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Introduction: Home Tourism

Benjamin Colbert

A season comes in every year when Englishmen are converted into a nation of tourists. ... We are so far happy in the British Isles, that it is rather an advantage to those amongst us who love beautiful scenery for its own sake, to be turned back upon our own country. ... There are the Scotch Highlands and the English Lakes; there are North and South Wales, – Snowdon and the Vale of Festiniog; Chepstow and the Wye; – there is Devonshire with the Dart and the Exe; there are the southern counties with all their beautiful home scenery. All these points are more or less visited by all wanderers. There is one portion of the British Isles, however, which, as far as beauty and variety of scenery are concerned, yields to no other, but yet remains comparatively unknown. How few are the persons who, except for business purposes, have visited the southern and western districts of Ireland!

The Times (18 June 1849)¹

Travel begins and ends at home. The journey out and the homecoming have long been framing devices in travel accounts, while home itself remains a point of reference, perhaps more so the farther a traveller goes (Marco Polo, as Italo Calvino perceptively represents him in *Invisible Cities*, always speaks of Venice when describing Chinese cities to Kublai Khan).² It is no different with ‘home tourism’, localized itineraries that indicate a desire to discover closer at hand what is unfamiliar, yet at the same time to harmonize, homogenize, and extend the purview of home. Yet within the British Isles national, linguistic, and cultural

boundaries are indelibly inscribed. Travellers from and to the four nations – England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales – have long found themselves at once ‘at home’ and on foreign ground as they move beyond borders that demarcate their senses of belonging. Historically, travel writers have responded variously to these dislocations. Sometimes they engage in proto-colonialist commentary on the civilization, cultivation, or modernity of those whom they encounter; sometimes they grope towards a selfhood that acknowledges and embraces otherness (what Michael Cronin has called a ‘micro-cosmopolitan’ identity³); and at other times they elide all questions of identity politics into an aesthetics of landscape, the ‘beauty and variety of scenery’ that *The Times* projected in 1849 as the measure of tourist desire.

The history of home tourism in Britain dates back at least to religious pilgrimage. Chaucer’s *Canterbury pilgrims*, as Ian Ousby remarks, anticipate nearly all the attitudes and patterns of modern tourism: the fixed itineraries, the attention to predetermined sights, the trust in guides, the desire for keepsakes and souvenirs, and the longing for a higher purpose that justifies the whole.⁴ An earlier example might be found in Gerald of Wales, who recorded his travels in 1188 ‘accompanying Archbishop Baldwin on a mission to acquire volunteers to embark on a Crusade’, as Katie Gramich notes in her contribution to this volume. However, Esther Moir traces ‘the *habit* of touring their native land’ to English gentry in the sixteenth century, pride in the accomplishments of Tudor England and a desire to extend its power motivating their journeys.⁵ While the Grand Tour held sway on the European Continent and provided gentleman tourists with well-established itineraries and patterns of self-fashioning, the home tour, as Moir argues, was the preserve of individualists who toured out of enthusiasm but with fewer guidelines and expected outcomes.⁶ Refusing to be drawn into a traveller/tourist debate over the authenticity of experience, Moir is right to allow even these individualists their denomination as ‘tourists’. Nevertheless, there does appear to be a qualitative difference between the period of habit-formation and that of institutionalization, when tourist sights become, in Dean MacCannell’s phrase, ‘sacralized’; when patterns of apperception and mobility become formalized; and when tourism begins steadily to extend below the aristocracy and gentry to include the middle and, later in the nineteenth century, the working classes.⁷ Though rooted earlier, modern home tourism (and arguably tourism in general) flowers in the mid-eighteenth century as a popular leisure pursuit with a developing infrastructure of roads, inns, attractions, guides, guidebooks, engravings, narratives, and, with the rise of the taste for picturesque

landscape, its own vocabulary and aesthetics. Picturesque tourism became an end in itself for some and a pleasing contrast with labouring Britain for others. Tourists also pursued agricultural, industrial, and scientific information;⁸ or the homes, haunts, and tombs of writers.⁹ Spas and coastal resorts became popular, as did beauty spots: the Lakes in Cumberland, the Scottish Highlands, Tintern Abbey and the Wye River valley, or the Lakes of Killarney in Ireland.¹⁰ So many of the home tourist paths laid down then are with us now.

While there is a burgeoning scholarship on travel writing and tourism in Britain and Ireland, the principal studies – several by contributors to this volume – have had a regional, gender, or thematic focus.¹¹ The privilege of an essay collection is to take a wider prospect, and this one, bringing together the latest research from leading travel historians and travel writing specialists, is the first devoted solely to the home tour. The essays chart many of the key developments of modern tourism and travel writing in Britain and Ireland from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, rounded off by a retrospective and prospective essay that takes its vantage from the borderlands of Ireland in the 1980s. The volume as a whole covers a period of immense political, social, and cultural change in the British Isles. Political milestones such as the Acts of Union between England and Scotland (1707) and Great Britain and Ireland (1800), or the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars that followed, began a process in which tourism and travel writing played a central role in imagining or re-imagining the nations jostling for position in the mental geographies of the British and Irish peoples.¹² The essays here accordingly consider identity from various national perspectives, including those of foreign visitors from America and Continental Europe, and describe complicated negotiations between tourists' growing sense of Britain as a unified imperial centre, their desire for (or resistance to) homogeneity from within, and their recognition that language and representation intervene fundamentally in perceptions of belonging. Socially and culturally, the essays are also concerned with such issues as the aesthetic idealization of landscape and the *patria*, gender transgression and class stratification, the rise of mass travel and commercial culture, and the politics of touristic enjoyment. While no essay collection can claim comprehensiveness, this volume will be an indispensable guide to advanced students and scholars seeking an overview of modern home tourism in Britain and Ireland.

Home tourism is a special type of what Susan Pitchford calls 'identity tourism', 'in which collective identities are represented, interpreted, and potentially constructed through the use of history and culture'.¹³

Picturesque aesthetics, antiquarianism, and ethnology all serve this process by linking the surfaces and depths of touristic experience to wider frames of reference; Thomas West's comparison in 1778 of the Lake District to Continental scenery ('in miniature, an idea of ... the ALPS and APPENINES'),¹⁴ for example, gestured to a larger perspective in which home tourism became an argument for national self-sufficiency. British peripheries in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland were brought together as living museums of an inter-related Celtic heritage by numerous tourists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Meanwhile, conjoining England to its Welsh and Scottish neighbours, encyclopaedic projects such as Edward Wedlake Brayley and John Britton's *The Beauties of England and Wales* (18 vols, 1801–18) and Richard Ayton and William Daniell's *A Voyage round Great Britain* (8 vols, 1814–25) re-centred the nation. Brayley and Britton – and the many subeditors who carried on the project when they no longer could – made a point of undertaking extensive travels and local interviews, cross-checking empirical with historical data. The retrospective introduction, produced by James Norris Brewer after the completion of the main body of the work, argued that the endeavour had 'performed the laudable task of ameliorating much that was repugnant in the crust of antiquity; ... and ha[d] proved that ponderous masses of monastic or castellated stone, nearly shapeless through age, and overgrown with ivy, are often fraught with tales of touching emphasis.'¹⁵ The compilers' excavations and analyses reinvigorate the picturesque, its regimented views and formalist principles, by layering historical meaning onto and beneath the surfaces that present themselves to the tourist. The volumes thus stand for and promote a textualized landscape subordinate to a grand narrative that elicits national feelings ('tales of touching emphasis'). Touring Britain, the volumes assure their readers, is not an act of superficial dilettantism, but amounts to a reading of the nation and the foundations on which it is built. Increasingly, readers looked to home tourism and travel writing more widely to provide this rich description, to connect the past and present in a single narrative, and to 'accredit' the participation of the tourist classes in the cultural life of the nation.¹⁶

The epitome of the textualization of landscape and the sign of touristic saturation is the guidebook, a term first used in 1814, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. 'We can no longer set forth as discoverers', remarked a reviewer for *The London Quarterly Review* in 1864, with reference to the extension of John Murray's guidebook series from Continental destinations to his 'red books' on the British Isles. In a manner reminiscent of the 1818 introduction to *The Beauties* just

quoted, the reviewer celebrates the guidebooks' distillation of topographical and antiquarian study: 'Such books – which not only show us England as it is at present, but point out and describe for us the numberless relics of its former history – were only possible after many generations of antiquaries and topographers, and contain the very essence of their labours. Whilst travelling in England was never so easy, the means of real benefit by such travel were never more completely within the reach of all classes.'¹⁷ The difference between Brewer's position and the reviewer's is the latter's acknowledgment of mass tourism and the access provided by guidebooks to the lore of previous generations. The democratization of taste that Tim Fulford has deemed the birthright of the picturesque¹⁸ finds its apotheosis in the humble guidebook. Surfaces give way to depths that, in turn, open out into breadth.

The increasing importance and pervasiveness of guidebooks and travel narratives in the nineteenth century also testifies to the cumulative nature of tourism as a commercial phenomenon. These writings suggest a growing sense of the powers and responsibilities of domestic tourism: its effect on the psychological health of workers liberated from drudgery by their ability to go 'on holiday'; its role in circulating wealth, agricultural 'improvements', and industry; and its potential to help define a British modernity in which work and leisure played a mutually supportive role. Perhaps the greatest obstacle to the associations promoted between tourism and modernity, however, were tourists' confrontation with poverty. Popular aesthetic modes like the picturesque tended to airbrush labour from the domestic scene, writing nostalgic visions of common ground onto a landscape parcelled out into enclosures, as Ann Bermingham has influentially argued,¹⁹ and primitivist discourses too were at hand with which tourists might explain away or gloss over an impoverished peasantry, especially in Wales, the Scottish Highlands, and Ireland. Ireland was especially problematic. In pre-Famine Ireland, poverty became more visible on the tourist track. It was an unsightly reminder that modernity did not necessarily bring with it improvement for all, and it called into question the *laissez-faire* morality that underpinned this modernity. The aesthetic, political, and economic responses to poverty in fact tell us a great deal about the ideological fault lines in the development of mass tourism and are a recurrent concern in several of the essays below.

The imaginative construction of the 'whole island of Great Britain', as Daniel Defoe's 1707 travelogue phrases it, is the subject of the opening essay in this volume. Paul Smethurst traces a line from Defoe to Thomas Pennant, both of whom conceived of Britain as a centralized power

whose unity in an imperial context they take for granted. Though a Welshman, Pennant carries with him an essentially English metropolitan frame of reference, even as he traverses national peripheries. In Pennant's tours to Scotland between 1769 and 1772, the Scottish Highlands embody a primitivism commensurate to that reported back from the Pacific by James Cook's travel accounts, of which Pennant was an avid reader. Yet the measure of the modern for Pennant is agricultural improvement and Scotland too becomes fertile ground for the export of economic 'progress'. Linked to the centre by its susceptibility to improvement and distinguished by its outlandishness, Scotland represents the heterogeneous microcosm of the 'whole island' linked concentrically to the wider world.

Attention to coastal features of the 'whole island' in Ayton and Daniell's circumnavigation narrative evolves out of a growing fashion for sea-bathing that Alain Corbin dates from the 1750s.²⁰ Yet the coast could be treacherous and seductive, sublime and picturesque (and much of Ayton and Daniell's own first tour was conducted by carriage, when seas and winds would not cooperate). Zoë Kinsley develops the implications of the coast's liminality for women travellers, instancing a neglected travelogue, Mary Morgan's *Tour to Milford Haven* (1795). While popular satirists, poets, and other travel writers stressed the attractions of sea-bathing for women (and the attractions of their bodies on the beach to voyeuristic males), Morgan complicates the picture. Like Pennant, she is drawn to the peripheral nature of Wales and its coast, and indulges there in a cautious fantasy of the beach as a space of freedom from custom and from sexual restraint, yet ultimately she recoils from the sublime treachery of the sea, its promise of shipwreck, rape, and death. In Kinsley's view, Morgan's travelogue tallies with Jean-Didier Urbain's notion that the beach 're-centres' rather than destabilizes the self; Morgan's retreat from the coast symbolizes her embrace of a secure, inland identity.

Travelogues that dramatize self-fashioning would appear to be of a different order from guidebooks that stage-manage touristic experience. C. S. Matheson's essay, however, complicates this in turning to a particularly rich example, Charles Heath's *Historical and Descriptive Accounts of ... Tintern Abbey* which, with its eleven editions between 1793 and 1828, grew up alongside and contributed to the popularity of the Wye River valley as a tourist attraction. Rather than merely distilling the 'essence' of past antiquarians, historians, and topographers, Heath's guidebook proves to be dynamic, responding in successive editions to readers' feedback, to further research by Heath and others, and to new

arrangements in tourist infrastructure. Heath's hasty production of the editions, including unpaginated insertions of the latest topical material, bespeaks furthermore an elision between textuality and orality, authority and sociability, as Heath embeds in the experience of Tintern Abbey the purchase of his book as well as his own persona as on-the-spot author/guide. As Matheson demonstrates, Heath increasingly interweaves references to himself into successive editions, breaking down the distinctions between the impersonal guidebook and autobiography, the most personal of genres.

In the next essay, Benjamin Colbert considers another phenomenon of home tourism, the interest amongst British readers in how they were viewed by foreign travellers. While continental travellers had long made the British Isles a destination, the number of such narratives translated into English for a British market increased dramatically after 1780. The marketability of these reverse ethnologies gave rise as well to a spate of fictional 'translations' in the manner of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* or Oliver Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*, yet wherein the tourist observers are not exotic visitors but fellow Europeans (for example, Robert Southey's Spanish persona in *Letters from England by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella* (1807)). These proximate narratives become involved in party political representations of national identities, particularly during and immediately after the French Revolution, when Gallophobia characterized much mainstream discourse. However, Colbert identifies within the travelogues of two Francophone travellers, Jacque-Henri Meister and Louis Simond, a transcultural argument reflected by the visitors back upon their British hosts. Through the eyes of foreign travellers, the British see themselves as a travelling nation characterized by an 'insular cosmopolitanism', fundamentally programmed by a restless mobility to defy the physical and psychological limits of their coastal nation.

Of course, British translators, editors, and readers were especially adept at choosing and packaging foreign travel accounts that spoke to home affairs, politically and culturally. Turning from the British market for translation to continental, specifically German, accounts of England, the essay by Jan Borm describes a growing tradition in German travel accounts in which attractions are complicated by social critique, a recognition that cosmopolitanism among the wealthy is not universal in a class-divided, tradition-bound island nation. Tracing a line from Georg Forster to Johanna Schopenhauer (mother of the philosopher) to Heinrich Heine, Borm argues that German travellers are increasingly critical of British 'liberty' (so important to pre-French Revolutionary models of political reform), looking to post-revolutionary France

instead for signs of a liberal, democratic future. While the 'practicality' of British approaches to property, industrialism, and commerce, as well as the persistence of the 'garden of England' trope continued to draw German eyes, travel writers wrote their island neighbour out of continental affairs, using it more for satire or as a critical foil rather than a discursive repository for new ideas and ideals.

As Ina Ferris has remarked, Ireland after its union with Great Britain was 'the foreign place that was also home'.²¹ The cosmopolitan attitude Colbert discusses that was so flattering when retailed by foreign travellers was less in evidence when British travellers crossed the Irish channel. In his survey of the first fifty years of Irish home tourism after Union, William H. A. Williams describes the method of apprehending Ireland as the 'petit tour', modelled on the Grand Tour, an exhaustive enquiry into the social, economic, political, and cultural life of a land newly incorporated into British polity. Protestant visitors, however, also brought with them distaste for 'popery' and desired to sway the Irish to the 'true religion', one of many incompatibilities between visitor and visited that the Irish home tour threw into relief. Cultural misunderstanding arose too on the question of poverty, for historical reasons chiefly rural in Ireland and urban in England – a disparity English travellers were apt to put down to the chaos and primitivism of the Irish national character, a 'natural' predisposition. The contrast between poverty and natural beauty thus became a recurring feature of pre-Famine travel writing.

Poverty within more isolated tourist-dependent economies was equally apt to be explained by national character, but it could also enhance the story tourism tells about itself. Katherine Grenier's discussion of tourism to the Hebridean island of Iona illustrates how tourist fascination with relics and ruins associated with the spiritual history of St Columba, credited with bringing Christianity to pagan Scotland in the sixth century, becomes reconfigured as a desire to ease poverty through acts of charity and tourist-inspired economic aid. The sights of 'ragged children' selling pebbles and trinkets met every nineteenth-century tourist who disembarked on the island, yet accounts of the Iona tour over time begin to represent the children less as Gaelic beggars than Scottish entrepreneurs attempting to better their lot by engaging with tourism. Under the guidance of Thomas Cook, day-trippers to Iona were encouraged to contribute money towards a charitable society that intervened directly in the island economy by purchasing fishing boats and providing Christian education for promising youths. Publicizing the gratitude of these 'deserving poor' in his journal, *Cook's Excursionist*,

Cook promoted a vision of mass tourism as a force for economic revitalization and social progress.

Nicola J. Watson's essay considers the literary aspect of mass tourism in Scotland. Watson explores the making and unmaking of 'Scott country', from the initial success of Scott's *The Minstrelsy of the Border* in transforming settings along the Tweed into romantic localities, through to the Victorian passion for 'Scott-land', and finally to the cultural forgetting of Scott that began to make itself felt in the 1920s. Watson argues that the idea of 'Scott country' developed as a result of interconnected practices of annotating, adapting, and illustrating Scott's works, all of which practices fed into travel-writing and tourism itself. She examines how this sense of Scott country eventually became over-extended into England, Europe, and beyond, and considers the ways in which early twentieth-century writings consequently conceived 'Scott country' strictly within the limits of the verifiably biographical. No longer romancing the tourist nation, Scott became reduced to a footnote in Scottish history.

Katie Gramich exposes the overlay of romance and history in travelers' constructions of Wales in the Victorian and Edwardian eras. Both foreign and native accounts of Wales sought to reclaim the region from Romantic aestheticization (Wales was considered replete with sublime and picturesque 'scenes') as well as mid-century negative portrayals of its backwardness. Aided by a Celtic revival in British literature, travel writers paid closer attention to the cultural uniqueness of Wales but, in subtle and not so subtle ways, they underlined its otherness, idealized its peasantry as noble mountaineers, and, in later travelogues, prepared the grounds for Welsh nationalism by invoking cultural rootedness rather than acknowledging the political transformations underway in the South Wales coalfields and among the working classes generally. These positions – occupied in Gramich's analysis by an English emigrant to Wales, an Oxford don *from* Wales, and an American daughter of Welsh parentage – are in no way apolitical, but they do indicate an important class divide between tourists and their subjects, those who represent and those represented.

The next two essays turn again to Irish tourist discourse and its construction of national space. In his cross-sectional survey from the Great Famine to decolonization, Spurgeon Thompson argues that post-Famine tourism becomes 'post-political'; post-Union travel writing's imperative to explain Ireland and advance solutions to its economic problems is replaced by 'description, directions, and historical associations'. The famine itself – its causes, the suffering it produced – becomes a taboo

subject; travel writing instead commodifies the depopulated land of Ireland, promoting opportunities for its exploitation by investors and tourists (often assumed to be one and the same). In this sense, romantic landscape aesthetics returns as advertising, a reification still very much part of the Irish tourist industry today, as Thompson notes. K. J. James focuses on the Irish beauty spot Killarney, and finds a surprising homogeneity between travellers of different nations in their representations of the Irish peasantry, and, like Thompson, links this to the commodification of tourism, the recycling of older forms of touristic response. Involved and implicated in mass outings (sponsored by railway companies or Cook's tours), tourists developed ways of distinguishing their own authoritative statements about Ireland from those presented by their Irish guides, whom they accused of having low commercial motives. For visitors to Killarney, drinking 'mountain dew' with descendents of the beautiful and seductive Kate Kearney – celebrated in song by the poet Sydney Owenson – became a performance not to be missed, but one that gave rise to standard disparagements in print. Past and present inscribed on the bodies of Kate Kearney's 'descendants' thus reinforced the authority, intelligence, and discrimination of the English tourist.

The homogenization of tourism through rail travel is a bugbear in much Victorian literature, yet technologies of mobility play an important role in the history of tourism. Perhaps a common denominator in the nineteenth century was the perception that macadamized roads, steam-driven ships and trains, and latterly the automobile increased accessibility to tourist sites and the speed with which one could arrive, achieving a compression of space and time. 'The definition of a man is a locomotive animal', wrote a contributor to *The New Monthly Magazine* in 1843, not altogether in jest.²² In the penultimate essay, Esme Coulbert considers the transformations introduced by motor tourism from the turn of the century to the 1930s. As revolutionary as automotive technology undoubtedly was in liberating tourists from the constraints of package touring, motor tourism also recapitulates earlier patterns. At first the privilege of the wealthy, the car inevitably became commercialized, extending the possibilities of motor touring to the middle and lower classes. With commercialization came strategies in motor travel writing for self-valorization, an emphasis on the audacity of motorists off the beaten track and on 'the open road' at the expense of less adventuresome followers. Ambivalence towards the technology was also a feature: while early motorists prided themselves on being at the forefront of modernization, they increasingly sought out signs of an unchanging England in bucolic, pastoral villages.

The final essay by Michael Cronin finds in its chronological distance from the other contributions a purchase on them, and might well be read as a coda to the book. His subject is Desmond Fennell's *A Connacht Journey* and Colm Tóibín's *Walking along the Border*, the works of two Irish travellers, both published in 1987 and both concerned with complex border spaces in which multiple identities – colonial and post-colonial, English and Irish – create frictions through language. Like Colbert, Cronin explores the impulse of home tour readers and writers to defamiliarize, to re-see their home as if it were foreign, in what Cronin calls an 'ethnology of proximity'. Like Kinsley, Cronin is also concerned with liminal spaces replete with danger and desire; in the case of Tóibín's journey, the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic. Cronin's discussion of Fennell's travelogue engages with Williams's, Thompson's, and James's essays, too, in all of which the West of Ireland becomes figured by tourists as the mythic, pre-modern embodiment of 'Irishness'; here, Fennell confronts a palimpsest of linguistic overlays that require translation even to those like himself who consider it 'home' ground. Both travelogues lead Cronin, in contradistinction to Colbert's depiction of the 'time-space compression' inaugurated by automotive technologies, to emphasize the importance of slowing down in a world where speed of access across great distance rather than proximity has become the hallmark of intimacy, the legacy of the period covered by this book. Cronin fittingly looks to home tourism for a new departure, a micro-modernity, in which deceleration, staying close by, and 'microspectation' allow one to re-enchant a world grown uniform through globalization's relentless homogenization of space.

Notes

1. Qtd in *Description of the Lakes of Killarney, and the Surrounding Scenery* (London, 1849), xii–xiii.
2. Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, trans. William Weaver (London: Vintage, 1997), 86–7.
3. See Michael Cronin, 'Global Questions and Local Visions: A Microcosmopolitan Perspective', in *Beyond the Difference: Welsh Literature in Comparative Contexts: Essays for M. Wynn Thomas at Sixty*, ed. Alyce von Rothkirch and Daniel Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), 186–202.
4. Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 7–8.
5. Esther Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540–1840* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), xiv; my emphasis.
6. See Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, 3–4.
7. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 43–8.

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8. See Benjamin Colbert, 'Aesthetics of Enclosure: Agricultural Tourism and the Place of the Picturesque', *European Romantic Review* 13.1 (March 2002), 23–34.
9. See Nicola J. Watson, *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), and Watson, ed., *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
10. For coastal tourism, see Zoë Kinsley's essay below; for picturesque tourism, see Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989).
11. In addition to Andrews, Moir, Ousby, and Watson, already mentioned, important studies of home tourism include: (General) Zoë Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour, 1682–1812* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); (Ireland) Donal Horgan, *The Victorian Visitor in Ireland: Irish Tourism 1840–1910* (Cork: Imagedia, 2002), Michael Cronin, *Irish Tourism: Image, Culture and Identity* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2003), Glenn Hooper, *Travel Writing and Ireland, 1760–1860* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), William H. A. Williams, *Creating Irish Tourism: The First Century, 1750–1850* (London: Anthem, 2010); (Scotland) John Glendenning, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland, and Literature 1720–1820* (London: Macmillan, 1997), Alastair Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays: A History of Tourism in Scotland, 1780–1939* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2003), Katherine-Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770–1914: Creating Caledonia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), Betty Hagglund, *Tourists and Travellers: Women's Non-fictional Writings about Scotland, 1770–1830* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010).
12. See Susan Pitchford, *Identity Tourism: Imaging and Imagining the Nation* (Bingley: Emerald Group, 2008), 5.
13. Pitchford, *Identity Tourism*, 3.
14. Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes: Dedicated to the Lovers of Landscape Studies, and to All Who Have Visited, or Intend to Visit the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire* (London, 1778), 5–6.
15. James Norris Brewer, *Introduction to the Original Delineations, Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive, Intituled The Beauties of England and Wales* (London, 1818), vii–viii.
16. For 'cultural accreditation' on the Continental tour, see James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 110–11.
17. 'Travelling in England', review Article VIII, *The London Quarterly Review* 231 (July 1864), 115 (American edn, New York, 1864, Google Books, Web, 17 Feb. 2011).
18. Tim Fulford, *Landscape, Liberty, and Authority: Poetry, Criticism, and Politics from Thomson to Wordsworth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 142.
19. Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
20. See Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside, 1750–1840*, trans. Jocelyn Phelps (London: Penguin, 1995).
21. Ina Ferris, *The Romantic National Tale and the Question of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 18.
22. 'A Few Thoughts upon Tourists', *The New Monthly Magazine* 69.275 (Nov. 1843), 290.

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