readership. However, as the magazines in the first decades of the twentieth century exemplify, Edwardian travel writers are perhaps less confident in the finality of their judgments of their travel experiences and their own positions within an imperialist framework. Even within Beresford’s portrayal of Bokhara is an interest in contrasts, as well as the unknowable elements of the scene. The end of the above passage (that “Bokhara on the surface seems clean to the beholder”) acknowledges Beresford’s own position as an outsider, as only seeing the surface. He pairs this recognition of superficiality with “seems”—a verb that suggests doubt or a lack of sureness about his own position. While the Victorian air of mastery still remains a marker of imperialism in these texts, the Edwardian travel writers also display a more common tendency to question their own positions as masters of the visual scenes that they witness.

Beresford’s portrayal of the people of Bokhara as picturesque natives reduces their presence to the status of props, or repousoir objects, as in a painting. They functionally serve as part of the framework of the visual scene. Like the buildings and the animals, the people contribute to Beresford’s impression of the city’s picturesque elements. By romanticizing the material lives of the men and women he sees, Sommerville illustrates how the picturesque can exemplify an imperialist perspective in certain contexts.
A final element of the picturesque as exhibited in the magazines involves the contrast between the idealized picturesque and the reality of a scene. While Sommerville shows how both manipulated and unmanipulated scenes can be described as picturesque, Amy Gretton reveals how her understanding of the picturesque is tied both to her previous knowledge of a place and to her personal idea of what a picturesque place should look like. The obvious modernity of the scene runs contrary to Gretton’s wish to experience the picturesque. In her article “Across France in a Motor Car” (Travel & Exploration 1909), she compares with disappointment the forest at Fontainebleau with suburban London:

Fontainebleau—a forest which, still beautiful, now alas contrives [. . .] to suggest in a subtle way suburbs and Hampstead Heath. As one dashes past the woods, one longs to see in the distant clearings the self-same pictures that Corot and Daubigny saw, but whether or not it is owing to the trim sand rides on each side of the road, to the careful information posted up everywhere with regard to the trees, or to the admirable indications found at the beginning of each path into the wood, one can only imagine now, at the end of a glade, not a dreamy landscape with shadowy figures and mysterious trees, but a smart little kiosk for coffee, covered with the most concrete form of advertisement and occupied by an excellent bourgeois family out for a day’s pleasuring in the country. (235)

Several factors are responsible for the shift Gretton expresses. First, improvements in the highway systems made places like Fontainebleau more accessible and therefore more heavily used and frequented by tourists. Second, Gretton is disappointed that the site’s markers are too plentiful—the coffee kiosk is a little too convenient—and therefore, the location is too overdeveloped as a tourist site, thus inhibiting her ability to see the experience as authentic.
The images landscape painters produced (the markers through which she understands this place) influence Gretton’s initial impression of Fontainebleau. In *The Tourist*, Dean MacCannell explains the thrill of recognition in terms of touristic markers. Central to this concept is the premise that “usually, the first contact a sightseer has with a sight is not the sight itself but with some representation thereof” (110). MacCannell uses the term “marker” to refer to the peripheral set of texts or artifacts that refer to the actual sight. The existence of touristic markers helps shape the meaning of the sight; in fact, if no markers exist, MacCannell argues that a sight isn’t really a sight at all. Tourists seeking the picturesque often took their inspiration from landscape paintings, and they therefore often experienced disappointment, confusion, or a lack of satisfaction when they finally reached the vantage point from which a scene was said to be painted, only to find that the scene did not match their expectations.

MacCannell refers to de Saussure’s explanation of the gap between signifier and signified in his discussion of touristic markers, and Gretton’s description lends itself to this structuralist perspective as well. The signifier in Gretton’s case is a traditional painting by Corot or Daubigny of this forest; the signified is the forest itself. However, the experience of the forest reminds Gretton of yet another place: Hampstead Heath. Her description highlights a feeling that the forest is no longer authentic; because obvious tourist markers fill and commercialize this location, she cannot experience the forest in a direct manner. There is a disjunction between signifier and signified here, between marker and attraction, but the chain of signification fails to connect: painting points to
forest, but the forest in turn points to another place, rather than being simply the signified or the attraction. It becomes a marker for Hampstead Heath for this tourist. It seems that one effect of this phenomenon in travel is a sense of disappointment, or that even after a tourist sees a sight, he or she prefers to privilege the touristic marker as the ideal or “real” thing.  

Gretton expected upon reaching the forest to find a picturesque scene that matched her understanding of what the picturesque contained. Instead, she encountered elements of the scene that were incongruous with her expectations: the presence of advertising, a café, and other tourists were all a blight on her vision of what the scene should be, and therefore her ideal image of the picturesque was unattainable and consequently inauthentic.

The above examples illustrate the ways in which the term “picturesque” came to function for the Edwardian traveler. In sum, the picturesque is a multivalent term that provided a framework within which to interpret a sense of place. The picturesque can be described as idealized, rustic or premodern, manipulated, structured or formulaic, and often inauthentic, but at the same time, it was used as part of a search to attain an authentic experience of a given place. It could mean simply “a pretty place that is pleasant to look at,” but it extended far beyond this. However, the picturesque still provided a relatively stable, ready-made frame through which Edwardian travelers were

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24 This concept connects to travel writers’ expressions of the past and the sense that the best or the real experience happened elsewhere or at another time; see Chapter Four for discussion of this phenomenon.
able to identify their priorities and seek out authentic experiences. As discussed below, this contrasts with the way in which the sublime functioned as a framework for travel experiences.

The sublime in the magazines

If we can understand the picturesque as an enduring framework for achieving travel goals in the early twentieth century, the sublime is a more extreme manifestation of a related tradition. While the picturesque provides a frame for experience, the sublime seeks to expand beyond the frame. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this interest in the sublime is reflected in both landscape painting (via an increase in the appearance of craggy mountains, ruins, and storms) and in the shifting popularity of tourist destinations (for instance, the Alps become a destination, not just a nuisance). By the twentieth century, tourist resorts had been established at such locations as the Alps and Niagara Falls, so sublime landscapes were increasingly accessible and popular (though still relatively less so than picturesque destinations). The sublime provided a different kind of experience from the picturesque: it promised a sense of thrill and excitement not typical of picturesque scenes. As the magazines show, travelers sought the sublime with a different set of goals or priorities when compared with those held by the picturesque traveler. As in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a sense of vastness, expansive scale, isolation, otherworldliness, introspection, awe, and an ambivalent attraction to and fear of the scene are all incorporated in the sublime in the early twentieth century. Death and decay, inherent in the sublime, do not figure in the picturesque. As a result, tourists
flocked to places such as mountains, oceans, or remote wilderness as locations at which to have a sublime experience. The combination of these characteristics produces another mode of experiencing place during travel. While the sublime and the picturesque have a shared history (especially in their roots in Romanticism), the sublime represents an alternative set of priorities for travelers during this time.

One feature of the sublime several magazine articles portray is the desire to convey the visual experience of a sublime landscape through both text and images. This visual expression often accompanied an explanation of the emotions prompted in the viewer. For example, a 1907 travel article in the *Art Journal* focuses on a remote area of Ireland and embodies the conventions of the sublime, both in the art (reproductions of paintings) and the accompanying text. A sense of vastness dominates the images. In one painting, giant cliffs that plunge into the sea dwarf tiny sailboats below. In another, the image is paired with the text that together convey a Gothic sensibility: a painting of a ruined castle perched on a craggy peak (painted by a “W. Monk”) is explained through narrative that describes an old marriage tradition in the area:

> It is said that marriages on the island have been solemnized by a priest signaling from the old coastguard station on Horn Head. There is a suggestion of the gallows about the contrivance, but such a ceremony sounds romantic enough” (Yockney 40).

The combination of image and text raises several important issues. First, the two function in tandem to create a multimodal experience for the reader. The author does not simply describe the scene, and he does not allow the image to stand on its own. Rather, the interaction between image and text conveys a certain mood. In this particular article,
several elements contribute to themes of vastness, distance, scale, and the passage of time—the castle ruins, the mention of the gallows, traditions, the distance between the island and the coast guard station—which all interact to produce in the reader an understanding of what this place would be like to visit.

However, not all magazines were able to combine images and text to articulate a sense of place. Instead, many articles relied on imagistic descriptions and literary techniques to explain the sublimity of a place. For example, in a 1905 *Westminster Review* article, Herbert Vaughan discusses the main attraction on the small Italian island of Ischia:

[...]

Here, the attraction of Ischia is attributed to its sublime properties: the sense of immense scale produced by the cliffs, the towering castle, and the powerful properties of cliffs and the sea. These proportions make the town seem tiny by comparison, producing what Malcolm Andrews refers to as a sense of agreeable horror (42). Highly visual language demonstrates this sensory experience as a theme found throughout Edwardian travel writing: a push toward the pictorial and the desire to “paint” in words and images. While Vaughan’s description is not as spare as the imagist poetry that would arise in a few short
years, one can see a parallel with both styles’ emphasis on visual descriptions to convey a snapshot image of a place.

Travelers could encounter the sublime, however, not only in locations that contained a dilapidated castle towering above the sea (though this formula is found again and again throughout the magazines as ideal destinations if one were seeking a sublime landscape). Another article, “Mountain Solitudes”25 (by Herbert D. Williams, Quiver 1909), takes up one of the aspects of sublimity in a more general manner. Many articles published during this time period discussed “wilderness” travel to remote lodges in Canada or Lapland or other obscure camping destinations,26 but this article is unique in that it does not focus on just one location. Rather, it discusses a theme: solitude in the mountains. Williams asks, “What is it that makes the mountain solitude attractive to us? Is it merely its utter contrast from our everyday surroundings, its peace and quiet after the strife of the days, the healthy wind from its heights?” (930). This travel article breaks from the normative formulae in a different way by looking inward. While travelers often sought sublime landscapes for the emotional and introspective experiences these scenes prompted, most articles convey this process more indirectly than Williams does. Instead of the simple description and surface discussion that characterize many travel articles, Williams explores the internal motivations for travel. In this respect, the article recalls the

25 The title may be an homage to the Mount Snowdon experience in Wordsworth’s “Prelude”: “Yet, compassed round by Mountain Solitudes / within whose solemn temple / I received / my earliest visitations” (139-41).

26 See Chapter Five for discussion of wilderness travel during this period.
Romantic poets’ expressions of sublime experiences, in that locations and landscapes were not ends in themselves, but were rather provocations for examining emotional and introspective reactions to a place or providing a source for mental respite and healing.

Williams wonders about the power of getting away from the “sameness” of everyday life. He cites several motivations for travel in search of solitude: “the repose of self-forgetfulness,” the “delight of losing consciousness of the ego,” and “a new perspective of life” (930). Here, travel does not make one more cultured or more attuned to history; instead, it helps the traveler look inward and reconnect with him or herself: “Still, is there not something about the mountain that appeals to the highest and best that is within us? Deep within us, behind the superficialities of our outward life, there is an instinct which aspires, and which has its affinity with the heights” (928). The attraction to sublime mountain heights and introspective travel is not merely a condition of cultural desire for Williams; rather, instinct prompts travelers to seek the heights of the world, for the mountains can serve as a mirror for personal aspirations.

The barometer of authentic experience seems to change here: unlike the picturesque, seekers of the sublime do not come with the same set of expectations or framework for experiences. While the characteristics that mark a landscape as sublime may have been recognizable to early twentieth century tourists, a truly sublime experience uses the landscape as a starting point for moving beyond the framework of

27 Jonathan Culler discusses this desire to escape “sameness” as a motivation to travel in “The Semiotics of Tourism.”
touristic experience to a point that resembles transcendence. The transcendental moment defines one crucial difference between the sublime and the picturesque.

To be clear, Quiver was a self-proclaimed evangelical journal, so the religious undertones are intentional. However, the religious references illustrate how pervasive the sublime ideal still was after the turn of the century and how this ideal could be applied and understood in many ways. For example, the design of the landscape is described as intentional: from the top of a mountain,

We are now able to see the geography of the land—that great ugly mass of rock, so annoying when viewed from close at hand, now fits itself perfectly into the landscape. There is a design, a purpose in each hill and dale, which is only revealed when viewed from above. (505-506)

The design and purpose alluded to here could easily be read as the influence and intention of God in shaping the landscape.

What Williams does not discuss is that the “perfect” design of the landscape may also be a result of training our eye to “see” a sublime composition as ideal; this is a result of a long history of refining the English definition of beauty in landscapes. Iain Robertson and Penny Richards argue that landscape is inherently a cultural product that communicates a culture’s values, power relations, and aesthetic changes over time. According to Robertson and Richards, the contemporary conceptual understanding of landscape in the West grew from the sixteenth century, which saw “the cultivation of palace gardens, the initial development of landscape painting, and, under the influence of the renewed enthusiasm for and knowledge of classical literature, the growth of the pastoral as a literary mode” (1). Raymond Williams traces this history back further to the
enclosures of woodlands for hunting in the tenth century, but he then places the widespread “transition from hunting woodland to landscape park” in the eighteenth century (122). This “systematic transformation” results directly from English aristocrats’ exposure to other landscapes via the Grand Tour (122). In their outlining of the history of the development and changes to the concept of landscape in England, Robertson, Richards, and Williams stress the interconnectedness among ideas of nature, artifice, and the connection between land and civilization in England. A picturesque or sublime landscape, then, are never static concepts; they refer to a process of evolving cultural understandings of the meaning of landscape.

Another characteristic of the sublime travel writers borrow from painting is the element of decay, often communicated through the presence of ruins. In a 1907 article in the *Idler*, the “Impressionist” writes, “The river Segre flows beneath it, and three thousand feet above the stream stands the ancient tower, which, with its fortifications, is so picturesque in decay that it is well worthy of a visit” (651). Similarly, her description of Granada discusses decay as well: “many parts of it are found to be in a very dilapidated condition, that does not detract from the general effect. On the contrary, a touch of poetry is thus imparted to it which adds to the pictorial unity of the whole” (655). The characteristics of the sublime, the agreeable horror Burke describes centuries before, are still present here. The horror that began with a flirtation with reminders of death from a relatively safe distance is most evident in this characteristic of the sublime. Decay and ruins are suggestive of death as well as of the passage of time, and
simultaneous attraction and revulsion to scenes communicate these reminders. These reminders of the passage of time would have been of particular interest to an Edwardian audience, as early twentieth century writers were noticeably fascinated by temporal experiences. Ruins were a concrete marker of the past, thus serving as a tool for reflection on one’s own place in relation to the past.

Interest in the sublime also directly influenced the popularity of various tourist destinations and activities. In particular, mountainous locations and associated activities like skiing and mountain climbing became more popular. By the turn of the century, the tradition of visiting sublime landscapes in mountainous settings, championed both by Romantic poets such as Shelley and Coleridge, as well as Victorians like Leslie Stephen, had become attractive to a wider group of tourists.

The descriptions of mountaineering the magazines published during the first years of the twentieth century present a subset of characteristics that help to explain how Edwardian travelers experienced the sublime. In the article “Beyond Kashmir” in the September, 1909 issue of *Travel & Exploration*, for example, the author adheres to the conventional frame of the description of a sublime landscape in the Himalayas:

> the whole riot which meets the eye is obviously volcanic, the mountain sides rise into gothic pinnacles, sharp and independent each of each [. . .] while occasionally a shape draws the only comparison of something sprung from the nightmare sleep of an architect whose own genius had driven him mad. This for the nearer

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28 See Chapter Three for further discussion of this theme in travel writing in this period.

29 As discussed in Chapter Five, these sublime characteristics inspired a new direction for adventure travel during the Edwardian period.
mountains; and, backing them as no background ever backed extraordinary foreground, rises a sheer wall of coal black precipice, stretching east and west as far as eye can see, a sharp sheer ridge overtopping all, itself featureless and rigid in straight outline, seemingly the end of all things, since the tired imagination can grasp nothing beyond this cold, black mass of apparent finality.

Violence of conception, violence in contrast and effect, sheer violence, everywhere frozen into immobility and buffeted for ever by a bitter wind blowing along the valleys. (“Pousse Caillou,” 154-55)

This mountain scene differs drastically from Herbert Williams’ more vague depictions of mountain scenes above as composed of “glorious scenery” (506), and this difference shows either that the sublime was evolving or that travelers could interpret and experience it in varying ways. Williams’s sense of respect for the divine power that created the mountains contrasts with “Pousse Caillou’s” reaction of awe as driven by fear of madness. The author experiences the strangeness and alienation of the Himalayan landscape. This sense of isolation is analogous to a traditional understanding of the sublime in nature: it causes feelings of fear and alienation. A fine line divides the two, and for “Pousse Caillou,” violence and madness prevail in the experience of these mountains.

Both Quiver and Travel & Exploration present images of the sublime experiences of nature in 1909. For some, sublime scenes were characterized by awe for power and magnitude, while for others, descriptions of these scenes communicated madness, fear, or isolation. Quiver presents the sublime as connected to religious experiences to incite reverence, while Travel & Exploration portrays a more secular experience. Both still convey sublime travel experiences as authentic in their stimulation of feelings of awe, introspection, and reflection on nature. The difference between the two kinds of reactions
speaks to the multiple purposes that the sublime served for early twentieth century tourists. The coexistence of multiple perspectives on this shared kind of experience shows that Edwardian travelers in fact used the conventions of the sublime as a barometer for determining and understanding their own engagement with a travel experience.

“Pousse Caillou” exemplifies the ways in which certain conventions are repeatedly used in depictions of the sublime; the description above bears striking resemblance to Shelley’s “Mont Blanc” and shares features of landscape paintings like Philip James de Loutherbourg’s 1803 landscape painting *An Avalanche in the Alps.*

“Pousse Caillou’s” depiction of the sublime mountain landscape is not unlike that of Shelley’s in “Mont Blanc,” in which Shelley describes the mountain as “a city of death [. . .] yet not a city, but a flood of ruin” and asks, “is this the scene / where the old Earthquake-daemon taught her young / ruin?” (105-107; 71-73). De Loutherbourg’s painting features three tiny figures on a mountain trail, drawing back in fear from the boulders tumbling down the mountainside. All three texts engage with the notion of a higher power: “Pousse Caillou” refers to a “mad architect,” and Shelley to an “earthquake-daemon.” De Loutherbourg depicts the boulders descending from a place so high in the mountains as to appear to descend from the heavens, suggesting that a higher power could have caused the avalanche. Similarly, the descriptive details are paired in both texts and the painting with reflection on the sense of awe inspired by the landscape, and both writers and the painter convey similar emotional reactions in their reflections.

30 See Appendix Three.
However, “Pousse Caillou” also adds to this image a layer of contemporary context: he felt

as though one had stepped straight into the reality of one of H. G. Wells’ imaginings when he described the surface of the moon. There was the same riot of weirdness in the surrounding scenery, the unnatural colouring the unusual nature of the shrubs, the bitter wind, the biting cold, and, above all, the utter feeling of desolation and lifelessness. (156)

In this description, we hear something at once quintessentially sublime and extremely contemporary: the feelings of isolation, numbness, and desolation are descriptors associated with conventions of the sublime and also with early twentieth-century modernism.31

The above description of the Himalayas, simultaneously traditional and contemporary, illuminates the application of themes like the sublime and the picturesque in the early decades of the twentieth century: these conventions continued to be useful to travelers precisely because they adequately illustrated experiences of landscape and travel, yet they were also adaptable to contemporary life. These conventions’ broad definitions allowed them to remain as part of the traveler’s vocabulary because they continued accurately and usefully to frame and describe their actual experiences.

Because the accuracy of these conventions depended on tourists’ preconditioned expectations, it may seem that both the picturesque and the sublime were self-fulfilling prophecies: tourists were satisfied when they found exactly what they were expecting to

31 For example, T. S. Eliot’s “The Wasteland,” written 13 years later, emphasizes some of these same themes.
find, as those who came before them described. But this interpretation of self-fulfillment does not account for the personal element that each tourist brought. It was the personal connection with a place, not necessarily how uniquely one saw that place, which produced the “authenticity effect” in an individual.

While early twentieth century travelers sought the sublime in their travels just as their predecessors had done for decades, the sublime served a specific purpose for Edwardian travelers. If we return to Buzard’s idea of the “authenticity effect,” in which he argues that the “picturesque vision” offered a way for tourists to gain access to the “essence” of a whole place through the amalgamation of its parts, the articles here show that this concept also explains the continued engagement with the sublime. If a splintering of traditional systems, including those of class, engagement with other nations, and many aspects of everyday life characterize Edwardian culture, then concepts like the sublime were utilized as a stabilizing force. The sublime offered to Edwardians access to something whole. That “whole” might be the opportunity for a religious experience, or a connection to nature, as described in the articles above. Through sublime experiences, travelers could identify the “essence” of a place and thereby mark it as authentic. As Chapter Two explains, the process of validating authentic experiences was difficult for early twentieth-century travelers to achieve and many routes to authentic experience existed. The sublime acted as an adaptable, individualized framework travelers could use to make sense of and organize their experiences, and then also use to connect with the place.
In some rare cases, characteristics of the picturesque and the sublime become intertwined in the same location. In “Skiing in the High Alps,” Arnold Lunn describes the joys of alpine skiing and hiking on skis in minute detail. He outlines the best peaks to ski in the Swiss and French Alps and makes recommendations as to what to wear on the slopes (goat hair socks are highly recommended) (136). But the payoff of the hard work of skiing comes in the combination of physical vigor and impressive views:

The joys of the run home are not their greatest reward. The mountains are something more than a mere instrument for physical pleasure. The long lowland evenings are haunted by a thousand memories that cannot be translated into words—the hush of the snows at dawn, the music of the winter sunset, the silent beauty of the moonlit glaciers. (134)

Lunn’s description of the emotions the landscape evokes is typical of the tourist drawn to landscape in a broad sense: simply put, he finds beauty in the mountains.

However, the closing paragraphs, which describe a hike up a mountain before sunrise, trace the distinct lineage from the aesthetics of the sublime:

Across the valley a large mass looms out of the darkness, blotting out the stars. You find it almost impossible to identify it with the peak whose proportions have been perhaps impressed on you by hours of strenuous toil. These phantom ranges belong to another world. (138)

This description paints a picture that adheres to some of the sublime ideals discussed above: dark valley in the foreground, looming mountain on the horizon, otherworldly proportions.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{32} These lines echo Wordsworth’s description of Mount Snowdon in the “Prelude,” in which he refers to the “silent sea” of mist enveloping the mountains, as well as the “mind / that feeds upon infinity; that broods / over the dark abyss” (70-72).
As the sun rises, however, we see that Lunn also favors the softer lines of the Alps in winter:

the Architect of the Universe has been at work softening the cruder effects of summer, making the barren place beautiful, replacing broken lines by curves bending in perfect harmony. And the panorama is far clearer than its summer rival. Range after range is defined distinctly, yet with no trace of harshness. (139)

The ideals of the picturesque and the sublime have become intertwined here:

Lunn combines characteristics of a picturesque ideal with a sublime experience. Lunn’s article is unique in its fusion of these aesthetic ideals: most articles at this time concentrate on either picturesque or sublime scenery, not both. This lack of regular convergence in the two types of experiences supports the argument that since tourists sought different experiences in their choice of destinations, these choices rarely produced the same kinds of experiences. Williams observes the differing effects the sublime scenes can have on people: “Others, again, will not be able to endure the solitude of the mountain. It will drive them to madness. But the man who can endure Nature’s solitude will be made by it” (506). One may attribute the lack of overlap to the differing goals of tourists seeking picturesque or sublime landscapes: a picturesque tourist often visited scenes aligned with traditional aesthetic conventions of beauty, whereas a sublime tourist, while still using a loosely defined set of conventions, sought a more intense emotional experience that extended beyond the conventional framework.

While tourists looking for a more thrilling or dangerous brush with nature had sought the sublime for decades, we can see the ways that this and other travel preferences
incorporated new reactions that reflected the experiences of early twentieth century British travelers.

_Photography_

In Chapter One, I describe changes in technology and the impact they had on travel and travel writing during the early twentieth century. The invention of the camera and its evolution from its rudimentary form in the early nineteenth century to the release of the mass-market Kodak Brownie in 1901 fundamentally altered artistic representation and redefined the possibilities of realistic visual imagery. Notwithstanding the larger impact that photography had on the visual arts, the camera changed the way that people traveled, influenced what they looked for and the activities they engaged in during their travels, and contributed to the democratization of travel that began in the mass tourism movement in the mid-nineteenth century. While the medium of the image changed, the subject and composition still adhered to sublime and picturesque principles in these magazines, particularly in _Travel & Exploration_, even as photography elsewhere experimented with form and composition.

Two reasons explain this adherence to traditional framing and composition in _Travel & Exploration_. First, this magazine in particular appealed to a broad middle-class base, which may have made the editors less likely to experiment with a new artistic form. Secondly, writers themselves captured most of the photographs. These journalists may have been less experimental or creative in their photographic compositions than they
were in their writing. For writers adhering to picturesque or sublime traditions in their writing, it would follow that their photography illustrated these same principles.

In *National Geographic*’s 125th anniversary edition published in October 2013, the editor’s note addresses photography as both the focus of the issue and of the magazine’s long history. Chris Johns describes how the magazine did not include any photographs for the first 16 years of publication until 1905, when the magazine’s then current editor took a risk and published 11 photographs, “certain he would be fired and ridiculed” for the decision (4). However, the opposite happened:

> People stopped [him] on the street to congratulate him. So it was that photography, the hallmark of *National Geographic* and the most immediate means of communicating with our readers, came to the magazine. (4)

Considering that more portable cameras (of the type travelers and explorers would likely use) had been in production for only about two decades at this point, it is remarkable that such a seismic shift occurred so rapidly in print communication in both American and British media. Therefore, I would be remiss not to discuss how visual images complemented the travel articles in *Travel & Exploration* and other publications.

Before portable mass-market cameras were available, tourists used various contraptions to replicate what they saw in their travels. Coupled with amateur sketching and painting by tourists, the Claude mirror (named after landscape painter Claude Lorrain) was perhaps the instrument most widely used by tourists to capture a landscape. This device came in several forms, but was often a handheld, slightly convex mirror with a darkened or shaded background. A tourist stood with his back to the landscape and used
the image reflected in the mirror as the basis for sketching or painting. The mirror had the
effect of “miniaturizing” the landscape, as well as obscuring details and adding a
pleasant tint to the scene (Andrews 68-69). According to Jean Hagstrum in The Sister
Arts, the mirror helped achieve that elusive balance between “faithful realism” and
“stylized idealism” sought in the picturesque: “it reflects whatever landscape is presented
to it, and yet it also modifies that landscape” (Hagstrum 142; Andrews 69). This method
of capturing a landscape empowered tourists to alter slightly the actual landscape in their
representations of a scene, thereby maintaining and creating the spirit of picturesque and
sublime aesthetics. At the same time, this device assisted the viewer in manipulating and
controlling what was seen. Like photography, the Claude mirror enabled the tourist to
replicate and distort the view to achieve a more ideal version of the real. In this way, this
device was a perfect companion to the principles of the picturesque: it allowed the viewer
to frame and shade the scene accordingly.

The camera allowed for similar kinds of aesthetic choices to be made by later
generations of travelers. In the first years of the twentieth century, both painting and
photography supplemented travel articles, depending on the magazine. Francis R. Ball
declares in his 1910 three-part article in Travel & Exploration entitled “Travel
Photography: Hints and Wrinkles for Travellers and Explorers” that “no tourist can be
considered properly equipped for his travels unless he be supplied with a camera” (190).
Both technologies enabled the capturer of the image to stay faithful to realism and
manipulate the image to achieve a certain aesthetic form. Ball’s series of articles on
photography in _Travel & Exploration_, for example, provides direct advice on choice of lighting, lenses, and composition to attain ideal photographs.

While other magazines such as _Quiver_ or the _Art Journal_ relied on illustrations and paintings in their travel articles, _Travel & Exploration_ only published photographs. Each feature article in this magazine is accompanied by between two and six photographs. These photos are printed on glossy, thicker, single-sided stock, making them stand out from the thinner, matte, double-sided pages of the rest of the publication. As a result, the quality of the photographs is clearer than it otherwise would be on matte paper. I bring up this point because the difference between the two types of paper has the effect of making the photographs stand out as focal points in the magazine.

The subjects of the photographs vary and often contain what readers might expect of travel photography: scenes of mountain vistas, camps, close-up images of native inhabitants in various countries, views of cityscapes, landscapes, or exotic animals. The photographs vary in style, but a good number of the landscape photographs adhere very closely to either picturesque or sublime principles. This is notable because _Travel & Exploration_ regularly included articles about how to employ the most up-to-date photographic technology and techniques, and the articles often focus on the minutiae of technical details. Even with some tips about how to take a good photograph, a large portion of the published photographs could be described as picturesque in their

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33 January through April 1909 issues are all printed on glossy paper; subsequent issues are printed as described above.
composition. This privileging of picturesque principles had become ingrained in travelers’ minds: the photographers almost instinctively sought out scenes composed in this manner.

One example appears in the March 1909 article “In the Yosemite Valley” in *Travel & Exploration*[^1]. The photograph shows a long view of an evergreen-blanketed valley defined on either side by towering mountains and cliffs. The point of view is from a vista above the valley, and the foreground darkens in shadows. Tall evergreen trees flank either side of the photograph, and the scene drops away between the trees, creating a curved visual demarcation that swoops toward the bottom of the photograph. The scene suggests roundness, created by the tall trees on both sides and the valley dropping away in the center. The foreground of the photo is dark; the background is lighter in color and hazier in composition.

This description could also match easily that of early eighteenth picturesque landscape paintings (see description above of Claude Lorrain’s *Landscape with Hagar and the Angel*). The photograph is not just of a landscape, but rather of a specifically picturesque landscape. This sense is solidified by the caption: “A Memory of Yosemite.” While seemingly insignificant, the mention of memory suggests a contemplative relationship with the scene (as opposed to, say, “A View of Yosemite”). Had the photographer shifted his camera slightly up or down, or taken the photo at a different time of day, or with a different lens or filter, or cropped out the framing trees to focus

[^1]: See Appendix Four.
more on the valley, the effect would not be the same and would not necessarily display these picturesque characteristics.

Another photograph in the same article displays a scene more associated with sublime characteristics. “The Yosemite Falls” depicts another mountain view, but this time, the photographer stands at ground level before a lake.\textsuperscript{35} Towering almost to the top of the photograph is a sheer mountain ridge, and a dramatic waterfall crashes from the heights and disappears behind a line of soaring evergreen trees far below. These trees, in turn, dwarf what look like tiny huts, but on closer inspection are in fact large tents. The scale from the tents to the trees and from the trees to the mountain ridge emphasizes the diminutive quality of the tents. Clearly, nature is in charge in this scene.

Even while the photographs captured these images in a contemporary format, the approach to the photography remains conventional in this magazine, showing that visual representation here follows aesthetic convention. Choices in photographic filters, camera angles, cropping, and other techniques are used to produce photographs of landscapes that adhere to sublime and picturesque principles. The picturesque photograph of the Yosemite valley is similar in composition to many photographs published in \textit{Travel & Exploration}: the location may be California or the West Indies or southern France, but the elements remain the same. The innovations in these photographs lie perhaps in the subject, or the location, or the dissemination to a new group of readers, but the techniques do not break new ground. Perhaps the magazine editors believed that the new medium

\textsuperscript{35} See Appendix Five.
demanded loyalty to convention in order to make the photography appeal to as broad an
audience as possible.

One crucial element of picturesque and sublime landscape painting is lost in the
transition to photography in the magazines: color. Many magazines were printed in black
and white at this time, including *Travel & Exploration* (except for the cover of the
magazine, which included other colors). In the first few years of the twentieth century,
the technology of color photography was of poor quality. One of the magazine writers
comments that she “regrets the limitations of photography, which can only suggest colour
to those that can read aright, but cannot actually depict it save in a very crude form” (Ball
285). However, color was an essential aspect of picturesque and landscape paintings, so
the readership of the magazine could only have an incomplete experience of these two
traditions. This lack of color diminishes the authority of the picturesque in the reader’s
interpretation of the visual aspects of the articles, as the reader is aware that a black and
white photograph requires the ability to imagine color. The resulting effect is an
incomplete depiction of a scene. That incompleteness calls attention to the limitations of
the photograph, or of any visual reproduction of a scene. Ball asks, “But what medium is
there which, however skilfully handled, could possibly translate the mysterious beauty of
the moor at sunset [. . .]?” (285). Ball draws attention to the relationship between reader
(or viewer) and text: the limitations of technology force the reader to be actively and
imaginatively engaged with the text, because it is only through this engagement that the
reader can best reconstruct the scene in his or her mind.
The incorporation of photography as an accompaniment to travel articles augmented readers’ understandings of the subject in a different medium. While photographs were “composed,” just as paintings or illustrations were, they lent a different air of truth or authenticity not achievable in another medium. Susan Sontag discusses this phenomenon in *On Photography*: “While a painting or a prose description can never be other than a narrowly selective interpretation, a photograph can be treated as a narrowly selective transparency” (6). The element of transparency unique to a photograph changes the way in which the reader interacts with the image: the reader feels as if he or she can see the actual place, as opposed to an artist’s rendering of that place. Photographs also allow for more audience participation, as the reader has multiple options for engaging with the narrative. Despite being composed, the photographs also lend an air of objectivity and authority to the story, thereby enhancing the authenticity of the article. Yet, it is clear that composition and artistic choice still play key roles in photography in *Travel & Exploration*, and the choices the photographers made perpetuate the conventions of the picturesque and the sublime.

*Sublime and picturesque as frameworks for authentic experience*

Taken together, the sublime and the picturesque persist both as goals and as frames for organizing experiences for travelers in this specific time period. This concept of “framing” can be understood in a few ways: first, the picturesque and the sublime function as organizing principles for actual visual scenes that travelers experienced. Both constitute aesthetic principles by which a scene can be understood, and they provide
direction for what to view and how to view it. These principles were useful to the
contemporary middle class tourist who might not have the educational or artistic
background to “appreciate” a scene (in the same way that a highly educated or wealthy
tourist might have. According to Hussey, Burke made an important reservation that these
concepts are not accessible to just anyone: “only the cultivated mind could be relied upon
to appreciate artistic truth” (62). Hussey quotes Burke:

The habit of contemplating and brooding over the ideas of great genius,
till you find yourself warmed by the contact, is the only method of
forming an artist-like mind. It is impossible, in their presence, to think or
invent in a mean manner. (62)

However, the element of intellectual elitism (that the sublime or the beautiful can only be
fully appreciated by those with the means and time to “contemplate great genius”
regularly) dissipates as the concepts’ definitions and use broaden and are taken up as part
of the ordinary tourist’s vocabulary. Because by the Edwardian era these terms were part
of broad cultural discourse, they served as easily accessible ways of understanding and
experiencing a place. However, the sublime and the picturesque were also applicable to a
more traditional (wealthy, upper-class) traveler: since the terms are rooted in theoretical
aesthetic principles, they were useful to the travelers who had a deeper or more educated
understanding of the history or context of the places to which they traveled.

In practice, the two concepts function differently from one another. The
picturesque is often more contained, while the sublime is expansive. The metaphor of the
frame fits more neatly with the picturesque whose aesthetic is characterized by a
containment and arrangement of detail. The sublime, in contrast, constantly pushes
beyond the frame. The difference between the two becomes clear when one analyzes the different locations where each is used as a framework for experience. Rarely do travel writers find picturesque and sublime qualities at the same location (though this does occur as discussed in Lunn’s article above). But despite differences in use, both concepts function as organizing principles for travel.

David Punter has applied the concept of the frame to the picturesque and the sublime. Punter argues that both are “ways in which the ego tries to deal with troubling and unmanageable material,” though in different ways (236). The picturesque, he continues, “frames roughness and variety” and represents the movement of enclosure, control, the road which moves securely and fittingly into the countryside, the comforting flanking of the ‘side-screen’ hills, roughness subjected to symmetry, the ego’s certainty about the world it can hold and manage. (223, 226)

In contrast, the sublime is related to “being overwhelmed, surprised, being taken out of one’s own frame by a scene which, in a parallel way, threatens its boundaries as well as our own” (223). It “represents the movement outward, the sudden rush of air which deflates the ego in the face of the avalanche, the pleasurable abandon of control” (226). Punter’s categorization of these two concepts places each in opposition to the other, and in many ways this holds true in the travel writing discussed here. The writers of these articles usually visit places characterized as either picturesque or sublime—typically, the locations do not have qualities of both.

Since picturesque and sublime painting began as a way to create an ideal image from sometimes disparate parts, the methodologies allowed painters to re-assemble
reality in a manner in which they saw fit. In this way, artists were not bound by allegiance to realistic representation; rather, the painter conformed to his sense of the ideal, not the actual, to create a “whole” image. The rearrangement into idealized views created aesthetic standards by which travel destinations came to be judged. This desire to encapsulate a place through a particular vantage point connected the aesthetic characteristics of the picturesque and the sublime with the kinds of experiences one could expect to have when encountering these landscapes. By using the principles of the picturesque or the sublime as framing devices for travel experiences, travelers could assemble a uniquely varied picture that contributed to their sense of authenticity in their travels.

While sharing many similarities, these frameworks function in slightly different ways for travel writers in the early twentieth century in terms of expectations and relation to authenticity. A person traveling using a picturesque framework expected to find an idealized version of landscape that prompted contemplation of nature and one’s place within it. Christopher Hussey argues that the discovery of a landscape that resembles a painting is the chief goal of a picturesque tourist, who

has a conception of an ideal form of nature, derived from landscape painting, and whose purpose it is to discover ideal scenes in existence. Not that he often succeeds, for obviously the fact that the object of his search is ideal makes it unlikely that it is also actual. […] It is the expectation of new scenes, perhaps, the ideal scene, opening to his view, that sets him off and keeps him going. It is the Pleasure of Hope, per se. (83)
In contrast, a person seeking a sublime experience expected a more intense or dramatic landscape that would spark a reaction of awe or even fear of nature. The ideal sublime scene provokes a feeling of awe characterized by simultaneous attraction and fear.

However, for travelers seeking either the picturesque or the sublime, the authentic could be found in a combination of a preexisting set of conditions that created a framework for experience. This pleasurable feeling of hope existed in a liminal space between expectation and experience. When the experience matched the expectation—when a landscape or a new city produced the kind of emotional reaction that a tourist had been anticipating—then the tourist was able to mark his or her experience as authentic.

These particular frames are relevant to travel writers in the first decades of the twentieth century because a unique set of cultural factors influenced the experiences of place, landscape, and travel. As discussed in Chapter One, changes in social structures meant that as a result of the continual growth of the middle class, travelers were by this time quite likely to run into other fellow Brits in a corner of Europe that they had thought was obscure. This meant that, by default, if a traveler wanted to have an authentic experience, he or she had to find other means to define authenticity beyond the simple opposition to reminders of home. The picturesque and the sublime provided available sets of priorities that still produced individual and differentiated reactions.

Together with the crowding of the field felt by tourists, changes to some aspects of contemporary aesthetic priorities paradoxically helped to ingrain the picturesque and the sublime as increasingly accessible to the masses. Cubism, for example, was still in its
early stages in the years before the war, but its avant-garde shift away from realism meant that more traditional or older artistic movements may have felt more comfortable or valid by comparison.

Finally, changes in technology such as the mass-market camera, the vast expansion of rail lines throughout England and Europe, and the standardization of time through the institution of Greenwich Mean Time had a direct impact on many practical elements of travel. As travelers embraced these changes and the effects they had on experiences of different places, they found that both the picturesque and the sublime offered frameworks for travel that functioned despite massive cultural changes.

While the conventions of the picturesque and the sublime certainly held sway over the growing number of middle-class tourists and often were seen as the dominant expression of noteworthiness in travel destinations, they also afforded these same tourists a way in which to experience nature that was entirely new to them. Isis Brook makes the important observation that

Gilpin’s [. . .] guidebooks gave many people who lacked the education of the Grand Tour and access to painting masters the license to look at nature and the confidence to record it in a way that would be deemed acceptable to others [by sketching]. One of the things we need to remember about any sketching activity is that the drive to represent, even within the confines of a system, leads to closer observation of what is there. (173)

This remark is crucial to understanding how the audiences of magazines such as Travel & Exploration may have defined how the authentic in travel exists in tension between external conventions and internal interpretations of experiences. While Brook mostly discusses earlier travelers, the same issues are still at hand in the early years of the
twentieth century. These magazines appealed to an educated, middle-class population who likely would never visit the exotic locales described in the articles. However, this audience often did have the means to travel, even if not extensively, and the picturesque and the sublime presented recurring themes in travel writing that would have allowed readers to begin to make sense of the experience of a new place.

However, these two frames also had the potential to be limiting or lead to something other than authentic experience. Lynne Withey refers to the impact of landscape painting on travelers: “These painters not only helped shape aesthetic tastes by defining those elements of nature worthy of the artist’s endeavor, but also accustomed their audiences to view natural settings much as if they were the subjects of paintings” (43). To the picturesque tourist, the ultimate indicator of beauty was whether a natural scene was worthy of being painted as a landscape. In other words, the ideal scene was not to be found in nature, but in art.

This aesthetic sensibility had two important effects on travelers: first, as Withey notes, it allowed both observers of painting and participants in travel experiences to establish a point of reference from which to frame their experiences. The picturesque and sublime formulae contributed to the democratization of travel and expanded the accessibility of the authentic. On the other hand, these formulae could also be seen as restrictive, as Malcolm Andrews asserts: “The limitations of the Claudean orthodoxies had important consequences for the Picturesque tourist, whether or not he was himself a painter. It limited the kinds of landscape eligible for praise and study” (34). The risk was
that tourists could (and did) allow one specific kind of aesthetic to define their search for the authentic, and they ignored other options in doing so. The result created a sense of tension for travelers in search of the picturesque or the sublime: while these elements offered a framework for attaining authenticity in travel, this same framework closed off potential experiences and prompted keen travel writers to question their own satisfaction with their experiences (as evidenced in Amy Gretton’s experience at Fontainebleau, above).

Despite the potential for disappointment, the frames of picturesque and sublime allowed travelers the potential to connect directly with authentic experience. The framing capabilities of the picturesque and the sublime added personal experience to a body of discourse surrounding a place. They were methods used to create connections between an individual, a place, those who have come before, and previously recognized qualities or experiences as valid or authentic. When travelers were able to partake in the same emotional experience as those before them, they felt a sense of satisfaction and connection to a larger experience. In this way, travel became a communal act—not only did physical places function as markers (in MacCannell’s sense of the term), but the affective impact also was associated with a place.

The magazines illustrate how the picturesque and the sublime figured largely as a travel framework for early twentieth century travel writers. By the turn of the twentieth century, the terms “picturesque” and “sublime” were commonplace concepts frequently used in travel writing. Travel articles in magazines during this time period provide
evidence for a long-standing tradition, initiated two hundred years earlier and continuing today, that places emphasis on structured formulae used to define and understand beauty through landscape. As they show in their writing, travelers desired experiences very much in keeping with traditional aspects of the picturesque and the sublime. These writers sought to use an essentially unoriginal (for their time) framework to attain authentic, original experiences. This may seem contradictory, but the picturesque and the sublime allowed for two means to understand experiences in a personal way. Therefore, it was possible for a traveler to seek out characteristically picturesque or sublime places, but to add his or her own interpretation to the scene. The picturesque and the sublime remained both accessible to the masses and still quite personal, thereby leading the traveler to an authentic experience of place.
Chapter Four: Time, Nostalgia, and Simultaneity

“The world is getting too well known, and time and distance are being gradually reduced to a minimum.” (J. Scott Keltie, “Travellers’ Tales.” *Travel & Exploration*, Dec. 1909)

In his social history of Britain from 1870-1914, Jose Harris writes of the Edwardians’ widespread sense of “living in a new age, a new material context, and a form of society totally different from anything that had ever occurred before” (32). He argues that this feeling so proliferated society that it “constituted a genuine and distinctive element in the mental culture of the period” (32). This feeling of newness influenced not just the literary or artistic elite; rather, it was shared by “economists, lawyers, scientists, anthropologists, and practical men and women of affairs” (32). To this list one might add many of the travel writers who contributed to popular magazines during this period and who thus helped to shape the opinions of their mass-market readership. One crucial element of this new way of thinking is a direct result of changes in how one experienced time. Those changes influenced the ways the ways that travel writers conceptualized and experienced foreign places. In particular, a sense of nostalgia is prevalent in travel writing, as well as that of simultaneity. Together, these temporal positions represent two different ways in which Edwardian travelers were highly aware of the shifts in the world around them.
In its simplest form, nostalgia is an emotional response to the awareness of the passage of time. Closely related to the experience of homesickness or *heimweh*, nostalgia is characterized by a sense of longing for the past. Nostalgic travelers often appear to prefer the past to the present. The nostalgic traveler assigns idealized characteristics to the past, whether or not such emotional attachments to the past are accurate. Here we can see an affinity with the picturesque: just as picturesque painters rearranged elements of nature in their painting to form ideal images, so too does nostalgia (perhaps less intentionally) recall the past in an idealized way.

Simultaneity represents a different experience of the passage of time. Rather than conceptualizing past and present as two separate temporal *locations*, travelers began to describe and understand their experiences as overlapping or coexisting. This kind of experience demonstrates a breaking away from understanding time as strictly linear; an experience of place could be explained both synchronically and diachronically. As a result, the preference for the past characteristic of nostalgia ceases to be a defining element of simultaneity, because the present experience is elevated.

By surveying popular magazines between 1900 and 1918, I have found that many travel writers return in their thoughts to their own experiences of nostalgia when visiting foreign places. Like their Victorian predecessors, tourists and travelers during this time sought two things from travel: authentic experience and a deeper understanding of history. Edwardian travel writers express a heightened awareness of their own experiences of past and present in relation to traveling. In travel, the present was
complicated by its interplay with nostalgia, in that travel writers continually questioned
the validity and authenticity of their encounters with the present. Travelers describe
feeling, for instance, a sense that the past was colliding with the present, or that past and
present coexisted in the same moment, or that they felt shuttled back and forth between
present and past. These temporal disjunctions often perpetuated a strong sense of
nostalgia, in which awareness of the passage of time led to idealization of the past or to
feeling that things were more “real” in the past. Another growing characteristic was the
sense of simultaneity in a traveler’s experience of both place and time. In contrast to
nostalgic experiences, in which travelers tended to privilege the past, simultaneity
produced a feeling of being Janus-faced, looking backwards and forwards (or backwards
and at the present) at the same time.

A number of factors make the early years of the twentieth century significant in
terms of how travelers experienced time and nostalgia and how their perceptions of
simultaneity intensified during this time. Some of these factors include technological
changes (the invention of the telephone and cinema, or the increasing speed and ease of
travel by train or airplane), as well as socioeconomic changes (for instance, the
continuing growth of the middle class). Stephen Kern explains how the technologies of
telephone and cinema profoundly impacted one’s sense of the present. The telephone
“made it possible, in a sense, to be in two places at the same time” (69), and the cinema
“expanded the sense of the present by either filling it with several noncontiguous events
or showing one event from a variety of perspectives” (70). Kern here points to the
remarkable impact that technology had on everyday experiences of both time and space. Likewise, Lynne Withey explains how the expansion of the railroads in the late eighteenth century combined with the economic prosperity that increased the size of the middle class to facilitate travel on a mass scale (168-70).

Through examples from Travel & Exploration and other magazines, I show how nostalgia and simultaneity intersected to influence travel writing during the first decades of the twentieth century. While nostalgia was ever-present during this time and had already been a feature of earlier travel writing, the experience of simultaneity also began to have significant effects on travelers. Because the experience of simultaneity tends not to privilege one time over another, it freed travelers from orienting their experiences around the past and history. These two competing (yet sometimes complementary) concepts of time further complicated the traveler’s quest for authentic experiences in a foreign place.

On time

Early twentieth-century travel writers experienced with ambivalence the interplay between past and present and between home and travel. This ambivalence has its roots in the complex relationships the Romantic writers had with concepts of home. Scholar Beth Lau demonstrates how the Romantic poets’ personal experiences with home and exile, combined with conflicting attitudes toward changing social and political landscapes, contributed to this complexity: the Romantic poets “suffer from alienation and exile and yearn for a native place, but they also express wanderlust and find home and stasis
oppressive” (99). Lau argues that “home and native place [. . .] signify stability and
gentility but also confinement,” while “mobility [. . .] bestows freedom and rising social
status but also alienation” (101). She attributes this ambivalence in part to social and
cultural influences of the time, including “industrialism, war, colonialism, and tourism
and the erosion of traditional hierarchies brought about by new ideologies of democracy,
meritocracy, and individualism” (96). Throughout her article, Lau emphasizes three
interrelated polar relationships: stasis versus movement, the stability of home versus the
freedom of travel, and the strong connection between larger cultural changes and
individual experiences while traveling. These themes help to explain how certain cultural
and social norms have long weighed on British travelers and why they remained as
prominent themes in early twentieth century travel writing.

A century later, the Romantics’ literary descendants were still examining the
complicated relationship between travel and home. In spite of their ambivalence, the
Romantic poets pinpointed some of the central concerns that occupied later writers
interested in travel. Much of this ambivalence, both for the Romantics and for the early
twentieth century writers, was rooted in cultural anxiety about the meanings of home and
travel. Though the conditions were different for the later writers (in particular, these later
writers were influenced by technological discoveries and increasing social and class
mobility)\textsuperscript{36}, both groups’ experiences of travel, sense of place, and conceptualizations of home were products of personal experience and larger cultural forces.

By the turn of the twentieth century, travelers could add to the list another major factor that changed travel: the experience of time. Stephen Kern argues that while each age “has a distinctive sense of the past,” late Victorians and Edwardians “looked to it for stability in the face of rapid technological, cultural, and social change” (36-37). This is not a simple glorification of the past; rather, writers used the past in order to make sense of the present. This applied to experiences abroad as well as at home. Travelers often relied on historical context as a way to authenticate their travel experiences. This method of contextualization sometimes had unintentional consequences: in the case of Italy, in particular, Victorians and Edwardians so revered classical Italian culture that contemporary Italy often struck them as inferior.\textsuperscript{37} Despite these consequences, the past offered a path into a culture, a means by which travelers could begin to orient themselves in a foreign place.

Kern explains how theoretical perspectives on time evolved in the late 1800s. One perspective produced the definition of stream of consciousness: “the theory that time is a flux and not a sum of discrete units is linked with the theory that human consciousness is a stream and not a conglomeration of separate faculties or ideas” (24). However, the

\textsuperscript{36} See discussion of these factors in Chapter One.

\textsuperscript{37} See, for example, Henry James’s \textit{Italian Hours} or Charles Dickens’s \textit{Pictures from Italy}.
experience of time was also influenced by what seems to be the opposite of this: highly regimented, discrete, measured time as dictated by Greenwich. It is no wonder that while the world moved toward order and the organization of past, present, and future, people also felt an increased desire to resist this. Both nostalgia and simultaneity were responses to these opposing experiences of time.

Kern also notes, significantly, that travel prompted some of these large cultural shifts: “Despite all the good scientific and military arguments for world time, it was the railroad companies and not the governments that were the first to institute it” (12). In other words, one of the determining factors for changing the way that people experience time and how it impacts travel experiences, was the demand of travelers themselves. In trying to coordinate schedules and routes all around the world, users of railroads sought a larger ordered system so as to travel and perform business operations on a reliable timetable. These networks of movement around the world influenced a sense of order on those very movements. Once a standard sense of time existed, finding a way to experience diachronic time within an ordered synchronic system became a more urgent goal. This polarization of the experience of time produced myriad effects, including the proliferation of nostalgia in travel writing.

Spatial dimensions greatly influenced experiences of time, especially in the context of travel writing. By its very nature, travel is dependent on physical transplantation to a different location. While characteristic of nostalgia in other time periods, these two categories are particularly useful methods for describing one’s actual
experience of travel because the two categories of space and time were significantly disrupted around the turn of the century. Stephen Kern explores these disruptions across European culture, arguing that advances in myriad disciplines, from science to art to technology, combined to produce powerful overall changes to these basic experiential categories in people’s lives. To travelers in particular, train travel collapsed the senses of time and space—the speed and ease of train travel fundamentally changed the journeys from England to destinations on the continent (and indeed across the world). As a result, the world felt closer and smaller, likely changing how travelers conceived of the exotic, which is contingent in part on both distance and time.

Adam Barrows points specifically to the establishment of Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) in 1884 as an event that solidified many distinctly modern experiences of time and firmly fixed the split between synchronic and diachronic time. Because the institutionalization of GMT involved intense international pressure to reform, time “was intrinsically politicized in this period, bound up as it was with the problematics of imperial control and global conceptualization” (263). He argues that by the early twentieth century, GMT had “entered modernist consciousness as a powerful symbol of authoritarian control” (263). He examines the writing of Woolf, Joyce, and Conrad to argue that “these modernists sought to dislocate their own treatment of human temporality from its enlistment in the standard time system by resituating temporal processes within more meaningful, contextually determined, and variable social patterns” (263). In other words, in their rebellion against standardized time, modernist writers were
unexpectedly conservative in their desire to protect and express the varying experiences of time.

I should add that not all of the magazine writers discussed below should be considered “modernist.” Rather, most express their experiences by using a combination of approaches and techniques. Some articles experiment with expressing temporality by using cutting techniques borrowed from the cinema; others gesture toward stream of consciousness techniques, while others align themselves more closely with narrative and descriptive conventions found in earlier travel writing. Still, the presence in the magazines of new techniques alongside old in conveying time-based travel experiences allows for criticism of modernist travel writing to be applicable to more popular, mainstream writing from this period.

Interestingly, few critics have explored popular travel magazines or articles during the Edwardian period. Instead, discussion shifts in one of two directions: it either focuses on the high modernist writers before and after the war, with an overwhelming focus on fiction and poetry, or it uses the war as a starting point for discussion. The critical discussion of the experience of time during travel is no exception: the intersection of time, travel, and popular culture (especially when one looks at magazines) is confined to those critics discussed above and in the following sections.

While many of the critics discussed below address the usual suspects of literary modernism, many of the overarching themes are still applicable to the wider readership

38 See Chapter One for discussion of this choice of time period.
and authorship exhibited in popular magazines. In fact, the themes of simultaneity and nostalgia the magazines exemplify were products of the broader cultural changes taking place, and they also helped to perpetuate those very changes in popular culture.

*On nostalgia*

As described above, nostalgia results from a heightened awareness of the passage of time and often produces a preference for the past. Both historians and contemporary critics commonly define nostalgia as a combination of melancholy and desire resulting from homesickness. The term originated in medicine and has since evolved to refer to an emotional experience or reaction, rather than a purely physical malady. Nostalgic travel writers express a unique characteristic of a feeling of longing or homesickness often for a time and a place that are not one’s own. This particular experience is unique to the nostalgic feeling evoked during travel.

George Rosen focuses on two elements of the history of nostalgia: its medical roots and diagnosis in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and its dominance in those not traveling by choice—namely, servants and soldiers. He traces its history up to the turn of the twentieth century, arguing that with the exception of its resurgence in the American Civil War, nostalgia had mostly disappeared from clinical or medical use by 1900. This evolution was due mainly to scientific advances that better allowed scientists to understand some of the causes of symptoms commonly attributed to nostalgia.

However, in his tracing of the history of nostalgia, Jean Starobinski argues that nostalgia carries on, albeit in a different form, well into the twentieth century and still
exists today. He shows how the term came to be recognized as a mental disorder. For a
time, doctors sought a purely physical reason for the disorder, and found various causes
from atmospheric pressure to thickening of the lungs (which was later understood to be
tuberculosis) (100). By 1900, no serious physician would look for a physical cause of
nostalgia; rather, it came under the guise of mental disturbances and came to its current
“poetic” meaning: “the useless yearning for a world or for a way of life from which one
has been irrevocably severed” (101).

Starobinski concludes his survey of the history of nostalgia by discussing the
ailment as it is currently understood: “We no longer speak of disease but of reaction; we
no longer underline the desire to return but, on the contrary, the failure of adaptation”
(101, my emphasis). Is the nostalgia of Mark Twain, or Henry James, or of so many of
the magazines’ travel writers who experience nostalgic moments, simply a failure to
adapt to something? Nostalgia is one possible result of the difficulty of adapting to the
new culture of the travel destination. It also could be indicative of a more specific failure
to reconcile the past and the present moment. To adapt suggests an internal change in
response to a new or shifted external environment. If travel provokes changes within the
traveler, then nostalgia is perhaps resistance to change, a desire to freeze a moment.

Contemporary critics have investigated some of the possible underlying causes of
nostalgia. Starobinski argues that nostalgia is not simply homesickness; rather, he
suggests that it expresses a desire to return to a pre-industrial or Edenic social space. It
could be an experience of personal regression or a desire to return to youth.
In his work on children’s literature, Robert Hemmings also traces the medical origins of the concept of nostalgia. According to Johannes Hofer, the physician who discovered the disorder, nostalgia was a disease of an “‘afflicted imagination’, which could be incapacitating and potentially fatal if untreated” (54). Nostalgia came to be understood as a yearning to return either to “the place of one’s childhood” or, more subconsciously, to “childhood itself” (55). Hemmings uses this framework of the historical understanding and treatment of nostalgia in his discussion of children’s literature in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to argue that nostalgia functions in a dual manner in children’s literature. It allows readers to gloss over undesirable aspects of their memories of childhood, while at the same time “betray[ing] anxieties of loss and desire” in both writers and readers (56). Though his literary genre differs from mine, Hemmings’s treatment of our common topic suggests provocative moments for analysis. The experience of nostalgia communicated by travel writers exhibits similar characteristics of simultaneous sadness, desire, and loss that are a unique reaction to the time.

Starobinski’s and Hemmings’s suggestions of a return to childhood also presents dual options: a desire for physical difference as well as for temporal difference—

39 Starobinski also refers to Kant’s *Anthropologie*, in which Kant argues that youth itself is the desire, not home or a specific place (94).
something akin to time travel.\textsuperscript{40} The presence of both desires (often occurring at the same time) is evident in much of the travel writing discussed below. I suggest another option alongside Starobinski’s and Hemmings’s frameworks: the displaced nostalgia that early twentieth-century travel writers perceive for the past of a place not their own is indicative of a ruptured or disrupted sense of time itself. Two opposing forces were at play in nostalgic situations during travel: first, the desire for newness, for dislocation, and for authentic experiences that often motivated travelers. At the same time, nostalgic reactions indicated resistance to those very changes or direct, immediate experiences those same travelers sought. Travel writers’ expressions of resistance were directed either at the general discomfort of a new culture (in other words, a more traditional sense of homesickness) or at their inability to experience the past versions of the places they visit. This modern experience of nostalgia was a direct result of advances in technology that changed how people experienced time, specifically train travel, the telephone, and the institution of Greenwich Mean Time. Technology both caused and complicated the tendency to cast travel experiences in a nostalgic light in the early years of the twentieth century.

Most definitions of nostalgia emphasize homesickness as a central element. This poses a crucial set of questions when the term is used in the context of travel writing: How can it be that travel writers experience a feeling usually reserved for one’s home

\textsuperscript{40} The rise of an interest in time travel in the form of science fiction during the Edwardian era coincided with advances in technology such as airplanes or railroads or developments in cinematic techniques.
about a place they might never have visited before? Or how could this feeling be applied to a _time_ they have never experienced? Hemmings provides a framework to begin to answer this question. In children’s literature, nostalgia is a result of a desire to return or regress “not to [the writer’s or reader’s] actual childhood but an impossibly sanitized and Edenic time and space” (55). This same concept can be applied to the traveler’s nostalgic desire to experience the past, thereby explaining the long-standing tendency to believe the past was somehow better than the present. The desire is not _really_ to experience Rome under Caesar’s rule, but to visit an imagined or virtual historical version of old Rome that is “impossibly sanitized.” The result is an idealization of the past, which ultimately moves the traveler away from authentic experiences.

In some ways, the connection between nostalgia and travel writing is obvious. Shawn Malley argues that often, “the outward voyage occasions a backward journey in search of roots or origins” for travel writers (449). Malley’s work on nostalgia cuts across literary movements from the nineteenth century to the present day to position travel writers as virtual preservationists, creating (or re-creating) places from the past and memorializing them in their writing (450). This nostalgic preservation work, Malley argues, makes travel writers the “figurative ‘last survivor[s]’ of places and civilizations that are evocative of the past” (450). Malley focuses on themes of decay and the tendency in travel writing to romanticize and to mourn the loss of the past. However, travelers also find a sense of comfort in “lands evocative of a bygone state of being,” because they provide contrast to “times of present discontent” (461). Malley’s work offers a
transhistorical scaffolding for understanding some of the motivations and common
practices of nostalgic travel writers. As we will see in the magazines, writers in the early
twentieth century gravitated towards these themes.

Nostalgia was not a new feature of travel writing around the turn of the century.
The traveler’s yearning for the past in a new place has been a feature of travel writing
since the days of the Grand Tour and was a common theme in Victorian travel literature.
However, nostalgic travel writing served a different function for early twentieth-century
travelers: in a quickly changing present, the past provided an illusory sense of stability,
combined with an accessible way to have an authentic experience of a place. Modern
travelers looked to the past for evidence of a more idealized time, and finding markers of
the past helped travelers authenticate their experiences.

Ann Colley discusses Charles Darwin’s sense of nostalgia in *The Voyage of the
Beagle*, and she highlights passages that describe Darwin’s experience of homesickness.
Darwin experienced nostalgia throughout his long voyage, and he dealt with his feelings
through comparisons between the lands he was visiting and his home in England. Often,
writes Colley, these side-by-side comparisons of location are actually a comparison
between present and past and are described like “superimposed photographic negatives
that print into a single double image” (168). She argues that this effect “paradoxically
emphasizes the distance between the two places” (168). Like later travelers who
experience simultaneity as a result of their nostalgia for a different time (in the same
place), Darwin’s simultaneity is more concerned with a comparison of two different places—he wishes to be in two places at the same time.

Further, Colley argues that Darwin’s homesickness inevitably leads to a comparison between past and present: Darwin writes that he hopes nothing has changed at home while he is away. He would like to freeze time. While he is traveling, his sense of home resides solely in his memory, and thus in the past. This perspective leads Darwin to view England in a more favorable light than the places he visits: “the nostalgic eye cannot help but indulge comparison and let the past emerge as the legitimizing referent” (169). The use of the phrase “cannot help but” gets at the heart of the matter and also speaks to later experiences of nostalgic comparisons between past and present. It could help explain the notion that many travelers feel: that things were somehow better in the past. But Darwin senses danger in this helplessness:

> even though nostalgia can expand the point of reference, it can also restrict perspective. Because the longing for home sentimentalizes judgment by discarding the unwanted and inflating the desired, few trust its impulse or power. (Colley 180)

Nostalgia, in other words, sees the previous place (or, as I argue, time) through rose-colored glasses. It is impossible to find a vantage point from which to judge the accuracy of this kind of desire, and the result is a profound sense of loss that is difficult to comprehend or analyze due to its distortion. This could help explain why nostalgia/homesickness was a diagnosable disease in its early iterations: nostalgia’s complex relationship with memory, place, and the concept of home leads to powerful emotional and psychological results.
However, Colley recognizes that nostalgia also has strong generative powers, and she cautions against completely disregarding this type of emotion or experience:

Darwin takes what he learns from nostalgia’s custom of comparing the past with the present and of searching for vestiges of the past to help him in his work to ‘revolutionize’ and ‘progress’ the course of science. Comparison stimulates as well as stultifies, for Darwin’s homesickness tenders him the opportunity to distance himself—to stand back and glance forwards—and, thus, to break the habit of association so that he might not only long for home but also think about difference, change, and survival. (180-81)

While this analysis is specific to Darwin’s scientific and evolutionary work, Colley broadens her conclusion to apply to the potential that nostalgia holds for others. Nostalgia can function as a rearview mirror that keeps the focus on a past that “never can be fully recovered,” and it can also “create a context in which the individual may structure a criticism of the present” (181). Colley argues strongly for the creative potential that can be unlocked by a critical eye toward the experience of nostalgia. The examples from the magazines discussed below exhibit both sides of nostalgia: some travel writers were stymied by their nostalgia and were unable to let go of the security of a nostalgic perspective, while others were able to use nostalgia as a starting point from which to contextualize present experiences.

Svetlana Boym augments this discussion by showing how the evolution of nostalgia in the European consciousness is a distinctly modern phenomenon, particularly because “the spread of nostalgia had to do not only with dislocation in space but also with the changing conception of time” (7). What makes nostalgia modern, according to Boym, commences with changes in the late seventeenth century. Boym points to the early
modern notion of progress as having a profound impact on the concepts of both space and 
time: progress necessitates both temporal and spatial distinction from the past. One effect 
of this separation is nostalgia, for temporal awareness combined with a preference for 
progress necessitates movement away from the past and therefore creates the space 
necessary to long for a past that is lost. However, “nostalgia is not a mere antithesis to 
progress […] The nostalgic directs his gaze not only backwards but sideways” (13). 
Nostalgia offered for a society that looked ahead to the future a way to cast their eyes to 
the past, to ask, “what if?,” and to explore the creative and imaginative (if not factual) 
potential of counterfactual history.

Boym turns to Baudelaire’s “The Painter of Modern Life” and Les Fleurs du Mal 
to illustrate how nostalgia carries through the late nineteenth century and into the 
twentieth: “For Baudelaire the chance of happiness is revealed in a flash and the rest of 
the poem is a nostalgia for what could have been; it is not a nostalgia for the ideal past, 
but for the present perfect and its lost potential” (210). Baudelaire, along with examples 
including Nietzsche and Benjamin, is “nostalgic for the present, yet [he] strive[s] not so 
much to regain the present as to reveal its fragility” (23, my emphasis). 41

41 Baudelaire’s expression of nostalgia anticipates later modernist conceptions of this 
experience. For example, the first lines of T. S. Eliot’s Four Quartets (1943) take up the 
question of temporal experience and indicate the urgency of the present:

    Time present and time past
    Are both perhaps present in time future
    And time future contained in time past.
In those intervening hundred years between the Romantics and the Modernists, nostalgia evolves from a method for conceptualizing the past (as embodied in Romantic poetry) to including the present moment: nostalgia can be directed not only at the past, but also at parallel possibilities in the present moment. Boym’s analysis does not disparage the counterfactual turn in modern nostalgia; rather, she argues that the blurring of actual and imaginary is at the core of modernity itself.

Nostalgia was the product of a strong desire to experience deeply another culture, to find authenticity in historical context and understanding. Those travel writers who were able to use nostalgia as a pathway to deeper understanding of culture often expressed the attainment of authenticity in their travels. Conversely, nostalgia for some travelers served to limit authentic experience, because it became, in Starobinski’s words, a “useless yearning” for another time (101). The difference lies in the manner in which travel writers perceived and interpreted their reaction to this yearning. Those travelers for whom the past proved incongruent with the present often expressed dissatisfaction with their experiences. Edwardian travelers were unique in their varied usage of nostalgia as a solid and familiar basis on which to begin to understand a culture.

If all time is eternally present
All time is unredeemable.
What might have been is an abstraction
Remaining a perpetual possibility
Only in a world of speculation.
What might have been and what has been
Point to one end, which is always present. (1-10)
In *The Country and the City*, Raymond Williams examines the tendency to speak nostalgically about the past, particularly in the context of the agrarian English countryside, as a receptacle of the values that oppose modern life, which often revolves around the city. Writing in the 1970s, Williams wonders why modern society yearns for the golden years before the First World War as the time in which “Old England” thrived (9). Many discussions of nostalgia in the early twentieth century not surprisingly begin in the decade after the First World War. The particular conditions of the war caused the destruction of an entire generation and obliterated the landscape of several countries, so the desire to look back at a time before the war was unsurprising. However, in tracing the expression of nostalgia, Williams finds that the images of the ideal past are not actually rooted in Edwardian England. Rather he looks to the Edwardians, and before that to the Victorians, and all the way back through several centuries, and finds evidence that the ideal version of culture is always rooted in an earlier time, “just back, we can see, over the last hill” (9). Williams asks, “Is it anything more than a well-known habit of using the past, the ‘good old days’, as a stick to beat the present?” (12). But he concludes that it is more than this, that much can be learned by analyzing a given culture’s perception of what characterizes those “good old days.” If this tendency to privilege the past is a long-standing feature of British culture, it is not surprising that travelers would also apply this

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expectation and perspective to the places they visited. The Edwardians were not unique in
their expectation that the past offered a more authentic understanding of life than the
present. But their particular engagement with nostalgia in their travel experiences
produced both generative and limiting capabilities. The capacity for one temporal
category to prompt such varied responses led directly to the ability of travelers to engage
in a new manner with both the past and the present during this time period.

On simultaneity

Whereas nostalgia had long been an element of travel writing before the twentieth
century, the Edwardians were perhaps the first generation of travelers whose writing
frequently expresses simultaneous engagement with past and present during travel
experiences. As explained above, a major shift in thinking about time occurs around the
turn of the century that produces an increased interest in the present experience. Stephen
Kern’s *The Culture of Time and Space 1880-1918* provides important scaffolding for how
I use the concept of simultaneity in this chapter. Kern begins his study by explaining the
difficulty he had in deciding how to approach simultaneity as a concept, since it was one
of many results of a cultural shift that itself was a product of technological advances as
well as forces independent of technology. He argues that the impact of advances in
transportation and technology (including train systems, air travel, telephone, telegraph,
and cinema) made the world feel smaller and made time feel as if it moved more quickly.
These innovations worked in tandem with non-technological developments in other
arenas (such as physics or art) to revolutionize the ways in which people experienced
time and space (6). One specific change is that the divisions between past, present, and future—categories that seemed relatively discrete before the advent of modernism—were the subject of profound scrutiny by many factions of society.

Kern notes how writers, painters, and musicians, as well as scientists and scholars, all experimented with the concept of simultaneity as a result of these changing experiences of time. These various groups approached the topic by exploring two basic issues: whether the present is a sequence of single local events or a simultaneity of multiple distant events, and whether the present is an infinitesimal slice of time between past and future or of more extended duration. (68)

No broad consensus resulted from these conversations; rather, the focus of so many disciplines on this topic produced a more complex and varied understanding and expression of time.

Kern provides examples from James Joyce, Pablo Picasso, and Blaise de Cendrars to show how the shifting experience of time affected artists and how they consequently began to apply simultaneity in their work. However, this trend was also pervasive in popular travel writing at the time, as evidenced in the examples below. Simultaneity was not just a conceptual puzzle for an artistic elite; rather, it was a concrete marker of the massive cultural shift that the broad population experienced at this time. Travel writers were not immune to the convergence of interest upon the subject of temporal experience; rather, the examples below indicate that travel provided a unique opportunity to engage with both the past and the present of a different culture. Through their writing, travelers often worked to attune their understandings of historical context with their experiences of
contemporary culture while traveling. This attempt to reconcile both past and present created an innovative way to mark an experience as authentic. For some travel writers, the moments in which past and present collided and sparked feelings of authentic engagement with a place.

In contrast, Eric Sellin approaches simultaneity through the lens of surrealist art and writing (which, while usually associated with post-World War One culture, had its roots in the Edwardian era). Sellin argues that scientific developments (as opposed to technological developments) were the main prompt for the cultural changes that occurred during this time. Surrealism, according to Sellin, was less of a movement with a definable beginning and end, but more like a “plateau” resulting from the evolution of other movements (10). This evolutionary approach is similar to Kern’s (and to many other scholars of this period), in that it is difficult to point to exact causes or start dates for any one element of this cultural shift. Rather, a constellation of forces working concurrently prompted what turned out to be large cultural shifts that impacted how people experienced time and place (and therefore, how they defined authentic travel experiences).

Sellin defines simultaneity as “a phenomenon or notion which could suggest if not embody the fascinating but ineffable possibilities of relativity and the reservoir of the previously-unexplored human psyche” (11). Simultaneity provided a new way to “override the centuries-old prescriptions of pictorial representation as seizing but one anecdotal moment in space and time and of literary expression as bound to one track of
chronological dimension, flashbacks and alternate chapters notwithstanding” (11).

Sellin’s focus on surrealism is more limited than the focus of this dissertation, and while none of the writers below exemplify the surrealist movement, his grounding of the concept of simultaneity in surrealist aesthetics provides an understanding of simultaneity that is applicable to the literary avant-garde and popular travel writers alike.

While Kern and Sellin provide a framework for analyzing simultaneity in travel writing during this time, more criticism on this concept is conspicuously absent, perhaps because simultaneity is more clearly apparent in high modernist writing published after 1918. For example, other studies focus on the concept of simultaneity in physics or Cubist painting but do not discuss the translation of this concept to writing.43 Additionally, I have found discussions of simultaneity in travel literature, but these focus on time periods or cultures other than early twentieth-century British writing.44 Therefore, Kern’s argument provides the main theoretical grounding for my own understanding and application of this concept.


Nostalgia and the past in the magazines

The magazine articles demonstrate the varying ways in which writers unravel their reactions to travel experiences and indicate how all of these experiences are clearly linked to complicated conceptions of time. In those articles that explicitly feature nostalgic descriptions of places, a visual experience often triggers nostalgia. In fact, several writers pause in their description in order to comment on how visual stimuli prompt thoughts about the past and thus frame the nostalgic. Dean MacCannell explains how visiting a sight and assigning a marker to it, formal or otherwise, imbues the sight with meaning to a tourist: “the act of sightseeing culminates in the tourist linking to the sight a marker of his very own. In so doing, he is supposed to indicate whether or not the sight has lived up to his expectations” (136). The assignation of a marker and evaluation of a site by tourists driven by nostalgia are often tied to the perception of how the experience coincides with expectations and whether the tourist perceives the experience to be an authentic communication of historical context. As discussed in Chapter Two, these perceptions vary by person. Nostalgic travelers link that assigned meaning to the past. An element of assessment or judgment is a result for many: the past holds meaning, and the present pales in comparison.

Examples from the magazines illustrate Edwardian travelers’ desires to encountering history. In “Idle Days in Southern Spain” (Travel & Exploration, March, 1909 issue), S. L. Bensusan describes his experience of contemporary Cordova in the context of its Islamic roots:
The little city is quite Moorish, almost as Mohammedan in aspect and feeling as when the Caliphs held sway, when the mueddin looked out over the Court of Oranges [. . .] Even today the Court of Oranges has much of the aspect of the East, and the beggars who sun themselves there or seek the shade of cypress [. . .] seem to be part of a world that has nothing in common with the Twentieth Century. (206-7)

Bensusan’s appreciation for this city stems from the many markers of history found particularly in the architecture. Because these relics remain, Bensusan feels able to connect authentically with Cordova: the city allows him to “banish all thoughts of the larger world, and to be as far removed from letters and newspapers as are the monks and the hermits [of the surrounding mountains]” (206). This kind of approach was characteristic of travelers and tourists alike: one result of travel to a foreign place is the desire to understand or witness the past that often manifests itself as nostalgia.

Bensusan’s particular appreciation of Cordova’s history represents a common theme in travel writing that holds true for popular magazines in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the *Idler* magazine, for instance, the “Impressionist” often writes of her interest in the past. Her articles (of which there are nine between 1905-1911, all published in the *Idler*) follow similar travel themes: she discovers amazing places, often just off the beaten track of the regular tourist, and then describes her impressions of the places. Her writing often touches on encounters with picturesque places, both natural and manmade (she describes both the town and the surrounding forest), and she tends to portray her personal and emotional interactions with a place. Often these interactions include her ruminations about the past or history of a place, thereby providing an interesting case study for the larger discussion about nostalgia.
In a 1908 article about Dax, France, the Impressionist observes,

But the attractions of Dax do not end with its hot springs. On the contrary, the little town is so charged with historic memories and so replete with traditions of a remote past that it has a peculiar and distinctive charm of its own which is felt by every body. For, after all, the visible is only a fragmentary part of the real, and in the activities of the human mind it always appears that suggestion affords a higher kind of enjoyment than mere observation. That is to say, there is more true pleasure to be derived from what awakens vivid conceptions and stimulates thought, than from any scene, however fair, round which no halo of association lingers. (409-410)

Several provocative concepts are present here. First, the “Impressionist” establishes the fact that pleasure in travel is best gained through experiences that do not end with sensory (usually visual) impressions; rather, the impressions must provoke thought, and the mind enriches the visual scene. The best way to achieve this deeper level of experience is to seek out places that have that elusive “halo of association.” This “halo,” as the Impressionist explains throughout her article, usually derives from a sense of the past or of history: most places that prompt her to pause and reflect are historical (rather than the new buildings or current inhabitants of a place).

For example, the “Impressionist” provides a description of the town’s cathedral, and then exclaims,

Old buildings of this kind always seem to have so much to say to one! There is neither speech nor language, it is true, and yet their voices are heard. And to those who listen—while everything has a meaning, from the soaring roof to the lowliest tomb and each separate detail conveys a message—the whole structure seems to reveal the history and character of the people by whom it was erected, and thus to be the outward and visible sign of their faith and aspirations. (410)
While a picturesque old cathedral may be visually appealing by itself, it is not the visual image that makes the experience noteworthy or authentic. Rather, the structure conveys “the history and character of the people by whom it was erected, and thus to be the outward and visible sign of their faith and aspirations” (410). To the “Impressionist,” the sight triggers another level of reflection, and it is the deeper reflection that makes the experience authentic.

The reader learns to understand or listen to the past by paying close attention to the structures or artifacts that remain in the present in the form of relics or ruins. This instructive use of artifacts (markers) aligns itself with an established way of thinking about the past, and it also reveals a way of privileging the past over the present. Here we can see the lasting influence of John Ruskin’s *Stones of Venice*, particularly the perspective communicated in his chapters on the Ducal Palace and the nature of the Gothic. In “The Ducal Palace,” Ruskin outlines the architectural development of the Palace, and he also sets the stage for his argument against Renaissance architecture in general. He argues that when the Doge Mocenigo brought forth his proposal to modernize and remodel the Palace in 1422, he made a crucial error:

> in his zeal for the honour of future Venice, he had forgotten what was due to the Venice of long ago. A thousand palaces might be built upon her burdened islands, but *none of them could take the place, or recall the memory*, of that which was first built upon her unfrequented shore” (211, my emphasis).

The Doge erred in succumbing to the desire to modernize without recognizing the value of his own city’s past master artisans, architects, stonemasons—until this point, no one
could propose or carry out rebuilding the palace, because the people needed a safeguard to “guard against their own weakness” and save them from themselves (208). The Doge’s succumbing to this desire marked the beginning of the Renaissance, and according to Ruskin, was “the knell of the architecture of Venice—and of Venice herself. [. . .] [The palace] fell, and as if it had been the talisman of her fortunes, the city never flourished again” (211).

Where did the Venetian court go wrong? According to Ruskin, the answer lies in the crucial difference between Gothic and Renaissance architecture. Ruskin strongly prefers the Gothic because it marries form and function, simply put. The combination of Gothic characteristics produces art; the Renaissance tries to “manufacture” or perfect artistic models, but this movement cannot be considered artistic (166-67). By opting to create a more “perfect” palace, the Venetians turned their backs on a period in which the palace was capable of “saying new and different things” and instead reproduced ideas of perfection from other time periods or other styles that were not in keeping with Gothic principles.

Along with defining the characteristics of the Gothic and artistic preference for countless readers (including several generations of tourists after the book’s publication in 1853), Ruskin makes an important point about the value of authenticity in one’s encounter with history. In the passage above in which he explains the Doge’s crucial error, Ruskin states that the court “owed” an element of respectful reverence to the past iterations of the buildings that composed Venice. He then explains that this respect is
needed because the buildings cannot be replaced, and they also cannot prompt a true encounter with the historical presence emitted from the buildings. It is the presence of the same buildings themselves that can recall the past; these cannot be rebuilt or restored.

*The Stones of Venice* had a profound influence on English culture after its publication. In particular, and somewhat to Ruskin’s dismay, tourists used it as a guidebook in order to understand Venice (Links 9-10). This trend is parodied in E. M. Forster’s *A Room with A View*, as Lucy Honeychurch remarks on the many tourists in Santa Croce wandering about with their Baedekers and Ruskins. However, *The Stones of Venice* also transmitted aesthetic values to the broader public. The perspective the “Impressionist” presents in the section above represents a powerful ideological view on the value of the past, of preservation instead of haphazard restoration, and (on a deeper level) of the values embodied by the Gothic according to Ruskin.

Furthermore, the “Impressionist” suggests that what is imagined about a place is more enjoyable or “real” than the present experience. As readers and travelers, we realize logically that we never can experience the past of a place. We can approximate the past by reading history, by watching a butter churning demonstration in a medieval reenactment in England, by visiting historical sites, by listening to a tour guide, by drinking beer that has been brewed in the same way for centuries. But all of these only approximate “being there,” in Clifford Geertz’s terms (4-5). We can be “there,” physically, but it doesn’t help us “be then.” A tourist longing to understand the history of a place can only circle around it, approximate it, and use his imagination—and this is
precisely where one encounters a nostalgic approach to travel. In this way, travelers idealize the desire to experience the past. Collective memory and imagination shape the past. While this imagined history might come close to authentic experience, it can only ever be an approximation for truly being there.

Bensusan, the “Impressionist,” and the two *Travel & Exploration* writers discussed below all exhibit nostalgic attitudes in their writing about other places. These nostalgic attitudes are not directed at their native lands, however; they are nostalgic for virtual or imagined historical spaces. The object of the nostalgic reaction has shifted from the original understanding of the term by physicians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as Starobinski and Hemmings describe above, as a physical malady experienced mostly by soldiers and brought on by homesickness. Rather, nostalgia had evolved to include emotional reactions to both places and times that were not the traveler’s own. In *Travel & Exploration*, for example, two articles explore different ways of experiencing the past, and while the two writers’ expressions of nostalgia take different forms, both emphasize some aspect of encountering the past as essential for having an authentic experience.

Knud Rasmussen’s “On Ski with a Lapp Caravan” (October 1909) presents one experience of time and the past in this magazine. In this article, the author leaves his travel companion behind and joins a semi-nomadic Laplander on a journey across northern Scandinavia. At the moment his companion leaves, he writes,

As I watched my sledge disappear into the forest, I had a queer sensation of having suddenly taken a leap backwards, in time and progress, of
centuries. [. . .] But I shook off my dearly bought civilization with little ceremony; it was with a smile that I climbed out of my old grooves. Values had, in a moment, changed altogether. (205)

What exactly has transpired here? Rasmussen has crossed some threshold of temporal experience: though he knows he still is a representative of the twentieth century, he is keenly aware of the historical space that separates him, as a modern city dweller, from the rural way of life in which he has immersed himself.

However, he feels more than just the rural/urban divide; he is keenly aware of a historical divide that he has managed to cross as well. This is one of the few examples I have encountered of a traveler’s experience that does not end in desire; it reaches across the nostalgia for the past to witness a direct encounter with the past. Rasmussen never questions the authenticity of his experience with the Lapps, perhaps because his encounter focused on an individual person, rather than a place. Unlike the “Impressionist,” who usually does not dwell on interactions with people, Rasmussen includes quotations from the Laplander and describes his experience of traveling with him and staying in his home with his family. This intimate experience serves two purposes: it allows Rasmussen to be a part of the “back room” perspective usually not accessible to tourists, and it also allows him to feel as if he is part of a different time. Part of what makes this article so compelling is Rasmussen’s ability to enter the back room, in MacCannell’s terms. Deep down, readers know that it’s not possible truly to see the background, because that would mean ceasing to be a tourist. Only the natives know the actual difference between front and back. The attractiveness here seems clear: the pull of
history is strong, and the desire to experience the past physically is a major draw and top reason for most tourism (and likely helps to explain why attractions like Civil War reenactments or Colonial Williamsburg exist and are still popular with tourists). Because of his reactions to his experiences, Rasmussen was able to have authentic travel experiences without questioning his perceptions of past and present in his situation.

The privileging of the past went almost unquestioned by many writers in *Travel & Exploration*. For example, in “Idle Days in Southern Spain,” S. L. Bensusan gains the reader’s interest in the location by pointing out that this area of Spain is host to many encounters with the past. Like the “Impressionist,” Bensusan begins by noting that the average tourist does not fully appreciate all that Spain has to offer, and his topic shows the traveler ways to leave the beaten path to have more authentic and pleasurable travel experiences. Again, as for the “Impressionist,” authentic experience is rooted in encounters with the past. Bensusan advises the traveler to

> turn into Andalusia’s byways, and he will find that though the costume of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century has suffered change, in all or most other aspects life seems to pass along much the same as in the days when Goya’s marvelous brush recorded a society of which the rest of Europe knew little or nothing. (199)

The value of this region to Bensusan is that time seems to have stopped in Andalusia. Bensusan’s version of the past seems to be influenced by Goya’s painterly version of historical Spain. Here, the nostalgic traveler crosses paths with the picturesque traveler: while the picturesque traveler seeks places that look like paintings, the nostalgic traveler seeks a version of the past that is congruent with paintings of the past.
The use of this impression in the very first paragraph of the article indicates the importance of the past as incentive to travel, and Bensusan capitalizes on the knowledge that this would be of interest to his readers. He writes to a desire to “fix” the past, in that instead of being a historical recreation of the past (which many travelers would recognize as inauthentic on some level\textsuperscript{45}), this is an actual, lived version of history in which the past has somehow been extended to exist in the present. Were this an unproblematic reading of the situation, it would seem to be an ideal example of an authentic experience of history. However, Bensusan recognizes that some things did in fact change since the eighteenth century: costume and some aspects of life (though those aren’t described) indeed are different. So again, the traveler is resigned to seeing a version of the past, but not the past itself. This approximated construction of history may be closer than other encounters available to travelers, but it can never be exact.

Taken together, the examples from the magazines illustrate the varying ways that nostalgia manifested itself in travel experiences. Writers foreground the visual as a trigger for historical encounters as evidenced in the observations about architecture and physical spaces. The visual was an easily accessible prompt for contemplation of the past. The preceding examples demonstrate the interactive experience of the past “speaking,” which meant that travelers needed to have a keen ear to be able to listen to what the past could communicate to them. These aural allusions often were stimulated by visual prompts. However, interactions with people in travel destinations were equally

\textsuperscript{45} See discussion of historical recreations and authenticity in Chapter Two.
provocative as causes for nostalgic responses. We can see that the travel writers valued visual experiences as observers as well as human interactions as participants, because both encounters were able to produce feelings of nostalgia and connection, which in turn led to affirmation of the authenticity of the experience.

*Simultaneity and the present in the magazines*

Whereas nostalgia represents a desire to experience the past and therefore privileges the past (and often ignores the present), simultaneity reflects a newer way of experiencing time in travel. Travel writers who describe moments of simultaneity in their articles often also write of the newness of this kind of experience, borrowing descriptors from cinema and science to express the feeling of being in the past and in the present at the same time.

Simultaneity juxtaposes the wish for the past alongside the experience of the present; in this way, it incorporates elements of nostalgia into the present. For instance, in a 1907 article from *Gentleman’s Magazine* entitled “Mingled Memories in Old Norwich,” Gwendoline Perks writes of the past in a manner reminiscent of Mark Twain forty years earlier:

> What glories of romance, what whispers of escape, what plots, what songs, what bitter cries and ribald jokes would fill our ears if the old walls about us could speak; for not only this long narrow street but a mile or so around us is historic ground, laden with an air of romance which should suffice to inspire a hundred novels. (412)

Perks conveys a strong longing here to experience the past, to become a part of it, to slow down and appreciate the history surrounding her. It’s an impossible desire: not quite a
wish for time travel, but a desire to peek into something unattainable. Here, the nostalgic description is indicative of both a temporal and a spatial relationship with the past: the past is specifically situated and bound by location. This intersection of place and time is a common characteristic of nostalgic travel writing: the traveler’s desire for the past often appears suddenly when one turns a corner and catches a first glimpse of a specific place that reminds him or her of the past.

Perks expresses the desire for an experience akin to MacCannell’s description of the back room. He describes the “back region” as a “kind of social space that motivates touristic consciousness” (102). His structure operates primarily in the context of touristic spaces, but this goal also applied to the context of time and temporal thresholds. Those elusive momentary glimpses of the past that Perks alludes to can be read as authentic travel experiences. However brief or imagined these moments may be, they still produce the authenticity effect in the tourist, because he or she can mark that temporal jump as a direct encounter with the past.

However, Perks’s experiences push beyond the nostalgia expressed in many of her contemporaries’ writing. After all, she frames her description of Norwich as a place where old and new “mingle,” producing curious and provocative results. Perks writes, “for in the midst of the grind and clatter of an improved electric tram system lies a labyrinth of historic streets, deviating into dingy cobbled courtyards and dark alleys, and offering a succinct variety of relics of the past to fill the portfolios of an antiquary” (410). This excerpt expresses the sensation of side-by-side coexistence of past and present. In
this piece, the present is layered onto the past, as if a transparent photograph of the
present is laid onto one of the past (not unlike Colley’s description of Darwin’s travel
writing). The palimpsestic effect is heightened by the use of the terms “system” and
“labyrinth” in the same sentence: the former suggests order, intention, and modernity,
while the latter calls to mind natural progression, confusion, or obscurity. These word
choices and associations fit neatly with what Perks actually experienced, because the
present moment was clearer to her while the past may have seemed just beyond
comprehension. Significantly, the coexistence of these two terms produces a much richer
effect than nostalgia alone. The contrast of past and present acknowledges that all travel
takes place in a particular moment, and the specific situation of that moment has an
undeniable impact on how one imagines the past in a particular place.

Several articles in Travel & Exploration portray these moments of simultaneity in
c onceptual travel, and such moments exemplify the expansive potential afforded by the intersection
of two moments in time. In “Idle Days in Southern Spain,” Bensusan concludes his
article by describing how an interaction with a figure seemingly from the past influences
his experience of the present:

On the road [. . .] I once met the most tattered beggar I have ever seen. Only the special grace of the Maria Santissima kept his rags together; his worldly possessions were a staff, a frayed leather wallet, a piece of hard bread, and a couple of oranges. And yet he was as human as that St. Felix whom Murillo painted, his happiness was positively infectious, he sang an old ballad with a powerful voice that had a good sense of music, and when I gave him a handful of cigarettes and a couple of reals he took off his tattered hat and vowed he would not change his state with the King. Then I noticed for the first time how beside the cypress trees the yellow broom
was flowering, and that the countryside really looked very bright indeed.
(209, my emphasis)

Here, we have an example that perfectly illustrates the potential held in a moment of simultaneity. The traveler meets a beggar who reminds him instantly of Murillo’s *St. Felix of Cantalclice holding the Christ Child* from the 1660s. Bensusan compares the beggar from the painting and the beggar of the present, and, significantly, takes them as equals. Here, the virtues of the classical painting are not proclaimed as having higher value; rather, the present person is valued as highly as the painting from the past. The superimposition of the artistic image allows Bensusan to mark the scene as authentic. Even more interesting is how the passage ends; rather than pining for bygone days or reacting to the beggar in a negative manner, the traveler’s interaction remains rooted in the value of the present: his eyes are opened to the beauty surrounding him. This experience differs from nostalgia because it draws on the past, but for the purpose of anchoring or interpreting the present moment.

This reaction is a far cry from Mark Twain’s experience of Paris: here, the traveler is able to experience fully the present moment while simultaneously making comparisons between the present and the past. This seems to represent the idealized authentic experience sought by travelers. As discussed in the chapter on authenticity, the very term “authentic” is slippery, but in general, many modern and postmodern travel theorists have debunked the possibility of having an authentic experience at all. They argue that most experiences travelers perceive as authentic are staged to some degree, or that all tourism is inauthentic in its failure to see the lives of others as they are “really”
lived. However, the inverse may also be true: the traveler in the scene above relies solely on his perceived experience as a way to understand life in Spain. Whether or not the beggar’s actions are staged or otherwise mediated, the traveler still comes away from the experience believing in the authenticity of the encounter.

In his *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, Walter Pater alludes to the subjectivity of all reality and our reliance on impressions as the primary means to navigate the world (118-21). Authenticity operates in a similarly subjective framework, as the magazine writers often reveal through their confidence and lack of questioning of the validity of their experiences. This perspective of confidence and subjectivity may at first seem to contradict other expressions of the lack of sureness or validity other writers express. However, the coexistence of these two approaches suggests the struggle that travelers felt regarding their own abilities to navigate confidently the unfamiliar experiences of a new place.

*The filled-in map*

As many writers dealt with the changing experience of time by expressing their understanding of either nostalgia or simultaneity in travel (or both), those writers in *Travel & Exploration* attempt to look forward to the future and envision how past and present travel experiences will change. Several different writers use the concept of the filled-in map to represent a host of anxieties and possibilities that stem from their

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46 See, specifically, Dean MacCannell’s *The Tourist* and John Urry’s *The Tourist Gaze*, discussed in Chapter Two.
experiences of time during travel. These writers express a strong sense of nostalgia for bygone days when travel meant walking off the map, and this sense prompts an air of urgency as they seek to discover what new kind of frontier will replace the old concept of “off the beaten path.” At the same time, these writers revel in the particular opportunities their historical positioning affords them: they are aware that they live in a transitional period with regard to travel, and they are both anxious and excited about what the future holds.

Not only avant-garde writers and artists were keenly aware of their own positions in history and time. More popular or middlebrow writers consciously expressed cultural self-awareness, which was revealed through travel experiences. For example, Hiram Maxim opens a 1909 article in Travel & Exploration by stating, “Every thinking man who is au courant with passing events must admit that we have arrived at the beginning of a totally new epoch, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated” (265). Maxim refers here to the development of the airplane, and this was a year before Virginia Woolf marks the oft-quoted 1910 as the year of change. But while Woolf focuses on human nature, Maxim discusses technology. Both of these factors combined to produce a period when ordinary people thought about, discussed, and wrote about their awareness of their place in time.

This self-consciousness is echoed directly in how travel writers conceptualized the history (and future) of travel writing. In “Traveler’s Tales,” J. Scott Keltie discusses the element of the fable in travel writing throughout history, beginning with ancient tales
of Cain, Ulysses, the Argonauts, and the Nasamonians. He is interested in the blurred lines between fact and fantasy in these and other tales and argues that this trend of passing off “inventions and exaggerations” as “scientific” records of travel has continued through the centuries (332; 331). His most recent example of the blurring of fact and fiction had occurred only eight years earlier, in 1901. Then he concludes: “There is alas, little room now for such intentions and exaggerations which have added so largely to the general stock of human entertainment” (332). Keltie writes in a moment of cultural transition and is aware of the shift to a scientific age. Despite the tendency to exaggerate (which produced entertaining and imaginative texts) expressed in travel writing, he feels that this era is now coming to an end.

Keltie explains the attitude toward the past of travel and its relationship to modern travel:

The world is getting too well known, and time and distance are being gradually reduced to a minimum. The telegraph follows the traveler to the centre of every continent, and wireless telegraphy can tap the voyager in mid-ocean, and it may be presently, at the poles. Even so let us cherish the delightful fables of these old inventors, and the quaint exaggerations and misrepresentations of the travellers of past generations, when all was strange and wonderful, when the faculty of accurate observation and description was only in its infancy, and photography had not even been dreamt of. (332)

Keltie addresses both time and distance here, showing that the contraction travelers felt was occurring in two related spheres. Stephen Kern notes that the experience of simultaneity uniquely impacts both spheres:

As an experience that had spatial as well as temporal aspects, simultaneity had an extensive impact, since it involved many people in widely separate
places, linked in an instant by the new communications technology and by the sweeping ubiquity of the camera eye. (315)

Because of the sense that the world was getting smaller, that the map contained dwindling blank spaces and the strangeness and wonder of discovery had dissipated, it was now less possible for exaggeration or fabrication to take place. Stories could be verified by scientific methodology and historical record, which helped the chronicling of accuracy in reporting about distant places. Keltie seems to acknowledge his preference for this kind of accuracy: his use of words like “cherish,” “delightful,” and “quaint” to characterize the fictionalized “entertainment” he discusses indicates that while he finds value in these old tales, they are to be seen as relics of the past and clearly contrast with accuracy and contemporary methodology.

However, Keltie also acknowledges that something is lost in the modernization of travel: if the world is “too well known,” then Keltie gestures toward a feeling that began in the nineteenth century, reached its height in the 1930s, and continues today. The projects that motivated travelers and explorers since the beginning of recorded history, such as knowledge of other lands and peoples, mapping, documenting a location’s uniqueness (whether that be land coordinates, local customs and products, flora and fauna—whatever the motivation for an individual traveler might be), if successful, necessarily contribute to the demise of one of the most stimulating byproducts of travel itself: a feeling of authenticity. As scientific accuracy increased and left less to the imagination, the authentic grew ever more elusive and difficult to find.
These sentiments resulted in large part from the technological advances to which Keltie alludes: telegraphy and photography in particular contributed to the expression of modernity in travel. Significantly, both technologies produce effects of simultaneity. The telegraph shrinks distance so that people can be in one location but have near-instantaneous knowledge of distant events. The photograph effectively freezes a moment in time and allows the observer to experience the present moment as well as the past moment captured in the photograph, in the same instant.

The Earl of Ronaldshay presents a contrasting view to Keltie’s in “The Call of the East” a year later. Ronaldshay discusses how the initial European attraction to the East, begun centuries ago, still holds strong and will continue to do so. Though the “day of conquest” is over and “Asia stands to-day a world revealed,”

There is, no doubt, still work for the soldier and the explorer; the merchant may still find ample occupation in spreading over the entire continent the warp and woof of a vast commercial web; but with the gradual filling in of the mosaic of European ascendancy the monopoly of trader and soldier has gradually passed away, and the early bands of fighting and trading pioneers have been swelled by a vast army of travellers and students who have been attracted in ever-increasing numbers to the limitless and fascinating fields of Eastern study and research. (84-85)

Ronaldshay argues that while the filling in of the world map means that certain types of travelers (explorers, conquerors) cease to find unexplored territories in the East, this very decrease of “blank space” beckons others to begin to enter this part of the world and seek their own kinds of satisfaction, because it is now open to them. In other words, the modernization of travel that some disparaged was also the very means by which entire classes of travelers were able increasingly to access remote parts of the world.
Another aspect of the filled-in map is a heightened sense of the looming end of “real” travel—a common chorus echoed later by many travel writers in the 1930s and 1940s. However, one finds roots of this sentiment in the first decade of the twentieth century as well. In “Dr. Sven Hedin’s Explorations,” Col. Sir T. H. Holdich refers to “these days when geography has to be reckoned with as a living science, and explorers of the pioneer type cast about in vain for a space wide enough and white enough on the surface of the world’s maps to justify the hope of geographical adventure” (89). While considering the social and cultural changes that influenced the nostalgic perspective, one cannot overlook the practical fact that any person looking to travel to a remote or unexplored area had increasingly fewer choices to find this type of destination. This helped to solidify the sentiment that exploration increasingly belonged to the past. Those seeking “authentic” travel experiences (specifically, those experiences in which authenticity was tied to a preference for the first encounter or to experiences otherwise untainted by tourism) were constantly reminded of the difficulty and/or futility of this kind of goal.

Not every traveler sought out the kind of pioneering experience explored above; after all, one did not go to Paris in 1905 hoping to “discover” it for the first time. This feeling nevertheless contributed a sense of urgency to the difficulty of finding authenticity in travel more broadly, as well as to the expression of nostalgia for a time when discovery was a more attainable goal for a larger group of travelers. Edwardian
travel writers often suffered from a nagging sense of belatedness. According to James Buzard, the search for the authentic was predicated for many on originality, and the very sign that someone had preceded them, laying down preferred routes, establishing a hierarchy of attractions to be seen, fostering conventions of response, unsettled [twentieth-century] tourists, much of whose behaviour was driven by the need to demonstrate uniqueness. (110)

While uniqueness may not have been the goal for all travelers, it constituted one marker of authenticity that was not always easy for Edwardians to attain. Authenticity, however, was still possible for some through the perspective offered by simultaneous experiences of past and present. Dr. Sven Hedin, one of the heroes of exploration celebrated in Travel & Exploration, is able to move in some ways between past and present. Holdich describes how the great explorers of the past had been motivated by religion or the goal of discovery. Hedin, according to Holdich, was different: he was a pioneer partially because he carried no message, and his objective was comprehensive, for it included scientific observation applied to every new feature that he encountered. This is the recognised form of modern exploration, and of it Sven Hedin is an apostle and exponent. He may almost be regarded as a link between past and present. (89-90)

Holdich goes on to explain how Hedin built on the discoveries of the past, but his approach was modern, even anticipatory of the future of exploration. This example of a man who embodies the simultaneous experience helps to explain some of the forces that led to an increased awareness of the more permeable boundaries between past and present.
As the blank spaces on the map rapidly disappeared, travelers in the early twentieth century looked for ways to redefine authentic travel. As discussed in Chapter Five, for some, extreme or adventure travel became the new locus of authentic experience. For others, including explorers like Sven Hedin, simultaneous experiences of past and present were able to produce satisfying, authentic travel experiences.

Conclusion

In travel accounts during this period, the two concepts of nostalgia and simultaneity seemed to clash with one another during travel experiences. However, they also are perfectly characteristic of the Janus-faced tendencies of the beginning of the twentieth century. While travel writers still cherished the history of a destination, they increasingly sought to experience the present moment more fully in order to feel as if they had had an authentic experience while traveling. Nostalgic and simultaneous experiences allowed the traveler to question his experiences and determine where authenticity lay: past, present, or a combination of both in simultaneity.

It is no wonder that today’s travel writing still takes up these very questions: with GPS-based walking tour apps, downloadable last-minute travel guides, and magazines dedicated to finding the most authentic parts of a place, travel in the era of the iPhone has at once made the authentic both easier to find and customize, and ever more elusive, since travelers are haunted by the feeling that someone has already been there before.

The rapid development of new technologies in the Edwardian period allowed for creative engagement with travel destinations and also fundamentally altered travel. The
experience of time shifted, expanded, or contracted due to forces such as standardization of timetables, communication methods like the telegraph and telephone, and modes of travel including railway expansion. These influential cultural forces altered the terms of engagement with past, present, and future while traveling. However, the concurrent presence of nostalgia and simultaneity as themes in travel writing during the early twentieth century suggests multiple pathways to authentic travel experiences.
Chapter Five: Exploration and Adventure: The Last Outpost for Authentic Travel?

In 1890, the United States census found that the American frontier was sufficiently inhabited by settlers that a continuous frontier line no longer existed (census.gov). Explorers reached the North Pole in 1908 or 1909 (the exact date is contested still; Frederick Cook claimed to have reached the Pole in 1908; Robert Peary in 1909). In 1911, Roald Amundsen became the first explorer to reach the South Pole. And by the time the First World War broke out in 1914, a handful of European imperial powers had finished dividing the vast majority of the African continent into a patchwork of territories. To Edwardian travelers with the means and desire to travel to the remotest parts of the globe, possibilities for authentic travel seemed to be collapsing all around them.

However, as travelers reinterpreted the central motivations for travel in this period, several trends surfaced that redefined what kinds of travel prompted authentic experiences. Some found authentic validation in active engagement with another culture through sports. We see the popularization of skiing, hunting safaris, remote fishing expeditions, and increasingly extreme mountain climbing expeditions during this time. Interestingly, Travel & Exploration also regularly featured more mainstream sports like golf, cycling, or team sports. As I discuss below, the juxtaposition of mainstream and
more specialized sporting activities speaks to the ways that different travelers attempted
to engage with other cultures or experiences.

This growing alternative definition of where to find authentic travel experiences contributed to the development of “adventure travel,” which usually involved physical challenges, such as participation in sports, traveling through difficult geographic terrain, or enduring extreme heat or cold, and mental challenges, such as determining the best route up a mountain. This motivation contributed to a growing desire to surpass the perceived existing limits at already-established destinations (thereby perpetuating the desire for travelers to get “off the beaten track”). The legacy from the early landscape painters discussed in Chapter Three influenced the types of travel destinations that became popular after the nineteenth century. Interest in sublime landscapes specifically increased the popularity of destinations such as the Alps and the American and Canadian Rockies and promoted activities such as skiing and mountain climbing. In particular, articles in *Travel & Exploration* reveal a distinct interest in “adventure” travel to remote areas that travelers had previously avoided: there are more articles about Africa than about Rome, more about skiing than about museums. The interest in scenic vistas in more remote areas was championed by Victorians such as Leslie Stephen, and by the end of the nineteenth century, the perception of travel in the Alps as an arduous journey was waning.

For still another type of traveler, adventurous or exploratory travel to increasingly remote destinations continued to function in much the same way as commissioned
exploration had for centuries in the name of science or geographic discovery. This tradition of exploration was formalized in England in 1830 with the founding of the Royal Geographical Society. This organization’s major publication, the *Geographical Journal*, disseminated information about expeditions around the world and contributed to the desire to continually expand the reaches of exploration by publishing anthropological and ethnographic articles (Robertson 119). Similarly, many feature articles in *Travel & Exploration* focus on the theme of discovery, particularly if the object of discovery was a remote tribal community. These kinds of articles display the contentious and often blurred line between travel writing and anthropological ethnography. Another area of interest lies in expedition accounts: *Travel & Exploration* chronicles the races to the North and South Poles, for example. Travelers also questioned the purpose of travel and exploration more broadly. Usually, science was a common rationale given for legitimizing the reasons for travel: exploration was needed in the name of geography, or entomology, or cartography. Still others claimed that missionary goals gave their travels purpose, thereby perpetuating the notion of the white man’s burden.47

A short notice entitled “The Royal Geographic Society’s Meetings, 1909-1910” in the “Exploring World” section of *Travel & Exploration* (November 1909) summarizes the thematic interests of the Royal Geographic Society as well as the public interest of the magazine’s readership. The notice describes an “unusually interesting” series of lectures

47 The phrase “white man’s burden” would have been well known to travelers at this time, as it was introduced only a few years earlier in Rudyard Kipling’s 1899 poem of the same name.
on topics including polar exploration, an “almost unknown” area of Arabia, Himalayan exploration, climbing expeditions in central Asia, and exploration of areas of Africa and South America (313). This notice encapsulates many of the themes and interests of the magazine itself. The subjects of the articles, for the longer feature articles as well as the shorter pieces, can be grouped into a few thematic areas: 1) Sports, broadly defined, which included activities ranging from golf to fishing to hunting to skiing. 2) Mountain exploration and climbing expeditions. While this category overlaps with sports in terms of how travelers engaged with a place, mountaineering appealed to travelers and readers interested in more extreme experiences. 3) The off-the-beaten-track places that still remained in the world, but often focused on areas of Africa, South America, the North American west, and Asia. 4) A subset of the above includes polar expeditions. While these journeys were clearly off the beaten track, the competitive races to the poles these articles chronicle often include an air of drama, as well as the influence of nationalism.

These four thematic areas are brought together by two shared underlying values that influenced ways of speaking about the experiences. First, remoteness distinguishes adventure travel in the early twentieth century, usually in terms of its ties to exploring the white spaces still remaining on the map or exploring charted territory in innovative ways. And second, writers directly discussed their opinions about what the purpose of travel should be. Travelers writing in this vein usually shared a dedication to an active, engaged, and challenging exploring spirit. However, writers also questioned this same purpose of travel—not all writers wanted to attribute their wanderlust to a simple desire
for adventure. Instead, writers discussed other purposes for travel, including scientific
discovery, missionary work, cartography, and geography. Travel rooted in athletic
activity is another category with a different sense of purpose: these travelers were
interested in physical challenges as much as other, loftier goals.

Rather than uniformly signaling the end of a golden age of travel, the travel
writers of the time experimented with redefining where and how people sought
authenticity. Advances in technology contributed to this process of redefinition: air
tavel, for example, promised access to destinations previously difficult to reach, thereby
altering the perception of distance in travel and changing the parameters of how one
would define a “remote” place. While getting off the beaten track (to the extent that was
possible) was still a popular option, the travelers of the early twentieth century also
looked to more extreme and adventure travel as viable models for authentic travel
experiences.

Adventure travel offered a route to authentic experiences in the Edwardian period
because it provided a sense of newness and contrast often inaccessible in other, more
established travel destinations or activities. Such a sense of contrast allowed a traveler to
engage with a destination in a manner that felt innovative and off the beaten track. John
Urry provocatively compares the study of tourism with the study of deviance, claiming
that deviance (in the sense of deviating from mainstream social norms and practices) can
“reveal interesting and significant aspects of ‘normal’ societies” (2). Looking at the
notion of “departure,” he claims that the main defining feature of tourist practices
involved a rupture with everyday life (2). However, Urry’s theory can be pushed to include also the idea of deviance or departure from established travel norms, as we see in Edwardian travel articles. In this scenario, a traveler seeking authenticity must not only deviate from everyday life, but also depart from commonplace travel experiences. The Victorian era saw the use of adventure travel by individuals as a means to differentiate themselves from mass tourism. However, these desires came to a head in the Edwardian era because travelers expressed, in a more intense manner than in preceding decades, both loyalty to the traditions of the past and an uneasy embrace of the developments of the present and promises of the future. As a result, their interests turned to adventure travel to carve out authentic experiences in the context of an era so dominated by mass tourism and rapidly increasing accessibility to distant destinations around the globe.

Sport

As a variety of critics have noted, one distinct effect of the economic prosperity and the labor laws passed after the Industrial Revolution was the creation of leisure time.48 Lynne Withey writes, “unlike earlier periods of economic expansion, when most of the benefit accrued at the upper end of the economic scale, the prosperity of the late nineteenth century brought higher income and shorter hours to the working class as well” (169). One direct result of this increased leisure time was the explosion of sports across the world. The popularization and democratization of sports (meaning both team sports as

48 See, for example, Dean MacCannell, The Tourist (1976); Jose Harris, Private Lives and Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914 (1993); J. A. Mangan, A Sport-Loving Society: Victorian and Edwardian Middle-Class England at Play (2006).
well as “sport,” which often referred to hunting and sometimes fishing or other outdoor activities) extended to travel experiences, as travelers used sports as a means through which to engage with another culture or part of the world. *Travel & Exploration* recognized the important link between travel and sports and acknowledged this connection by expanding the magazine in mid-1910. A notice “To the Subscribers,” inserted in the June 1910 issue, advertises a new feature section entitled “Sporting Travel.” The editor writes,

In view of the increasing popularity of this Magazine, the Proprietors consider themselves justified in adding a new Department, entitled ‘Sporting Travel’. This will be devoted exclusively to all kinds of Foreign and Colonial Sports and Pastimes. Special attention will be given to Big Game Shooting, Mountaineering, Fishing, Yachting, Motoring, Winter Sports (Tobogganing, Ski-ing, etc.), Golf, Tennis, etc. (“The Expansion of *Travel & Exploration*” leaflet, June 1910)

The magazine’s subtitle also changed in June 1910 from the previous *Travel & Exploration: A Monthly Illustrated Magazine* to *Travel & Exploration: An Illustrated Monthly of Travel, Exploration, Sport, and Adventure*. This change marks an intentional shift to include the elements of sport and adventure as main features of the magazine, demonstrating the close ties between and intersections of audience interest among these four themes. The “Sporting Travel” section of the magazine consisted of between three and six pages of short articles (most less than one page long) about the topics listed above, as well as other short pieces of interest (for example, inexplicably, the October 1910 issue includes a notice about the two new American badgers at the London Zoo). Many of the articles are notices about new opportunities for participation in sports,
formation of sports clubs, new openings of golf courses abroad, or ideal international fishing locations. These short pieces complement the feature articles by providing practical information and advice for prospective travelers. While the feature articles about different sports provide in-depth insight into the relationship between travel and sports, the short articles foster in the reader a sense of awareness about the most up-to-date developments in the world of sport.

J. A. Mangan argues that the modern popularity of sports in general owes much to the pragmatism, enthusiasm and energy of the increasingly influential middle class and that in the forty four years after 1870 this English middle class whole-heartedly embraced and endorsed this new fashion. [ . . . ] As a consequence, sport became part of the culture of the emerging middle class and a community anxious to define its own position in a rapidly changing world. (2)

Two of the more popular sports featured in Travel & Exploration are big game hunting and fishing, and the majority of the articles about other sports are shorter commentaries in the “Sporting Travel” sections. The predominance of these two types of sports in particular reveals the interests of the English middle class during this period, as they are emblematic of having attained a certain social stature. Hunting and fishing require equipment and sometimes extended time away from work and home. The ability to take a hunting or fishing trip could be read as a late Victorian or Edwardian status symbol. For example, Pia Sillanpaa writes of the desire of middle-class tourists to follow in the footsteps of the “sporting gentlemen” tradition. These were members of English landed gentry who, in the first half of the nineteenth century, constructed lavish lodges in
Scandinavia, “typically built in the middle of the wilderness, amid beautiful scenery and with an abundance of fish and game just outside the doorstep” (179). These gentlemen would stay for months at a time, bringing housemaids and butlers along from England. By the end of the century, tourism had encroached on these aristocratic enclaves, and hotels and lodges built for tourists sought to emulate this lifestyle and provide similar hunting and fishing experiences to their middle class patrons.

The article “Lines in Many Waters” (March 1910) provides a snapshot of the contemporary tourist interested in fishing as a reason for traveling. Charles Payton writes of fishing in different locations around the globe, including South Africa, Morocco, Florida, Norway, and many locations in England. His varied locations portray him as a well-traveled fisherman, but he also writes that his fishing was “mostly done in afternoons and evenings, after office hours, and in a month’s yearly holiday” (171). This admission is unusual in Travel & Exploration—many of the articles recount journeys undertaken for months (or years) at a time, signaling to the reader the author’s vast free time and wealth. However, Payton shows that a sport like fishing was possible for travelers of varying means and incomes. Some of Payton’s stories are set in obscure locations around the world, but others are located in Yorkshire in a pond near his house. By portraying this sport as accessible to the readers, Payton taps into the middle-class desire for ways to spend their leisure time that “emulat[ed] upper-class pursuits” (Huggins 23). Payton’s portrayal of the relative ease of undertaking this kind of travel
inscribes the value of travel as a desirable way to spend one’s leisure time and also as something within the reach of a middle-class budget.

Big game hunting was also a regular feature article topic throughout the run of the magazine. While hunters often visited destinations in Canada, South America, and Asia, Africa was the location of the overwhelming majority of articles about hunting. By the turn of the century, hunting in Africa had been well established: one writer indicates that

Probably ninety per cent. of books of sporting adventure deal with Africa, India or Canada, and recently it apparently has been the turn of Africa, something like a dozen books dealing with big-game shooting in this continent having been published within the last few months.

(“Searchlight” 52)

The audience’s familiarity with accounts of game hunting is apparent in Dudley Haskard’s article “Lion Shooting in Somaliland” (December 1909), which has almost no introduction. Instead, Haskard launches immediately into his narrative of tracking lions. He uses Somali terms without providing context or interpretations: for example, he writes of pointing out lion tracks to his “shikari,” and the reader is left to deduce that this is a term for a local guide (342). The effect of this use of foreign terminology is to heighten the sense of exoticism, and also to introduce the reader to the jargon of hunting in Africa. As a result, Haskard’s language both alienates and serves as a set of authenticating markers for himself and for his readers.

Haskard’s article recounts the tracking of lions, as well as the hunting of other animals such as oryx, kudu, and gazelle. He shoots two lions successfully, and the article features photographs of these animals just after the hunt, including one entitled “Lion
Lying Dead” (347). The episodes featuring the lions are harrowing and action-packed, describing in detail the enormous size of the animals and their nocturnal prowling around the villages and describing play-by-play action of stalking and shooting the animals. This article combines the best of the traditions of hunting in a storyline that is engaging even as it is predictable (the reader knows from the title that eventually the author is going to get the lion). The hunting tradition draws on the history of imperialism in Africa—tales featuring hunting had long been a common topic in travel writing as well as in narratives about Africa more generally. Haskard refers to this tradition, as well as to the changes that have occurred, noting that

The annoying part of going after lions in Somaliland in the present day, when they have become so scarce in comparison to what they used to be in the past, is that one has to give up the whole of one’s time to that and nothing else. (342)

Despite his acknowledgment of the more ideal hunting conditions in the past, Haskard still conveys to his readers the sense of adventure and possibilities for authentic encounters with the nature, culture, and wildlife in Africa.

Safaris and shooting trips of this nature would not have been possible without the long history of imperialism in Africa. By the late nineteenth century, imperialists like Cecil Rhodes were responsible for establishing networks of railroads reaching into the interior of Africa with the intention of extracting minerals, gemstones, and other resources for the purposes of trade (Olukoju). Other European colonialist powers, including France and Germany, built transportation routes throughout sub-Saharan Africa that would enable travelers in the coming decades to reach destinations that would have
been much more inaccessible at midcentury. The remarkably fast transition from colonial territory to tourist destination in the span of just a few decades expresses the inherent reliance of tourists on colonial structures in Africa.

The many articles about fishing and hunting in *Travel & Exploration* indicate the readership’s sustained interest in these types of sporting activities. These experiences embodied many of the elements middle-class Edwardians valued in travel: engagement with elements of nature, individual connection with a different place, and out-of-the ordinary experiences that differed from everyday life. Sporting activities offered the possibility for authentic experience, even in locations frequented by tourists. At the same time, sporting travel worked to reinforce class-based priorities that were part of English culture at the time. Sports were divided on class lines: the difference between a gentleman’s sport like polo or hunting and a middle-class sport like rugby or cycling was still an important distinction during the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. However, historian Mike Huggins suggests that sport is one cultural arena that, while divided on class lines, offered significant flexibility and opportunities for class-based values to be “articulated, debated, and developed” (13). The development of and participation in sports encouraged the mixing of classes in a way not possible in many other social environments. Huggins connects the rapid expansion of the middle class around the turn of the century with the blurring of traditional divisions between the leisure activities of the aristocracy and those of newly wealthy businessmen or merchants. For example, he explains that many prosperous Victorians invested in large estates and “emulat[ed] upper-
class pursuits,” often including “hunting, shooting, yachting and racing” (23). It follows, then, that this class was also likely to engage in activities during travel that were more typical of the upper class. In this way, middle-class sporting culture penetrated upper-class activities, thereby redefining these activities as their own.

The articles in *Travel & Exploration* perpetuate these class-based values by featuring activities that had once been limited to the upper classes but were now possible for middle-class travelers. Huggins writes that “in reality, however, few sports were purely ‘amateur’, purely ‘middle-class’ or purely working-class in membership” (13). Sports-related travel and the intermingling of classes through sports allowed for experimentation with the increased social mobility that was characteristic of the Edwardian era. Travel in itself was a way to experiment with and be freed from the social constraints of one’s domestic culture. Coupling travel with sports (another activity that allowed for social experimentation) allowed travelers to engage and make connections with a different place, thereby allowing for the cultivation of authentic travel experiences. Sports like hunting and fishing also produced their own travel souvenirs—trophy specimens that could be brought home, mounted, and proudly displayed as physical evidence of the engagement with a different place.

*Mountaineering*

Mountaineering, as discussed in Chapter Three, was already an established travel venture by the early 1900s. Travelers were attracted at least in part to the sublime landscapes found in the mountains, and regions like the Alps and the Himalayas drew
increasing droves of tourists to experience the dramatic landscapes. Other travelers, however, were drawn to mountaineering specifically for its intense physical and mental challenges, and for the thrills associated with a dangerous activity. This thrill-seeking spirit, combined with a nationalistic desire to conquer obstacles and set records, led to a subset of travelers for whom mountaineering provided authentic experiences on several levels.

Edwardian travel articles about mountain climbing, particularly in *Travel & Exploration*, generally exhibit one of two motivations for travel: mountaineers climbed either for personal satisfaction and the glory of accomplishment (for instance, being the first person to summit a given peak), or they climbed in order to contribute to a larger social purpose, such as for the sake of geographic discovery, cartography, or scientific discovery. These two motivations also appeared in the major mountaineering publication *The Alpine Journal*, published by the Alpine Club since 1863. This journal featured many accounts of “first ascents,” but the “old tradition of scientific objectives [was not] forgotten,” either (Blakeney 166). If the motivation was personal satisfaction, the travel often was carried out under the pretenses of contributions to science, since investors did not usually fund expeditions solely for the sake of glorifying England. Rather, the pride of England provided an additional benefit of the successful expedition. Regardless of the motivational perspective portrayed in the articles, accounts of mountaineering at this time glorify the elements of personal challenge, danger, athleticism, and sport inherent in the activity. Travelers were interested in both motivations for mountain climbing at this time,
and their coexistence elucidates the varying means of defining authentic travel in the early twentieth century. Personal accomplishment and one’s own contribution to nation or scientific discovery were mutually beneficial motivations to this generation of mountaineers.

In the article “The Philosophy of Travel” (*Travel & Exploration*, February 1911) Comte D’Ussel addresses the development of mountaineering after “the English discovered a sport” in this activity first pursued by geographers (132). D’Ussel argues that by the turn of the century, “Alpinists are of all countries, of all professions, of all ages, and of both sexes. They invade the mountains each summer, like the waves of an ever-flowing tide” (133). This observation emphasizes the speed with which the activity changed from a rare and unusual scientific pursuit to a more commonplace destination for tourists. He also characterizes how a modern Alpinist regards the hierarchy within the sport:

An Alpinist who is deserving of the name is only interested in the ascents that are declared impossible, and a mountain reputed to be virgin becomes disqualified as soon as she has suffered some celebrated violation. […] When these last strongholds of their old reputation have fallen, these mountains will be given over—poor fallen peaks!—to beginners and to the common people. (133)

Even within an activity already limited to a subset of travelers given its physical demands, the distinction between tourist and traveler, between “real” mountaineers and those who just follow in their footsteps, exists quite plainly. D’Ussel’s apparent disdain for the “common people” who will now climb the mountains maintains the class distinction that had been part of the activity as well: mountaineers often hired guides and
porters to assist on their climbs, so financial resources impacted access to the sport. These hierarchies within the sport further obscure the ability to find authenticity in this particular travel experience, because the cultural value placed on being first to conquer a given peak correlates directly with whether subsequent travelers’ experiences could still be authentic. However, while D’Ussel’s evaluation of this phenomenon highlights the existence of a hierarchy within mountaineering, it does not necessarily follow that the ways in which actual travelers describe their experiences are fundamentally altered because someone had climbed a given mountain before. Rather, Edwardians evaluated the authenticity of their mountaineering pursuits by the measures either of science or of physical activity, and both underlying motivations provided rewarding results.

Mountain climbing undertaken in the name of science is the topic of many articles in *Travel & Exploration*. Several articles feature the explorer Dr. Sven Hedin over the course of the magazine’s publication. Hedin, as I describe in Chapter Four, is held up as the epitome of modern explorers because of his wide-ranging accomplishments and discoveries across the world. In an article in the January 1910 issue, Eustace Reynolds-Ball provides a lengthy review of Hedin’s most recent exploits in the Himalayas. In particular, he applauds Hedin for his ability to “fill in the great white patch in the map of Tibet marked in our Atlas as ‘unexplored’” (45). While Reynolds-Ball clearly holds Hedin in the highest esteem as an explorer, he also includes remarks from Hedin that display Hedin’s personal aspirations in the region. Because Hedin crossed into Tibet
surreptitiously (without the permission of the British government), he was able to claim the glory of his discoveries without the interference of other explorers:

‘During the whole time I was in Tibet, Lord Morley kept the frontier between India and Tibet closed to all travellers, and so I was left quite alone with the great white patch which I had decided to explore as carefully as possible. Everybody will understand what that meant for me, especially in a time when the white patches of the earth are not very numerous. If the frontier should have been opened by some new agreement, I am afraid the Bongba province would have been overwhelmed by explorers, and I should have been obliged to give up a good deal of the conquest which I desired to save for myself only!’ (48)

Reynolds-Ball applauds Hedin’s candor about his underlying desire to save the glory of his expedition for himself (and, by extension, for Sweden, his home country)—he calls this statement “engaging” and “sincer[e]” (48). In his approval, Reynolds-Ball validates the purpose of mountaineering and mapmaking with the twinned goals of scientific discovery and personal glory. Clearly, an Englishman could identify with and appreciate this desire for personal gain and glory, even though a Swede expressed it in this case (and at British expense).

Reynolds-Ball’s validation of these travel motivations would have communicated to the magazine’s readership the importance of pairing these two particular goals. While travelers in the mid-nineteenth century may have been attracted to mountaineering for its own sake and pleasures, some Edwardians sought authenticity in this activity by combining two motivations. This shift can be attributed to the anxiety engendered by the decreasing “white patches” on the map. These disappearing spaces prompted the increased value of being “first” to a given location because travelers foresaw difficulty in
continuing to evaluate authenticity mainly in terms of the traveler’s ability to be pioneering in his activities.

The main motivation for the second kind of mountain climbing is personal physical challenge. For example, one article entitled “The Alps of England” directly addresses the appeal of danger as one of the main attractions in rock and mountain climbing:

Rock-climbing has now almost reached the level of a fine art, and has come to be as popular as almost any branch of sport. This great popularity, apart altogether from the spice of risk which few Englishmen seem to be able to do without in their search after healthful exercise, is easily understood. (Stock 227)

Here, E. Elliot Stock distinguishes between travelers undertaking mountain climbing for the sake of exploration or discovery, and those who do it purely for sport or exercise. At this time, travelers still climbed mountains around the world with the primary purpose of exploring new routes up a peak, or for cartographic purposes. Most issues of Travel & Exploration feature at least one article about climbing in the Himalayas, the Alps, or other mountain ranges, in which exploration and discovery are the primary goals, but in which the writer also comments on the physical exertion so prized in the undertaking. These articles appealed to an Edwardian audience because they fulfilled the interest in adventurous travel narratives and they exemplified a physically challenging and highly rewarding activity that coincided with the rise of sports in general in England at this time.

49 See, for example, “Adventures on ‘The Roof of the World’,” Travel & Exploration January 1910.
Mountaineering was not a new tourist activity in the Edwardian era. The Alpine Club, the first formal mountaineering club in England, had been in existence since 1857. Its membership was overwhelmingly composed of intellectuals and upper-class gentlemen: “clergymen, dons, schoolmasters, writers, artists, and medical men [as well as] lawyers, civil and public servants, businessmen, and officers of the armed forces” (Robertson 120-21). While the composition of the Club itself did not change significantly by the turn of the century, the original group of early club members noted the expanded focus from the Alps to include mountaineering destinations worldwide, as well as the expansion of the sport to include increasing numbers of casual tourists (Robertson 121). In a few short decades, the scope of the activity had spread across class and geographic boundaries.

Stock’s article recognizes that sport and exercise, activities rooted primarily in leisure, were now a very popular impetus for climbing mountains. After cartography or geographic mapping were no longer necessary purposes, the reasons to climb mountains shifted. Stock explains that “even in the present day, when [Watsdale’s] climbs are mapped and exhaustively written up, the climber finds that humility and respect come easily to him after a brief inspection of its possibilities” (227). In other words, travelers could still find authentic travel experiences in locations that others already had traversed. Instead, the motivation to attempt climbing in a well-traveled place was located in the personal challenges and rewards of overcoming difficult conditions—not in being the first to do so.
Significantly, Stock recognizes that an element of danger was also part of the appeal. This generation of mountain climbers were the ancestors of modern-day extreme sports enthusiasts, and the appeal of danger is still an important aspect of these activities today. His article describes a treacherous night spent on a mountainside in Watsdale (in the Lake District in northwest England) during which a storm blows in and covers the mountain with sheets of black ice, and the climbers are forced to spend the night in a small cave until rescue by a search party the next morning (228-34). He concludes this section by warning any would-be climbers that the region “affords the rock-climber grand facilities for breaking his neck, or acquiring immortal fame among exponents of the sport” (234). This is not meant to deter the reader; rather, it acts as a goad and in fact adds to the appeal of the location.

Stock’s larger aim in the article is to convince the reader that the mountain ranges in England provide several advantages over visiting more famous climbing centers, the Alps in particular. He argues that northern England is more attractive to “many an enthusiast [who] is barred [from] Alpine delights by reason of a short holiday or shorter purse,” thus acknowledging that this is not a sport solely for the upper classes who have both time and money for extended vacations (226). Rather, mountaineering is an activity that transcends these class-based divisions. The close proximity is also touted as an advantage, as the climber does not have to endure “the dreaded Channel crossing and the tedious railway journeys through snow-bound valleys” on the way to the Alps (226). His final argument is rooted in nationalistic pride:
The Englishman has the added satisfaction in knowing that the rock, filling his fist and supporting his feet, is some of the oldest in the world, and in evidence long before the Alps of mid-Europe had been thrown aloft by some mighty upheaval of nature. (235)

This last point mirrors the English version of the “See America First” movement that developed concurrently in America around the same time.

The promise of physical exertion together with an element of danger appealed to Edwardian travelers for several reasons. The increase in popularity of mountain climbing corresponded with an increase in the popularity of sports and exercise in England. J. A. Mangan speculates a link between the rising value of athleticism and the values of imperialism, in that athleticism was one feature of a strong, dominant empire (20). Mountaineering required significant physical and mental stamina and was therefore one way that travelers could embody the values of their nation. Because they believed that physical exertion “improved physical, mental, and moral health,” late Victorians and Edwardians were drawn to mountaineering as a means to address all three of these goals (Mangan 145). Mid-Victorian English mountaineers had been climbing “for sheer pleasure” in addition to for the sake of science since the mid-Victorian period (Robertson 119). Travelers derived this pleasure in part from the same element of danger that drew them to sublime landscapes in general. However, by the turn of the century, mountaineers were increasingly drawn to locations outside of Europe because they regarded the Alps as less challenging as they became more traversed. As mountaineers expanded their horizons across the world, the logistics of mountain climbing in other, less familiar locations added to the appeal and the difficulty of the climbs.
One important observation remains in the realm of mountaineering (and adventure travel more broadly) during the early twentieth century: the increasing number of prominent women climbers. It was uncommon, but not out of the question, to read of women traveling to increasingly obscure locations around the globe by the turn of the century. However, the end of the Victorian period brought with it a loosening of restrictions on women and their ability to travel. Several articles written by women were published in this genre in *Travel & Exploration*. Fanny Bullock Workman, for example, published an account of her travel to the Himalayas with her husband in 1909. Her account of the climb reads much like many other mountaineering accounts: descriptions of frigid nights, thin air, the challenges of native porters, and the all-encompassing physical challenges of high mountain climbing. The only mention of her sex comes at the conclusion of the article, when she states that at 23,300 feet, she attained the “world mountaineering altitude record for women” (326). She is careful to note, “I make no boast of [holding this record], for it was not to gain records that we have for six seasons explored the Himalaya” (326). However, she does not describe what exactly her reason for exploration is. The beginning of the article alludes to the party’s desire to study the effects of altitude, but also to “explore as thoroughly as possible” many of the higher peaks and areas of the Nun Kun range because they had not yet been climbed. Thus, while scientific research is at least part of the reason Workman gives for climbing these areas, her main reason is that no one has climbed them before. Despite her claims to the
contrary, it is clear that attaining the record for highest female climb was important to Workman.

Thomas Pauly, in his research on Fanny Bullock Workman, agrees that her drive to achieve records was a strong motivator: she was “fiercely competitive and intent on records, and she believed that the best way to achieve satisfactory recognition was to treat the RGS as the foremost authority, cue her efforts to its expectations, and win approval” (31). He attributes Workman’s competitive drive to attain records to her desire to be admitted as a member into the Royal Geographic Society. Pauly portrays Fanny and her husband William as a wealthy American couple intent on building strong social ties with the Society. William was granted membership in 1900, and Fanny was in the first group of women to be granted membership in 1913 (31). Pauly provides further analysis of some of her secrets of success: she was “slow, relentless, and intrepid. [. . . her] greatest assets were her dauntless persistence and her immunity to altitude sickness” (43).

Workman’s physical and mental advantages made her an ideal mountain climber, and her achievements led to her subsequent publications including several books, a lecture series, and publication in the RGS’s *Geographical Journal*, in addition to her publication in *Travel & Exploration*. Her popularity contributed to the changing view of women’s roles around the turn of the century, and her combination of personal traits and clear interest in both setting records and making scientific discoveries exemplifies the motivations for mountaineering that Edwardians valued.
Fanny Bullock Workman’s account is not the only article about extreme or adventure travel to be written by a woman in *Travel & Exploration*. Several female-authored articles feature more extreme or adventure travel than might be expected. Other articles include “A Hundred Mile Ride in Persia” by Ella Sykes (March 1909); “Through the North Lands of Canada” by Agnes Dean Cameron (July 1909); “With the First Train into Nyasaland” by Mary Bridson (September 1909); or “The Trogloidytes of Tunisia” by Alice Worsley (July 1910), among many others. While some articles by women do comment on the difference their gender makes in their travels, most pay little attention to the fact that their experiences were necessarily different. A few photographs help to illustrate the difference: Mary Bridson’s article features a photo of her riding a motorcycle on the way to hunt in Africa, and Fanny Bullock Workman’s article features a photo of her sitting in front of her Himalayan camp, surrounded by the rest of the men in the party. Both women wear dresses (despite the African heat or the frigid mountain temperatures), and this very fact makes them stand out as unusual figures in a field so dominated by men.

Thomas Pauly writes that when Workman appears in photographs, she is always viewed from a distance where her dress stands out and distinguishes her from her male companions. She wanted viewers to know that a woman had integrated this conventional gathering of male climbers and that she too had reached the summit. (63)

In many of the photographs of women in *Travel & Exploration*, the contrast between Edwardian dress and exotic surroundings is striking in its incongruity. However, the effect also opens a space for readers to identify with the women featured in the
photographs: because they often look as if they had been plucked from a London street and placed in an alien landscape, they represent the familiar element of the scene to the reader. This allows readers to envision themselves in that place and opens up an imaginative space to the general public, thereby altering the realm of possibility for future travelers.

An increased sense of urgency to locate and dominate some of the last uncharted areas of the globe contributed to mountaineering’s rising popularity during the late Victorian and Edwardian period. This motivation corresponded with the rising cultural value of physical activity. Mountaineering provided (perhaps not coincidentally) a response to both motivations and in doing so, remained one viable route to authentic experience at this time.

Wilderness and the outdoors

The concept of the wilderness also remained as an important symbol for Edwardian travelers. Though “wilderness” as a term is more typically used in discussions of American travel narratives during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it also figured as an important concept to British travelers during this time. The wilderness of North America was a popular destination for many Edwardian travelers, and they had to reconcile the “essentially homelike and comforting Nature they knew in England” with the wildness and unfamiliar characteristics of natural scenes found elsewhere (Knoepflmacher and Tennyson xxii). In his writing about the development of wilderness as a cultural construction, philosopher Robert Scotney defines wilderness as “wherever
nature is out of human control” (154). Historians U. C. Knoepflmacher and G. B. Tennyson explore how this element of human control largely influenced how late Victorian travelers interpreted their experiences of nature outside of England as “alternately threatening and sublime” (xxii). At the turn of the twentieth century, the “delicate balance between science and tradition” on which Victorians based their understanding of nature “was no longer viable” (xxii-xxiii). Thinkers from Darwin to Ruskin in the late nineteenth century destabilized what “nature” meant to Victorian travelers, while simultaneously travelers found that their experiences did not always neatly conform to one understanding of nature. As a result, wilderness as a concept posed an attractive problem to Edwardian travelers: its incongruence with the natural scenes present in England forced travelers to question their understandings of the totality of possibilities offered by nature.

Like the enduring attraction to remote cultures, the pull of the wilderness represented an encounter with difference from one’s everyday experiences as a means to experience something authentic in travel. Unlike encountering a different culture, however, the wilderness offered an absence of culture and society altogether. Like the different appeals of the picturesque and the sublime, the difference between extreme travel to a remote culture and travel to the distant wilderness resided in the desired kind of experience for a given traveler. Both kinds of destinations offered alternatives to modern Edwardian society, especially with regard to what Jose Harris describes as the cultural context that was “transforming Britain into a more centralized, homogenous
national society” (17). The remote wilderness appealed to those looking to escape the larger context of British society, particularly those for whom the appeal of the extraordinary was increasingly difficult to identify at home.

A 1909 article in the *Idler* magazine speaks directly to the call of remoteness. In “Canada: The Last Wilderness,” Edward Angus writes of the benefits of visiting western Canada. He argues that “Canada to-day holds the last of the wild American continent; the last wilderness is here, in the last West” (331). In an interesting turn, however, the majority of the article focuses on all of the modern amenities and comforts one could find in an area of Ontario known as the Lake of Bays (about 150 miles north of Toronto). Angus describes the ease of visiting the area by steamer and railway and notes the “best-appointed” steamers, stating, “it would be difficult, indeed, to find fault with them or even suggest a single comfort or convenience that has not been provided” (332). There is a new cluster of cottages and hotels for those tourists who “desire the rest that is found in a life where everything is done for them, every comfort provided” (334). The hotel even features telephones, telegraphs, and mail twice a day (334-35). He appeals to those who like to camp in the same manner: “The ease with which any point along the system may be reached, and the facility of obtaining supplies from the depths of even ‘The Forest Primeval,’ make the locality an earthly paradise for the man who enjoys camping-out” (334). Angus portrays a version of the wilderness that exemplifies the conditions travelers found in this time period: a tamer version of the wilderness that was actually more analogous with nature as found in England.
Angus’s target audience is clearly not the same kind of traveler who wants to embark on months-long expeditions with few supplies in uncharted territory. Rather, this kind of wilderness is already ensconced in quotation marks for emphasis: this forest does not offer the same experience of the primeval forests of Peru (described below). Though both allude to the primitive elements of the place, Angus’s discussion of the best tourist sites in the region clearly delineates this wilderness as already marked—though no less authentic. His perspective does not deride tourism; rather, it celebrates the fact that the location’s popularity has made it possible for more tourists to travel with ease to visit the region.

This approach presents an interesting situation in which authenticity can be attained even through a mediated encounter with a place. As discussed in Chapter Two, Jonathan Culler explains that the paradox of authenticity is that for a given experience to be evaluated as authentic, it “must be marked as authentic, but when it is marked as authentic it is mediated, a sign of itself, and hence lacks the authenticity of what is truly unspoiled, untouched by mediating cultural codes” (111-17). However, this evaluation of mediation and authenticity does not fully address the situation presented in Angus’s article, or in many other travel articles. Mediation does not necessarily make authentic experience impossible. Rather, for some tourists, mediation is simply not the most important determining factor in their evaluation of the authenticity of their experiences. As Pearce and Moscardo explain, authenticity is based on the tourist’s individual perception of which elements of an experience are important (126).
A central question remains: where is the “wilderness” in this version of backwoods Canada? Angus suggests encounters with wilderness in discussions of fishing and camping opportunities, but their nearness to modern civilization leaves the impression that the true wilderness is still far from this tourist center. Still, it is too easy to dismiss this article (and the many others of its type) as simply a fabricated tourist trap where unaware vacationers are tricked into buying a milder version of wilderness. One must not look past the underlying desire that prompted places like this to exist in the first place. The idealized concept of “wilderness” existed in opposition to ideas of society and modernity, so the element of difference an Edwardian Londoner would have found in this location may have been significant enough to warrant marking the experience as authentic.

In contrast to Angus, Agnes Deans Cameron presents an alternative view of the wilderness of Canada in the same year. In “Through the North Lands of Canada,” Cameron travels to the Lake Athabasca region of northwest Saskatchewan, 1600 miles from Toronto. The tone of this article differs significantly from Angus’s from the outset: her article opens, “we were the first white women at Fond du Lac” (88). She writes of the “loneliness” of the place and how it is populated almost entirely by “Chipewya” Indians (88). Mail only comes once a year on the day that a government representative arrives with treaty payments. Here there is no transportation of canoes by train (as there is in Angus’s narrative); Cameron describes a sixteen-mile portage while being pestered by
mosquitoes. Water is transported from the rivers in buckets, and Cameron describes no fellow tourists; Indians and fur-trapping men inhabit the small, “primitive” villages (88).

Admittedly, this region of north Canada is much farther from established cities than the Lake of Bays in Ontario. As a result, the article appeals to a different sort of audience, or an audience interested in hearing about a much different kind of place. While Cameron is not quite in the wilderness, in that she stays in villages and travels by steamer ship for part of her journey, she describes a region that could be understood as one of the quickly disappearing frontiers. Cameron defines the very edge of civilization; the areas just beyond her scope are true wilderness. She acknowledges that even though she is as far north as St. Petersburg, Russia, she is “not nearly at the end of things”; her goal of the Arctic Circle is still twelve hundred miles further north (92).

One result of her travels in this remote land is her experience of time and how it is defined by nature. She writes,

> Time is marked off in Fort Smith not by days and nights, but by the cycles of the seasons. In the winter, the snow comes down, the river freezes, and the Indians begin to bring in their fur; it is cold and still, the daylight is short, and round the roaring fires the Hudson’s Bay men eagerly await the mid-winter packet whose jingling dog-sleds bring the Christmas mail from Le Grand Pays. (91)

The effect here is of a very different experience of time from what other travel writers describe. Instead of being intensely aware of the passage of time, Cameron describes time in a way that feels slower and more difficult to mark. This contrast from other discussions of time runs counter to experiences of simultaneity expressed in other travel articles in
Chapter Four. Instead of being inundated with multiple experiences of time, Cameron describes the passage of time as a more deliberate, linear experience dominated by the forces of nature—not by manmade society.

This difference shows that part of the appeal of remote travel perhaps unsurprisingly was an escape from modern experiences of life. If self-consciousness of one’s position in space and time distinguished Edwardian culture, traveling to a place far from typical centers of civilization could produce a release on many levels from contemporary culture. Cameron, in contrast, experiences a sense of boundlessness as she travels toward the Arctic Circle:

Away the imagination stretches to the Arctic edge and beyond that to the dream-continents in Beaufort Sea, with their wavy boundaries of uncertainty. Nature widens out, becomes extended and diffusive as we approach the edge of things. (94)

Language fails to capture her experience: she is at the edge of ‘things,’ but what exactly are those things? Civilization, or human knowledge, or something simply beyond the capacity of her imagination? The midnight sun compounds the imagery here: the ‘wavy boundaries’ of the Arctic Circle suggest not only the visual distortions of the unending sun, but also the unknown physical land boundaries on an incomplete map.

Cameron attempts to write through an atypical perceptual experience that is unique in this period when so many other articles are interested in either describing the experience of time and place in relation to the past, or in fully understanding and

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50 See, for example, discussion of Gwendoline Perks’s article “Mingled Memories in Old Norwich” in Chapter Four.
distilling the travel experience for the reader (as opposed to providing a subjective impression of a place, as the Romantics might have done). Cameron does not reach the Arctic Circle in this article; she ends with the vision of that milestone in the distance, just a few more miles beyond her current location. The deferred goal of the journey is not realized here—Cameron instead concentrates on the anticipation of the imagined place and allows the focus to rest on the anticipation of the goal instead of the goal itself. In some ways, this shift in focus aligns itself with other articles in this chapter, in that the description of the journey or the process is as important as the end goal. This theme suggests that the focus of travel does not rest solely in accomplishing the main objective of the trip. Rather, a successful adventure traveler or explorer takes notice of the details of the journey itself. While the focus on the journey as a crucial element of travel writing was not new at this time, the Edwardians may have placed special emphasis on the journey because as fewer “undiscovered” places existed, the relative importance of the final destination diminished.

Despite their differences, Cameron’s and Angus’s articles both reveal the strong pull of the wilderness, the outdoors, and the desire to escape from society as a main goal of adventure travel in the early twentieth century. We see this same desire as an attractive impetus for travel still today, a fact that indicates that late Victorian and Edwardian travelers were among the first generations to seek travel adventures en masse as an escape from society and as a way to reconnect with nature while simultaneously separating, at least for a short time, from the trappings of culture. This is reminiscent of
the Romantic poets, in that nature was seen as a way to transcend the everyday. William Wordsworth alludes to this sense of contrast in “Tintern Abbey,” as he recalls how the memories of the natural scene along the River Wye brought him comfort and escape from everyday urban life:

But oft, in lonely rooms, and ‘mid the din
Of towns and cities, I have owed to them
In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,
Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart;
And passing even into my purer mind,
With tranquil restoration. (25-30)

While the Wye was not a wilderness area, its natural features provided Wordsworth a personally restorative experience akin to the experiences Edwardian travelers sought.

However, the Edwardian perspective on nature, wilderness, and adventure travel is also rooted in the Victorian impulse to avoid the highly subjective position of the Romantics and to define experiences in a more objective manner (Knoepflmacher and Tennyson xix). Cameron’s more modern position suggests the effect of being unsettled, undefined, but also perhaps invigorated by the encounter with the borderland between civilization and wilderness. She indicates her emotional response to her travel experiences, but also maintains a distance from these emotions and attempts to portray her surroundings with an objective eye. This attempt to balance emotional engagement and objective analysis characterizes many travel articles in *Travel & Exploration.*

The remote areas still remaining

As discussed in Chapter Four, one recurring theme in travel writing at the beginning of the twentieth century was the image of the filled-in map. In addition to
prompting anxiety and awareness of the imminent closure of possibilities for exploration, this image also caused a divergence of desires as travelers looked to satisfy their appetites for authenticity in various and creative ways. One means to find authenticity in a world oversaturated with tourists was to continue to seek out the most remote, least explored corners of the world. In some respects, the travelers who chose this path could be seen as less innovative than others because they continued to find meaning in travel just as their predecessors had done for centuries. But this trend persisted for good reason: despite feelings that the world map was complete, many remote areas were still left for discovery.

*Travel & Exploration* provides ample evidence of this interest, as many articles feature ethnographic description of primitive tribes worldwide in locations as diverse as New Guinea, Peru, Alaska, Australia, and many locations in the Middle East and Africa. The global view of other cultures illustrates the dominance of the western European perspective embodied by the magazine and its readers: exoticism was located in Africa and the Far East, of course, but it also could be found in northern Scandinavia and eastern Europe. The further one moved away from western Europe, the easier it was to find areas that were still “undiscovered”—at least to the average middle-class British readership. On the surface, the rhetoric used in the magazines laments the shrinking of the globe and the difficulty in finding unexplored places. But the actual locations featured in the articles tell a different story: that many areas of the planet were still open to discovery.
T. H. Holdich, in “Unexplored Central Asia” (June 1909), traces the outlines of where these white spaces still might exist in the world. The article focuses on pockets of land between Tibet, China, and Mongolia where explorers might have room to make discoveries. He prefaced this discussion, however, with the caveat that “geographical exploration, within the regions of Central Asia, in the sense of pioneer investigation, is a thing of the past” (393). His reasoning focuses on the centuries-old trade routes that crisscross the region: “Wherever a modern traveller follows a recognised route in Asia he is only deepening a groove which has been scored across the face of the continent by the feet of millions of previous wayfarers” (393). But after this context, he concedes that the age of exploration is “not quite” over: “Here and there is still a blank space, conspicuous even in the smallest scale maps [. . . and] there are more than enough to satisfy generations of travellers yet to come” (395).

This article is unique to Travel & Exploration because it is not a narrative about an expedition or a travel experience. Rather, Holdich suggests where other travelers and explorers should focus their efforts if their aim is to have that first (British) encounter with an uncharted area. The existence of such an article, and its presence in a popular

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51 An intriguing relationship exists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries between the “white” or “blank” spaces on a map, and the common reference to Africa as the “dark continent.” Relatively little discussion of this contrast exists; however, Tzvetan Todorov explores this relationship as it is presented in Joseph Conrad’s Heart of Darkness. Todorov writes that Conrad’s narrative is filled with references to “black and white, obscurity and clarity, for these shades are coordinated with the process of acquiring knowledge” (107). While seemingly opposites, the blank/white map and the dark continent each represent an area of potential exploration to Edwardian travelers.
magazine whose feature articles are usually travel narratives, suggests that the magazine hoped not only to convey narratives about authentic travel experiences, but also to shape the future direction of where travelers could find these experiences.

Holdich’s article reinforces the broader sense during the early 1900s that the eventual demise of the blank spaces on the map was still at least a decade or so away, thereby making the Edwardian era particularly unique in its anxiety about the shape of travel experiences in the future. This notion also supports the shifting relativity of the location of the authentic in travel. While it is true that much of the map was increasingly filled in and no longer blank, writers were still publishing articles about “undiscovered” villages in southern France or in central England. If travelers could find authentic travel experiences in the Australian bush, but also practically in a Londoner’s backyard, then authentic travel has less to do with distance or remoteness than with the possibility of cultural encounters of difference from one’s everyday life and cultural orientation, thus aligning with Urry’s conception of authentic travel experiences.

Nevertheless, Travel & Exploration expresses a lasting fascination with finding and writing about cultures that exhibited the most difference from the editors’ and readers’ cultural perspective. This is clear in looking at the number of articles about “lost” or “the last” cultures and native peoples in remote areas. The ingrained imperialist perspective is evident in many of these articles (as shown below), as is a sense of pride.
and achievement on the writers’ part for being the discoverer or person who exposes these peoples to the world.52

The January 1909 issue provides an example of this sustained interest in discovery of other cultures. In “A Journey into the Primeval Forests of Tropical Peru,” L. C. Bernacchi does not immediately disclose his purpose for traveling through this area. The article instead focuses on describing the difficulty of travel in this area and the limited technological advances of the people and societies that Bernacchi encounters. He ranks the various native groups he encounters: some “savages were all of a most affectionate nature, and showed a charming disposition,” while others are “low, cunning” tribes (58). Bernacchi provides extended description of one of the tribes (the Atsahuaca), and ends by expressing a common fear during this period: “to the ethnologist this remnant of a very primitive people offers an interesting subject for study, but if the process of extinction continues, the opportunity must soon be lost for ever” (59). This lament is in direct contrast to the end of the article, when Bernacchi expresses his desire to modernize or otherwise change the “primitive” traditions:

The numerous Quichua Indians [. . .] contrary to expectation, do not relish the more laborious, though more profitable, business of rubber gathering, and are content to eke out a lazy existence as primitive agriculturists. (64)

52 This theme of discovery of “lost” peoples was echoed in other disciplines in Edwardian England: the 1910 publication of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s The Lost World followed shortly after Everard im Thurn’s published account of his ascent of Mt. Roraima in British Guyana (Dalziell 131-33). The notion of “lost worlds” had long been an enticing theme of travel narratives since the seventeenth century, but im Thurn’s travelogue and Conan Doyle’s novel fed a reignited interest in the subject around the turn of the century.
Nevertheless, he sees potential in future development: “The day of unstable Governments and revolutions has practically gone, to be succeeded by an era of steady progress, energy, and development” (64). He does not see these two desires—to preserve primitive culture, and to modernize—as contradictory. Bernacchi reinforces the dominant imperialist perspective in his writing, which was itself rife with contradictions and ambivalence in the Edwardian era.

One can also witness the influence of imperialism on *Travel & Exploration* in articles such as “A Naturalist’s Trip to New Guinea,” which provides a opportunity to see how photography was also used as an accompaniment to text in many articles. The author’s purpose was to gather live birds to bring back to the Zoological Society in London, but curiously, none of the photographs that accompany the article feature birds or wildlife at all. Of the eight photographs, four are of New Guineans wearing elaborate ceremonial headdresses. The other illustrations feature a map of the author’s route, a photograph of long boats filled with expedition supplies, two photos along the route, and a photograph entitled “Ourselves and Our Followers.” This last is a staged portrait with the two British expedition leaders, one holding a hound dog, and seven native porters. This photograph is significant in its contrasts: the natives wear just loincloths and hold large rifles and hatchets, and most look directly at the camera. One man’s chest is draped with ammunition. The two British men look away from the camera, wear buttoned-up, collared shirts, and one holds a dog while the other holds a hat.
The image conveys the impression that the British men are the reason for the weaponry—they need to be protected. However, by designating these employed porters and protectors as “our followers” and “our boys” throughout the article (as opposed to “our team,” “our protectors,” or even just “our porters” for example), Horsbrugh maintains a position of power in his portrayal of the native New Guineans. The terms “followers” or “boys” suggest domination, a lack of respect for the natives and the service they are employed to provide, and the complete lack of a voice for the natives. They are spoken for, like possessions—an approach part of the long tradition of imperialism.

The four images of the native men in headdresses present a slightly different view of the role of the native. In all four images, the men look directly at the camera. The photographs are headshots, from the chest up, and the scale emphasizes the large size of the headdress and the intricate weaving and materials used in constructing the headpieces. The men’s straight postures convey pride, and the captions are less loaded, simply stating, “Ceremonial Head Dresses.” The magazine reader is able to gaze at these images and draw his or her own conclusions about the meaning of the headdresses, or their significance in ceremony, because the article does not discuss any ceremonies. If Horsbrugh attended any ceremonies where these headdresses were used, he chooses to leave these details out of the article.

The effect of the inclusion of the photographs, without the accompanying context for beginning to understand these natives’ lives (either from the perspective of the author
or from the natives themselves) reinforces their difference from the average British reader of *Travel & Exploration*. This tactic would not have been novel to the magazine’s readership; images like this are elements of a discourse that by this time would have been “part of the mainstream of visual popular culture” (Dixon 167). Rather, in his discussion of ethnographic filmmaking in the early twentieth century, Robert Dixon writes of how “the new mass audiences for modern urban entertainments were fascinated by representations of native peoples, which had become conventionalized through a range of tropes that were common across different media of visual representation” (167). This attraction to narratives and images of native cultures recalls Urry’s understanding of authentic experiences as defined by their extraordinary nature, relative to the traveler’s everyday experiences.

The point of Horsbrugh’s article, then, is not to understand the meaning behind the images or the actions described in the article. Rather, the effect is to render a heightened sense of contrast, and the hope that the reader will make a jump in logic: because these people are so very different, the point is not to try to understand them. Instead, the reader should be satisfied with the knowledge that this difference exists, and thereby mark this article as authentic because the author clearly communicates difference. As discussed in Chapter Two, the use of difference as the sole marker of authentic experience is problematic because it often stops short of cultural understanding.

However, a crucial degree of separation exists between the reader and the native culture, since the medium of the magazine acts as a vehicle for communicating the
impressions of the writer. Therefore, the armchair travelers’ responses to vicarious experiences via reading create distance between the reader and the subject of the article. While there is no actual contact between reader and subject in this configuration, in many cases travel articles constituted the closest encounter to these other places and peoples that most of the middle-class British readership would have in their lives. These articles therefore contributed greatly to the shaping of public impressions and cultural knowledge about the world outside of Britain.

Part of the attraction the photographs provide to the magazine’s audience is the contrast between the British and the Other. This contrast suggests a direct line to authentic experience and supports Dean MacCannell’s conception of authenticity as rooted primarily in difference. The article suggests a causal relationship between difference and authenticity: natives of Papua New Guinea are so different from what the average British traveler would encounter that this experience must be authentic. This configuration exemplifies the extremely fraught relationship between the Other, the authentic, and the affinity between imperialism and exploration so ingrained in British Victorian and Edwardian culture.

In her study of the intersections between visual culture and anthropology at the turn of the twentieth century, media studies scholar Alison Griffiths argues that depictions of native cultures and peoples had long produced both “amazement and unease” in the minds of the viewers (xix). She writes of the long “tradition for representing native identities, encapsulating the ambivalence at the heart of visual
representations of cultural Otherness” (xix). The visual representation of other cultures has been a particular problem for anthropologists since the turn of the twentieth century, because decisions about how and what to depict, and how to use visual media in ethnographic work, also have had to take into account the “association with cheap entertainment” that accompanied early popular cinema and photography (xxi). To complicate matters further, Robert Dixon argues that at the turn of the century, ethnographic film-making was part of the mainstream of visual popular culture:

Whatever their origin and purpose, films of exotic cultures and subject peoples made their way not only into the auditoriums of museums, town halls, lecture halls, churches and Lyceums, but also into turn-of-the-century store-front theatres, dime museums, circus tents, fairgrounds and side shows. (167)

The fascination with native cultures in both middlebrow and lowbrow entertainment further obfuscates the difference between ethnography and travelogue as entertainment.

The text of the magazine articles like those found in *Travel & Exploration* functions in a manner similar to the visual representations that Dixon and Griffiths discuss; in fact, the pairing of text and image in many cases strengthens the contrast between the reader’s everyday experiences and the extraordinariness expressed in the articles. Especially in the articles that prioritize contact with a remote destination or culture as an important feature, the combination of text and photography contributed to the discourse of difference. By focusing text and photography on the various ways in which a place differed from the everyday experiences of the magazine’s audience in
order to define its authenticity, travel writers conveyed the message that remoteness was often analogous to authenticity.

*Polar expeditions*

In January and February 2013, a small group of explorers completed a 12-day recreation of the journey taken almost a century earlier by Ernest Shackleton to the South Pole. The crew of six adventurers duplicated as many details as possible using 100-year-old gear, a custom-built replica of Shackleton’s ship, and replicated the same food supplies and technology as in the original trip. Alexandra Shackleton (Ernest Shackleton’s granddaughter), and other backers including a Scotch Whiskey distillery, a bank, an engineering firm, and a travel agency sponsored the trip, named the “Shackleton Epic.” A film crew chronicled the expedition, which resulted in a Discovery Channel/PBS documentary and a book by Tim Jarvis (the Shackleton Epic’s leader). This is not the first tribute to Shackleton or the first attempt at recreating polar explorers’ expeditions a century after the original journeys. The persistence of these recreations of original journeys illustrates the allure of extreme travel that persists today, and that may be the defining feature of why the original explorers attempted these journeys in the first place.

This recreation of an Edwardian expedition is an attempt to relive a journey over immense distance, but perhaps more importantly, to traverse the elapsed time between the present day and the Edwardian era. As the Edwardians themselves did in their attempts to experience an earlier time, so too did the members of the Shackleton Epic crew attempt to
recreate Edwardian travel. Their self-imposed constraints in terms of gear and technology are analogous to other contemporary historical tourist sites that recreate a certain era through the use of work demonstrations, period clothing, or historically accurate technologies—for example, Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, or the guided tour of Wordsworth’s Dove Cottage. The simulation of the past on the Shackleton Epic is an attempt to engage authentically with history, but it can only be a simulation. Nevertheless, the underlying motivation to recreate a voyage stems from the same attraction the Edwardians had to the past as a marker of authenticity, even if this engagement with the past can only ever be approximate.

*Travel & Exploration* published a significant number of feature articles and shorter articles about polar exploration. When the magazine began in 1909, the world was in the midst of debating Cook’s and Peary’s claims to have reached the North Pole, and *Travel & Exploration* writers participated in the debate in several articles. The January 1909 issue remarks, “interest in Arctic activity promises to be well sustained during the next few years” (“Exploring Activity in the Arctic Regions,” 84). The same article notes with relief that while British explorers have taken a “back place in Arctic discovery,” a British explorer named Harrison had plans underway to reach the North Pole himself (75). Clearly, there was some anxiety that Britain had not yet joined the race to the Pole.

The race to the South Pole simultaneously captivated audiences worldwide, and this interest is also evident in *Travel & Exploration*. Pia Silanpaa discusses how part of what makes for a good expedition narrative is the romantic or poetic engagement of the
explorer with the surroundings. Shackleton embodies this engagement, and the poetic elements are foreground in the article “Farthest South” in May 1909 by L. C. Bernacchi, who was the physicist on Shackleton’s expeditions (and who wrote the article about Peru, above). The article opens with seven lines reprinted from Shackleton’s “To the Great Ice Barrier,” originally written in 1902 as Shackleton and his crew attempted to find a route up and over the Ross Ice Shelf on the edge of the continent. The lines bring to life the vastness of the challenge: Shackleton conveys the explorers’ active attempts to penetrate the shelf using verbs like “pierced,” “steamed,” “risen above,” and “strained” (329). However, these attempts are no match for the challenges of this massive natural form: it “bounds” and “stops” the progress of the explorers, leaving Shackleton to wonder with awe, “Ah! What is the secret you’re keeping, to the southward beyond our ken?” (329).

Of course, Shackleton knows exactly what the secret would be: a “great, high, silent continent,” and the elusive South Pole (Bernacchi 329). The dilemma in 1902 was finding a route to get there. Bernacchi is happy to report that by 1909, Shackleton had solved this mystery. Bernacchi describes Shackleton’s 1908 expedition as “one of the most magnificent” and attributes his crew’s success to “pluck and determination,” “initiative,” and a “persistent and resourceful personality” (329).

I bring up both the romantic strain and the particular personal characteristics because they combine idealized engagement with nature and a strong belief in the effectiveness of the British will to accomplish great feats. Paisley Cherry-Garrard, a
member of Scott’s expedition crew to the South Pole from 1910-1913, describes the seemingly innate ability of the British to realize their goals through sheer will and determination:

Never was a more cheerful or good-tempered party. They set out to see the humorous side of everything, and, if they could not do so one day, at any rate they determined to see to it the next. What is more they succeeded, and I have never seen a company of better welded men. (lviii)

These characteristics are highly reminiscent of the more positivist aspects of imperialism as a whole. However, by the early 1900s, imperialism was deteriorating and looking in new directions. Instead of conquering a people or a land for economic gain (as was the case since the sixteenth century), imperialist approaches shifted to become ends in themselves. Scientific gains were possible in these expeditions to the South Pole, but no one was looking for El Dorado any longer. Instead, polar exploration represented an end itself, as it radiated the triumph of the British spirit and of the dominance of the British as a superior world power.

This element begs the question as to the necessity of proving one’s dominance over a frozen, windswept desert. This desire also fueled the flames of nationalism. As discussed above in relation to mountaineering, travel writers debated the role of England in leading expeditions around the world, and many expressed anxiety about what it would mean not to be “first” to a given destination. This anxiety was based in national pride and the growing tendency in western Europe to define and defend cohesive national identities. This phenomenon has roots in the national changes of the late nineteenth century (for example, the Risorgimento in the mid-1800s created a new form of national
identity in Italy), and came to a head with the events that led up to the shooting of Franz Ferdinand and the beginning of the First World War. Historian George Robb writes that in England, “which had experienced considerable social conflict during the decade preceding the war, the concept of ‘nation’ provided a particularly effective rallying cry and unifying force” (5). Nationalism also “attempted to focus conflict outward” (5).

Travel, particularly adventure travel as discussed in this chapter, was a major arena in which nationalistic pride served as an important motivating factor. Even though the war represented in some ways the height of nationalism, we see the same international competitiveness continue well after 1920. One can read the race to the moon as simply a more updated version of nationalist pride gained through imperial domination and the race to be “first.” Those nationalistic urges were born in part from travel itself and its connection to authenticity and the desire to be first.

Bernacchi directly expresses this urge when writing about the success of Shackleton’s expedition: “The triumph is not only personal; it is a British triumph calling forth all our feeling of national pride” (334). Interestingly, however, this nationalistic pride is tempered by the close of the article. In speaking of the work still to be done in Antarctica, he concludes, “there is ample room for all, of whatever nationality, and nothing but a friendly rivalry need exist between different expeditions” (338). Of course, the British had just set the record for furthest South, so Bernacchi’s confidence in his country’s ability to succeed in setting similar records may have informed his convivial invitation to other countries to continue the work that the British had achieved.
In the subsection of the magazine called “The Exploring World,” Eustace Reynolds-Ball (the editor of Travel & Exploration) provides commentary on Bernacchi’s feature. He expands on the possibilities for future explorers and mentions several planned expeditions of which the reader should be aware. However, he subtly discredits the expeditions planned by other countries: a Belgian expedition hasn’t been able to fundraise properly, and a Scottish captain’s planned trip is “excessively ambitious,” “extravagant,” and unwise (383). So while other expeditions exist and are encouraged in theory, the message Reynolds-Ball conveys to his readership is that this kind of exploration is best left to the experts: the British.

Reynolds-Ball is more diplomatic in his presentation of nationalistic aims than other writers for his magazine. An author who goes by the pseudonym “Searchlight” provides an assessment of Commander Peary’s unconfirmed trek to the North Pole. “Searchlight” begins his article with a back-handed compliment:

Without in the least degree wishing to belittle Commander Peary’s magnificent, and even unique, achievement, he would probably not have attained his object had he not been exceptionally lucky in the weather conditions. (399)

Here we see a distinct contrast in the way travel writers describe British explorers like Shackleton. By 1910, Shackleton’s South Pole attempt was referred to as the “magnificent failure,” an oxymoronic phrase used to focus on Shackleton’s exceptional personal characteristics. In contrast, Peary is simply successful by luck. “Searchlight” concedes that Peary does have “powers of endurance, invincible determination, and indomitable pluck”—characteristics that might be attributed to British explorers as well
(399). However, Peary is aided by factors beyond his own personal fortitude, like the
good weather and a technologically advanced cookstove.

“Searchlight” concludes that Arctic exploration is easier than Antarctic (where the
British had been more successful). He writes, “it may be thought invidious and gratuitous
to institute comparisons, but one cannot help remarking that Shackleton’s magnificent
failure in the Antarctic was an even greater achievement than Peary’s triumphant success
in the Arctic” (400). This article clearly communicates the impact of nationalism as both
an impetus to travel and as a measuring stick for successful exploration.

More broadly, the races to the poles captivated the Edwardian imagination in part
because they could be seen as the culmination of many decades’ worth of public interest
and investment in polar exploration. In his discussion of the Arctic sublime, Chauncey C.
Loomis explains, “Arctic exploration aroused national interest partly because it had
become a national enterprise” (95). Exploration shifted in the early nineteenth century
from private to the realm of the Navy and government-sponsored expeditions, and the
perception of exploration and national prestige grew over the following decades (Loomis
95-97). Loomis argues, however, that it was not only national prestige and discovery that
held the British public’s interest; rather, it was “their image of the Arctic environment
itself” as otherworldly, sublime, and in stark contrast with the English landscape (96).
The articles in Travel & Exploration embody both of these values in their descriptions of
polar exploration. Edwardian readers had the unique opportunity to watch the
culmination of these decades of polar explorations. The finales of the explorers’ efforts
were often met with ambivalence, as the audience felt pride in the accomplishments of explorers and simultaneous sadness that in achieving these goals, some felt that the polar explorers closed one more door to authentic experience. However, these achievements, like many others discussed in this chapter, helped to reshape exactly how authentic travel was defined in Edwardian England.

Conclusion

Edwardian travel writers often expressed keen awareness of an impending end to one means of finding authentic travel experiences resulting from the filling in of the blank spaces on the map and the increasing droves of fellow travelers who made their way around the globe. As a result of this perceived pressure, many travelers shifted their focus in new directions in their search for authentic experiences. This awareness of travelers’ possibilities in a particular cultural moment aligns itself with the more general sense of self-awareness of living in the midst of many simultaneous cultural changes. This sense of cultural shifts pushed travelers in multiple directions: several different options emerged that challenged the boundaries of comfort and familiarity in order to find authenticity. In this manner, the sense of possibility and belief in authentic travel endured. These values and beliefs were to be questioned in a few short years with the outbreak of the Great War, and travelers in the decades following the war often expressed a drastically different outlook on the possibilities offered by travel. But these later changes only serve to highlight the unique scope of adventure and exploration during the Edwardian era.
The writers in *Travel & Exploration* were aware of the shifting ways in which authenticity could be found in travel experiences. F. G. Aflalo writes,

> the task of filling in the blanks on the map, of planting the flag of civilization behind the icebergs or in the heart of the African forest, is not given to everyone to attempt. Many have to be satisfied with humbler jaunts over more beaten tracks. (“A Ride to the Jordan” 210)

Statements of this sort perpetuate the division between tourist and traveler and establish the role of the true traveler as a trailblazer who values remoteness and higher purpose as opposed to passive leisure as the ideal motivation to travel. However, even as Aflalo reinscribes traditional dichotomies, he also expresses the larger themes that emerged in Edwardian travel writing: the dominance of increasingly remote destinations and their role in inspiring the imaginations of Edwardians. Both a reading audience and an average middle-class traveler would have been influenced by the power these narratives held in determining the factors that constituted authentic travel, especially in a time when significant cultural changes were destabilizing entrenched notions of authenticity.
Conclusion: Looking Forward/Looking Back

In his detailed study of the first attempts to scale Mount Everest in the 1920s, Wade Davis explains how British mountaineer Charles Howard-Bury wrote of his experiences in Tibet as the leader of the first British expedition to explore Mount Everest in 1921. Tibet in the 1920s was still a blank space on British maps, and very few European travelers or explorers had penetrated this remote and difficult area of the world. Davis writes, “in this void created by the absence of expectation, Howard-Bury simply reported what he saw, and he did so with an open mind and remarkable tolerance” (248).

What precisely does Davis mean by “the absence of expectation”? Perhaps that, unlike the vast majority of travelers of his generation, Howard-Bury was one of the few who were able to experience a place without markers, without external discourse or context. There was no guidebook to Tibet, no preceding Western travelers who could prepare him for the journey, and certainly none of Thomas Cook’s services upon which to rely. This left him in a much less anchored position than his contemporary fellow travelers and created a relative void where others could build expectations.

While fascinating to ponder, Davis’s phrasing may be imprecise. A void of this nature does not exist, because the very lack of context signifies an important identifier of authentic travel. In other words, Howard-Bury’s travels were the ultimate example of travel away from the beaten track—he and his party literally were the first Westerners to
blaze this path. This ability to be “first” to a place and thereby to be free from the influence of predecessors is what most other contemporary self-identified “travelers” aspired to but rarely were able to accomplish.

In his study of the first generations of British mountaineers to explore Tibet, Davis brings to the forefront the central question of this dissertation: How do travelers conceptualize authenticity? The Edwardians show us that authentic travel experiences were inextricably linked to perceptions of originality or extraordinariness. This could be interpreted in many ways: originality could be defined as trying to get “off the beaten track” of mass tourism, or through awareness of the effects of temporal experiences like nostalgia or simultaneity, or by relying on well-established themes like the picturesque and the sublime that were adapted to apply to contemporary life. While these concepts evolved in the decades after the First World War, they still remain central motivations for travel experiences today.

The urge to remove outside influence and context from travel experiences has not faded from contemporary culture: travel magazines are still drawn to this tendency as a means to see a place in a new light.53 A regular feature entitled “Spin the Globe” in Afar

53 This desire to remove outside context is akin to the concept of defamiliarization, a term coined in 1917 by Viktor Shklovsky. Defamiliarization is predicated on the idea that as habitual activities become ingrained in our thoughts, they become automatic and no longer prompt engaged thinking. Shklovsky writes that “the technique of art is to make objects ‘unfamiliar’, to make forms difficult, to increase the difficulty and length of perception, because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself and must be prolonged” (12). While Shklovsky writes here of artistic activity, his conceptual
magazine, a contemporary mainstream travel periodical oriented toward luxury travel and lifestyle, exemplifies this technique. The premise of the feature is rather gimmicky: the magazine editors “choose a destination at random” and send a writer, with only 24 hours’ notice, on assignment to explore a location he or she has never visited (Henderson 85). The resulting essays are impressionistic introductions to various destinations. While the writing, like that of many articles in Travel & Exploration a century earlier, is not stylistically remarkable, the parameters for this writer’s travels are attractive. The situation simulated in the “Spin the Globe” articles recalls the same desire, rooted in late Victorian and Edwardian culture, to mark experiences as authentic in part through seeing a place with fresh eyes, without the surrounding contextualization and discourse that normally would surround a trip. An alternative to decontextualization exists in simulated recreations of earlier voyages, such as the Shackleton Epic, which attempts to attain authentic experience through close alignment with the past. Contemporary twenty-first century travelers experience a similar anxiety of authenticity as our Edwardian predecessors: in an age of travel in which the map is now completely filled in, how can one ever be sure of an authentic travel experience?

As discussed in Chapter Two, I find that the perspectives of Cohen, Pearce and Moscardo are most closely aligned with the complicated and varied perceptions of authenticity that the travel magazines demonstrate. Cohen argues that authenticity carries framework is applicable to the search for authenticity in travel experiences, since travelers routinely seek the unfamiliar as a method in their travels.
varying degrees of importance for different travelers. Similarly, Pearce and Moscardo
claim that travelers themselves, and not an external set of criteria, define the authentic
elements of travel experiences. These perspectives focus on the traveler’s subjective
experience and perceptions, as opposed to external structures, as the most inclusive way
to interpret and give agency to individual travelers’ lived experiences.

Following this flexible understanding of authenticity, writers relied upon three
very different, but concurrent, thematic categories in their interpretation of their travel
experiences. First, the sublime and the picturesque had deep roots in British culture and
persisted in the early twentieth century. Consequently travel writers employed these
concepts as important touchstones or frameworks for measuring authenticity. While the
sublime and the picturesque can be interpreted as traditional markers of authenticity, the
individual traveler’s experience of temporality in the Edwardian era exhibited changes
from previous periods. Early twentieth-century travelers often defined the sense of
connection to a given location through their awareness of time, and past and present
sometimes overlapped in travel experiences. When travel writers expressed connection
with a place either through nostalgia or simultaneity, they often associated their
experiences with authenticity. These two dimensions—spatial and temporal—were
changing in British culture during the Edwardian era (largely due to a combination of
technological advances and social changes), and this dynamism was especially evident in
travel experiences. The Janus-faced nature of the Edwardian era also caused travelers to
seek authentic experiences through innovative reinterpretation of adventure and
exploration. As a result of rapid technological advances (like the camera and the airplane), the rhetoric of the filled-in map, and other cultural changes like the continued growth of middle-class incomes, some travelers began to rethink how they could find authenticity in travel. They therefore found different ways to engage with culture and place. This included sports, extreme adventure travel, and the continued fascination with exploration.

The coexistence of all of these themes illustrates how travel writing in the Edwardian era was both rooted in tradition and simultaneously looking forward—whether that was a reluctant push or an eager embrace of the present and the future. While nostalgia and the picturesque relate to the past, simultaneity and the sublime are more analogous with contemporary Edwardian life and the future.

Current British travel magazines at first appear to be very different from the travel writing of Edwardians a century ago. Many magazines, like much of the publishing industry, have moved to online platforms. Articles are crowd-sourced or use Tumblr, Instagram, or other online communities to provide context for travel narratives. The magazines look and feel worlds away from the dusty pages of *Travel & Exploration* as well: photography dominates the pages, and graphic design choices are of-the-moment. Content and method has have changed as well: many magazines rely on a question-and-answer format or on “churnalism” and other forms of recycled content (Rogerson par. 5). Travel magazines are not the only type of media that has succumbed to the contemporary pressures upon periodicals. However, according to Barnaby Rogerson, owner of Eland

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Publishing, a press specializing in contemporary and classic travel writing, these pressures have impacted travel writing in forceful ways. In particular, the internet has made the guidebook industry suffer and its sales slow greatly. One perhaps unforeseeable result of technological changes involved the current collapse of professional travel writing. Rogerson writes that guidebooks were often the force behind exceptional travel writing: the same travelers commissioned to travel and write entries for guidebooks often produced great travel writing. The waning commissions for guidebook entry writers results directly from the slowing of the guidebook industry.

Technology has also changed significantly since the Edwardian era. The turn of the last century saw the beginnings of airplane travel, rapid expansion of train lines, the implementation of telegraph and telephone. These developments all significantly changed the experience of time. Edwardians predicted the impact air travel would have: they realized air travel would shrink distance to a logistical detail. Other technologies, such as GPS and the internet, completed the filling in of the white spaces on the map and prompted travel trends that reflect current culture in ways foreign to Edwardians. Airbnb or the laissez-faire culture surrounding the couch-surfing trend would have been completely alien to a respectable British traveler in the first years of the twentieth century.

Despite these differences, the underlying themes of today’s travel writing bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the Edwardian era. We may think of contemporary culture and aesthetic preferences as worlds away from the Edwardians. However, our
own era’s travel writing shows significant affinity with that of the past. First, the
differences in audience between highbrow and middlebrow that developed in the late
Victorian era and were evident in Edwardian writing are still in effect today. In particular,
the little magazines that were published during the rise of modernism between
approximately 1890 through the mid-1920s stand in stark contrast to a broad mass-market
audience such as Travel & Exploration. Today, that same divide is evident: the British
periodical Wanderlust exhibits remarkably similar organization and subject matter to that
of Travel & Exploration. At the same time, several small-press journals and magazines
focused on travel (both British and American) are more akin to the avant-garde little
magazines of a century ago, such as Boat, Yonder Journal, Cereal, or Jungles in Paris.
Overall, enough sustained interest in travel exists today to support multiple audiences,
and the topic is still approached on mass-cultural as well as artistic levels.

In addition to similarities in audience, these contemporary magazines (both
highbrow and middlebrow) are more importantly concerned with the same central issues
critical to discussions of travel evident in Edwardian travel writing. First, we still see the
dichotomy of tourist versus traveler in contemporary travel publications, and writers treat
the topic in a manner akin to how the Victorians and Edwardians conceptualized this
topic by referring regularly to their desires to define themselves as travelers, not as
tourists. Current travel writers still exhibit anxiety about being tourists, and the biggest
fear underlying these articles is that a person who fancies herself a traveler is actually a
tourist but doesn’t realize it. The March 2015 issue of the British travel magazine
Wanderlust, for example, features an interview article entitled, “Can you still genuinely get off the beaten track?” The title itself reiterates the connections between “genuine”—in other words authentic—travel and what is signified by getting “off the beaten track”: the desire to feel as if one’s experiences are original and extraordinary. Beneath the rhetoric of the beaten track lurks the presence of the tourist/traveler dichotomy: like the Edwardians, contemporary travelers generally prefer to avoid the label of tourist and instead prefer to envision themselves as travelers.

Regardless of the persistence of this dichotomy and the anxiety of authenticity it causes, the Wanderlust article (and broadly speaking, travel writing in general) claims that authentic experiences are still possible in contemporary travel. The article interviews travel television show host Monty Halls, who writes of his attraction to “the chance to be the first person to experience an environment” (Halls sec. 4). He claims that this opportunity is still possible in modern travel, and gives an example of a spelunking expedition in Borneo:

We went to a place called the Secret Garden and Andy [the guide] said, ‘More people have stood on the moon than where you’re standing at the moment’. We pushed on to map a couple of new passages, new chambers, so we could almost tick the box to say we’ve been somewhere where nobody’s been before. (sec. 4)

Clearly, the link between the desire to be first and the ability to mark one’s experience as authentic still strongly motivates contemporary travelers, just as it did Edwardian travelers.
Thus, the search for authentic experience motivated travel in the Edwardian era, and it still spurs travel in the twenty-first century. The phrase “authentic” is often disguised in discussions of “connection with local culture,” “getting off the beaten track,” or “traveling deeper” (this last is the tagline for Afar magazine). But the urge and desire, and the accompanying anxiety of failure, are the same. Contemporary travel writing exhibits the same search for authentic experience; it just often avoids using the word “authentic.” The influence of postmodernism, globalism, and mass consumer culture has made contemporary travelers skeptical of claims of authenticity, but the deeper urge remains and surfaces in the recurring themes explored in travel writing.

Some may claim that authentic travel is an impossible state. However, people continue to travel and to write about travel because they do have experiences that they perceive to be authentic. The Edwardians brought to the forefront the complexity of this paradox. They were one of the first generations to travel when technology and culture were changing so quickly that it made authentic experience seem like a questionable goal impossible to achieve. A century later, our travel writing reflects the fact that we still approach travel experiences with these same anxieties and aspirations. The Edwardians helped to establish thematic categories in travel writing that continue to be relevant in the twenty-first century.
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Appendix One: Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with Hagar and the Angel* (1646)
Appendix Two: John Constable, *The Hay Wain* (1821)
Appendix Three: Philippe de Loutherbourg, *An Avalanche in the Alps* (1803)