# Table of Contents

*Illustrations* viii  
*Acknowledgements* ix  

Introduction: Modern tourism 1  
1 Beginnings: The Grand Tour 14  
2 The sublime and beautiful 30  
3 The age of steam 44  
4 Packaging new trips 60  
5 Guidebooks and the importance of seeing the sights 76  
6 Tourism in an age of empires and nationalism 91  
7 Bicycles, automobiles, and aircraft 112  
8 Tourism during the interwar years 134  
9 Tourism in the postwar 149  
10 Mass tourism 165  

Conclusion: “Never ask an historian about the future” 180  

*Notes* 185  
*Bibliography* 239  
*Index* 276
Edward Gibbon (1737–94), author of the epic six-volume *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, started his education on a sour note. Hindered by ill health, he was a poor student and the future classicist did not immediately take to Latin or Greek. Worse, although he loved to read, the boy was largely unimpressed with his tutors. As a result, when Gibbon matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, in April 1752 he was unprepared for his studies. On arrival the future historian found this most wealthy, prestigious, and ancient of Oxford colleges sorely lacking. He huffed, “these venerable bodies are sufficiently old to partake of all the prejudices and infirmities of age. The schools of Oxford and Cambridge were founded in a dark age of false and barbarous science and they are still tainted with the vices of their origin.”

Much as critics of large research universities today decry the use of teaching assistants, Gibbon was disgusted by the fact that professors seldom taught while the tutors were wholly inadequate. In the end, his fourteen months at Oxford “proved ... the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life.” It was all too much. A show of protest was called for; Gibbon converted to Catholicism, eschewing the established Church of England. Given a prohibition on Catholic attendance at Oxford, he was summarily tossed out of college.

Fortunately for Gibbon, eighteenth-century Britain offered its wealthy young men an alternative to university: Continental European travel. He was well suited. While at Oxford, Gibbon would dart off on excursions to various English cities to escape the miserable cloisters of Magdalen. What better than to go to Europe?

Of course, Gibbon’s long-suffering father had little interest in setting his son on the European continent without guidance. The young Gibbon would have a tutor, the highly talented Daniel Pavilliard (1704–75), and he would remain in Lausanne, Switzerland learning French, German, Italian, Greek, and Classics. Equally important, the younger Gibbon came to detest the Catholic faith, renouncing his youthful conversion and, less desirably, eventually denouncing Christianity altogether.
As Gibbon matured under the guidance of his tutor and in an environment far removed from the warm yellow Cotswold limestone of Oxfordshire, he found himself taking to language and evermore attracted to the works of classical writers such as Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE). He made contacts with contemporary scholars, was invited to formal gatherings, and started to become a man of letters. After nearly three years of extraordinary progress, Pavilliard obtained permission from Gibbon’s father to take the young man on a tour of Switzerland. Now the lessons grew more cultural and political. Switzerland was a complicated state, divided into regions speaking diverse languages, exercising distinct political regimes, and even practicing different religious traditions. At every turn “we visited the churches, arsenals, libraries, and all the most eminent persons.” He was certainly seeing important institutions, but his tutor ensured that he gained a deeper understanding of Switzerland and of the Swiss people.

In 1758, Gibbon was called home to England. Over the following months, he half-heartedly looked for employment, wrote, and joined the national militia. Hungry for more adventure, five years after leaving the Continent the twenty-six-year-old scholar attained permission from his father to return to Europe, traveling throughout its various countries and kingdoms. Such a trip was not at all uncommon. He later wrote: “According to the law of custom, and perhaps of reason, foreign travel completes the education of an English gentleman.” Gibbon was to embark on the “Grand Tour.”

In Edward Gibbon’s case, the journey lasted three months. He spent time in Paris, Switzerland, and finally Italy. The classical education that he had attained under the direction of Pavilliard paid off. He was accepted into the salons of Paris and, when he reached Italy, was captivated by the opportunity to visit the sites of so many ancient triumphs. “At the distance of twenty-five years,” Gibbon wrote, “I can neither forget nor express the strong emotions which agitated my mind as I first approached and entered the eternal city [Rome]. After a sleepless night, I trod, with a lofty step, the ruins of the Forum; each memorable spot where Romulus stood, or Tully spoke, or Caesar fell, was at once present to my eye.” It was the stuff of dreams and boyhood fantasy. It was everything that the Grand Tour was supposed to be.

Parameters

By the end of the eighteenth century, major European cities such as Paris, Rome, or Venice might have had hundreds or even thousands of English men and women roaming their streets. For many tourism historians, these travelers represent the first modern tourists. They made the journey for
many reasons but in doing so they played a significant role in fueling a growing passion for travel and adventure. Their trips, and their written accounts and acquired artwork, made others want to follow. Debate about the merits of travel was everywhere, driving the respectable classes to think about the potential adventures to be had by leaving home.7

The Grand Tour is generally associated with England’s so-called landed elite and with the education of young nobles, so much so that one recent historian claims “the Grand Tour is not the Grand Tour unless it includes the following: first, a young British male patrician …; second, a tutor who accompanies his charge throughout the journey; third, a fixed itinerary that makes Rome its principle destination; fourth, a lengthy period of absence, averaging two to three years.”8 While it is true that far more young Englishmen traveled around Europe than did members of other nationalities and that much of the debate that surrounded the trip centered on its pedagogical role, the reality is that this definition is too confining. Although Britons far outnumbered all others, many people of other nations went on the tour. Peter the Great (1672–1725), the Europeanizing Russian Tsar, famously made the trip and encouraged members of his court to go as well.9 The German philosopher Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) took the trek.10 These are but two famous examples. Many others traveled as well, from France, Russia, Germany, the Low Countries, and beyond.11 Historian Chloe Chard ultimately expands the scope of her own definition of a Grand Tourist to say that he (or she) originated “somewhere in northern Europe” and aimed “to travel to the southern side of the Alps.”12 Likewise it was not simply young men who journeyed forth. English women such as the author Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–97), the widow Lady Mary Coke (1727–1811), and the fashionable socialite Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762) all spent extensive time on the Continent where they escaped from unpleasant relationships, enjoyed freedom not possible at home, and attained the education usually limited to men.13 Nor was age a barrier. Author Tobias Smollett made the trip later in life alongside his wife,14 while at least some other older Britons ventured across the English Channel in pursuit of art to add to rapidly growing collections.15 As the eighteenth century moved along, even some members of the middling sort, far removed from the blue-blooded aristocracy, braved the English Channel to embark on a European adventure.16 Ultimately, any definition of the Grand Tour should take into consideration this diversity, focusing on the significant growth of European travel in the eighteenth century, on the various motivations behind those trips, and on the reality that more and more people, even removed from the male elite, found the idea of an extended stay on the Continent appealing. The Grand Tour was far from being mass travel, but it was a first tentative step in that direction.
Origins

While it may be satisfying and dramatic to focus on moments of upheaval, most of human history features slow evolution, not sudden revolution. Thus, eighteenth-century tourists did not spontaneously embark on trips around Europe. Although distinct from earlier travelers, they were the product of steady change that started in the Middle Ages and stretched forward into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Grand Tour is rooted in profound cultural, intellectual, political, social, and economic developments that emerged gradually across Europe during the late Medieval period. Indeed, while the Grand Tour is generally associated with the British, its origins are actually quite international in character.

The fifteenth century was a period of remarkable economic expansion in much of Europe. Part of the reason likely stemmed from the profound implications of mass mortality. Starting in 1347, a succession of plague epidemics washed over Europe, resulting in the death of between one-third and one-half of the population. At least some survivors benefitted significantly by acquiring newly affordable land and by fostering marriages with wealthy heiresses that in turn made it possible for families to multiply wealth rapidly. But the plague also had another implication. With a much smaller labor market, more efficient modes of production were developed—including stronger horses and efficient watermills that could produce food more cheaply, freeing investment in other areas. Some of the sail technology associated with the watermills transferred to ships, making them more efficient and facilitating trade. Land transport was similarly improved to accommodate better shipping. All of this depended upon investment and the banking sector grew to meet demand. Ultimately, more products were generated more efficiently, and were subsequently more widely traded.

According to historian Fernand Braudel, trade routes between northern Europe, Belgium, Italian port cities, and the Asiatic world became routine, creating a “European world-economy.” The exchange of goods such as wool flourished and a significant number of merchants became affluent. These men sought ways to spend money. Many purchased items that would display prosperity and good taste: sculpture and paintings, for example. This made it possible for a growing list of painters, sculptors, architects, and authors to survive under the patronage of rich bankers, merchants, churchmen, nobles, and politicians. The Renaissance, or “rebirth,” was the result—a period of extraordinary cultural production that initially looked to the classical world for inspiration. It was based, at least at first, in Italy. Between the late fourteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, Italian cities such as Florence emerged as beacons of good taste that
both inspired artistic outpourings in other European cities while at the same time prompting northern Europeans to grow fascinated with Italian achievements.21

There were other significant results of greater opulence, at least two of which played a role in the development of tourism. First was expanding trade, combined with a desire among more people to explore the cities of Europe where original ideas and new artists might be found. Not only did merchants and traders venture around the metropolises of Europe, but a significant and growing number of travelers drawn from virtually every European country also set out to explore. These adventurers—and it was an adventure to brave the crime and pothole-ridden roads of the Continent—wrote about their experiences. A subsequent increase in demand for travel writing fueled further wanderlust.22

Second, Italy was anything but unified during the Renaissance. It was a veritable hodgepodge of city-states.23 As wealth increased, Italian politics developed an increasingly “unstable equilibrium of power.” Anxious to avoid chaos, Italian leaders responded by creating new modes of diplomacy. The resident ambassador was one of the most significant innovations. Within the short span of only thirty years (1420–50) such men assumed the role of “agents and … symbols of a continuous system of diplomatic pressures.” These Italians lived in situ in European cities and in Italian city-states, reporting back to their superiors and seeking to carry out diplomatic missions on behalf of their governments. The system worked, and by roughly 1500 such men were employed by other countries throughout Europe.24

By the end of the sixteenth century, English politics also became complicated. During her reign, Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) faced daunting tests. She was excommunicated in 1570 for pro-Protestant policies, weathered various internal challenges to her throne, confronted the Spanish Armada in 1588, and was relentlessly pursued by a host of other problems.25 On one hand, this situation made journeying to Spain or Italy quite risky. Travel was inherently dangerous due to poor conditions and widespread thievery and it was made worse by the fact that upon return to England it created suspicion at court. To many officials, going abroad suggested undoubted tawdry dealings with foreign governments or, worse, treasonous activity.26 On the other hand, the notoriously independent queen recognized the need for good information. Intelligence was critical as English policymaking was often “hamstrung by ignorance of enemy intentions.”27 In the past, at least some English monarchs traveled to the Continent to bolster diplomatic ties and to gather information for themselves. Although she reportedly loved to travel, Elizabeth was unable to make such a trip herself because she believed that venturing from England
would result in “losing her monarchical power.” Consequently, Elizabeth relied on her councilors, on merchants and diplomats, on spies, and on other agents. It was an inadequate approach to intelligence as these figures often “told their paymasters what they wanted to hear.” According to at least one historian, the employment of resident ambassadors might well have avoided early diplomatic hassles.

Evidently the queen agreed, for as time passed she grew anxious to develop a trained collection of diplomats. Unfortunately, British and European universities, once institutions of exceptional stature, went into steady decline during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Oxford and Cambridge grew specialized—focusing on providing an exceptionally narrow education that was designed more to create an elite social class than to generate thoughtful leaders. Likewise, given their parochial nature, these schools failed to spawn a sense of curiosity about other cultures that might have inspired young men to become statesmen. They offered no instruction in languages other than Greek and Latin, making no pretense of celebrating a world broader than the English ruling class. The only means of attaining the necessary servants was to send young men abroad so that they could learn about the languages, cultures, politics, personages, and military strengths of foreign lands. Toward this end the crown started to subsidize journeys, such as that made by Sir Philip Sidney (1554–86) in 1572–75.

These trends combined so that by the early seventeenth century there was a sense among many that seeing Europe was beneficial to young men. The multi-talented Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626) authored probably the most famous essay celebrating the value of travel. For the young, it was “part of education.” Making “profitable” acquaintances, learning languages, observing foreign courts, touring churches and monasteries, visiting libraries, ruins, armories, and arsenals, or attending any of many other potential destinations, made such excursions valuable. The philosopher pointed out that it was vital to have a good tutor and to carefully record one’s adventures in diaries and correspondence. Yet most of all, and anticipating later debates about the Grand Tour, Bacon informed the prospective tourist that travel should “appear rather in his discourse, than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forward to tell stories: and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts, but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.”

Even as Bacon alluded to the fear that travel might make his young aristocratic countrymen somehow less English, he ignored the risks facing those journeying to the Continent. Europe was a dangerous place. According to popular historian Christopher Hibbert, early tourist Fynes Moryson
A History of Modern Tourism (1566–1630) braved many difficulties when he crossed the Channel in 1591. The young man departed from Leigh-on-Thames on May 1 only to narrowly escape pirates based at Dunkirk. Despite covering a relatively short distance, the Channel crossing took a monstrous ten days. Once in the Netherlands, Moryson faced no less risk and discomfort. The coastal roads in Holland were infested with a veritable swarm of highwaymen who robbed foreign travelers with impunity. Yet Moryson was ready for them. He dressed himself up as a “poor Bohemian” who was employed as a Leipzig merchant. The guise worked and the robbers stayed away. Unfortunately the scheme meant that Moryson was forced to pursue accommodations befitting his affected poverty. He had to sleep with the rabble in overcrowded and dirty inns. Rather than beds, they slept on benches. Once, when a maidservant spotted Moryson’s silk stockings and recognized him for a disguised elite, the shrewd trekker got to sleep in a bed. It did not happen often. As further protection against thieves, the young man wore money-belts underneath his clothing. The tactic worked, though it meant that when he was caught in the rainstorms that are so frequent in northwestern Europe he could not change his clothes lest his numerous roommates spot his cash and try to rob him. Soggy nights followed.

Little changed when Moryson moved from the Netherlands into France and then on to Italy. When venturing from Rome to Naples, he hired sixty musketeers to protect him against bandits. It was money well spent because, although the tattered remains of drawn and quartered thieves were scattered along the roadway to dissuade others, there were criminals everywhere. In fact, despite all of his cleverness, Moryson was robbed while walking between the French cities of Metz and Châlons. Not only did the highwaymen steal his money, which would have been bad enough, but they also took his sword, his cloak, his shirt, and even his hat. No respectable man could be caught without his head covered, so Moryson was forced to acquire a greasy old French chapeau until he finally reached Paris and could attain something more desirable.

It could have been worse. Beyond thieves, tourists faced starving canines, horrendous roads, marauding soldiers, occasional wars, and the Inquisition that spread through large parts of Europe during the sixteenth century when desperate Catholics struggled to end the progress of Protestantism. English visitors were forced to proceed incognito lest they be captured, tortured, and executed for their religious beliefs. If all of this was not bad enough, at least one traveler reported seeing no less than thirty-four markers along the road between Danzig (Gdansk) and Hamburg denoting where a previous wayfarer had been murdered. In Brandenburg, murder was the least of it. Cannibalism was common. Disease was another threat. The writer John Evelyn (1620–1706) nearly died of smallpox in Geneva.
Despite it all the Grand Tour was increasingly popular. Specific figures are difficult to come by and are anecdotal. We know, for example, that there were enough “English heretics” on their way to Venice in 1592 and 1595 for the Pope to complain. In 1612, there were reportedly more than 70 Englishmen in Venice—hardly a huge number but it indicates that there was enough of an increase in English travel to elicit notice. There were far more Britons in Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century than there were previously—somewhere between 12 and 30 in most European cities at a given moment. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the numbers climbed into the hundreds and perhaps thousands. There is even evidence that not all journeyers were from the most elite social class although we can be certain that they were anything but poor. Such tourists preferred less expensive, shorter trips. In short, by the eighteenth century we find a different scale of travel.35

The Grand Tour expands

The period between 1748 and 1789 was a relatively peaceful one in Europe and it was then that the Grand Tour reached its zenith.36 Vast numbers of young Englishmen, and a few Englishwomen, ventured to Paris, Rome, Venice, Florence, and Naples. Some went to the Low Countries, Hanover, Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, Munich, Geneva, and Prague (the easternmost site visited by all but a very few tourists).37

Most sought education; the Grand Tour was a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood. It was truly a “customary” part of the schooling of landed aristocrats and the often unrealized goal of imbuing future leaders with knowledge of foreign languages, customs, politics, and culture remained intact. And yet the Grand Tour gradually reflected something altogether new, a hedonistic approach to consuming that was less evident during the previous century. The trip represented “a secularized ritual of commodification and consumption, whereby what was seen as a rite of passage itself is acquired in order to be put on show.”38 This new notion of display remains an important part of tourism today.

There was nothing affordable about traveling in Europe for months or years at a time, especially because tourists were advised to show their wealth at every turn. Guidebooks suggested that bleeding money was “the way to be respected” and being well thought of mattered.39 In eighteenth-century Britain power derived from land. It had always been this way, of course, but after the Glorious Revolution, when Parliament essentially fired one king and hired another, the aristocracy stood atop the British
political hierarchy as never before. Estates allowed them to inhabit a world of almost unimaginable opulence. They drew tremendous incomes from farming, rents, inheritance, and investment in trade. Status was linked to leisure and not needing to work, while at the same time spending a significant fortune on recreation was one way to display one’s position in the class hierarchy.

During the eighteenth century, only about 3 percent of the population controlled Britain, both economically and politically. Their power was based on vast holdings and palatial estates. From these rural seats, they controlled elections and largely defined legislative agendas. And yet, the aristocracy was increasingly worried about its status. The expansion of international trade and the initial growth of what would become the British Empire meant that a growing class of merchants grew rich, gradually catching up to the ancient and established families in monetary terms. Some of these had pretensions to join the gentry, crashing a party that was hundreds of years old. In addition, by the second half of the century the first rumblings of industrialization were underway and a new class of factory managers and owners began to desire the power of the property-owning classes. Yet even more than the arrival of what amounted to “new money,” the traditional elite worried about its hold on power. Those who made money amid the expanding economic environment were the ones most directly impacted by government economic policies, yet they had virtually no say in politics. The landed elite controlled who ran for parliament and they defined how their tenants would vote. It was an irritating reality for those who felt unrepresented. By the 1760s, the first hints of radical politics emerged, gaining strength over the last half of the decade and continuing, haltingly, into the nineteenth century when a series of reform acts, beginning in 1832, gradually eroded landed control.

During the eighteenth century the Grand Tour played an increasingly significant role in the expression of wealth. It was a question of taste. Members of the aristocracy could not be distinguished purely by their estates; they had to set themselves apart by the way that they displayed those acres, by the appearance of their houses, and by the way that they decorated their manors. Italy retained the cultural reputation gained during the Renaissance. It was truly “classic,” an easily consumable expression of refinement. The Grand Tour offered a means of teaching young people to consume like landed gentlemen: A finishing school for the rich. In a world of manorial holdings, “political power depended on cultural display.”

Investing copious amounts on a Continental tour, to say nothing of related expenditures on art, architecture, landscaping, lavish clothing, and other expenses, was a way of hopefully staving off the inevitable. Travel certainly made it easy to spend. Trips were much longer than those taken
by most twenty-first century vacationers and this necessitated arranging
longer-term accommodations. Transportation was costly, much more so
than it is at present, especially if the tourist was anxious to cover ground
quickly. Many purchased their own carriages upon arriving in France,
and then proceeded to complain bitterly at every turn about the outlays
encountered along the way, especially in places such as Paris and Italy
where post roads carried particularly high tolls. According to Grand Tour
historian Jeremy Black, accidents represented an even greater expense and
there was nothing rare about them. Altogether, it cost anywhere between
£250 and £600 per year to go on the Grand Tour, but some spent far more.
James Duff, the Second Earl of Fife (1729–1809), for example, managed to
spend over £1700 during a stay of several weeks in Paris. Total expenditure
varied wildly. Black notes that Lord (Frederick) North (1732–92) withdrew
£70,000 from one banker alone during his 1753 tour. By contrast, a year
later, Francis Hastings, the Tenth Earl of Huntingdon (1729–89), spent a
rather more modest £5700. The British government, concerned about
revenues lost to foreign governments, estimated that British travelers
dispersed as much as £4 million per annum.43

Given the amounts and the reason for spending, it is hardly surprising
that the idea of “packing light” was unheard of. Even in the seventeenth
century, tourists were to take prayer books, swords and pistols, a watch,
lice-proof bedclothes, waterproofs, hats, handkerchiefs, and more. By the
eighteenth century, guidebooks added further items including special
strongly made shirts, an iron fastener for securing hotel doors, tea caddies,
penknives, seasonings, oatmeal, seasickness remedies, plenty of reading
material, medicines, and so on. All of this added up. The Earl of Burlington
(1694–1753) took no less than 878 pieces of luggage when he made his tour
during the second half of the eighteenth century.44

Getting a taste for Europe

Historians debate when modern consumer society began. While many
focus on the nineteenth century, especially after about 1850,45 others note
the beginnings of a change starting much earlier.46 Either way, the extent
to which the aristocracy pursued a lifestyle premised on exceptional levels
of consumption is striking. Members of the elite spoke volumes when they
hired a designer such as Lancelot “Capability” Brown (1716–83). The fore-
most landscape architect of his day, Brown created vast, carefully manicured
estate grounds that resembled “open savannah” and projected “a sense of
infinity.”47 Not only did the vistas suggest who was in control of nature,
they gave a property a feeling of vast space. When elites constructed their houses, symmetry, order, and tasteful design told the world that the inhabitants were cultured, educated, and classy; because touring manor houses was almost as popular in the eighteenth century as it would later be in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, these estates presented their impressive message to a wide audience.\textsuperscript{48} It is no accident that the property class further projected their taste and control in the paintings they purchased or commissioned. Some made repeated trips to Italy to buy art, compiling huge collections in the process.\textsuperscript{49} It was not uncommon for landed families to have themselves depicted with their estates or homes as a backdrop, with well-designed “natural” landscapes extending into the distance.\textsuperscript{50} What people purchase speaks volumes.\textsuperscript{51}

For sociologist Colin Campbell, the reason for all of this buying is not hard to see: Patterns of consumption underwent profound change, a veritable philosophical revolution that was closely tied to the growth of Romanticism in the second half of the eighteenth century. Fiction, art, and music all provided a flight into something that seemed better than the everyday. Escape made one feel good, offering a different perspective on the world. Buying art, then, was an exercise in self-improvement. The result was a new approach to consumption which Campbell calls “self-illusory hedonism.” In essence, people spent a great deal of time imagining what they would like to have and feeling that they had improved themselves by acquiring things. This new pattern of behavior formed the foundation for the eventual “consumer revolution” and not long thereafter the first industrial revolution.\textsuperscript{52} Although Campbell does not explicitly make the connection, these same developments were vital to the rise of modern tourism.

As noted above, the Grand Tour offered plentiful opportunity to spend and to pursue personal betterment through the development of taste. Grand Tourists also needed to bring something home that would display to everybody where they had been and what they had seen. A small industry developed to feed this need. Paintings depicted important sites such as the Pantheon and the Coliseum in Rome, the canals in Venice, the Parthenon in Athens, and Roman ruins wherever they might be. Equally important, the paintings nearly all feature tourists looking at the sites/sights in question. These figures visually consume the spectacle, while at the same time projecting the message to whomever looks on the canvas: The owner of this painting was here; he bought the experience. Paintings worked in much the same way as contemporary postcards emblazoned with the words “Wish You Were Here!” Such cards do not truly mean that the sender wishes that the recipient were literally underfoot, but rather announce that “I am seeing these places and you are not.” They make a comment about
the status accrued through travel. In some sense, the eighteenth-century paintings purchased by the box load by Grand Tourists are the first postcards, the first travel snapshots. These art works are physical reminders that travel was about consuming.53

Elites behaving badly

Although the purpose of the Grand Tour was supposed to be self-improvement, the reality was often rather different.

Edward Gibbon was an atypical tourist. He attained a solid education in Lausanne, then returned for his Grand Tour after some years had passed and following his stint in the national militia. Gibbon was more mature than the average tourist. He was 26 years old. Most made their trip between the ages of 18 and 25, the equivalent age of a twenty-first century undergraduate. These were students with virtually unlimited budgets and often little supervision. They frequently behaved accordingly.

Once in Europe, young elites did see the sites. They attended the papal fireworks at the Castel Sant’Angelo, toured Rome and Venice, spent time in Paris, hoped to see an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, and explored much of what was in between. They looked at art, visited gorgeous homes, admired monuments, and studied classical architecture. Some even learned a few words of French or Italian. As was true during the seventeenth century, there remained no fixed route. Major cities like Rome, Venice, Florence, and Naples were still popular. Travel was considerably safer than it had been, though periodic military and political conflict around Europe did define where tourists went to some degree.54

In theory, each sightseer employed a tutor who assured that all of these positive learning outcomes took place. The problem was that most instructors were untalented and inattentive, the very opposite of Gibbon’s beloved Daniel Pavilliard. They were frequently failed writers, academics, or churchmen, essentially men who had fallen from favor at court and who had to earn a living in some other way. Given their decrepit status, most cared little about their young charges and often preferred to spend their time drinking and whoring. Unsurprisingly, their pupils often did much the same and chose their destinations accordingly.55 Italy was long a leading center of sexual promiscuity.56 Prostitutes were ubiquitous. Paris, meanwhile, was well known as one of the leading producers of condoms, dildos, and pornography.57 Parisian wives had the reputation of being accommodating with their sexual favors, performing every imaginable act with travelers, especially when it was common for these young men to lavish
gifts of as much as £1000 on them for services rendered. Unsurprisingly, venereal disease was a real threat to tourists anxious to explore the more licentious side of Continental cities.

Much like fraternity life today, drinking and gambling featured prominently on the itinerary. Both activities represented a significant component of eighteenth-century life both in Britain and elsewhere. Indeed, alcohol consumption in London during the eighteenth century was staggering by modern standards. In 1743, for example, the average ingestion of cheap spirits in London was 2.2 gallons per capita. At one stage, there was one public house in Britain for every eighty-seven people. Both statistics largely reflect the drinking habits of ordinary Britons, of course, but the amount of wine and spirits imbibed by the landed elite must have been impressively high as well. Yet the reality is that European cities offered extraordinary opportunity for debauchery outside of the ordinary strictures.

**Figure 1.1** Young Grand Tourists were expected to travel with a tutor. Parents imagined that this individual would offer instruction in language, culture, history, and other important information. Very often this hope went unrealized. “A Tour of Foreign Parts” by Henry William Bunbury (artist) and James Bretherton (printmaker). Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.
of an apparently sodden society, especially among unattended young men. Gambling losses were sometimes equally astonishing. Sir Carnaby Haggerston (c. 1700–56) wrote home constantly begging for more money to cover his expenses. Francis Anderton (dates unknown) lost nearly £200 (now equivalent to £17,000) in a single evening. John Thornton (dates unknown) was not far behind and lost £150 (now equivalent to £12,700). Gambling was expensive, but drink was cheap. Many became “unhappily addicted to drinking to the highest degree.”

Not every traveler was male or ventured across the Channel in order to spend lavishly or to behave badly. Travel could offer an escape from oppression, especially for women. For example, Mary Wollstonecraft, author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), made the trip and her motivations are telling. Cultivating taste, learning languages, and seeing significant historic sites was part of it. But women like Wollstonecraft had another reason for traveling—to find scope for the imagination and to escape the male-dominated realities of eighteenth-century British culture. Even women far less famous than Wollstonecraft found this sort of inspiration, focusing their attention more on “antiquities and works of art as well as cultural, social, and commercial developments” than on armies or politics. Men were supposed to worry about earning money and running the country, women about managing the house. Thus, the 1747 book *The Art of Governing a Wife* advised that women were to “lay up and save; look to the house; talk to few; take of all within.” Georgian Britain was a gentleman’s club and for independently minded women, it was stifling. Travel represented a reprieve.

While continental adventures offered escape they also raised very real concerns about the social order. What was to be made of women engaging in male pursuits? Besides, what possible benefit was there in female travel? They were not responsible for building landed estates or for purchasing the lavish décor of these places. No woman would serve in Parliament or make significant political decisions. At best, the experience of jaunting through European cities might improve a woman’s chance on the marriage market by making her conversant in more languages and giving her something to chat about with suitors. Granted, the trip might almost make her less compelling to men. What man wanted a wife as interesting and erudite as himself? Given such prevalent attitudes, there is little surprising about the reality that women like Mary Wollstonecraft were rare. Adventurous women were the exception, not the rule.

Most of the anxiety inspired by the Grand Tour was a result of the fact that parents, aware of the behaviors exhibited by many tourists, worried about their children. A fierce debate about the merits of continental travel resulted—perhaps the first significant and widespread discussion about the
implications of going abroad. While many young people seemed to take touring foreign cities to be a license for sin, a few parents feared what their sons might get up to. Most anxiety did not center on sexual behavior or the risks of over-imbibing. Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709–84), though critical of sending unattended young men to Europe, summed up the majority view in a conversation with his traveling companion James Boswell (1740–95): “If a young man is wild, and must run after women and bad company, it is better this should be done abroad, as, on his return, he can break off such connections, and begin at home a new man, with a character to form, and acquaintances to make.”

Evidently, travel was a license to move outside of social norms. Instead, parents fretted about what their offspring might become. Edward Gibbon reports in his memoirs that his command of English declined while he was away. He came to love Switzerland and European culture more generally, getting evermore critical of English life as he spent more time away. This was something to be concerned about. Bacon suggested that travelers should reflect their experience in discursive ability rather than in “apparel or gesture,” yet an alarming number of tourists evidently returned to Britain as odd hybrids of English and European. Gibbon learned languages; most did not. Instead, they mastered a handful of words and filled in with strange accents and wild gestures. As one poem summarized:

Returning he proclaims by many a grace,
By shrugs and strange contortions of his face,
How much a dunce, that has been sent to roam,
Excels a dunce, that has been kept at home.

British adults were mortified. Historian Christopher Hibbert notes that the level of concern was so pronounced that an “Act Against Rambling” was proposed. If passed, the bill would have made it an offence to the debase purity of the English language “by a vile mixture of exotic words, idioms, and phrases,” to make any unmeaning grimace, shrug or gesticulation, to use the world canaille more than three times in the same sentence, or wantonly to cast contempt on the roast beef of old England. Offenders against the Act were to be “flogged like schoolboys.”

Parents sent their children to Europe hoping that they would return as cultured members of the landed elite. What they often got in return were young people who eschewed the very emblems of English identity.
Conclusion: End of the Grand Tour

While the Grand Tour was customary in 1763, it was becoming a bygone memory by 1815. Part of the reason for this is immediately obvious: The French Revolution, followed closely by the Napoleonic Wars, swept across Europe starting in 1789 and extended until 1815. During the first conflict, many continued to travel around the Continent, but the second wave of hostilities was far more dangerous. By 1807, overland travel was risky and “sea routes had become impossible.” When the fighting stopped, many visitors returned—even if only to see the damages of war—but this was no longer the old Grand Tour. Important ideas, especially about aesthetics and health, had changed, replacing the urban-centered and overwhelmingly aristocratic character of the eighteenth century trip.72

Of course, many of the trends inaugurated by the Grand Tour did not end. Elite tourism established a sense that travel generated prestige. There was something important to be gained by visiting the great European capitals. Foreign exploration and consumption made one a better person. It promised good mental health and a heightened intellect. This dream of self-improvement would ultimately connect closely to a desire for “self help” that permeated middle-class society during the Victorian age.

Likewise, the idea that good taste was partly to be found on the Continent also remained in place. As railways made it possible for ordinary Britons to view their own country, the sight of massive European-inspired manor houses and palaces was omnipresent. It was nice to see the British copies, but what about the real thing? Authenticity had its merits.

Perhaps most of all, the Grand Tour generated a body of literature describing travel adventures. These accounts did not disappear from the public consciousness. Yet the wave of new texts reflected the reality that something had changed. By the 1820s a new way of looking at the world, developing from at least the middle of the eighteenth century, had taken hold—a romantic vision of landscapes and history, a sense of excitement to be had in nature that European mountains and beaches offered in abundance. The old cities were still attractive, but more and more people wanted to escape the “beaten track” in order to locate “hidden secrets.” They wanted to visit the mountains and to experience wild nature. They wished to enjoy “romantic travel.”73 What was soon known as the “sublime and beautiful” was very much on offer, if only you could leave home to find it. It was a goal that, increasingly, attracted tourists from all social classes and helps to explain the rise of a much more widespread wanderlust during the nineteenth century.
Abbot, Francis, 104–5
Aberdeen, Lady, 94
Acapulco, 161
Addington, Charles, 105
aesthetics, 35, 37
Africa, 96, 183, 208n.3
African-Americans, 171, 215n.7
“age of exploration”, 5
aircraft, 126–33, 157, 176–7
air fares, 158–9
Air India, 157
airports, see aircraft
airspace, 157–8
Albert, Prince Consort, 64, 65, 92–3
Alexander the Great, 4–5
Ali, Muhammad, 95, 100
Alps, the, 40
Al-Queda, 182–3
American Airlines Flight 587, 183
American Automobile Association, 115
Anand, Ascem, 188n.40
Anderton, Francis, 27
Andes (mountain range), 31
Anglo-American Commission, 162
Annapolis Railway Company, 85
Antarctica, 175–6
Aran Islands, 88–9
Arendt, Hannah, 150
Aron, Cindy, 188n.40
Art of Governing a Wife, The, 27
Ash, John, 160
Asia, 53, 183
Association for Tourist Traffic in Netherlands India, 148
Auschwitz, 176
Australia
automobile clubs in, 115
and Thomas Cook, 99, 102
motor touring in, 123
and paid vacations, 224n.51
as example of the “pleasure periphery”, 161–2
during World War II, 149
Autocar (journal), 115
Automobile Club of France, 115
Automobile Club of Rhodesia, 115
Automobiles
and camping, 125–6
and clubs, 115
costs and availability of, 119
development of, 114–15
and family vacations (USA), 170
racing of, 115–18
and roads, 115, 116, 120–2
and roadside attractions, 126
and touring guides (guidebooks), 123–5
and travel accommodations, 125
women and, 118, 125
aviation, 155–9
  *see also* aircraft
Ayers, Thomas A., 108
Ayrshire (Scotland), 83, 204n.14

Bacon, Sir Francis, 19, 28
Baden-Baden, 68
Baedeker, *see* guidebooks
Baedeker, Karl, 75, 78, 80, 83
Bagge, Frederik, 123
Bahamas, the, 162
Bali, 147–8
Bank Holiday Act, 70
Barton, Susan, 60–1
Bass Brewery, 61
Bath, 68
bathing (sea), 32, 68–71
  *see also* beaches; seaside; spas
baths, *see* spas
Batista, Fulgencio, 162
Bayly, C. A., 11
beaches
  and aesthetics, 35
  avoided before mid-eighteenth century, 32
  beauty of, chronologically contingent, 182
  as Grand Tour destinations, 192n.54
  and ideas about health, 43
  and the sublime, 38
  working class adoption of, 69–70
  *see also* bathing (sea); seaside; seaside resorts
Beale, Benjamin, 70
Beer Act, 62
“Beer Street” (Hogarth), 85
Beethoven, Ludwig van, 39
Bennett, Tony, 171
Benz, Karl, 115
*Beowulf*, 32
Berger, Dina, 147

Berlin, Isaiah, 134
Bhabha, Homi, 211n.35
Biarritz (France), 72
bicycles, 112–14, 137, 215n.7
Black Act, 96
Black, Adam and Charles (guidebook publishers), 80
Black Forest, 80
Black, Jeremy, 23
Blackpool, 69, 135, 149
Blanc, Mont, 40
*Blauen*, the, 80
Bleriot, Louis, 127
Blum, Léon, 144
Bodman and Wadebridge Railway, 61
Boeing, 157
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 72, 100
Boswell, James, 28, 38–9, 82
Bradley, Ian, 66
Brasília, 157
Braudel, Fernand, 17
Brazil, 157
Brendon, Piers, 62
Briggs, Asa, 42
Brighton, 73
British Aviation Insurance Group, 130
British Empire,
  and decolonization, 228n.38
  and Great Exhibition of 1851, 92
  hunting opportunities in the, 96–7
  and international tourism cooperation, 154
  railways in the, 50, 51
  tourism enhanced power of the, 95
Brontë sisters, 84
Brown, Lancelot “Capability”, 23
Buddha, Gautama, 7
Buddhism, 7, 8
Bullers of Buchan, 38
Bureau for Public Roads, 122
Burke, Edmund, 37–8
Burnet, Thomas (archbishop of Canterbury), 33–5
Burns, Robert, 83–4, 204n.14
Bush, George W., 183
Butler, R. W., 174
Butlin, Billy, 145, 168–9, 173
Buzzard, James, 89
Cabral, Pedro Alvares, 5
Cairo, 102
Cambridge University, 14, 19
Campbell, Colin, 24
camping, 125–6, 170
Canada, 85, 96–7, 102, 146
Cancún, 161, 177, 178
Canterbury Tales, 8
caravan parks, 125
Caribbean, 162–3
Caribbean Tourist Association, 153, 162
cars, see automobiles
Casson, Lionel, 5, 6
Castro, Fidel, 162
catskills, the, 170–1
Central Park, 108
Chard, Chloe, 16
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 8
Chevalier, Maurice, 162
Chicago World’s Fair (1893), 93–4
Christianity, 8
Chuchill, Winston, 150, 162
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 15
Coke, Lady Mary, 16
Cole, Henry, 92
Cole, Nat King, 162
Coleman Lantern Company, 125
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 31, 39
Collins, Edward K., 56
Collins Line (steamships), 56
colonialism, see empire
Columbus, Christopher, 5
communism, 150
communist tourism, 140–3,
Constellation (airliner), 157
Cook, Capt. James, 5, 74
Cook, John Mason, 62, 66, 100–2,
212–13n.66
Cook, Thomas
around-the-world tour of, 102
and Australian tourism, 99, 102
background of, 62
Egypt and Middle East tours of,
99, 100–2
first organized trip of, 62–3
and Great Exhibition of 1851, 65,
66, 93
guidebooks of, 78
Scottish business of, 64–5, 66
and tours abroad, 66
and women, 65–6
see also Thomas Cook & Son
Corbin, Alain, 32, 41
Cossons, Neil, 175
Coward, Noel, 162
Crawford, Alexander, 100
Creevey, Thomas, 47
Crocker, Sewall K., 117–18
Cross, Gary, 143
Cuba, 146, 162
Cubitt, Thomas, 92
Cugnot, Nicolas-Joseph, 46, 114
Cummings, Bob, 165
Cunard, Samuel, 55
Dachau, 176
Danish Touring Club, 115
Darwin, Charles, 35
Davis, John D., 116
Davis, Louise Hitchcock, 116
Davis, Manila, 131
Dawson, Sandra Trudgen, 173
DC-8 (jet aircraft), 157
DeForest, Antoinette, 105
Della Coletta, Cristina, 94–5
Denmark, 123
Dias, Bartolomeu, 5
Dickins, Charles, 84
Dieppe (France), 72–3
disease
and the Grand Tour, 20
industrialization and
urbanization aided, 42
in Jamaica, 98
on sailing vessels, 45
as threat to tourism industry, 183
see also health
Disneyland
and authenticity, 179
creation of and vision for, 165–7,
168
location of, 231n.6
middle class and, 170
as secular pilgrimage site, 8
youth culture and changes to,
174
Disney, Walt, 165–6, 167, 168, 179
Disney World, 168, 174
Dominion Atlantic Railway
Company, 85
Douglas Aircraft Company, 157
Drais, Karl von, 112
Duff, James, second earl of Fife, 23

Easy Rider (film), 173
Ebola, 183
Egypt, 5, 95, 96, 100–2
Eiffel Tower, 86
El Al (airline), 157
Elizabeth I (queen of England and
Ireland), 18–19, 180
dominion (imperialism)
and aircraft, 131
and airlines, 130
and Balinese tourism, 147–8
and Caribbean tourism, 162–3
and guidebooks, 79
and historical study of travel,
95–6
railways, 50–1
travel's relationship to, 91–2, 95
see also British Empire; Ottoman
Empire
Endy, Christopher, 151
Engels, Friedrich, 42
Epic of Gilgamesh, 4, 32
Esperanto, 94
European Recovery Program (ERP),
151–4
European Travel Commission
(ETC), 151–2, 153
“Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie”
(Longfellow), 85
Evans, Oliver, 114
Evelyn, John, 20
Everest, Mount, 176, 177–8
fascism, 135–6, 150
fascist tourism, 136–40
Federal Highway Act, 120
Fédération Internationale de
l’Automobile, 115
Finland, 160
First Nations, 97
First World War, see World War I
Fisher, Carl Graham, 121–2
Fleming, Ian, 162
Floyer, John, 68
Flynn, Errol, 162
Fonda, Peter, 173
“foodie culture”, 176
Ford, Henry, 119
Ford Motor Company, 119
Forstmark (estate), 39
Forster, E. M., 76
Fraga, Manuel, 163
Frame, John, 62
France, 68, 124–5, 144–5, 152, 171
Franco, Francisco, 163
French Riviera, 71
Friedrich, Caspar David, 40
Friendly Society, 60
Fuller, Francis, 92

Gainsborough, Thomas, 192n.50
Galen of Pergamon, 42
Gall, Richard, 84
gambling, 27, 162, 229n.59
garden cemeteries, 107–8
Garros, Roland, 128
Gaze, Henry, 62, 78, 92
geological history, 35
George III (King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland), 69
George IV (King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland), 69
German Labor Force, 138
Germany
car culture in, 119
fascist tourism in, 138–40
Michelin Guide to, 124
and national airlines, 129–30
postwar economic expansion in, 159–60
youth hostels in, 172
see also Kraft durch Freude
Ghengis Khan, 4–5
Giani, Mario, 137
Gibbon, Edward, 14–15, 25, 28, 38
Gilpin, William, 81
“Gin Lane” (Hogarth), 85
global warming, 176, 177
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 16, 81
Golding, William, 134
Good Roads Association, 116

Grand Hotel (film), 144
Grand Tour
alcohol and, 26–7
anxieties inspired by, 27–8
attitudes towards nature changed by, 36
chronology of, debated, 191n.36
and consumption, 21–5
costs of, 23, 191n.43
definition of, 16
demise of, 29
destinations on, 15, 21, 25
and English landed elite, 16
and household, 27
and guidebooks, 77
and landscape, 33
mountaineering on, 40, 192n.54
origins of, 17–18
participation estimates of, 21
and rational thought, 37
risks faced on, 19–20
roots of modern tourism in, 12, 16
sex and the, 25–6
tourism prior to, argument for, 6
train station reminders of, 53
tutors on, 25
twenty-first century tourism compared to, 180
urban focus of, 192n.54
women on, 16, 27, 192n.64

Great Britain
and aircraft, 129, 130
alcohol consumption in, 26
and automobiles, 100, 119–20
camping in, 125
and decolonization, 228n.38
and Egypt, 100
family holidays decline in, 173
Grand Tour and lost revenues of, 23
hunting in, 96
industrialization and urbanization in, 42
literary tourism in, 82–3, 84
paid holidays in, 144
postwar economic expansion in, 159
private tourist initiatives in, 145
and railways, 52
roads in, 44
steamship services in, 55
suburbanization in, 167–8
tourism literature’s focus on, 180–1
visitors from, in Rome, 181
and World War II, 149
see also British Empire; Grand Tour; Scotland; seaside; seaside resorts
Great Exhibition of 1851, 65, 66, 70, 92–3
Greece, 6, 162
Greenwich Mean Time (GMT), 54
Greenwood Cemetery, 108
Grosvenor, Hugh Lupus, 81
guidebooks
audience’s biases reflected in, 79
for automobile touring, 123–5
of Karl Baedeker, 75, 78, 80, 83
and the “beaten track,” 89
of Adam and Charles Black, 80
for camping, 170
of Thomas Cook, 78
downsides of, 78–9
early, 77
of Henry Gaze, 78
and Grand Tour, 21
and literary tourism, 78, 83, 84, 204n.14
of John Murray, 75, 78, 90
and Niagara Falls, 105
origins of, nineteenth century, 78
prescribed tourists’ experiences, 79, 80–1
and preservation, 80–2
and rail travel, 77
and roadside attractions, 126
role of, in tourists’ experiences, 76–7
of Roman (Augustan) tourists, 7
in A Room with a View, 90
as a technology of control, 75
and women, 78
Haggard, Rider, 84
Haggerston, Carnaby, 27
Hajj, 187n.30
Handbook for Travellers on the Rhine, from Switzerland to Holland (guidebook), 80
Hansen, Peter H., 40
Hart, Alice, 94
Hastings, Francis, tenth earl of Huntington, 23
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 84, 104
health
bathing (sea) and, 68–9
and hydrotherapy, 201–2n.34
linked to leisure, 180
and spas, 67
and the sublime, 43
associated with water, 32, 66
see also disease
“Hebrides Overtures” (Mendelssohn), 39
Heil, Nick, 178
Henry the Navigator, 5
Herf, Jeffrey, 136
heritage tourism, 175
Hermannsdenkmal, 86
Herodotus, 5–6, 11
“heroic” travelers, 4
Hibbert, Christopher, 19, 28
Highgate Cemetery, 100
Highways Act, 44
hiking, 139
Hillary, Edmund, 176
Hill, Octavia, 81
Hill, Richard, 39, 105
Himalayas, 176
Hinde, John, 87–9
Hindenburg, 133
Histoire Naturelle (Leclerc), 35
Hitler, Adolf, 138, 140
Hobsbawm, Eric, 208n.1
Hogarth, William, 85
holiday camps, see Butlin, Billy
holidays, see vacations
Holidays in Mexico (film), 161
Holland, see Netherlands, the
Holocaust sites, 176
Holy Land, the, 8, 102
Homeland Security, Department of, 183
H1N1, 183
Honeychurch, Lucy (fictional character), 76, 78, 79, 90
Horne, Lena, 162
hostels, see youth hostels
hotels, 7, 125, 152
“hubs-and-spokes”, 159
Hugo, Victor, 81
human safaris, 176
hunter-gatherers, 2–3
Hunter, Robert, 81
hunting, 96–7
Huskisson, William, 48–50
Hutchings, J. M., 108
Hutchinson, Sara, 30
Hutton, James, 35
hydrotherapy, 201–02n.34

Industrial Revolution, 12
Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), 161
Inter-American Development Bank, 161
International Aeronautical Exhibition (1911), 127
International Air Transport Association (IATA), 158, 159
International Union of Official Travel Organisations (IUOTO), 151–2, 153, 154, 155
Ireland, 87–9, 144, 149, 153–4, 178
Irish Potato Famine, 45
Islam, 7–8, 187n.30
Isle of Wight, 71, 140
Italian Riviera, 71
Italian Touring Club, 137
Italy, 18, 25, 136–8, 145, 159–160
Jackson, Horatio Nelson, 116–18
Jamaica, 96, 97–9, 102
Jamaica Hotels Law, 99
Jamaica Tourist Association, 99
Jennings, Eric J., 96
Jessup, Elon, 123
John the Baptist, Saint, 8–9
John Hinde Studios, 87, 90
see also Hinde, John
Johnson, Lyndon B., 171
Johnson, Samuel, 28, 38–9
Jouffroy d’Abbans, Claude de, 54
Keats, John, 84
King Solomon’s Mines (Rider), 84
Kinks, The (rock band), 164
Kitt, Eartha, 162
Kitzbühel, 177
Knight, Goodwin 166
Koenker, Diane P., 141, 142

Copyrighted material – 9780230369658
Koshar, Rudy, 9, 78, 116, 119

Kraft durch Freude (KdF), 138–40, 144, 182

Krakauer, Jon, 176

Laker Airlines, 32

Lancashire, 68, 70

Landscape
  attitudes towards, changed, 33–5
  and guidebooks, 80–1
  of Niagara Falls, 106
  painted, 41
  postcards and, 87
  roads as a threat to, 120–1
  and the sublime and beautiful, 38–9, 80

Lansky, Meyer, 162

Laurel Hill Cemetery, 108

Lawson, Harry, 115

League of Nations, 155–6

Leclerc, Georges-Louis, comte de Buffon, 35

Leed, Eric J., 4–5

Lenin, Vladimir, 141

Levassor, Émile Constant, 115

Ley, Robert, 138

Lincoln Highway, 121–2, 217n.52

Linkletter, Art, 165

Literary tourism, 78, 82–5, 204n.14

Liverpool and Manchester Railway, 47, 48–50, 53

Loch Lomond, 80

Lockheed Corporation, 157

Locomotives Act, 115

Locomotives on Highways Act, 115

Löfgren, Orvar, 87

Lomine, Loykie, 6, 7

Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 84–5

Louis XIV (King of France), 46

Lusitania, 57

Lyell, Charles, 35

Macfarlane, Robert, 30, 40

Madeira, 140

Maine (USA), 1

Mannock, Edward, 128

Marshall, George C., 151

Marshall Plan, see European Recovery Program (ERP)

Martha’s Vineyard (USA), 106

Marx, Karl, 42

Mazower, Mark, 134

McAdam, John Loudon, 44

McGirr, Lisa, 231n.6

McKenzie, Brian A., 153

McNeill, John R., 4

McNeill, William H., 4

Mechanics’ Institute, 60, 61

Mendelssohn, Felix, 39, 64

Metcalf, “Blind Jack”, 44

Mexico, 146–7, 160–61, 229n.59

see also Cancún

Michelin, André, 123–4

Michelin, Edouard, 123

Michelin Guide, 124–5

Middle East, 100–1, 181

Minoans, 4

Miranda, Carmen, 162

Mobility, 2, 7–8, 185n.2

Model T (automobile), 119

Modernity, 11–12

Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, 16

Moore, Thomas, 104

Morris Minor (automobile), 120

Morris Motor Company, 119–20

Morrison, Herbert, 133

Morris Oxford (automobile), 119

Moryson, Fynes, 19–20, 44

Motels, 125

Motor (magazine), 123

Motor Car Clubs, 115

Mountaineering, 30–1, 78, 40

see also Everest, Mount
mountains
   and aesthetics, 35
   attitudes towards, changed, 32
   avoided before mid-eighteenth century, 31
   beauty of, chronologically contingent, 182
   as Grand Tour destinations, 40, 192n.54
and health, 43
and the sublime, 38

see also Alps, the; Andes;
   Catskills, the; Everest,
   Mount; Himalayas;
   Hermannsdenkmal; Kitzbühel;
   Olympus, Mount; Sca Fel;
   Sinai, Mount; Snowden,
   Mount; Ventoux, Mont
Mount Auburn Cemetery, 100, 107–8
“Mr. and Mrs. Andrews”
   (Gainsborough), 192n.50
Mrs. Dalloway (Woolf), 129
Murray, John, 75, 78, 90
Mussolini, Benito “Il Duce”, 136, 137
Mycenaeans, 4

Nagelmackers, George, 52
Napier, Robert, 55
Napolitano, Janet, 183
Natal Automobile Club, 115
National Commission to Promote Artistic and Recreational Excursions of the Foreign Public, 163
National Confederation of Fascist Syndicates, 137
national identity, 97, 103, 122
nationalism
   German, and tourism, 139
and historical sites, 82
history in discussions of,
   206n.40
Irish, 210n.28
and motoring (USA), 120
nature of, in nineteenth century, 91
national parks, 108–9
   Glacier, 109, 121
   Grand Canyon, 109
   Mount Rainier, 109, 121
   Yellowstone, 109
   Yosemite, 108–9, 121
National Revolutionary Party (PNR), 146
National Roads and Motorists Association (NRMA), 123
National Socialist Democratic Party (NSDAP), 138, 139
National Trust, 81, 205n.33
Nazis, see National Socialist Democratic Party (NSDAP)
Neolithic revolution, 3
Netherlands, the, 36, 41, 147–8
New Picture of Scotland (guidebook), 77
Niagara Falls, 103, 104–6
Nicolas I (Tsar of Russia), 51
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 136
Norgay, Tenzing, 176
North, Lord (Frederick), 23
Norway, 126
Nova Scotia (Canada), 85
Nuevo Laredo–Mexico Highway, 147
Oak Bluffs (Massachusetts, USA), 106
Ojibwe (First Nations), 97
Olmstead, Frederick Law, 106, 108
Olympus, Mount, 31
Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro (OND), 136–8

Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), 151, 152

Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD), 177

Ottoman Empire, 95, 100

Our Common Future (report) 178

Oxford University, 14, 19

Ozanam, Jacques, 112

Pacific Travel Association, 153

package tours
and Thomas Cook, 62–6
and Egypt, 100
as a factor in the globalization of tourism, 99

and the Great Exhibition of 1851, 93

of Kraft durch Freude, 140

of Sovturl, 142

and steam power, 92
and trains, 54

package trips, 60–1

Palestine, 99, 100, 101

Pan-American Airlines, 132, 158

Paris Exposition Universelle (1889), 86, 115

Paris Exposition Universelle et Internationale (1900), 93, 94

Parker, Harry, 74

parks, 106–10

see also camping; caravan parks; Disneyland

“Pastoral” (Beethoven), 39

Pausanias, 77

Pavilliard, Daniel, 14, 15, 25

Peter the Great, 16

Petrarch, Francesco, 31–2

Philosophical Inquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (Burke), 37–8, 39, 41

Phoenicians, 4

pilgrimage
in language of modern tourism, 8
religious, 7–9, 77, 187n.30

Pius II (pope), 81

Pius IX (pope), 104

plague (Black Death), 17

Portugal, 163

postcards, 85–9, 180

Pozzy, Colonel Théo J., 153–4

Prague, 21, 158, 184

pre-modern travel, 2–9

preservation, 81, 82

Prince Rupert's Land, 96

Principles of Geology: An Attempt to Explain the Former Changes to the Earth’s Surface by Reference to Causes Now in Operation, The (Lyell), 35

Provence, 71

Psychrolousia or, History of Cold Bathing (Floyer), 68

Pullman, George Mortimer, 52

Pullman Company, 52

railways
automobile travel compared to, 114
in British India, 50
and Thomas Cook, 62, 66
development of
in Great Britain, 46–50
in Russian Empire, 50–51
in United States, 50

and guidebooks, 77–8
improvements to, 52

and literary tourism, 84–5
railways – continued
and national parks (USA), 108–9, 121
and Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro, 137
and spas, 68
and working-class tourism, 61–2
and World War I, 122
see also trains
Rainhill Trials, 48
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 5
Rawnsley, Hardwicke, 81
Reagan, Ronald, 165
Reform Act of 1832, 33
religion, 7–9, 33, 66, 187n.30
Renaissance, 17–18
resorts
see seaside resorts
Richard, Cliff, 169
Richthofen, Manfred von, 128
Rickenbacker, Edward, 128
Rivers, Joan, 171
roads, 44, 115, 116, 120–2
roadside attractions, 126, 170
road trips, 170
Rocket, The (steam train), 48–9
Roman Empire, 4
Romanticism, 39
Rome (Augustan), 6–7
Rome, 8, 180
Room with a View, A (Forster), 76, 90
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 126, 162
Rosenthal, Elisabeth, 176
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 82
Rugh, Susan Sessions, 170, 172
Russell, Bertrand, 143
Russell, John Scott, 92
Russell, Richard, 68
Russia, 50–1, 141
see also Soviet Union (USSR)
Ryde (Isle of Wight), 71
Sacred Theory of the Earth (Telluris Theoria Sacra) (Burnet), 35
St. Pancras railway station, 53
St. Petersburg-Tampa Airboat Line, 127
San Miguel de Allende, 161
Santiago de Compostela, 8
Scafell, 30, 31
Scandinavia, 171, 192n.64
Scarborough (England), 70, 135
Schirrmann, Richard, 172
Schwartz, Stuart B., 12
Scotland
Robert Burns tourism in, 83–4
and Thomas Cook, 64–5, 66
guidebooks on, 77, 80, 123
hunting in, 97
roads in, 122
steamship service in, 55
the sublime in, 64
Scotland Tourist (guidebook), 84
Scott, A. O., 174
“Scottish Symphony” (Mendelssohn), 39
Scott, Sir Walter, 39, 64, 84
sea monsters, 32
Sears, John F., 103
seaside
attire, 74
bathing at the, 32, 68–9
behaviors at the, 73–4
and health, 32
holidays declined in England, 164
social-class distinctions at the, 69–73
attitudes towards the, changed 32
see also beaches; seaside resorts
seaside resorts, 69–73
France, 72–3
Great Britain, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73
Greece, 163
Mexico, 161
piers at, 71–2
Portugal, 163
Spain, 163–4
United States, 71–2, 73
see also beaches; Cancún; seaside; spas
Second World War, see World War II
“See America First”, 109, 120
Self Help (Smiles), 71
Self-Propelled Traffic Association, 115
September 11, 2001 attacks, 182–3
707 (jet aircraft), 157
Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), 183
Shaffer, Marguerite, 120
Shakespeare, William, 82–3
Shakespeare Memorial Trust, 83
ships (sailing), 45–6
Sidney, Sir Philip, 19
Sinai, Mount, 31
Sinatra, Frank, 161
Skytrain program, 158–9
Smiles, Samuel, 71
Smith, Albert, 40
Smith, Anthony D., 206n.40
Smollett, Tobias, 16
Snowden, Mount, 86
Society of Proletarian Tourism, 142–3
South American Travel Association, 153
Southend-on-Sea (England), 72
Soviet Union (USSR)
and airspace, 158
communist tourism in, 140–3
individualized travel in, 173
and national airlines, 130
paid vacations in, 162
postwar tourism in, 164
and totalitarianism, 150
see also Russia
Sovturi (Sovietskii turist), 142
Spa, 67, 68
Spain, 163–4, 183, 184
spas, 66–8, 164
Springfield, Dusty, 169
Stalin, Joseph, 150
Stanley, Henry Morton, 91, 208n.3
Stanley Motor Carriage Company, 215n.16
Starr, Ringo, 169
staycation, 184
steam
cars, 215n.16
engines, 47–8
-powered vehicles, 114
power expanded tourism opportunities, 46, 92
trains, 46–7
steamboats, 54–5, 77, 103
steamships, 55–9, 102, 199n.72
Stein, Gertrude, 127
Stephen, Heinrich von, 86
Stephenson, George, 47–8, 49
Stockton and Darlington Railway, 46
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 84
Stratford-upon-Avon
Strength through Joy, see Kraft durch Freude
sublime, the
and attitudes on aesthetics, 37
Samuel Taylor Coleridge addicted to, 31
and ideas about health, 43
and Romanticism, 39
in Scotland, 64
travel as a way to pursue, 40
sublime and beautiful, the
applied to landscape, 38–9
and literary tourism, 84–5
and preservation, 80–1
in the twenty-first century, 103
and United States tourism
development, 103
suburbanization, 167–8
Sustainable Tourism (journal), 178
Symington, William, 54
Syria, 100
Taylor, A. J. P., 181
Taylor, Bayard, 78–9
Telford, Thomas, 44
temperance, 60, 62–3, 64–5
terrorist attacks, 182–3
Thomas Becket, Saint, 8
Thomas Cook & Son, 54, 66, 92,
100–2
see also Cook, John Mason; Cook,
Thomas
Thornton, John, 27
Tinturn Abbey, 81–2
Tommy (musical), 173
totalitarianism, 150–1
Tour de France, 113
Touring Club of Denmark, 123
tourism
defined, 9, 188n.40
and the environment, 176–8
historical study of, 180–1
and individualism, 89–90
modern
and historical debates about
modernity, 10–12
origins of, 7, 9–10, 12, 18–19
precursors to, 5–6, 8–9
pre-modern, argument for
existence of, 6–7
recent statistics on, 180–1
worth of as service sector
industry, 1–2
Tourism and Labor, 171
trails, 125
trains, 46–54
anxieties towards early, 47
horse-drawn, 46
and package trips, 60
responses to changes brought
by, 53
speed of, increased, 52
and standardization of time, 54
steam, early demand for, 47–8
tavel conditions on, 51–2
see also railways; train stations
train stations, 52–3
Transcontinental Air Transport
(TAT), 131–2
Travel Association (TA), 145
traveller’s cheques, 212n.66
tavel writing, 123, 204n.14,
210n.35
Trevithick, Richard, 46, 114
Turner, Louis, 160
Turnpike Act, 44
Turpin, Dick, 44
United Nations, 155
United States
and aircraft, 130–1
and airspace, 157–8
camping in, 125–6
democratization of tourism in,
106
Ebola panic in, 183
family vacations decline in,
172–3
and historical study of empire
and tourism, 96
literary tourism in, 84
and the Marshall Plan, 152, 153
and Mexican tourism development, 146
national identity and tourism in, 103
nationalism and motoring in, 120
paid vacations not mandated in, 160
parks in, 106–9
postwar economic prosperity in, 159
postwar tourism in, 150
railways in, 50, 52
roads in, 120–2
staycations in, 184
steamship services in, 55
suburbanization in, 168
and terrorism, 182–3
tourism in, during World War II, 135
tourism industry jobs in, 180–1
transcontinental automobile races in, 116–18
vacations forfeited in, 184
urbanization, 42
Ussher, James (archbishop of Armagh), 33

vacations
family, 167–71, 172–3
forfeited, 184
paid, 143–4, 160, 164, 224n.51
Van Goyen, Jan, 41
VARIG (airline), 157
Venice, 21
Ventoux, Mont, 31–2
Victoria (queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland), 52, 64
Vienna, 21
Vikings, 4
Volkswagen Beetle (automobile), 138
Voltaire, 82
voluntourism, 176
Voyage of the Beagle, The (Darwin), 35

Wagner, Webster, 52
Walton, John K., 70, 72
“Wanderer Above the Sea Fog, The” (Friedrich), 40
Watt, James, 54
Watts, Steven, 166
Webb, Capt. Matthew, 73
Weideger, Paula, 205n.33
White, William Pierpont, 120
Who, The (rock band), 173
Wilderness Society, 122
Wilson, Woodrow, 120
Wollstonecraft, Mary, 16, 27, 192n.64
Wolseley (automobile manufacturer), 119
women
airplane travel popularized by, 130–1
and automobiles, 118
and bicycles, 114
Thomas Cook encouraged travel by, 65–6
on Grand Tour, 27
guidebooks impacted travel of, 78
and motor touring, 125
in postwar United States, 168
Woolf, Virginia, 129
Wordsworth, Dorothy, 30, 64
Wordsworth, William, 30, 39, 64, 81, 84
World Commission on Environment and Development, 178
World Congress for Leisure Time and Recreation, 144
world's fairs, 92–5, 182
see also Chicago World's Fair (1893); Great Exhibition of 1851; Paris Exposition Universelle (1889); Paris Exposition Universelle et Internationale (1900)
World Tourism Organization (WTO), 1, 155, 181

World War I, 127–8, 134–5
World War II, 135, 149
Wright, Orville, 126–7
Wright, Wilbur, 126–7
youth culture, 173, 174–5
youth hostels, 145, 171–2
Zeppelin, 132–3