

# Counting The Cats In Zanzibar: American Travel Abroad in American Travel Writing to 1914

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In 1914 Josiah Royce began his address to a scientific gathering by comparing philosophy to "a sort of Cook's bureau." "Its servants," Royce continued, "are taught to speak various languages — all of them ill — and to know little of the inner life of the numerous foreign lands to which they guide their feet, or check the luggage of their fellow men." Yet these agents have their use, Royce concluded, "if new comparative studies of ideas of various and widely sundered provinces of research are to be carried out at all," and he bid his listeners to regard him, "if you wish to vary the name, as representing some bureau of university travel."<sup>1</sup>

There are a number of things interesting about Royce's use of this trope — including the fact that he is not entirely happy with it and especially including the fact that his comparison of philosophy to a Cook's tour bureau was available for use at all. In the United States by 1914 tourism was indeed a sort of philosophy. It had its institutions (Cook's tours, for example, were in place well before the turn of the century and in 1874 the company introduced traveler's checks) and its texts (most famously Baedeker's, again translated into English well before the turn of the century and by 1914 only prevented by the World War from textualizing China and Japan along with Europe and the

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Near East). Travel abroad had been elided into tourism, and touristic discourse, founded upon travel abroad, had been subsumed into a number of other discourses, of which philosophy was one. (Though Royce does not explicitly mark it so, his crucial notion of "fecundity of aggregation" and its statistical potentiality in terms of subjecting to law "some average constitution, belonging to an aggregate of things and events" may well have been dependent upon the sheer phenomena of tourism.) Another was the discourse about travel within America, which, especially by 1914, when Americans were cut off from Europe, proceeded to generate itself by appropriating the sites, the valuation of them, and the whole articulation of them from travel abroad. The See America First movement began around 1906; "In natural scenery," according to one magazine, "'Seeing America First' means seeing many things which can nowhere else be found. Mount Rainier is finer than Mount Blanc; the Yosemite far surpasses the Engadine; Niagara has no rival this side of the Zambesi." One reason Royce may not have been happy with his trope was that he was, in a sense, advertising — still another discourse established in America by 1914, and another based in part upon tourism.<sup>7</sup>

Royce intended, as we say, to "represent" himself, ostensibly as a philosopher among scientists, more covertly as a man "selling" something, something foreign and therefore conceivably alien, though also something fully rationalized, useful, and progressive. Not so much a traveler as a mediator for travel, he provides, by virtue of his very self-conscious trope, an exemplary example of how thoroughly in America by 1914 travel abroad had become domesticized as well as philosophied. What I propose to do in this paper is to trace the development of American travel in American travel writing from its origins until 1914, and what I wish to emphasize at the outset is that this development is not traceable solely in terms of the writing sponsored by that subject. Travel writing of any kind is traversable by many other kinds of writing; this is one of the things I wish to show, along with the more peculiarly American problematics of identity, history, and discursive practices which should make the development of American travel writing so difficult to define or locate. More centrally, what I want to

ask is this: whom does the traveler represent? One of the distinctive facts about American travelers is that they always represented something beyond themselves, most obviously "Americans," while they became entangled with the professionalization of traveling, that is, tourism, which rendered who or what they represented less decisive than the entire system of representation itself. "Cook's" is the name Royce gives to this system, and I believe we may assume that he realized he was as much constituted by it as it was constituted by him in using it as a trope for philosophy. But few American travelers of any sort have not written without some similar sort of realization; American travel writing begins defensively concerning the very fact of having left the country, as if in so leaving it may have conspired with something irremediably foreign, no matter how necessary, pleasurable, and significant.

Ultimately, I will be concerned with two questions. First, the political economy of leaving the country, and second, the textual production of "abroad." Leaving the country had to be **produced** as a cultural fact. Writing books about the experience was the most overt way to accomplish this, although well before the end of the nineteenth century the internal logic of travel writing had become saturated by a whole host of historical facts that this logic was not designed to account for. The diplomatic historian, Milton Plesur, notes, for example, that "the increased travel of Americans in the Gilded Age was a natural accompaniment to our growing overseas interests, manifested in economic and naval expansion, the spread of foreign missions, and our deepening diplomatic involvements."<sup>4</sup> Put this way of course there is nothing so surprising: Americans traveled, American businessmen sought new markets — each proceeded no more and no less as a consequence of the other and both were certified equally by the protection of Congress, who gave them legal status on July 27, 1868.

My own discussion, however, will try to put this fact in an array of perspectives on the relationship between home and abroad. Texts of travel within the United States were of course different from those produced abroad — one difference being that travelers abroad did not enjoy governmental sponsorship as did fur trappers, army officers, soldier-engineers, artists, ethnologists, and

geologists.<sup>5</sup> Leaving the country and writing about leaving the country nonetheless never ceased to participate in the business of staying home, especially when leaving the country became a business because of the disciplinary formation of mass tourism. A long consideration of this formation will conclude my study. Before I provide this consideration I will try to produce an account of the economy of use (including the categorization of travel writing) that led up to it, the psychology of motive inscribed into touristic discipline, and the dynamic of national character which continued to function even as Americans ceased to be troubled by their status as representative figures.

## I

Very little has been written about American texts of travel abroad during the nineteenth century. What studies there have been stress three things about these texts: they increased dramatically after the Civil War, there were an enormous amount of them by the century's end, and they constitute a species of literary production very difficult either to differentiate or classify. Regarding these last two points especially, Ahmed Metwalli notes that "almost every individual who left home — even for a hike in the mountains — committed his impressions and experiences to paper and inflicted them on the reading public," with the result that "these books were engulfed in oblivion — the oblivion which is almost always the destiny of whatever is written for the level of popular rather than intellectual interest — by the indiscriminate and uncritical taste of the contemporary reading public which made an instant success of almost every travel book."<sup>6</sup>

Let me revert to the first of these points (and set aside for the moment assumptions about aesthetic categories or how categories get to be aesthetic). Many have noted that, with the exception of Thoreau, Whitman, and Dickinson, all of the major nineteenth century writers traveled abroad and most produced books about their experience.<sup>7</sup> Of these books, Twain's **The Innocents Abroad** is probably the most canonical or at least the most famous, although since Morton Dauwen Zabel's edition of James's travel

writings, **The Art of Travel**, James has come to be increasingly valued for his travel writing and one book has been devoted to an even more prolific travel writer, Howells, who wrote over a dozen travel books in his career and nearly a hundred articles.<sup>8</sup> One way to study the agenda of American travel writing would be to valorize the major writers (some of them, such as Emerson or Hawthorne, canonical on the basis of quite other texts), in the nineteenth century beginning with Irving, possibly including such a noncanonical figure as Bayard Taylor (who made a whole career of travel writing and was arguably the most financially successful as well as the most prolific), and concluding with Henry Adams.<sup>9</sup> But such an exclusive focus would, I think, falsify the study from the start. There is no canon in nineteenth century American travel writing — which is precisely why it could be so numerous, so significant, so vital, and (perhaps inevitably) so crude. Many titles were issued as simply authored by "an American". The genre (if so various a production was either felt to be or could be subject now to generic constraints — a point to which I will shortly return) addressed such a wide audience because it was authored by such a wide range of people; possibly no kind of writing ever published in America sprung from such a broad democratic base — Robert Spiller's early study, **The American in England**, gives seven categories of authorship (students, artists, envoys, businessmen, clergymen and philanthropists, women, and "journalist adventurers") and it is hard to imagine another species of writing that would authorize such an effusion as **Notes of Travel and Life**, "by two young ladies, Misses Mendell & Hosmer" (1854, "published for the Authors"), who start their journey in Ellisburgh, New York, get as far as Virginia, and conclude in Boston.<sup>10</sup> The books of even the most major authors (especially — today — Twain and James) originated as newspaper or magazine articles. (The many articles which were not incorporated into books could easily merit a study in themselves, and it would not consist only in pieces published in major journals such as **Harper's** or **The North American Review**; Spiller, for example, notes that letters or series of letters began to appear very early in the American writing about England in such periodicals as the **Rural Magazine** and **Christian Spectator**.)<sup>11</sup> Such an entirely representative text as Harriet Beecher Stowe's **Sunny Memories of Foreign**

**Lands** (1854) offers itself as nothing more than a series of family letters home, and therefore speaks to, as well as fosters, a sort of fireside intimacy that much travel writing of the century is founded upon. A Melville disdained such intimacy, and so, among other reasons, as Metwalli remarks, "the sale of Melville's books declined as he moved away from the domain of popular travel literature which he had considered at the outset of his career to be his literary field."<sup>12</sup> This "domain" was firmly established before the Civil War. The addition to it after the War merely swelled its power and did not fundamentally alter its character.

This is not to say that there are not distinctions which can be made, especially in the later decades. We might instance James, writing in 1878, from the beginning of his treatment of Florence. At his room one evening during "that brilliant October", James considers the prospect of the Arno below: "All this brightness and yellowness was a perpetual delight; it was a part of that indefinably charming colour which Florence always seems to wear as you look up and down at it from the river, and from the bridges and quays. This is a kind of grave radiance — a harmony of high tints — which I scarce know how to describe. There are yellow walls and green blinds and red roofs. There are intervals of brilliant brown and natural-looking blue; but the picture is not spotty or gaudy, thanks to the distribution of the colours in large and comfortable masses, and to the washing-over of the scene by some happy softness of sunshine. The river-front of Florence is in short a delightful composition."<sup>13</sup> If we compare the treatment of Florence in *Italian Sights and Papal Principles* (1856) by James Jackson Jarves, there is simply nothing like this passage in any of the three chapters on Florence. Jarves sets out Florence, first, architecturally (e.g. the Pitti Palace), then historically (e.g. Savonarola), artistically (mostly the painting), and finally socially (essentially the fashions of the women).<sup>14</sup> Nothing is described, much less with James's coloristic play or compositional sweep. To say that Jarves is writing a guidebook (or what eventually became a guidebook) and therefore ignores the personalized, descriptive placement James is writing is only to ignore the anecdotal portions of *Italian Sights and Papal Principles* or the diatribes against Romanish corruption which

comprise even greater portions. From the perspective of our own conventions about travel writing, Jarves's is a very difficult book to classify; it is not even wholly devoid of the sort of direct, visual encounter with place that more clearly characterizes James's presentation of Florence — and another volume almost exactly contemporary with Jarves, George Stillman Hillard's *Six Months in Italy* (1853), has even more description. (Willard Thorpe claims that this was "the most widely quoted of all the travel books.")<sup>15</sup> Beginning the first of two chapters on Florence, Hillard gives the panorama from Fiesole: "The eye encounters no unsightly blots in the landscape, nor is it wearied by any dreary monotony of forms.... The whole region smiles and glitters with villages and country-houses, which crown the summits and nestle in the valleys, marking all the prominent features of the landscape with lines and points of light, and breathing into its inanimate forms the charm of a living expression."<sup>16</sup> But of course Hillard's seeing is so clichéd here, so soothingly generalized and sentimentalized, that it hardly seems like seeing at all. There are distinctions to be made among these three texts (Hillard's both organized and detailed much more like a guidebook than Jarves's), yet, it seems to me, no governing distinction one might want to claim without privileging the category of the aesthetic.

Within the context of American travel writing to 1914 James was not given this unique privilege. Even by 1907, when texts existed with the clear practical application of guidebooks, M.D. Frazar, for example, gives James's *Transatlantic Sketches* among the "useful" volumes for a General Tour.<sup>17</sup> Frazar's own text, to be sure, is barren of aesthetic pretensions; he has something to say about the quality of European drinking water on the first page and much more to say in subsequent pages about railroad timetables and hotel rates. Though many other travel books from the previous century are given under country-by-country headings in a guide book section, neither Hillard nor Jarves is mentioned. The efficient, mundane, routinized principles of mass tourism already appear to be exclusively operative in Frazar, and operative in ways utterly dissimilar to the travel writing of the previous century — until we remember that James has found Florence so rarely "brilliant" because in part "one's detested fellow-pilgrim

was infrequent" or that Jarves follows his last chapter on Florence with one which mocks the modern sightseer, "accumulating the requisite data of guidebooks and seeing nothing."<sup>18</sup>

I think it more accurate to conclude that the audience for Frazar already existed in James and Jarves, which is why the sheer appetite for travel writing continued unabated for most of the nineteenth century until it could be satisfied off the page, by cheaper Cook's tours, expanded tourist companies, and new, faster steamers across the Atlantic.<sup>19</sup> Touristic experiences were already available, and touristic discourse had already begun, even if not as rationalized, regulated, implemented, and totalized as it was on the eve of the First World War. Indeed, both James and Jarves represent this discourse at the very moment they try to distinguish themselves from its vulgar appeal; the inescapable humor of being part of the ignorant, guidebooked mob simply became part of the discourse, which is one reason why Bret Harte hailed Twain's lampooning of the "Quaker City's" passengers in *The Innocents Abroad* as marking the end of "sentimental journeyings" and consigning "the dear old book of travel" to "a thing of the past."<sup>20</sup> Why travel abroad? There were any number of reasons, all impacted in the same shrines at which pilgrims worshipped long after the vocabulary of pilgrimage had fallen away. These reasons have an historical development. More significant than any one of them or perhaps than their evolution is the steady, inchoate, jostling, anxious, unregenerate energy of the great, largely ephemeral body of nineteenth-century travel writing. It was indiscriminately produced for largely the same reason it was indiscriminately consumed: it did not know itself, and it was divided against itself to the extent that it did.

## II

"Did I not solemnly vow, when I went to Europe, not to write a book about it?" asks Marie Pitman somewhat disingenuously in the preface to her *European Breezes* (1882). It is almost as if the desire to go abroad is inextricable from the desire to write a book about it, for Pitman must at least mark the fact of her own travel against the background of so many books so seemingly inex-



tricable from so many other travels by fellow Americans. Why then did she write? Her answer is again too disarmingly sincere: "But this has grown out of some news-paper articles and letters to friends." What it discloses is that **European Breezes** emerges out of the same piecemeal origins of so much American travel writing which has preceded it, and that, like so much of it also, her book does not disown the function of an intimate communication. "If the reader finds in it," Pitman concludes, "no pretense to any thing more than the record of the most trifling of traveling experiences in strange countries, and a desire to give some helpful, practical suggestions to others going abroad, I shall not be sorry."<sup>21</sup> The problematic of American travel writing is tellingly inscribed in these last words: it is the problematic of "pretense" in the service of "use". Americans travelers from the very outset have never been very certain how to represent either themselves or their travels. The writing might have some use, although a characteristically hopeful note concedes it might not. Furthermore, the writing already possesses some pretense in order to be writing, yet the human authority behind the facade of language appears reluctant to give itself entirely over to the language.

It would be tempting to make such uncertainties merely a function of genre. To some extent this is so, and I want to proceed to what I nevertheless believe to be a less strictly ~~formal~~ and more decisive question of motivation through the determinants of form. Formalistically, travel writing has only the most general coordinates, and Paul Fussell puts these very incisively

A travel book, at its purest, is addressed to those who do not plan to follow the traveler at all, but who require the exotic or comic anomalies, wonders, and scandals of the literary form **romance** which their own time and place cannot entirely supply. Travel books are a sub-species of memoir in which the autobiographical narrative arises from the speaker's encounter with distant or unfamiliar data, and in which the narrative — unlike that in a novel or romance — claims literal validity by constant reference to actuality.<sup>22</sup>

Granted the slippage in this definitional scheme (whereby travel books somehow provide the freer pleasures of romance from within the representational imperatives of memoir), American travel

writing fits it fairly well. I've already mentioned how difficult it is to classify Jarves's *Italian Sights and Papal Principles*, for example. It is no easier to classify his *Parisian Sights and French Principles* (2 volumes: I, 1852, II, 1855), which reads today like anthropology until we try to imagine that at the time chapters of French prisons or the National Assembly may have evoked for provincial readers a kind of fabulous sense of The Foreign that could seem romantic precisely because it was presented so literally. Another typical volume, J. W. DeForest's *European Acquaintance, Being Sketches of People in Europe* (1858), has a more overt structure as a memoir (with a random accumulation of chapters, some mildly comic, on such things as mesmerism, divorce conventions, and "certain Florentine loungers") — and so it goes in the overwhelming bulk of the nineteenth century writing produced under the auspices of foreign travel. Formulas took shape.<sup>23</sup> If the "autobiographical" element was given at the outset and situated at home before the boat sailed, there can be seen the clear outline of a traditional journey narrative: escape, pilgrimage, homecoming, retreat.<sup>24</sup> If not, then the results could be anything from *Essays Descriptive and Moral on Scenes in Italy, Switzerland, and France*, by "an American" (1823) — a jeremiad by a Protestant clergyman occasioned by "the moral and religious condition of the most interesting of the continental districts through which he passed" — to *Ave Roma Immortalis*, by Marion Crawford (1898) — a highly detailed, densely conceived historical and cultural study of the Eternal City.<sup>25</sup> "An American's" text lacks any but the most minimal empiricism; Crawford's text is overwrought with it. To call both of these texts travel books would be to give up the term to little more than whim or convenience. Neither suggests any generic expectation with respect to the other, and both appear to be subsumed in a textual practice that defies secure definition — unless it is the defiance which functions in lieu of the definition; I have already suggested that it was the immediacy, popularity, and ephemerality of these texts which gave them their purchase, and that it did not matter to the American reading public eager to consume them whether any specific text contained portraiture, political or social science, moral essays, disquisitions of national character, art criticism, or descriptive whimsies.

Indeed, in some fundamental respects American travel writing for most of the nineteenth century was not textual at all. Not only did so much of it have a casual, epistolary origin.<sup>26</sup> The fact that it made fulsome use well past the Civil War of the novelistic convention of direct address to the reader emblemizes the intimacy of authors to their audiences, an intimacy which was sustained by Lyceums and the popular lectures which arose out of the Lyceum system and which became a source of considerable income for such writers as Emerson or Taylor when they appeared before a newly empowered, literate public that both encouraged and was encouraged by vignettes, anecdotes, and stray fancies.<sup>27</sup> In his study of the modernity of tourism, Dean MacCannell writes at one point, "The alienation of modern man, the work of making him feel that he does not belong, is accompanied by the double movement of the individual into new and foreign situations, and by moving attractions out of their original cultural contexts."<sup>28</sup> The whole thrust of nineteenth century travel production (which includes oral presentations) moved forward with this same double movement yet without the alienation. The writing was popular because it traded on energies which would not sustain pretense and instead demanded the pleasures of immediate use, even if it was no more than a temporary exoticism. I need to give a fuller account of this use — why it needed to be so immediate and was taken to be so immediate —, in the next section of this paper. Here I would only stress that the utility of travel writing acted to forestall the question of motive on the part of either writer or reader.

The Foreign was *there*, like a vast Space. (Many have noted how space rather than time is the scene of writing for the travel text, and many more have discussed how what might be termed the romance of Space has been perhaps the constituent element in American literature).<sup>29</sup> It sufficed to hear of it, or to read of it as a function of hearing of it, and with the tolerant amplitude that the orally sounded accomodates.

Yet the problem remained, which Christopher Mulvey refers to in his fine study, *Anglo-American Landscapes*, as "the chronic insecurity of the form." Mulvey gives the example of Hawthorne in *Our Old Home*: "While writing these reminiscences, I am continually impressed with the futility of the effort to give any creative

truth to my sketch."<sup>30</sup> (Hawthorne comes up with the solution that his writing best serves as a mnemonic device for those already acquainted with the scenes he treats.) This is, I believe, a restatement of the same question of pretense that Pitman faces less bluntly in her preface, and it marks once again the inscription of how from one point of view American travel writing in much of the nineteenth century simply took care of itself by just continuing to be produced while from another point of view it could not just continue naively once it indicated the matter of its own grounding. Since it proved possible to write about virtually anything within the confines of a travel book, the result could just as easily be disabling as enabling; the referential grounding in some identifiable or known location could serve — as it indeed did — as but a pretext for essays, for opinions, for speculations, for ultimately nothing more than **writing**. Furthermore, although such insecurity may indeed be chronic to the form, the reasons why American travel writers were so troubled were not formal only. Whether their texts marked the fact or not, Americans from the very inception of their writing about foreign countries have labored under the consciousness that either their words were already written or that the representations of their texts had been already represented. As Metwalli grandly concludes, American travel books "were triumphantly American, written by Americans exclusively for Americans"<sup>31</sup>. However, all these Americans were variously aware that their Americanness was in part the creation of a prior textuality. It could not be evaded, although it could be recuperated.

As early as **The Sketch Book** Irving took up one fundamental aspect of his project as a travel writer:

Shortsighted and injudicious, however, as the conduct of England may be in this system as aspersion, recrimination on our part would be equally ill-judged. I speak not of a prompt and spirited vindication of our country, nor the keenest castigation of her slanderers; but I allude to a disposition to retaliate in kind, to retort sarcasm and inspire prejudice, which seems to be spreading widely among our writers.<sup>32</sup>

This is to say, Irving begins already in a "system" which labels him as an American before he even arrives in England as a visitor

because the British have already written about his own country and (mis)represented it. Irving has perforce to account for this prior representation as a condition of producing his own about England. Already a "child" in "the land of his fathers (Mulvey notes how for the American traveler in England initially "the time-and-space journey became a mythological and psychic one in which the traveler might reconstruct his childhood of tales, books, pictures, legends, and dreams"), the American traveler is in another sense a latecomer faced with the fact that he has been, so to speak, written off.<sup>33</sup> The nineteenth century British response to America was very different, far more confident and imperturbable, than the American response to England. It was many decades before an American could so loftily conclude about England the sort of thing that Wilde, for example, concluded after he crossed the Atlantic: "In going to America one learns that poverty is not a necessary accompaniment to civilization."<sup>34</sup> "Modern travel literature starts when civilization becomes a critical as well as a self-evident notion — that is, when it is no longer so clear who is civilized and who is not."<sup>35</sup> Understood this way, the literature of American travel abroad had already begun before to be written.

The most predictable solution, especially in the inaugural decades, was for any number of Americans to insist that they were civilized. It would be tedious to quote examples; if Silliman's can be accepted as the very first American travel text, it becomes almost too significant that at one point he is moved to decry the republican rhetoric that would continue long after him: "We have exhibited so much of the **flatulency** of national vanity, and have made so many arrogant demands upon the admiration of the European world, that it is no wonder they have been disgusted. ... we have praised ourselves with so little decency, and have monopolized with so little reserve every attribute of freedom, heroism, intelligency, and virtue, that we cannot be surprised if other countries should be somewhat reluctant to concede what we so indacorously demand."<sup>36</sup> Vanity, vanity: it was, within the travel text, an attempt to evade textuality (i.e. Europe was old, America fresh and new) — but republican rhetoric only generated more rhetoric while reinstating the aspersions of the anti-republican

rhetoric which had called it forth in the first place. Irving's own judicious effacement was not only a happier solution but a more productive one because it tried to confront insecurities that had to do with textuality as well as identity.

In the most fundamental ways nineteenth century American travel writing is the product of a whole series of responses to prior or concurrent representations of itself. The problematic of "pretense" is inscribed within it because it had to account for its re-presentativeness. Americans — whose land was the source of travel literature (by Christopher Columbus, Captain John Smith, and others) before Americans existed — went first most passionately to England in order to meet their literary masters (Scott, Coleridge, Carlyle, etc.) and to visit the sites of those who had made most glorious use of their very language (Mulvey has an entire chapter on pilgrimages to Straford).<sup>37</sup> Spiller notes of the magazines which printed so many accounts from abroad that "they copied their form, their spirit, and in large part their matter from English quarterlies, monthlies, and weeklies."<sup>38</sup> The "system" Irving bemoans is not merely one of disdain for Americans, but of the whole network of models, conventions, traditions, and mythologies out of which the disdain issued and within which every American who presumed to write was already entangled. Cast as an American, a "representative figure", he or she had to confront an identity which functioned as well as a figure of representation, as those individuals who published texts by "an American" conceded more haplessly than those who did not. The American travel text had to be, exactly, American. Its representative condition was a condition of its very textuality; all responses abroad were American responses and the figurations for these responses were no less invariably those only an American could make for being those available to any other writer of another nationality.

"The speaker in any travel book," declares Fussell, "exhibits himself as physically more free than the reader, and thus every such book... is an implicit celebration of freedom."<sup>39</sup> Just so. But physical freedom is not something every travel writer chooses to represent (even if, as Fussell implies, it is the cause of any sort of representation at all) and one of the most distinctive

things about American travel writers is how they represent instead something very like cultural servitude. Certainly nineteenth century America produced some of the most slavish travel books ever written — reverential to a fault where not more dully dutiful to a church, a painting, anything certified as worthwhile from somewhere else. These same books often gestured at their own slavishness by contemptuously displacing it onto other travelers; thus, Hillard hardly gets underway before he cautions that "the artificial is everywhere prominent, and we need not the guidebook to tell us that the bare rock had been, with infinite pains and expense, cut, terraced, and smoothed, and thus changed into elaborate bloom and beauty."<sup>0</sup> However, Hillard cannot recuperate such feeble gestures in his own text — which consists precisely in the very sort of guidebook superfluities that he tries to criticize. A writer such as James, on the other hand, with his far more exquisite sense of his own representative power, can recuperate his servitude into an exhibition of freedom; his essay on Florence, for example, is as much an actively conducted struggle against Ruskin's seeing as it is an account of his own. Indeed, James's own account is inextricable from his account of Ruskin's, just as, to take another example, his account of the sheep in the Stratford fields is inseparable from his own self mockery as well as mockery of softy Irvingesque romanticism: these sheep "were by no means edible mutton; they were poetic, historic, romantic sheep; they were not there for their weight or their wool, they were there for their presence and their compositional value, and they visibly knew it."<sup>1</sup>

It took the more spectacular, hugely popular example of **The Innocents Abroad** (1869), however, to shatteringly rebuke all that was slavish in the American response to the foreign. "I offer no apologies for any departures from the usual style of travel writing that may be charged against me," Twain writes in his preface — already disclosing that it is no easy matter to present an unmediated vision of what one sees."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, his text begins by quoting the prospectus for the "Quaker City" journey put out by the travel company, ends by providing a newspaper account of the trip, and in between is filled with quotations from other travelers, venerable stories, mock ad-bills, and even an MS, of ancient

Jewish law.<sup>3</sup> **Innocents Abroad** is in fact a textual revel, which amply demonstrates that there are always inscriptions to be read, other languages to be understood, and foreign guides who provide the paradigm for Twain's own textual procedure: he re-names them. The guides are all re-named Ferguson, rather as a comic trope for the fact that Twain re-names himself as an American. This procedure is, I believe, the finest example in American travel writing of how that representative figure, the American, is furthermore a figure of representation. Twain's way of dealing with his "figure" is equally triumphant: he re-tropes himself — in part by seizing the power of re-naming those who would guide him and reducing them all to the same figure.

It will not do, especially when confronted with such a practice so wonderfully, vitally insecure as Twain's, to thematize nineteenth century American travel writing, as Metwalli does, into two basic functions: a gratification of patriotic zeal and an assertion of national identity.<sup>4</sup> Patriotic zeal elides the formal problematic which is, as I have tried to show, at the heart of this writing. The assertion of national identity is arguably more crucial (if equally obvious) but no less problematic itself for that; the "national identity" was not a stable idea for the entire century, nor even for the beginning of it, when Silliman asserts his own by quarreling with it.

Indeed, one could argue that precisely because American identity lacked stability travel writing was an especially suitable textual practice both to empower this identity and to enfeeble it. Let me try to put the matter better by again drawing from MacCannell's admirable study, **The Tourist**, written of course from a much later perspective when the whole cultural formation of tourism had succeeded in playing itself out in a much clearer ritualistic expression of itself: "Sightseeing is a kind of collective striving for a transcendence of the modern totality, a way of attempting to overcome the discontinuity of modernity, of incorporating its fragments into unified experience."<sup>5</sup> Sightseeing to nineteenth century Americans is a manifestation of striving, but not of transcendence, since the discontinuous modern totality had not yet occurred.<sup>6</sup> Instead, I believe sightseeing sustained a striving for that totality itself by making abroad continuous rather than



discontinuous with home. A very small example, from the description by Twain and Charles Dudley Warner (both world travelers) in **The Gilded Age** (1874) of the home of solidly bourgeois Squire Oliver Montague: "Every room had its book cases or book-shelves, and was more or less a library; upon every table was liable to be a litter of new books, fresh periodicals and daily newspapers. ... and there were photographs and little souvenirs here and there of foreign travel."<sup>47</sup> Can we doubt that on some of these bookshelves were travel books, which would be, like the trophies from the travel itself, signs of further consumption of abroad, possibly further appropriation, and certainly further domesticization? I don't think it would either be possible or even profitable to date the moment, but I do think there developed in nineteenth century America a time when the world across the Atlantic (for which guide books were available as early as 1805 and a regular passenger line from New York to Liverpool since 1816) became domesticated. The dialogue of American travel writers with each other and with their audiences had evolved into an epistemological experience of seeing America itself and it was a dialogue that continued within America itself. "Leaving the Elevated Railroad where it dives under the Brooklyn Bridge at Franklin Square, scarce a dozen steps will take you where we wish to go," writes Jakob Riis in **How The Other Half Lives** (1890), and the very rhythms of his prose, the patience of his voice, and the breathlessness as he exposes a new world are all those of a tour guide: "We stand upon the domain of a tenement.... Enough of them everywhere. Suppose we look into one?... Be a little careful, please!... You can feel your way... Close? Yes. What would you have?"<sup>48</sup> From the travel abroad of the previous decades of the century, one could say it is almost as if Americans had employed a larger experience of the world in order to have a more total experience of America itself. In the next section of this discussion, I want to examine the logic of this process.

### III

Writing in **At Home and Abroad** of her travel experiences in the 1840's Margaret Fuller classified her compatriots into the

following categories: the "conceited American", the "servile American", the "Booby truant," and finally the "thinking American."<sup>9</sup> Writing in *Americans in Europe* (1893) "One of Them" ridiculed certain types more randomly: the dentist, the American girl in Paris, the American on the Riviera.<sup>50</sup> One could cite other examples of such typologies. Essentially, they convey a very simple message: stay home. The American in Europe, concludes Fuller, "if a thinking mind, can only become more American."<sup>51</sup> "Let American parents keep their sons and daughters at home, and teach them Yankee gumption, and let the French and the Italian alone," begins the last paragraph of "One of Them," who concludes: "Let the dead Nations of Europe bury their dead; but go thou, America, and preach the New Gospel of the Kingdom of God to a New World!"<sup>52</sup>

Why stay home? Again very simply: Americans don't represent their country well abroad; the "ugly American" syndrome is virtually coterminous with the American travel text's very origins. Why Americans should have been so conceived and should have so conceived themselves is a problematic I have tried to explore in my previous section; "the American" was always already constituted as a Representative Figure and was therefore forced to re-constitute himself or herself as a figure of representation — or else try to displace the figuration onto other representative figures. These figures come to be, generically, tourists, and yet, for Americans, they never quite cease to be Americans; abroad, Americans never fail to mark other Americans because these Americans mark the American in themselves.

There is a powerful moment in James (whose travel writings are filled with contempt for tourists generally and Americans specifically) when, at the beginning of his essay on "Capri and the Bay of Naples," he sees some American and German tourists enter the Blue Grotto and imagines "how delightful it might be if none of them should come out again."

The charm, the fascination of the idea is not a little — though also not wholly — in the fact that, as the wave rises over the apertures, there is the most encouraging appearance that they perfectly may not. There it is. There is no more of them. It is a case to which nature has, by the neatest stroke

and with the best taste in the word, just quietly attended.<sup>53</sup>

The power lies in how sweetly a murderous fantasy is turned into a perceptual account, which is then figured as an aesthetic fact: nature's taste. The taste of course is James's and it is both ravenous and ravenously offended. Here, he is "the recalcitrant observer." Elsewhere, he is "the sensitive stranger," or "the fond spectator," or any number of other characterizations, including "an American observer." His Americanness, in part, resides in the mobility of his figurations (Twain's identity, by contrast, is to keep insisting upon one, and get the mobility from the insistence), but James is no less an American figure for all that. He is embarrassed by the spectacle of people who should have stayed home, might be better off being reclaimed by nature, and may as well be dead.

Henry Adams writes that he had no idea what he was doing in Rome, feared he was just a tourist, knew he couldn't pose as a Gibbon, and felt that "sooner or later, he must make up his mind what answer to accept. Substitute the word America for the word Rome, and the question became personal"<sup>54</sup> Abroad, the question for the American is always a personal one and the substitution of home for anywhere else is already inscribed in the very experience of traveling. Many texts defer this substitution until the end. The point is almost too simple: if one goes abroad, one does the better to get back home. From a myriad of examples, let me choose one at the end of Thomas Bailey Aldrich's *From Ponkapog to Pesth* (1883). "No one," Aldrich emphasizes, "has named the ingredient... which gives the chief charm this getting back":

It lies in the refreshing, short-lived pleasure of being able to look at your own land with the eyes of an alien; to see novelty blossoming on the most commonplace and familiar stems; ... The truth is, for the first time in your existence, you have a full, unprejudiced look at the shell of the civilization from which you have emerged when you went abroad. Is it a pretty shell?... Not entirely. It has strange blotches on it. But it is a shell worth examining; it is the best you can ever have; and it is expedient to study it very carefully the two or three weeks immediately following your return

to it, for your privilege of doing so is of the briefest tenure.... You will have to go abroad again to renew those magical spectacles which enabled you for a few weeks to see your native land.<sup>55</sup>

Much of the sheer poignancy of returning home is articulated here, especially the loss of the thrill of having been away and the fear of that loss; Aldrich's trope is of birth, and it is no easy thing once born to return to the womb. Nevertheless, as James might have put it, "there it is," and indeed his figuration of the Blue Grotto quoted immediately above is the same. The American disappears once more back into the sign of the natural. Nothing is more natural — even when it is sad and commonplace — to be an American once more, back home. The more characteristic note (once again with the same figure) is expansive and celebratory, as in Pitman: "I went out into the world, and wooed it and won it, so that now it comes to me... within these walls of mine, the Applan Way stretches its long length out... Happy he who lives in the reality of the grand New World, and in the memory of the grand Old World."<sup>56</sup>

Implicit in Pitman is something of how the experience of having been abroad may be appropriated in order to intensify the experience of living at home. One need not ignore a certain amount of wistful equivocation about the fact; indeed, I have already suggested that the best American travel writing is forged out of such a tension. (Irving would be as telling an example as James or Twain. In *Salmagundi* he satirized Englishmen for writing about America, mocked Americans who took their own country too seriously in the *Knickerbocker History* and, it could be argued, wrote more wittily, more sharply about others writing about America than he ever did as another representation of himself as an American writing about England or Spain.) What I want to demonstrate here is how distinctive and systematic the appropriation of abroad has been by Americans. Thomas Cole's pieties over the American landscape after his trip to Europe have been often quoted: "The painter of American scenery has, indeed, privileges superior to any other. All nature here is new to art. No Tivolis, Ternis, Mount Blancs, Plinlimmons, hackneyed and worn by daily

pencils of hundreds; but primeval forests, virgins lakes, and waterfalls... hallowed to his soul by their freshness from the creation..."<sup>57</sup> Less well-known, perhaps, is Charles Fenno Hoffman's pean to his land during his tour of the West in 1833:

What are the temples which Roman robbers have reared — what are the towers in which feudal oppression has fortified itself — what are the blood-stained associations of the one, or the despotic superstitions of the other, to the deep forests which the eye of God has alone pervaded, and where Nature, in her unviolated sanctuary, has for ages laid her fruit and flowers on his altar! What is the echo of roofs that a few centuries hung with barbaric revels, or of aisles that pealed the anthems of painted pomp, to the silence that has reigned in these dim groves since the first fiat of Creation was spoken?<sup>58</sup>

Both Cole and Hoffman are of course making the same claim; Cole's more specific and detailed comparison enables us better to see how they are saying the same thing in the same way: a refusal of other worlds is essential for our possession of our own. The only difference is that Hoffman (presumably) did not actually have to travel abroad in order to see the difference. Cole did, and beheld the same primal Nature when he returned home — as if, I would claim, he need never have left.

Over and over again, in the nineteenth century writing of exploration and travel within the United States other countries or other worlds appear in the collective guise of a great Difference in terms of which an America identity can proclaim itself. (This happens far less regularly in the texts from abroad which I have been discussing; of these texts, *The Innocents Abroad* is the best, and again the most spectacular, example.) Let me give a final example from *Lotus Eating; A Summer Book* (1854), by George Curtus: "If Niagra were in France, I am confident a Frenchman would make suicide picnics to the Cataract. Unhappy lovers would take express trains... The French, of course, would add the melo-dramatic character of such an ending to its intrinsic charms, and even John Bull might forgo the satisfaction of a leap from the Duke of York's column for a Niagarian annihila-

tion."<sup>59</sup> By means of such analogies, America got **produced** — as a touristic fact (New Orleans as Paris, etc.) but first as a perceptual fact. It is not merely that the History of Europe was necessary in order to generate the Nature of America; it is more that travel abroad and more significantly travel literature continually and consistently enabled Americans to draw upon their Difference like a kind of fund, upon which they could write their own signature each time. Ultimately it mattered less that abroad was coded in terms of an opposition between old and new, or between past and present, than that the very category of "Abroad" existed. Travel writing confirmed that it did. This was enough either to transform it back into a conditional term for American experience, one version of this term being to reject it utterly. In the travel text itself, the moment of the return home only marks this rejection more resignedly. This travel to Difference only to travel back away from it is in fact the original logic in American travel writing. Robert Spiller quotes an anonymous traveler in 1835: "An American needs to be abroad, and to sojourn in old, decaying countries, before he can truly appreciate the rising grandeur and political dignity of his own."<sup>60</sup>

By 1914, abroad had been turned into American experience so thoroughly that it could be turned, so to speak, inside out. A contributor to the **North American Review**, for example, wrote in 1907: "Here then is Europe, at the beginning of the twentieth century, full of life and vitality, seething with change. No! Europe is not decadent, with so much young blood coursing in her veins. She is transferring herself afresh, and her future history will be as full of thrilling pages as her past"<sup>61</sup>. These pages, however, will be written, or re-written, by American authors, who for the present could no longer write them as they had in the past. In certain more literal ways this new European present was already equivalent with the American present. Edith Wharton's **A Motor-Flight Through France** (1908) contains the following salute to the automobile:

Freeing us from the compulsions and contacts of the railway, the bondage to fixed hours and the beaten track, the approach to each town through the area of desolation and ugliness created by the railway

itself, it has given us back the wonder, the adventure and the novelty which enlivened the way of our posting grandparents.<sup>6,2</sup>

In his quite definitive study of the early years of automotive touring in the United States, *Americans on the Road*, Warren James Belasco gives many examples of these same sort of excited flushes over the free, fresh, happy vistas available to the automobile, the initial ones, just as Wharton's, rooted in the experience of the railroad.<sup>6,3</sup> "Though nothing in European travel emerged to compare with the subsequent American phenomenon of autocamping, by 1914 the touristic possibilities of the American continent were not only more practical, cheaper, and comparably exotic to those of abroad; they were indisputably and agreeably American — and so an America far less in need of Difference than a hundred years previous could afford to extend its identity abroad, along with its technology. But not its travel writers. It had been a time for guide books since the turn of the century.

Finally, Americans had never really wanted to travel abroad. In an earlier paper on this specific point, I have argued that there has been an exceptionally radical skepticism about travel in American writing. Americans have never quite felt that travel is broadening or enlightening, and instead their radical skepticism is everywhere expressed in terms of lost nostalgia, spirited debunking, and sentiments for the familiar. Outright hostility for travel is everywhere in Emerson (whose imperative is the creation of one's own world of inner or spiritual exploration and "traversing"), but my central presence is Thoreau, from whom I quote the following typical passage on the subject in *Walden*:

It is not worth the while to go round the world to count the cats in Zanzibar. Yet do this even till you can do better, and you may perhaps find some 'Symmes Hole' by which to get at the inside at last ... If you would learn to speak all the tongues and conform to the customs of all nations, if you would travel farther than all travelers, be naturalized in all climes, and cause the Sphinx to dash her head against a stone, even obey the precept of the old philosopher, and Explore thyself. Herein are demanded the eye and the nerve. Only the defeated and deserted go to the wars, cowards that run away and enlist. Start now on the farthest western way,

which does not pause at the Mississippi or the Pacific, nor conduct toward a worn-out China or Japan, but leads on direct, a tangent to this sphere, summer and winter, day and night, sun down, moon down, and at last earth down too.<sup>4</sup>

Many of the motifs of other writers I have quoted in this section are triumphantly dramatized in Thoreau. Travel across the surface of the earth is futile. The whole direction of life is down, inside. Home is where victory is earned, home is where you die. Travel abroad is but a form of escape from home — and, in turn, an ignorance of the harsher knowledge that you never ought to leave.

What I want to do finally (in this section) is set another passage beside this one. It is from Hamilton Wright Mabie, a "genteel literary critic of the 1890's," according to John Higham, who gives the passage in the context of the pragmatic, open-air vitalism of the '90's, ranged (as usual) against European antiquity, here among us in a phase of exacerbated self-consciousness.

... nothing breeds doubt and despair so quickly as a constant and feverish self-consciousness, with inability to look at life and the world apart from our own interests, emotions, and temperament. This is, in an exceptional degree, an epoch of morbid egotism... and egotism which ... confirms the tendency to measure everything by its value to us, and to decide every question on the basis of our personal relation to it. ... From this heated atmosphere and from these representations of disease, put forth as reproductions of normal life, we fly to Nature, and are led away from all thoughts of ourselves. We escape out of individual into universal life; we bathe in the healing waters of an illimitable ocean of vitality.... To drain into ourselves the rivulets of power which flow through Nature, art, and experience, we must hold ourselves open to all sides; we must empty ourselves of ourselves in order to make room for the truth and power which come to us through knowledge and action; we must lose our abnormal self-consciousness in rich and free relations with the universal life around us.<sup>5</sup>

It would seem difficult to imagine something more in contrast to Thoreau. Mabie's whole injunction is expansive: he wants to turn the self **out**, whereas Thoreau wants to reign it in. The interests, emotions, and temperament Mabie finds so debilitating



Thoreau would claim are all we have; to Thoreau, our only relation to the world is a personal relation, or else we have none at all. The contrast only reveals the more acute fact that speaks from within the very "disease" he decries; his selfhood is already alienated from Nature, conceived, unlike Thoreau's, as something outside him, rather than within. For Thoreau, to hold oneself "open on all sides" would be both impossible and compensatory if it were possible; we already have all the life around us, locally, that we need — which is why the death Thoreau envisions living into is the death that Mabie cannot even imagine except as an explosion of life away from.

There is, however, one profound similarity of concern each writer shares: those "rich and free relations with the universal life around us." Thoreau represents them through the imagery of travel; Mabie doesn't represent them at all. For Mabie, this means, I think, that these relations already are images of travel.<sup>56</sup> He writes at the end of an enormous, century-long textualization of travel imagery, which he inscribes in words such as "rich", "free", "relations", and "universal" just as much as economic marks are inscribed. Insofar as travel is concerned, it will be the mutual dependent convergence of these two inscriptions, relaying each to the other, which will provide the determining formation for American travel until the War. The fact that Thoreau's language lacks this economic inscription ("count" is defined by an arithmetic calculus rather than an economic one) is one reason why he can speak to travel, as well as about it; his agenda is no less public than Mabie, but is rooted in a personal economy where travel has no function except to be negated. Mabie, on the other hand, has no language with which to root a personal economy and so he can only externalize "relations" by making them diffuse, potentially limitless, and, I would urge, touristic. Mabie may actually desire the "universal" no more than Thoreau. But he has turned his desire outward — "open to all sides" — because he has nowhere else to go, no inside, or perhaps rather, no means to get back inside. So he has to travel — Whitmanesquely, ideally, limitlessly — as thousands of his fellows did up to the War, but as few of them did up until the decade before the preceding century. It was to a degree decisive that where the American Figure could most likely

go had already been largely interiorized by being textualized as America, ever-recuperable, or, as in Mabie, ever-reappropriatable as Nature. It was to an even greater degree decisive if an American Figure could go in order to escape self-consciousness, which would therefore necessarily include the self-consciousness about going for this reason. This self-consciousness was everywhere effaced by guidebooks as it had been everywhere marked in travel books. I will try to discuss what the guidebooks produced as well as what produced them in the last section of this paper.

#### IV

"It is not easy, in the height of the Swiss season, to light on a nook neglected by the tourist," remarks Wharton early in her book, *Italian Backgrounds* (1908). But she finds one, and "one's enjoyment of the place is thus enhanced by the pleasing spectacle of the misguided hundreds who pass it by, and from the vantage of the solitary meadows above the village one may watch the throngs descending on Thusis or Chavenna with something of the satisfaction that medieval schoolmen believe to be the portion of angels looking down upon the damned."<sup>67</sup> This is not any sort of constitutive moment in either the history of Americans traveling abroad or of texts about such travel; though one could maintain that the attitude toward what James referred to as "one's detestable fellow pilgrim" came to grow more harsh, an antipathy for one's fellows is present from the beginning. What is not there, I would maintain, is the more specific experience Wharton marks here of enjoying a site **because** it has been privatized in relation to the more predictable, routinized public sites overcome by touristic masses. Such enjoyment is not precisely coterminous with the phenomenon or even the development of mass tourism; Wharton's enjoyment is less explicitly inscribed often in James. Indeed, it is difficult to date when the necessity arises to find a nook of one's own; it is not exactly not coterminous with the development of mass tourism either and today of course we might regard such a necessity as inseparable from the phenomenon. To Wharton at any rate, the attainment of her nook is convertible into the stuff of salvation — itself relational, however, since others must perforce be damned. Her own travel **is** hers insofar as it dispossess others.

It is as if to travel she must travel among these others. She sees this, but does not, I think, see that in another sense these others dispossess her by necessitating upon her a logic of "neglect" which is a constituent principle of her own travel experience. I don't think it would be too facile to claim that, whereas James just a few years before can indulge in the fantasy of these others disappearing, Wharton no longer can. They exist, as she does.

By 1908 at least the very act of seeing a foreign country had become for Americans part of a disciplinary formation. As Michel Foucault has so magisterially examined, "the first of the great operations of discipline is, therefore, the constitution of 'tableaux vivants', which transform the confused, useless or dangerous multitudes into ordered multiplicities....It allows both the characterization of the individual as individual and the ordering of a given multiplicity."<sup>68</sup> It is exactly the "tableau vivant" quality of the sites Wharton gives that she wants to escape from, and it is one of the crucial features of the disciplinary system of tourism that it both effaces the necessity of making such escapes and creates the need to do so. The "individual" both is and is not characterized as such in touristic discipline; if she were not she would not be able to detach herself from the "given multiplicity" because the discipline would not have the carceral power Foucault so densely argues for it, and a Wharton would not be enacting her touristic individuation as a function of this power. Foucault elsewhere explains:

In itself the exercise of power is not violence; nor is it a consent which, implicitly, is renewable. It is a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon or acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting of being capable of action. A set of actions upon other actions.<sup>69</sup>

Wharton's enjoyment of her own nook takes place within this "set". It is a "possible" action, determinable within a disciplinary structure that acts upon her as surely as she acts herself.

It is important to be clear about this last point. As Foucault states, "Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only

insofar as they are free."<sup>0</sup> What matters is that tourism is the precondition of Wharton's freedom. She is, I believe, such a telling instance of such a precondition because she is not on a tour and because the privilege of her whole background suggests an older model for the type of travel she is in one sense engaged in: the Grand Tour of the wealthy elite. Foster Rhea Dulles gives a good account of this model.<sup>1</sup> James's whole project as a travel writer might be taken to be a kind of rarefied distension of the historical moment between this model and another. By 1908 the stately progressions of the Grand Tour had become wholly saturated by the model of mass tourism.

Much of the whole representational thrust of American culture in the decades before 1908 had been engaged in an intellectual project that can be described as the production of persons. (I will have much more to say about this in subsequent pages).<sup>2</sup> If we consult a text such as M.D. Frazar's **Practical European Guide** (published in the same year) what we find in the very first paragraph is the production of a person:

To travel well is indeed an art, and yet it is one that may well be easily mastered. It is only necessary to take things as they come, to put one's self in touch and sympathy with all people, not to expect all the little conveniences of home, to appreciate the point of view of those about one, and to be cheerful under all circumstances.<sup>3</sup>

The especially interesting thing about this characterization is how it converges into the person Mabie was producing a decade earlier. Both persons are not selfconscious (which is one reason why Frazar cautions that it is necessary to be cheerful) and both are willing to be immersed into what Mabie terms "universal life" (the same thing Frazar presents as "sympathy with all people"). The only difference is that Frazar elides the aesthetic (the "art" of travel) into the practical, whereas Mabie elides the aesthetic into the ethical. Both elide the political-economic; in a most suggestive essay on literature of the age of exploration, Stephen Greenblatt argues that the expansion of Western power can be identified with the emergence of a capacity for "empathy" (here at once Mabie's "free relations with the universal life around us" and Frazar's "sympathy with all people"), "the sympathetic appreciation of the

situation of the other fellow"<sup>74</sup>. It is precisely these sorts of elisions that the production of touristic personhood is enabled and is enabled by.

However it is furthermore necessary that this person be an American person. So Grout Allen, to take another example -- whose entire first chapter provides of kind of summation of American travel themes in order to inscribe them into a new model of travel -- arguing in *The European Guide* (again published in 1908) that the "obstacle" of "the good old belief, still more or less current, that a 'European education' unfits a young man for life in America" is mistaken, counters with an educational imperative:

Wherever a man is going to live and work, however a man is going to earn his livelihood, it can do him nothing but good to have seen and understood London, Paris, Vienna; to have learnt how men built at Cologne and at Oxford; to have realised how men painted at San Marco in Florence or at the Hospital at Bruges; to have beheld the Roman Forum and the Athenian Acropolis; to have stood beside the Pyramids... All that is education ten thousand times better than one can get out of books; and the American can obtain it in perfection by European travel.

Further on, Allen speaks of "certain lands which have a first claim on the American... the lands which lie in the direct line of ancestry of our own civilization. To see these is the first duty we owe to our own culture"<sup>75</sup> There are several agendas embedded here, including the entry of America onto a world scene expansively defined to include Egypt (which travelers from Bayard Taylor onwards had been writing about since some decades previously) and of course the managerialized logic whereby travel is useful because educating and educating because useful. (Subsequently I will try to provide a fuller explanation of how travel became grounded in educational policy). Each of these agendas proscribes in effect a radical undoing of the travel textualized in the previous century. Let me outline the significant strands in this undoing.

First, travel now has quite specific goals, in contrast to the undifferentiated individual purposes marked in past travel texts. Second, travel can be conceived of as dispensing with texts altogether; no matter that Allen's own text is blind to the rationale (albeit of another sort) would or could foreclose its very

existence — by 1908 people can read of travel in a travel book and feel that they can actually go abroad themselves. Third, abroad has become fully historicized; the contrast with American Nature has dropped out — and the "collective, anonymous gaze" which one critic has examined that "permeates American culture throughout the last half of the nineteenth century" is subjected to a process which subsumes the gaze, makes it more impersonal, further totalizes it, and projects it across oceans.<sup>76</sup> Fourth, and perhaps most significant of all, travel has been fully empowered as American. Mulvey concludes the following from his comparison of English and American nineteenth century texts: "English travel literature was primarily directed at the intellect and the political imagination. American travel literature was primarily concerned with the sensibility and the cultural memory."<sup>77</sup> Allen is no less concerned with these things. But sensibility has been redefined as a commodity, purchasable as a ship ticket across the Atlantic. And cultural memory has now been situated as a curriculum, just as available as a course of study. "The American" is entitled to these things — as an American. Indeed, it would not be too much to say he is an American because of such entitlement, which is in turn merely an expression of his cultural right. Allen's "American" continues to be a Representative Figure, with one most un-Emersonian difference: rather than each One being representative of All, all are representative of each other, like items on an assembly line or tourists in a group.

Such a series of agendas abided over the whole course of American travel writing to this moment, as I hope my earlier pages have made at least implicitly evident. Travel abroad did not need the parallel development of travel at home (by the first decade of the new century just as taxonomized in terms of San Francisco amenities, Philadelphia museums, and New York dangers as travel abroad) in order to become subject to disciplinary enforcement.<sup>78</sup> "For moderns," writes MacCannell, "reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere; in other historical periods and other cultures."<sup>79</sup> For Americans, this statement could be rephrased thus: reality was always already an absence of authenticity, which could only be found or taken from abroad. Therefore an economy of use, born out of the insecurities of national identity, was the burden

of American travel. Abroad had to be visited in order to encounter some confirmation impossible to secure at home, or elsewhere had to be appropriated for a confirmation that could then be written out in order to take full possession of home.<sup>80</sup> American travel was virtually mandated to be a form of subjectivity in which disciplinary formation was peculiarly immanent. It was, as I have said, too slavish, too bent upon being educated. "We hired a guide," writes Twain, "and began the business of sight-seeing immediately!"<sup>81</sup> This "business" was not yet in 1869 the business that it was in the next century's first decade. What I would here stress is a Twain's willingness to enter into the business, which his own text enshrined, in very much the terms MacCannell structurates them: "as the marker is turned into the sight, the sight turns into a marker, and the esthetics of production are transformed into the esthetics of consumption and attraction"<sup>82</sup> Twain's eruption into this system, putting it in motion and savagely reinscribing it both for its sweet comedy and his own unregenerate self, is what makes his text travel writing. Allen's rationalization of this system is what makes his text a guide book. It could be nevertheless stressed that both writers share a common conviction about abroad as a manifestation of the American right to own property.

What I am suggesting, then, is the gradual passage of the discourse of travel into a whole network of other discourses, including anthropology, ethnography, cartography, geography, photography, even philosophy and certainly advertising.<sup>83</sup> All these discourses, in turn, participated in a larger movement toward managerialism, professionalization, and social engineering, enabled by the shift in the 1880's from a production to a marketing and distribution economy. (The relationship between tourism and Taylorism would, I think, make an especially provocative study, although a reading of *The Principles of Scientific Management* in touristic terms would have to be too extensive for me to attempt to give here). "It is certain that the mechanisms of subjection cannot be studied outside their relation to the mechanisms of exploitation and domination," writes Foucault. "But they do not merely constitute the 'terminal' of more fundamental mechanisms. They entertain complex and circular relations with other forms"<sup>84</sup> The internal rationality of tourism, as articulated in such guide

books as those by Frazer and Allen, came to constitute one of these forms, or rather formations. Coded in terms of release and expansion and methodized on the basis of routinization and circumscription, the traveler-as-tourist set out from a juncture of sovereignty and discipline, individuated in a mass and collectivized in his or her individuation. This double discourse is what permitted the discourse to be regulated, and to get transfigured into something of value because it could bear so many pressures from the social and economic market.<sup>85</sup>

Let me give an example of this transfiguration by using James. At one point in his treatment of Rome he writes: "A self-consciousness lapsing so easily, in fine, strikes me as so near a relation to amenity, urbanity, and general gracefulness that, for myself, I should be sorry to lay a tax on it, lest these other commodities should also cease to come to market."<sup>86</sup> Instances of this sort of language could be easily enumerated. (The essay on Venice has an especially overdetermined aside — after the "fond spectator" has fancied a resemblance of the mosaic pavement of St. Mark's to ocean waves: "whether intended or not the analogy was an image in a treasure-house of images." That is, Venice is so much rich loot before the eager acquisitive power of Jamesian representation).<sup>87</sup> My simpler point is merely their presence, whereby the commodification of experience relays the experience of commodification and back again.<sup>88</sup> Not only is my further point that the larger categories of the aesthetic and the economic must be continually renegotiated this way in a single (albeit consummate) author, or, in any other authors one might choose to instance. Such a renegotiation of these categories works the same way in the broader setting of them as it, in turn, is renegotiated through texts of travel within America and without. I have already mentioned Riis's *How the Other Half Lives*. Few statements in that text are more striking from within a travel context than this one: "Tenement houses have no aesthetic resources."<sup>89</sup> Especially since I have already made a phenomenological claim for the effect of American perceptions abroad on those back home, I would at least want to speculate here upon whether or not Riis could have made this statement without a background of texts which at times presented the merest foreign residence as having, precisely, aesthetic



resources. These texts were in their very accumulation a type of rich fund upon which many American writers could draw, especially when they were seeing things (as so many American writers were in the 1890's) as if they were foreign. Indeed, like slums, part of the reason they were foreign is that they could not be represented visually in commodified terms.

Commodified vision, or its lack, is everywhere inscribed in travel writing during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Let me give an example of the lack in the first paragraph of the first volume of Charles Dudley Warner's travel writing, *Saunterings* (1872):

I should not like to ask an indulgent and idle public to saunter about with me under a misapprehension. It would be more agreeable to invite it to go nowhere rather than somewhere; for almost every one has been somewhere, and has written about it. The only compromise I can suggest is, that we shall go somewhere, and not learn anything about it. The instinct of the public against anything like information in a volume of this kind is perfectly justifiable; and the reader will perhaps discover that this is illy adapted for a text-book in schools, or for the use of competitive candidates in the civil-service examinations.<sup>90</sup>

One could put it very bluntly: the sort of text that Warner is writing (which doesn't really have to be characterized because there are so many like it behind it) is worthless. Hence, Warner tries to recoup the worthlessness with the charm of an honest statement of fact. So taken, *Saunterings* has its own considerable value. But it is not the value of education, much less of all the other discourses with which guide books such as Frazar or Allen are traversed by. *Saunterings* is just, rather limply and contentedly, itself. Warner wrote nine other travel books rather like this one. It is not even necessary to compare these texts to guide books to see why guidebooks overcame them and dispossessed them. Two decades before (in 1856) Taylor (a far more enterprising writer in more than one sense of the term) edited a *Cyclopedia of Modern Travel*. It is mostly an anthology of exploration (although barely recalling the worldwide origins of travel literature in voyages, hoaxes, plagiarism, fabrication and deception), celebrating the practice best epitomized for Taylor by Alesander von Humboldt, the founder

of physical geography?<sup>1</sup> In his preface, Taylor writes: "Modern exploration is intelligent, and its results are therefore positive and permanent. The traveler no longer wanders bewildered in a cloud of fables, prepared to see marvels, and but too ready to create them: he tests every step of the way by the sure light of science, and his pioneer trail becomes a plain and easy path to those who follow."<sup>2</sup> This is to say, Taylor celebrates the very scientific purpose and practical utility to which Warner is so indifferent. What Taylor celebrates is already a collective configuration of separable individual travels which by the next century will be fully in place as one of a network of discourses representing the world. I have been situating guidebooks as the definitive textual practice the discourse of travel takes in this network.

Warner has no representative basis upon which to oppose guidebooks. Texts such as Warner's were simply elided (at most briefly appendicized) into guide books and there was no oppositional principle by which other kinds of travel writing could contest them. What other travel writers could do was mark them, like a sight without any aesthetic resources. Wharton again:

The red volumes which accompany the traveler through Italy have so completely anticipated the most whimsical impulses of their readers that it is now almost impossible to plan a tour of exploration without finding, on reference to them, that their author has already been over the ground... Even the discovery of incidental lapses scarcely consoles the traveller for the habitual accuracy of his statements; and the only refuge left from his omniscience lies in approaching the places he describes by a route which he had not taken.<sup>3</sup>

And again what I would want to call the worthlessness, or the poverty, of Wharton's own text before these others is laid bare: the only emotional logic she is left with is that of whimsy and the only course of travel she can take is to find a nook. Her locale has already been produced and commodified. More powerful is the register of Wharton's last sentence: she has been and is being **overseen**.

The travel guide produces the person of the traveler by producing a body. The constitution of this body is very familiar to us today. Frazar is not into his second paragraph before he is

talking about food, drink, and the importance of regular hours — for we know that the touristic body must be as thoroughly mapped as its country: its needs anticipated, its desires satisfied, its ills medicated. (The touristic body is nothing if not an infantile body). However, the most specific point of contact travel discipline makes with the body is the eye. "One must cultivate the ability to see quickly", writes Frazar, "to grasp new ideas readily, and to take rapid and truthful impressions from what is seen."<sup>4</sup> "By far the best and truest teachers are the eyes," exclaims Allen.<sup>5</sup> The eye is the most specific point of contact not only because possibly the greatest touristic fantasy must be inscribed: to see everything. The touristic eye represented by the guide book is furthermore an eye itself seen. Wharton senses its presence everywhere and terms it omniscient. Another way to term it would be Foucault's panoptic eye, which creates seeing as a condition of the fact that it sees.<sup>6</sup>

It is not to my purpose here to provide any sort of complete account of touristic discipline; MacCannell has already given such an account, albeit not in the terms I have been using nor from the specific national context I have been examining. Here I only want to emphasize three factors in this discipline, each one of which participates in the great realist project in American writing, painting, photography, and film during the decades after the Civil War until the First World War: the production of visibility. No less than physical anatomy, the American West, corporations, or urban slums, abroad had to be produced by being made visible. The fact that it had to be made visible by being represented in a certain way is my first and most obvious point — and one not of course limited only to this period or even exclusively of this period, however much the decades before 1914 produced widening circles of representations of travel that were social, cultural, and economic as well as personal and referential. It is the way which is more decisive than the representations themselves; in the time between (say) Hillard and Frazar what is represented becomes attenuated to the point that it hardly has to be represented at all — just referred to, or sketched. Guide book representation involves essentially strategies for representation (with the space for the representation itself allotted to the tourist). These

strategies are almost too familiar, and include both a ruthlessly efficient temporal economy (hence many pages devoted to rail schedules and the duration of day trips) and an impeccably traditional cultural valorization (museums, natural sites, and antiquities). The strategies are not without their nuances. Allen, for example, charts "our general principle of retrogressing slowly from the known to the unknown."<sup>7</sup> But these are less significant than the fact of the strategies themselves — and even a program such as this last discloses how the "principle" of an individual traveler like Wharton "retrogresses" in the same way as the tour she would retrogress from.

The second factor in the production of touristic visibility is that certain things must not be seen. No tourist, for example — although since of course they will be seen because they are all versions of oneself repressed in guide books as unworthy of representation. A list could be compiled of what should not be seen and it would clearly amount to an inverse of what should: anything which takes too much time to get to, or hasn't been "marked" in some way as culturally and scenically prominent. "Power has its principle not so much in a person as in a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes; in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up."<sup>8</sup> The essence of the touristic mechanism is to produce a relation, anything that disturbs the "concerted distribution" which makes this relation possible should not be seen. We might contrast the following passage from James's great essay on London: "Certain it is, at any rate, that the impression of suffering is a part of the general vibration; it is one of the things that mingle with all the others to make the sound that is supremely dear to the consistent London-lover — the rumble of the tremendous human mill."<sup>9</sup> Noise always confounds the touristic relation, which privileges the eye. It may be that the quintessence of all that should not be seen is suffering, with the additional reason that it registers most fully as something heard.

A final factor of touristic discipline of visibility: it produces sights that no human eye can see. Consider the first day trip Frazar gives from Paris: "From Paris by tramway (near Church of the Madeleine) to St. Denis. Visit the famous Cathedral, with the

tombs of French kings and queens, and return to Paris."<sup>100</sup> These items can of course be seen if by seeing one means a bare perceptual acknowledgement. The purpose of representing them in this way, however, is not ultimately perceptual but ontological; the pleasure of the tourist is to be there. Human agency is not required, or only required insofar as it is necessary to get physical presence manifest. "Disciplinary power," writes Foucault, "is exercised through its invisibility; at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility." Precisely. The agenda of Frazer's little account is the compulsion. (It would be no less compulsory and only more obviously unavailable to vision if one were to examine day trips far more impacted with sights and exacting durations). "In discipline," continues Foucault, "it is the subjects who have to be seen."<sup>101</sup> Being seen — being themselves made visible to an anonymous, imperious gaze — is what the tourist cannot see. The touristic eye is designed to be put in motion and fixed. (A situation in part abetted by the camera, which substitutes for human vision as inexorably as a crowded timetable, and makes possible the model of a photo album).<sup>102</sup> At the very least, the touristic discipline of visibility has a built-in moment of maximized speed that stretches the eye to the limits of its capability of representing itself for itself, and Frazer's tourist anyway goes to the Cathedral to see its fame, which cannot be seen at all.

Foucault's own (meta) discourse of disciplinary power emerges out of a modernism which gives all the power to the ground rather than the figure, and eventually evolves to the point where, as he has stated in several places, the constituent subject can be dispensed with altogether. I want to proceed to this point here as a way of indicating that the sort of analysis I have been conducting of American travel based on turn-of-the-century guidebooks can breed its own misrepresentations. Although, especially from today's perspectives, a totalization of tourism was in place by 1914, it does not seem to have been experienced as such. Travel still went under the sign of freedom — both abroad and at home (some of Allen's italicizations seem giddy with it) — and it is simply undecidable to what extent travelers felt at ease with the disciplinary energies they took from as others were taken from

them. What I am in fact raising is the whole question of the relationship between tourism and modernism. MacCannell makes the relationship equivalent. One could be less confident.<sup>103</sup> "The differentiations of the modern world have the same structure as tourist attractions: elements dislodged from their original, natural, historical, and cultural contexts fit together with other such displaced or modernized things and people....It is a source of anxiety that our kind of society has the capacity to develop beyond the point where individuals can continue to have a meaningful place in it."<sup>104</sup> There are many ways of revising such contentions, the most basic being by giving them a more specific and national saturation; I have argued that Americans did not historically experience travel abroad as a displacement, but rather a replacement — and then a reinscription. Furthermore, even by 1914, the whole momentum of American travel, in whatever textual form, was to bring Americans to foreign contexts; it was only in subsequent decades that these contexts became more radically rearranged or that Americans more radically rearranged themselves in foreign contexts. Speaking of the accommodation between religion and wealth in *No Place of Grace* (which does not take up travel as yet another antimodern phenomenon), Jackson Lears has a nice distinction: "What was different this time was that the emerging ethic of an expanding commercial society was less a framework for values than a means of doing without them."<sup>105</sup> One could make the same distinction concerning the "ethic" of travel, and yet this would be to ignore Foucault's disciplinary logic whereby some things are contained, others released, and travel as a means of doing without value cannot be very consistently aligned with such matters as the family (tourists, rather than travelers, went together, as if to pay a dim obeisance to "the Family of Man") and immigration (immigrants to America traveled back home as soon as they could afford to do so, which was one reason why Congress gave all citizens legal status abroad in 1868).<sup>106</sup> I have not been centrally concerned in this paper with forging a linkage between tourism and modernism — one which I believe has the capacity to develop (like modern anxieties) at almost any point yet one which can be undone at the same points by the deformations of what I have been concerned with: American identity. A far more provocative

contention for my purposes would be to claim that tourism provided a definitive, disciplinary solution to the problematic of Americans traveling abroad: the routinization from here to there and back again could efface all the insecurities and the production of guide books could efface all the necessity to represent the experience at all.

This much, I think, is clear: by 1914 the guide book had made other kinds of travel writing dispensible, along with Representative Americans to produce such writing. Allen, as ever such a rich source of attitudes about the rationalization for so many touristic procedures, could not put the dispensibility more forcefully: "It is from things, not from words, that one may learn most of what is truly useful."<sup>107</sup> His text means to deliver his reader to the thing itself. Of course this did not prove to be possible. Allen himself has to mention a few books to take along for one's sea voyage, "from the special point of view of culture." For another thing, one consequence of a mandate such as Allen's is still more words, which aim, as words, to get impossibly ever closer to the thing. Many of such words were already being produced by possibly the most popular travel magazine ever published in America, the *National Geographic*, which was begun by the National Geographic Society in 1888 (and for some years afterward only a scientific journal with limited appeal) and which first published color pictures in 1910. The official historian of the magazine writes that "first of all, the *National Geographic Magazine* is a veritable encyclopedia of travel, of foreign customs and dress, of strange and exotic people, manners and things different from the humdrum of our daily lives."<sup>108</sup> To conclude this paper, what I would like to do is align Allen with an article published in the magazine's early years, "Geographic Instruction in the Public Schools," by W.B. Powell!<sup>109</sup> This alignment will, I hope, not only reveal the abiding peculiarities Americans have about travel but also demonstrate the broadest disciplinary formation within which travel abroad up to the War was sustained.

This formation is scientific. "But what I plead for here," pleads Allen, "is more general recognition of the educational value of travel at large, apart from research in the more special sense of the word". This "research", however, is not easily disentangled

from "travel at large", for the merit of such sciences as chemistry and geology is that they depend upon direct observation — the same observation required by travel at large. Earlier, Allen, again disdaining the word for the thing, praises natural history and anatomy, whose professors send their students "out into the fields" rather than have them read books.<sup>110</sup> Lest anyone go too far afield, like a tourist who wastes time in less important countries or spends too much upon unprofitable sights, it remains nevertheless necessary to read books.

Powell, writing as a scientist (the student of American travel writing might recall that Silliman was a geologist and that the first American travel book is filled with pages of descents into mines and caves), underwrites Allen with a far more reasoned, deliberate, systematic account of educational value, inscribed with the same placement Allen gives travel but so assumed that it hardly has to be represented at all. What Powell does represent is geography, and his article is essentially a pedagogical description of "the acquisition of the knowledge that lies at the base of all geographic information." How is this knowledge to be acquired? First, by training the child to see "geographic facts". This seeing must be learned, and it can only be acquired logically, step-by step, with "each step made a sequential advance upon its predecessor" (p. 138). Allen's method is precisely the same. "Build up your knowledge as you go — that is the great principle," he advises the tourist, "and if you set to work in the proper order (which it is my task to point out to you) you will build it up far better and more securely than by hap-hazard touring"<sup>111</sup> The difference that Powell has his child begin by reading maps and Allen his tourist by reading guidebooks is less decisive than that each is engaged in a project which aims, first, at knowledge; secondly and more specifically, knowledge about the physical world; thirdly, knowledge that can only be obtained by correct seeing; fourthly, seeing that can only be obtained by instruction; and, fifth, instruction that can only be gained by logical, sequential principles.

Ideally, Powell continues, the student who comes to possess a sufficient "geographic vocabulary" will come to realize that the words are designed to make available the things they represent:



"Thus he is led from the things to the symbols of things, and thus does, he gain power to see things in symbols," once the stage of "experiment and observation" has been reached (p. 141). Allen's far more pronounced hostility toward words I have already noted; books may be used concurrently, he writes, in order to facilitate observation, "but those books themselves are at best but registers of precious careful and exceptionally fortunate observations. Their use is to **supplement**, not to **supersede**, **individual inspection**. Science is but the record of things seen and noted"<sup>112</sup> In each case, a common enterprise is being put into discourse, the one author conducting it at the beginning, the other at the end, and both grounded in a physical or material world which cannot come into being without words, yet only comes into being because words are ultimately dispensible. Put another way, both Powell and Allen propose to establish a **record**. This record does not have to be represented as such. What needs to be established instead is the means by which it comes to be secured. The collective name for this is science — which, whether geographical or touristic, comes to a consideration of what Powell terms "humanistic phenomena," but only such a consideration in order finally to encounter boundaries. Powell devotes several pages to explaining how political economy should be taught; children may even come to study steamboat lines and railroad lines. At the end "the child is led to see lines of communication, freighted with commerce and human life, stretching between cities of different states, each end of which is guarded by representatives from other states... It will be seen that this is the geography of man and his doings, and not the geography of state-line boundaries and locations of capital cities and their sizes" (p.149-50). In other words, the world is all One, another statement of Mabie's conviction (and contemporaneous with it) that we exist in "the universal life around us." Except that we don't, for, as Powell's account demonstrates, we proceed to the Big Picture through a consideration of sequentially built up little pictures, each one of which reveals that it enforces itself from the others. Furthermore, the relationship between whole and part is akin to the relationship between word and thing in this respect: the former two terms are constructed from the latter two at the same time the disciplinary procedures invest value in the latter two only. What I am suggesting in all this is a scanning of something like the

experience of a continental traveler on tour. There is this country and that country. Each has its regulations, customs, representatives — things. Visited country by country — in Powell's vocabulary, "unit" by "unit" — they all accumulate like so much vocabulary, without a grammar or a syntax. There are too many boundaries. All is aggregation only. The burden of the pedagogy in both geography classroom and tour book is to subsume their respective units and provide the simulacra of a unity. Without this unity, the world would only be available to education as an aggregate, potentially meaningless, without even words for it. This was exactly the situation of Henry Adams in Rome: "Quite apart from its value as life attained, realized, generalized, it had also a certain value as a lesson in something, though Adams could never classify the branch of study. Loosely, the tourist called it knowledge of men, but it was just the reverse; it was knowledge of one's ignorance of men."<sup>113</sup>

Powell's discourse provides the "branch of study" and Allen's implements it according to the common principle: classification. Indeed, the guidebook is fundamentally a system of classification. What the various classifications, as we say, "add up to", is not the agenda of the guidebook — although this question is embedded there and can be articulated elsewhere. Powell's piece, as I hope I have made clear, is one such site for a fuller articulation, and I hope I have also shown how Allen's text, in turn, renegotiates that of Powell's. Similarly, both texts disclose how a touristic orientation toward the world must be continually renegotiated: the world both is and is not the stuff of education and travel both does and does not solicit the supplement of words.

Regarding this last point, Powell makes a curious move at the end. Returning once more to the problematic of representation within the necessity of direct experience, Powell counsels what charts, maps, and pictures ought to be constantly available to children, though only as preparation for "contact with things at first hand". "But there is one class of reading for which we have been preparing our children", he declares. This is literature (Gray, Whittier, and Bryant are used as examples, and Emerson quoted), which must be distinguished from "that valuable literature largely used in getting information", by which he means travel writing (Taylor and Irving

are used as examples) (p. 152). The logic of this reading-out of a certain category of reading should not be surprising, nor should this mark of what has been all along still another account of travel. What is surprising, perhaps, is that Powell should be so overt in consigning travel writing to a category of information-only, while Allen, for example, does not mention such writing at all. The reason, I believe, is that Allen's text, for all its difference from previous travel writing, is travel writing nevertheless, albeit of a kind that would not be writing at all, if it could. Warner, by contrast, is almost embarrassed that his writing is writing, as if already proceeding within the larger project of another kind of writing which would eventually efface it or, at best, consign it to literature, as Powell does poetry. Powell's text at least marks the moment when travel writing can only turn into belletristic embellishment. Writing travel is not scientific. Its only use is to provide information for science, whose own writing is empowered with the methodology of discipline and the transparency of things.

"So small!" exclaims Twain when he and his party of pilgrims come in sight of Jerusalem, "Why, it was no larger than an American village of four thousand inhabitants, and no larger than an ordinary Syrian city of thirty thousand. Jerusalem numbers only fourteen thousand people!"<sup>114</sup> Amid an aggregation of tourists, Twain sees merely another aggregation of foreigners, and he rather inevitably compares them to an aggregation from home.

We may be reminded of the American tendency to count: to value the vast, to swoon over a series, to get a practical purchase on something, to see if something adds up by breaking it down into its constituent parts; Twain's text, it seems to me, is never more American than when it runs to number. I want to conclude by evoking the Royce paper I began with because in his way Royce provides a philosophy and suggests a teleology for counting. His aim of course is to classify numbers as statistics, take these statistics as "fecund" by obliging the statistical averages possible to find in all aggregations, and finally to wonder (as he writes at the end) at "the fecundity of whatever unites either electrons or souls or stars into streams or into other aggregations that, amid all chances, illustrate some tendency to orderly cooperation."<sup>115</sup> Had either

Frazer or Allen or any guide book writer been of a philosophical bent, one could, I think, have expected some such consideration of the metaphysical implications of "orderly cooperation", though such consideration would have been beside the point. Tourism already had this cooperation by 1914, and it only remained to further implement travel in terms of it, rather as Royce suggests "the statistical view of nature" might be more fully implemented by science. There need be no logical connection between travel and science — except that I hope I have already demonstrated that there was, and that both enterprises proposed what Royce evokes as "the unities and the mutual assimilations in which the common ideals and interests, the common hopes and destinies of men, of the social orders, of the deeds — yes, and perhaps of the stars and of all the spiritual world are bound up and are expressed".<sup>116</sup> We are all, so to say, one vast Aggregate, or perhaps the stuff out of which Aggregation is made.

And yet the subject I have been studying never ceased to be troubled by aggregates: there were always too many other Americans traveling, too many others writing about it, and later so much to see that it all had to fall subject to statistical averages of sights and seeing. It was the job of guide books to enforce such averages, and implicitly to suggest that, somehow, everything added up to something enriching and edifying. Perhaps it did not. There is no law to statistics (which is part of Royce's point) but there is rule, and out of "real classes" something more diverse, greater, and surer may come. The nice thing for the traveler and even for the tourist is that one need not be quite sure what this something is — and the nicer thing for the tourist, especially if American, may be that he or she doesn't have to worry about representing it; the tourist is only a representative figure insofar as he or she represents a larger discipline of power, and the American tourist within this power can be content to settle for the rules as if they took care of the laws. If there was a law to American travel by 1914 it might well have been what Thoreau could have termed counting the cats in Zanzibar, though he might not have discerned that, no matter how orderly, common, and aggregate as represented in its texts, there was still the chance (the determining force in Royce's notion of the statistical) that

touristic discipline was but another form through which an American could express the rule that he or she need never have left home at all.

#### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Josiah Royce, "The Mechanical, the Historical, and the Statistical," *The Basic Writings of Josiah Royce*, vol. II, ed. John J. McDermott (Chicago, 1969), 711.
- <sup>2</sup> Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 25.
- <sup>3</sup> See T.J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer, 1880-1930," in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History 1880-1980*, eds. Richard Wightman Fox and Lears (New York, 1983), 3-38.
- <sup>4</sup> Milton Plesur, *America's Outward Thrust: Approaches to Foreign Affairs, 1865-1890* (Dekalb, 1971), 125.
- <sup>5</sup> I adopt this list from John Higham in *Writing American History* (Bloomington, 1970), 128 "The story," Higham continues, "begins with the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804; it ends with the retirement in 1894 of John Wesley Powell as Director of the U. S. Geological Survey."
- <sup>6</sup> Ahmed M. Metwalli, "Americans Abroad: The Popular Art of Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century" in *America: Exploration and Travel*, ed. Steven Kagle (Bowling Green, 1979), 68-9.
- <sup>7</sup> Interesting work could be done on the inscription of travel in Dickinson especially. For example, one might consider the following lines: "The soul has moments of Escape — /When bursting all the doors — /She dances like a bomb, abroad....," and then wonder whether Dickinson could have written them if she had ever gone abroad, or if she could have written them because she had no desire to go abroad. I would see such lines myself within the thematic of American travel writing (for which I take Thoreau to be central) I discuss in an earlier article, cited below.
- <sup>8</sup> Henry James, *The Art of Travel*, ed. Morton Dauwen Zabel (New York, 1962). John Carlos Rowe offers an especially acute, epistemological reading of James's travel writing in "James's Rhetoric of the Eye: Re-Marking the Impression," *Criticism* (Summer, 1982), 233-60. For Howells, see James Dean, *Howells' Travels Toward Art* (Albuquerque, 1970). Dean's very title, incidentally, provides an interesting example of how travel writing gets aesthetically situated: the implication is that as Howells got better as a travel writer he reached the goal of his travels, which was to write about them better. One of

the purposes of my discussion is to offer an account of why travel writing got situated in an aesthetic category.

- <sup>9</sup> On Irving, see for example, the opening chapter of Christof Wegelin, **The Image of Europe in Henry James** (Dallas, 1958). On Taylor, see Richard Beatty, **Bayard Taylor, Laureate of the Gilded Age** (Norman, Okla., 1936). On Adams, see Margaret Brown, "Henry Adams: His Passage to Asia," in **Critical Essays on Henry Adams**, ed. Earl N. Harbert (Boston, 1981), 43-57.
- <sup>10</sup> Robert Spiller, **The American in England, During the First Half Century of Independence** (New York, 1926), Chs. II-VII, X.
- <sup>11</sup> Spiller, *Ibid.*, 349.
- <sup>12</sup> Metwalli, "Americans Abroad", 70. On Melville as a travel writer, see James Jubak, "The Influence of the Travel Narrative on Melville's *Mardi*", *Genre*, Vol. 9, 1976, 121-33.
- <sup>13</sup> James, **The Art of Travel**, 323.
- <sup>14</sup> James Jackson Jarves, **Italian Sights and Papal Principles** (New York, 1856), 34-135. Compare his later, more anecdotal, and far better written **Italian Rambles** (New York, 1883). By this time Jarves is more interested in a more direct American appropriation of Florence, and so he says, for example, the following sort of thing: "If we are to build up on American soil cities like Florence, world-renowned for art and science even more than for commerce and luxury, we must breed merchant princes cultured like Rucellai, and deeply imbued with his maxim, that it is pleasanter and more honorable to spend money for wise purposes than to make it... Rucellai is not the highest type of man and citizen, but there is in him a public spirit which may be studied to advantage by many of our merchant princes whose fortunes are as far superior to his self-made one as America is a land of greater diversity of gifts and promise than ever was in Italy." (379-80)
- <sup>15</sup> Willard Thorpe, "Pilgrims' Return," in **The Literary History of the United States**, ed. Robert Spiller, et. al. (4th edition), 829.
- <sup>16</sup> George Stillman Hillard, **Six Months in Italy**, Vol. I (London, 1853), 82-3.
- <sup>17</sup> M.D. Frazar, **Practical European Guide: Preparation, Cost, Routes, and Sightseeing** (Boston, 1908), 188.
- <sup>18</sup> James, **The Art of Travel**, 322. Jarves, **Italian Sights**, Ch. VI, 136-57.
- <sup>19</sup> See especially Plesur, **Outward Thrust**, 104-05, and Foster Rhea Dulles, **Americans Abroad, Two Centuries of European Travel** (Ann Arbor, 1964), 102-09.
- <sup>20</sup> Quoted in Dulles, *ibid.*, 109. But Dulles provides many other examples, merely by the way, of the same spirited mockery —

for example, Henry Adams: "Bored, patient, helpless, indulgent to an extreme; mostly a modest, decent, valuable citizen, the American was to be met at every railway station in Europe carefully explaining to every listener that the happiest day of his life would be the day he should land on the pier in New York." (112)

- <sup>21</sup> Marie Pitman (Margery Deane), *European Breezes* (Boston, 1882), 11-12.
- <sup>22</sup> Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York, 1980), 203.
- <sup>23</sup> Thorpe, "Pilgrim's Return," gives this formula: "The author must begin with the excitements of the ocean voyage itself and devote at least a portion of a chapter to the thrill, so long anticipated, of setting foot on foreign soil. From this point on he should mix architecture and scenery with comment on philantropies, skillfully work in a little history cribbed from Murray's guides, taking care to add a touch of sentiment or eloquence when the occasion permitted. If the essay or book required a little padding, it was always possible to retell an old legend or slip in an account of dangers surmounted in crossing the Alps" (831). I would only add that of course such formulas only develop from real intimacy with audience expectations, which the formulas both solidify and confirm.
- <sup>24</sup> This is an exact pattern for Pitman's text, with the sole difference that the return (from which I will subsequently quote) is given in the preface, 10-11.
- <sup>25</sup> According to Thorpe, "Pilgrim's Return," 832, the Crawford text "possess a distinction which almost makes it great". I would venture the opinion that such distinction is purchased by the fact that Crawford is so completely there, in Rome, from the start, that *Ave Roma Immortalis* hardly qualifies as a travel text at all, a fact which Thorpe concedes by mentioning it under "books unlocking the secret charms of a particular region" which "constitute a subdivision of travel literature." This, however, hardly solves the problem of what is a subdivision of what. My argument is that for most of the nineteenth century no one bothered with this problem.
- <sup>26</sup> This is the basic reason why it remains so difficult to say who wrote the first books of travels in American writing which treated another country as if it were a foreign land. In *The American in England, Holland, and Scotland* (New Haven, 1820), 3 vols. (346) (First published in 1810). In *Anglo-American Landscapes, a Study of nineteenth century Anglo-American travel literature* (New York, 1983), Christopher Mulvey, however, accepts Willian Austin, and quotes from a letter Austin wrote during 1802-03 that was subsequently incorporated into his book, *Letters from London* (Boston, 1804) (34). There seems to be no way to give a definitive answer to what would appear to be merely a factual or an historical question, short of giving an equally definitive account of

what a "book" is, as distinct from a book which consists of a series of letters.

Similarly, it is difficult to say with absolute certainty who the first American was who traveled abroad for the sole purpose of writing a book about it. The usual solution, I think, to this question is to say, Washington Irving and to be done with it. Compare a New York journalist, Nathaniel Parker Willis, sent as a correspondent abroad in 1831. Portions of his newspaper columns were, according to Spiller, issued in book form almost immediately. In 1831 he wrote from Italy, "I love my country, but the ornamental is my vocation, and of this she has none." (Quoted in Spiller, 366.)

- <sup>27</sup> See **The Profession of Authorship in America**, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (Columbus, 1968), especially the chapter, "James T. Fields and the Beginning of Book Promotion."
- <sup>28</sup> Dean MacCannell, **The Tourist, A New Theory of the Leisure Class** (New York, 1976), 158.
- <sup>29</sup> On this last point, for example Ferner Nuhn in **The Wind Blew from the East: A Study of the Orientation of American Culture** (New York, 1942): "Space has been our time." (4)
- <sup>30</sup> Mulvey, **Landscapes**, xiii.
- <sup>31</sup> Metawalli, "Americans Abroad", 80.
- <sup>32</sup> Washington Irving, **The Sketch Book** (1820; reprint: New York, 1961), 62.
- <sup>33</sup> Mulvey, **Landscapes**, 16.
- <sup>34</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 120. Compare Henry Adams: "The English when bored kill something." (129)
- <sup>35</sup> Susan Sontag, "Model Destinations", **Times Literary Supplement**, June 22, 1984, 699.
- <sup>36</sup> Quoted in Spiller, **American in England**, 175-76.
- <sup>37</sup> See Mulvey, **Landscapes**, Ch. 5. It might be noted in passing that it was in the common medium of the "literary" that America made its first memorable appropriation from abroad. As Spiller notes of Irving: "it was a strange twist of fate which put into the hands of a visitor from the hustling, industrious young country across the water the task of crystallizing a spirit which was mellow because it was breathing its last deep draughts of old English air. Addison and Steele — even Lamb and Dickens — were unable to appreciate it with the same kindly detachment." (296)
- <sup>38</sup> Spiller, **American in England**, 347-48.
- <sup>39</sup> Fussell, **Abroad**, 203.
- <sup>40</sup> Hillard, **Six Months in Italy**, 5.



- <sup>41</sup> Quoted in Mulvey, *Landscapes*, 112.
- <sup>42</sup> Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869; reprint: New York, 1964), 1.
- <sup>43</sup> It is tempting to detail this list even more. Twain's pages on the Holy Land are continually threatened by the authenticity of the one great text: the Bible. At a kind of other extreme, Twain often gives extracts from his own diaries and journals — in effect quoting himself. The words which are his and the words which are not get further complicated when Twain marks the fact that the expectations and assumptions of his readers are composing the book, or else the very economic setting in which the words are being produced. I shall have more to say subsequently about the inscription of the economic in American travel writing. Here let me give an example:
- Toward nightfall, the next morning, we steamed into the great harbor of this noble city of Marseilles, and saw the dying sunlight guild its clustered spires and ramparts, and flood its leagues of enviroing verdur with a mellow radiance that touched with added charm the white villas that flecked the landscape far and near. [Copyright secured according to law].
- The problem is, whose law? The energy with which Twain has to keep declaring that the law is his own, while fending off the right to ownership of other texts or other forces, is the very life of the book.
- <sup>44</sup> Metwalli, "Americans Abroad," 72,77 especially.
- <sup>45</sup> MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 13.
- <sup>46</sup> In *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1982), Alan Trachtenberg invokes the same totality this way: By 'the incorporation of America' I mean, then, the emergence of a changed, more tightly structured society with new hierarchies of control, and also changed conceptions of that society, of America itself" (3-4). "More tightly" does not quite address the hypothesized, totalized modern idea MacCannell writes about — and quite properly, in my own view, because I have been so far presenting a view of American travel and travel writing from beneath ideology. Trachtenberg has nothing to say about travel. I will have nothing to say about whose interest the Representative Figure of the American serves because I find it impossible to line up this Figure with a coherent determination of any interest.
- <sup>47</sup> Quoted in *ibid*, 150.
- <sup>48</sup> Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890; reprint: New York, 1971), 27, 38.
- <sup>49</sup> See Margaret Fuller, *At Home and Abroad; or, Things and Thoughts in America and Europe* (Boston, 1874), edited by her brother, Arthur B. Fuller.

- <sup>50</sup> "One of Them," **Americans in Europe** (New York, 1893).
- <sup>51</sup> Quoted in Stephen Spender, **Love-Hate Relations; English and American Sensibilities** (New York, 1974), 7.
- <sup>52</sup> "One of Them," **Americans in Europe**, 240-1.
- <sup>53</sup> James, **The Art of Travel**, 363.
- <sup>54</sup> **The Education of Henry Adams**, ed. Ernest Sammuels (Boston, 1973), 92.
- <sup>55</sup> Thomas Bailey Aldrich, **From Ponkapog to Pesth** (Boston, 1883), 264-67. Of course it is an open question, so late in the day of the "formula" given above by Thorpe for this sort of gesture, how much Aldrich may have been influenced, in turn, by the fact that aliens from other countries were already beginning to settle in America in unprecedented numbers.
- <sup>56</sup> Pitman, **European Breezes**, 10-11.
- <sup>57</sup> Quoted in Charles Sanford, **The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the America Moral Imagination** (Urbana, 1961), 138-39.
- <sup>58</sup> Quoted in Roderick Nash, **Wilderness and the American Mind** (1967; reprint: New Haven, 1982), 73-4. This was of course while Nature was both wholly American and wholly sufficient. Nash's last chapter has an especially nice statement of the development to the present, much of it the consequence of the tourism I will be discussing in my next section: "Thinking of wild nature as an actively traded commodity in an international market clarifies appreciation and largely explains the world nature-protection movement. The export-import relationship underscores the irony inherent in the fact that the civilizing process which imperils wild nature is precisely that which creates the need for it." (343)
- <sup>59</sup> George Curtis, **Lotus Eating: A Summer Book** (New York, 1854), 91-2.
- <sup>60</sup> Quoted in Spiller, **American in England**, 29.
- <sup>61</sup> Quoted in Dulles, **Americans Abroad**, 146.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, 144.
- <sup>63</sup> Belasco, **Americans on the Road**, Chapters 1 & 2 especially.
- <sup>64</sup> Terry Caesar, "'The Other Way Around': the Question of Travel in American Travel Writing," *Alif*, No. 3, Spring, 1982, 23-37.
- <sup>65</sup> Quoted in Higham, **Writing American History**, 101-02.
- <sup>66</sup> Dulles, **Americans Abroad**, estimates that "in that fateful August 1914" there were "anywhere from 150,000 to 200,000 Americans" abroad. (150) Earlier, he gives over 100,000 transatlantic travelers by 1900. (102)

- <sup>67</sup> Edith Wharton, *Italian Backgrounds* (New York, 1908), 5.
- <sup>68</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York, 1979), trans. Alan Sheridan, 148, 149.
- <sup>69</sup> Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry*, Volume 8, Number 4 (Summer, 1982), 789.
- <sup>70</sup> Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 790.
- <sup>71</sup> See Dulles, *Americans Abroad*, Chapter VI.
- <sup>72</sup> I owe this point in particular (and much else in general) to Walter Benn Michaels, who directed the National Endowment for the Humanities Institute on American Realism at the University of California, Berkeley, 1985, without which the production of this paper would not have been possible.
- <sup>73</sup> Frazar, *Practical Guide*, 1.
- <sup>74</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, "Improvisation and Power," in *Literature and Society: Selected Papers from the English Institute*, 1978 (Baltimore, 1980), 57-8.
- <sup>75</sup> Grant Allen, *The European Tour* (New York, 1908), 5-6, 12.
- <sup>76</sup> Henry M. Sayre, "Surveying the Vast Profound: The Panoramic Landscape in American Consciousness," *The Massachusetts Review*. Volume XXIV, Number 4 (Winter, 1983), 736. Sayre argues (to summarize too briefly) that visual panoramas — first constructed in London — led to a widespread popularity for, and creation of, heroic, epic vistas concurrently produced by American painting and history during the last half of the nineteenth century. As he puts it, "the collective, anonymous, and sovereign gaze permeates American culture throughout the last half of the nineteenth century," a point of view that Sayre conclusively characterizes as furthermore "imperial."
- <sup>77</sup> Mulvey, *Anglo-American Landscapes*, 24.
- <sup>78</sup> As always of course travel within the United States was figured forth differently to the extent (which I have not tried to assess) that it had its own separate development from travel abroad. For example, in Theodore Roosevelt's famous speech of 1899, "The Strenuous Life," he urged his hearers to "boldly face the law of strife... for it is only through strife, through hard and dangerous endeavor, that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness." (Quoted in Higham, *Writing American History*, 78.) Though travel abroad was certainly implicated in "national greatness," travel at home was clearly more suitable to strenuousness, as Belasco's pages on the do-it-yourself, roughing-it appeal of early automobile travel make apparent. Or, to take another example, by 1913 ten different railroad lines advertised in one issue of the *Literary Digest*. (Noted in Peter Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America*, New York, 1969, 148.) Again, such advertising may have had European travel as its model,

but the relationship is not easily disentangled, nor perhaps even very profitably. By 1914, "travel" functioned as a kind of reversible term, feeding disparate energies both outside and inside the country.

<sup>79</sup> MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 3.

<sup>80</sup> The career of Frederick Law Olmstead provides virtually a case study in the convergence of each of these two projects. He visited England in 1850, wrote of his travels in *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England* (New York, 1852, 2 volumes), and eventually made use of his experience in order to design many of America's urban parks, beginning with Central Park. In *The Incorporation of America*, Trachtenberg has some acute pages on Olmstead, 107-12. In effect what Olmstead's designs accomplished was a transformation of the foreign for domestic purposes that preserved the pastoralizing sign of the foreign.

<sup>81</sup> Twain, *Innocents*, 56.

<sup>82</sup> MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 120.

<sup>83</sup> Along with Lears, cited earlier, see Frank Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising* (New York, 1929), who at one point quotes Calvin Coolidge on how advertising, "rightfully applied, is the method by which the desire is created for better things." (622) Travel was the name for one of these better things and the source of imagery by which the desire for still better things was produced. This dynamic was inseparable from the beginning of both travel abroad and advertising.

<sup>84</sup> Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 782.

<sup>85</sup> Mark Seltzer in his *Henry James & the Art of Power* (Ithaca, 1984) puts the more abstract point of a "double discourse" especially well: "The double discourse of power thus requires a strategic opposition and difference — an aporetic moment; it requires a power of separation and a separation of powers in order to operate." (183)

<sup>86</sup> James, *The Art of Travel*, 281.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 341.

<sup>88</sup> Another way to present this is in Seltzer, *Henry James*: "Put simply, the novel makes power acceptable in the form of the aesthetic representation itself." (149) For further studies of what might be called the disciplinary dialectics of Jamesian representation, see the opposing views of James's practice in Jean-Christophe Agnew, "The Consuming Vision of Henry James" in Lears and Fox, *The Culture of Consumption* and in Stuart Culver, "Representing the Author: Henry James, Intellectual Property, and the Work of Writing" in *Henry James: Fiction as History*, ed. Ian F.A. Bell.

<sup>89</sup> Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, 124.

- <sup>90</sup> Charles Dudley Warner, *Saunterings*, Volume 1 of *The Complete Writings of Charles Dudley Warner* (Hartford, 1904), 11.
- <sup>91</sup> On the origins of travel writing see Percy G. Adams, *Travels and Travel Liars* (Berkeley, 1962).
- <sup>92</sup> Bayard Taylor, ed. *Cyclopedia of Modern Travel* (Cincinnati, 1856), vii.
- <sup>93</sup> Wharton, *Italian Backgrounds*, 85.
- <sup>94</sup> Frazar, *Practical Guide*, 1.
- <sup>95</sup> Allen, *European Tour*, 6.
- <sup>96</sup> Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, Part III, Chapter 3, "Panopticism."
- <sup>97</sup> Allen, *European Tour*, 284.
- <sup>98</sup> Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 202.
- <sup>99</sup> James, *The Art of Travel*, 171.
- <sup>100</sup> Frazar, *Practical Guide*, 82.
- <sup>101</sup> Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 187. Compare the later, more striking maxim: "Visibility is a trap." (200)
- <sup>102</sup> Studies of the relationship between photography and tourism are many. I would cite only Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York, 1977) for its polemical force and Chapter 14, "Nature and the Camera," in Schmitt, *Back to Nature* for its brief, densely factual tracing of how the camera pastoralized nature at home for Americans.

Eastman Kodak was marketed in the United States as soon as it was invented in 1880. I have been unable to discover when the first travel book was published in the United States that was illustrated with photographs. In *Anglo-American Landscapes* Mulvey mentions that illustrations became more numerous in travel books towards the end of the century, and that James was distressed by the illustrations that accompanied a new edition of *English Hours* which came out in 1905. (xii)

- <sup>103</sup> Take the matter of guides and guide books. Guides were not guide books. The difference between them could merit a study in itself, though it would only reveal, I think, that the difference is only one of not easily determinable degree before it shades into a difference of kind; what in fact dictates the contrast between Murray's guides for American travelers abroad, issued before the Civil War, the annual *Handbook for Travelers in Europe and the East* published by Harper beginning in the 1860's, or Cook's *Excursionist* is ultimately less a textual difference than one of disciplinary formation. There simply was no tourism of the nature and scale before the last decade of the nineteenth century as

represented by the guide books from which I have been quoting. The point I would make is that what I have termed an economy of use was indigenous to American travel and travel writing from its earliest decades (growing out of the periodical travelogues made up into books) and that this economy sustained a practical relay of possible, real presence for readers at home who dreamed of traveling. Abroad, furthermore, could not have been so greedily and pervasively appropriated by Americans had they merely felt displaced — although of course one could further argue that such appropriation rather inexorably became one basis upon which they eventually (and modernistically) came to feel displaced anyway. But this is not quite to say the same thing as MacCannell; the modern world cannot have the same structure of a tourist attraction before the tourist attraction is given as a model for the world.

<sup>104</sup> MacCannell, **The Tourist**, 13, 15.

<sup>105</sup> T.J. Jackson Lears, **No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920** (New York, 1981), 25.

<sup>106</sup> On this last point, see Plesur, **America's Outward Thrust**, 67-8.

<sup>107</sup> Allen, **European Tour**, 9-10.

<sup>108</sup> Edwin Buxbaum, **Collector's Guide to the National Geographic Magazine** (Wilmington, undated), 28.

<sup>109</sup> W.B. Powell, "Geographic Instructions in the Public Schools," **National Geographic Magazine**, Volume V, April 7, 1893, 137-53. Subsequent references are cited in parenthesis in the text.

<sup>110</sup> Allen, **European Tour**, 14-15, 10.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*, 167.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, 10.

<sup>113</sup> **The Education of Henry Adams**, 95.

<sup>114</sup> Twain, **Innocents**, 362.

<sup>115</sup> Royce, "The Mechanical, the Historical, and the Statistical," 730.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid*.