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**The democratisation of photography and the promotion of
tourism: the Polytechnic Touring Association (1888-1939)**

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**THE DEMOCRATISATION OF PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE PROMOTION OF
TOURISM: THE POLYTECHNIC TOURING ASSOCIATION (1888-1939)**

SARA DOMINICI

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to explore a specific aspect of the relationship between photography and tourism, that is, how the democratisation of photography influenced the marketing of tourism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It focuses on the first fifty years of activity of the Polytechnic Touring Association (PTA), an initially philanthropic turned commercial travel firm, whose historical origins coincided with the Kodak-led emergence of popular photography in 1888. During this period, the travel firm moved from using photography-based images to rely increasingly on mixed media, including drawings and graphic design. This use of new representational media was certainly a response to new market demands; if and how a new approach to photography also influenced it, however, is still an unexplored question. By taking as its principal primary source the PTA archive, this research thus seeks to establish the extent to which such a shift can also be explained by accounting for the transformed perception engendered by new photographic practices.

The thesis begins with an examination of how practices of photographic production and consumption might relate to changing understandings of photography and travel, and their consequent influence on the demand for and representation of tourism. It then moves on to consider this relationship between tourism and tourist practices in the context of the social and cultural changes that saw the emergence and development of mass photography, tourism, and tourism marketing from the late nineteenth century. The specific representational choices made by the PTA to promote its tours are then investigated against this historical background. Specifically, these are explored in relation to the changing function of the tours, and, in a related way, to the perception of tourists as evidenced by their practices, in particular photographic ones.

Overall, this investigation argues that the multiplicity of photographic perspectives engendered by the democratisation of photography, and a related transformation of the value attached to the photograph, resulted in an organisation such as the PTA reconsidering how best to represent itself in light of a shift from broadly educational concerns to emergent commercial imperatives.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
CPF	City Parochial Foundation
HAT	History of Advertising Trust
HT	Home Tidings
LCC	London County Council
PM	Polytechnic Magazine
PTA	Polytechnic Touring Association
RGS	Royal Geographical Society
RPI	Royal Polytechnic Institution
RSP	Regent Street Polytechnic
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
UWA	University of Westminster Archive
YMCI	Young Men's Christian Institute
YPRS	York Place Ragged School

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Overview

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the simultaneous and intertwined development of photography and tourism. This thesis contributes to discussion of this intersection by exploring a specific aspect of such a relationship, that is, the influence that the democratisation of photography had on the visual promotion of travel and tourism as these developed within the emerging travel industry. The focus of this inquiry are the first fifty years of activity of the Polytechnic Touring Association (PTA), an originally philanthropic turned commercial travel firm, whose historical origins coincided with the arrival of the Kodak camera in 1888 – and, thus, of popular photography.¹ During the period discussed here, the promotion of the PTA tours shifted from an almost exclusive use of photography-based images to rely increasingly on drawings and graphic design, as was the case within the travel industry more broadly. Many historians and critics have recognised the degree to which the use of new representational media was a response to new market demands; if and how this was also influenced by a new approach to photography, however, is still largely unexplored. A longitudinal study of the PTA, I propose, allows us to explore, via a specific case study, the relationship between the shift in the use and perception of photography engendered by the democratisation of the medium, and the emergence and development of these early forms of marketing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In this respect, the PTA is a remarkable case study. Originating within an educational context, and maintaining throughout this period a connection with its parent institution, the PTA offers a particularly rich and productive context in which to investigate how the knowledge-based framework within which photography and travel emerged was negotiated as mass photography and the mass marketing of tourism developed.

In order to establish the extent to which new photographic practices might have influenced the PTA's use of images for promotional purposes, this thesis examines, in particular, how practices of photographic production and consumption related to changing

1. The roll-film camera was invented by George Eastman in 1882, and entered the market in 1888 (see Munir and Philips, 2005).

understandings of photography and travel, as well as, in turn, how these affected the demand for tourism and how this came to be represented. It draws upon recent research on the relationship between tourism and tourist practices as interconnected components of the tourism experience, and considers this in the context of the social and cultural changes that saw the emergence and development of mass photography, tourism, and tourism marketing from the late nineteenth century. This provides the historical background to an investigation of the specific representational choices made by the PTA to promote its tours. These will be discussed in relation: i) to the changing function expected of the tours, and how this affected the relationship between the PTA and tourists; and, in a related way, ii) to the perception of tourists as evidenced by their practices, specifically photographic ones, as these were being transformed by the democratisation of photography.

1.2. The Polytechnic and the Polytechnic Touring Association (PTA)

In the autumn of 1882 what would soon come to be known as ‘the Polytechnic’ opened at 309 Regent Street, having relocated from its previous address in Covent Garden.² The personal project of the Victorian philanthropist and businessman Quintin Hogg (1845-1903), the Polytechnic was created to offer educational, social and sporting activities to young men and then women, in this way appealing to London’s working classes. It is reported that, on the opening day, more than 1,000 people applied to join ‘the Institute’, as the Polytechnic was also referred to, and that Hogg himself was there until past midnight to personally greet old and new members (McKenzie, 1898: 542). Giving details of the event, *Home Tidings (HT)*, the in-house journal soon to be renamed *Polytechnic Magazine (PM)*, provided a summary of Hogg’s welcoming speech – and, thus, of his vision for this new venture. Outlining the educational side of the Institute, *HT* reported:

[Hogg] called their attention to the fact that recreation did not necessarily mean

2. The premises at 309 Regent Street had previously been occupied by the Royal Polytechnic Institution (RPI) between 1838 and 1881. The RPI had been opened with the purpose of instructing the public in the ‘practical sciences’, that is, technological developments and scientific discoveries. Appropriately, between 1841 and 1854 the RPI also hosted Richard Beard’s photographic studio, the first in England (see Weeden, 2008). The date of the opening indicates the radical novelty of Beard’s premise, as the boom of photographic studios in London only took place at the beginning of the 1860s (see Edwards, 2006; Heyert, 1979). For a period account of Beard’s studio see *The Times*, 1841, p. 6.

idleness [...] a man really anxious to improve himself, would find his recreation more in change of employment than in mere animal laziness. In these days of foreign competition, technical as well as general education ought to be greatly taken advantage of by our mechanics, if this country was to hold its leading position amongst the manufacturing nations of the world.³

As this extract introduces it, Hogg's project was that of equipping the Polytechnic's members with those educational skills and moral values that would help them to find a (working) place in society, in this way simultaneously forming them as modern citizens. Recreational activities such as sports, clubs and societies, social events, entertainments, travelling and eventually touring developed as complementary aspects of this project. The first decade of activity of the Polytechnic saw the structuring and strengthening of this approach, and its success was such that in 1891 the Government's Charity Commissioners, recognising the value of Hogg's educational work, started supporting the Institute financially. As we will see, this led, however, to the end of Hogg's personal control over the running of Polytechnic's curriculum, and to an increasingly marked separation between educational and recreational activities. Crucially, it also determined the fate of the Polytechnic's domestic holidays and tours abroad. Initially promoted by Hogg in support of the members' personal and professional development, travel provisions eventually distanced themselves from their original philanthropic purposes.

This shift was mainly as a result of two events triggered by the new constitutional arrangement of the Polytechnic: the opening of the tours to non-members in 1891, and the establishment of the PTA as a private company limited by shares in September 1911, and, thus, its transformation into a commercial body. These events progressively transformed the expected function of the tours, the relationship between the PTA and tourists, and consequently the use of visual media in the representation of the firms' tours offer. However, such transformations reflected more than simply a passage from philanthropy to commerce, in so far as they also revealed a reconceptualisation of the idea of personal development itself on which the tours had been founded. What makes the case of the PTA particularly

3. *Home Tidings* (hereafter *HT*), October 1882, p. 195.

interesting in this respect, thus anchoring its development to Hogg's educational vision well after the founder's death in 1903, is the fact that throughout the period discussed in this research the travel firm remained something like a family-owned business. Specifically, its initial development was marked by the management (and eventual ownership) of leading Polytechnic figures Quintin Hogg, Robert Mitchell (1855-1933), and J.E.K. Studd (1858-1944), and by the help they received from their families. While between 1888 and 1911 what would become the PTA shared legal status, staff and finances with the Polytechnic, following the PTA's registration as a private company in 1911 the three one-third owners of the travel firm became Hogg's son Douglas McGarel (1872-1950), Robert Mitchell and J.E.K. Studd. Douglas was a Director of the PTA from 1911 to 1923 (a role also held by his son William Neil, 1910-1995, between 1957 and 1962), and J.E.K. Studd from 1911 and 1944. Three of Studd's sons (Eric, 1887-1975, Ronald, 1889-1956, and Bernard Cyril, 1892-1962) and a grandson (Robert, 1926-1977) also worked as Directors and Continental Directors of the PTA between the late 1920s and 1960s (Penn, 2013: x). This, as I will explore further in Chapter 6, made it possible for Hogg's legacy to be carried on, by gradually adapting it, into the twentieth century.

Crucial to the development of the tours, and thus to how these came to be represented, was the work of its two first Managing Directors, Mitchell and J.E.K.'s son Ronald. Mitchell had started working with Hogg as the honorary Secretary of his 'ragged' school in Covent Garden in 1871, and had become the Polytechnic Director of Education in 1891. His involvement in the organisation and management of the tours was such that the *PM* referred to him as the 'perennial' Mitchell.⁴ As the first (initially de facto) Managing Director of the Polytechnic tours and then of the PTA (1888-1924), and the PTA Director between 1911 and 1929, Mitchell did more than just administer the tours: as we will see, by sharing Hogg's vision for and commitment to education and travel, Mitchell influenced considerably what direction the tours would take once they were opened up to non-members.

Upon Mitchell's retirement in 1924, Ronald Studd was appointed Managing Director of the PTA. In 1929 Ronald bought out Mitchell's shares, who hence ceased all involvements with the PTA. Under Ronald's management the PTA turned to face head on the social and

4. *Polytechnic Magazine* (hereafter *PM*), 14 August 1891, p. 95.

economic transformations that had followed the First World War, further adapting the PTA core values to the interwar era in order to survive in a competitive market. His views on what constituted the improving character of travel, and on how the PTA could serve this, crucially determined the development of the travel firm within this context, so much so that he eventually became the personification of the PTA itself. Until its acquisition by Eagle Aviation in 1962, the PTA remained, in this way, under the ownership and control of Hogg's and Studd's families (Matthews, 2013: 235-236).

The educational legacy of Hogg's Polytechnic, and the tight links maintained during the period here discussed between the travel firm and its parent institution, make the PTA, then, a case study of significant value in relation to the broader research questions addressed by this thesis. First, the specificities of the PTA provide a compelling setting in which to explore how the relationship between photography and travel, which as we will see was initially grounded in their mutual perception as means of acquiring knowledge, responded to changes brought about by the requirements of organised tourism. As I will argue, the development of the PTA tours was eventually driven by commercial demands not because the travel firm had lost sight of the potentially instructive benefits of travel, but because the form of organised learning provided within the early tours was no longer feasible. This transformed the PTA's understanding of what could make travel an improving experience, the firm's relationship with tourists, and consequently the perceived role of photography and other visual media in its representation. Because of this, it is proposed that the PTA's changing offer can be best discussed from the perspective of its conceptualisation as a form of 'cultural travel', that is, travel generally promoted as an improving experience. This is framed by the work, amongst others, of Adorno ([1969] 1991), Burke (1995) and Williams (1976), who have discussed those ideas of 'culture' and 'leisure' which were available throughout the period discussed in this thesis, and of Craik (1997) and Syrjämaa (2008), who have explored how the role of culture within tourism was differently understood in the passage from perceiving travel as educational to experiencing it as recreational.

This supports a second consideration: that a study of the PTA can offer new insights into the commodification of culture for tourists' *consumption*. As has been widely recognised, the process of turning cultural and heritage sites into commodities developed

in parallel with the emergence of a travel and tourism industry (see, for example, Craik, 1997; Dicks, 2003; Richards, 1996b; Wright, 1985). In this respect, it is undeniable that the PTA did indeed broadly follow in this direction by moving from presenting travel as education and ‘rational recreation’ (Bailey, 1978), in the period from the 1880s to around the 1910s, towards the promotion of more leisure-based tours that responded to a demand for what was perceived as ‘sunshine and laziness’ (Stirling Taylor, 1931) in the interwar years. Yet, as suggested above, the distinctive conditions of the PTA allow for an investigation of this development understood not simply as marking some shift from an authentic and valuable to an inauthentic and impoverished experience of travel, but as reflecting a transformed understanding of the relationship between travel and culture more generally. By elucidating such a transformed understanding of cultural travel, this analysis can inform an investigation of what role could consequently come to be allocated to photography and other visual media in the representation of travel and tourism during the first part of the twentieth century.

Third, and related to the above, by focusing on the largely unexplored visual archive of the PTA this thesis contributes towards a greater understanding of the development of tourism marketing in England in the period from the 1880s to the 1930s. Specifically, it complicates dominant understandings of the interwar ‘golden age’ of travel illustrations (Newett, 1982; Shackleton, 1976; Williamson, 1998) by interrogating how far this was the result not only of the emergence of commercial ‘art’, but also of a new perception of photography itself. As I suggest in the next section, this also adds to the existing literature on the Polytechnic and PTA. It does so by focusing on the largely unexplored question of how the culture of travel was articulated visually within the Institute and how, in turn, the PTA carried this legacy on in the early twentieth century.

Primary and secondary sources: introductory remarks

This investigation of the PTA is largely based on those primary sources relating to the Polytechnic and to the PTA, currently held at the University of Westminster Archive (UWA) in London. The research has also benefited from the records of Hogg’s preceding ventures, the York Place Ragged School (YPRS) and the Youths’ Christian Institute (later

known as the Young Men's Christian Institute [YMCI]), and of the Royal Polytechnic Institution (RPI) (1838-1881), the Polytechnic's predecessor in Regent Street, the archives of which are also held at the UWA. The material produced in relation to the Polytechnic tours, and then to the PTA, is vast and diverse, its progressive diversification suggesting the steady growth of the organisation. Together with the items collected by the University's predecessors (for example the in-house journals, bounded and conserved by the Regent Street Polytechnic [RSP]), the UWA is the repository of materials that survived in the buildings of the institutions; that have been donated by old members of the Polytechnic or by the general public; and that are continually acquired by the archivists. Today, the PTA archive includes: administrative and financial records such as correspondence, account and balance sheets, Articles of Association and Annual Returns; publications, such as tour brochures, guidebooks, leaflets, posters and postcards; programmes of the tour reunions; memorabilia, such as tours and excursions itineraries, coupons, train tickets and dinner menus; photo albums, and photographic prints and negatives, produced both by the Polytechnic/PTA, and by tourists who took part in the tours; and glass slides and cinematographic films.

Unfortunately, the promotional material produced by the Polytechnic/PTA in relation to the tours that has survived is limited; and supporting documentation of why and how this was produced is also absent. Nonetheless, acknowledging the archive's holdings as consisting of something like the official 'manifesto' of the Polytechnic/PTA, as it developed from the nineteenth century, these documents can be interrogated in relation to how the organisation saw itself, its objectives and its audience. How it was perceived by the public, and what response or impact the material had, are questions that remain far more difficult to answer. Much material that could today help us to understand better the choices made by the PTA's administrators in terms of choice of images, or of motivations and objectives in the use (and non-use) of photographs - for example meeting minutes or correspondence with the photographers, artists or advertising agencies with which the PTA collaborated - is also sadly lost. One exception to this is a small number of letters from the late 1890s written by the Polytechnic's first advertising agent, H. Samson Clark, now held at the History of Advertising Trust (HAT). Issues of conservation and preservation have further determined

what has survived, as various absences in the collection demonstrate. For instance, as I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 7, the brochures produced to advertise the tours, which provide an invaluable asset in investigating how the PTA's representation of its offer changed over time, are only partially available. Fewer examples are available for the years from 1891 (the year of the first Polytechnic tours brochure) to 1928, a shortage possibly due to the smaller circulation of copies and titles during this period, than for the period from 1929 to 1939, when, as I will aim to show, Studd developed a more proactive marketing approach. The latter resulted in a proliferation of promotional publications and advertisements, a substantial proportion of which are now held by the UWA. In one instance (the 1895 brochure), a copy is available from the British Library (BL). There are also very few examples of advertising holiday posters, or of the glass-slides used during the tour reunions and as part of the educational and recreational travel lectures (only 31 have made it to the archive). The extent to which the availability of the material affects the questions raised within this research is considered later in this section.

For the Polytechnic, the archive includes minutes, agendas and papers of the Governing Body and of other Committees; administrative, financial and educational records; publications, such as prospectuses of the courses, leaflets, handbooks and other booklets; newsletters, magazines and books, for example the *Poly Portrait Gallery*, a pamphlet on the Polytechnic's key personalities; records of events; and photographs. The UWA also hosts the complete collection of the Polytechnic in-house journal, initially called *Home News* (1879), then *Home Tidings* from the second issue and *Polytechnic Magazine* from 1888 to 1960. The journal was published weekly, fortnightly and monthly. It contains advertisements for the earliest Polytechnic's home holidays and organised tours abroad during the period between 1885 and 1931, together with correspondence and accounts of travels abroad for purposes of study, work or emigration (and thus not necessarily related to the PTA) by Polytechnic staff and members.

The PTA has received little coverage in the secondary literature on the history of tourism and leisure in Britain, with the majority of works focusing instead on Thomas Cook (for example, Brendon, 1991; Cormack, 2002; Pudney, 1953; Ring, 2011, who also accounts for Henry Lunn; Swinglehurst, 1974, 1982; Withey, 1998), on the Co-operative

Holidays Association and its Holiday Fellowship (Prynn, 1976; Snape, 2004), and on the Toynbee Hall's Toynbee Travellers Club (which became the Workmen's Travelling Club and then the Workers' Travel Association) (Briggs and Macartney, 1984; Browne, 1986; Williams, 1960). More recently, the travelling branch of the Polytechnic has received the attention of Michele M. Strong, who has explored the links between the 'spirit of travel' promoted within Hogg's Polytechnic between 1871 and 1903, and the Institute's early approach to organised tours (2012). The Polytechnic has also been the subject of a series of publications recently produced by the University of Westminster itself to outline its history. These include Brenda Weeden's *The Education of the Eye: a History of the Royal Polytechnic Institution 1838-1881* (2008), which includes an interesting overview of the roots of the relationship between education and visual media as it eventually developed within Hogg's Polytechnic; Mark Clapson's *An Education in Sport* (2012), which explores the role allocated to sporting activities within Hogg's project; and the edited volume *Educating Mind, Body and Spirit* (Penn, 2013), which covers the history of the Polytechnic, and of those who participated in its development, in the years from 1864 to 1992. The latter includes Neil Matthews' chapter 'From philanthropy to commerce: the Polytechnic Touring Association', which argues that, although not unique among its competitors, the PTA deserves more recognition as one of the leading British travel firms of its time. Matthews however does not explore the PTA's development of a promotional image, an aspect of the organisation's history to which this thesis contributes. Also of considerable relevance, despite and because of the evident bias of the authors, are the histories of the Polytechnic and of the PTA written, respectively, by Hogg's daughter Ethel Wood and by the PTA's second Managing Director Ronald Studd. Wood's *A history of the Polytechnic* (1965), *Robert Mitchell: A Life of Service* (1934), *The Polytechnic and its founder Quintin Hogg* (1932) and *Quintin Hogg: a biography* (1904) are significant in illustrating the relationship between the PTA, some of the key figures in its development, and the parental institution, as well as in providing estimates of the profits and scale of the PTA's venture. Studd's *The Holiday Story* (1950), which I discuss in more detail in Chapter 6, provides, on the other hand, important insights into how the PTA's vision for travel changed as a result of the social, cultural and economic transformations that followed the First World War, and how

the travel firm wished to portray itself during the interwar period.

This overview illustrates the extent to which the Polytechnic and the PTA may provide a rich case study through which to explore issues relating not just to the development of British travel and tourism - or, for example, to the history of leisure, women's education, student activism and the Polytechnic's role in London's sporting activities - but also, as explored in particular within this thesis, to the history of tourism marketing, popular photography, and the relationship between the two. In terms of the specific questions addressed by this research it is then important to ask: how representative can the archival material be considered to be, and what are the limitations of working with an incomplete set of documents? As anticipated, an overview of the material produced in relation to the Polytechnic/PTA tours between 1888 and 1939 certainly evidences a shift from using images whose function appears to have been that of providing an accurate representation of the destinations, to one that no longer seemed to depend on the indexicality of photography-based images. This transformation must surely be accounted for by acknowledging the different functions allocated to travel images as a leisure-based approach to travel developed within the context of a competitive market, a fact that I discuss in some detail in Chapter 3. However, in order to evaluate why and how the approach to the use of photographs changed as the marketing of tourism developed, and what relationship there might have been between these two events, this thesis proposes to consider also the parallel emergence of tourists' own photographic practices. If we accept the proposition, to which I return in Chapter 4, that the democratisation of photography had a direct influence on the use of photographs in promoting tourism, then the observed transformation in the use of visual media suggests a shift from a context in which tourists' perspectives had no apparent impact on the organisation's representational choices, to one in which how tourists related to photographs became a central issue for the travel firm. This means that the engagement with the archive must aim not so much to map out the travel firm's total production of promotional images, an analysis that would have required the material to be more comprehensive, but to investigate the representational choices of the Polytechnic/PTA in relation to the development of tourists' perspectives. Consequently, the gaps in the archive do not limit this investigation as much as might be supposed, because, as I will

discuss in Chapter 4, the transformations engendered by the democratisation of photography were not an overnight event, but a slow shift in the understanding of what photographs could be and do. In retrospect, we marvel at the impact of the early hand-held cameras; yet, the transformation in the perception of the possibilities of photographs was relatively gradual. As such, it is important that this thesis addresses not just tourists' photographs, but most importantly how our understanding of the significance of new photographic practices can inform an investigation of modern tourism marketing. Because of this, the research recounted in this thesis is proposed, above all, as an investigation of what photographs 'do'.

1.3. What do photographs *do*?

Photographs are complex sites of meaning construction. During the 175 years since its official invention, writings on photography have consistently posed themselves the question of how best to understand such a complex web of uses and functions, and the varying ideas which have ensued from this. Some of the most fruitful ways in which the questions 'what is photography', and 'how do we understand photographs', have been addressed include: reflections on the earliest ontological debates that accompanied photography's development in its quest for artistic recognition (for example Edwards, 2006); reflections on photography's indexical relationship with reality (for example Bazin, [1945] 1967; Sontag, 1979); phenomenological approaches, such as Barthes's in *Camera Lucida* ([1980] 1981); the use of photography within power relations for purposes of surveillance and control (Sekula, 1986a; Tagg, 1988); the situating of photographic understanding within socio-cultural (Warner Marien, 1997) and personal dynamics (Hirsch, 1981; Kuhn, 1995); and the study of photographs through their materiality (for example Batchen, 2004; Edwards and Hart, 2004). Little univocal agreement on the essential 'being' or 'meaning' of photography has, however, been reached; one of the reasons for this is the fact that the very different types of use to which photographs have been put, encouraged by continuous technological developments, apparently resist any overarching account of photography as a single practice or form. As early as 1857, Lady Elizabeth Eastlake, a photographer and the wife of the first President of the London Photographic Society (later the Royal Photographic Society),

recognised how ‘photography has become a household word and a household want; it is used alike by art and science, by love, business and justice’ ([1857] 1980: 81). If such a plurality of practices makes any comprehensive analysis of them under one theoretical framework an impossibility (as for example recently recognised by Snow, 2012), this should not, however, be seen as an impediment to photographic analysis. As Tagg has noted, we need instead to think of different ‘photographies’ as having different ‘histories’ (1988).

These preliminary remarks introduce three considerations that ground the approach to photography/s adopted within this research project. First, an understanding that the significance of photographic objects and practices is not fixed, but culturally, temporally and spatially determined, alerts us to the difficulty of examining the relationship between the ‘insistent anteriority of photographs’ and ‘their social action in the present’ (Edwards, 2001: 8) – what Barthes similarly described as the ‘illogical conjunction between the *here-now* and the *there-then*’ ([1964] 1977: 44, original emphasis). That is, how can we expose what photographs, by virtue of their alleged transparency, inevitably conceal? The fields of visual culture and visual anthropology, but also archive studies, material culture and social history, have contributed to this discussion by bringing under scrutiny how this process of investigation can be addressed. For example, Edwards has discussed how photographs, moving in and out of different regimes of meaning, ‘draw their significance from intersecting elements in their histories’, thus becoming ‘things’ with ‘accumulative histories’ (2001: 13). As Batchen has also stressed, ‘images do things. They are social objects, not simply aesthetic ones. They are meaningful only when seen in relationship to a wider social network of beliefs and practices, economies and exchanges’ (2008: 128). Yet, this investigation can be complicated by the fact that, as is the case in this research, photographic and related documents are often encountered in the space of the archive. The late Allan Sekula, reflecting on the power that archives have in imposing homogeneity and meaning on the documents they hold, noted that:

In an archive, the possibility of meaning is ‘liberated’ from the actual contingencies of use. But this liberation is also a loss, and *abstraction* from the complexities and richness of use, a loss of context. [...] And so archives are contradictory in character. Within their confines meaning is liberated from use, and yet at a more general level an empiricist model of truth prevails ([1986b])

1999: 183-185, original emphasis).

That is, if the archive de-contextualises images from many of the uses to which they were put, it also contributes to the emergence of new forms of knowledge. As such, it is the responsibility of the researcher to recognise how the evidential value of images is tied to what Joan M. Schwartz describes as ‘multiple circumstances of document creation’ (1995: 51). Chronicling the contemporary emergence of photographing and archiving as two practices which ‘promised possession and control of knowledge through possession and control of recorded information’ (Schwartz, 2000: 34) – a pursuit of knowledge which also brings them together with travel - Schwartz notes how ‘photographs are documents, created by a will, for a purpose, to convey a message to an audience’ (1995: 42). She thus exhorts us to investigate the circumstances in which a photograph is produced and used - its ‘functional context’ (1995: 42) - in order to understand what it might have meant for those who encountered it. Similarly, Schlack argues that archival research must start from the understanding that ‘photographic meaning is always conditional, without ultimate or absolute authority, and always plural’ (2008: 93), a consideration shared by Kadar *et al.* (2009: 3) in highlighting how ‘in photography, context, intention and object are all zones of exploration and analysis’, and by Chambon *et al.* (2011) in discussing how photographic archival research is necessarily grounded in a work of interpretation.

The above overview indicates how, in order to understand the relevance that tourists’ photographic practices might have had for the marketing of tourism, it is necessary, then, to focus on the contextual forces that surrounded the uses and functions allocated to travel images. As such, the marketing material produced by the Polytechnic/PTA is discussed in what follows not simply in relation to its content (what it was expected to represent), but by interrogating the organisation’s choices against the backdrop of the images’ context of production and reception – specifically, the general understanding of what travel images could do, and how these were consequently used. Specifically, in this light, the analysis of which ideas concerning visual representations were available during this period, and of how these might have influenced people’s perception of travel images, draws upon Jean-Louise Comolli’s reflections on the growth of visual information in the nineteenth century

(1980), as well as Colin Campbell's considerations of tourism consumption as 'a form of imaginative hedonism' (1987: 119). In particular, this thesis seeks to develop the idea that the commodification of images, especially of distant places, made the world appear simultaneously 'visible' and 'appropriable' (Comolli, 1980), and that this form of visual consumption progressively adapted to the requirements of a growing travel market by promoting destinations not just as products but also as experiences (Campbell, 1987).

Second, and related to the above, is the consideration that, in order to evaluate how the understanding of travel images changed throughout the period discussed in this research, it is necessary to be alert to the different meanings and functions that, at any one time, these might have embodied. This means investigating the Polytechnic/PTA's visual production by accounting for the different ways in which travel images might have been understood. In order to do so, this thesis draws from the definition of travel images, originally outlined by Clare A. Gunn (1972), as comprising, variously, the 'organic', 'induced' and 'first-hand experience' images that can precede, accompany and follow one's experience of a destination. Such travel images thus encompass those produced with a clear promotional intent (induced); as part of non-promotional discourses such as education or news reporting (organic); and as a result of direct experience of a destination (first-hand). Because of the different contexts in which each of these are viewed, and of the different agencies of those who view them, not only can each image be discussed as conforming to one of these three descriptions, but they also have the power to influence each other. By drawing from the field of tourism studies, this research pursues an intrinsically interdisciplinary approach that allows for a situating of photographic theory within the specific concerns addressed by studies of travel and tourism. As such, and extending Gunn's own taxonomy, it proposes the idea of what are termed 'unique' induced images, that is, travel representations that escaped identification with organic and first-hand experience images, in order to investigate how the function of photographs and illustrations was realigned following the emergence of an increasingly competitive travel market. In doing so, it also interrogates Comolli's idea of 'appropriable' representations in the context of what Campbell has defined as the consumption of a specifically hedonistic experience.

Third, by focusing on the context of production and consumption, and on how practices

influence understandings, this thesis seeks to explore photography's 'transformative' character. This allows for an evaluation of the degree to which the practices engendered by the democratisation of photography had a bearing on the representational choices of the emerging tourism industry. Already in 1936, writing on the effects of industrialisation on images' actual capacity to convey that truthfulness which they appeared to represent, Walter Benjamin observed that a medium such as photography challenged the 'aura' of art not simply because it destroyed it, but because it displaced its own essence. Commenting on the debate between painters and photographers over artistic recognition, he remarked that 'much futile thought had been devoted to the question of whether photography is an art. The primary question – whether the very invention of photography had not transformed the entire nature of art – was not raised' ([1936] 1968: 227). The recognition that photography – or better, photography in practice - has the power to transform how we make sense of the world around us is key, I argue, to understanding what it is that tourists' photographic practices did to the constitution and function of tourism marketing. In this regard, an asset to this enquiry is provided by the literature developed within the field of tourism studies, which is similarly concerned with the influence that tourists' practices, particularly photographic ones, have had on the experience and understanding of travel and tourism. As Bærenholdt *et al.* have observed, 'although photography is perhaps the emblematic tourist practice and tourist studies have been dominated by a visual paradigm, tourist studies have produced little knowledge of *how* and *why* tourists are busy producing photographic images' (2004: 69, original emphasis). Similarly, Larsen has criticised the lack of attention to actual photographic practices in many recent photographic analyses: 'photographing is absent from most theory and research that jumps straight from photography to photographs. They go directly to the representational worlds of photographs and skip over their production, movement and circulation. The diverse hybrid practices are rendered invisible' (2008: 143, original emphasis). This thesis thus seeks to contribute to this field of inquiry by interrogating the repercussions of tourists' practices in the process of 'destination image formation' (a line of research initially developed by Gunn, 1972, and Hunt, 1975) - a visual economy which includes marketing representations. Specifically, it does so by drawing from the approach to travel as a 'multidimensional system' (Holden, 2005; Towner, 1995),

which elucidates how the transformative character of travel practices, defined as such on account of their impact on how travel is experienced and thus understood, can be thought of in relation to photographic practices. This theoretical framework, I propose, allows us to reflect upon tourists' photography as practices and objects of use that impact on a broader network of visual economies, as this is also evidenced in marketing. In doing so, this thesis also responds to Towner's call for an analysis of visual documents as both manifestations and promoters of cultural transformations (1996). Elaborating on John Urry's seminal work on the tourist gaze (1990), the thesis explores how tourists' practices, specifically photographic ones, can, in this way, engender cultural transformations (Salazar, 2012; Scarles, 2009; Stylianou-Lambert, 2012). In particular, it complicates its discussion of the transformative character of photography in relation to perceptions of both travel and photography by drawing from Steve Garlick's idea of the 'unphotographable' (2002), and Rachel Snow's related concern with photographic 'dissonance' (2012). As we will see, both studies reflect upon tourists' photography's inability to match first-hand experiences, whether of their own experiences of travelling and photographing (the unphotographable), or of induced and organic images (dissonance). The democratic potential of tourists' photography in relation to the visual promotion of tourism, I will aim to show, can thus be investigated in the shattering of the perceived unity of photographic meaning that these first-hand experiences engendered.

1.4. Chapters overview

This study begins by reviewing the relevant literature in order to provide the theoretical framework and historical context for this research project. This has been organised in three chapters. **Chapter 2** introduces the theoretical framework adopted so as to study the relationship between photography and tourism. Specifically, its purpose is that of establishing how best to investigate the relationship between tourist photographic practices and the visual promotion of tourism. It does so by defining three key concepts that subtend this relationship: i) travel and tourism, understood as multidimensional systems; ii) travel imageries, and how the process of destination image formation that they lead is informed by both tourists' photographic practices and industry requirements; and iii) cultural travel,

proposed as the standpoint from which best to investigate how changing notions of knowledge and education influenced practices of representation. Thereafter, these concepts are elaborated further in relation to the historical context that saw the development of the Polytechnic/PTA's representational choices, focusing firstly on the emergence of a travel industry, and secondly on that of the tourist photographers. **Chapter 3** explores the social and cultural changes that led to the development of tourism as an organised industry, and to its earliest forms of marketing, in the period from the late-Victorian era to the end of the interwar years. It does so by focusing on how the approach to culture in relation to individual formation (cultural travel) changed during this period, and in turn how this transformation influenced the function and use of travel imageries. **Chapter 4** moves on to examine how the democratisation of photography engendered the emergence of tourist photographers (non-professionals), and the development of their practices. Specifically, it seeks to define how changes in the production, consumption and perception of travel photography can contribute to the analysis of the parallel transformations in the visual promotion of tourism discussed in Chapter 3.

The second part of this study evaluates the relationship between the democratisation of photography and the promotion of tourism by focusing on the case of the PTA. **Chapter 5** introduces the RSP, the institutional body founded by the Victorian philanthropist Quintin Hogg that led to the formation of PTA. The chapter considers how the educational project of a charitable Institute influenced ideas of culture and travel, the use of travel imageries in the promotion of this discourse, and the approach to the practice of the emerging non-professional photographers. An analysis of these ideas is important because they informed the structuring of the early tours, and how they were articulated visually, here explored in the period from 1888 to 1891. **Chapter 6** looks at the emergence and development of the PTA in the years from 1891 to 1939. During this period the travel firm attempted to define itself against the educational legacy of its parent institution (discussed in Chapter 5), while progressively responding to the emergence of a commercial, and increasingly competitive, travel market (discussed in Chapter 3). The chapter evaluates how this influenced what was understood to be 'cultural travel' in the experience of travel offered by the PTA, and the relationship between the travel firm and its audience. Three pivotal moments which

this chapter considers are: 1891, when the Government's Charity Commission allocation of funding to the RSP began regulating how the various Polytechnic activities, including the tours, ought to be run; 1911, when the PTA was established as a business separate from the RSP; and 1924, when the appointment of a new Managing Director brought the company in line with the social, cultural and economic transformations that had followed the First World War. **Chapter 7** explores the PTA's approach to the use of photographs and/or illustrations in the production of promotional images in the period from 1888 to 1939. The purpose of this analysis is that of assessing the extent to which the visual promotion of the tours was influenced by the democratisation of photography. In order to address this proposition the chapter evaluates the relationship between travel imageries and tourists' photographic practices (discussed in Chapters 2 and 4) in relation to how the PTA's transition from philanthropy to commerce (discussed in Chapter 6) influenced its approach to the function (and thus use) of travel imageries.

Chapter 8 reflects upon the contribution that this thesis has sought to make to the relationship between the democratisation of photography and the promotion of tourism, and how an analysis of the PTA has informed such an investigation. In turn, it considers the extent to which the findings of this research might contribute to our understanding of the history of travel and leisure, particularly in Britain, and of tourism marketing. This also allows for a final reflection upon what it is that photographs might actually *do*, in such a context, and how this might be further investigated.

CHAPTER 2. TRAVEL AND TOURISM, IMAGERIES AND THE IDEA OF CULTURE

The first part of this thesis consists of three chapters that, by discussing the existing literature on travel and photography, seek to provide the theoretical framework and historical context for this research project as a whole. Their purpose is to support the investigation of the relationship between the democratisation of photography and the promotion of tourism by establishing how: i) to think of tourists and of their practices, specifically photographic ones, as integral to an understanding of travel and tourism; and ii) to evaluate in what ways issues of representation, in the context of a competitive market, accounted for tourists' perspectives. In order to do so, this first chapter defines three concepts – travel/tourism, travel imagery and cultural travel - that will allow for the analysis, in Chapters 3 and 4, of the social and cultural context that led to the emergence and early development of both the travel industry and mass photography. This will support the analysis, developed in the second part of this thesis, of the visual material produced by the Polytechnic/PTA in relation to a shift in photographic perception engendered by new photographic practices.

First, the chapter defines its theoretical approach to the study of travel and tourism, understood as multidimensional systems. This approach highlights the relationship between tourists' practices, particularly photography, and the performative and transformative character of travel. Second, a definition of travel imageries is provided. This section discusses how the process of destination image formation that travel representations frame affects and is affected by the experience of travel and tourism, and by the practices that form this experience. This allows us to reflect on how a promotional representation of tourism can be thought of in relation to tourists' own practices. Third, the study of travel/tourism and travel imagery is considered in relation to the idea of culture, and its commodification. Specifically, this section focuses on how the approach to travel and tourism as products of consumption shaped the use that the emerging travel industry as well as tourist photographers (that is, photographers unrestricted by working commitments) could make of photography. This is proposed as the standpoint from which to consider the broader context that influenced the practices of representation of the Polytechnic/PTA and

of tourists themselves.

2.1. Travel and tourism as multidimensional systems

The following research approaches the study of travel and tourism as activities that both define and are defined by tourists' practices.⁵ Such an approach is developed within the theoretical framework, proposed by Towner (1995) and Holden (2005), which discusses travel as a multidimensional system. Travelling, it is argued, is a practice that has a multifaceted dimension that extends beyond the physical act of visiting places: it is performative because it embraces a broad set of activities. Furthermore, these practices affect the understanding of travel: thus, they are transformative. This is an important point to consider because it allows us to reflect on how photography influences the experience of travel and one's understanding of such experience. In turn, it allows us to consider how photographic practices might 'transform' the representation of travel and tourism themselves.

The approach to travel as a multidimensional system is grounded in the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) definition of travel practices as 'a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes' (2008: 1). It suggests that travel is formed by the dynamics set in motion by the producers and consumers of the travel product in the social, cultural and economic contexts of both the places visited and the places from which travellers originate. Also referred to as the 'multiple impacts' of tourists' activity (UNWTO, 2008: 1), this view emphasises how the practices of travelling are not neutral, but generate a number of transformations – for example at the level of representation. A study of travel understood as a multidimensional system hence requires an 'holistic approach' (UNWTO, 2008: 1), a mode of analysis that considers, according to Holden:

5. Secondary sources usually use the terms travel and tourism in accordance with the United Nations World Tourism Organization's (UNWTO) definition: 'travel' indicates the occupation of anyone who moves between different localities, regardless of the motivations or duration of the journey, whereas 'tourism' is defined by the timeframe (less than a year) and by a set of motivations (any but employment) (1995: 21).

both a historical and dynamic perspective into the explanation of the tourist system by emphasizing the changing political, economic, social and technological processes and patterns in societies that influence tourism. It emphasizes that although the demand for tourism may be viewed as a consequence of changes in generating societies, it also brings changes to the societies of destinations that tourists visit (2005: 13).

In proposing a 'dynamic' view of travel and tourism, this definition focuses on the transformative character that 'processes and patterns', including practices of representation, have on those involved in the travel discourse: that is, tourists, service providers and host communities. This suggests that changes occur, and thus must be investigated, at a variety of levels: in the gap between 'home' and 'away', and the journey between the two; the services and infrastructures that facilitate this journey; and the political, economic, social and cultural contexts of both the travel destinations and the tourists' homeland. Holden's model brings together a number of perspectives in this respect, including definitions that focus on the act of travelling and its requirements (Jafari, 1977; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Pearce, 1995; Tribe, 1997), as well as definitions that account for the individual dimension of travel as a personal journey of interpretation (Franklin, 2003; Towner, 1996). Because of the multiplicity of levels at which tourism production and consumption operates, Holden argues, rightly, that it cannot be investigated 'as something that exists external to the individual, but as something that the individual constructs and gives meaning to' (2005: 12).

This perspective is relevant for an investigation of both contemporary and early mass forms of travel and tourism. A historiography of tourism, as Towner argues, can only benefit from an approach that accounts for the multiple perspectives that supported the development of mass tourism and foreign travel. 'By moving away from seeing tourism journeys as isolate events', he writes, 'research should embrace wider tourist lifestyle and life-cycle frameworks' (1996: 341). While a conventional view of tourism's history has largely focused on selected westerner-based experiences, from that of the Grand Tour and seaside resorts to Thomas Cook's organised tours, Towner suggests that a more 'holistic'

approach can result in a more nuanced understanding of travel and tourism (1996: 341). His focus on ‘the informal, the routine, the ordinary, more localised tourism practices’ (1996: 340), I argue, suggests the significance in the discourse of travel and tourism of photographic practices, such as those to be found in the context of the PTA. Indeed, Towner himself recognises the value of visual media in investigating the development of cultural patterns. As he puts it: ‘literary sources from fiction and the visual arts are not merely surrogates in the absence of more “hard” data, but constitute a valuable source in their own right for the understanding of leisure and tourism in past ages’ (1996: 342). Towner’s considerations of photographic documents imply an approach to photographs as both images and practices of production and consumption. This suggests that visual sources can be investigated not just as the re-presentation of cultural transformations, but also as practices that, in turn, *engender* cultural transformations. As Salazar observes, the relationship between consumers and producers of images is indeed one between ‘a cultural product and a producer of culture’ (2012: 867) – a reflection to which I return later in this chapter.

I propose, then, that an approach to travel as a multidimensional system is particularly relevant for the investigation of the topic advanced in this thesis because it examines the role of tourists’ agency in the development of a travel discourse. Specifically, it suggests that practices such as photography are not inconsequential pastimes within the context of travel and tourism; rather, they affect how one’s journey is understood, remembered and narrated, on both a personal and a collective level. Scarles correctly recognises in her study of the role of the visual in the tourist experience how the photographic practices that frame one’s travel experience are part of an ‘evolving triangulation of relations’ between producers and consumers of images:

Indeed, photographs and photography are not a means to an end. Rather, as opportunities for exploration and discovery, accommodation, and understanding, they are wholly immersed in a dynamic triangulation of the tourist experience as constructed via intersubjective negotiations between third-party producers [...] tourists, and photographed subjects (2009: 485).

I will return to this, yet it needs to be already made clear at this stage that the study of travel developed within this research takes as its standpoint one practice, photography, and the impact which this has at one level, that of the culture of representation. A reflection on travel as a multidimensional system that describes it as ‘an attitude to the world or a way of seeing the world, not necessarily what we find only at the end of a long and arduous journey’ (Franklin, 2003: 33), is therefore explored from the prospective of photographic practices. It questions how photographs influence the ways in which people relate to host communities, landscapes, or other tourists while away from home, as well as how photographs shape the memory of the experience of travel, and thus an understanding of it. As I now move to discuss, this way of seeing the world is itself transformative of how the world is represented.

2.2. Representing travel: images and imaginaries

The discussion developed so far raises the question of to what extent and in which ways the transformative character of practices such as photography affect the travel images that anticipate, accompany and then follow one’s journey. This is an important perspective to consider because it frames the topic at the centre of this investigation, that is, the relationship between tourists’ photographic practices and the market promotion of tourism. Before moving on, first, to discuss the historical development of the travel industry, and its use of imageries for promotional purposes (developed in Chapter 3); and, second, to investigate how the development of photographic possibilities contributed to a paradigm shift in the perception of both travel and photography (developed in Chapter 4), the terms through which I approach here an analysis of travel representations need to be defined. I do so in this section first by explaining what constitutes the discourse of travel representation, and second by discussing how the process of destination image formation, which travel representations frame, affects and is affected by practices such as photography.

The definition of travel imagery employed within this thesis refers to those images, both actual and perceived, that take part in the process of destination image formation. This definition includes those representations of travel which, directly or indirectly, though visual and textual representations, or through visual imagination, form one’s idea of a given

destination. It is important to provide a precise definition of what is understood by travel imageries because this will guide the choice of what images to account for when discussing the Polytechnic/PTA's visual production. As Echtner and Ritchie (1991) and Gallarza, *et al.* (2002) suggest, the conceptualisation of what forms the image of a visited or potentially visitable place is still an area of debate. Although in the field of tourism studies 'there are almost as many definitions of image as scholars devoted to its conceptualization' (Gallarza *et al.*, 2002: 59), these perspectives generally recognise the significance of Clare A. Gunn's model first outlined in *Vacationscape. Designing Tourist Regions* (1972). According to Gunn, the image of a destination is formed and altered as a result of planning and experiencing travel, a process that she structures in seven stages: i) accumulation of mental images about vacation experiences; ii) modification of those images by further information; iii) decision to take a vacation trip; iv) travel to the destination; v) participation at the destination; vi) return home; vii) modification of the image based on the travel experience. This model implies that the idea and possibilities of travel are differently represented in each of these phases. Gunn explains this by organising the seven steps in three stages: a first stage of 'organic' images, that is, images of unknown places that are assimilated organically over time. These are encountered not necessarily in view of a journey, but from sources such as the media; what we learn as a result of education; and the opinions and stories of family and friends. A second stage of 'induced' images, which are images produced by commercially orientated sources such as travel-marketing material. Finally, a third stage of images accumulated as a result of 'first-hand experience'; these images create yet another image of travel that has the power to alter both organic and induced images. As Beerli and Martin also recognise in their study of the factors that influence destination images, 'the evaluative responses of consumers stem from their knowledge of the objects' (2004: 658) – a knowledge that can be caused by first-hand experience images. This latter type of image is particularly interesting because it includes both the images whose object tourists have personally experienced, and photographs taken by the tourists themselves. If we consider these in relation to the performative and transformative character of travel discussed above, then it can be inferred that first-hand experience images are transformative because they are the result of tourists' practices of both travelling and photographing. This

means that through these practices tourists can develop a critical understanding of the images encountered before travelling – an important consideration to which I will return.

Following on from Gunn's model, studies of the process of destination image formation have evaluated, in a number of different ways, the factors that influence perception. For example, Echtner and Ritchie indicate the wide range of origins of destination image formation by describing travel imageries as:

not only the perceptions of individual destination attributes but also the holistic impression made by the destination. Destination image consists of functional characteristics, concerning the more tangible aspects of the destination, and psychological characteristics, concerning the more intangible aspects (1991: 43).

The 'tangible' and 'intangible' impressions that destination images inspire in a viewer, and which can accrue from and in turn affect organic, induced and first-hand experience images depend on variables that are specific to the individual. As such, a definition of which travel images take part in the process of destination image formation cannot be universally accepted if only because there are as many images as the people who imagine them, and, of course, what we mean by 'imagination' is equally challenging to define. Tourism imaginaries, Salazar argues, 'interact with and are influenced by' (2012: 865) the plurality of representations to which tourists are exposed. What this suggests is that travel imageries are not just the physical representations that meet the eyes, but also those imagined views that one creates in his/her mind as a result of exposure to organic, induced and first-hand experience images. Other researchers have recognised this point, reflecting on how imagination affects the response to, for example, promotional travel materials. 'Visual communication tools', write Ye and Tussyadiah, 'carry objects and notions that can stimulate people's imagination and perception about the tourism experience' (2011: 142) – thus affecting one's response to both travel and its representations. As a 'meaning-making and world-shaping device', imagination impacts on the process of destination image formation because the activity itself of 'planning a vacation and going on holidays involve[s] the human capacity to imagine or to enter into the imaginings of

others' (Salazar, 2012: 864). The 'intangible' character of imaginaries of travel, Salazar argues, becomes visible, and hence open to investigation, in the form of visual and textual discourses, 'multiple conduits' that directly and indirectly offer a glimpse of the wider world (2012: 866). Organic, induced and first-hand experience sources offer a platform for travel imagination to manifest itself, and are as various as 'visual and textual content of documentaries and fiction movies; art, museum exhibitions, and fairs; trade cards, video games, and animation; photographs, slides, video, and postcards; travelogues, blogs, and other websites; guidebooks and tourism brochures; literature, coffee-table books, and magazines; news coverage and advertising; official documents; and quasi-scientific media such as *National Geographic*' (Salazar, 2012: 866). Photography-based 'conduits' are usually recognised as particularly effective in triggering geographical imagination, that is, the 'imaginative process of visualizing the world beyond our doorstep' (Schwartz and Ryan, 2003: 10). Because of their (alleged) truthfulness and transparency, travel photographs have the power to 'organize our anticipation or daydreaming about the places we might gaze on' (Urry, 1990: 140). This suggests that organic, induced and first-hand experience images can only be formed and altered through an act of imagination. As such, representing travel cannot be separated from imagining travel: the formation process of a destination image revealing itself to be a process of the imagination.

If this overview suggests that is not possible (or even useful) to define exactly of what destination images consist, I argue that it is nonetheless valuable to determine what makes destination images distinct from other images. Gallarza *et al.*, through a review of the literature, have developed a theoretical framework that, although it does not seek to offer 'universal truths' about the nature of a destination image, productively 'allows for its systematic identification and permits its description by particularizing its nature as opposed to other mental constructs' (2002: 73, 68). The model does so by looking at destination images in their context of production and consumption, in this way focusing not on what images 'look like', but on the performative and transformative processes that they activate in the formation of destination images. Based on four elements of the image as they conceptualise it, the destination image evidences: i) 'complexity', that is, the indefinite meaning of images; ii) 'multiplicity', that is, the plurality of factors that

contribute to the formation of destination images; iii) a 'relativistic character', that is, the fact that different people perceive images differently; and iv) a 'dynamic character', that is, the idea that the meaning of images is influenced by its spatial-temporal location (2002: 68-72). The relevance of this model in the context of this research, I argue, is that it allows for a thinking of photographic practices in relation to the process of destination image formation. As suggested above, tourists' photographs are (for those who take them) first-hand experience images that, because of the transformative character of such practice, allow for a reflection upon one's experience of travel. Gallarza *et al.*'s model elucidates how this process of critical evaluation takes place, suggesting that it is not what is in the image, but how this is produced and consumed that triggers one's response to travel images. This means not just that photography-based travel images constitute the means through which people can (visually) think about travel, but also that it is the process through which people create images that affect their framework of knowledge.

Tourists' photographs as first-hand experience images: the circuit of culture

The relationship between travel imageries and one's understanding of them is particularly significant in the context of this research as it frames the analysis of how tourists' photographic practices relate to travel representations (not least within a marketing context). I argue that the relationship between producers and consumers of images, which, as discussed, are part of an 'evolving triangulation of relations' (Scarles, 2009: 485), contains the relationship between tourist photographers and the travel industry.

The role of the tourist in relation to travel imageries was perhaps first interrogated in detail by John Urry, whose influential analysis of the 'tourist gaze' specifically discussed the visual dimension of the tourist experience (1990). Although Urry's focus on sight has been criticised because it tends to neglect other senses, as well as the dynamics specific to groups such as the family (Haldrup and Larsen, 2003), his considerations are still relevant in understanding the development of travel representations in relation of tourists' visual practices. Standing in opposition to 'regulated and organised work', inasmuch as it involves movement to 'a new place or places' that provides an experience out of the ordinary, Urry argues that tourism engenders a particular gaze. Through such a gaze, tourists look at

the world with ‘a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered’ (1990: 2-3). He proposes that this gaze is a feature of modern tourism, which he defines as the widespread practice of travelling for reasons unconnected to work or business that developed in the nineteenth century. The forms of visuality that took hold during this period, such as a picturesque aesthetic, predetermined how the tourist’s act of looking could be constructed. Thus, Urry writes:

When we ‘go away’ we look at the environment with interest and curiosity. It speaks to us in ways we appreciate, or at least we anticipate that it will do so. In other words, we gaze at what we encounter. And this gaze is socially organised and systematised (1990: 1).

Like Gunn (1972) before him, Urry argues that this structure is imposed through the visual consumption, before travelling, of images (organic or induced) which influence how a landscape, an historical site or any other tourist destination ought to be viewed. In doing so, it provides the tourist gaze with models of what to see and how to see it. Different types of gazes can emerge, of which the two most prominent ones described by Urry are: i) the ‘romantic gaze’, an individual experience of the visual appreciation of an idyllic scenery, a legacy of the picturesque aesthetic; and ii) the ‘collective gaze’, a visual experience grounded instead in the conviviality of sharing such view, or more popular entertainments, with others (1990). What Urry’s analysis suggests is that the way in which the tourist gaze operates is not a neutral one, but is influenced at different times by different discourses: the discourse of education, as was the case during the Grand Tour and the Victorian age (and which was crucial to the formation of the PTA, as we will see), but also the discourses of health, of play and of leisure. The promotional material produced by the travel industry, Urry continues, has an imposing influence in establishing a dominant discourse of travel, which thus affects how tourists look at the world. He uses photographs produced by tourists as an example, in this way, of how tourists tend to reproduce the images presented in travel brochures, postcards and other advertisements. This view has been supported by a number of studies (see for example Dann, 1996a, 1996b; Jenkins, 2003) that have documented how tourists look for and replicate in their snapshots images

seen before travelling - what Ryan (2002) and Albers and James (1988: 136) define as a kind of 'hermeneutic circle'. The reasons for this can be diverse: because these images are perceived as 'culturally authoritative statements' about the places visited (Edwards, 1996: 201), because by replicating established views tourists seek to assert the authenticity of their own experience (MacCannell, [1976] 1999), or because the places proposed by the dominant travel discourse are perceived as 'extraordinary and therefore worth viewing' (Urry, 1990: 59).

Yet, as the discussion of the nature of travel developed in the first part of this chapter suggests, the relationship between producers and consumers of both the travel product and its representations operates at a variety of levels. Tourists can seek to replicate established views, but this might not be their only interest: as Stylianou-Lambert asserts, tourist photographers need to be 'granted the status of cultural producers in addition to that of cultural consumers' (2012: 1821). A number of studies have followed from Urry's initial analysis, looking at the relationship between the way in which tourists look at the world and the consequences that their point of view has on the representation of travel. (Urry's more recent work with Larsen (2011), for example, does acknowledge the performative nature of tourist practices.) What has emerged is a more nuanced understanding of the tourist gaze that further problematises what might otherwise be understood as the straightforward relation between producers and consumers of images. Garrod, testing Urry's initial suggestion that the influence of tourism marketing on tourists' gaze is a dominant one, argues that if some 'similarities do exist [between marketing images and tourists' photographs], they do not exist in respect of every feature of the visual images captured by the two media' (2008: 11). Rather, what tourists produce can be more accurately described as a re-elaboration of these institutionalised visual narratives (see also, for example, Garrod, 2009, and Snow, 2012). As Garrod continues, this 'lends some support to Urry's notion of the closed circle of reproduction of the tourist gaze, but suggests that the process involved might be more subtle and complex than simply for the two protagonists in the relationship to mimic one another in every respect' (2008: 11). Furthermore, as a number of studies of tourists' photography demonstrate, the construction of a personal visual narrative of travel does indeed shape the tourist's experience, perception and memory of the visited places (Crawshaw, 1994;

Selwyn, 1996; Schwartz and Ryan, 2003).

Tourism studies have also contributed to this debate. For example, Dann has looked at the representation of hosts-guests dynamics in the production of travel brochures, observing that the promotion of tourism images is intrinsically linked to the tourists' response to visual and written messages (1996b: 78). Equally significant are studies which look at the meaning imbued in travel images: it has been observed, for example, that images constantly stand the test of multiple interpretations, as these are dictated by the viewers' different standpoints (Crick, 1985); and that 'social language' (or discourse) is key in relation to the understanding of destination images (Hollinshead, 2000: 153).

The transformative role of tourists' practices in understanding travel, however, is not limited to subjective experience or perception of the images used in the promotion of travel. Specifically for the questions raised within this research, it extends to how travel images are used by the travel industry. That is, tourists' photographing is practiced within a dynamic system in which tourists develop personal narratives that in turn affect how travel is represented within induced representations. This is important for the argument advanced in this thesis because it frames an investigation of how tourist practices influence a promotional representation of travel. A theoretical framework that encapsulates this approach is the idea of the 'circuit of culture' (Burgess *et al.*, 1991; Salazar, 2012; Squire, 1994), also investigated through the conceptual filter of 'performative practices' (Bærenhold *et al.*, 2004; Coleman and Crang, 2002; Crang, 1997; Edensor, 2001; Haldrup and Larsen, 2003). This perspective argues that travel imageries must be analysed in relation to the channel of communication that goes from the sender to the receiver, as both extremes contribute to the formation of meaning. By focusing on the dynamic interconnections (Ateljevic, 2000: 382) and mutual influences (Bruner, 2005; Dann, 1996a; Jenkins, 2003) that constitute the cultural production of travel at a visual level, the circuit of culture focuses on how travel imaginaries 'are challenged, contested and transformed' (Salazar, 2012: 867). The circuit of culture, Salazar argues, allows investigation of the production, circulation and dissemination of travel imaginaries 'in a more integrated way' (2012: 867). This means that this model acknowledges the 'multiple impacts' of tourists' activity (UNWTO, 2008: 1), which define travel as a multidimensional system, inasmuch as such a model recognises

the practices of producers and consumers of images as equally transformative of travel discourse.

These considerations help to define how the research questions advanced in this thesis can be addressed. The recognition that the process of destination image formation is part of a conflicting web of forces indicates that changes in travel imagery must be investigated at the crossroad of conflicting practices. Therefore, an investigation of the Polytechnic/PTA's representation of travel that seeks to understand why and how the democratisation of photography might have affected the organisation's use of travel photographs must be examined against tourists' photographic practices. At the same time, the reflections developed so far on the study of travel and its imageries evidence the fact that practices of representation are influenced by the social, cultural, technological and economic contexts within which these happen. This means that a study of the Polytechnic/PTA's use of visual media in relation to tourists' photographic practices must be introduced by an analysis of the discourse(s) of travel that accompanied the establishment and growth of the organisation. The discourse that, I argue, framed the development of the Polytechnic/PTA, crucially affecting how the organisation saw fit to represent itself, was that of cultural travel.

2.3. Travel and the idea of culture

In the late 1880s the Polytechnic promoted its offer of travel opportunities as 'educational holiday tours'; by the end of the 1930s the PTA brochures were announcing 'holidays to the loveliest places in Europe'.⁶ As I discuss in more depth in Chapters 5 and 6, throughout this period the organisation continued to refer to the allegedly 'improving' character of travel, although what exactly it was understood to be 'improving' changed constantly. In order to investigate this transformation, the historical contexts underlying such changes are discussed from the perspective of cultural travel. Certainly, it would be unfeasible to suggest that culture was the only – or even the main - reason that drove all the parties concerned, that is, the Polytechnic/PTA in promoting the tours, and the tourists

6. See, for example, the title of: UWA/PTA/2/1/30, (1897). *The Polytechnic Co-operative and Educational Holiday Tours Programme*, and UWA/PTA/2/1/16, (1939). *Holidays to the loveliest places in Europe. Let's Go Abroad. Polytechnic Holiday Programme 1939*.

in participating in them. A plurality of motivations, espoused and not, coexists at any one time. Yet, I propose that the choice of cultural travel as the prism through which to explore the problem advanced in this thesis has two advantages. On the one hand, the relationship between travel and the idea of culture can help explain why in the 1880s the Polytechnic decided to venture with its tours into an educational project, and why during the interwar years, as it moved towards leisure tourism, it continued to attribute to its tours improving benefits. On the other hand, this choice responds to the recognition that the relationship between photography and travel emerged from a knowledge-based framework. The idea of cultural travel can thus help to understand: i) the legacy of a use of visual media in the representation of travel as knowledge; and ii) the extent to which the democratisation of photography allowed tourists to depart from the predetermined gaze that had up to that point grounded photography in the tradition of travel as knowledge. In this section I define the idea of culture on this basis, and how this can be thought of in relation to a study of travel and its imageries. This anticipates the next chapter, in which I look at how the idea of cultural travel developed in the period between 1880s-1930s, focusing in particular on the use of visual media in the promotion of travel as an improving experience.

The idea of cultural travel has been used to embrace a wide range of travel formats. This is because the act of travelling, generally speaking, is understood in itself as a cultural experience. For instance, Hughes argues that each journey is a cultural one in that it ‘usually involves some exposure to aspects of other cultures’ (1996: 708). Reisinger suggests that this is because the moment one leaves a known environment s/he steps into contact with new cultural experiences, whether aesthetic, intellectual, emotional or psychological (1994: 24). Cultural travel has proved to be a powerful framework in defining travel as a practice ‘concerned with the social and physical structures of the past and present [...] [which] in its broadest sense may be taken to mean everything about a place and its people’ (Pearce, 1988: 114) – that is, travel as a conversation with the cultural systems encountered by the tourist. Whatever the historical circumstances, this position suggests, travelling is a cultural form because it brings the traveller into contact with something different from his/her own daily surroundings. As seeds of cultural significance are present in the travelling traditions of all main civilisations, cultural travel has been held to comprise a wide range of formats: from

the ancient travels of the Babylonians, Egyptians and then Romans and Greeks, as well as medieval pilgrims to sacred sites (Holloway *et al.*, 2009; Pearce, 1982; Richards, 1996a, 1996b), to contemporary forms of travel such as heritage tourism (Light and Prentice, 1994; Nuryanti, 1996), historical tourism (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990; Smith, 1989), ethnic tourism (Hall and Zeppel, 1991; King, 1994) and dark tourism (Blom, 2000; Lennon and Foley, 2000; Seaton, 1998). In today's discourse, cultural tourism includes both 'specially organised culture-based tourism experiences', such as experiential tourism or heritage tourism, and more generally a 'diverse range of culturally-related aspects of tourism', such as special interest tourism (Craik, 1997: 119). That is, it embraces forms of travel: i) based 'on being involved in and stimulated by the performing arts, visual arts and festivals'; or ii) on 'visiting preferred landscape, historic sites, buildings or monuments' in order to seek 'an encounter with nature or feeling part of the history of a place'; but also iii) any experiences that involve an encounter with culture-related subject such as 'anthropology, antiques, archaeology', or 'history, literature, military events, museums', and the like (Hall and Zeppel 1990:87). However, because of the changing role of travel within society and of the highly charged meaning of the word 'culture', to which I return shortly, the above analysis needs to be further complicated. Applying the definition of cultural travel to such diverse and chronologically-distant forms of travel has, in fact, been criticised as depending on an idea of culture that is far too broad and loosely defined (Hughes, 1996; McKercher, 2002). Even today, a wide array of 'notions such as development, education, intellectual and aesthetic training, social expression, and taste are among the meanings that the terms "culture" and "heritage" encompass', as Alzua *et al.* note (1998: 3). In order to understand the relationship between education, culture and travel as it developed within the context of the Polytechnic/PTA, the use of the term 'cultural travel' needs, then, to be historically located. As I discuss in the next chapter, various socio-historical contexts differently weighted the idea of culture and travel, which thus came to signify different things at different times. This means that it is necessary to define what separates the idea of cultural travel as it was used in the period investigated within this research from the practice of pilgrims and earlier travellers that, retrospectively, can also be understood as cultural.

Although the association between travel and culture as it developed within the Polytechnic in the late Victorian era was, as I will discuss below, historically located and culturally specific, the reasons for its development precede the 1880s. Specifically, they grew out of a broader Western tradition that had normalised an idea of travel as a means of knowledge. As Richards also proposes, this development can be observed in the emergence of the association between ideas of travel and culture themselves (1996b: 11). Berghoff and Korte note that the idea of travel as a cultural experience is the product of ‘a long-term process, deeply rooted in the cultural and intellectual, economic and social history of Britain’ (2002: 4). It was ‘the early modern discoveries and mapping of new worlds [...] the scientifically “enlightening” voyages of exploration in the eighteenth century, [...] the nineteenth-century venture into the interior of Africa’, they continue, that shaped the perceived affinity between travelling and the acquisition of knowledge (2002: 4). This had two important consequences. The first was the fact that knowledge of the world, now acquired by means of travelling, influenced the understanding of both travel and knowledge. If travel was a way of making sense of external reality, then external reality could be understood empirically. The second was the way in which visual media, increasingly available as this process unfolded, became a tool to circulate – but also, crucially, to anticipate – such knowledge of the world. As this shift in the perception of travel was taking place, the word ‘culture’ developed a new meaning – as I will discuss in a moment via the work of Raymond Williams – whereby the transformation of this meaning brought it together with a particular concept of travel.

Furthermore, the roots of the development of the concept of cultural travel must also be considered in relation to that ‘great divide between pre-industrial and industrial society’ in which the development of an idea of leisure has been located (Burke, 1995: 137). The concept of leisure as distinct to that of work, Burke argues, is modern not because before the Industrial Revolution people did not enjoy free time, but because only as a result of its increasing organisation and institutionalisation did ‘people become more conscious of it as a separate domain, rather than as a pause between bouts of work’ (1995: 149). The perception of culture that developed in industrial society – and, in turn, its relationship with the idea of travel – can be understood along similar lines. That is, the proposition

that cultural travel only developed starting in the nineteenth century does not imply that previous travel formats were lacking in cultural terms, but that it was the social and cultural contexts specific to this period that recognised the cultural dimension of travel as an element of consumption. In this respect, Theodor Adorno's reflections on 'the totality of social conditions' ([1969] 1991: 187) within which forms of 'free time' consumption developed usefully emphasises the influence of market forces on the modern perception of ideas of leisure and culture. Adorno identifies the emergence of a specific idea of 'free time' with the new structuring of time in terms of time spent at and off work; yet, by also defining it as 'nothing more than a shadowy continuation of work', he simultaneously suggested a cause for what he described as the 'inanity of many leisure activities' ([1969] 1991: 190). According to this perspective, the paradoxical 'unfreedom' ([1969] 1991: 188) of free time (since it is defined entirely through its relation to work) suggest that cultural tourism developed as a devalued form of travel; specifically, it holds commodification to result in a fundamental loss of 'authentic' experience – hence MacCannell's argument that what tourists seek, in compensation, is authenticity itself [1976] 1999). As Adorno argued elsewhere in relation to the 'commercial character of culture', 'reality becomes its own ideology through the spell cast by its faithful duplication' (1991: 61, 63) - thus corroborating the view that culture as a product of tourist consumption can only be discussed within the context of an industrial society. This perspective informs, for example, Taina Syrjämaa's work on the marketing of cultural travel, in which she explores how the role of antiquity was differently problematised in the passage from the tradition of the Grand Tour to the recreational and leisure travel forms that followed the First World War (2003; 2006; 2008). Syrjämaa recognises the historical period discussed in this research as witnessing a breakthrough in the experience of travel; specifically, she identifies a passage from an initial cultural approach motivated mainly by learning-based objectives, to a subsequent one in which the cultural component of travel was promoted from a leisure perspective. Similarly, the existing literature on the history of tourism broadly recognises how this shift was accompanied by a parallel decrease in the cultural dimension of the more general travel experience, and that the motives declared by the tourists for travelling thereby progressively moved towards non-cultural ones (Baywater, 1993). As Craik also observes:

The nineteenth-century expansion of the tourist trade and non-elite groups of tourists saw a generalisation of these [cultural] preoccupations into more organised, predictable and marketable forms. [...] Gradually the educational and cultivating aspects of tourism were diluted in more prosaic quests for exploration, escape and pleasure. The twentieth-century popularity of sun and sea tourism epitomised this new tendency (1997: 120).

Although the turning point to which Craik refers took place in the interwar period, as I will shortly discuss the early seeds of this transformation can certainly be traced back to the 1850s, when a new social context defined by industrial capitalism and urbanisation affected people's approach to and expectations of travel. Yet, the bleak view that Adorno had of leisure activities such as tourism, and the literature's recognition of a shift in motivations for and approaches to travelling, should be problematised in the context of this research, by accounting for the circumstances within which the Polytechnic, and then the PTA, came to operate. As an organisation that, as I will show, aimed, above all, at structuring the leisure time of the working classes into 'respectable' forms, the Polytechnic's approach to organised travel was itself a response to an emergent modern perception of leisure, culture and travel. Nonetheless, if its promotion of tourism confirms the view of a progressive commodification of travel and culture as recreational activities, leisure should not simply be considered as necessarily 'non-educational' as a result. Rather, as I will show, the educational legacy of the Polytechnic suggests that the function of leisure forms of cultural tourism was still, at least at one level, that of engaging with the improving benefits of travel. That is, leisure developed as yet another way to engage with culture.

Culture, Raymond Williams (1976) observes in *Keywords*, is a complex and fluid term. Its current definition, he argues, can only be understood on the basis of its historical usages, whose three main meanings he identifies as: i) a 'general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development', that is, the dominant ideas that shape an age; ii) a 'way of life', that is, the social practices and customs of a people; and iii) 'the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity', that is, the production of art forms within a society (1976: 87-93). Within this last category Williams lists 'music, literature,

painting and sculpture, theatre and film' (1976: 93), but also that which is produced, as he puts it in the earlier essay 'Culture is Ordinary', within 'the most ordinary experience' of everyday life (Williams, [1958] 2002: 94; see also Storey, 2001: 2). As opposed to its original sense of *cultivation* (the act of working the land), the current meaning of the term culture only emerged in the eighteenth century, encompassing first the idea of culture as a process of human development (i and ii), and from the nineteenth century also the sense of practice, understood as both activity and production (iii). As Europe moved out of the Middle Ages and into the early modern period, culture became a recognisable feature of travel discourse (Alpers, 1989). The association between the terms 'travel' and 'culture' emerged and consolidated during this latter period, with cultural travel quickly becoming an over-arching concept for thinking about travel as a whole; visual media, as I discuss in the next section, were pivotal in articulating this discourse. Van Maanen and Laurent (1993) also note the relationship between Williams' latter two meanings of the term 'culture' and the development of organised travel. While culture as a *process* indicates the emergence of a new approach to thinking about travel, they propose, culture as *product* signals the transformation of this desire into a product available for tourists' consumption. Drawing from Williams (1976) and Van Maanen and Laurent (1993), Richards (1996b) argues that cultural travel thus has its roots in the overlapping of the meanings of culture as process and as product. As he puts it: 'culture as process is transformed through tourism [...] into culture as product [...] [that is] "consumable manifestations"' (1996b: 22). Richards discusses heritage tourism as an example of this: the commodification of history into a product of tourism consumption, he argues, is made possible by the development of the idea of culture into the idea of a product. Richards' investigation is part of a broader field of studies that have recognised how 'since the mid-1980s, another phase of tourism has emerged, namely, one which highlights the cultural component of tourist experiences' (Craik, 1997: 113). Similarly, Dicks notes that in the 1980s 'heritage audience began to soar [...] Now, heritage has become so ubiquitous that it is simply an expected aspect of any visitor environment. One of the obvious reasons is that heritage has become a lucrative resource for marketers' (2003: 120). According to this view, the commodification of culture within tourism has been made possible because of the multi-faceted dimension of culture itself which, as can

be inferred from William's study, 'is simultaneously a resource, a product, an experience and an outcome' (Craik, 1997: 113). As a result, the idea of travel 'has somewhat *converged* with leisure and cultural consumption' (Craik, 1997: 122, original emphasis).

These studies are relevant for an analysis of the late nineteenth-century perspective because they clarify how the process of commodification specific to a capitalist context affected the perception, and subsequent use, of culture and travel. They indicate, I argue, that what makes the cultural dimension of modern forms of travel different from previous ones is the fact that they came to be organised in a consumable form *because* they were recognised as such. This means that, although travel as an encounter with the other allows for a thinking of many forms of travel in any period as cultural, the understanding and consciousness of travel as having such a transformative character is a feature that only emerges in an industrial society. Furthermore, the fact that a mass market for cultural tourism is recognised as only starting in the mid-1980s indicates that the role allocated to culture within a consumer society itself experienced a number of changes. As the literature indicates, and I will return to this in the next section, tourists' interest in culture and heritage, as well as the emergence of museums and exhibition spaces focusing on heritage, is not a recent event. Therefore, the difference between the period discussed within this research and the mid-1980s, I would argue, is not that the former did not recognise culture and the latter did; rather, it is that from being understood as an intrinsic part of the experience of travel in general, culture has been brought to the fore as a commodity to purchase and consume in itself. In Craik's words: 'the cultural component of a tourism experience has become a key feature in its own right' (1997: 115).

These reflections, which anticipate my investigation of how the idea of cultural travel developed in the period between the 1880s and 1930s, are significant in contextualising what concepts of culture and travel were available, and how they changed, during the period of interest for this research. They indicate that the Polytechnic's initial approach to educational travel emerged from a recognition of the relationship between travel and knowledge, in a context in which making good use of one's free time was perceived to possess a new urgency. At the same time, they help us understand how the more recreational forms of travel that the Polytechnic promoted in the interwar years can still be understood

in cultural terms inasmuch as the promotion of tours to the ‘loveliest places in Europe’ indicates the packaging of cultural sites in consumable form. As anticipated, I propose that the function allocated to this latter form of travel should not thereby be dismissed as a merely ‘devalued’ travel experience.

This transformation provides the context in which to discuss, therefore, the choices made by the Polytechnic/PTA in the visual promotion of its tours. As examined in the first part of this chapter, the process of destination image formation in which both producers and consumers of images take part must be investigated at the crossroad of conflicting practices. These practices, however, are in themselves influenced by the context within which they take place. Therefore, in order to evaluate how the development of representational practices influenced the process of destination image formation as articulated by the Polytechnic/PTA, the analysis of cultural travel so far developed needs to be extended to explore how it affected the use of visual media. Because of the knowledge-based framework from which both cultural travel and photography stemmed, this perspective allows for an exploration of what the commodification of an idea of culture meant for a representation of travel. I discuss in the next section how the relationship between travel and culture had a direct influence on the use of visual media. This is of particular interest because it provides the framework through which to understand the relationship between travel photography and the emerging travel industry; at the same time, it introduces the question of on what ground the democratisation of photography could intersect with the promotion of tourism.

Representing travel: ‘visible’ and ‘appropriable’ forms between commodification and idiosyncratic perspectives

‘The second half of the nineteenth century’, film historian Jean-Louis Comolli has commented, ‘lives in a sort of frenzy of the visible’ (1980: 122). The growth of visual information supported by the ‘ever wider distribution of illustrated papers, waves of prints, caricatures’, brought ‘something of a geographical extension of the field of the visible and the representable: by journeys, explorations, colonisations, the whole world becomes visible at the same time it becomes appropriable’ (Comolli, 1980: 122-123). If a visual articulation of travel preceded the Victorian age (Alpers, 1989; Altick, 1978), what makes

the travel imageries that developed during this time different, as Comolli suggests, is that by making the world *visible* they also made it *appropriable*. That is, travel imageries were now experienced as a product for consumption. This is an important transformation to consider because it shaped the use of visual media, and eventually of photography, made by both the travel industry and tourist photographers.

Tracing the roots of a representation of travel as a commodity, Dicks proposes the concept of ‘visitability’ as designating the display of culture – and, thus, its production – in a ‘visible’ and ‘visitable’ form (2003: 8-13). She argues that, during the same period in which Richards (1996a, 1996b) locates the transformation of cultural travel into a consumable experience, the emergence of a consumer culture affected the representation of travel also by turning it into a commodity. ‘Visitable history’ or ‘history made visible’, she argues, developed, in this way, as a representation centred on the visual consumption of historical sites, landscapes and architectural attractions (2003: 119, 134). By doing so, visitability turned places into ‘somewhere to go’ (Dicks, 2003: 1). Although these sights/sites were not new to the travellers’ routes or in the popular imagination (see for example Lowenthal, 1985, 1998), Dicks suggests, rightly, that it was the social, economic and technological transformations of the Victorian age that shaped a new way for travel to be thought of visually. These transformations came together in the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations held in London in 1851, widely considered to be a benchmark for the emergence of visual and material culture (Auerbach, 1999; Barton, 2005; Gibbs-Smith, 1981; Richards, 1990). Indeed, as Richards notes, ‘though the Great Exhibition had not been held for profit, it showed that capital could be much more than monetary or material value. Representing things was a good investment, perhaps the best investment of all’ (1990: 4). That is, through the spectacularisation of goods, the exhibition had a major influence on the imagination and desires of visitors, initiating a process of commodification that shifted the focus from the use-value of a product to its image. ‘It is a particular attraction of world fairs’, Georg Simmel had observed already in 1896, ‘that they form a momentary centre of world civilization, assembling the products of the entire world in a confined space as if in a single picture’ ([1896] 1997: 256). This explosion of vision influenced, in turn, the commercialisation of leisure and entertainment, heightened

the display of merchandise, and affected the general consumption of reality, now presented as if it was a spectacle: as Slater puts it, the Great Exhibition turned the world into an appearance that was ‘completely appropriable because completely duplicable’ (1995: 230). The interest in and spectacularisation of travel was further supported by the emergence of the periodical press which, as Steward argues, accompanied the development of new forms of visual culture by ‘familiarising the public with far-away places and making them attractive and fashionable’ (2005: 40).

What such studies as those of Richards and Slater indicate is that the emergence of a consumer society massively influenced the perception and use of visual media - considerations that can be extended to the relationship between travel, culture and its representations. On the one hand, the Great Exhibition attested to the physical as well as the visual dimension of external reality, now perceived in consumable forms. During the fair spectators were encouraged to consume visually the exotic places and cultures on display, with which most of them were coming into contact for the first time. The visual dimension of landscapes and exotic scenarios – hence the visual representation of travel itself - became subjected to the same process of commodification as the consumer goods, and thereby promoted travelling as itself a form of visual consumption. Mitchell (1988; 1989) has argued that such a commodification process affected the way in which the world was thought of to the extent that ‘outside the world exhibition [...] one encountered not the real world but only further models of representation of the real’ (1988: 12). This perspective is also shared by Dicks, who, as seen, considers the ways in which ‘tourism turns culture into displayable objects and visitable places’ (2003: 41), hence turning the ‘world’ itself into a source of imagery available for display and consumption. On the other hand, the Great Exhibition attested to how the by-then-established understanding of travel as a form of knowledge could be acquired and consumed visually. This resulted in the flourishing of museums and exhibition spaces (MacKenzie, 2009), which gave an impulse to the institutionalisation of culture and, following from this, of education. The perception of travel as a way to support the cultural formation of British ‘citizens’, in a context of rapidly changing class relations, stemmed from here. As culture became institutionalised, access to it shifted, in turn, from the realm of the aristocracy and its private collections

to the public domain, as a result of which culture became increasingly central to public discourse in general. So, for example, Matthew Arnold (1822-1888), who worked as one of the Majesty's Inspectors, and eventually Chief Inspector, of elementary schools, argued influentially that, through education, culture could be 'carr[ie]d from one end of society to the other' ([1869] 1993: 79), thus contributing to the formation of a more harmonious society. While Arnold's own focus here was on literature, and the arts more generally, it was already in something like this vein that in the RPI, the predecessor of Hogg's Polytechnic in Regent Street, the public's engagement with the 'practical sciences' had been encouraged through the aid of entertainment, and the visual dimension of the didactic experience was considered a key element of learning. 'By blurring the lines between experiment and performance, between laboratory and theatre', Weeden writes 'the phenomena of physics and chemistry [were made] both visible and accessible to the general public' (2008: 78; see also Lightman, 2007; Secord, 2002). This new focus on learning, which, as we will see, resulted in the institutionalisation of education, strengthened the understanding of travel as a way of acquiring knowledge – a perspective at the heart of the earliest forms of travel organised by the Polytechnic.

The influence that this approach to travel imageries as a product of consumption had on the representation of travel must be evaluated in relation to the requirements of the emerging travel industry. In the short term, as forms of organised travel were still minimal, the idea that knowledge of the world could be acquired by means of travelling both physically and visually facilitated the perception and use of visual media as a form of indoors travel. The world was appropriable inasmuch as its representations could convey the same information one would acquire by travelling in first person. In the long term, however, the emerging travel industry's need to induce people to travel fostered a use of visual representations no longer as a substitute but as an encouragement to travel. The world was now appropriable to the extent that visual representations anticipated an experience that was understood as being in itself a visual one. The development of modern forms of tourism marketing were constructed on the understanding that induced travel imageries had to be appropriable to the extent that tourists could relate not just to the destination, but also to the experience they could have there. As tourism studies has thus

recognised, in order for the image of a travel destination to attract potential tourists it needs to become first an idea; that is, its primary features need to be shaped into an idealised representation of the experience of visiting the place (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997; Tasci and Gartner, 2007). This shift is discussed in more depth in the next chapter via Colin Campbell's conceptualisation of tourist consumption as an 'imaginative hedonism' (1987: 119), while the significance that it had in the mode of image consumption, which moved from a vicarious to a first-hand experience consumption of travel, are evaluated in Chapter 4. What is important to highlight at this stage is what this analysis means for an understanding of the relationship between photography and travel as it was developed by the travel industry and by the growing number of tourist photographers.

Observations such as that 'as soon as there was photography there was travel photography' (Osborne, 2000: 3), or that 'tourism and photography came to be welded together and the development of each cannot be separated from the other' (Urry, 2002: 149), reflect a generally acknowledged view that has grounded studies of the relationship between tourism and photography as 'modern twins' (Larsen, 2006: 241). This historical concomitance acquires a particular significance when considered in relation to the emergence of a consumer culture. It was the processes of commodification shaping nineteenth-century society that brought together travel and photography, and which defined the terms of their relationship. As Urry recognises, 'the peculiar combining together of the means of collective travel, the desire for travel and the techniques of photographic reproduction becomes a core component of western modernity' (2002: 149). Two considerations support and develop this conception. Firstly, as both Osborne and Urry suggest, the simultaneous and intertwined development of travel and photography was in response to the idea, discussed above, of travelling and/or looking as means to knowledge. Technological developments in travel infrastructures and representational media emerged out of, and in turn supported, this understanding. Batchen (1997), for example, argues that it was the desire for reliable representational forms, fuelled by the idea that knowledge of the world could be acquired empirically, which led to the invention of photography in the first place. Secondly, their observations suggest that, as a representational medium, photography related to the world in a unique way from the outset. Sekula has rightly emphasised that since its beginnings

‘photography was hitched to the locomotive of positivism’ (1981: 16). This has sustained the belief that photography is a ‘universal language’, simultaneously obfuscating the ‘larger discursive conditions’ specific to a capitalist context which in fact fuelled such universalistic claims (Sekula, 1981: 16). The function allocated to travel photographs exemplifies this point. As ‘a particularly powerful signifying practice which reproduces a dominant set of visual images, at the very same time that it conceals its constructed character’ (Crawshaw and Urry, 1997: 183), photography gave an unprecedented immediacy and sense of truthfulness to travel representations. Simultaneously, their candid appearance allowed photographs to accommodate to the changing requirements of the emerging travel industry. Osborne notes that:

as the ‘promise to pay in solid substance’ the photographic image becomes an enticement to visit the site of its origins, the referent, the gold standard of realism. It offers an incitement to travel, to purchase the real in the form of visual consumption. It becomes the promise to exchange the representation for the real, the copy for the original, the simulacrum for the authentic (2000: 11).

This observation, which elaborates on one aspect of the circuit of culture, indicates how it was photography’s ability to make the world simultaneously visible and appropriable that defined – and to an extent still defines - the relationship between photography and the promotion of travel. As Hunter notes in relation to contemporary forms of tourism destination promotion, it is the ‘representational power’ of the photographic image – that is, its indexical uniqueness - that ‘transforms a place into a destination – a commodity’ (2008: 354): ‘Photographic representations in tourism are the means by which the original characteristics of a destination are transformed into simulations [...] for the sake of destination promotion’ (2008: 354). By producing ‘groomed spaces’, that is spaces that seem to have been created especially for, and hence await, the tourist’s presence, the product in the form of photographic representations presents itself as ‘completely commodified and ready for consumption’ (Hunter, 2008: 360).

This assessment informs the investigation (developed in Chapter 4) of how the

democratisation of photography influenced the perception of both travel and photography by defining further how tourists approached the use of photography. As proposed, the research questions advanced in this thesis can be addressed by examining the Polytechnic/PTA's representation of travel against tourists' own photographic practices, which thereby play a transformative role in the discourse of travel. What this last section adds, I argue, is the recognition that it is in photography's ability to conflate the visible with the appropriable that the transformative dimension of tourists' photographic practices must be investigated. Discussing the role of photographs as a 'powerful and plentiful medium' (2008: 354) in the process of destination image formation, Hunter consequently considers how:

the technology of the photograph has made a significant contribution to the transformation of the world's consciousness of itself during the short span of a century because the production and circulation of visual representations is economical and effective, providing an abundant visual language to describe the world around us *without narrowing the range of interpretations available* (2008: 357; emphasis added).

This suggests that the paradigm shift in photographic perception, which was influenced by tourists' own production of first-hand experience photographs, occurred to the extent that the 'proliferation of countless discourses' (Urry, 2001: 7) was also a proliferation of ways of making the photographic image one's own. As I discuss in the following chapters, during the historical period considered within this research tourists moved from (mostly) just being the recipient of a travel imagery, to start producing their own images of travel. If the understanding of travel imagery is affected by practices such as photography, then the passage from only looking at photographs to also taking photographs must have triggered an important shift in the perception of both travel and photography. As Urry similarly recognises, 'there has been a massive shift from a more or less single tourist gaze in the nineteenth century to the proliferation of countless discourses, forms and embodiments of tourist gazes now [...] multiple gazes have become core to global culture' (2001: 7).

Crary's (1992) reflections on modern vision and visual culture elucidate this point further. As he argues, the media technologies that developed during the nineteenth century,

especially photography, supported a vision located in the bodily experience of the observer. As such, they relied on the subjectivity of the individual. The consequences of this shift in perception were profound, and, as Osborne observes, ‘travelling and its visual epiphanies became linked to the actual formation of the individual’ (2000: 9). What emerged as deeply affected by this was, then, the understanding of the position and role that the individual – such as those who participated in the PTA’s tours - occupied in the context of travel. The idea that the act of looking could generate an all-embracing form of knowledge collapsed, and instead the tourist emerged as personally involved in the process of meaning construction: once individualised, the perception of travel became idiosyncratic, dependent on the individual’s agency. As such, through the production and consumption of first-hand experience images tourists gave rise to a plurality of idiosyncratic perspectives utilised in making sense of the world. In doing so, they also fragmented the meaning of the induced representations of travel developed within the context of marketing. I will return to this point in Chapter 3, in which I contextualise a paradigm shift in the use of photography in the period here discussed, and in Chapter 4, in which I propose an argument to explain how photographic practices, as both idiosyncratic and transformative experiences, can affect the perception of both travel and photography.

2.4. Conclusion

Through an approach to travel as a multidimensional system, photographic practices can be thought of in relation to tourism and its representations. In this way, tourists’ photography can be investigated as one of the activities (a performative practice) that affect the understanding of travel (and thus transformative): something which has been explored here at the level of representation. By putting tourists’ photographic practices in relation to the organic, induced and first-hand experience images that inform the process of destination image formation, it is possible to evaluate how tourists’ photographs, as first-hand experience images, transform the image of a destination. As discussed via the idea of the circuit of culture, tourists do more than replicate normalised representations, instead developing personal narratives that in turn affect how a destination is represented. Yet, because of the imagination involved in the process of destination image formation, it needs

to be emphasised how it is not *what* a travel imagery shows that can give the measure of how practices affect representations. Rather, it is by focusing on *how* images are produced and consumed that it is possible to investigate the transformative character of tourists' photographic practices. The perspective of cultural travel has thus been proposed as a general framework through which to evaluate how practices of representations developed in response to emerging notions of knowledge and education. As discussed, the development of the idea of culture into that of (commodified) product matured at the same time as travel was fostering an empirical knowledge: this facilitated the commodification of cultural travel. The same process of commodification defined the relationship between travel and photography: representations were turned into an object and product of consumption. Because of the photographic image's ability to conflate the visible with the appropriable, I have argued, photography became the medium of choice for the representation of travel. This same quality, however, also opened the way to the proliferation of tourists' photographic discourses. What this analysis indicates is that the relationship between the promotion of tourism and the democratisation of photography as it unfolded between 1888 and 1939 can be understood as a negotiation between different ways of relating to this idea of the appropriable: while travel firms promoted the visible as the promise of the appropriable, the tourist photographers developed an understanding of how the visible could be 'appropriated' in more idiosyncratic ways.

These reflections inform the analysis of the social and cultural context within which the relationship between the Polytechnic/PTA's promotion of tourism and the democratisation of photography developed, and which I explore in the next two chapters. In order to understand how the photographic image lent itself to the different requirements of the travel industry and of emerging tourist photographers, and how the practice of the latter influenced the former, the experience of both parties is discussed in turn. Specifically, notions of the photographic image as visible and appropriable are discussed from the perspective of the travel industry (Chapter 3) and of tourist photographers (Chapter 4). In Chapter 4 I explore how practices of travelling and photographing influenced tourists' perception of and relationship with organic, induced and first-hand experience images. This will support an attempt to understand in what ways tourists' photographic practices

influenced the perception of both travel and photography, and how this has influenced established modes of thinking of and representing travel. This is anticipated by an analysis of how the emergence of commercial demands prompted the use of induced imageries of travel. This is the focus of the next chapter, which hence looks at the development of a travel industry and at its use of visual media by evaluating the social and cultural context within which the visual promotion of travel developed; and then considering how changes in the function of representational practices influenced the development of travel imageries.

CHAPTER 3. THE EMERGENCE OF A TRAVEL INDUSTRY AND OF TOURISM MARKETING

The following chapter outlines a broad historical context for this research project by focusing on those social and cultural changes that influenced the development of tourism as an organised industry, and the specific use made of visual media in its representation. This is investigated here from the perspective of an idea of cultural travel, which, as already discussed, allows for a theoretical and historical reflection upon how: i) the approach to culture in relation to individual formations changed over the course of this period; and ii) this transformation influenced the function (and thus the use) of travel imageries. Specifically, this chapter looks at how the development of travel as a product of consumption influenced the transition from organic to induced travel imageries, and how this consequently impacted upon the use of photography.

First, the chapter looks at the late-Victorian and Edwardian era. It explores the idea of culture as education that prompted the emergence of philanthropic and Evangelical organisations such as the Polytechnic, and how the medium of photography was used in order to promote the perceived didactic function of travel. Second, the interwar years are considered. This section discusses how the improving benefits of travel were associated with a more recreational approach, and how this influenced the new images that the travel industry, now in open competition, developed in order to attract the growing market.

3.1. Travel, education and self-improvement in late-Victorian and Edwardian era

The existing literature on tourism's history has extensively discussed how two of the earliest travel formats that brought together travel and culture, understood as an improving experience, were the Grand Tour (Adler, 1989; Holloway *et al.*, 2009; Towner, 1985) and the tramping tradition (Adler, 1985; Borocz, 1992; Barton, 2005; Hobsbawm, 1951). In both cases travel was regarded as a way to learn, either through the strengthening of a classical education or the aesthetic sensibility of an aristocratic or emerging bourgeois 'ruling class', as in the case of the Grand Tour, or through supporting craftsmen by facilitating their work experience in different towns, as in the case of the tramping tradition. Travelling certainly

incorporated an element of leisure, as the reported presence at this time of practices such as drinking, gambling or whoring suggests (see for example Inglis, 2000: 20-23). Yet, the espoused motives were still considered to be predominantly instructional ones: only in the latter part of the nineteenth century did new motives come to be voiced, in turn affecting the forms of cultural travel demanded and promoted within the nascent travel industry.

As already discussed, a new understanding of the cultural function of travel was one result of the economic, social, political and technological outcomes of the Industrial Revolution. These transformations were defined during the late-Victorian era in terms of the dominant values of the age more generally: a combination of 'enabling factors', that is, the practical structures and operations through which travel takes places (from technology to disposable income), and 'motivating factors', that is, the social conditions that triggered the desire to travel (Holloway *et al.*, 2009: 31-32), allowed for the establishment of a new approach to culture and travel. In particular, a demand for 'rational recreation' (Bailey, 1978) and the re-structuring of the educational system, opening it up to a wider class constituency, promoted travel as a learning tool of betterment and self-improvement. Among enabling factors, a paramount influence on nineteenth-century mobility was, of course, exercised by technological improvements. The invention in 1784 of the steam engine, which led to the railway and the steamship, prompted a new transport system, which decreased costs and travelling times, and was accompanied by the gradual development of holiday infrastructures. As society moved from 'a mainly static to a mobile one' (Holden, 2005: 31), these transformations created the conditions for the development of mass tourism and foreign travel. These were not merely logistic conditions; indeed, they affected people's broader relationship with the world around them. Holden, for example, observes how 'the railways were a major force in eroding localism and removing barriers to mobility' (2005: 27). Sustained by an increase in economic production, which was key in allowing disposable income to be spent on tourism (Nash, 1996), and by legislation which was beginning to recognise people's right to free time (such as the Bank Holiday Acts of 1871 and 1875), the new transport system allowed for a greater possibility of realising a desire of get away from one's daily life (Holloway *et al.*, 2009: 32). This provided the ground on which new motivating factors could develop. On the one hand, more openly recreational forms of

travel took hold. The popularisation of seaside resorts is an example of this. Holden notes how the coast was ‘the first geographical area to become a focus for mass participation in tourism’ (2005: 28).⁷ The reason for this, MacKenzie proposes, resided in the seaside’s ‘association with health, pleasure, sublime, picturesque’ (2001: 68), which legitimised the various (not necessarily instructive) motives for travelling there. On the other hand, the effects of a newly urbanised and capitalist society, specifically social tensions and poor living conditions, raised concerns about how to organise people’s lives around time at and off work. As previously observed, these transformations gave a new sense to the idea of leisure, while, at the same time, providing a way of forming (and hence controlling) the lives of new city-dwellers. MacKenzie for example writes, in these terms, of the Victorian era’s ‘renewed Evangelical religiosity, a reformed society imbued with ideas of hard work, temperance, thrift and adherence to duty’ (2001: 10). Simultaneously, the presence of the British Empire in people’s everyday lives (see, for example, Hall and Rose, 2006; and Lambert and Lester, 2006) not only triggered a curiosity about distant places (as seen already with the Great Exhibition of 1851), but also fostered a sense of British identity as both national and imperial (MacKenzie, 2009), thus, as we will see, further shaping the perception and representation of ‘abroad’.

As is well known, new ideas of progress, self-improvement and moral values spread throughout Victorian society over the course of the nineteenth century, bringing to the fore new concerns with the cultural welfare and betterment of the population: as a result, education acquired an increasingly important social role. The instruction and betterment of the population, which up to that point had been provided by the Church of England and by philanthropic organisations, became, in the second part of the nineteenth century, the responsibility of the state. The first major step was taken in 1860 when, through the Department of Science and Art, school examinations began; followed in 1870 by the Elementary Education Act, which made education compulsory for all children between the ages of five and ten (Musgrave, 1964). At the same time, the vast number of people now living in Britain’s urban centres increased the demand for forms of entertainment.

7. Supported by the professed health benefits associated with it, the seaside remained the principal form of holiday for the majority of the population well into the 1960s (Walton, 1983; Richards, 1996b).

A number of social practices such as popular shows, public museums, galleries, music halls, sport activities and organised excursions developed in response to this demand. Crucially, these activities were articulated around the idea of ‘rational recreation’: that is, they were ‘basically and relentlessly didactic’ (Bailey, 1978: 47). Professing the physical and spiritual betterment of the population, they provided a way of regulating the ‘work, leisure and home life’ of the ‘lower’ classes (Bailey, 1978: 184), imposing ‘middle-class manners on the working-class’ (Barton, 2005: 98). Charities, churches, youth organisations and temperance movements all participated in a rationalisation of working-class leisure ‘within the framework of the dominant bourgeois ideology’ (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998). In doing so, Bennett argues, these various forms of entertainment ‘helped to form a new public and inscribe it in new relations of sight and vision’, thus establishing a ‘nationalized citizenry’ (1988: 85-86, 80) - but also, as we will see, an imperial identity. This was also achieved through a new interest in the past, as anticipated in the previous chapter, now brought into public consciousness with the emergence of organisations such as the Commons Preservation Society (1865), the Protection of Ancient Buildings (1877), the National Footpaths Preservation Society (1884), the Ancient Monuments Protection Act (1882, becoming law in 1913) and the National Trust (1895). As Wright has argued, the function of these preservation lobbies was ‘to naturalise a bourgeois interpretation of history and society’ (1985: 69). They did so by ‘restaging or display[ing] [history] in certain sanctioned sites, events, images and conceptions [...] Abstracted and redeployed, history seems to be purged of political tension; it becomes a unifying spectacle’ (Wright, 1985: 69). This also made the past “‘there” to be seen or visited’ in new ways (Wright, 1985: 75). Photography certainly contributed to this project. For example, the photographic survey movement, active between 1885 and 1918 with the purpose of recording the English past, exemplifies how the discourse of nation was in this period defined by ‘the primacy of the visual rather than the verbal in the sense of the past’ (Edwards, 2012: 8). The development of a new function for and understanding of cultural travel as an improving experience of *educational* character stemmed from here. Education and ‘the culture of national tourism’, Wright remarks, contributed to ‘the formation of [a] national past’, which thus can ‘be thought of as a controlling attribute of citizenship’ (1985: 145-146). As Bennett also

notes, for this reason, the regulation and instruction of the population in the middle-class values of self-improvement and respectability found in cultural travel a pedagogical tool of invaluable significance (1998: 74-77). Thompson, similarly, has observed how holidays were not, as such, simply ‘carefree jaunts; but they were escapes from ordinariness into exciting new worlds of well-regulated and carefully rationalized pleasure and happiness’ (1988: 263).

Nonetheless, it would be misleading to assume that Victorian travel was practiced purely as a kind of practical, intellectual or moral journey. A leisure component continued to be part of the travel experience; yet, this was not recognised as such as the primary motivation for travelling. Pemble (1987) argues that at the end of the nineteenth century, the most highly-valued motives for travelling were cultural, religious and health-based. Generally, travel was understood as a way to knowledge and improvement: ‘the *ideal* and the official motivation for travelling had been mainly linked with educational purposes’ (Syrjämaa, 2006: 8, original emphasis). In the context of the educational institutions that developed at this time, travelling was thus promoted as a fundamentally serious pastime. As I will discuss in relation to the Polytechnic, travellers who participated in these forms of touring still felt ‘the responsibility to study and to learn – at least, in principle’ (Syrjämaa, 2008: 44). An article published in 1899 in the monthly education periodical *The Practical Teacher*, for example, describes how the cultural dimension of travel was rationalised during this time. After quoting from W. M. Thackeray’s novel *The History of Henry Esmond* (1852) - ‘to see with one’s own eyes men and countries, is better than reading all the books of travel in the world’ - the article moves on to describe the benefits of travelling:

We might refer to the increase of knowledge which accrues from actual observation in other lands, to the new interest in life which comes from intercourse with fresh minds, to the renewed energy of body and spirit which change of scene brings to the jaded brainworker, to the delight which spring from the sight of natural beauties hitherto unknown to us. We might point out, further, that it is not only mental and bodily benefit that may be derived from such travel, in the form of fresh elasticity of nerve and muscle and a quickening of intellectual activity, but acquaintance with strange manners and novel conditions of existence enables us to take broader moral views of life, and makes more lively within us the spirit of tolerance and of sympathy (1899:

1).

This defines educational travel as perceived in the context of the ‘rational recreation’ movement, highlighting its expected motivations and functions. The author explains how this form of travel was brought about by the complementary integration of *physical* (‘the renewed energy of the body’), *mental* (‘the increase of knowledge’ and ‘quickenning of intellectual activity’), *spiritual* (a ‘delight which springs from the sight’) and *moral* activities (travel as offering ‘broader moral views of life’). Such an approach influenced the way in which both individuals and institutions perceived travel norms and values in the late nineteenth century. For example, in the 1890s a member of a craft organisation, commenting on the fading threads of the tramping system, considered that ‘no man knows his own ability or what he is worth until he has worked in more towns than one’ ([1902], cited in Hobsbawm, 1951: 303). Although anecdotal, this assertion indicates how the educational aspect of tramping as a way of acquiring a technical ability had become by this point an opportunity for personal (as well as career) development, a way to improve not just practical skills but also one’s moral seriousness. Likewise, the activities organised during this time by the Mechanic’s Institutes and Friendly Societies in the north of England offer an example of how the affinity between travelling and personal improvement was being translated in the context of working-class culture (Barton, 2005: 29-37). These organisations began to arrange group holidays that catered for the tastes of their working-class members by providing entertainment, but also offering a ‘patriotic and edifying’ experience deemed ‘educational and improving’ (Barton, 2005: 37). Way into the Edwardian era travel was recognised as bringing together a healthy mind and a healthy body. For example Julian Grande, a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS), wrote on *The Practical Teacher* in 1910 in praise of walking tours to Switzerland that: ‘Switzerland not only interests the mind, but affords the best possible exercise for a healthy body [...] I know of no better opportunity of testing the character, temperament, and true value of a person than during a walking tour in the Alps’ (1910: 746-747). The Polytechnic tours emerged within this context. By framing the idea of travel through notions of learning and moral improvement, late-Victorian society anticipated that cultural of travel which, as we will see, Quintin

Hogg's project, devoted to the improvement of the working-class, translated into a tool of social regulation (see Chapter 5).

The general impression that by travelling one could acquire a form of knowledge – understood in the late-Victorian and Edwardian era as a way to better and temper oneself – also influenced the use of visual media. As a result, photography became one of the agents of Victorian education (Schwartz, 1996: 33; see also Altick, 1978; Humphries, 1989). In the next section I consider how the visible and appropriable character of the photographic image was used in this context of rational recreational activities, which promoted photographic consumption as an adequate substitute, but also anticipation, of the improving experience of travel.

Photographs between organic and induced representations: education, entertainment and promotion

The nineteenth-century idea of the photograph as a window onto the world – that is, as a form of virtual witnessing - has been widely acknowledged. Because of its indexical quality, since its inception photography had been praised as the one form of documentation that, on its own, could stand for the experience of travel itself (see for example Osborne, 2000; Rouillé, 1987; Ryan and Schwartz, 2003; Schwartz, 1996, 2000). Primary sources confirm the sense of an unprecedented way of looking afforded by photographs: 'you look, as it were, upon the real thing, completed, and you are beguiled at once by the kind of reality which it assumes', wrote the newspaper *The Era* (1852: 10). The benefits this had in relation to travel appeared immense. Ruchatz notes how 'the notion that photographic images could be trusted, even without comparing them to the actual place, proved especially important in the portrayal of far-away scenes' (2000: 35). As *The Era's* reporter declared: 'here, then, we have a trip to Australia performed in a couple of hours, and at a cost of one shilling' (1852: 10). The London shows capitalised on this widespread interest in travel, and on its link with education. An example of this is the case of Albert Smith, who became popular in the 1850s with the lantern show *Ascent of Mont Blanc*, based on his own experiences at mountaineering.⁸ Reviewing the show, *The Times* reported that without

8. The *Ascent of Mont Blanc* ran successfully between 1851 and 1858. The show also played a key role in

the inconveniences of travelling, which even for the wealthy was still long, fatiguing and expensive, the spectator could experience a journey ‘much more pleasantly performed in imagination during a two hours’ stay at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, than by bivouacking on the Grands Mulets, or cutting one’s way with hatchets up the Mur de la Cote’ (1852: 8).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the representation of travel adapted these perceived qualities of photography to the current concerns of society. Through education and entertainment, photographic views of the world reached out to the audience in persuasive and emphatic ways, becoming the ‘engine of public instruction’ in Victorian and Edwardian England (Altick, 1978: 220; see also Humphries, 1989). ‘Travel photographs’, Schwartz writes, ‘provided a visual ground which anchored the observer, demonstrated cultural difference, shaped experience and turned facts to knowledge’ (1996: 32). Consequently, the visual consumption of travel became a valid substitute for travel itself, responding aptly to the structuring of cultural travel as a formative and didactic tool in shaping society. An example of this is provided by the photography-based lantern shows – including those staged at the RPI and then at Hogg’s Polytechnic - which during this period intensified the educational character of their performances, coming to be recognised as one of the most appropriate means of visually disseminating education and moral recreation in England (Kember, 2009; Ruchatz, 2000). As Nelson argues, ‘because of the general acceptance of the photographs’ ability to represent faithfully and accurately, the tenor of slide shows shifted from illusion to realism, from phantasmagoria to science’ (2000: 428). They did so for example by offering, together with landscape views, the representation of current events, or by being used in educational contexts. They were also made available to the general public who could rent a set of slides for home entertainment, or to clubs and societies who used them as a didactic but also amusing aid, becoming by the end of the century a signifier of middle-class status.⁹ Periodicals and newspapers from the 1880s

the development of mountaineering as a form of cultural determination, helping to turn the idea of the Alps from a romantic view of nature into a ground for the exercise of leisure and culture (Altick, 1978: 473-478; Hansen, 1995).

9. For an account of the historical development in the use of the lantern, and examples of the slides produced throughout this time, see Crangle *et al.*, 2005, and Crompton *et al.*, 1997.

onwards offer a clear overview of the use and popularisation of the lantern, furthermore showing how the boundary between its educational and entertaining dimensions often overlapped. For example, John Robert Jack, a fellow of the Educational Institute of Scotland, discussed in 1898 in the London-published journal *The Practical Teacher* the use of photographic imagery in a teaching context, noting how: ‘we cannot always visit the jungle to study our tiger; when we cannot go to the mountain we must in some way or other make the mountain come to us’ (1898: 13). Intersecting with the newly revived interest in geography, photography appeared to offer an excellent gateway to the world, ‘for in geographical pictures absolute accuracy, as distinguished from mere artistic effect, is of prime importance’, as another article in the *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* a few years earlier had stated (1887: 461). Although in Jack’s words photographs were considered as mere ‘makeshifts, more or less inferior, for the things themselves’, and always required a ‘formal introduction’, they nonetheless offered ‘vividness to teaching’ through ‘an actual representation [...] of the landscape, the incident, the specimen, the piece of apparatus which we may be describing’ (1898: 13). That is, although some commentators voiced concerns about the differences between a real and a vicarious experience, the didactic value of travel photography was not called into question, and there was a general consensus on the possibility of effectively studying and investigating the reflective surface of the image. Drawing from the Victorian idea that education could be supported by entertainment, as ‘rational recreation’ indicated, the photography-based lantern was ‘the most obvious and the most commercially successful means for ensuring that public entertainments were improving for their audiences’ (Kember, 2009: 51; see also Ruchatz, 2000). ‘The attraction of the magic lantern’, commented *The Wellington* in 1889, ‘lay in its ability to pass off instruction as entertainment’. If the accuracy of the photographs could provide information, the captivating character of the lantern could enchant the viewers. An article published in 1891 on using the lantern in the teaching of contemporary history made this point clear:

If the masses are to take an intelligent interest in the political, moral, and social movements of our times, it must be brought about, like everything else, by “the foolishness of preaching” – that is to say, by the spoken word. Yes, will

be the reply; but what is the use of speaking if they will not come to hear? The answer to that is that the Lantern, with its brilliantly coloured pictures, will attract those whom you most wish to reach, and when once you have got your audience you can teach them what you please (*Review of reviews*, 1891: 301).

The affinity between education and visuality was recognised and adopted not just within popular theatres, mission halls, or philanthropic organisations, but also as part of a broader governmental policy that used it to promote the British Empire. Indeed, as Ryan argues, it was the promotion of an ‘imperial world view’ that brought together all of this performances (1994: 159; see also Ryan, 1997). For example, the *Colonial Office Visual Instruction Committee* (1902-1911) was set up with the purpose of producing both photographic lantern lectures of the Empire to be used in Britain to educate children, and of the ‘Mother Country’ to be used in educating overseas children as citizen of the British Empire (Ryan, 1994). The lectures, recreating a ‘grand tour’ indoors, presented, as Ryan puts it, the British Empire ‘as one vast exhibition, or picturesque spectacle, awaiting the wandering European traveller’ (1994: 162). The broader concern with the formation of a national identity, discussed in the previous section, developed inherently with that of an imperial identity. In this light, as I will discuss in Chapter 5, the Polytechnic’s own educational project of forming modern citizens, and the role that travel played within it, can certainly be considered as an extension of the Empire project. This is an intriguing consideration that is, at any rate, worth highlighting because it points to the relationship between ‘imperial propaganda’ (Ryan, 1994: 158) and the imageries that fed the early marketing of tourism – a relationship that I explore in more detail in Chapter 5.

The transformation of travel into a visually consumable experience, from *cognitive substitute* of the activity to *promotional tool* for the earliest organised tours, was negotiated during this time. Once again, it is the case of the photography-based lantern show that is able to offer an insight into this shift. Aided by the lantern, the visual representation of travel came to be assimilated by the emerging travel industry, which adopted it for promotional purposes. This is a crucial passage because it marked the shift from the almost exclusive presence of organic travel images, to an increasing diffusion of induced images: in this

passage, the use of photography underwent a transformation. As a product of consumption, the ‘truthful’ representation of foreign lands was turned into a marketing vehicle. Two lectures on the Great Exhibition of Vienna delivered in 1873 at the RPI, the predecessor of the Polytechnic, indicate how travel imageries had stepped beyond merely substituting for travel, instead providing journeys that could function as a visual guide. *How to get to Vienna* and *Vienna and its Great Exhibition* were both based on a ‘special visit to Vienna’ made by Benjamin J. Malden, a lantern performer who later worked at the Polytechnic. The *Daily Telegraph* reviewed *How to get to Vienna* by noting how:

Besides furnishing a considerable amount of information, having a thoroughly practical value, and, indicating the best route to adopt, the descriptive portions of the lectures are made exceedingly interesting by a series of dissolving views, exhibiting all the principal places the traveler will pass through, and an entertaining summary of the main associations connected with each.¹⁰

As this commentator was aware, the lecture did exactly what the title suggested: through a set of slides mapping out the key stations of the trip, Malden virtually conducted the audience step by step from England to Vienna. He did so by offering not just information of an educational character, but also a kind of *how to* guide for the trip, covering those practical details that could actually turn the indoor journey into an experience outdoors. ‘Mr. Malden tells intending visitors to the great International Exhibition “How to get to Vienna”’, reported the periodical *Orchestra* in 1873 playing with the title of the show (1873: 69). This was a novelty, as the lantern was not customarily used to discuss travel in such terms. *How to get to Vienna* was incredibly successful, and three years later the RPI sent Malden to Philadelphia to prepare a new lecture on the American World’s Exhibition that, ‘by means of transparencies and photographs taken on the spot [...] will embrace a full and interesting account of the exhibition and its contents’.¹¹ The RPI did not organise tours, as the Polytechnic later did; therefore, the audience that would have been able to go to Vienna was not so much the ‘lower’ classes, for which the lantern shows

10. As quoted in the RPI programme, UWA/RPI/6/R49, The Bound Volume July-December 1873.

11. UWA/RPI/R53. Prospectus for 3 July 1876, p. 9.

still functioned mainly as a travel replacement. Instead, Malden's lectures more likely addressed those upper and middle-classes that, although able to travel abroad, were now faced with issues of limited time and restricted finances. In preparation for a journey, these new travellers were forced to resort to more succinct forms of knowledge acquisition, such as guidebooks but also the travel lectures. As Syrjämaa notes, they 'supplied a set of norms regarding where to go, what to observe and what to think' (2008: 44) - an economic and, in the case of the guidebook, portable, travel companion that replaced earlier tutors. Simultaneously, they conformed to an imperialistic national culture. As we will see in relation to the Polytechnic's promotion of travel and culture, 'the relentless textualisation of dominion and control' that MacKenzie recognises in guidebooks such as John Murray's (2005: 26), can be thought in the context of the lantern as being articulated visually. This also contributed to a transformation in the use of photographs. The case of the RPI lectures demonstrates how a new perception of photography was being put into place: as the possibilities for travelling had begun to expand, the way in which travel imageries were being looked at and used changed accordingly. From the realm of the organic they moved to that of induced images; a transformation supported by a narrativisation of the personal experiences of the lecturer. Figures such as Malden revealed how travel imageries could be used to provide practical information; crucially, however, the authority of such information relied not necessarily on the photographic image itself, but on the first-hand experience of the traveller-lecturer. If up until the 1870s the possibility of looking at travel photographs from this perspective was restricted to the middle classes, this shift in photographic use and perception quickly extended to the rest of society as photographic technologies developed and travel possibilities grew. As I will now move on to discuss, the appropriate possibilities of the photographic image were extended, as a result, to meet the emerging demand of travel promotion: their chief function was no longer to replace travel, but to anticipate such experience by offering induced representations aimed at the growing desire, now practical, to travel.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, up until the years that immediately preceded the First World War, the indexical value of the travel photograph was pulled between purposes of education, entertainment and promotion; interestingly, for an analysis

of tourism marketing, the boundaries between the three often overlapped. ‘Co-operative Travel’, an article published in *The Practical Teacher* in the summer 1897 reviewing a number of travel associations, provides an indication of this. Together with an evaluation of the educational benefits of the tours on offer, the article listed the facilities offered by various companies in preparation for the journey. In the account of Thomas Cook, the article praised the firm’s branch for lending lantern slides: ‘a large collection of slides illustrating scenes of the various tours, has been made to the number of about 300,000. These are lent, in set of about sixty, free of charge to travellers by Cook’s Tours, who may wish to give a lantern lecture at any society’ (1897: 1). While the company must have seen investment in the circulation of such slides as a promotional device, the magazine suggested how these could provide recreational and educational entertainment to the public; whether then the public rented out or participated in the lantern lectures in order to learn about Thomas Cook’s travel facilities, about the destinations described, or to spend an entertaining evening is more difficult (and maybe not so important) to ascertain. What is instead relevant to note is that one motive might not have precluded the other: Thomas Cook used the images as induced representations; the article appreciated these for their didactic benefits, and hence related to them as organic representations; and the public could potentially move in and out of the two discourses, furthermore relating to the lectures as first-hand experience images (had one already visited the destinations in question). As I discuss in the next chapter, the emergence of compact cameras in the 1880s had brought first-hand experience images to public consciousness in an unprecedented way. This fact, I propose, points to how the appropriable character of the photographic image could now be negotiated amongst different discourses.

This same overlapping can be observed in the numerous businesses dealing with lantern slides, not necessarily as part of travel organisations, which spread throughout England at this time. For example the London firm Newton & Co., founded at the end of the eighteenth century to produce globes and engraved maps, became specialised in the second half of the nineteenth century in the production and distribution of educational slides (mostly of geographical and historical subjects). These were sold or rented out to both schools and the general public: that is, they were used indiscriminately for educational

and recreational purposes. Way into the Edwardian era the enthusiasm for educational slides remained massive, and as Newton & Co. wrote in their 1912 catalogue, the lantern slides were produced 'in response to the enormously increased demand for lantern slides for schools' (Gee, 1992: 3). The entertaining but also more documental functions expected of the lantern eventually developed into the 'Cinematographe', presented by the Lumiere brothers for the first time ever on the premises of the Polytechnic in February 1896.¹² Renamed 'travelogue' in 1904 (a term coined by the American photographer and filmmaker Burton Holmes to describe his travel lantern shows) the lantern anticipated not just the cinematograph but also the newsreel (Clarke and Doel, 2005) - another example of how the indexical value of the photographic image, both still and moving, could be used for the purposes of instruction and entertainment.

This analysis indicates that, if in the absence of an established travel industry and of accessible travel possibilities for the majority of the population, the imagination of travel and foreign lands had been based on organic images, as forms of organised travel fell into place the number of induced images increased. The relationship between the representations of travel and photography was negotiated according to what the function of induced images was perceived to be. As has already been seen, way into the Edwardian era photographs were used to promote travel as an experience of moral and educational betterment. Within this context the photographic image, as both visible and appropriable, could comply with the functions of both organic and induced representations. Things changed, however, in the decades that followed the First World War, a period that is usually referred to as the 'golden age' of travel illustrations. Already in the 1890s companies such as Thomas Cook, the railway companies and, interestingly, Kodak itself, had started using illustrations (as well as photographs) to advertise their products (Shackleton, 1976; West, 2000; Williamson, 1998), anticipating a trend that gained momentum after the war. The social and cultural context of the post-war era influenced a new approach to what was now understood, therefore, to make the experience of travel an improving one, while the progressive organisation of travel in consumable forms created the space to cater for this new demand. This in turn affected the function of induced representations of travel, and the

12. *PM*, 26 February 1896, p. 107.

place therein allocated to the photographic image.

3.2. The interwar years: cultural travel as an emotive and pleasurable experience

During the interwar years the demand for travel, together with the competition to meet this demand, rose steeply: ‘the speed of growth [of the tourist industry] was immense and puzzled contemporary observers’ (Syrjämaa, 2006: 3). The enabling and motivating factors behind this transformation were numerous, and must be considered in relation to a social and cultural context affected by the First World War, by the economic and political turmoil that followed the conflict, and by the contemporary diffusion of mass communication forms such as cinema, radio and then television. Although the war and the economic recession of the 1930s hampered the development of international travel, the interwar years are generally regarded as bringing to maturity the period of infancy of mass tourism, which had begun in the second half of the nineteenth century. Differences between the two centuries must nonetheless be noted: for example, the technological developments of the twentieth century – such as the motor car and the aircraft, an option yet available only to the wealthier classes (Swarbrooke and Horner, 2007) - set the possibilities of interwar tourism apart from what the technologies of the previous century had made possible, hence calling for a completely new form of touring (Fuller, 1994; Middleton and Lickoris, 2005; Syrratt, 1995; Weaver and Lawton, 2009). However, the relative marginality of these developments is also the reason why the ‘golden age’ of mass tourism is generally considered to have exploded only between the 1950s and 1980s. Therefore, defining the period under investigation as embryonic of the ‘golden age’ of mass tourism allows for a magnified study of those factors that were transforming the perception of cultural travel from a fundamentally didactic to a mainly leisure activity.

As much of the existing literature recognises, more than a transition, the passage to the interwar years was perceived as a fracture with the previous social order. Hobsbawm, for example, writes that ‘the great edifice of nineteenth-century civilization crumpled in the flames of world war, as its pillars collapsed’ (1975: 22). In his study of travel literature between the wars Fussell also recognises how the First World War had made life in England so unpleasant – ‘a loss of aptitude, a decay of imaginative and intellectual possibility

corresponding to the literal loss of physical freedom' – to become in itself a 'powerful stimulus to movement abroad' not only for writers but also for the broader population (1980: 10, 18). 'Although of course not as nasty as life at the front, life at home was as constricted and unpleasant as regulations could make it, with a scarcity of all desirable things', Fussell writes, and emphasises the impact that this had on the desire to escape by adding that this 'meant four years, three months, and seven days of no traveling' (1980: 9). Certainly the conflict changed profoundly the way in which people understood the world and their place in it, and this was reflected in a new attitude towards travel. Many of those who survived came back as 'convinced haters of war' (Hobsbawm, 1975: 26), willing to enjoy life at its fullest. Both Holloway *et al.* (2009) and Walton (2009) discuss how the war gave to the perception of and desire for travel as recreation a further push, as upon their return home soldiers combined the rejection of the atrocities and austerity of war with a renewed curiosity for abroad. This view is similarly shared by Middleton and Lickoris (2005: 2), who furthermore reflect on how the progress in personal mobility, technology and communication systems facilitated by the war fuelled and supported a new demand for tourism. Although travel was still a privileged activity – Richards (1996b: 7) notes that in the 1930s only 30% of the population took a holiday in the UK – the discourse of travel had changed in the public consciousness, and people's expectations had by now extended to embrace the idea of travel as leisure, a 'healthy, free and mobile leisure' (Inglis, 2000: 111).

The promotion and organisation of travel, which by the onset of the war was managed by tour operators such as Thomas Cook (and, to a smaller degree, by organisations such as the PTA), and by the railway companies in partnership with local authorities (Beckerson, 2002), became in the interwar years the concern of the government. Tourism turned into a 'consciously promoted industry' (Syrjämaa, 2003:16), bringing to completion the transformation of travel into what Richards (1996a, 1996b) defines as a consumable experience. Throughout much of Europe, the growing governmental interest in tourism was bound both to development of socialist ideas on the role of leisure time in the lives of the working-classes, which eventually led to key pieces of legislation such as the 1938 Holiday with Pay Act in the UK (Dawson, 2007), and to the economic breakdown

following the Great Depression of the early 1930s, as governments saw foreign currency as an aid to economic recovery (Middleton and Lickoris, 2005: 8; Syrjämaa, 2006: 3). Inglis reports that by 1925 one and a half million British manual workers took paid holidays; by 1937 this had extended to 4 out of 18.5 million workers earning below £250 per year (2000: 106). The Come to Britain Movement (1926), created to promote British tourism, the Travel Association (1928), in charge of assisting tourism in Britain, and the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (1926), which brought together a number of late nineteenth-century associations that had been promoting English heritage, are exemplary of this new interest in taking charge of tourism, in this case at a local level (Matless, 1998: 25). At the same time, the profile of the tourist class broadened. The democratisation of travel, which had begun with the opening of foreign travel to the middle classes, and of the seaside resorts to the 'lower' classes - the number of seaside resorts had soared in 1911 to 145, with a seasonal population of 1.6 million (Walton, 1983: 65-67) - increased its pace (Walton, 2002). Statistics can help grasp the scale of this growth, showing for example how, by this time, the number of members of associations and travel agencies was escalating. Jones (1986: 64-71) reports that by 1929 the working men's Club and Institute Union had a membership of 917,000, while the Co-operative Holidays Association, Holiday Fellowship, Workers' Travel Association, Youth Hostels Association, Camping Club of Great Britain and Cyclists' Touring Club had a membership which overall rose from 106,000 to 245,000 between 1930 and 1938. Furthermore, limitations on the time available to take a holiday, the increasing yet limited disposable income, and the possibility of reaching distant locations in a shorter time, had an impact on the format of the journey, and on what people came to expect from and demanded of travel. The response to the growth in the demand for holiday facilities was manifold, with the industry catering for the various social classes. The holiday camp, tailored especially for lower incomes, is one example of the diversified market's response to the development of tourism (Dawson, 2011; Inglis, 2000; Ward and Hardy, 1986); more than that, it 'inaugurate[d] mass-mobile holidays in packages' (Inglis, 2000: 109). As a 'dazzling improvisation which caught the feeling of the moment' (Inglis, 2000: 109), the success of holiday camps was paradigmatic of a new approach to leisure. In this regard, Inglis' description of Blackpool's holiday camp introduces that sense of

‘greater freedom’, which as I shortly discuss, also tinted people’s expectations of cultural practices:

The cinema, the pub, the dance floor, the music hall were powerfully familiar and familial, and everywhere the cheery redcoats in their flame-coloured blazers exhorted the people and their children to laughter, to connection with each other, to three square meals a day, to walks in the decidedly bracing air, to dance the Valeta and the old-fashioned waltz, to sing-songs and sandcastle competitions and the studious embarrassment of the newly-weds (2000: 108).

This context also supported a new approach to travel as a cultural experience, that is, the idea that travelling could be made improving simply by having a good time - a period that Inglis describes as ‘the break of a new kind of freedom’ (2000: 96). Not everyone agreed with this view, yet it came to define the promotion of mass tourism and foreign travel as developed by firms such as Thomas Cook, George Lunn’s and, as I will discuss, the PTA. As growing numbers of people were visiting the Continent, reporters writing in the 1930s lamented that, although ‘never before did so many people have such a wide knowledge of other countries than their own,’ their approach to travel was ‘in pursuit of sun and laziness’, and lacked the ‘consciousness’ necessary to achieve a meaningful and enriching experience (Taylor: 1931: 58-69).¹³ The emergence of leisure as an espoused motive for travelling influenced customer demand, and hence what the travel industry came to offer. Syrjämaa’s work on how culture and heritage became, in the interwar period, consumable goods packaged by the travel industry elucidates how what made travel an improving experience had now changed. If in the pre-war era not many had ‘dared to question the importance of cultural activities’ (2006: 8), she argues, twentieth-century tourists were more interested in the pleasurable experience generated by a brief encounter with historical sites: preparation and serious learning were no longer required. The interwar tourists, Syrjämaa writes:

13. This view also mirrors the distinction between the experience of the ‘educated traveller’ and of the ‘spurious tourist’ that had been made since the late eighteenth century. The derogatory connotations of the tourist, and the implications this had for the perception of their practices, is discussed in more depth in Chapter 4.

partly shared the values of previous travellers, but only partly. Instead of studying every statue in a museum with the red guide book of Baedeker, they might have wished to sunbathe on a hot beach, listen to jazz music drinking more or less or to ski in the mountains (2006: 3).

Leisure activities came to be increasingly recognised motives for travelling, reconfiguring the approach both to cultural travel, which was now turned into an ‘emotive experience’ (Syrjämaa, 2008: 45), and to the health benefits of going abroad to sunbathe or practice winter sports, which came to be perceived as recreational pastimes. ‘History was [still] there to be seen and experienced, but a brief and fragmentary encounter would suffice’ (Syrjämaa, 2008, 53). The way in which tourists made sense of historical sites and cultural forms ‘changed from an educational ideal to an approach emphasizing overtly entertainment, emotions and experiences’ (Syrjämaa, 2006: 1). The representation of travel developed by the travel firms in order to capitalise on this demand changed accordingly. In the next section I consider what the progressive emergence of more commercial forms of tourism meant for the development of new representational forms, and for the use of the photographic image.

Commercial ‘art’ as ‘unique’ induced travel image

The commodification of culture and heritage as made visible and visitable for tourism consumption, rooted in the second half of the nineteenth century, underwent a further shift during the interwar period. The terms of such consumption, which is what sets it apart from pre-1914 forms, can be understood through Colin Campbell’s consideration of tourism as ‘a form of imaginative hedonism’ (1987: 119). Discussing modern consumerism, he contends:

The essential activity of consumption is thus not the actual selection, purchase or use of products, but rather the *imaginative pleasure-seeking* to which the product image lends itself, real consumption being largely a result of this *mentalist hedonism* (1987: 118, added emphasis).

That is, consumption operates at the level of imagination by triggering in the consumer the *sensation* of what it would be like, or what it would imply (for example in terms of status), to consume the product. Campbell's proposition can be used to interrogate the promotion of cultural travel that took shape in the interwar years, inasmuch as it suggests that promotional imageries embraced the representation of the consumption not just of a destination as product (good or service), but also as an *experience*. Drawing from Campbell, Wang observes how 'with the aid of advertisements and marketing [...] [travel] has been converted into a form of leisure and a hedonistic experience' (2000: 189). Such considerations, expanding on the account of the commodification of cultural tourism pursued in Chapter 2, allow us to reflect upon how the use of visual media made by the emerging travel industry differed from previous forms of travel representation.

The context explored so far has evidenced how, already in the pre-1914 era, the promoters of cultural travel were aware of the appealing value of travel imageries. These, however, were not tied indissolubly to a commercial discourse. As already suggested, induced images of travel such as Thomas Cook's could potentially also act as organic images, for example by providing an educational or entertaining experience, or as first-hand experience images, by giving to the viewers the possibility to compare their own experiences with the images. Although resting on the same assumptions of visible images as hence appropriable and visitable, the promotion of travel developed noticeable differences in the interwar era. On the one hand, the leisure-oriented approach to travel lent a new meaning to the idea of the visible, which was no longer only the documental representation of a destination, but could also stand for the impression or sensation that a potential tourist might have by visiting that destination. That is, they provided a hedonistic representation of the destination. On the other hand, the context of an increasingly competitive market demanded a new function for induced travel images, based in the need to *attract* potential customers to travel with one particular firm, rather than just to anticipate the travel experience. As such, I would argue that what distinguished the interwar years' induced travel imageries from previous ones is that the former escaped the affinity with organic and first-hand experience images. It was then the development of commercial art that came to provide what I propose to term a 'unique' induced representation of travel - that is, induced imageries as branding -

with significant consequences for the visible and inevitably appropriable character of the photographic image.

The development of a consumer culture, of which tourism was both a product and a manifestation, engendered a shift in promotional strategies that transformed the field of advertising. If the earliest forms of advertisement emerged in the late eighteenth century, when the Industrial Revolution prompted text-based announcements and billpostings to promote the new market of consumer goods, advertising in a modern sense took shape only in the late nineteenth century, when technological developments (in particular lithographic and photogravure printing techniques) facilitated the introduction of visuals onto the printed page (Newett, 1982).¹⁴ Technological developments however were not the only difference: what changed during this latter period was also the idea of *how* a product should be advertised. Leiss *et al.* (1986) describe the years from 1890 to 1910 as characterised by a ‘rational’ approach emphasising the utility of a product, and those from 1920 to 1940 as increasingly focused on the ‘symbolic’ qualities of products – for example, the idea that health or status could be gained by consuming the goods. The pinnacle of a new way of marketing products was reached in the interwar period, the first ‘golden age of advertising’, manifested in the increasing organisation of its industry, in the consequent attention to its audience and to the planning of marketing material, and in the use of illustrations (Newett, 1982: 145-153). As Barnard discusses in relation to the development of visual culture, the modern meaning of advertising emerged at this time, as ‘the sense of informing becomes fully subordinate to that of persuasion’ (1995: 30). This shift can also be observed in the marketing of tourism: throughout the period with which this thesis is concerned travel firms moved from the communication of practical information (for example schedules, timetables, fares or excursions details), to the idea that travel should be marketed through creative promotion (Cole and Durack, 1990; Holloway, 2004; Holloway *et al.*, 2009; Raizman, 2003; Shackleton, 1976; Ward, 1998; Williamson, 1998; Wilson, 1970). Dedicated advertising departments thrived with the intent of generating successful

14. The first surge of press illustration began as early as the 1840s, with the first illustrated periodical, the *Illustrated London News*, appearing in 1841 and followed in 1869 by *The Graphic*. By the 1890s, developments in the photomechanical printing techniques allowed to increase the speed and reduce the costs of the reproduction of photographs, giving way to the mass diffusion of images.

commercial campaigns whose objective was to stimulate the public's desire to travel, as well as to define the company's identity (Cole and Durack, 1990; Ward, 1998). Shin, for example, discusses how already during the second half of the nineteenth century it is possible to observe an 'increasingly self-conscious development of transport branding' on the part of railway companies, 'due to the nature of the railway business which dealt with an intangible commodity' (2014: 191) – a consideration relevant for the promotion of tourism also. The 'Advertising Act', which was passed in 1921 to allow local governments to take control of the promotion of their own image, up to that point in the hands of railway companies, offers an indication of a new interest in representations; indeed, Beckerson notes, for example, how this was a 'crucial period of image establishment for most British resorts' (2002: 140). Yet, the function of these induced imageries was more than just anticipating the experience of travel: as noted, they had to persuade potential customers to travel with one particular company over another – in this sense, they had to be 'unique', to become a trademark. At the same time, by becoming symbolic the promotion of travel was also exempt from the requirement to be true to nature: the selling of travel, Ward observes, 'involved the creation and projection of images that only occasionally needed to coincide with experienced reality' (1998: 61).

A number of factors need to be accounted for in considering the popularity that illustrations enjoyed over photographs as a 'unique', or branded, form of induced imagery during this period: i) the context of fruition of travel imageries; ii) the technical shortcomings of photography, and the costs associated with it; and iii) the ongoing debate between photographers and artists on the aesthetic capabilities of the photograph.

Firstly, the move from a rational to a symbolic approach to marketing was also a spatial move: from the space of the lecture theatre and exhibition display, which had dominated the pre-1914 access to travelling for the majority of the population, the competition for the public's attention moved to the crowded walls of train stations and city streets. Induced imageries needed an easily recognisable and unique look in order to grab people's attention; the use of a bright and quickly identifiable iconography developed as a way to distinguish and to define the different travel companies. At the same time, travel firms saw in illustrations the possibility of tailoring a promotional message according to

the company's objectives. As Ward (1998: 61-63) explores in his study of the marketing of the English resorts during this period, the creative element – in the form of both slogans and visual elements – was central in the selling of holiday destinations. Furthermore, it seems plausible to argue that the amazement that had surrounded an earlier and restricted diffusion of travel photographs could hardly be replicated in the context of the massive spread of photographic images.

Secondly, the need to create captivating imageries must have clashed with one of the technical limitations of photography at the time, that is, its inability to reproduce colours (only becoming a possibility for the mass market with the Kodachrome film in 1935). Travel firms might well have seen in the bright colours of illustrations a quicker and more appealing prospect - although it must also be considered that, had colour been the only issue, photographs could have been tinted. As I discuss in more depth in relation to the PTA below, these travel illustrations were not a coloured version of photographs, as in both content and style they escaped that indexical quality that had made travel photographs so popular. Printing and sourcing costs are another factor that might have made a difference in choosing between the two media. Robinson and Picard (2009), for example, have noted how Thomas Cook used hand-drawn illustrations instead of photographs in its advertising material well into the 1950s. They explain this choice by the still prohibitive costs of the photography, which they argue was in the first half of the twentieth century still tightly controlled by a restricted number of producers and publishers. This assessment rightly recognises the technological limitations in sourcing and printing of photographs, yet it does not account for the extensive use of photography by travel firms in other publications such as guidebooks. Shin, on the other hand, proposes that the diversification of media and advertisements made by the railway companies, from the travel poster to the postcard, was because of a felt need 'to appeal to the diverse taste of their potential customers' (2014: 195). However, if this elucidates the development of railway companies' marketing, it does not explain on what basis illustrations and photographs came to be allocated to different types of advertisement.

Thirdly, the popularity of illustrations as compared to photographs must be understood in relation to the broader debate between photographers and artists concerning

the authority over creative representation and on their respective share of the market (Edwards, 2006). In 1882 the art critic and etcher Philip Gilbert Hamerton had declared: ‘there is one fatal objection to photography in comparison with drawing [...] You cannot photograph an intention, whilst you *can* draw an intention, even in the minutest detail’ (1882: 9, original emphasis). When it came to the expression of an individual vision, imagination or interpretation, Hamerton’s argument implied, the arts gained the upper hand over photography. Considered in relation to the competitive market in which travel firms were operating, the concept of intention reflects the active role that these took in planning their ‘unique’ induced images. This was recognised by the turn of the century artists who, assessing their role and possibilities within modern society, joined the ranks of economic production: the fusion of fine and applied arts led to commercial art (Barnicoat, 1972; Raizman, 2003). The roots of this development can be found in the design movements of the late nineteenth century, such as the Art and Crafts movement in England, and the Art Nouveau movement in France, as well as, slightly later on, the Deutscher Werkbund and Bauhaus School in Germany. A number of commentators feared at the time that art was lowering itself to the rank of popular culture, yet many others justified the matrimony between art and commerce with the argument that commercial art could be used to educate the masses to an aesthetic sensibility (Barnicoat, 1972). This emerges for example in the words of Tom Purvis, one of the leading artists and designers working with the London and North Eastern Railway, who in 1929 declared: ‘Commercial art is the ability of the artist applied to the purposes of commerce [...] Advertising designing demands imagination, invention, craftsmanship and salesmanship’ (quoted in Cole and Durack, 1992: 17-18). Recuperating the idea of intention already envisioned by Hamerton, Purvis argued that creativity could actually benefit commerce, inasmuch as the artist performs a pivotal exercise in delivering the commercial proposition of the travel industry to the general public through his/her own creative imagination. Tour organisations teamed up with emerging and established artists in order to create those unique and bright adverts, for example the travel poster, which produced, in the interwar period, the so-called ‘golden age’ of travel illustrations (Shackleton, 1976; Williamson, 1998).¹⁵ As I will discuss below,

15. This argument, generally developed in relation to the railway companies, is also true for a firm such as

in the 1930s the PTA itself commissioned a number of illustrations (for both posters and brochures) from Bossfield Studio, a company that also produced artworks for Thomas Cook and Southern Railways (Darracott and Loftus, 1972).

These considerations help us to understand why commercial art was preferred to photography in the representation of ‘unique’ induced imageries. Yet, they do not explain what might have triggered the initial transformation in photographic perception itself, which thus resulted in the popularity of illustrations over photographs as ‘unique’ induced images. After all, as discussed in the previous chapter, photography’s ability to make the world appropriable goes through a process of imagining; this supports the advertising of tourism through the creation of what Hunter calls ‘groomed spaces’ (2008: 360). This would imply that, as commercial art, photographs could also give large scope to the representation of experiences or impressions. Today for example, this is recognised by tourism firms, which indeed do use photographs in this fashion.¹⁶

It is interesting, at this point, to note a consideration made in passing by André Bazin in *The Ontology of the Photographic Image* ([1945] 1967). The advent of photography, he argued, released painting from its task or ambition to represent ‘the duplication of the world’, allowing it to focus on ‘the expression of spiritual reality’ ([1945] 1967: 11-12). Photography did so by ‘achieving the aims of baroque art’, that is, the representation not only of form but also of movement and ‘dramatic expression’ ([1945] 1967: 11, 12). Yet, as we have seen in relation to Hamerton’s argument, this ability was not immediately recognised. ‘Photography can even surpass art in creative power’, Bazin declared, adding in a footnote that nonetheless: ‘It would be interesting from this point of view to study, in the illustrated magazines of 1890-1910, the rivalry between photographic reporting and the use of drawings. The latter, in particular, satisfied the baroque need for the dramatic. A feeling for the photographic document developed only gradually’ ([1945] 1967: 15, 11).

Thomas Cook, which hired artists to produce its illustrations (Shackleton, 1976; Williamson, 1998).

16. Although the reasons for this ‘return’ to the travel photograph are not within the scope of this research, two motivations might be suggested. The first is that, starting with the documentary photography of the late-1930s, the perception of photography changed once more. Specifically, the snapshot acquired more positive connotations, as the lack of a creative intervention came to indicate a more truthfully-perceived image. The second is that, in a society increasingly ‘permeated by the media’ (Hjarvard, 2008: 105) – that is, used to the immediacy and virtuality provided by new media technologies – illustrations might not have the same impact.

Although it was not the purpose of Bazin's essay to investigate what might have influenced this 'feeling', he did note that the turn of the century saw a realignment in the perception of photography and illustrations, and of the relationship between the two. This is particularly intriguing when considered in relation to the visual promotion of tourism. As noted above, travel firms such as Thomas Cook and the railway companies, but also firms such as Kodak, had started using illustrations in the 1890s. This trend intensified in the interwar period, raising the question of what might have triggered such a shift in 'feeling' for the photograph; this, I propose, can be investigated in the context of the democratisation of the medium.

In order to understand what happened in the 1920s and 1930s, it is important to recognise, then, that the photographic image continued to be used by travel firms, for example in illustrating guidebooks, or as the subject of postcards, whose primary function was that of certifying one's travel experience (Edwards, 1996). However, as the case of the PTA will show, this use was generally limited to imageries of the destinations – as opposed to those hedonistic representations of travelling to the destination *with* the PTA. As such, a further element that seems crucially significant in the use of commercial art is that, by developing a visual language that in no way attempted to replicate the accuracy that had made photography the medium of choice in the representation of travel, travel firms chose *not to* identify themselves with photography. This suggests, I would argue, that the choice of illustrations over photographs cannot be explained only on the basis of photography's perceived ability – or lack of it – to represent an impression of a place (although contemporary art practitioners would have argued otherwise); rather, it must also be investigated in relation to the changing perception of photography at the time. That is, if the *branding* of travel is more than showing a destination, and indeed implies an *identification* of the image with the travel firm, what conditioned the development of these 'unique' images through distancing them from photographs?

3.3. Conclusion

As has been seen, then, the perception of cultural travel changed significantly in the period from the late nineteenth century to the interwar years, with a corresponding change in the

function of travel imageries accompanying this transformation. This was the background within which the Polytechnic tours emerged and then the PTA prospered. During the late Victorian and Edwardian era the approach to travel promoted by philanthropic and Evangelical organisations aligned itself with the emergence of education as a social concern, and temperance as a sign of respectability; within this context, travel developed as a tool of general didactic and moral betterment. Following the social, economic, technological and cultural transformations brought about by the First World War, the understanding of what made travel an improving experience changed: a leisure and emotionally-based approach to travelling and to the appreciation of culture prevailed. As discussed, this ideological transformation was accompanied by the progressive structuring of the travel industry; this fostered, by enabling it, the perception of travel as a product of consumption, and, specifically, as a visually consumable experience. The articulation of travel representations in organic, induced and first-hand experience imageries took shape during this period, influencing the function expected of visual media. During the period of 'rational' marketing (1890-1910), induced imageries of travel were expected to provide information about the destinations promoted. Because of its documental value, the photographic image could transition from the context of organic representations to that of induced and (potentially) first-hand experience ones. With 'symbolic' marketing (1920-1940), however, the issue emerged of how to distinguish one travel firm's induced image from a competitor's. Supported by an approach to travel as a personal and emotional experience, commercial art developed as a way to brand tour organisations by providing a 'unique' image of *how* it would be like to travel with one particular firm. Photographs, on the other hand, continued to be used in those publications aimed at making the destination visible. Crucially, however, illustrations were not a coloured version of photographs, but were developed *in opposition* to photography: this transformation was influenced, as I have suggested, by a shift in photographic perception.

It is proposed in this thesis that a central reason behind the changing relationship between the marketing of tourism and photography lies in the democratisation of the medium; by engendering tourists' photographic practices, this triggered a paradigmatic shift in photographic perception – and hence use. Elaborating on the framework so

far discussed, it is the concern of the next chapter to investigate both how this shift in photographic perception developed, and what implications tourists' first-hand experience images had in relation to an understanding of both travel and photography. This argument does not intend to be a uni-casual explanation of the transformation of tourism marketing; rather, it is proposed as part of the broader scenario so far discussed, in which conflicting practices, motivations and functions allocated to travel imageries came together.

CHAPTER 4. THE DEMOCRATISATION OF PHOTOGRAPHY (1888-1939): PRODUCING, CONSUMING AND UNDERSTANDING TRAVEL AND PHOTOGRAPHY

This chapter further elaborates upon a number of arguments made in the previous two chapters in order to discuss the proposition that the transformations in the promotion of tourism occurring in the period 1888-1939 should also be understood in relation to the development of tourists' photographic practices. It does so by bringing together reflections on travel practices as formative of the meaning of travel, and the contextual changes that accompanied the democratisation of photography. The analysis of photography in relation to travel and tourism as multidimensional systems has shown how photographic practices are transformative. This is because in the production and consumption of first-hand experience images the idiosyncratic character of one's experience of travel and of its representations is revealed, and as such questioned. This alters the perception – and hence production - of both organic and induced images. Specifically, I have suggested that it is photography's capacity to conflate the visible with the appropriable that defines tourists' photographic practices as both idiosyncratic and transformative: by producing and consuming photographs tourists are able to challenge, by multiplying it, the meaning of the image. This chapter explores how the democratisation of photography led to a new knowledge of both travel and photography. By locating tourists' photographic practices within the already discussed establishment of a tourism industry, the paradigm shift engendered by tourists' first-hand experience images can be considered in relation to the passage from organic to induced and to 'unique' induced travel imageries.

First, the chapter provides a description of who the tourist photographers were that are discussed in this research; it does so by focusing on what delineates how they produced and consumed images. Second, it discusses the democratisation of photography in the period between 1880s and 1930s, and how this shaped practices of photographic production and consumption. Third, the concept of the 'unphotographable' is introduced to examine how the democratisation of photography engendered tourists' articulation of its appropriable nature, and hence a new understanding of travel and photography. Lastly,

in order to question how tourists' first-hand experience images influenced the marketing of tourism, the perception of this paradigmatic shift is explored in relation to the parallel debate between 'travellers' and 'tourists'.

4.1. Tourist photographers: a definition

Any consideration of those who dedicated themselves to photography while travelling between the 1880s and the 1930s needs to recognise that this period was defined by core technological developments in camera apparatus, which enabled a transformation in photographers' motivations, modes of practice and, in turn, the perception of their work. Yet, although photographic interests broadened with practice, it is possible to identify a unifying thread throughout this period, which, I argue, can be used as a basis on which to elaborate a definition of tourist photographers as a specific group. If the first-hand experience images of tourists can alter induced representations, which are images produced by commercially oriented sources, then it can be inferred that tourists' photographs are the product of non-professionals. The exclusion of those who travel for working reasons is supported by the definition itself of the tourist, previously discussed. Additionally, by focusing on the difference between first-hand experience and induced images as non-professional and professional activities, it is possible to articulate a definition of tourist photographers that recognises the transformative dimension of their practices. This is because a professional photographer would have to subscribe to the view of travel that the tour organisation that employed him/her wanted to promote; a non-professional photographer, on the other hand, would instead have the chance to engage with the production and consumption of his/her own images beyond the restrictions imposed by a working commitment. Therefore, tourist photographers can be described as those who use photography while and after travelling out of personal interest. This perspective focuses on a space of production and consumption that, freed from the commitments that would enframe the photographic production of the professional photographers, allows for a different engagement with – and hence understanding - of photography and travel to emerge. Yet, as theorists of photography know well, this definition is far from conclusive.

The category of non-professional photographers, as Pollen and Baillie note, has

become ‘harder to interpret [...] because [there are] so many amateurs [...] with so many different agendas and so many different forms of practice’ (2012). Amateurs, snappers, photo-hobbyists, vernacular photographers, aspirational or relational amateurs are some of the terms with which those who practise photography out of personal interest – that is, not as part of a commercial engagement – have been defined. The relationship with the camera, this plurality of terms suggests, operates on many levels, depending on the context of production and consumption, for example the home or the camera club, and on the photographers’ motivations. In order to understand how these different forms of non-professional photography relate to each other, and what the place of tourist photographers within this terminology might be, a starting point is provided by Stallabrass’ (1996) categorisation of photographic practices. By taking into account motivations and choice of subject, Stallabrass locates photographic uses between the two poles of fine art and mass photography. He identifies four approaches to the medium: i) the ‘professional’s’, whose motivation is profit. The subject thus tends to be those events generally held to be worth remembering and for which a photographer is hired, such as weddings, or events commissioned for commercial purposes, such as advertising; ii) the ‘snapper’s’, whose motivation is the recording of events or subjects of personal interest. Located at the other end of the scale from the professional, the snapper photographs specific social situations, such as holidays or birthdays. In between these two extremes Stallabrass situates: iii) the ‘artist’, whose subject is not confined to the photographing of specific social situations, and who is motivated by the hope of generating an income; and iv) the ‘amateur’ who, also practicing beyond those photographically recognised social events, is nonetheless far from gaining a financial reward (1996: 14). Where artists could be considered professionals assuming that, in the hope to be recognised by the market, they take into account the dominant photographic discourse, snappers and amateurs operate beyond a commercial domain. This space, which is also referred to as ‘vernacular photography’ (Batchen, 2002, Cutshaw *et al.*, 2008; Snow, 2012), is thus that of the non-professionals. Within this category, differences in motivations deeply influence each practitioner’s approach to photography: if the amateur aspires to being recognised as someone other than a non-professional, hence actively defining him/herself as a non-snapper, the snapper does not

operate by comparison with other practitioners, being mostly interested in the bond with the subject of his/her snapshot. The boundaries between the practices of amateurs and snappers however are blurry, as motivations can be various and change over time. The plurality of terms generally used to describe non-professionals reflects the nuances that define the practices of amateurs and snappers. For example, the snapper is at times defined as ‘an amateur form of image making’ (Zuromskis, 2009: 53), especially if the amateur is an occasional user (Bourdieu, 1990); in this case, the snapper can also be referred to as a ‘photo hobbyist’ (Buse, 2012). On the other hand, if one’s commitment to photography is more consistent, often driving the photographer to join a club or a society, amateurs can be discussed as ‘aspirational’ or ‘relational’ (Pollen and Baillie, 2012).

These considerations inform the definition of tourist photographers as non-professionals in two ways. Firstly, they suggest that, although both amateurs and snappers work beyond a commercial domain, it is the practice of the snappers that is more likely to develop new photographic languages, and hence understandings of photography. This is because the amateur, although not directly involved in a commercial relationship, might be prompted by his/her aspirations to have as a point of reference the dominant photographic discourses. The snapper, on the other hand, can be defined by his or her lack of interest in recognised discourses. It is this, for example, that is suggested in McCrum’s observation that with snapshots, ‘it is the recording of a subject which validates an image and the subject itself instead of the image validating the subject [...] this is a social activity, different from peer group interest in a sales environment’ (1991: 35). Nonetheless, these differences are fluid, which means that a study of tourist photographers needs to recognise how they could be simultaneously amateurs and snappers, for example alternating the taking of photographs of family and friends with landscape views composed according to a recognised aesthetic. Secondly, these considerations problematise the definition of tourist photographers as non-professionals by revealing that, far from embracing a harmonious plurality of practices, this category is defined instead by antagonisms. Historically, this has influenced how various practitioners have perceived each other’s activities: as I discuss later in this chapter, the roots of this dissent – and ensuing terminology - lie in each group’s felt need to distinguish its practice from that of others. If in the 1850s the debate was

between commercial photographers and wealthy amateurs (Seiberling and Bloore, 1986), by the end of the 1880s this had been extended to take account of snappers. The elitist context within which the earliest amateurs operated cannot be compared with the wave of photographic dissemination that took place at (almost) mass level forty years later. Yet, their experience is significant in revealing how, since its inception, photography has been marked by a confrontation between the progressive emergence of new photographic applications and narratives. As Edwards comments in relation to the photographic expansion that took place in the 1850s and 1860s, 'if the development of the photographic industry and the division of labour had produced the professionalization of photography, by the same token, that process had also dispersed photographic practices throughout society' (2006: 200). This gave way to the friction amongst the different practitioners. A similar consideration applies to the discourse of travel photography following from the democratisation of the medium. As I shortly move on to discuss, starting in the late 1880s the emergence of tourist photographers gave way to new photographic practices, which were, in turn, received with derision by the self-appointed 'serious' photographers.

These reflections support an assessment of the practices of tourist photographers in relation to organic, induced and 'unique' induced images by further delineating how the transformative dimension of their first-hand experience images can be investigated. They do so by suggesting that the perception of tourists' photographic practices was grounded in the way they occurred in opposition to established modes of photographic production and consumption. Therefore, a study of how tourists' photographic practices transformed tourists' understanding of travel and photography, and as such the industry's approach to and use of induced images, needs to account for: i) how the democratisation of photography engendered a paradigm shift in tourists' use and consumption of photography (which I discuss in the next section); ii) the significance of the idiosyncratic understandings of travel and photography that the democratisation of photography generated (which I discuss in section 4.3); and iii) the perception of such practices in opposition to recognised travel discourses (which I discuss in the last section of this chapter).

4.2. The democratisation of photography: tourists' production and consumption of photographs (1888-1939)

The quantity and widening class of the photographers who approached new camera technologies in the late 1880s grew consistently into the new century; between 1929 and 1939 not only the wealthy middle classes, but also the lower-middle class market, could participate in the 'golden age' of non-professional photography (Taylor, 1994: 37). This development in access to the means of photographic production and consumption has been discussed in terms of an increasing democratic participation in photographic technology (for example Berger, 2009; Slater, 1991; Snow, 2012). Evaluated in relation to the development of a travel imagery, and in the context of an emerging market of tourism, I argue that this had one major consequence: it allowed people to relate to induced, organic and first-hand experience images in an unprecedented way. In this section I consider the democratisation of tourists' photography as the enabling factor that set the conditions for the transformative potential of tourists' photography to reveal itself, in this way supporting a paradigm shift in the use and understanding of the medium. It is crucial, though, to define the conditions under which this democratisation unfolded, because this influenced the modes of photographic production, consumption and understating of tourists. As a process taking place at the onset of mass consumerism, the democratisation of photography was *not* an intentional subversion of those capitalist forms of production that had made mass photography possible. As John Tagg writes:

the emergence of a mass amateur base or, perhaps more accurately, the production of a new consumer body for photography did not represent a challenge to the existing power relations of cultural practice. In fact, it may have furthered their solidification (1988: 17).

The possibility of mass photography in fact depended on companies such as Kodak, which by 1902 produced between 80 and 90 per cent of the world's film (McQuire, 1998: 55). As Tagg recognises, 'popular amateur photography would not have been possible without the development of a large-scale photographic industry, fostering the emergence and domination of international corporations such as Eastman Kodak' (1988: 19). In this sense,

photography became democratic not because it introduced a system whereby people could equally participate in the forms of production, but, because it extended the possibility of participating in the photographic discourse. That is to say, it allowed new camera users the possibility of influencing, if not the surplus labour or exchange value of photographic goods, certainly their use value – specifically, how photographs could be produced and consumed at the individual level. This is the reason why, as Benjamin argued, photography has been considered ‘the first truly revolutionary means of reproduction’ ([1936] 1968: 224). By ‘reveal[ing] entirely new structural formations of the subject’, still and moving images made possible a ‘new mode of participation’ based no longer on the cult, or the ritual, but on ‘politics’ (in its broadest sense) ([1936] 1968: 236, 224). This can be observed, I propose, in the development of the photographic narratives of tourists that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. ‘Cameras’, Snow reflects in relation to this boom of amateur photographic goods and services, ‘had the potential to be used in ways that counteracted the model of mass production that made their experience and popularity possible’ (2012: 2015). Far from being a conscious act of resistance to the hegemonic discourse of the travel industry, then, the practice of photography expanded, above all, the viewers’ understanding of the photograph. The democratising effects of photography, granting a wider access to the means of representation, allowed for a new relationship with the use of the camera. In the case of tourist photographers, it influenced how first-hand experience images could be produced, consumed and understood, ultimately determining a repositioning of the role of the photograph in the discourse of travel. This was ‘an entirely new kind of informality and individualisation that did not appear in commercial travel photographs’ (Snow, 2012: 2026). That is, the democratisation of photography engendered a paradigm shift in photographic perception inasmuch as a transformation in practices affected understandings of photography: it was direct access to the production and consumption of photography that allowed people to take photographic meanings in new – idiosyncratic – directions. This can be understood through the concept of a ‘double visibility’ (Mirzoeff, 2006). Mirzoeff makes a distinction between a ‘visibility 1’, that is, a practice of visual production that aims at creating practical and commercially viable outcomes (for example photography in the service of commerce or science), and a ‘visibility 2’, that is, a visual

production that aims at exceeding or preceding its commodification. Whilst 'visuality 1' reflects the commodification of the visible and appropriable dimensions of photography as a form of social power with a currency of value and exchange (as discussed in Chapter 2), 'visuality 2' elaborates on the possibilities of photography once it escapes from this economic orbit. Mirzoeff offers as an example of 'visuality 2' the avant-garde practice of the Dada movement, which rejected any utilitarian application of the art form as well as any recuperation by the art market. As Benjamin had already observed, 'The Dadaist attached much less importance to the sales value of their work than to its usefulness for contemplative immersion' – that is, they aimed 'to outrage the public' in order to counter, as Benjamin argues in relation to moving images, the perils of passive contemplation ([1936] 1968: 237-238). Yet the concept of 'visuality 2' can also frame the mode of vision embedded in the practice of the tourist photographer, non-professional snappers who turned away from recognised discourses in order to develop their own. Rojek and Urry's work on photographic 'resistance' (1997) corroborates this view by grounding the practices of tourist photographers in their relation with the possibilities generated by modern forms of vision. Debating the consequences that the model of subjected vision discussed by Crary has on the tourists' experience of looking at and being in the world, Rojek and Urry identify five roles for photography, the last of which they describe as resistance to dominant visual imagery (1997: 182-184).¹⁷ According to this final sense, photographic practice can help to subvert and oppose a commodified visual realm. Rojek and Urry themselves articulate this idea of resistance in relation to art-documentary photographers' projects on contemporary tourism. Yet, 'resistance' can also be understood in terms of the ways in which, I argue, the mass diffusion of photography underwent a process of democratisation. That is, this concept elucidates how the progressive democratisation of photography initiated a process of 'resistance' to the predominant understanding of travel photography by revealing new applications for the camera. The non-intentionality of tourists' acts of resistance empties

17. In this passage Rojek and Urry also argue that the photograph acts as a mirror in which society looks at and reflects upon itself; as a ritual in which the practice itself of photography offers to the tourist the comfort of a set of rules and rituals that ease his/her experience of being in an unfamiliar environment; as language, inasmuch as the discourse surrounding photography provides the vocabulary with which we explain the world; and as dominant ideology, as people tend to reproduce in their snapshots the images preferred and recognised by mainstream society (Rojek and Urry, 1997: 182-184).

the term of its militant connotation, suggesting instead the almost casual nature of this process; nonetheless, 'resistance' well describes the mass diffusion of photography and, consequently, tourists' new uses and perceptions of the image as they developed in opposition to normalised (organic and induced) travel imageries.

Although I think it is important to stress the role that differences in technological developments had on the use and understanding of photography, this argument is not one of either technological or cultural determinism. Rather, I take the view that technologies are developed within a specific context that determines how media are used and understood; it is from this perspective that the significance of the democratisation of photography for practices and perceptions must be investigated. If in the first part of the nineteenth century the photograph had responded to a yearning for learning, documenting, and then educating or recreating in a rational manner, by the turn of the century a new set of priorities, supporting a leisure approach to free time, shaped the use to which the newly introduced compact cameras could progressively be put. It is the coming together of these factors, I argue, that supported a paradigm shift in the way in which people thought about what could be done with photography. This process was a slow and nuanced one, and developed not as a purposeful desire of the new photographers, but more as the inevitable consequence of engaging with the photographic discourse in the first person. With the increasing access to camera technologies, in the context of new travel formats, the existing meaning of photography could be questioned: as such, tourists' practices of production of consumption proved to be transformative not just of the meaning of travel, but of the photograph as well – a development to which I return in the next section.

Before the advent of compact cameras, the relationship that the majority of people had with travel photography was restricted to those contexts that, as discussed, also aimed at regulating social practices. The technological and financial demands of photography were one reason why only the wealthier classes could indulge in the practice at a non-professional level, especially in a travel context. Those who could afford to travel and to bring a camera along required not just financial support, but also a good knowledge of chemistry in order to carry, set, prepare and develop the photographic plates while on the road (see for example Osborne, 2000). This effort was usually undertaken in the hope that

one's aesthetic sensibility could be recognised once back home. Furthermore, it wasn't uncommon for these images to be used in relation to 'rational' entertainments. These included the production of lantern slides (with the traveller-photographer acting as the lecturer), the publication of illustrated narratives of travel, public exhibitions and private displays. The introduction, in the 1870s, of more sensitive gelatine plates extended the number of subjects that could now be photographed, and with this the field of action of the amateurs in their quest for artistic recognition. The RPI itself, the predecessor of the Polytechnic, was a central stage in London for wealthy travellers, explorers and educators to show their photographs. Unable to experience travelling with a camera, for many the perception of what travel and photography could mean rested on what was encountered within these urban displays.

The appearance of George Eastman's Kodak roll-film cameras in 1888, and of the Kodak Brownie Camera in 1900, changed this. The compact cameras made possible to be a photographer without requiring any specialist knowledge or particular skill, while also extending photography's market by making it increasingly cheaper.¹⁸ It is telling, as Ford reports, that the photographic exhibition, open to amateur photographers, organised in 1897 in London by the Eastman Photographic Material Company received the remarkable number of 25,000 entries (1989: 64). This trend only intensified at the turn of the century, and statistics can help grasp the scale of this development: for example, the 14 camera clubs active in Britain in 1880 became 256 in 1900, while the number of professional photographers soared from 51 in 1851 to the staggering number of 17,628 in 1901 (Martin and Francis, 1973). It is estimated that by 1905 about 10% of the British population (ca. 4,000,000 people) were practising photography at a non-professional level (Booth, 1981: 14), particularly during leisure time. This set the ground for a use of photography that boomed in the interwar years. Already in 1900 an article published in the *Windsor Magazine* could declare that:

18. Kodak's earliest roll-film cameras had a cost of over 5 guineas (5.25£), with the added cost of developing and printing for 2 guineas (2.10£); this at a time when a worker's weekly wage was around 1£. It was the Brownie, at the cost of 5 shillings (25p), that really supported the democratisation of the medium (Ford, 1989: 62-64; see also Brayer, 1996; Wade, 1979).

amateur photography, then, from its personal, artistic, and domestic character, has become a recognised diversion or pursuit with the leisured classes. [...] just as a leisured man's friend regard him as 'unfinished' till he has travelled at least once around the globe, so does that man consider himself inadequately equipped for the journey if his 'traps' do not include a camera (Wallis Myers, 1900: 363).

By the outbreak of the First World War these technological developments had reached a broad pool of users, and were able to respond to photographic needs prompted within a new socio-cultural context. A shift of camera use in the personal and the everyday could be observed already during the war: at a time when outdoor photography was mostly forbidden, photography prospered in the domestic space, and its images became an intermediary between the soldiers at the front and their families (Taylor, 1994: 29). This intensified in the post-war context, influencing the role that the camera came to have in the recording of leisure activities such as holidaying. McCauley, for example, notes how non-professionals' interest was now in 'recording images of their family or social life and their leisure or sporting activities' (1987: 62), supporting the idea that, first and foremost, photography had the function of recording the memory of one's leisure time (Coe, 1973; Collins, 1990; Holland, 2009; Lothrop, 1978; Taylor, 1994; West, 2000). The promotional material developed by Kodak was key in encouraging the idea that photography could be used in this fashion as a way to document one's holidays (Holland, 2009), pressuring consumers to construct and preserve a photographic memory of their leisure time (West, 2000). Setting out to create a new market for its recently launched cameras (Jenkins, 1975: 13), George Eastman, as Nickel writes, 'created not just a product, but a culture' (1998: 10). Kodak 'grew by selling the very idea of photography to the public' (Slater, 1991: 57), and by 'marketing photography as a sure way of retaining happy memories' (Taylor, 1994: 29; see also Kotchemidova, 2005; Löfgren, 1999; Russell and Joyce, 2011). In this respect the company not only provided a service (that is, a camera technology and an industrial infrastructure that supported its use and consumption), but also showed

the possibilities of a new approach to photographing (Nead, 2004; West, 2000).¹⁹ This campaign was particularly effective in the context of travel. Taylor for example has shown how the production of heavily illustrated campaigns cemented the affinity between touring and photographing as activities undertaken for pleasure in order ‘to stop time, ensuring that nothing in the picture became any older’ (1994: 35). In doing so, it normalised the idea of photographic consumption as a pleasurable experience to be exercised in the context of the holiday and other special (out-of-the-ordinary) activities: ‘not Mom in the kitchen, but the family at its special Christmas meal or birthday parties; not Dad going to work (let alone at work) but Dad with “his” new car or being silly at a picnic’ (Slater, 1991: 58). The function of photography was now extended to preserve the experience of travel for future remembrance: as such, the holiday became a stage for personal relations or subjects of interests to be documented by the camera (Larsen, 2005).

This overview indicates how, supported by technological developments, and motivated by a new social context and by a marketing campaign such as Kodak’s, the approach to the use of photography, and to the understanding of its functions, changed. Edwards observes how the ‘mass expansion of photography’ that began at the end of the nineteenth century ‘was itself part of a wider socioeconomic shift towards increased leisure, mobility, disposable income, and greater educational opportunity’ (2012: 5), a fertile terrain for the integration of photography and tourism. This supported tourists’ photographing of what interested them - rather than photographing what *ought* to be photographed. The tourists’ first-hand experience of the subject in front of the camera transformed use, consumption and eventually understanding. This is the subject of the next section, in which the practice of photography developed in the realm of non-professionalism during the period here considered is investigated as a driving force in shaping a new identity for both photography and travel.

19. Responding to the reconfiguration of gender roles and to the emergence of the idea of the ‘modern woman’ (Gover, 1988), Kodak also sponsored the figure of ‘Kodak Girl’. This remained the company’s icon well into the 1950s, constructing the female role within the photographic production of family memories (see Kotchemidova, 2005).

4.3. Complicating travel and its imageries: the ‘unphotographable’ and a new knowledge of travel and photography

Discussing contemporary tourists’ photographic practices, Stylianou-Lambert observes that ‘the camera is a tool that encourages and even requires active performances related to self-identity’ (2012: 1822). By making an idiosyncratic use of photography, tourists experience places according to their frame of interests, in this way producing images ‘that indicate how they want to be seen, with whom, and what they are proud to have seen’ (Stylianou-Lambert, 2012: 1822). That is, in the production and consumption of first-hand experience images, tourists construct and perpetuate personal narratives of travel. As discussed, these ‘active performances’ are transformative because they influence how travelling and photographing are conducted, and hence thought of. At the same time, moreover, they complicate the perception of the narratives presented by organic and induced images. These considerations acquire a particular significance when evaluated in relation to the 1880s-1930s context with which this thesis is concerned. During this period the democratisation of photography, in a context of increased travel opportunities, allowed unprecedented idiosyncratic engagements with the photographic image to occur. The first-hand experiences acquired through the practices of travelling and photographing prompted tourists, such as those who participated in the PTA tours, to challenge previous modes of thinking about photography and travel. Specifically, tourists’ first-hand experiences revealed to the looking subject a knowledge of travel and photography that was different from that shown by organic and induced images.

In reflecting on the transformative character of tourists’ photographic practices, one concept that has proved to be especially productive is that of the ‘unphotographable sight’, discussed by Steve Garlick in his study of photography as participatory in the construction of tourist experiences (2002). As an ‘item of modern technology’ (2002: 297), engendering subjective and idiosyncratic perspectives, Garlick asks how the use of the camera can expand upon the tourists’ understanding of their experiences of travelling and photographing. As he suggests:

I think anyone who has been a tourist is familiar with the experience of trying to photograph something and suffering the frustration of feeling that no matter

how you try and (en)frame the photograph, somehow you cannot 'capture' the experience that you wish to record. In this sense, there are some 'sights' which I would argue reveal themselves to be simply 'unphotographable' (2002: 299-300).

By trying to capture the world as it is encountered while travelling, the tourist can come to realise that what is recorded on the photographic image inevitably differs from what one had experienced subjectively. This realisation adds 'new dimensions' to the experience of travelling, creating 'mini-liminal spaces' that 'allow[s] tourists a measure of freedom from the restrictions of their own culture, and thus provide[s] the potential to see travel as an opportunity for the re-creation of the self' (Garlick, 2002: 300, 301). Garlick discusses photographic practices as (potentially) transformative of the tourist him/herself, in this way articulating in a different way the idea of travel as an improving experience. However, this argument can also be extended so as to reflect upon the relationship between experiencing travel and looking at its representations, where these are considered as practices enabled by the democratisation of photography and by new travel possibilities. What made the tourist photographer's relationship with travel and photography different from previous ones was that this was now based on first-hand experiences. The democratic expansion of photography, together with the experience of travel, revealed the gap existing between what a viewer *knew* a photograph *ought* to be, and what s/he *experienced* it *could* be. As a result, the meaning of the photographic image was *appropriated* and dissolved into a multiplicity of idiosyncratic narratives. This generated a fracture in the mode of visualising travel that destabilised previously accepted imageries of what travel – and as a result its representations - could stand for. Consequently the understanding of travel and of its representations, once predominantly based on the exposure to organic and induced images, was now further problematised by tourists' first-hand experiences of travel and its images.

To an extent, the unphotographable is innate to the experience of photographing itself. Pelizzari's study of travel photography albums from the mid-1850s and late-1880s, for example, indicates how the democratic potential of photographic practice was already part of the experience of mid nineteenth-century amateurs (2003). She argues that in these

albums travellers constructed ‘individual imaginative geographies’ whose perception was defined by a ‘temporal and spatial disjunction between experience and memory’ (2003: 12). As such, the photographic albums expanded on normalised representations through personal and romantic narratives of the travellers’ experience. However, as seen in the previous section, the wealthy amateurs at the centre of Pelizzari’s research generally hoped to have their aesthetic sensibility recognised by their peers; this meant that their photographs were mostly heritage or landscape views constructed according to what it was thought *ought* to be photographed. If these practices were transformative in allowing the travellers to reflect on their experiences, and hence to shape the meaning of their travels, they were not transformative in relation to what the travel photograph itself could be used for. Only with the development of compact cameras, which prompted the ‘snappers’ to seek subjects of personal interest, was it possible to engage with the unphotographable in such a way as to develop a new knowledge also of photography.

In a recent study comparing commercial photographs with snapshots produced by tourists in the period 1880-1940, Rachel Snow notes how the use of compact cameras enabled a ‘new amateur aesthetic’ (2012: 2023). As people gained access to photography and travel they ‘counteracted’ normalised views of travel through the possibility offered by camera technology of ‘controlling their own image’ (2012: 2015). Although the technology that facilitated this diversification was mass-produced, its power – what I have discussed as its democratic potential - ‘resided in its capacity to itself produce individualised and personalised products: the photographs themselves’ (2012: 2015). Snow observes:

When tourists finally had their own cameras, they sought out the canonical, but along the way, they also captured unexpected moments and happenings, seemingly small and insignificant details that capture the more subtle experiential qualities of tourism. This created a much more eccentric and individualized body of imagery than the market driven images produced commercially (2012: 2025).

These images were successful because they were ‘representative of their maker’s vision and individuality’ and ‘eventually replaced the aesthetic of the picturesque’ (2012: 2024, 2023). Although largely unintentional, the practice of tourist photographers had profound effects,

in this way, on the approach to travel imageries: revealing how the visible and appropriable nature of photography, on which organic and induced travel imageries had been constructed, could be articulated in – and understood through - a multiplicity of idiosyncratic ways. By exposing a ‘disjunction between image and experience’ (2012: 2036), tourists’ first-hand experiences of travelling and photographing transformed the perception of both. Tourists often showed signs of disappointment in visiting a tourist site, Snow notes, because of ‘the *dissonance* created when a tourist’s first-hand experiences do not coincide with the countless number of idealized mass-produced images they saw before they got there’ (2012: 2035, added emphasis). Snow focuses on the ‘dissonance’ between what the tourists produced and what were instead the normalised views of travel, proposing that, rather than second-class versions of professional imageries, these photographs asserted ‘the highly individualized nature of travel photography within the highly standardized system of mass tourism’ (2012: 2031). In light of Garlick’s reflections, I would argue that a new knowledge of travel and photography could emerge out of the unphotographable because this allowed tourists to experience the ‘dissonance’ between their first-hand experiences of travelling and photographing, and what was represented within organic and induced images. That is, if by travelling people developed a new understanding of their experiences, it was through the broadening of photographic possibilities that tourists realised that travel representations did not have a given unity of meaning, and that this depended instead on one’s first-hand experiences.

This transformation did not mean the end of the image as a document of travel, arguably because what was under scrutiny in the space of the unphotographable was not the indexicality of the image but its capacity to reveal yet another dimension of travel. Rather, it is proposed that this paradigm shift influenced the use of photography in the production of ‘unique’ induced travel imageries. This is suggested by the fact that the branding images of the travel industry appear to have been produced *not to look like* photographs. If travel firms such as the PTA turned away from a photography that tourists – that same audience that they were trying to attract – had learned to approach and read in multiple and idiosyncratic ways, the reason for this must be sought in how the ‘new amateur aesthetic’ was perceived. This would indicate that the influence of the democratisation of photography on ‘unique’

induced images must be explored in relation to the ways in which the perception of such practices has changed according to who has done the perceiving. This is the subject of the next section, in which I thus reflect upon the perception of tourists' photographic practices in relation to the parallel debate, ongoing since the late eighteenth century, concerning the distinction between being a traveller or a tourist.

4.4. Travellers and tourists, professional and non-professional photographers: a distinction in the perception of induced and first-hand experience images

James Buzard, in his study of the development of European tourism (1993), discusses how the distinction between the terms 'travel' and 'tourism' emerged as a result of the access to travel possibilities for a broader class of society: the rising bourgeoisie. Absent in the English language before the late eighteenth century, the first appearance of the word 'tourist' was in 1780, and of the word 'tourism' in 1811 (Oxford English Dictionary).²⁰ The terminology was developed in opposition to travel: based on a class difference, it emerged as a result of the traveller's attempt to assert his superiority over what came to be derogatorily understood as the anti-traveller, that is, the tourist (Walton, 2002: 114). The distinction was based on the mode of travelling: if the (self-appointed) sensitive and true traveller, usually on his own, could have a 'uniquely meaningful relationship with visited places', the vulgar tourist, usually in groups, was criticised for only being able to achieve a 'spurious cultural experience' (Buzard, 1993: 12, 80). Such labelling evidences how the increase in the number of travellers generated anxieties about the exclusivity of travel (Walton, 2002: 116). From this perspective, tour operators such as Thomas Cook were accused of swamping Europe 'with everything that is low-bred, vulgar, and ridiculous'; the 'worry, irritation and annoyance' (Lever, 1865: 231) for the growing number of people travelling across Europe escalated. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the demand for travel arrangements changed in relation to people's needs and constrictions (for example time and money); yet, this was seen as reflecting an incapacity to travel as

20. The use of the word 'tourist' is first recorded in William Cockin's *Ode to the genius of the lakes in the north of England* (1780). The use of the word 'tourism' is first recorded in *The Sporting magazine 1792–1870* (1811).

one should, with tour operators hence having ‘to carry them, feed them, lodge them, and amuse them’ (Lever, 1865: 230). The use of the words traveller, travel, tourist and tourism has since carried the weight of such a judgemental perception. As the word tourist steadily came to define those who took part in a round journey, in the mid-1850s ‘trippers’ emerged as the new word to denigrate those who could only afford a short outing, for example to the seaside (Walton, 2002: 115).²¹ The legacy of this debate is still alive today, the burden of a ‘spurious cultural experience’ now being carried by ‘mass tourism’ (Walton, 2005: 115).

The ramifications of these perceptions of travellers and tourists are profound, as they have since affected how the practices of the two groups are valued: ‘in the history of representation’, Löfgren writes, ‘there is constant interaction between the tourist amateur and the professionals of the trade’ (1999: 74). The travellers’ contention that they were engaged in a ‘meaningful relationship with visited places’ (Buzard, 1993: 12) also referred to how these ought to be appreciated visually. As travel routes became standardised, what came to be understood as the authentic and genuine cultural experience was not so much the originality of the route, but the way in which one’s own experience could be made meaningful by elaborating it visually. Already in the early nineteenth century, critics had met with hostility those who, lacking the time to sit and contemplate a landscape for a prolonged period of time, used the ‘Claude Glass’. A tinted and convex mirror originally used by the Romantic painters, the ‘Claude Glass’ allowed tourists to experience the same landscape at dawn, dusk, or immersed in fog (Burkart and Medlik, 1974; Buzard, 1993; Maillet, 2004; Ousby, 1990). Possibly unsurprisingly, this argument translated, almost untouched, to the photographic cameras carried by the tourists, and their images. These were customarily deemed trivial when compared with higher forms of representation produced by travellers, who could for example indulge in drawings, watercolours or oil paintings, or with fine art photography and the image production of professionals. Löfgren recognises how ‘the snapshot’ has since its inception been dismissed by comparison to (allegedly) higher forms

21. Initially referring to the activity of someone stumbling or dancing sprightly, the term tripper came to be associated to those who go on a short trip by taking advantage of cheap railway fares. ‘The tripper’ wrote Eliza Cook in her journal in 1851 ‘is the growth of railways and monster trains’ (1851: 177).

of representation, because it ‘trivializes the scenic landscape photograph, the oil painted sunset turns into a picture postcard’ (1999: 75). As the animosity contained in the terminology of travel and tourism is still alive today, so are the representational productions of each group. Considering contemporary photographic practices, Crang observes that: ‘where collective tourism produces the snapshot, the caught, unscripted moment of interaction focusing on people, those who define themselves as “travellers” tend to use more expensive cameras for more formally composed “arty” shots’ (2010). In this sense, it is a difference in ‘cultural capital’ that defines the modes of production and consumption of travellers and tourists, as well as the perception that one group had of the other from the nineteenth century onwards. Introduced by Bourdieu in the context of a study of 1970s French society, the concept of ‘cultural capital’ may help us understand, then, the travellers’ perception of tourists’ photographic practices. It indicates that cultural background determines not just the way in which we behave in and conform to a give context, but also the way in which we relate to those whose different cultural background leads them to behave and to conform differently (Bourdieu: 1984, 1986). This suggests that photographic productions, consumptions and understandings are themselves cultural constructs in this sense: that is, it is one’s cultural environment that determines photographic production (Bourdieu: 1990, 2004). If we consider induced images as the acceptable way of producing and consuming travel photography, then the non-professional photographic discourses emerging from a different cultural background were automatically disadvantaged. At the same time, however, this perspective gives yet another level of nuance to the transformative character of tourists’ photographic practices: it was differences in ‘cultural capital’, this suggests, that allowed tourists to take photography in new directions. That is, the emergence of a ‘new amateur aesthetic’ was enabled by the lack of culturally-recognised skills, which created, in turn, a new space for tourists to experiment with photography in individualised ways. Undervalued as it was, the production and consumption of tourist photographers was key in complicating, but also enriching, understanding of photographic images.

In this respect, it is undeniable that a marketing campaign such as Kodak’s was instrumental in normalising a new approach to photography; yet, because of the mass appeal of Kodak, these were considered as a second-class form of photography. Known for

their inconspicuous form as ‘detective’ cameras, the hand-held cameras made by the likes of Kodak raised the concerns of the self-appointed ‘serious’ photographers who felt this term – and the practice that it represented – to be too close to the morally despicable notion of the ‘camera fiend’. These were photographs taken without the subjects’ knowledge or consent, and most importantly without the photographers’ intellectual or professional involvement in the construction of the image. ‘There is something in the sound of the word so mean, sneaking and unutterably low-down’ wrote Henry Peach Robinson in 1896 ‘that it quite chocked me off having anything to do with the whole concern’ (1896: 270). Yet, what were voiced as criticism towards the compact cameras because these prevent the ‘proper’ expression of the photographer, should more accurately be described as forms of disapproval (or, rather, misunderstanding) of the photographic practices developed by tourists. As a result, a new terminology was created so that the self-appointed professional photographers could distinguish the users of compact cameras from themselves. It is this, above all, that was signified by the word ‘snapper’, with the production of their mode of photographing labelled as ‘snapshots’ (Bull, 2010; King, 1986).²² Such terms signified a mode of photographing that, because of its pace which was thought to prevent any insightful construction of the image, couldn’t possibly be deemed of any value. *The Amateur Photographer*, for example, observed how:

we are gradually beginning to think that when a man gets hold of a hand-camera he loses some of his moral balance, and he does things which otherwise he would not think of doing; and unless he recognises this and pulls himself up short, its degenerates into that worst of all types—the snap-shot fiend (1895: 34).

The camera, this commentator seems to suggest, is a tool that only those able to maintain a ‘moral balance’, and thus not those classes whose temperament was at the end of the nineteenth century under intense scrutiny, could control. As other reports reveal, those who conformed to the middle-class values of respectability could indeed use the hand-cameras

22. The terms were initially used in a photographic context by Sir John Herschel, who wrote of snappers and snapshots in relation to the increased speed of the cameras (1860).

to their advantage. For example, the *Art Journal*, whose readership was not the ‘vulgar tourist’ travelling with Thomas Cook (Buzard, 1993), but rather an ideally more refined group of gentlemen, wrote that:

perhaps one is passing through a foreign market-place; one sees a group of market women in picturesque pose and animate discussion, but were an attempt made to set up the tripod and catch their attitudes, their attention would be diverted from their discussion, and if they submitted to be photographed at all – and in many cases they would not – they would at once assume the well-known wooden photographic look, and the result would be for any purpose unsatisfactory, and for the artist’s purposes an utter failure (1891: 219).

This indicates how it was not the technological development of photography in itself that was automatically considered lesser than previous apparatuses. Rather, it was the appropriation of the camera on the part of those who did not have the appropriate cultural background that was found to be problematic. Within a travel context, tourists’ practices were judged in relation to what a travel photograph ought to be, and how this ought to be used. Yet, as already proposed, it was in the space opened up by this new access to the medium that tourists developed a new knowledge of the experience of travel, as a result engaging affectively with the existing understanding and representation of travel. Despite the complaints that tourists and their practices received in the elitist photographic clubs, circles and press, this did not stop the felicitous spreading of an activity that people truly seemed to enjoy. Tourists’ interest in (apparently) random subjects increased with the possibility of touring abroad; the perception of the (self-appointed) travellers, by contrast, did not change. In 1925 the humorist Jerome Klapka Jerome commented:

The amateur photographer is the curse of Switzerland. One would not mind if they took one at one’s best. There was a charming photograph in *The Sphere* one winter of my daughter and myself, waltzing on the ice at Grindelwald. It made a pretty picture. But, as a rule, *beauty does not appeal to the snap-shooter*. I noticed, in my early skiing days, that whenever I did anything graceful, the Kodak crowd was always *looking the other way*. When I was lying on my back with my feet in the air, the first thing I always saw when I recovered my senses, was a complete circle of Kodaks [sic] pointing straight at me (1925:

232, added emphasis).

By condemning the tourists for ‘looking the other way’, or by concluding that ‘beauty does not appeal to the snap-shooter’, Jerome’s comment supports the argument that what defined the perception of tourists’ practices was their inability to conform to accepted canons. At the same time, it recognises that what was making tourists’ practices so transformative was their interest in exploring beyond set discourses. Induced and first-hand experience images were perceived not just as different ways of articulating travel visually, but most importantly as *qualitatively* different ways of doing so. In this respect, the travel firms’ choice *not to* identify themselves with photography might be interpreted as fashioning a way to distance the image of the company from the ‘unaccepted’ forms of the snapshot. Had the ‘new amateur aesthetic’ gained the status of fine art in the 1920s and 1930s, we could speculate that the ‘golden age’ of the travel poster, previously discussed, would have developed in very different ways.

4.5. Conclusion

The democratisation of photography, defined as the possibility of participating in photographic discourse, enabled a paradigm shift in tourists’ photographic practices of production and consumption, and ensuing understanding of these, in the period between the 1880s and the 1930s. Supported by cheaper and easier to operate cameras, in the context of increasing travel opportunities, and freed from commercial commitments, tourists could engage with the medium at a personal level: as such, they have been defined as non-professional snappers. By doing so, however, they acquired a first-hand experience of the possibilities and limitations of photography that, as discussed above, is at the centre of any process of destination image formation. Such experiences were thus transformative in what they could reveal to the viewing subject in two ways. On the one hand, tourists advanced idiosyncratic perspectives on what photography could be, thus opening the photographic image to a plurality of uses. On the other hand, photographic practices also revealed the ‘dissonance’ between one’s exposure to the world and its photographic equivalent, a conflictual space defined as the unphotographable. Within this space, it has been proposed,

tourists developed a new knowledge not just of travel, but also of photography as an individualised representation that problematised the relationship between looking and knowing on which organic and induced imageries had largely been constructed. Yet, as has been seen, the democratisation of photography was achieved at the price of ‘lowering’ its status. It is in this way that the historical animosity that defined the relationship between travellers and tourists also frames how tourists’ photography was perceived. If organic and induced imageries had promoted how photography *ought* to be practiced, tourists’ first-hand experiences revealed instead how this *could* be practiced. The concept of ‘cultural capital’ elucidates the ways in which this friction was grounded in differences in cultural background, while also indicating that it was precisely tourists’ possession of different cultural resources that allowed them to take photography in new directions.

In the second part of this thesis, to which I now turn, the relationship between the paradigm shift engendered by the democratisation of photography, and the promotion of tourism, is discussed in relation to the specific case of the Polytechnic/PTA. Developing its tours offer at the same time as compact cameras were gaining popularity, and maintaining throughout this period a commitment to travel as an improving experience, a focus on the London-based organisation allows a longitudinal study of how changing ideas of both travel and photography were negotiated visually as the democratisation of photography advanced. Specifically, the travel firm’s relationship with the educational body of the Polytechnic, which prided itself on being a centre for the formation of modern citizens, allows us to reflect on the perception of tourists’ photography in a context that aimed at securing its members conformity with established social norms and values.

CHAPTER 5. AT THE REGENT STREET POLYTECHNIC: THE CULTURE OF TRAVEL, ITS IMAGERIES AND THE NON-PROFESSIONAL PHOTOGRAPHERS

This chapter is the first of three that, by focusing on the case of the PTA, consider the argument advanced in the first part of this thesis concerning the relationship between the democratisation of photography and the promotion of tourism. The chapter introduces the Regent Street Polytechnic (hereafter ‘Polytechnic’), the institutional body that led to the formation of the PTA, and seeks to delineate: i) the idea of cultural travel promoted by the Institute, which organised early tours and other travel arrangements; ii) how the benefits of travelling were articulated visually; and iii) if and how non-professional photographers ‘side-stepped’ the Institute’s recognised narratives of travel. The latter issue is particularly important to examine because the imageries normalised by the Institute influenced how the nascent PTA promoted their tours visually. Furthermore, by focusing on emerging non-professional photographers the chapter explores how tourists’ practices influenced the response to both photography and travel during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

First the chapter introduces the Polytechnic: it examines Quintin Hogg’s approach to education and how his vision influenced the culture of travel promoted by the institution. Second, the Institute’s project for travel as a means of personal and professional development is discussed. By focusing on the Polytechnic’s support of domestic holidays, emigration and ‘study abroad’ experiences, the origins of and early tours organised by the embryonic PTA are considered. Third, the chapter looks at the images and imageries that supported the Polytechnic’s discourse of travel. Specifically, it investigates: i) the function and significance expected of the photographic image in the production of organic and induced representations; ii) how this set a benchmark for the production, consumption and understanding of travel photography, and thus its function in relation to the promotion of the early Polytechnic tours; and iii) how tourists’ first-hand experiences of photographing and travelling generated a knowledge of photography and travel that challenged both organic and induced imageries.

5.1. 'The Polytechnic': an introduction

The Polytechnic, which opened at 309 Regent Street in 1882, developed out of Quintin Hogg's (1845-1903) need to provide a new location for his expanding Young Men's Christian Institute (YMCI). Having begun his philanthropic career in the early 1860s working as an evangelical missionary in the slum area of Covent Garden, Hogg had opened the YMCI in 1871 as a 'ragged school' and then a boy's home. When the lodgings of the former RPI (1838-1881) became available Hogg stepped in. As the YMCI relocated to Regent Street its membership was extended to the working classes. One reason for this, as Weeden has argued, is that the former boys of the YMCI were now young working men, and Hogg wished to keep assisting them (2008: 100-101). Although Hogg's Institute was renamed the Regent Street Polytechnic (RSP) in 1891, when it began its transformation from a private to a public institution, it continued to refer to itself as 'the Polytechnic'. In 1891 the Government's Charity Commissioners, recognising the significance of the Polytechnic's educational work for the development of technical education in the metropolis, and the impact that this was having for the emergence of similar polytechnics, decided to start supporting it financially. The success of Hogg's more structured approach to teaching and learning was such that the Polytechnic became thereafter a model for the development of subsequent technical institutes.²³ *The Scheme of Administration for the Regent Street Polytechnic Institute* (1891), which was the constitution of the Polytechnic until 1970, increasingly determined how the educational side of the Institute ought to be run (Heller, 2013: 46-53).²⁴ The newly established Governing Body comprised 15 governors, of which three were appointed by the City Parochial Foundation (CPF), one by the London County Council (LCC), which in 1911 increased its representatives to five, and nine by the Polytechnic. Hogg, whose position on the LCC probably helped him to secure the

23. As the *Windsor Magazine* wrote twenty years later, by which time the RSP was numbering over 15,000 members, the influence of the RSP on technical teaching was such that it 'has been most widely copied' (McKenzie, 1898: 541). The polytechnics to which the magazine was probably referring were Battersea Polytechnic, Borough Polytechnic, City Polytechnic, The Northern Polytechnic, The Northampton Institute, The South-Western Polytechnic and Woolwich Polytechnic (Glynn, 1998).

24. In the 1970s the educational profile of the Polytechnic was further reshaped, this time in order to meet with the national provision standards that demanded degree-level courses; as a result of this, the institution was renamed the Polytechnic of Central London, still predominantly catering for mid-career professionals, eventually becoming the University of Westminster in 1992 (see Penn, 2013).

grant, was the Chairman. The Governing Body instructed the Polytechnic on matters of education, and provided guidelines for the running of its social and recreational side. As Heller remarks, this effectively ‘marked the ending of Quintin Hogg’s personal power over the Polytechnic’ (2013: 51). By stating that ‘the object of this Institution is the promotion of the industrial skill, general knowledge, health and well-being of young men and women belonging to the poorer classes’, the Scheme affected Hogg’s philanthropic vision - which, as I will shortly discuss, integrated intellectual, physical, social and spiritual elements - to the extent that it eliminated the explicitly religious element from the Polytechnic activities.²⁵ Only in 1909, when the LCC ceased funding the Polytechnic’s social and athletic activities, which were then supported by the CPF, did the educational side become truly separate from the social and sporting activities. Yet, the legacy of Hogg’s vision for a polymath institution continued, and the structuring of the Polytechnic activities remained almost unchanged until the post-1945 period. Only at the beginning of the 1960s, Heller argues, can it be said that ‘Quintin Hogg’s vision had ended. The Polytechnic had ceased to be a charitable institution designed to help the poor. While this dream had been seriously weakened in 1911 as a result of the bifurcation of educational and recreational provision between the LCC and the CPF, the departure of the latter marked its final demise’ (2013: 60). In order to understand how the Polytechnic tours came into being, and how they eventually developed into the separate body of the PTA, it is then necessary to investigate Hogg’s vision for travel in the context of its educational project, and how this might have changed as the Institute moved towards becoming a publicly funded organisation.

In line with the Victorian focus on moral recreation and self-improvement, Hogg’s vision pushed for an educational reform that, grounded in Christian values, could contribute to the development of each members’ social position ‘as an individual and as a member of a community’ (Wood, 1904: 224-225). As Michele M. Strong (2012) has discussed, the Institute was committed to a duty of citizenship, equipping London’s working classes with those middle-class values that could help them to find a respectable place in society. By strengthening the members’ collective identity as part of the British Empire, the Institute

25. UWA/RSP/2/1 [P49b]. *Scheme of Administration for Regent Street Polytechnic Institute, 23 June 1891*, p. 11. One requirement of the grant was that it could not be used for religious teaching (Wood, 1965: 65).

fostered them to become ‘active participants in the nation’s prosperity and imperial destiny’ (Strong, 2012: 114). Hoping to turn the Polytechnic into ‘not only one of the great centres of Christian effort, but also a centre of education for the artisans of this great city’²⁶, Hogg envisioned education as a way of forming modern citizens. He did so by developing a progressive curriculum of technical classes that, by providing practical skills that could be translated from the workshop to the workplace, aimed at the needs of young working people. The Institute offered secondary schooling and vocational courses to its younger students during the day, and evening classes to its working members later in the day, providing a wide range of options that included: practical trade classes, commercial classes, a school of art, a science school, a school of elocution, a school of music, and special coaching classes.²⁷ These were all in preparation for the examinations of the London University, Chamber of Commerce, Civil Service and Society of the Arts. By the late 1880s the Institute had 4,200 members and 7,300 students, and could pride itself on being able to offer over 200 classes weekly; in the following decades it grew steadily. By 1892 it could count over 11,000 members and students.²⁸ The 15,000 members of the late 1890s almost doubled twenty years later: as the *PM* proudly reported in 1921, the Institute now catered for ‘25,000 members and students each year, with average nightly attendance of 4,000; 2,000 day students, as well as Secondary School, numbering nearly 600 boys from 10 to 18 and 10,000 evening students; over 600 classes, in more than 100 subjects, both day and evening’.²⁹ As the years progressed and working scenarios changed, the courses offered by the Polytechnic adjusted accordingly. For example, training in hairdressing was provided to women from 1900 (the Young Women’s Christian Institute having opened in 1888), and to men from 1926, while classes in motor bodybuilding began in 1910.³⁰ After the First World War new subjects such as journalism, urban planning and management

26. *HT*, March 1882, p. 42.

27. In 1892-1893 classes included wood carving, carpentry, plumbing, photography, book keeping, spelling, languages, building construction, machine construction and drawing, botany, chemistry, drawing, painting, modelling, elocution, musical instruments, cookery and typewriting. *PM*, November 1892, pp. 340-342.

28. UWA/RSP/P53, (1892). *The Polytechnic: its genesis and present status*. London: The Polytechnic, p. 47

29. *PM*, February 1921, p. 24.

30. *PM*, December 1928, p. 333.

were introduced: by the end of the 1920s the Institute could claim over 3,000 students for the Building Trades School alone, and over 4,000 students for the Commercial School.³¹

Significantly, however, the Polytechnic offered more than just technical or professional education. As made clear by Hogg himself in one of his sermons, education was supported by:

the true worth of amusement and exercise, which should be to enable us to live better and purer lives by giving that necessary relief from the more serious and difficult and responsible part we each have to play in the battle of life, so giving our natures and physical powers the opportunity of recouping themselves, and fitting us afresh for the duties of life. What is wanted is muscular Christianity.³²

That is, educational and spiritual activities needed to be integrated with social and physical ones that could defeat idleness, the foremost obstacle to a moral life, in order to achieve ‘the high moral qualities which constitute a great nation’.³³ ‘What we wanted to develop our Institute into’ Hogg explained, ‘was a place which would recognise that God had given man more than one side to his character, and where he could gratify any reasonable taste, whether aesthetic, intellectual, spiritual, or social’.³⁴ As such, members also had access to sports and recreational facilities (the Great Hall, previously used as an exhibition space, was turned into a gymnasium upon opening, and a further sports ground was purchased at Chiswick in 1903, and extended in 1938), the possibility to join one of the many Polytechnic clubs and societies, and to attend evening recreational events such as concerts or lantern lectures. Furthermore, the in-house journal never failed to exhort its readership to occupy their leisure time in a ‘rational’ way. For example, an article published in 1902 in view of the coming holidays advertised ‘places of interest’ such as the National Gallery, the British Museum and the Wallace Collection as the best way to occupy one’s free time.³⁵

31. *PM*, August 1946, pp. 54-56.

32. *PM*, 24 April 1890, p. 259.

33. Hogg’s letter from the S.S. Belgie, mid Pacific Ocean. Published in: *HT*, August 1880, p. 277.

34. *PM*, 29 December 1896, p. 327.

35. *PM*, 18 June 1902, p. 255.

This example is particularly interesting since it evidences the link between learning, direct experience and travel through which, as I will shortly discuss, the Institute promoted ideas of travel and culture. By providing organised forms of leisure that would support both spirit and body, Hogg's Polytechnic attempted to respond actively to the challenges that the 'lower' classes were facing in the context of a changing society. The Lord Chancellor, speaking at the Polytechnic in 1884 on occasion of the presentation of medals and prizes won by the Institute's members at the Science and Art and City Guild Examination, noted that:

some of the students whom we have had the pleasure of seeing here may not always be as careful of their bodily health and strength as they should be. Some of them look to me as if they may be working a little too hard, and I should like them to have some recreation after their hard work. This place, I believe, among other things, provides wholesome social and athletic recreations.³⁶

This was the centre of Hogg's vision that was never abandoned; as recognised by the *Windsor Magazine* in 1898 the Institute provided a social service in addressing 'one of the greatest curses of the life of the struggling young man or woman living in the Inner Circle [Central London], [that is] the loneliness of his or her life and the fearful difficulty of obtaining any social intercourse' (McKenzie, 1898: 547). To an extent, it can be argued that part of the Polytechnic tours developed as a response to, and respite from, this 'difficulty', this 'working a little too hard'. Together with the sports facilities and social activities, the earliest holiday arrangements, in the form of holiday homes, were viewed as remedying the strenuous living conditions of the London working classes by providing rest and health benefits, and hence contributing to wellbeing. At the same time, enabling factors supported an approach to travel as a tool to complete, build upon or apply the education or training acquired in Regent Street, for example through emigration or study and work experiences out of London. As a result, the Polytechnic promoted a culture of travel considered as an important aid to the fully-rounded formation of the 'Poly' members on their path to becoming modern citizens. The progressive separation of educational and recreational

36. *HT*, February 1884, p. 44.

activities transformed the relationship between travel and the Institute's educational programme. The establishment in 1911 of the PTA as a commercial body was possibly due to pressures put on the Polytechnic by external funding bodies, as these wanted the institution to focus on its educational activities. Yet, as I discuss in more detail in the next chapter, the approach to travel as an improving experience remained, permeating the way in which the organisation saw itself as it transitioned towards a commercial venture. In this respect, Hogg's vision provided a legacy that deeply influenced how the PTA thought of – and hence represented – itself.

5.2. Travel as personal and professional development

A wealthy gentleman with business affairs in the sugar trade of the West Indies, Hogg was himself a keen traveller. His daughter Ethel later recounted that 'his love of travel, his keen interest in all that was new to him, and his delight at exchanging the inside of an office for the outdoor life he revelled in' shaped his view of the benefits of travel, which he continued to practice uninterrupted 'for business or for health' until his death in 1903 (Wood, 1904: 71). Hogg believed that travel could help significantly the individual's self-development; travelling and holidaying more generally could, in his view, provide spiritual, health and didactic benefits. As discussed, during this period cultural travel developed as a way of regulating (as 'rational recreation' demanded) the 'lower' classes into a social system that, by affording a moral education, could promote self-improvement and respectability, and hence the formation of respectable citizens. Travel, as Strong (2012) observes, was perceived as constituting a vehicle for such social mobility. Thus, if 'education' cannot describe everyone's approach to travel and leisure during this period, as evident for example in the case of the seaside resorts, it certainly defines how the Polytechnic saw its tours. 'Educational travel', Kalinowski and Weiler write in relation to contemporary forms of tourism, 'goes beyond a curiosity, interest or fascination for a particular topic. It involves a travel experience in which there is organised learning, whether that be formal or experimental' (1992: 17). The idea of 'organised learning', I propose, well describes the approach to travel developed by an organisation such as Hogg's in the context of the 'rational recreation' movement. As Barton has discussed in her study of working class

organisations and tourism (2005), the relationship between recreation and education also grounded the offer of an organisation such as the Co-operative Holidays Association (1891), and its Holidays Fellowship (1913). In Barton's words, what defined their approach was the recognition 'that people need for their full enjoyment not only natural beauty but the imponderable things of the human spirit – "laughter and the love of friends"' (2005: 145) – a description very reminiscent of Hogg's vision.³⁷ This view also determined how the Polytechnic tours positioned themselves within the travellers/tourists debate. Talking at a Polytechnic event in 1891, Hogg affirmed that the trips organised by the Polytechnic were 'more than mere holiday jaunts', emphasising 'the power for good such travels may become – above all, the bringing the created into direct sympathy with the Creator'.³⁸ Two years later, following the Poly members' return from the holidays, he declared: 'for myself it felt like enjoying seabreezes to see the brown faces and healthy looks of our boys as they came back from their various holiday haunts with new friends, new ideas, and new vigour'.³⁹ Bringing into focus health and wellbeing, 'rational recreation', education and social benefits, Hogg's comment summarises the values and advantages he saw associated with travelling, and on which basis the tours were being developed. It also shows how, because of their religious and moral dimension - the sole ground on which to base one's educational, professional and spiritual development - Hogg believed the Polytechnic tours could offer an improving experience. The Institute recognised the benefits of travel for health and well-being, however the form of rest provided for the Poly members were deliberately set apart from the unworthy forms of idle and lazy holidaying that could only damage one's self-improvement. Considering this in relation to the ongoing debate between the experiences of travellers and tourists, it can be argued that the Institute saw the tours as providing a 'meaningful relationship with visited places' (Buzard, 1993: 12), with the 'meaningful' embracing the multifaceted dimensions of one's formation. As such, the

37. Other organised tours that were structured, during this period, around educational and social concerns were those run by the Toynbee Hall, with the Children's Country Holiday Fund and then the Toynbee Travellers' Club (eventually the Workmen's Travelling Hall); by Henry Lunn, who organised a conference in Grindelwald in 1892 and then formed the Public Schools Alpine Sports Club; by Dean and Dawson; and by John Frame (Pimlott: 1947).

38. *PM*, 2 October 1891, p. 202.

39. *The Quintinian Monthly*, supplement of the *PM*, 4 October 1893, p. i.

Institute maintained a derogatory view of any travel practices that did not comply with its moral standards. Even as the educational side of the organisation became separate from the recreational activities, the promotion of travel as a formative experience to be undertaken in a 'rational' manner continued. In 1900, for example, the Polytechnic could condemn the 'average Londoners' idea of a holiday [of laying] on his back at a seaside resort and bask[ing] in the sun', prizing instead those who '[took] advantage of opportunities of getting a wider knowledge of men and countries than is possible at home'.⁴⁰ This approach also influenced how those participating in the tours thought of their own experiences. One member of the Institute commented in a letter published in the *PM* in 1900:

I have no sympathy with those people who go to the seaside "to see a little life". To spend a large portion of one's summer holiday hanging around the "niggers," the itinerant ventriloquist, and the conjuror, and the evenings in a third-rate theatre or dancing-room, close and stuffy, to be followed by a few hours at cards, retiring to rest in the small hours of the morning, is, to my mind, from a physical and intellectual point of view, to misuse a holiday.⁴¹

Although anecdotal this example illustrates how, if the motives for participating in a Polytechnic tour might have been diverse, these were primarily acknowledged to be concerned with acculturation or general betterment. In the lead up to the foundation of the PTA, which then started a negotiation between such an educational legacy and external marketing pressures, the possibilities of travel arranged by Hogg's Institute arose from the consideration that travel ought to be experienced for one's personal and professional development. As such the Polytechnic supported a number of travel and holiday formats, this diversification attesting to the Institute's attention to its members' needs and means in the context of a changing society. The three main ones were domestic holidays, principally promoted as a rest from work; emigration, that is the possibility of moving abroad for work reasons; and 'study abroad' trips that offered the opportunity to learn about topics related to one's studies or working skills.

40. *PM*, 15 August 1900, p. 70.

41. *PM*, 22 August 1900, p. 89.

Holiday homes, emigration and ‘study abroad’ experiences: towards the Polytechnic Touring Association (1872-1891)

Holiday homes, initially provided so that the young boys of the YMCI could enjoy a break from the routine of city life, expanded with Hogg’s move to Regent Street into an articulated programme of domestic holidays; initially available for the Polytechnic members and their families, they were eventually opened to the broader public. The first recorded holiday home dates back to 1872, when a house was rented in Brighton for a group of boys who spent the summer there together with Hogg and his wife Alice. By 1890 the Polytechnic was in the position of offering holiday homes not just to either male or female members, but also to married couples and their families, who could for example choose from holiday homes in Clacton-on-Sea (19s pw), Hastings (15s pw) and Brighton (24s and 9d pw; price for families was 10s 6d per adult and 5s per child). Polytechnic members under the age of seventeen could join a seaside camp at Deal at the price of 2s 6d pw.⁴² These facilities included ‘various excursions by sea and by land’ organised to local cultural and heritage attractions, for example to Scotland and Ireland for those who went to Hastings.⁴³ Brighton, on the other hand, offered to members the ‘use of parlour, reading-room, chess, library, writing-room, gymnasium’ as well as reduced tickets for the Turkish baths, the Chain and West Piers, the Aquarium and the hire of boats, bicycles and tricycles.⁴⁴ For those who could only spare a weekend, the Polytechnic recommended *Rustic walking tours in the London vicinity*, a guide to ‘real country’ routes which could offer ‘benefit to temper or pleasure to mind or body’.⁴⁵ As expressed in the *PM*, the holiday homes offered the opportunity of ‘a very healthy, [financially] reasonable, and enjoyable holiday’, during which visitors could spend their time ‘boating, sailing, bathing’, as well as yachting, rowing and fishing, with time also dedicated to the study of the Bible.⁴⁶ In 1893 the holiday home at Mount

42. *PM*, 26 June 1890, p. 416. Searle estimates that, by the end of the 1880s, one could qualify as a member of the middle-class if one’s income was over £160 per annum. A skilled industrial worker would have been expected to earn over £200 pa, and an elementary school teacher around £150pa (2004: 96-98).

43. *PM*, 6 February 1890; 8 May 1890; 19 June 1890; and 26 June 1890. Excursions to Scotland and Ireland: *PM*, 13 February 1890, pp. 189-190; 5 April 1890, p. 193.

44. *PM*, 26 June 1890, p. 417.

45. *Ibidem*, p. 418.

46. *PM*, June 7, 1899, p. 289; 21 August 1891.

Edgecumbe, Ramsgate, was promoted as a location that ‘command[ed] good views of the sea and country, and has an asphalt ground, a cricket ground, and tennis courts attached and reserved solely for the use of our visitors [...] [and] there will also be many opportunities for boating and yachting’.⁴⁷ Members could also participate in more learning-orientated experiences by joining one of ‘several very pleasant excursions [...] from Ramsgate to Herne Bay, Margate Deal, Dover, Canterbury’.⁴⁸ The demand for holiday homes soared to the point that, by the end of the century, they were run by independent landladies. Initially financially supported by Hogg himself, or at the small cost of between 15s to 30s per week, the holiday homes eventually benefited from other Poly members’ philanthropy, with The Holiday by Proxy Fund being set up in 1890 to enable the less fortunate to enjoy a short holiday in the UK.⁴⁹ That year the fund provided a holiday to 400 children; in 1891 it was extended to their families, allowing up to 400 families to spend a week in Brighton.⁵⁰ A manifestation of the most philanthropic side of the PTA’s activities, the Holiday by Proxy Fund continued to be run successfully until the outbreak of the First World War.

Holiday homes and then domestic tours, although overshadowed by foreign destinations, remained at the centre of the Polytechnic/PTA’s provision throughout the period considered in this research. Meanwhile, the other two forms of travel supported by Hogg’s Polytechnic during these early years - emigration and travel undergone as an extension of the courses taught in Regent Street - eventually disappeared from the PTA’s tours portfolio, becoming a concern of the Institute alone. Yet, I would suggest that it was these initiatives that, providing the cornerstone for the development of the PTA, shaped the approach to travel as an improving experience. That is, the relationship between travel, and the personal and professional status of the Polytechnic’s members, determined how the Polytechnic saw ideas of travel and culture. Crucially, this also set the ground for how the organised tours came to be articulated visually.

Already in the early 1870s Hogg had supported emigration to his sugar plantations as

47. *PM*, 28 June 1893, p. 452.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *PM*, 15 May 1890; *PM*, 22 May 1890, p. 326. Hundreds of Poly members benefited from The Holiday by Proxy Fund; in 1902, as many as 600 people had the chance to leave the city (Wood, 1932: 156-157).

50. *PM*, 5 June 1891, p. 345.

an option for the less fortunate boys of the YMCI, who were thus given the chance to start a new life abroad.⁵¹ Hogg's daughter remembered how:

As he gained experience of work amongst boys of this class, Quintin Hogg became a keen converter to emigration. He recognised the difficulties a boy, specially one of weak character, encountered in trying to better himself so long as he was surrounded with the old companions, the familiar scenes of dirt and disgrace, the scoffing – perhaps even hostile – relations. To get him away and give him a new start in a country where no one could throw his past at him, where he started his race unhandicapped [sic], and with as good a chance as his neighbours, was very desirable, and this could only be done by sending him to one of the great colonies where labour was more plentiful than labourers, and where the necessity of earning his own livelihood might serve as an incentive to the boy (Wood, 1904: 73-74).

Provided as a solution for the specific needs of the boys of the ragged school, the primary function of emigration was, during these early years, the possibility of a clean slate. Allowing to underprivileged young men the chance to distance themselves from the bad influences of their environment, Hogg's philanthropic project saw emigration not just as a new chance of work – a trait that instead took over at the end of the century – but as a ground on which to rebuild one's respectability and life chances. Up to 1,500 boys were helped by Hogg to relocate to Canada, Australia and America on this basis (Wood: 1904, 74).⁵² In the 1880s, when the Polytechnic replaced the ragged school, the needs of the Poly boys changed accordingly. In the context of an increasingly competitive market, emigration became a response to the difficulties of professional development; within an Institute devoted to the teaching of skills to apply in the workplace, migrating abroad was considered a way to smooth this transition. In 1896 a former Polytechnic member, now working in Germany, addressed the Institute's community in the pages of the *PM* to discuss travel as a practical response to one's professional development. He wrote: 'let young England travel more and look around to see if something can't be learnt also from other people. [...] An Englishmen

51. See for example *HT*, November 1879, p. 95.

52. See also *HT*, March 1886, p. 243, in which Hogg expresses his view on emigration.

need have no fear of travelling; he is liked everywhere, and it is not long before he finds a home and a situation'.⁵³ Travelling is here praised as having a direct influence on a person's ability to define his or her own place within society, thus benefiting both the individual and the nation. Many Poly boys moved abroad: indeed, the amount of correspondence that they sent to Regent Street was such that, in 1892, this was collected under its own column in the in-house journal, 'From over the water'.

Support for emigration continued after Hogg's death. Between 1904 and 1910, for example, the New Zealand Shipping Company, which ran a steamer between London and New Zealand, promoted a series of lantern lectures that, in taking the audience on an 'imaginary trip' to New Zealand, paid special attention 'to all the important industries of the Colony'.⁵⁴ The aim of the lectures was to 'draw widespread attention to the fields of labour which our Colonial possessions open up, and to bring prominently forward the attractions which "Britain beyond the Seas" offers to the farmer and the manufacturer, and to men with a good knowledge of any trade, who desire to live in healthier surroundings than are possible in London and other great cities'.⁵⁵ The lectures certainly touched upon a subject of great interest for the Polytechnic audience, so much so that during a lecture in 1910 'the hall was packed to overflowing [...] [and] many intending visitors were unable to gain admission'.⁵⁶ As the *PM* pointed out, 'quite a number of our members have lately gone to New Zealand, and indeed we have quite a colony out there. This fact lends additional interest to the *Trip to New Zealand* [...] it may prepare some who are going, and give all of us a better idea of the lovely country in which many of our boys are now residing'.⁵⁷ The Institute's support and facilitation of emigration continued into the twentieth century; in 1926 the in-house journal launched a new column, illustrated with photographs, 'devoted to information of the Overseas Dominions, specially with regard to the attractions offered to young men and young women for a start in life'.⁵⁸ As I discuss in the next section, letters

53. *PM*, 23 September 1896, pp. 124-125.

54. *PM.*, December 1904, p. 165.

55. *PM*, January 1905, p. 178.

56. *PM*, March 1910, p. 19.

57. *PM*, 8 October 1906, p. 136.

58. *PM*, December 1926, p. 212.

and reports from abroad fostered, in this way, imaginary journeys that supported the idea that travelling could relate directly to one's personal and professional development.

Education as an improving experience facilitated by travel, however, did not necessarily require the extreme scenario of moving abroad; the enriching of one's technical skills, or the strengthening of the notions learnt in the classroom, could also be achieved by shorter trips. In this respect, such forms of travel can be understood as 'study abroad' experiences. Already in 1877 Hogg had taken a party of almost one hundred students to the Paris World Exhibition.⁵⁹ In the second half of the 1880s, as the structure and possibilities of the Polytechnic expanded, records of trips abroad, organised in connection with the courses taught at Regent Street, intensified. The earliest example is provided by the case of A. F. Andresen, the Polytechnic's German teacher, who in 1885 organised and conducted a party of male students to visit the Antwerp International Exhibition, Brussels, the battlefields of Waterloo and then Rotterdam.⁶⁰ The 'Continental tour', reports of which were profusely published in the *HT* in the form of letters and accounts written by the tours' participants, was essentially didactic in format, with the tour's members not only practicing the foreign language, but also busy absorbing the art, architecture, history and culture encountered along the way. This was not an isolated episode. During the Easter of 1886 and then again in 1887 Paul N. Hasluck, from the School of Elocution, conducted a party of Polytechnic members and students to Paris, and the same trip was conducted again in 1888 by M. Lumaye, the Polytechnic French teacher.⁶¹

The event later celebrated as the origins of the PTA was itself a 'study abroad' experience. In 1888 Robert Mitchell (1855-1933), the Institute's Secretary since 1871, and from 1891 its Director of Education:

Stopping to listen to a geography lesson one day, asked both master and boys if any of them had seen the mountains and glaciers, torrents and waterfalls that were being described. Not one had. That was enough for Robert Mitchell. In 1888 he went off to Belgium and Switzerland, planned a walking tour by the

59. *HT*, November 1879, p. 97.

60. *PM*, 25 July 1885, p. 51; 29 August 1885, p. 138.

61. 1886 trip: *PM*, 8 May 1886, p. 421; 1887 trip: *PM*, 26 March 1887, p. 105; 1888 trip: *PM*, 15 March 1888, p.124.

simple expedient of following the proposed route on foot himself, cajoled or bewildered railway companies into granting extremely favourable terms, and sent out a party of sixty boys, three masters and a doctor to study the battle-fields of the Franco-German War, and then to make their way to Zermatt while their geography lessons came to life before their eyes (Wood, 1934: 23).

As a result, Mitchell organised a tour of Belgium, Germany and Switzerland that allowed the Poly boys ‘the wonderful feat of a month’s holiday’.⁶² The interest aroused by the Poly boys’ trip was such that, at the beginning of September, *The Pall Mall Gazette* published an account of the boys’ adventures under the title ‘Our invasion of the Continent’, followed at the end of that month by an interview with Mitchell titled ‘How the boys did it so cheaply’ (1888: 2).⁶³ The event was granted an unprecedented importance by the Polytechnic, and enthusiastic accounts report how upon the day of their return the Poly boys: ‘march[ed] on the Polytechnic, where arrangements had been made to serve breakfast in the Great Hall [...] After breakfast Mr Hogg made a speech, congratulating the boys in all they had seen, and the way they had seen everything, and expressing his gladness at their safe return’.⁶⁴ A number of reasons could be advanced as to why this event, and not the previous excursions to Paris, Antwerp or Brussels, was chosen to mark the origin of the PTA. If Hogg’s trip to Paris over a decade earlier was by then a thing of the past, the excursions organised by Andresen, Hasluck and Lumaye in the years that preceded the Swiss trip were probably the isolated product of resolute individuals more than tours purposefully organised by the Institute. The choice might also reflect the recognition of the role played by Mitchell, who ran the PTA until 1924, in shaping the identity of the Polytechnic tours, as well as the fact that Switzerland eventually became the cornerstone of the PTA’s offer of travel. Regardless, what this choice indicates is that the Polytechnic tours emerged as support to the Institute’s educational project, and that this legacy was proudly recognised by the PTA.

In the years preceding the opening of the Polytechnic tours to the general public, tours were organised to provide a ‘study abroad’ experience that could corroborate the educational,

62. *PM*, 1 November 1888, p. 275.

63. The article ‘Our invasion of the Continent’ is cited in the *PM*, 13 September 1888, p. 168.

64. *PM*, 23 August 1888, p. 117.

spiritual, physical and moral benefits promoted within the Institute. The Polytechnic Schools, clubs and societies were to an extent involved in the organisation, and, as reports suggest, were the direct beneficiaries of these ventures abroad. The excursions to the Paris Exhibition of 1889, an idea of the Polytechnic French Society whose organisation was taken over by Mitchell when numbers escalated, offers an example of the enthusiasm with which this opportunity was met, of the involvement of the various Schools, clubs and societies, and of the function expected to be fulfilled by the excursion.⁶⁵ The request for places was so high (it catered for nearly 2,500 students and members) that although the Institute did initially consider opening up to the general public, participation had to be restricted to the Polytechnic community.⁶⁶ Furthermore, as a response to this overwhelming demand, the Polytechnic also advertised the railway companies' offer of routes to the Paris Exhibition.⁶⁷ The possibility of (finally) travelling abroad certainly triggered the excitement of the tour-goers: 'we always make a point of advising members on their arrival in Paris to spend the first two or three hours in resting', wrote the *PM* in its usual paternalistic tone, 'some boisterous visitors are, however, so animated with the idea of being "on the Continent", that rest is out of the question, and immediately on swallowing their breakfast they are off to "do Paris", as if they only had a few hours to stay'.⁶⁸ Mitchell, who had travelled to Paris in advance to arrange details,⁶⁹ reserved five centres for the accommodation of the members, two of them only for women; he also appointed a Polytechnic representative who resided in each accommodation in order to assist the parties during their stay in Paris.⁷⁰ In order for the groups to make the most of the Paris experience, together with the visit to the exhibition, Mitchell also organised a series of three-days excursions in the French capital: 'recognising how difficult it would be [...] for members to see the special points and places of interest in and around Paris, [the Committee] have therefore organised a

65. *PM*, 16 February 1888, p. 61; 22 March 1888, p. 147.

66. *PM*, 29 August 1889, p. 123; 25 April 1889, p. 237. This at the cost of £2 2s per week, 14 March 1889, p. 143.

67. *PM*, 28 February 1889, p. 116.

68. *PM*, 27 June 1889, p. 368.

69. *PM*, 22 November 1888, p. 322.

70. *PM*, 30 May 1889, p. 309.

system of waggonette [sic] excursions'.⁷¹ The detailed programme of the excursions, published in the *PM*, reveals a packed cultural itinerary. The various Polytechnic Schools and societies felt directly involved, and records provide examples of how the trip was integrated into the curriculum by focusing on those aspects of the tour that most closely expanded on their specific subject. The event was also an opportunity to foster one of the other forms of travel promoted within the Institute, that is, travel as emigration or as a work experience. Before departure the Carriage Building Class took part in a lecture in which J. H. Hopper provided 'some interesting facts with regard to the carriage exhibits at the Paris Exhibition, together with other information respecting the division of labour, working hours, wages, etc., especially pointing out the wisdom of the Paris Trades Union in helping, to a considerable extent, the various technical classes now being held, under trade auspices'.⁷² The Plumbing Class sought contacts with old Poly members and students who had emigrated to the French capital, and who wrote back to assure 'of the amount of actual instruction which practical plumbers will gain from a careful examination of the exhibits'.⁷³ Furthermore, the Plumbing Class had the opportunity to visit the city's sewers.⁷⁴ The Polytechnic French Society, on the other hand, recognised how interest in the Paris Exhibition, in the context of an increasingly competitive working market, was 'fast opening people's eyes to the great importance of a knowledge of foreign languages in business life'.⁷⁵ Sports and social life, the other great protagonists in Hogg's project, found their own place in the Paris Trip: arrangements were made for some of the clubs to play against the local Parisian cricket, rowing and cross country running clubs during their visit to the French capital.⁷⁶

As members returned from Switzerland and Paris, requests for 'social gatherings' started to emerge,⁷⁷ leading to the arrangement of reunions of members who had taken part

71. *PM*, 30 May 1889, p. 309.

72. *PM*, 12 December 1889, p. 366.

73. *PM*, 31 January 1889, p. 59.

74. *PM*, 18 July 1889, p. 33.

75. *PM*, 31 January 1889, p. 66.

76. *PM*, 28 February 1889, p. 116.

77. *PM*, 3 July 1889, p. 48.

in the various excursions.⁷⁸ Reporting on the Paris and Swiss Trips reunion taking place in February of 1890, the *PM* commented on how ‘the greeting between those who again met, and the good fellowship existing between them all, testifies greatly to the help these trips have been in encouraging friendship and social intercourse between the members, which is by no means the least of the objects aimed at by the Institute’.⁷⁹ These social events eventually became a feature of the PTA’s promotional strategy.

By 1890 the Institute, committed ‘to give members full advantage [of specially low rates] as well in matters of play as in those of education and work’, extended the available options for tours. Together with the holiday homes, members could choose from the one-week excursion to Ireland (£3 5s); the eight-days trip to Scotland (£3 5s); the 16-days (£6) or 23-days (£7) trips to Switzerland; and the three weeks journey to Madeira (£10 10s). The focus was closely on education, a perspective certainly emphasised by the presence of the Polytechnic teaching staff doubling as guides. That year, Spooner, the Director of the Engineering School, Charles Mitchell, the Director of the Architectural Department, and Rogers, the head of the Polytechnic Engineering Workshops, conducted the trip to Scotland so as ‘to make the excursion as practical as possible from a technical point of view’.⁸⁰ The Irish trip benefited instead from the leadership of Thomas H. W. Pelham, Secretary of the Junior Institute and a keen traveller,⁸¹ whose guidance was praised for allowing the party members to appreciate ‘at its fullest value, the beautiful scenery which stretched around us’.⁸² David Woodhall, a teacher in the Commercial Classes, and Robert Avevy Ward, the chemistry teacher from the School of Science, took charge that year of parties to Switzerland.⁸³ Christian values were also seen as part of the experience, and as Ward commented in relation to the Swiss tours: ‘it is to be hoped that [...] we who have seen some of the wonders of Nature in their grandest forms, may have learnt more than

78. *PM*, 15 August 1889, p. 91.

79. *PM*, 20 February 1890, p. 111.

80. *PM*, 26 June 1890, p. 407.

81. Following his visit to Canada in 1880, Pelham gave a series of lantern lectures. *HT*, November 1880, pp. 323-324.

82. *PM*, 28 August 1890, p. 131.

83. Mr Woodhall, *PM*, 24 July 1890, p. 50; Mr Ward, *PM*, 17 July 1890, p. 33.

ever to appreciate and reverence that Power Who has set them in their ordered places'.⁸⁴ The number of tours available, from 1891 also open to non-members, continued to grow. Along with the trips to Switzerland (£7.50s) - under the leadership of Ward and Woodhal - Madeira (£12) and Ireland (£4 5s), the portfolio of foreign destinations was added to by excursions to the Belgian Ardennes (£4 40s 6d), organised by Percy Lindley, the Vice-President of the Polytechnic Ramblers. Cruises to Norway were also introduced (£8), led by Polytechnic personalities such as Mitchell himself, J.E.K. Studd (honorary secretary of the Polytechnic from 1885, vice-President in 1901 and President from 1903 to 1944) and Henry Lunn (Chaplain of the Polytechnic from 1890, and eventually founder of his own travel firm).⁸⁵ The Norwegian excursions proved to be immensely popular, second only to those to Switzerland. As promised in the *PM*, by providing a respectable context the cruises would be beneficial to the fully-rounded development of its participants. During the cruise:

some of the most wonderful sights will be witnessed, including waterfalls of great magnitude – the Niagaras [sic] of Europe – and mountain scenery. The trip will be an immense benefit to those at work in workshops and others, the greater part of whose lives are spent indoors. Concerts and entertainments will be held every evening on board, and everything will be done to make the trip the most delightful ever organised. [...] No intoxicating liquors and gambling will be permitted on board, and the regulations of the Poly on land will be applied to the Poly “on sea”.⁸⁶

By this point requests from outside the Institute to join the tours had escalated to the point that the connection between the Institute’s educational programme and travelling was inevitably transformed. Although the organisation of the tours of what would become the PTA remained until 1911 within the Polytechnic itself, sharing not only its legal status but also staff and finances, a debate soon emerged as to the purpose of the tours. As I discuss in the next chapter, many complained that these were no longer focused on supporting the

84. *PM*, 14 July 1889, p. 2; 22 August 1889.

85. *PM*, 6 March 1891, p. 146.

86. *Ibid*,

development of the Institute's members. Nonetheless, although market forces ultimately determined the character of the PTA's travel offer, I argue that the educational character of these course-based tours provided a lasting legacy in the organisation's self-perception of offering 'improving' travel experiences. The PTA emerged out of an educational context and, as the celebration of the 1888 Swiss tour indicates, it continued to refer to such a context as it moved towards becoming a commercial venture.

This legacy also influenced the visual representation of the tours. In the next section I discuss how a travel imagery complying with Hogg's vision was disseminated within the Institute, and how this shifted to represent the early Polytechnic tours. By making the culture of travel increasingly – imaginatively – palpable, this network of organic and induced imageries defined how the photographic image *ought* to be used, produced, and consumed. At the same time, the diffusion of reports on or by members who had had experience abroad, and who could now fairly easily take a camera along, allows us to reflect upon the ways in which the photographic canon established by the Polytechnic was progressively challenged.

5.3. Images and imaginaries of the Polytechnic's culture of travel

Between the 1880s and early 1910s ideas of culture and travel as a 'duty of citizenship' spread through the Polytechnic community with the support of a range of visual and textual imageries that, as Strong (2012) also recognises, reinforced the Polytechnic's culture of travel. Lantern lectures delivered by guest-speakers such as explorers, war correspondents and missionaries; the cinematograph; the hosting of abroad students and indigenous representatives from the colonies; travel letters written by Hogg and other students travelling or working abroad; and the circulation of travel books and maps, all contributed to normalising the idea of travel as an agent of change in the educational project of the Polytechnic. What brought these imageries together was a pride in the achievements of the British Empire, and the issue of its citizens' role and place within it. Importantly, while providing a visual scenario that supported the Institute's discourse of culture and travel, and the imperial agenda, these imageries also normalised what was understood as and expected of travel imageries, particularly photographs. As previously discussed in relation

to the ‘tourist gaze’, I argue that these imageries influenced, above all, the ‘gaze’ of the Polytechnic community by indicating *what* was worth seeing abroad, and *how* this should be seen and subsequently represented. This narrative was constructed by taking imageries from the Empire back to Regent Street, and by fostering an imagery that encouraged the Polytechnic community to embrace one of the many forms of travel promoted by the Institute. As discussed in Chapter 3, if travel lectures had been a popular attraction in Regent Street since the time of the RPI, by the end of the 1880s their approach to the representation of travel had shifted from substituting for travel to promoting its benefits. Proposed with the intent of educating the public, while at the same time advocating the benefits of an experience abroad, the discourses of education, entertainment and promotion were so closely entangled that imageries oscillated between being both organic and induced.

The lantern lectures listed in the Polytechnic calendar during this period provide an example of how the themes of war, foreign events and British Dominions were certainly a topic of interest for a hegemonic national culture that was, at this time, largely nationalistic and imperialistic in character. For example, *Burma: the war and the conquest* (1886) offered, together with a lesson in geography and architecture, an insight into the Anglo-Burmese War of 1885. The lecture started with a ‘picturesque excursion’ into the country, reviewing the architectural beauties and relevant views of the places encountered on the journey from Waterloo station to Calcutta. The second part of the lecture, however, focused instead on the British expedition in Burma and on its victories. The following year, the Polytechnic asked Captain Pelham Burn, who had been enlisted in the 60th Rifles, to deliver a lecture on his experience in the Burma campaign.⁸⁷ Between 1888 and 1890 Frederic Villiers, war correspondent for *The Graphic*, delivered a series of lectures on his experiences of war and foreign travel. These included lectures on the Russo-Turkish conflict (1877-1878), the Turko-Serbian one (1876), Bulgaria (1877), Afghanistan (1879), Egypt (1882) and Burma (1886). They appear to have been a considerable success: the Great Hall was ‘crowded to its utmost capacity’, commented the *PM*, leaving the audience with ‘a strong desire to hear further from him’.⁸⁸ Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society

87. *PM*, 26 February 1887, p. 65.

88. *PM*, 22 November 1888, p. 334; 2 August 1888, p. 67.

were also regular guests at the Polytechnic: for example, in 1887 Captain Wiggins lectured on his Arctic exploration; in 1890 J. Carl Semple on his journey *Across America*; in 1896 F. W. W. Howell on his exploration of Iceland; in 1900 A. J. Herbertson gave a talk on ‘the development of South Africa’; in 1905 Henry Hibbert presented a lecture on the Rhine and Black forest; in 1907 a G. E. Franklin lectured on the Holy Land. These lectures responded to the widespread interest in the world and in Britain’s position in it, in this way fostering the members’ identity as citizens of the British Empire – as Ryan’s analysis of the turn of the century visualisation of imperial geography has evidenced, these lectures can thus be discussed as providing a form of ‘imperial propaganda’ (1994: 158). A number of other resources available to the Polytechnic community, such as maps and travel books, reinforce this view. Maps were hung in the library for members to study the places at the centre of foreign affairs, but also the route followed by Hogg and other staff members in their journeys.⁸⁹ As the *PM* wrote in 1896: ‘maps aid one considerably in appreciating the items of news which reach us daily respecting these countries’.⁹⁰ Geographical and political maps of South Africa, the Transvaal, Venezuela, Nigeria, Crete, India and China, just to name a few, fostered the imagination of those who were interested in learning about the British campaigns and any other places at the centre of public interest.⁹¹ During the First World War, maps were used in Regent Street to follow the movements of the British troops and of the Polytechnic members who had enrolled, their experiences also recalled in the letters sent back home.⁹² By offering visual information perceived as accurate, maps corroborated the perception of the affinity between the acts of looking and knowing; a perspective that also informed the understanding of travel’s possibilities as affiliated to education. A travel imagination was further shaped by the rich presence of travel books at the Polytechnic, often illustrated, which played a significant role in bridging together ideas of travel and knowledge. The library section for travel books was among the best

89. See for example *PM*, 23 April 1902, p. 179. This practice continued into the 1920s. See for example a letter sent in by Studd from Burma, including a map on which his route is marked, *PM*, April 1928, p. 95.

90. *PM*, 29 January 1896, p. 50.

91. See for example *PM*, 17 February 1897, p. 73; 15 September 1897, p. 98; 22 September 1897, p. 105; 7 December 1898, p. 230; 25 January 1899, p. 33.

92. See for example *PM*, May 1917, p. 70; June 1917, pp. 86-87.

stocked and most requested at the Polytechnic; catalogue entries published in the *PM* show the breadth of titles and the significant presence of illustrated ones, from travel guides such as Baedeker's, to illustrated volumes on the natural and architectural resources of foreign lands.⁹³ The Polytechnic community was also encouraged to visit sites of imperial display. For example, in 1886 the Institute arranged for its members reduced tickets for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in South Kensington,⁹⁴ while, in 1894, Scott Durrant accompanied parties to Windsor and Eton,⁹⁵ to the British Museum,⁹⁶ and to the India and Foreign Offices.⁹⁷

At the same time, these resources were part of a broader discourse that fostered participating in the Empire project in the first-person. The travel letters written by Hogg, the Polytechnic staff and the Poly members, and regularly published in the *PM*, were in this regard particularly effective. Established by Hogg in the late 1870s, this practice accompanied the Polytechnic community through to the 1930s. The tight bonds of trust, sociability and fraternal love that tied Hogg, as he articulated it, to the Poly members, and the Poly members to each other (a strong affiliation that continued to be felt well after the founder's death in 1903), acted as effective promotion for the idea of travel. As Davis, who wrote from New Zealand in 1911, put it, this was due to 'the Poly spirit, the friendship and brotherhood which exists amongst the members, and will always live in the memory of those who have had the privilege like myself, of being a member of such a grand Institute'.⁹⁸ The way in which the Polytechnic members thought about each other, and about the Institute that had nurtured them, was supported by Hogg himself, who affectionately referred to the Polytechnic community as 'my boys'. This set the tone for the travel letters, and for how these were received. In 1879, within a few days of his departure from London en route to the sugar plantations of Demerara, Hogg wrote:

93. See for example *HT*, May 1881, pp. 68-69; March 1882, pp. 71-72; *The Quintinian*, supplement to *PM*, 7 August 1895, p. 76; *PM*, 3 April 1901, p. 171; July 1918, p. 91; September 1919, p. 114.

94. *PM*, 19 June 1886, p. 532.

95. *PM*, 25 July 1894, p. 49.

96. *The Quintinian*, supplement to *PM*, 4 April 1894, p. 198; *PM*, 14 March 1894, pp. 154-155.

97. *PM*, 7 February 1894, pp. 80, 92.

98. *PM*, December 1911, p. 163.

my dear boys, in performance of the promise which I made to you [...] that I would send an occasional budget of new [sic] to *Home Tidings* describing our whereabouts and giving, of course, a strictly accurate and unvarnished account of our adventures, I now sit down to give you my first instalment.⁹⁹

And so he did, for the following decade, sending detailed travel accounts whenever he was abroad. The purpose of the letters was to make his presence felt during the long periods of absence, to provide an instructive account of the lands he was visiting, and to encourage those who could to travel for themselves to do so. As such, all the elements of the Polytechnic's vision for travel as a tool for the formation of the individual were widely discussed. Some parts of his letters followed the style of the travel guide: Hogg would give accurate details of the route, its stops, timing and organisation, descriptions of and reflections upon foreign cultures, and information on the history, architecture and geography of the places visited. Other parts dealt with the theme of emigration, for example by informing his readers of the adventure of the Polytechnic boys who, travelling with him, he was helping to relocate abroad. The spiritual, physical and moral benefits of travelling were also discussed at length. Although usually there were no images to accompany his missives, the Polytechnic's community might have combined Hogg's detailed descriptions with the many visual resources available in Regent Street. There is however one recorded case in which Hogg sent in a photographic album together with his letter. As he explained, thanks to photographs that 'speak for themselves', and that were made available for consultation in the Regent Street library, the Poly boys 'will be able in some measure to realise the places where we have been'.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately the album has not survived. Nonetheless, Hogg's description of the places he visited, which in turn he expected the reader to learn about through the support of the photographic album, offer precious indications of what he considered the interest and purpose of travel photographs ought to be. Of the visit to Rome, Hogg wrote:

99. *HT*, November 1879, p. 97.

100. *Ibid.*.

Our first point was St. Peter's [...] The interior is enriched with most wonderful Mosaic work, while under the dome are the reputed tombs of Peter and Paul, which as it is certain as anything can be, that the former never was at Rome at all, are, to say the least of it, rather a strong pull upon the powers of one's imagination. No less than 140 Popes are buried in this great church, and it also is interesting to Englishmen as containing the last memorials of the descendants of James II, known to us as the Pretender, and Prince Charlie. [...] After seeing the interior, we went into the ball at the top of St. Peter's (its exterior is not unlike St. Paul's), and got a splendid view of the surrounding country, from the Apennines on the one side to the Mediterranean Sea on the other. [...] Adjoining St. Peter's is the Vatican, a palace more dependent on the art treasures inside it than on its exterior appearance for its fame. Here the Pope lives, and here also are some of the most celebrated pictures in the world. The Vatican contains about six thousand rooms, and it has a covered secret passage extending to the Castle of St. Angelo, where the loving father of his people, and the head *of* the Popish Church, could take refuge behind foreign bayonets whenever his extortions grew beyond human endurance. [...] We then drove to the Forum, the centre of Roman life in the days of Rome's glory. Soil and rubbish has accumulated over the Forum to the depth of twenty feet. About one half of the place has been excavated, and you can wander down, from the Capitol and the Temple of Jupiter, through the old Roman Forum and under the Arch which Titus erected to celebrate his conquest of Jerusalem in A.B. 72. [...] I must not, however, tire you with too many details of what we saw at Rome. When Mr. Farmer sends the photographs to the Institute they will speak for themselves, and I will get him to write under each a short account of what happened there.¹⁰¹

One wonders what the 'short account of what happened there' might have referred to; maybe further information about the subject of the photograph, or anecdotes that added some spark to those 'too many details'. What seems undeniable, however, is that both the description and related photographs were inscribed within that culture of travel professed more generally by the Institute: a visit to Rome *ought* to stop at St. Paul, the Vatican and the Roman Forum, and the camera *ought* to record those stops. This was a representation that, by imparting to the viewers the knowledge of *how* the world *ought* to be encountered and studied, implicitly promoted a travel photography whose function was to document

101. *HT*, November 1879, pp. 97-98 (original emphasis).

not idiosyncratic experiences, but those subjects that could inform one's development.

As was the case with the travel lectures delivered by explorers or war correspondents, the affinity between what one ought to see and do when travelling, and its visual representation, defined how travel photographs were expected to be produced, consumed and understood. This view was constantly corroborated by the first-hand experience of prominent figures such as Hogg, guest lecturers and other Polytechnic staff who, implicitly or explicitly, provided 'models' of travel practices to which the Polytechnic members would have felt encouraged to aspire. Importantly, these models extended to photographic practice: the images that accompanied the letters and lectures, and how these informed the narrative, would have provided to the audience guideline for the use of travel photography. This can also be observed in the travel lectures in the Polytechnic calendar at the end of the 1880s. While providing a 'rational' entertainment that would educate the public on various places of interest, the lectures also instructed on travel and photographic practices. Lectures such as *My holiday in Norway* (1888), *My tour through Palestine* (1889), *My Ten Years' Experience in Australia* (1889), *Personal Reminiscences of New Zealand and the Maori* (1889), *Across America* (1890), *With my Camera on the Continent* (1891), *My holiday in Norway: a yachting cruise in the 'Domino' to the 'Land of Mid-Night Sun'* (1891), just to name a few, designated what made each of these places interesting from an educational or work perspective, by stressing the first-hand experience of the lecturer. As Kember has observed in relation to Victorian popular shows, 'the figure of the lecturer was instrumental in fostering a faith in expert culture. [...] Whatever its exact function during the show, the lecturer's presence, the long-institutionalised routines he drew upon, and his ability to anchor safely the audience's interpretation of the moving image was a highly significant factor in the fundamental ideology of reassurance that underpinned "fin de siècle" entertainments' (2009: 46). The authority of the lecturer supported the cultural value of topics such as geography, architecture, history and general culture; these were not the idiosyncratic interests of the lecturers (although anecdotes were often narrated to colour the narrative), but subjects that adhered to the Polytechnic's view of what made travel an improving experience. Simultaneously, the 'my' that so strikingly returns in the lecture titles reminded the audience that what they were hearing about and looking at

was someone's personal experience: this provided the model for *how* one ought to behave and *what* one ought to do when travelling. Furthermore, this narrative was illustrated by images that defined what and how one ought to impress and express one's (improving) experience of travel on film. This view was further supported by the lectures arranged by railway companies, which promoted their routes by lending photographic slides to the Institute, and its clubs and societies. For example, starting in the late 1890s the Great Eastern Railway Company produced a number of views of England, collected in the volumes *Photo Pictures in East Anglia* and *Sun Pictures of the Norfolk Broads*, which circulated extensively within the Polytechnic in the form of lectures, exhibitions or loans of the slides to the various clubs. A set of slides titled *East Anglian*, 'kindly lent' to the Polytechnic Photographic Society for public projection at the Poly in 1899, are described as: 'illustrating some of the most ancient and interesting features of Essex and Suffolk. Beside the pleasure of viewing the excellent slides, the description supplied was highly instructive, the pictures being so arranged as to draw attention to various historical facts in chronological order from Roman to early Norman times'.¹⁰² The event provided, in this way, a form of 'rational' recreation; it taught something about the history of Essex and Suffolk; and it promoted the destinations to which the railway company would run. The advantage that railway companies could gain from joining forces with the Polytechnic was used as an incentive by H. Samson Clark, one of the editors of the *PM* who since 1896 had acted as an advertising agent on behalf of the Polytechnic.¹⁰³ In approaching the Jura Simplon Railway in 1896, for example, Clark wrote:

I have taken the enclosed illustrations from your booklet 'Health and Pleasure' as it occurs to me that perhaps you would kindly lend me the blocks, in order that they may appear from time to time accompanying notices of our Swiss arrangements. I should be most happy to acknowledge your courtesy in lending me the blocks, and you will of course recognise that it would be an advertisement for you among people directly interested in the subject.¹⁰⁴

102. *PM*, 15 February 1899, p. 73.

103. (1896). Letter to AD Leith Napier, (30 April). HAT ref. SAM 2-2; (1896). Letter to R Mitchell, (14 September). HAT ref. SAM 2-2.

104. (1896). Letter to Jura Simplon Railway, (19 February). HAT, ref. SAM 2-2.

As the images printed in the *PM* reveal, Clark's argument was indeed successful.¹⁰⁵ The relationship between railway companies, the loan of slides sets, and the Polytechnic continued into the twentieth century, and as the possibilities of travel increased so did the number of the railway views available for renting.¹⁰⁶

As the places discussed in the lectures were increasingly accessible to the Polytechnic community (in some cases shown *because* they were in the programme of Polytechnic tours), the imageries used to illustrate lectures in Regent Street began to overlap with the promotion of the Institute's tours. Already in 1889, the excursions to the Paris Exhibitions were preceded by a series of didactic lectures. 'Touch[ing] upon the principal places of interest to be visited while our members are in the French capital', the lecture prepared the tour goers through a study of the main historical and architectural attractions of the city; in doing so, it reiterated the purpose of the excursions, defined the sites worth visiting, and provided a model for how one ought to 'gaze' upon such sites.¹⁰⁷ Lantern lectures also followed the tours, reinforcing the educational value that had defined the event. That December the Paris Exhibition became the subject of one of Malden's popular entertainments: the lecture, providing 'a visit to the Paris Exhibition with Mr Malden',¹⁰⁸ showed 'all the great sights of the French Capital and wonders of the exhibition of 1889 [...] fully displayed by a special series of 100 instantaneous photographs, shown as Grand Dioramic Views, on the largest scale, with novel effects'.¹⁰⁹ Mitchell, who also lectured on the Exhibition, was invited in March to deliver his Paris Lecture in other institutions.¹¹⁰ In consideration of the fact that the excursions to Paris were not open to non-members, the function of Mitchell's lectures was not that of promoting the tours, but of making available to a broader audience their didactic value. The convergence of the images used to teach, with those used to promote the tours, came to define the representation of the newly organised tours. In 1891 reporting on the coming lecture *My holiday in Norway* (1891),

105. See for example *PM*, 26 February 1896, p. 112.

106. See for example *PM*, May 1904, p. 47; June 1908, p. 59; October 1922, p. 194.

107. *PM*, 10 January 1889, p. 16.

108. *PM*, 19 December 1889, pp. 381, 389.

109. *PM*, 12 December 1889, p. 379.

110. Mitchell was for example invited to deliver his Paris Lecture at the Assembly Rooms, in North Woolwich. *PM*, 21 March 1889, p. 158.

which strategically anticipated the newly introduced cruises to Norway, the *PM* wrote: ‘As is usual with the lecturer, he will describe ground over which he has personally travelled, and I have no doubt those who are anticipating taking part in our Norway excursions in the summer will be glad to gain some idea of the country they will visit’.¹¹¹ In 1896 Hibbert, a fellow of the RGS who had already lectured in Regent Street and who was by now working with the Poly tours, gave to a public audience of a thousand people ‘an account of a Poly tour of last year, the lecturer often breaking in with “You can spend a holiday in Switzerland or Norway for little over the amount you would spend for the same period in Blackpool,” or some such phrase’.¹¹²

The lecture theatre was not the only place in which the Polytechnic articulated what and how imageries ought to be connected with the tours. Occasionally the holiday accounts sent in by members, and which were published in the *PM*, were combined by the editors with photographs. For example, in 1890 Sydney Newton, a member of the Polytechnic Ramblers, wrote in a five-page report of his excursion to Essex: ‘there is a great deal of truth in Rousseau’s observation that all who wish to observe or learn should travel on foot’, linking travel’s focus on the joint acts of observing and learning with a practice, walking, specific to his own club. The only difficulty of the journey, Newton added, was to determine whether ‘to be engrossed with the antiquarian interests of the borough, or whether [...] [to] give a share of [...] attentions to those natural beauties and advantages which are not dependent upon association with Kelt or Roman, with Saxon or Dane’.¹¹³ The *PM* illustrated the report with six photographs by the Essex photographer Walter Wren Gladwin. These were not snapshots of the things that might have happened to, or interested, Newton during his journey; rather, they were constructed views of the ‘antiquarian interests of the borough’, or of those ‘those natural beauties’, that Newton would have encountered along the way. For example, the photograph printed on the first page of the article (figure 1, page 141) showed the ‘Old Roman gateway at Beckingham Hall’, a heritage site en route to Maldon.

111. *PM*, 27 March 1891, p. 193.

112. *PM*, 26 February 1896, p. 112.

113. *PM*, 19 June 1890, p. 392.

392 THE POLYTECHNIC MAGAZINE. June 19, 1890.

Look out for Special "Holiday Number" next week.

Holiday Rambles near London.

By SYDNEY NEWTON.

I.

It is very generally recognised that there is a great deal of truth in Rousseau's observation that all who wish to observe or learn should travel on foot. But the facilities for easy transit have now been developed so widely, that it often requires considerable energy and resolution to avoid the temptation to allow ourselves to be carried to every interesting spot that we desire to visit. We can, however, conveniently make a sort of compromise by availing ourselves of the railway until we reach a favourable starting place, and reserving our energies until we emerge upon a district which repays us for every mile we cover.

In the momentous considerations which have to be weighed before setting out upon a walking tour, even of the most modest duration, there is hardly any of greater importance than the question of how many the party shall be composed. Of course solitude has great advantages for the contemplative and introspective character who is fully satisfied with himself and the sovereignty of that vast realm which, with poetic license, he is pleased to consider loyal to him in the shape of his own mind. But whoever, more socially circumstanced himself, has chanced to meet on a lonely road the solitary pedestrian, with the customary satchel strapped behind his shoulders, may be excused for momentarily recalling the observation of Sir G. C. Lewis: that life would be tolerable if it were not for its pleasures. The ordinary and not highly-favoured mortal who is in the pursuit, primarily, of enjoyment will probably ultimately arrive at the conclusion that the companion who is not better than none at all must be a very poor comrade indeed. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly easy to err upon the side of numbers. Whenever three or more are walking for long together, there is apt to be a tendency towards dissipation and abandonment of any settled scheme of operations. Schisms and parties develop, and long-matured schemes indicate a strong tendency to collapse.

If, however, the party is only to consist of two, it is clearly desirable that those who are to be exclusively dependent, from a social point of view, upon one another should be fairly well adapted for companionship. But like the little truant who found it almost impossible to get any animated part of creation to join him in his sport, we are not unlikely to experience difficulty in making a selection. It is probably found in the result that we cannot sally forth with the one whom we should in the abstract desire, but that we have to make the best of the one who happens to be able and willing to accompany us.

Not long ago my friend Percival and I determined to open up an acquaintance with a portion of Essex which had previously escaped our observation. With this object in view we found ourselves one morning, with the day well before us, in the ancient borough of Maldon. We had not walked there, as even to the most inveterate pedestrians it would hardly seem worth while to refuse to be conveyed by train on a journey which had to be made from Liverpool Street and Stratford, before the free air of the country can be breathed.

A difficulty soon manifests itself to those who alight at this place. They have to determine whether they will allow themselves to be engrossed with the antiquarian interests of the borough, or whether they will give a share of their attentions to those natural beauties and advantages which are not dependent upon association with Kelt or Roman, with Saxon or Dane. No guide is needed to inform one that the place is rich in historical records: it has an obvious air of antiquity about it, which would render it quite safe for one who was a complete stranger to assert that in some way or other at least one of the Caesars must have become associated with its traditions.

However much we might wish to concentrate our attention to the estuary of the Blackwater, with its shipping and fishing interests, which runs round the base of the hill upon which the town stands, we cannot help finding ourselves in a High Street, so picturesque as to arrest the attention of the most thorough of utilitarians. This street constitutes the greater part of the town, and furnishes specimens of the most diverse forms of house architecture—from the very ancient to the quite modern. The most amiable and satisfactory connection appears to subsist between the pointed roofs and projecting upper stories with their latticed windows of the bygone times, and those now more familiar edifices which have made the fortune of so many modern builders. No wonder that such a place should once have dared to contest with Colchester the honour of identification with Camulodunum.

But a serious danger to our expedition now presents itself. In "doing" any old place, I am generally willing for, and equal to, see parish church. But here the most cursory glance reveals at least three, all of seeming antiquity, and with the ordinary accessories of churchyards and inscriptions. Now if I have any weakness, it is, I must confess, a general anxiety to be "getting over the ground," and it consequently happens that old churches constitute, as it were, the standing danger of my rambles with Percival. These edifices have for him an irresistible attraction. No matter how tired we may just have agreed that we are, or how anxious to be seated before much-needed refreshment comes, if he but descry in the far distance the faintest indication of a church, it is a necessity of his nature that he should seek it out, and make at least one complete circuit of its venerable walls—unless a river is flowing on one of its sides, when of course he bows to the



Old Roman Gateway at Rockingham Hall, near Maldon.
(From a Photograph by Mr. W. W. Gifford, Maldon.)

(figure 1)

This analysis indicates how travel narratives, together with organic and induced imageries, provided the Polytechnic community with models of travel practice, while, at the same time, they established which photographic production was recognised as valuable in accordance with the Polytechnic's educational and moral stand. The enthusiasm with which these imageries were received suggests that the Institute's vision for travel and photography was shared by its audience. Or rather, it indicates that the audience of the Polytechnic recognised which were the accepted forms of travel and photographic practice. Simultaneously, however, the experiences of Hogg or of the fellows of the RGS, and the means by which they travelled, would have been very different from those of the overall Polytechnic community. Possibly for this reason the narratives of fellow members who had been abroad, both as migrants and later on a Poly tour, also circulated in Regent Street

by the late 1870s. Wouldn't a magazine containing 'articles, photographs and items of interests', proposed Pat Allen writing from the Fiji Islands in 1913, 'place us nearer together and give the young Poly boy an idea of what "those who were before them" are doing?'¹¹⁴ His request offers an example of how travel letters and photographs were considered as a living testimonial of, and a more practical guide for, what was promoted in Regent Street. It also suggests that people recognised that the narrative of the Institute was at best partial, and that in order to get a bigger picture one had to rely on other sources. This consideration is particularly relevant in relation to the development of tourists' photographic practices and travel experiences. As the circulation in Regent Street of tourists' photographs taken during the tours reveal, the first-hand experiences of travelling and photographing could indeed be very different from the models promoted by the Polytechnic.

The emergence of non-professional photographers: new imageries of travel

The reports published in the *PM* during this period reveal how, particularly in the context of the tours, participants soon moved beyond what was expected of them, both in terms of what to do abroad (which I discuss in more depth in the next chapter) and how to photograph it. Already in the early 1890s the presence of tourists with a camera was noted in reports commenting on the Polytechnic tours. Some of these accounts were the observations of fellow tourists who, without a camera or perhaps expecting an informed application of it, puzzled at what other party members were photographing. Alexander, reporting on a Poly excursion to the Folgefond Glacier in 1891, recalled how:

For hours [...] these cameras were opening fire on us with "snap shots" whenever any photographer fancied our efforts to scramble up looked particularly entertaining - we, of course, completely unconscious of these clandestine perpetuations of our attitudes.¹¹⁵

Alexander, who apparently happened to be the subject of someone's shot in what he must have regarded as an unflattering moment, lamented the presence of non-professionals who

114. *PM*, January 1913, p. 221.

115. *PM*, 11 September 1891, p. 160.

seemingly did not know how to behave properly. His comment can be aligned with the debate surrounding the practice of the earliest hand cameras, as the taking of a photograph without the subject's knowledge or consent was regarded as a morally despicable action (see Chapter 4). Yet it also draws attention to the non-professional's willingness and capacity to photograph at leisure. What they photographed was not what ought to be photographed, but what they liked or found interesting: as Alexander put it, whatever they 'fancied'. Similarly, in 1899 W.G.L. recalled a Poly cruise to the Baltic by noting how 'stand cameras, hand cameras, and Kodaks [sic] were here very much in evidence', adding that such a presence was 'much to the amusement of the natives and also to the non-photographic members of our expedition', who, like Alexander before them, were abashed by the tourists' photographic activities. In 1905 Charles Wooley, a fellow of the RGS, described the broadening of the tourists' photographic interests that he had observed during a cruise to Norway:

"The march of the camera men" has become an active and busy one by this time, and snap-shots are everywhere being fired off, to secure the coveted trophies to carry back into everyday home-life. And what subjects they form! Throughout the full range of the daily common round, right up to the pitch and point of sublimity. Almost indescribable, but all too readily, realizable "on spot".¹¹⁶

Together with identifying what has since been discussed as a key feature of tourists' photographic activities – that is, the use of photographs as 'trophies' that testify to one's journey (see for example Sontag, 1979) - Wooley's remark recognised how the tourists' subject of interest was 'the full range of the daily common round'. The 'active and busy' photographers could now confidently move outside of photographic conventions because of new camera technologies, which allowed the taking of 'all to readily, realizable "on spot"' images. Figures 2, 3 (both page 145) and 4 (page 146), which show a number of 'snapshots' taken during Polytechnic tours to Norway in the years between 1906 and 1907, and which were used to illustrate some of these reports, offer an example of the subjects

116. *PM*, January 1906, p. 191.

that attracted tourists' attention: fellow travellers, entertainments and deck sports. These examples illustrate how the democratisation of photography allowed tourists to develop new narratives of travel, reflecting subjects that related directly to their experience and interests. Yet what was transformed in this passage was not just what people could photograph, but also how the relationship with the photographed influenced the understanding of the images. As suggested, the first-hand experiences that tourists acquired through the practices of travelling and photographing became the new basis on which to understand travel, photography, and the possibilities of travel representations in more general terms.

Reading the reports that followed the tour reunions, it is interesting to observe how often it was repeated that the audience's attention came alive when looking at something of which they had a personal experience. 'The very fact that the views were so familiar and realistic', commented the *PM* in 1894, 'made the lecture all the more interesting and Mr. Studd, well primed with anecdotes, proved the best of showmen. Every slide produced its own flood of memories, particular those of such delightful natural spots as George Washington's home at Mount Vernon and Niagara'.¹¹⁷ 'The friends enjoyed themselves immensely', wrote another report in 1896, 'especially those who could follow the lecturer by experience'.¹¹⁸ In other occasions it was noted that the projected photographs were 'viewed in the light of a holiday maker's imagination',¹¹⁹ or that they 'will enable the audience not only to revisit many of the scenes of their holidays, but to reconsider some of the deeds done during the vacation'.¹²⁰

117. *PM*, 10 January 1894, p. 19.

118. *PM*, 26 February 1896, p. 112.

119. *PM*, 28 November 1894, p. 305.

120. *PM*, 5 January 1898, p. 1.



(figure 2, top, and figure 3, bottom)



(figure 4)

This enthusiasm is even more noticeable when what was to be projected were photographs ‘depicting the various incidents, humorous and sublime’ of the tours, or more generally images showing tourists’ activities or taken by the tourists themselves.¹²¹ For example, already in 1898, during the Weston reunion, over 100 slides based on photographs taken by the guests of the holiday home were projected, while ‘various photographic albums were

¹²¹ *PM*, 12 December 1900, p. 2.

shown round by their respective owners'.¹²² The reporter noted that:

What recollections each picture brought forth as it was thrown on the screen! When any special groups appeared there was a cry of 'Oh! there's So-and-so,' and 'Why, that's,' and any snap of an amusing nature, and there were several of this description, was instantly greeted with roars of laughter.¹²³

A number of other examples also suggest how the inspection of fellow party members' photographs had quickly become a much-anticipated moment in the reunion's programme. The *PM* noted in 1902 that some of the guests had 'derived considerable pleasure from an inspection of the large and interesting collection of photographs made and sent by members of the various parties', while in 1913 'many of the visitors were entertaining themselves viewing the photographs taken by the visitors during the season. Many sedate ones were surprised to see themselves "as they were" in Scotland, and the snapshots caused great amusement'.¹²⁴ Sometimes these photographs caused perplexities, and as a tourist commented on the image of a monument often used to illustrate the tours to Lucerne: 'we had often seen photographs of the Lion of Lucerne, but how short they fall of sight of the real thing'.¹²⁵ (This is an interesting observation, although anecdotal, in as much as it appears exemplary of how the first-hand experiences through which images were interrogated could reveal the dissonance between memory and representation). Another example is provided by a report from 1900, in connection with the reunion of participants in the yachting cruises, during which the images shown produced an interesting debate:

The photographs of groups taken on the trips gave rise to a great deal of discussion. It was remarkable how often one particular cruise was said to be represented, and we began to wonder whether the identification of the picture lay in the group of tourists, or the boat or particular piece of scenery which made the second subject of the picture.¹²⁶

122. *PM*, 16 November 1898, p. 199.

123. *Ibid.*

124. *PM*, 3 December 1902, p. 230; December 1913, p. 216.

125. *PM*, December 1904, p. 161.

126. *PM*, 14 March 1900, p. 141.

The distinction between a main subject of the photograph, that is, the ‘group of tourists’, and a ‘second subject of the picture’, that is, the setting in which the tourists had been photographed, provides an example of how tourists recognised the ways in which travel photographs could have different functions. The ‘particular piece of scenery’ was turned into a backdrop for tourists’ experiences to be performed, and the memories of these projected. The discussion that the images generated, although it is not clear what it is that caused confusion in the identification of the different parties, is exemplary of a new approach to understanding photography. The understanding of the image was based not on what one knew a scenery ought to signify, but on one’s memory of experiencing it in the first person; this was not unitary but dependent on the multiple interpretations of the tourists. These interpretations were – hence the discussion – as diverse as the experiences of the tourists themselves.

5.4. Conclusion

As has been shown, the culture of travel promoted within the Polytechnic, and the organisation of the early tours, emerged out of Quintin Hogg’s pioneering approach to education. In line with the project of forming the modern citizens of the British Empire, travel was promoted as a further instrument that the Polytechnic community could adopt in order to foster personal and professional development. As such, the travel formats supported by the Institute, such as emigration, holiday homes, and ‘study abroad’ experiences, came to be understood as a duty of citizenship. Accordingly, the early tours were organised as an improving experience that could benefit both the individual and the nation. Imageries of travel promoted by the Institute in the context of both educational and recreational events supported this discourse; in doing so, they established dominant models of travel and photographic practice. That is to say, organic and induced images normalised how travel photography *ought* to be produced, consumed and understood in order to be valued; something which, as discussed, coincided with the Polytechnic’s view of what would make travel an improving experience. Increasingly, however, the first-hand experiences of the Polytechnic community joined those of (allegedly) more authoritative figures. Through the sharing of personal experiences and photographs, the emerging tourists engaged in a

travel discourse that extended beyond that of the ‘official’ Institute. This complicated the perception of photography’s meaning, which was opened up to multiple interpretations, as diverse as people’s experiences.

Such considerations contribute to an analysis of the PTA in two ways. Firstly, they evidence how the Polytechnic tours developed in order to support the formation of the Polytechnic community; as such, they were considered more than mere tourism. In the next chapter, in which the emergence and development of the PTA is discussed, I look at how the organisation defined itself against this educational legacy. Secondly, they reveal how the imageries that constituted the Polytechnic’s culture of travel (and which gravitated towards an imperial agenda) provided the ground on which the promotion of the Polytechnic tours was initially constructed. In the last chapter of this thesis I explore the breadth of this influence, and the extent to which this set the benchmark against which tourists’ photographic practices were valued.

CHAPTER 6. THE POLYTECHNIC TOURING ASSOCIATION: FROM CULTURE AS EDUCATION TO CULTURE AS EMOTION AND LEISURE

The following looks at how the organisation of tours at the Polytechnic shifted from endorsing Hogg's philanthropic approach to responding to a commercial context. It focuses on education, which was one benefit associated with the early tours, and considers how the progressive transformation of culture into an object of consumption influenced how such tours could be commercialised. Specifically, the chapter investigates how what was understood to be 'educational' in the experience of travel offered by the Polytechnic changed as the organisation moved from providing *learning* to providing a *service*.

In its first section, the chapter discusses the challenges faced by educational travel as an organised form of learning as a result of: i) the management of the tours following the 1891 *Scheme of Administration*, which regulated how the various Polytechnic activities ought to be run; ii) the opening of the tours to non-members; and iii) the 1911 constitution of the PTA as a business separate from the Polytechnic. Second, it reviews the state of the company as it emerged from the First World War and began reconstruction. Third, it considers the 1924 appointment of a new Managing Director, which brought the company in line with the economic and socio-cultural changes that had followed the conflict. In particular, this section evaluates how the PTA's focus on tourists as customers influenced the changing understanding of the ways in which an encounter with culture could provide a formative experience.

6.1. Travelling, 'very important as a means of education' (1891-1914)

The tours organised by the Polytechnic in the years between 1888 and 1891, discussed in the previous chapter, defined what would remain the backbone of the nascent PTA in the decades that followed.¹²⁷ The use of the Polytechnic staff in leading the tours and lecturing about them, the Holiday by Proxy Fund, and the tour reunions, all contributed to carrying on the purposes of travel envisioned by Hogg into the 1910s. The work of Mitchell, who

127. The first recorded use of the name Polytechnic Touring Association is from a 1900 guide: Holscher, G., (1900). *A week on the Rhine. Describing a Polytechnic tour from Cologne to Mayance*. UWA/PTA/2/2/16.

together with the organisation of the tours (which he continued to manage until retirement in 1924) was the Polytechnic Director of Education (1891-1922), was also important in maintaining the objective of devising tours that would be morally and educationally beneficial. As later recognised in his biography, Mitchell had a ‘curious’ idea of holiday that ‘might perhaps be described as a change of work and never included *dolce far niente* [sweet doing nothing] as one of its attractions’ (Wood, 1934: 24). In line with Hogg’s vision, the tours arranged by Mitchell were conceived not as an opportunity for lazy recreation, but for improving oneself in mind and body. The Polytechnic community recognised and actively participated (at least in principle) in this line of thought. A Mr Grieve, a member of the Polytechnic Football Club who participated in a Swiss tour in 1893, wrote to the *PM* on behalf of his party to express their delight at the arrangements, also adding how such experience had been instrumental in broadening the knowledge of other customs: ‘not only has the trip been a means of recreation to me, but also a source of profit in obtaining a greater knowledge of the world and of breaking down a deal of prejudice consequent upon residence in this seagirt isle of ours’.¹²⁸ Those who spent their holidays at one of the holiday homes, on the other hand, generally shared Hogg’s views on the ‘health-giving’ experience that the seaside or the countryside could provide for one’s wellbeing.¹²⁹ Reporting in 1896 on a week’s sailing in the British Isles, a Polytechnic member signing himself as ‘Meteor’ affirmed that:

the working-man need no longer discuss the probable advent of the millennium. It is here, and at a cheaper cost than if a Radical Government had been commissioned to buy the cheapest thing in ideal states. Our members and students could not have a better or cheaper holiday in which to recruit exhausted energies.¹³⁰

The Polytechnic also supported the members who wished to organise holidays privately. Following a members’ request sent to the *PM* in 1894 for a holiday companion with whom

128. *PM*, 30 August 1893, p. 576.

129. *PM*, 28 June 1893, p. 452.

130. *PM*, 24 June 1896, p. 306.

to travel to Greece, the magazine took on the task of putting into contact potential travellers who wished to travel on their own.¹³¹ Furthermore, in order to extend the possibilities of travelling, ‘nearly all the important railways now advertise in the magazine’, wrote the *PM* in 1896, ‘especially at holiday times’.¹³² As these examples indicate, the Polytechnic community had at its disposal a range of options. However, as I discuss in the next section, many did not feel this way, especially because the majority of foreign tours on offer escaped their financial reach. Nonetheless, up until the break of the First World War the Polytechnic tours remained committed to supporting the Polytechnic community. In particular, the Polytechnic fostered an integration between tours and education. The domestic and foreign excursions arranged in connection with the Schools, clubs and societies were a small part of the overall Polytechnic holiday arrangements; yet, and I will return to this when discussing the tours open to non-members, they provided an organised form of learning that set the mark for thinking about travel and culture in a commercial sense. ‘Travelling’, wrote the *PM* in 1898, ‘is very important as a means of education, particularly to anyone engaged in the commercial world’¹³³ – that is, to those who participated in the educational programme of the Polytechnic. This perspective was often voiced in the in-house journal, and supported by a travel imagery in which, as detailed in the previous chapter, the Polytechnic was so rich.

In 1894 William Scott Durrant, an active figure at the Polytechnic, conducted a tour ‘organised by request’ of the Polytechnic Reading Circle to Normandy and Brittany.¹³⁴ As the *PM* described it, the excursion provided ‘plenty of fresh air and change of scene’, but also ‘more varied elements of interest, whether in history, legend, romance, in military, civil and especially ecclesiastic architecture’ and similar.¹³⁵ In support of the educational character of the tour, lantern lectures intended to be ‘historical as well as descriptive’ preceded and then followed the excursion, and members were encouraged to borrow from

131. *PM*, 13 June 1894, p. 56.

132. *PM*, 29 July 1896, p. 49.

133. *PM*, 23 March 1898, p. 150.

134. *PM*, 11 July 1894, p. 20. Scott Durrant was the founder of the Polytechnic Reading Circle, and member of the French and German Societies, the Mutual Improvement Societies, the Rambling Club, and also delivered lectures on the tours organised by the Polytechnic, which he often accompanied.

135. *PM*, 25 July 1894, p. 50.

the library titles that could help them in preparing for the trip.¹³⁶ In 1899 Jos S. Dexter, a teacher in the Science School, wrote in a column titled ‘Educational advantages of the summer holidays’ that:

The popular and right use of a holiday is to enable the mind and the body to recuperate and to store energy, physical and mental, for a coming year. [...] Recreation consists in a change of work, and not in its cessation, and by keeping our mental faculties open we may reap an educational harvest in a pleasurable and health-giving way. [...] Our summer holidays give us the opportunity of knowing the marvels of creation, and the more we know, the more marvels reveal themselves to us. [...] You will return a wiser and better man or woman – wiser in mind, better in disposition, and with thoughts on a higher plane.¹³⁷

As a ‘change of work’, an experience to undertake with eyes both physically and metaphorically open, the tours organised for the Polytechnic community were continuously promoted as yet another way to improve oneself personally and professionally. There are a number of examples that illustrate how this was organised. In 1898 the seventh annual trip to Germany was arranged by M. Seifert, the Polytechnic German teacher, ‘for those desirous of improving their knowledge of German, which language will be spoken as much as possible during the trip’.¹³⁸ Also in 1898 Mitchell arranged an excursion during Easter to Edinburgh and Glasgow ‘intended primarily for the members of our Architectural and Engineering School in order that they may view the shipbuilding and engineering works of the North’.¹³⁹ The following year, ‘in accordance with the usual facilities offered to our students for visiting centres of interest at Easter, and in order to afford a pleasant and practical method of supplementing their class instruction, arrangements have been made to visit the undermentioned interesting cities and districts’: the Architectural students went to Rouen, the German class students to the Rhine, and the Engineering students to

136. *PM*, 18 July 1894, p. 31; 25 July 1894, p. 50.

137. *PM*, 1 November 1899, p. 227.

138. *PM*, 15 June 1898, p. 270.

139. *PM*, 16 March 1898, p. 140.

Belfast.¹⁴⁰ They were accompanied by the classes' masters, who had the task of doing 'their utmost to make the various trips as attractive and enjoyable as possible'.¹⁴¹ In 1900 a trip was organised to visit the Paris exhibition, which was only open to Polytechnic members and their friends and family, and arranged so that clubs and societies could travel together.¹⁴² That year Gwinnell, teacher of the geology class, took his students on a study trip 'in the field of [...] cretaceous'.¹⁴³ The *PM* reported how: 'the special area of study was Folkestone, where three days were spent in collecting specimens and studying the exposures in the cliffs, hills and valleys. As a reserved carriage was secured in both directions, by previous arrangements with the S.E.R. Company, a continued demonstration was made en route'.¹⁴⁴ In 1901 a holiday home in Dieppe was opened for the boys and girls of the Day School who, together with the health benefits of sea-bathing, and of walking and cycling excursions could take 'practical lessons in the French language'.¹⁴⁵ Also in that year, Louis J. Graveline, the Polytechnic French teacher, and his wife, organised a week-long tour in 'quaint and historical Brittany'.¹⁴⁶ Until 1906 Graveline, described by one of the excursionists as 'a guide, philosopher and friend',¹⁴⁷ was in charge of all the Polytechnic tours to Normandy and Belgium, these 'intended especially for the benefit of members and students of the Poly'.¹⁴⁸ In connection with these tours Graveline also delivered lantern lectures; in 1909, giving a talk to the Polytechnic Mutual Improvement Society, Graveline 'advised all present to make an effort to at least take one tour abroad, if only for the sake of learning that lesson of consideration for the manners and customs of other countries, which travel should teach one'.¹⁴⁹ During Easter 1905 the Building Trade Students visited the granite quarries at Aberdeen, the Engineering Students a shipbuilding

140. *PM*, 15 February 1899, p. 79.

141. *Ibid.*

142. *PM*, 20 June 1900, p. 287; 18 July 1900, p. 27.

143. *PM*, 13 June 1900, p. 282.

144. *Ibid.*

145. *PM*, 10 July 1901, p. 14.

146. *PM*, 12 June 1901, p. 256.

147. *PM*, 13 August 1902, p. 64.

148. *PM*, July 1906, p. 78.

149. *PM*, March 1909, p. 14.

yard in Glasgow, and the Geology class went to Stroud.¹⁵⁰ In 1907 A. Philibert, the director of the Polytechnic French Literature Classes, spent a month at Granville-sur-mer with 90 students, ‘part of the time being devoted to continuing the study of French Literature’.¹⁵¹ In 1908, students from the Schools of Architecture, Engineering and Building Trades had the choice to join a ‘really educational tour, accompanied by masters of the schools’ to Scotland,¹⁵² or a 15-days tour of Italy and the Ghent Exhibition, with ‘special lectures [...] delivered respecting the architectural features [...] of the principal churches and buildings visited’.¹⁵³ That same year the students of the School of Typography were advised to go ‘travelling about to different towns to try your hands at all sorts of jobs’, practically putting to the test notions learned in the workshop.¹⁵⁴ In the summer of 1913 a tour of Italy was also arranged for the School of Architecture and Building Trades ‘to Venice, visiting en route Verona, Milan, Lugano, Lucerne and the Ghent Exhibition’.¹⁵⁵ As detailed in the itinerary, on arrival in Venice: ‘the famous Cathedral of St Mark’s, Doge’s Palace, the principal churches and buildings will be visited, and special lectures will be delivered respecting the architectural features of same. Special sketching courses will be arranged’.¹⁵⁶ The PTA also made efforts to make Switzerland, by now the flagship of its offer, available to the students. A party of 40 Polytechnic Boy Scouts touring ‘through the glorious mountains of Switzerland’ was still there when the First World War broke out.¹⁵⁷

As this fascinating overview illustrates, following the success of the first two official ‘study abroad’ experiences to Switzerland (1888) and Paris (1889), and the tours of the early 1890s, travelling was recognised as relevant for the educational programme of the Polytechnic. Through the support of didactic material that was made available before and after the excursions, these trips can be defined as educational inasmuch as they provided an organised form of learning. At the same time, tours were being expanded to cater for

150. *PM*, May 1905, p. 38.

151. *PM*, November 1907, p. 148.

152. *PM*, April 1908, p. 33.

153. *PM*, March 1913, p. 24.

154. *PM*, September 1908, p. 136.

155. *PM*, March 1913, p. 24.

156. *Ibid.*

157. *PM*, September 1913, p. 159.

non-members; this raised the question of how to bring the educational approach to travel into a commercial context. What triggered this development, and how this affected the understanding of what could make travel an ‘educational’ experience, is the subject of the next section.

Adapting organised learning to a commercial context

In order to understand how the Polytechnic tours developed into a commercial body, and how this influenced its approach to travel, two related developments that took place starting in 1891 must be recognised. One is the organisation’s relationship with the Governing Body established by the Government’s Charity Commission, which arguably led to the registration of the PTA as a private company in 1911, and the other is the opening of the tours’ offer to the general public. These two factors, I argue, determined the tours’ transition from philanthropic project to commercial enterprise; in doing so, they also transformed the understanding of what could make the Polytechnic tours ‘educational’.

As seen in the previous chapter, the involvement of the Charity Commission in Hogg’s work affected the relationship between educational activities, and social and recreational ones, which became increasingly separate. This also affected the management of the tours. Records show that the Governing Body, although it kept monitoring the tour activities, did not want liability for them, and was happy for Hogg to continue running the tours at his own risk. In 1894, the Polytechnic’s Finance & General Purposes Committee stated that:

as the various holiday trips, entertainments etc have been carried on at the risk of Mr Quintin Hogg, the accounts shall be kept permanently as heretofore quite separate from the Institute accounts, as the Governing Body have not accepted liability, nor are prepared to do so. The Polytechnic name may however be used in view of the special rates in almost every case offered to members.¹⁵⁸

This was followed by a letter that Hogg wrote to the Charity Commission in which he

158. UWA/RSP/1/FP. *Polytechnic Finance & General Purposes Committee Minutes, 23 October 1891-25 April 1900*, meeting of 14 December 1894, p. 124.

declared his intention ‘to re-pay myself, through the Governing Body, out of profits on trips which I run at my own risk for the benefit of the Polytechnic’.¹⁵⁹ The benefit brought by the tours were certainly financial, as the soon-to-be PTA maintained the habit of regularly donating sums of up to £3,000 annually to the Polytechnic.¹⁶⁰ Hogg’s daughter Ethel later estimated that, although ‘it is not possible to ascertain exactly what contribution the tours were able to make to the finances of the Poly’, it is likely that the PTA contributed at least £50,000 to the RSP between 1882 and 1914 (Wood, 1934: 37). Considering that the Polytechnic Schools continued to provide educational tours for the students, the question emerges as to why the Governing Body did not support the development of the touring side of the Polytechnic as part of its educational program. It could be that the Schools organised the tours as extra-curricular activities, or that the governors recognised how not all of the tours were intended for ‘the poorer classes’ which the *Scheme of Administration* had declared ought to be the beneficiaries of the Polytechnic’s work. After all, the three-week cruise to Madeira, which had been organised in 1890 ‘for teachers and other who can afford this amount’, was, at twenty guineas, certainly not within everyone’s means.¹⁶¹ Soon after the beginning of the Polytechnic tours’ relationship with the Charity Commission, the tours were opened up to the general public. If one of the motivations for this was that of bringing educational travel to more people, a more compelling one was certainly that of making the tours financially profitable, and in doing so of meeting the expectations of the Governing Body. *The Polytechnic Co-operative and Educational Holiday Tours Programme 1897* noted that the tours were ‘calculated to suit a varied clientele’, and that any profits were donated ‘to the vast and ever-increasing Educational Work of the Polytechnic’.¹⁶² Especially after 1903, with Hogg no longer there to finance the tours privately, it was seemingly inevitable that the PTA would turn to the broader market to support and continue its work. The tours’ ‘financial help’, as the Charity Commission put it in 1903, was the reason why

159. UWA/RSP/3/4 [ST45/15/16]. Letter from Quintin Hogg to the Secretary, Charity Commission, 13 November 1894.

160. UWA [ST33/PTA]. *Polytechnic Governors Sub-Committee Minutes*, 17 December 1938, p. 2.

161. *The PM*, 29 May 1890, p. 342. For an estimate of middle and working class earnings around this period see Searle (2004), in footnote 42, Chapter 5, page 121.

162. UWA/PTA/2/1/30, (1897). *The Polytechnic Co-operative and Educational Holiday Tours Programme*, pp. 15, 17, 71.

the Polytechnic continued its association with the tours:

These are not run by the Authorities of the Institute, but are an entirely separate and distinct organisation. In consideration, however, of the financial help given to the Institute, and of the rent paid for office rooms, the Governors are glad for the Tours to be connected with the Polytechnic Work.¹⁶³

Between 1891 and 1911 the development of the Polytechnic tours was affected by its relationship with the Charity Commission, and the ensuing need to keep its work financially sustainable – hence the opening up to the demands of a broader public. The consideration that throughout this period (and even after) the tours run in connection with the Schools were promoted to support the learning process suggests how educational travel continued to be valued. Indeed, as I now move to discuss, it was according to this structure that the tours open to non-members were initially devised, possibly motivated by the aspiration to extend the provision of educational travel beyond the Polytechnic. However, the transition from a didactic infrastructure to the context of a broader marketplace inevitably affected the form in which such experience could be provided – and, in turn, its definition. As such, the development of the Polytechnic tours may be discussed in terms of an attempt to negotiate learning-based objectives in an increasingly commercial context.

In 1895 the *Polytechnic Co-operative and Educational Holiday Tours, 1895: Programme of Special Tours*, listing the excursions now open to the general public, noted that '[the tours] are organised with a view to the educational advantages they afford', and that they 'form part of the educational work of the Polytechnic'.¹⁶⁴ The tours' description specified this further by adding that:

The Norwegian cruises are personally superintended by one of the heads of the Polytechnic staff, who has had considerable experience in these cruises and land excursions. The Ardennes and Dutch tours will be in charge of a conductor capable of making the tour yield the greatest intellectual and physical benefit

163. UWA/RSP/3/4 [ST45/15/45]. Letter from Clerk of Governors to A.C. Kay, Charity Commission, 18 January 1905.

164. *Polytechnic Co-operative and Educational Holiday Tours, 1895*, (BL), pp. 1-2.

possible. The requirements and pleasures of all will receive every attention. The tours to Venice, Milan, Italian Lakes, Lucerne and Paris are arranged in such a manner as to offer the greatest educational inducement to participants in the same.¹⁶⁵

The ‘educational advantages’ of these excursions were associated not just with the destinations, with regard to which the editor recognised ‘intellectual and physical benefits’, but also with the leadership of the Polytechnic staff themselves, usually teachers, in ‘making the tour yield’ such benefits. Similar to the excursions discussed in the previous section, these tours were promoted as ‘a means of education’. An example of this is provided by the 1893 excursions organised to visit the Chicago World’s Fair Columbian Exposition, which were open ‘to the general public on election as honorary members’.¹⁶⁶ Talks about the Chicago Exhibition had started to circulate at the Polytechnic as early as 1891. Organised by Mitchell himself, who purposely had travelled beforehand to the States with Hogg’s son, Douglas, the tour was planned so as to provide a respectable experience of educational and recreational value to its participants; more than that, it was proposed as a ‘study abroad’ experience. Copiously illustrated lectures preceded the tour, a guide titled *A Scamper through the States: an illustrated guide to the world’s fair* was produced to promote and illustrate the journey, a photographic exhibition comprising ‘the most picturesque scenes on the Pennsylvania railroad, the route by which the Polytechnic excursionists to the World’s Fair will travel’¹⁶⁷ was organised, and guests who had visited the States, such as the Reverend J. P. Green¹⁶⁸ and James Dredge,¹⁶⁹ one of the British Commissioners to the Chicago Exhibition, were invited to deliver lectures in Regent Street. The Polytechnic staff led the parties, often taking this as an opportunity to collect material for lectures that would have been delivered in Regent Street.¹⁷⁰ As was usually the case at the Polytechnic,

165. *Polytechnic Co-operative and Educational Holiday Tours, 1895*, (BL), p. 4.

166. UWA/PTA2/5/6. Dredge, J., (1893). *A Scamper Through the States: An illustrated guide to the world’s fair*. London: The Polytechnic, p. 5.

167. *PM*, 14 April 1892, p. 246.

168. *PM*, 20 October 1892, p. 205.

169. *PM*, 18 December 1891, p. 377.

170. *PM*, 13 December 1893, pp. 808-809; 28 March 1894, p. 178.

this dissemination of imageries had a number of functions: they promoted the excursion, prepared those who would have travelled to the USA, provided didactic information for those who could not join the tours, and reinforced the understanding of which subject and in which way these ought to be experienced in order to be instructive. Many appreciated this educational dimension, and as one of the participants wrote, the trip was ‘a holiday unique in itself, delightful in its social features, educationally of the highest value’.¹⁷¹ At the same time, the Chicago tours triggered a debate within the Polytechnic community on the prohibitive cost of the tour, and on whether it catered for the Institute’s own members or not. Travelling to North America certainly stood apart from previous arrangements because it demanded a price, in terms of both financial commitment and time involved, that stretched the resources of many. The Polytechnic recognised the challenge that the one-month journey, advertised at 25 guineas, posed for its members, and proposed ways to support them:

We have already a large number of applications, and we are anxious to give our own members preference. Will, therefore, all who propose to avail themselves of this opportunity of visiting the New World send in their names at once to the secretary? Special arrangements are being made whereby those wishing to join the excursion can pay so much per week for the same. Already many of our fellows have decided to forego their holiday next year so as to have the double holiday the year after.¹⁷²

Although ‘anxious’ to give members priority in booking, the Polytechnic had started taking applications two years in advance, hence making it difficult for many to participate in the trip – having to resort to the expedient, as suggested, to pay in instalments or to skip that year’s holidays in order to save for the coming event. Percival Reed, Secretary of the Polytechnic Elocution Class, voiced this concern by lamenting how the tours, originally organised for the benefit of the Polytechnic members, were now being taken over by outsiders:

171. *PM*, 30 August 1893, p. 576.

172. *PM*, 30 October 1891, p. 263.

I would most respectfully enquire what proportion of legitimate Poly members will be able to avail themselves of the Chicago trips? and I am not alone in thinking that outsiders get too much advantage – the difference between the rates for members and non-members being merely nominal: indeed; as an Institute *for* members and *by* members the Poly is somewhat lacking, to say the least of it, outsiders being called in for our entertainments, etc, while our own members are “cold-shouldered” and driven elsewhere.¹⁷³

The debate was not limited to the case of the Chicago excursions, soon extending to the running of the Polytechnic tours in general. ‘Every year’ a student wrote in 1895 ‘a great number of our members are thrown upon their own resources, instead of being catered for by the Institute, whereas to the outsider who can spend more heavily, every facility is given in many trips from June to October’.¹⁷⁴ The practice of donations to the Holiday by Proxy Fund by those who had participated in foreign trips, which developed in 1893, indicates how people with more means were now seemingly taking advantage of the PTA’s facilities.¹⁷⁵ In 1902 the ‘Holiday Arrangements’ section of the *PM* listed a number of destinations specifically arranged ‘to meet the requirements of our own members and students’.¹⁷⁶ Two weeks later, it added: ‘it was thought that these arrangements, together with the Seaside homes, would meet the holiday requirements of most members. Those, however, who wish for Swiss or Norwegian holidays, will also be entitled to a reduction on the ordinary rate’.¹⁷⁷ This suggests that despite the efforts to arrange tours accessible to more people, the complaints about members’ access to what were considered to be more desirable excursions carried on into the new century. The Polytechnic had entered a new phase: the commercialisation of its tours was now underway.

Although the tour to Chicago in 1893 had proved successful beyond the interest of the exhibition itself, the experience was not repeated (possibly because of the difficulty of managing it). In the decade that followed, the tours offered settled on a core of Continental

173. *PM*, 18 January 1893, p. 53, (original emphasis).

174. *PM*, 12 June 1895, p. 301.

175. *PM*, 26 July 1893, p. 512.

176. *PM*, 18 June 1902, p. 259.

177. *PM*, 2 July 1902, p. 3.

options including Switzerland (a geographically advantageous position for excursions to other locations), Italy, Belgium, Normandy, Madeira, Norway, Easter tours to Paris and Rome, and the more local Scotland and Ireland. In 1898 the offer broadened to include one-month cruises to Naples, Greece, the Holy Land and Egypt,¹⁷⁸ and in 1904 it added ‘Sunny Spain’.¹⁷⁹ That year the *PM* also contemplated the possibility of a tour of South Africa, although no records have been found that can confirm if this actually took place.¹⁸⁰ The routes usually followed what were referred to as the ‘principal sights’ of each destination, which included natural sceneries, and architectural and heritage sites. Tourists’ reports published by the *PM* or in the brochures suggest that many thought of their travel experience with the Polytechnic as having a self-forming character. This perception was possibly influenced by the association that would have made between the work of the Polytechnic Schools and the tours; by what participants thought the Polytechnic would have expected him/her to say about the tours; or by the idea that a respectable form of travel ought to be somehow ‘educational’. For example, the brochure for 1897 included a report by Tammias Todrick, a baker from Auchinclash, who wrote how before joining the tour to Switzerland he ‘got books from the town library, and read about glaciers, and crevasses, and avalanches, and edelweisses [sic], and goitres, goats and gorges, chamoises [sic] and mountain railroads, till my head was chokeful [sic] of a mighty store of indigestible information’.¹⁸¹ His expectations appear not to have been disappointed, as he continued by noting how:

it’s most wonderful what a wealth of sight-seeing the Polytechnic guides cram into five days. Just listen to the catalogues of stravaigs [sic]: On Monday they took us up the Righi to the height of 5,700 feet. On Tuesday we scaled Pilatus as far as the mighty wreaths of snow would let us. On Wednesday we had a grand sail from end to end of the lake, and a drive to Tell’s birthplace. On Thursday the same sail again, and in addition a railway journey to the mouth of the nine-mile tunnel that ends in Italy, and an exciting drive in brakes up to the snowy regions of the Andermatt. Then, on Friday, we were guided intelligently and

178. *PM*, 7 September 1898, pp. 88-89.

179. *PM*, February 1904, p. 189.

180. *Ibid.*

181. UWA/PTA/2/1/30, (1897). *Polytechnic Co-operative and Educational Holiday Tours*, pp. 49-63.

courteously to the various places of interest in Lucerne.¹⁸²

The association between travelling and learning can be observed in a number of other reports. Charles Woolley, a member of the Chartered Institute of Journalists who participated in a cruise to Norway in 1903, commented how when travelling ‘eyes and brain are greedy in their appreciative spirit of absorption’.¹⁸³ This way of looking at one’s experience was partially influenced by the Polytechnic staff who, in leading the excursions, would have directed the tourists on what to see and how to see it, as happened in the lecture theatre. In 1905, for example, a tourist wrote upon his return from Switzerland, commenting on an excursion to the Furka Pass, that: ‘here again did our conductor instruct and inspire us, not only did he point out all the beauties and wonders that surrounded us on every hand, but he gave us an intensely interesting lecture on the historical events of wide reaching importance that have occurred here’.¹⁸⁴ When compared with the description of the lecture that followed the tour, given during the tour reunion, the affinity between the role of the lecturer and that of the guide is striking. Reporting on the event, W.G.L. commented:

As a means of education, such a visit is unparalleled. The only text book required is a prospectus of the tours, and the acceptance of its invitations secures an entrance to a valuable course of study in geography, history and economics. [...] Mr Mitchell signified his readiness to once more take up his duties as guide, and the lights were turned down to enable us to see the splendid pictures he had arranged for our benefit [...] Flying visits were paid to Zurich, Interlaken, Meringen, and Chamounix [sic], and capital cinematographic records aided us in substituting the past for the present.¹⁸⁵

However, learning-based objectives were not the only motivation for joining the tours; equally, neither they were the only selling point of the Polytechnic. If, as seen, the 1895 brochure described the tours as ‘organised with a view to the educational advantages they

182. UWA/PTA/2/1/30, (1897). *Polytechnic Co-operative and Educational Holiday Tours*, p. 55.

183. Woolley, C., (1904). ‘A Voyage to Viking Land’, *Polytechnic Holiday Supplement 1903*, bound with *PM*, Vol. 43 Mar 1903-Feb 1904, p. 13.

184. *PM*, November 1905, p. 154.

185. *PM*, December 1905, p. 173.

afford', by 1897 the same were defined as 'a really enjoyable holiday with all that is necessary for health, recreation, and a delightful experience of travel [...] to the most interesting parts of the Continent'. The title of the brochure indicates how educational benefits were still central to the Polytechnic's promotion of its tours, inasmuch as the 'interesting' locations corresponded with culturally accredited routes. At the same time other benefits – such as wellbeing and the 'respectability' of the experience – were highlighted. Recreation was overtly 'rational', and for example the description of the Norway cruises stated in bold letters these were 'conducted on temperance principles, consequently no intoxicants are sold on board'.¹⁸⁶ Whether tourists conformed to this moral framework, and if they did so because they shared the Polytechnic's values, or because it was the respectable thing to do, is difficult to ascertain. What seems evident however is that, in the space for recreation and sociability, sheer enjoyment often emerged. A Dr R. Marshall, for example, described his experience in 1903 cruising around Norway as 'a source of pleasure, enjoyment and satisfaction', probably referring to the entertainments programme of 'deck billiards, quoits, pingpong, and bull board games [...] ladies' obstacle race, needle-threading and cigarette race, gentlemen's obstacle race' that occupied the passengers during cruising days.¹⁸⁷ Accounts of the pleasure that tourists gained from these recreational activities can also be observed in the reports of the entertainments projected during the tour reunions. After the instructive indoors retracing of the tour, space was given to photographs or cinematographs (interestingly, as I discuss in the next chapter, submitted by the tourists themselves), in which the more amusing events were recalled. 'The most enjoyable portion of the programme' of the Norway reunion of 1900 was 'the reproduction of the deck sports, especially the obstacle races', which were met 'with enthusiastic applause, and hearty laughter'.¹⁸⁸ Throughout the 1900s, deck sports provided 'the happiest moments spent on board'.¹⁸⁹ Also the tours to Switzerland, which reports such as Todrick's in 1897 made sound more like a military regime in pursue of education than an enjoyable experience,

186. UWA/PTA/2/1/1/30, (1897). *Polytechnic Co-operative and Educational Holiday Tours Programme*.

187. Dr R. Marshall, 'Jottings In and About Norway', *Polytechnic Holiday Supplement 1903*, bound with *PM*, Vol. 43 Mar 1903-Feb 1904, p. vi.

188. *PM*, 12 December 1900, p. 276.

189. *PM*, December 1909, p. 159. See also *PM*, December 1904 p. 163; December 1911, p. 147.

increasingly offered a broader range of options. For example, in a postcard from 1898, a woman who signed herself as Flo described her stay at Lucerne as follows:

We have been up Mount Pilatus today - 7000ft high and up the Rigi on Monday. Tomorrow we are going shopping in Lucerne and at night the Chalet grounds are all illuminated, a band is coming to play for dancing and the visitors sing a concert in the big Dining Salon. We were terribly tired travelling [sic] here from Thursday night to Saturday 11 pm. Have had glorious hot weather all the time. We are close to the Lake and I shall bathe in the morning - special bathing house for ladies built in the water only 4ft deep - no danger. Love in haste. Flo.¹⁹⁰

If dancing and singing were intended by the Polytechnic, in the frame of ‘rational recreation’, to foster a sense of communality, and if bathing would have benefited one’s wellbeing, it is difficult to imagine how shopping could fit in this context. More likely, it should be considered as an anecdotal example of how the tourists allowed themselves to pursue activities of personal interest. Another report, this one of a lantern entertainment accompanying a Swiss tour reunion in 1902, also acknowledged both the norms and values associated with the Poly tours, and tourists’ more ‘mundane’ interests: the Swiss landscape is described as ‘piling glory upon glory’ and the party as exercising an ‘appreciation of beauty’; the benefits of sociability were praised in activities such as ‘music and dancing’, which were expected to turn a mere ‘company of tourists’ into ‘a great family’; while during an excursion to Lucerne the party was ‘struck and tempted – at least, the ladies were – with the beauty of the shops and what they contained’.¹⁹¹ This aspect can also be observed in the description of winter sports, which in the 1900s featured prominently in the narratives of the Swiss tours. During the reunion of 1903 the audience was shown ‘the sport of snowballing as indulged in by some of the tourists in the high regions at Easter’;¹⁹² on another occasion, ‘the excellent pictures illustrated to us that snow and ice possess

190. UWA/PTA/2/4/2/1, (6 September 1898). Title of the postcard: *Polytechnic chalets, Seeburg, Switzerland*.

191. *PM*, 3 December 1902, pp. 226-227.

192. *PM*, December 1903, p. 161.

extraordinary facilities for pleasure. Skiing, sleighing, tobogganing and skating can be enjoyed to the full'.¹⁹³

By 1905, 'educational' had been dropped in the brochure's title for the tours. This became *The Polytechnic Touring Association Holiday Tours*.¹⁹⁴ The Polytechnic still maintained a firm focus on travel as a form of instruction; yet, what this entailed, and how this could be achieved, was certainly different from the early 1890s. The Swiss tour of that year, for example, was described as bringing about 'charming memories, renewed health, new friendships, and a mind enlarged by travel and observation'.¹⁹⁵ On the one hand, by focusing on the individual experience of the tourists - their memories and friendships - this description acknowledged the benefits that people might gain from social and recreational events. The above examples indicate that these events often caused sheer enjoyment. The PTA might have presumed these also to be of a morally improving character. On the other hand, however, by remarking that 'a mind [is] enlarged by travel and observation' the PTA made the implicit statement that, by virtue of visiting Switzerland, one would have been able to acquire instruction. The excursion to Andermatt in the Swiss brochure of 1910, described as 'one of the most interesting, instructive, and enjoyable excursions to be obtained in Switzerland', offers an example of the routes constructed for the tourists, and of the cultural dimension associated with them:

The special steamer will leave after breakfast, and traverse the whole length of the lake to Fluelen. Being specially chartered the steamer will, for the convenience of the party, go close to such points of great interest such as Schiller's Stone, the famous Rutli Meadow (the Runnymede of Switzerland) etc., etc. [...] On arrival at Fluelen, at the head of the Lake, the party will find a special train of the St. Gothard Railway waiting for them, and in it pass through the most romantic and wonderful of all railway routes to Goeschenen, at which point the great St. Gothard Tunnel commences. The party will leave the train at Goeschenen, and will walk through the famous Schollenen Gorge. [...] From Goeschenen to Andermatt the party will traverse a district made historic by the many conflicts and battle during the Napoleonic wars. The

193. *PM*, December 1911, p. 145.

194. UWA/PTA/2/1/1, (1905). *Polytechnic Holiday Tours 1905*, p. 1.

195. *PM*, July 1905, p. 90.

path leads along the side of the “Mad Rushing Reuss”, one of the wildest Mountain Rivers in Switzerland, and after about three-quarter of an hour, the famous Devil’s Bridge is reached. Here is also seen the enormous Granite Cross carved out of the side of the mountain to commemorate the great victory over the French by the Russian General Suwarrow in 1799. Passing through the Urnerloch, a road tunnel blasted out through the mountain, the famous mountain plateau of Andermatt is reached. Here a good view is obtained of the fortifications, the Schollenen being one of the most strongly fortified passes in the world. Passing to the left of the old Church of St. Anna, reputed to be the oldest Church in Europe, a fine view is obtained of the glacier of St. Anna, and also of the mountain range away to the Furka, through the very quaint old Alpine village of Andermatt to the Grand Hotel.¹⁹⁶

Within the space of ten years the narrative of travel as an educational experience had changed. The 1895 programme indicates that the Polytechnic tried to translate the idea of educational travel as a form of organised learning, originally envisioned for the students, into the requirements of non-members. As the focus on the role of the guide indicates, it was not just a location in itself that provided educational benefits, but the way in which the experience was mediated by the expertise of the Polytechnic in guiding the learning process. However, with the number of non-members taking part in the tours escalating, it became increasingly unfeasible to provide such an organisation of learning. A group of students and one of people who did not necessarily know each other, or the guide, could not engage with this form of travel in the same way. Presumably students had a common interest in the discipline, and were accompanied by a tutor who could bridge the subject of the excursions with topics studied in the classroom. They would have been expected to get a first-hand experience of their subject of choice, for which they would have prepared before departure: the tours were understood as educational inasmuch as they provided an organised form of learning that expanded on what was taught at the Polytechnic. Instead, one would assume that with a group of people from different contexts the motivations for joining a tour, and the interests that each one brought with them, were likely to be more diverse. Although many were certainly interested in travelling in order to learn, the kind

196. UWA/PTA/2/1/3, (1910). *Polytechnic Swiss Tours 1910*, pp. 8-9.

of ‘lecturing’ that a guide could provide had to take into account people’s different starting points in the subject, and the lack of a shared didactic formation. As such, the 1905 choice to moderate the link with education indicates a new approach to the experiencing of cultural and natural sites: these were no longer presented as a ‘study abroad’ experience. Rather, as exemplified in the description of the 1910 excursion to Andermatt, the ‘educational’ dimension of the tours, corroborated by the presence of the Polytechnic teaching staff as guides, was in the encounter with those sites recognised as worth visiting. ‘Instructive’ forms of travel did not necessarily need the support of an in-depth preparation (although this certainly helped), but could also be obtained by participating in a tour that followed a culturally recognised route.

The passage from a form of travel organised as an extension of the educational programme, to one in which cultural sites were included in the tours’ programme because they were recognised as such, in part conforms with the reflections, outlined in Chapter 2, on the increasing organisation of culture as a product of consumption. It indicates that the excursions to cultural sites – or, more generally, places of interest – were packaged, above all, so that they could be purchased and consumed. However, the purpose of this ‘packaging’ should not be considered as purely commercial in nature. As this section has revealed, the understanding of what could make travel ‘educational’ changed not because the initial format was no longer considered valid, but because it was no longer feasible. This indicates that the structure of the PTA tours altered not because the organisation had lost sight of its educational or moral purposes, but because it tried to accommodate Hogg’s vision for travel to the demands of a broader audience. At least whilst Mitchell was in charge, by instructing on what to look at and how to look at it, the tours aspired to impart to the participants the knowledge necessary to have an improving and instructive experience. Notwithstanding Mitchell’s intentions, however, the tours were increasingly seen as conflicting with the educational work of the Polytechnic.

In 1896 Charles J. Pratt, a member of the Polytechnic Men’s Council, wrote: ‘I did not find fault with the trips, as trips; far from it, they are all right for those who can afford to use them’, moving on then to argue that, however, Hogg’s, Mitchell’s and Studd’s focus

on the tours was obstructing ‘the genuine Institute work’.¹⁹⁷ By 1899 the involvement of the Polytechnic staff in the tours was such that the *PM*, reporting on the whereabouts of its staff amongst the different tours, described it as an ‘exodus’.¹⁹⁸ That year, possibly because of these criticisms, the Polytechnic Committee heard from Mitchell that he was ‘quite prepared to place himself unreservedly in the hands of the committee, and would if they felt it desirable, resign his position as Director of Education, and devote himself to the holiday trips and other sections of the Poly as he realised the importance of the financial help the Polytechnic obtained from the holiday work’.¹⁹⁹ As figures show, the Polytechnic tours were indeed successful: in the summer of 1894 the PTA was reported to have catered for over 2,500 excursionists to Switzerland and over 1,000 to Norway, while 176 people took part in the Ardennes walking tours, and the holiday homes of Hastings, Eastbourne, Weston-super-Mare and Jersey hosted 195, 184, 171 and 148 people each.²⁰⁰ The following year 5,713 tourists visited the Continent with the Polytechnic, of which 3,205 went to Switzerland, 1,134 to Norway, 412 to Paris, 213 to the Ardennes, 155 to Holland, 80 to Madeira and the rest to holiday homes such as those at Weston, Brighton, Eastbourne and Hastings.²⁰¹ The popularity of the Swiss tours continued to grow, especially as a result of the purchase, managed by Mitchell, of chalets in ‘Lovely Lucerne’ in 1894, after which Switzerland became the cornerstone of the PTA’s offer; by 1899 over 4,700 people were reported to have visited the PTA’s structures in Switzerland, in 1902 the number soared to 8,500.²⁰² In 1905, the *Polytechnic Holiday Tours Programme* announced that it had assisted in the previous season over 13,000 tourists.²⁰³ Ethel, Hogg’s daughter, wrote that by 1914 the PTA was catering for more than 16,000 per year: ‘8,500 going to Switzerland, 2,000 to Paris, and the remainder to Norway, Holland, Italy, Spain, or the Austrian Tyrol; whilst in addition there were tours to Scotland, Ireland, Wales, the Channel Islands, the East Coast’

197. *PM*, 16 September 1896, p. 114.

198. *PM*, 2 August 1899, p. 68.

199. UWA/RSP/1/FP. *Polytechnic Finance & General Purposes Committee Minutes*, meeting of 24 March 1899.

200. *PM*, 12 September 1894, pp. 129-131.

201. *PM*, 11 September 1895, p. 119.

202. *PM*, 6 September 1899, p. 108.

203. UWA/PTA/2/1/1, (1905). *Polytechnic Holiday Tours 1905*; *PM*, December 1903, p. 161.

(Wood, 1934: 35). The scale of the PTA's activities can also be estimated by the numbers of those who took part in the tour reunions: the 1,400 people who attended the reunion of the continental tours in 1895 had become 2,000 in 1898, while by 1901 4,000 people were reported to have been present at the Swiss Tour Reunion alone.²⁰⁴ The following year between 2,000 and 3,000 people joined the Norway Reunion, and by 1904 the Swiss reunion 'numbered between 3,000 and 4,000 people, and included many friends from the provinces, Liverpool, Ilfracombe, Brighton and Yorkshire'.²⁰⁵ Yet in 1911, possibly because of the pressure put on the Polytechnic to focus on education (the LCC had stopped funding social and recreational activities in 1909), the work of the PTA became officially separated from that of the Polytechnic. The PTA was registered as a company limited by shares on 29 September 1911. The three owners, with one-third of the company each, were Douglas McGarel Hogg (1872-1950), the son of Quintin Hogg, Robert Mitchell and J.E.K. Studd (1858-1944), by then President of the Polytechnic and Chairman of the PTA.²⁰⁶ There are no further documents that explain the reasons behind this separation; the PTA registered its office in 309 Regent Street, and its the Articles of Association stated that it would continue supporting the Polytechnic 'by giving donations, subscriptions or otherwise assisting as the Company [PTA] may think fit'.²⁰⁷

6.2. War and reconstruction (1915-1923)

During the First World War the activities of the PTA ceased almost completely. Holiday homes at Eastbourne and Folkestone were still advertised between 1915 and 1917, and in 1915 a girl's holiday camp was organised in Sussex in the hope 'that this holiday will not only prove to be of physical benefit, but that those taking part will also be refreshed and helped in their Christian life'.²⁰⁸ Tours abroad, however, had to be interrupted. The Polytechnic suffered heavy losses during the war – the memorial still standing in the

204. *PM*, 18 December 1895, p. 339; 19 January 1898, p. 41; 11 December 1901, p. 249.

205. *PM*, 19 November 1902, p. 209; December 1904 p. 161.

206. UWA/PTA/1/7. *Certificate of Incorporation 1911; Articles of Association, iv*, Companies House, copies at the UWA, p. 7.

207. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

208. *PM*, June 1915, p. 152.

Regent Street foyer is a reminder of that – yet maintained an important role in supporting the nation. For example, it ran First Aid classes for 1,500 students, gave the third floor of Regent Street to the British Red Cross Society, provided training for the Royal Flying Corps, and taught new skills to the disabled soldiers returning from the war.²⁰⁹ Meanwhile, the PTA chalets in Switzerland were turned by the British Red Cross into a hospital and training centre for British and Imperial armed forces.²¹⁰ The Polytechnic community was encouraged to participate in the war effort, especially by enlisting; holidays were also turned into an opportunity for supporting the nation. In the summer of 1916, for example, members were prompted to devote their holidays to ‘gathering the fruit, the hay and the harvest’ in order to offer a ‘distinct service to the Nation’.²¹¹

At the end of the war the PTA slowly resumed its activities. In the years leading up to 1924, when a new Managing Director was appointed, Mitchell once again took charge of running the company. If the Polytechnic tours had steered towards commerce as early as the mid-1890s, the underlying aspiration of Mitchell’s management, as argued, continued to be that of providing an improving and instructive experience to the tours’ participants: the aftermath of the war possibly inflated this vision. During the Easter of 1920 a party visited the battlefields in France and Belgium, stopping at ‘Ypres, Hazebrouck, the Somme, Bapaume, Albert, Arras, and intermediate points of interest’.²¹² The tour, whose success made the *PM* wish that it would be repeated ‘at Whitsun and each week after’, was led by Major Thomas Worswick (Director of the PTA between 1926 and 1932, and also the Polytechnic Director of Education, presumably from 1922 to 1932).²¹³ The following summer the tour was repeated, this time led by Reverend Albert S. Hullah, from the Polytechnic Sunday Service. It was reported that ‘the party had an intensely interesting and instructive week, the ground covered being some of the most hotly contested and included the Ypres, Somme and Ancre battlefields’.²¹⁴ One of the tour’s participants wrote

209. *PM*, August 1914; January 1919; February 1921.

210. *PM*, July 1916, p. 94; May 1920; January 1919, p. 3.

211. *Ibid.*

212. *PM*, April 1920, p. 52.

213. *PM*, April 1920, p. 52.; and August 1924.

214. *PM*, July 1921.

that 'it was a very full week, almost every moment was thrilling with interest, and it has left an impression on the mind which can never be erased'.²¹⁵ A group of students from the Polytechnic Secondary School also visited the battlefields in 'the earnest hope', wrote the *PM*, 'that this revival of an old Poly school activity may develop into a vigorous movement for the encouragement of continental travel open to the whole school'.²¹⁶ This aspiration seems to have been favourably met. Although the accounts of these events thinned out, possibly because the *PM* was running monthly, and such excursions were more common, a few interesting examples emerge. In 1921 the Polytechnic Department of Modern Languages arranged holiday language courses in France and Italy (Florence) so that each student could 'see for himself by actual experience that he has been taught on sound and scholarly lines'.²¹⁷ Between 1923 and 1925 the Architectural School, accompanied by the head of the department and other staff members, visited Belgium, and Paris and Rouen in France.²¹⁸ In 1923 and well into the 1930s the Cricket society arranged one-week tours to English locations. In 1924 the Harriers went to High Wycombe, the 'English Switzerland', to practice winter sports.²¹⁹

Meanwhile, tours to the Continent for non-members had also resumed. In the spring of 1920 Mitchell and his wife Isabella, who had spent the good part of thirty summers since 1894 working at the chalets in Seeburg, and who had also run the hospital there during the war, had travelled to Switzerland to assess the state of the accommodations.²²⁰ Their re-opening, albeit partial, took place that summer.²²¹ In the following three years tours started again to France, Italy, Belgium and Scotland, and holiday homes opened in Essex, Cornwall, and at Bangor, Wales. The information available suggests that the format of these tours, and the routes that they followed, had not changed after the war. For example, the itineraries and structure of the excursions described in the *PTA Spring*

215. *PM*, July 1921, p. 141.

216. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

217. *PM*, February 1921, p. 39; May 1921, p. 124.

218. *PM*, May 1925, p. 87.

219. *PM*, December 1924, p. 223

220. Other members of Mitchell's family involved directly in the tours were his son Robert (b.1883) and nephew Basil (b.1888), who both worked as PTA tours leaders (Penn, 2013: xi). It has not been possible to ascertain their date of death.

221. *PM*, April 1920, p. 51.

and Summer programme of 1923 are the same as in 1910.²²² The description of the tour to Paris, for example, specified how ‘the Excursions are all personally conducted, and the best Lecturers secured when visiting the Palaces and Museums’.²²³ The ticket for the excursions to Venice, Milan and Lugano, on the other hand, included the fees of an ‘Official State Lecturer who accompanies the party’.²²⁴ Continuities can also be observed in the use of promotional lectures that, once again, introduced the tours. For example, reporting on Bossy’s lecture on Paris of 1923, the *PM* commented how ‘the lecture throughout was intensely interesting’, and that

For those of the audience who had been on the Paris Tour, the ground over which we were taken, was just a renewing of a pleasant acquaintance, but for those who had never been to this historical city, imagination was fired, and many, I am sure, made up their minds to visit at the first opportunity.²²⁵

Oscillating between promoting the excursion, and providing instructive information both for those who could and could not go to Paris, the lecture defined the experience of Paris as inherently didactic. These events were still part of a broader discourse that, as in the pre-1914 context, aimed at engaging the Polytechnic community with the benefits associated with the culture of travel. Special guests such as explorers and missionaries had never disappeared from the Polytechnic’s calendar, reporting on their journeys also during the war. Between 1916 and 1923, lectures, illustrated by either photographs or the cinematograph, were delivered, amongst others, on *The work of missions in South America*, on ‘Russian people, their character and customs’, on Palestine, on *The great outdoors in Canada*, Egypt, Japan (during which the lecturer wore a Japanese costume), and on ‘the great dam at Barcelona’.²²⁶ In the lecture on the Spanish dam in Barcelona, this was related directly to the programme of study: ‘careful preparations by our Engineering and Electrical

222. UWA/PTA/2/1/4, (1923). *Polytechnic Spring and Summer Tours 1923*, p. 13.

223. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

224. UWA/PTA/2/1/4, (1923). *Polytechnic Spring and Summer Tours 1923*, p. 22.

225. *PM*, March 1923, p. 46.

226. *PM*, 12 December 1916; 3 March 1917; December 1917, p. 285; October 1922, p. 194; February 1923, p. 21; April 1923, p. 60; April 1922, p. 62.

Staff were made for the lecture’, the *PM* reported, ‘so that the students present were able to benefit to the utmost by the details Dr Parshall presented to them’.²²⁷

Although by now the PTA had been separate from the Polytechnic for over ten years, the moral affiliation between the two was still felt. As seen in the previous section, the PTA had financial obligations that it could not ignore, and this did influence the structure and running of the tours. Yet, this does not detract from the fact that Mitchell and those working with him considered the PTA as an offspring of Hogg’s vision, and to this vision they still felt firmly tied. In the autumn of 1923 two dinners were held in London, one with the Directors and staff of the PTA, and the other also including the tours’ conductors.²²⁸ Reporting on the second event, the *PM* praised the achievements of the PTA by declaring:

And the secret of the success is not far to seek. Those who foregathered on this occasion were the directors and helpers of the Polytechnic Touring Association and, as after dinner, some told of the early beginnings and the present success, it soon became abundantly clear that the conception, organisation and subsequent development of the Tours were not based on the narrow issue of commercial interest and gain, but upon the wider outlook of the intrinsic value of the service to its beneficiaries. In other words, the call of the eternal hills had awakened in the hearts of the originators of the new enterprise the impelling desire that others might share in the prospect, and in their turn view the enchanted land and discover thereby the strength, comfort and courage which fresh communings with Nature in her most wondrous dress affords. And so retrospect and prospect jostled with one another throughout the evening. Commander R. G. Studd, in a very happy speech, proposed the toast of the evening – ‘The Polytechnic Tours and its voluntary helpers’. Mr. J. Sullivan spoke with fond enthusiasm of the early days, and Major Robert Mitchell, to whose genius and far-sighted vision the tours owe their inception and much of their expansion, expressed grateful thanks for the loyal support of those present. The Rev. J. H. Bateson, claiming an unquenchable love for the Polytechnic, thanked the organisation which helped him and others by the provision of travel facilities to honour God by viewing His handiwork abroad as well as at home, and Mr. H. Beale, Mr. J. Sharp, and Mr. C. W. Hester, overflowing with reminiscence and evidences of satisfaction on the

227. *PM*, 12 December 1916; 3 March 1917; December 1917, p. 285; October 1922, p. 194; February 1923, p. 21; April 1923, p. 60; April 1922, p. 62.

228. *PM*, December 1923, pp. 219-220.

part of those participating in the Tours, testified eloquently, though perhaps to themselves unconsciously, to the clearness of that vision of service which engendered and controls the travel activity of the Polytechnic.²²⁹

This report should not be taken at face value, as the self-celebratory nature of the event probably tinted the speeches of sentimental reminiscences that skidded over the more practical issues faced in the organisation of the tour. Nonetheless, this is a clear example of how the organisation wished to portray itself: not concerned with ‘the narrow issue of commercial interest and gain’, but rather as preoccupied with ‘the wider outlook of the intrinsic value of the service to its beneficiaries’: that is, concerned with what it thought people *needed*. By the end of the 1920s, however, the image that the PTA had of itself had changed.

6.3. In pursue of commercial success (1924-1939)

In 1924, after thirty-six years at the head of the PTA, Mitchell retired. J.E.K. Studd appointed his son Ronald Studd (1889-1956), who had assisted Mitchell in the preceding two years, as the new Managing Director of the PTA. Reporting on the event, the *PM* commented that ‘we are not only glad to have Lieut-Commander Ronald Studd associated with the Poly, but specially glad that if a new member had to be associated with the Poly Tours it should be one so thoroughly in sympathy with the Poly ideals’.²³⁰ As I explore in this section, although Studd’s approach to travel was different from that of his predecessor, the link with the parent institution was maintained. Accordingly, the question of how to provide ‘improving’ travel experiences continued to be central to the PTA’s profile. In 1929 Studd bought out Mitchell’s shares, who hence ceased his involvement with the travel firm – both legally and in terms of the influence he had had on the PTA’s formation. A new phase began: under Studd the PTA reassessed both how it presented itself to the public, and the perceived – and hence promoted – purpose of its tours.

The Holiday Story, written autobiographically by Studd in 1950, provides an account

229. *PM*, December 1923, p. 221.

230. *PM*, December 1921, p. 258.

of this transformation. Published over 25 years after the events had taken place, these recollections should not be taken as necessarily accurate accounts of what happened; rather, they reveal what, with hindsight, Studd recognised had proved successful for the PTA. This is for example the case with the difference he described between his way of running the company and Mitchell's - a narrative that oscillates between a condescending respect for his predecessor's achievements, and a self-promoting discourse. The PTA, Studd wrote, was conceived 'not as a sound financial undertaking, but as an essential development in practical education' (1950: 13). 'Mitchell's conception of a holiday', he explained 'was educational; it polished you up; completed you before you were released as an adult into the best society' (1950:16). In order to achieve this Mitchell had operated more 'by intuition' than by following a professional business plan (1950: 87). If this had worked in the pre-1914 context, 'the post-war made it into an antique' (1950: 87). Recalling his first impressions of the PTA, Studd defined it as a 'decaying organisation': 'there was something redundant about it, and dusty. [...] It was in a sad state' (1950: 85-87). This comment, made in relation to the PTA's facilities, could be extended to the overall perception of the previous management, as Studd commented on how Mitchell 'didn't quite understand this new world' and how 'his methods were no longer applicable to the post-war world' (1950: 83-87). Instead, Studd claimed, it was only he himself who had succeeded in understanding what the market of travel now wanted, and how this ought to be delivered. In order for the PTA to become successful again, he explained, it had to engage in competition with George Lunn, 'the biggest man in the business at that time, full of new ideas, bursting with enterprise', whose offer centred around the promise of sunshine, jolliness and the new flexibility of the motorcar (1950: 94). As a result, as soon as Studd took control of the company structural transformations began. He appointed a General Manager in charge of administering the office work; set up a Plan Division with the task of developing a distinct image for the PTA; and employed a staff manager and new staff, no longer coming from the ranks of the Polytechnic. Furthermore he developed an advertising campaign, the details of which are discussed in the following chapter. The PTA continued donating £2,000 annually to the 'social and athletic work' of the Institute, thus maintaining a close affiliation with the Polytechnic, at least in one respect. As J.E.K. Studd

reminded the students and members in 1938, although the travel firm was now ‘entirely separate from the Poly in organisation and personnel’, it:

has always been sympathetic to the Poly. I do not think our members realise how much they owe to the Polytechnic Touring Association. There are a great many things we are allowed to do in the Poly, by the grants of the Government, but there is no grant for social work for our members. We, however, relied on the support of the City Parochial Foundation, but there are many other things that even they could not enable us to do. The difference between bread and butter and jam through all these years has been made possible by the Polytechnic Touring Association. Do you know that they have contributed to your help and comfort over £42,000 since 1921? You have not realised it. We have not, therefore, been thankful enough for it. Yet it has been, I think, a very great factor of our success – far greater than we realise.²³¹

Similarly, in 1951 the *PM* estimated that ‘from 1912 to 1939 the PTA had contributed, partly for services rendered and partly as donations, over £51,000 to the Institute including £1,000 to the Robert Mitchell scholarship and £1,500 to the first Building Fund and £5,000 to the second Fund’.²³² However, this same report also acknowledged that ‘in the course of its growth and development there has been a tendency for the P.T.A. and the Poly, in spite of their common origin and common aims and ideals, to drift somewhat apart’.²³³ In 1930 the PTA offices had relocated from 309 Regent Street to the nearby Balderton Street.²³⁴ Although the space was still rented from the Polytechnic, the move signalled a deeper parting of the ways between the two organisations. Another indication of this discord is the fact that after 1931 the PTA stopped advertising in the pages of the *PM*, while throughout the 1930s the *PM* continued to publish holiday advertisements for other travel firms. Within this new scenario, other previously defining traits of the PTA’s more philanthropic purposes, such as the Holiday Proxy Fund, disappeared. ‘All we wanted now’, Studd recalled ‘was to move higher into the class of “formidable rivals”’. That would

231. *PM*, January 1938, p. 4.

232. *PM*, October 1927, p. 222; March 1951, p. 71.

233. *Ibid.*

234. UWA/RSP/2/2/8/2. Letter from C. McKenna to J.E.K. Studd, 1 December 1937.

be real success' (1950: 139). With this plan in mind Studd set out to build a 'world-wide organisation' (1950: 118).

Already in 1923 he had managed to convince Mitchell to invest in new facilities in Switzerland, acquiring two hotels in Grindelwald: the Hotel Bristol and the Hotel Grindelwald. These, Studd believed, would have opened up the possibility of expanding the business into the Swiss region of the Bernese Oberland. He also modernised the existing chalets, where still in 1924 there was 'no electric heating, no hot and cold running water in the bedrooms' (Studd, 1950: 94). The expansion of tours abroad continued, and during the first three years after his nomination Studd travelled extensively around Europe to find new locations, with Belgium, France, Italy and Germany soon within the reach of his customers. Between 1924 and 1926, the PTA did not advertise in the *PM*; together with the absence in the archive of a comprehensive collection of brochures and guides it is thus difficult to assess the extent of the tours it offered during this period. In 1923 and 1924 it advertised 13-day tours to Algeria, and a three-month tour to South Africa. While the latter was cancelled because of an insufficient number of bookings, no records have survived of the excursion to North Africa, raising the possibility that this also might not have happened.²³⁵ In either case, they are exemplary of Studd's ambitions for the PTA. By the end of the 1920s the PTA's destinations 'stretched south from Dieppe to Marseilles, north-east to Nice, south-east down to Naples, north-east a thousand miles to Vienna, taking in all Switzerland, shooting north-west up the Rhine to Cologne, north-west again to Ostend' – what Studd proudly referred to as 'my empire' (1950: 139). The promotion of the holiday homes, a service once tailored to the specific needs of the Polytechnic community, also changed so as to favour foreign destinations. 'A seaside holiday home has its attractions', a PTA editorial declared in 1928, 'but it does not offer the complete change of scenery, climate, language, and all those little things that transport us from the worries of the workaday world'.²³⁶ Nonetheless, the PTA eventually recognised the commercial benefit of promoting inland travelling, and the brochure for the summer tours in the British

235. UWA/PTA/2/1/5, (1923-24). *Polytechnic Tours to Algeria*; *PM*, November 1924, p. 202; January 1925, p. 2.

236. *PM*, May 1928, p. 130.

Isles of 1938 included over 60 destinations.²³⁷

There are no remaining accounts of the PTA's finances between 1911 and the 1962, which makes it difficult to assess the company's revenue during this period. Indications of a financial gain are however provided by the fact that between 1925 and 1930 the firm was estimated to have increased bookings from 15,000 to over 29,000 (Studd, 1950: 143), and that the mortgage taken in 1923 to buy the two hotels in Grindelwald had been repaid by 1931.²³⁸ However, a challenge to the survival of the PTA came with the economic crash of 1929, when the depression hit the travel industry. George Lunn went bankrupt, smaller travel agencies disappeared, and the PTA found itself in an increasingly competitive market in which the remaining agencies started to under-cut each other's prices (Studd, 1950: 143-7). Studd joined forces with Thomas Cook, Dean and Dawson, Hickie, Borman, Grant & Co., Frames, Sir Henry Lunn, Pickfords, the Wayfarers Touring Agency and the Workers Travel Association in forming the Creative Tourists Agents Conference so that prices could be fixed (Studd: 1950: 147). In order to keep money circulating within British firms, travel companies pushed the promotion of British holidays; however the PTA, because it owned its own facilities in Switzerland, was faced with the problem of assuring that profits from travels abroad would only circulate within its company, as transport relied on continental firms. As a way to circumvent this problem, 'the first escorted tours by air in the history of travel' were started by the PTA to Switzerland in 1932.²³⁹ Ethel Wood estimated that, by then, the company had a clientele of 'roughly 60,000 travellers every year' (1932: 310). The following year, the PTA tours by air had extended to all the Polytechnic Swiss centres, the Belgian coastal resorts, Bruges, Brussels, Freiburg, Berlin, Paris and Le Touquet.²⁴⁰ In 1937

237. UWA/PTA/2/1/24, (1938). *See the Best of Britain. Summer Tours in the British Isles 1938. Polytechnic Jubilee Year*. By the end of the 1920s the PTA was also advertising weekends at Brighton, Bournemouth, Torquay, and one-day excursions to Brighton, Worthing, Eastbourne, Windsor and Virginia Water, the Surrey Hills. *PM*, November 1927, p. 247; April 1928, p. 103.

238. UWA/PTA/1/7. *Declaration verifying Memorandum of Satisfaction of Mortgage or Charge*, 28 April 1931, filed with Companies House, copies at the UWA.

239. UWA PTA/2/1/25, (1933). *Polytechnic Escorted Tours by Air 1933*. This, however, was not the first escorted air tour in the history of travel. Already in 1927 Thomas Cook had arranged a personally conducted air tour from New York to Chicago on the occasion of the Dempsey-Tunney heavyweight boxing context (Brendon, 1991).

240. UWA PTA 2/1/25, (1933). *Polytechnic Escorted Tours by Air 1933*.

it proposed a 24-days tour to Canada and the USA.²⁴¹ In 1939 new chalets were acquired in Interlaken.²⁴² At the outbreak of the Second World War, the firm was forced once again to interrupt its operations. The PTA, rebranded after the war ‘Poly Tours’ and renamed in 1958 ‘Poly Travel’, remained privately-owned until 1962, when it was acquired by Harold Bamberg, owner of Eagle Aviation (Matthews, 2013: 235-236).

The emancipation from Hogg’s philanthropic legacy, and the running of the PTA in pursuit of commercial success, transformed how the company positioned itself in relation to the public. Whereas in the previous period it had focused on its capacity to offer a respectable experience of moral, physical and intellectual value, with Studd the PTA shifted towards emphasising its expertise in technical and practical matters. An editorial published in 1927, exemplary of the approach now adopted, proclaimed:

in travelling abroad, as in all things, it is best to trust an expert. It is the business of the PTA to know the advantages and drawback of all forms of travel, and as specialists they can manipulate the jigsaw puzzle of time tables more efficiently and more infallible than the amateur who dabbles in such matters every now and then.²⁴³

In the years between 1927-1930 the PTA dedicated a column in the *PM* to answering letters; the issues raised were of a practical matter, with people enquiring about costs, itineraries and tickets; as ‘experts in travel planning’, ‘the whole of the Polytechnic service is really devoted to securing comfort in travel’.²⁴⁴ Throughout the 1930s the PTA continued to present itself as primarily the provider of a professional service. ‘We look after every detail from the moment you board the train’ proclaimed the *Summer Tours* programme for 1936, tellingly entitled ‘Holidays abroad made easy’.²⁴⁵ ‘All you have to do’, the inside editorial asserted, ‘is help yourself to a wonderful time!’²⁴⁶ Consequently, the PTA’s relationship

241. UWA/PTA/2/1/34, (1937). *The pick of Europe’s holiday places to choose from. Let’s Go Abroad. Polytechnic Summer Programme for 1937*, pp. 138-139.

242. *PM*, January 1939, p. 6.

243. *PM*, November 1927, p. 246.

244. *PM*, February 1928, p. 42; March 1928, p. 74.

245. UWA/PTA/2/1/12, (1936). *Holidays Abroad Made Easy. Polytechnic Summer Tours 1936*.

246. *Ibid.*

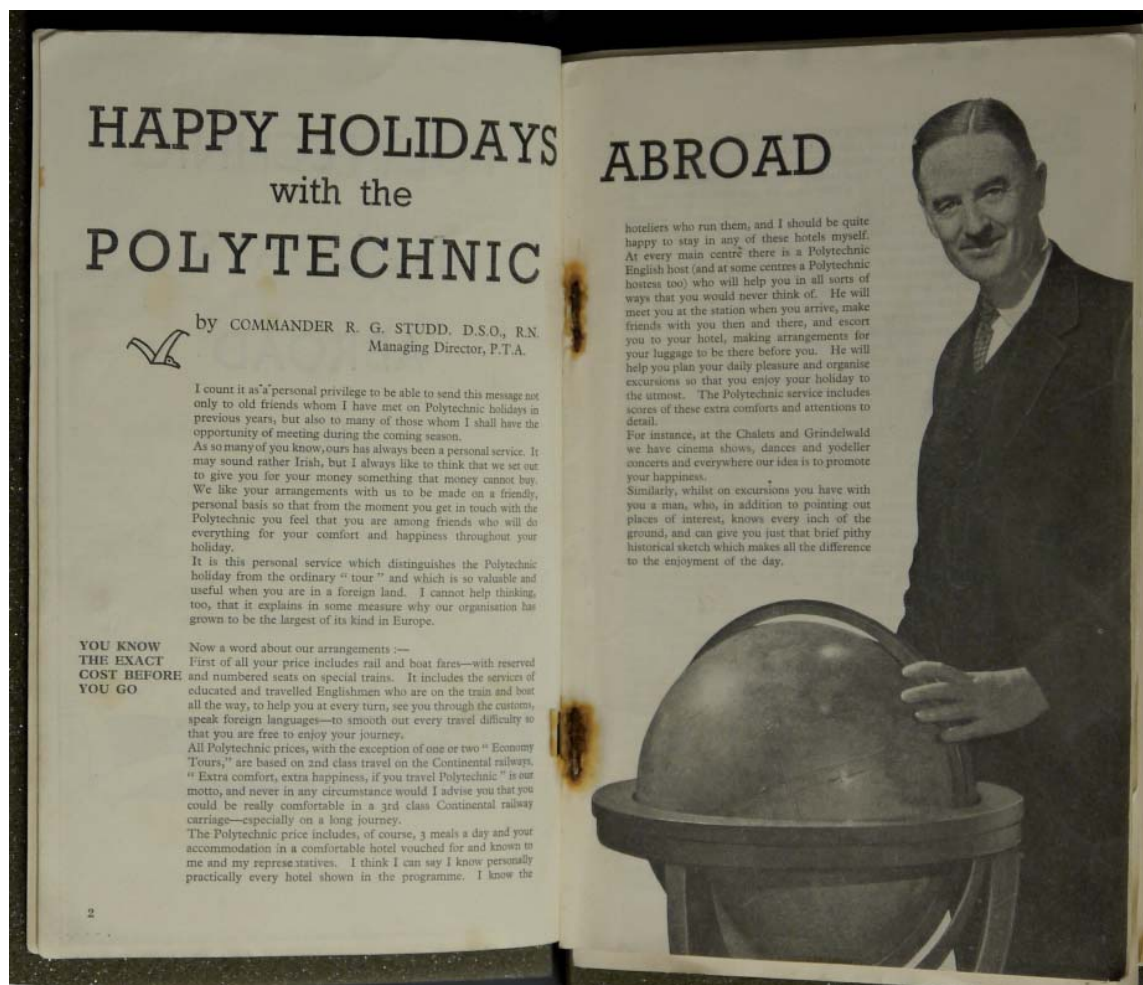
with tourists changed: they were no longer people to guide (in a didactic or moral sense), but customers to please. A column with extracts from ‘letters of appreciation’, introduced in the brochures in 1930, exemplifies this transformation. The quotes selected to represent the tourists’ experiences were of those who described and praised not the features of the various destinations, but the services received and infrastructures used: ‘rail and boat arrangements, hotel accommodation, tours, lectures, and the genial and helpful spirit of all the guides’ (1930); ‘the amount of attention given to us by your representatives at the office was wonderful, and the courtesy and kindness meted out to us...can never be repaid’ (1931); ‘we deeply appreciate all the thought, care and kindness which went a long way towards making our holiday such a happy one’ (1935).²⁴⁷ This new relationship can also be observed in heading of a number of advertisements published on the *PM* between 1928 and 1930: ‘Your seats could be reserved too’; ‘YOU could see the Continent in comfort, too!’; ‘YOU could motor in these mountains, too!’; ‘You deserve a good holiday...travel abroad in jolly company!’ (see for example figures 27 and 28, page 230).²⁴⁸ Another example is the editorials published on the summer brochures between 1935 and 1939, which were allegedly written by Studd himself and correlated by his photographic presence. An early example of this is provided by figure 5 (page 182), which shows the editorial introducing the brochure for the summer tours of 1935. The personal tone of the text, with the personification of the PTA in the form of its managing director, put the organisation in the position of expertise and reliability, while leaving the tourists with the single task of enjoying the tours.

The consequences of this transformation were of great importance for the company’s approach to tourism. If during Mitchell’s management it is still, arguably, possible to observe an overlapping of views between the PTA and the Polytechnic, the travel firm’s aspirations were now of an entrepreneurial nature. This was an ideological passage from providing tours according to what the PTA thought people *needed*, to catering for what it thought people *wanted*. As I discuss in the next section, this influenced the understanding of what made cultural travel an improving experience – indeed, of how to experience travel

247. UWA/PTA/2/1/8, (1930). *The Polytechnic Tours for 1930. Summer Programme*; UWA/PTA/2/1/28, (1931). *The Polytechnic Tours for 1931. Summer Programme*; UWA/PTA/2/1/10, (1935). *The Polytechnic Summer Tours 1935. Happy Holidays Abroad by Commander R.C. Studd*.

248. *PM*, February 1928, p. 60; April 1928, p. 116; June 1928, p.76; January 1930, p. 22.

itself.



(figure 5)

Travel as the experience of 'one's own mind and soul'

According to *The Holiday Story*, at the beginning of his mandate Studd realised that what people wanted was to travel for leisure, and that the reason for this was to compensate for the restrictions imposed by war. During the conflict Studd had served in the Navy, thus one might assume that he was sensitive to this aspiration; certainly, he also saw this 'vast flood of travellers' as an opportunity to make the PTA grow (Studd, 1950: 133). The literature discussed in Chapter 3 on the relationship between the First World War and the subsequent development of tourism comes alive in his words:

During the war millions of men, working men, had gone abroad for the first time. [...] Now the men were coming home. They came from all the far-flung fronts of the world, back to their families. They made the mistake of wanting

only a good time. They were fickle; they were epicurean; give them a good time; let them forget the bloodshed of the war; let them forget everything, and have a good time. [...] People had been cooped up in Britain for four long years. They ached for change (1950: 85-6).

Studd recognised that the change demanded was not for new destinations or activities (although, as seen, new itineraries were progressively added), and in this respect it is possible to observe a number of continuities between his management and the pre-1924 period. Sports, together with seaside and countryside destinations, continued to be promoted as health-giving, restorative of both mind and body as tourists took a break from city life; entertainments such as cinema or concerts were provided in order to maintain group cohesion; the majority of the destinations included excursions to places recognised as of cultural significance, from heritage sites to modern cities; and these excursions were led by guide-lecturers. Rather, he understood ‘good time’ as a different way of *being* while travelling - one that, following a trend which generally defined the industry at this time, had embraced leisure as an espoused motivation for travelling. If recreational activities had been part of the PTA experience since the 1890s, these were usually understood (or justified) in pursuit of a greater moral project; in the description of the PTA tours in this period it is possible to argue for the approval of enjoyment itself. For example, a 1927 advertisement for winter sports in Switzerland described how:

as soon as we have filled our lungs with that intoxicating air we are as young as the youngest, as friendly as the friendliest, and are all impatience to fling off our overcoats, don our heavy boots, and throw ourselves heart and soul into the fun, for all the world is on holiday and the only serious business is to enjoy it.²⁴⁹

Similarly, the facilities in Grindelwad were considered ideal for those who liked climbing, those who were not ‘born climbers but still liked walking’, those who wanted ‘great excursions’, and also ‘those who want a restful holiday or a jolly sociable holiday’.²⁵⁰ The

249. *PM*, December 1927, p. 271.

250. UWA/PTA/2/1/14 (1937). *The pick of Europe's holiday places to choose from. Let's Go Abroad*. Poly-

Belgian coast was described as ‘ideal alike for bathers, baskers and games enthusiasts’, France praised as ‘the land of laughter and sunshine’, Weggis in Switzerland as a ‘recuperative holiday’ that could be ‘enjoyed with the least expenditure and effort’, and tours to ‘Sunny Spain’ promised to ‘give you a holiday of unforgettable enjoyment’.²⁵¹ According to the programme for the Swiss tours of 1935: ‘the Polytechnic service includes scores of these extra comforts and attentions to detail. For instance, at the Chalets and Grindelwald we have cinema shows, dances and yodeller concerts and everywhere our idea is to promote your happiness’.²⁵²

The turn towards ‘sunshine and jolliness’ did not mean that the PTA abandoned the view that its tours could also have a more didactic side. While generally all of the excursions included sightseeing tours to the major places of interest, presented in historicised terms, some of the tours were promoted with a more specific attention to their cultural value. For example, a tour to Central Europe in 1931, described for those ‘who love the pomp and pageantry of ancient history, and the echoing footsteps of warriors and kings’, included visits to ‘Berlin, super-modern city’, Dresden, ‘with its art and learning’, and Vienna, ‘a mixture of ancient and modern’.²⁵³ Tours to Italy in 1934 included a stop in Rome, ‘the city which has exercised a vastly greater influence on the world’s history than any other, and which was known even in ancient times as the “Eternal City”, whose laws, languages and spirit pervade the life of practically the whole world at the present day’.²⁵⁴ In 1937 and 1939 a ‘Grand Tour of Europe’ included stops in Paris, Italy and the Rhine Valley, sightseeing through the ‘ancient and modern [...] principal places of interest’; while in 1938 ‘Special interest tours’ were proposed to Geneva, Germany, Denmark and Medieval France. Geneva offered ‘every possible facility for holiday-makers in search of sport and interest’, North

technic Summer Programme for 1937.

251. UWA/PTA/2/1/14 (1937). *The pick of Europe’s holiday places to choose from. Let’s Go Abroad. Polytechnic Summer Programme for 1937*, p.120; UWA/PTA/2/1/15, (1938). *Holidays to the loveliest places in Europe. Let’s Go Abroad Jubilee programme 1938*; UWA/PTA/2/1/16, (1939). *Holidays to the loveliest places in Europe. Let’s Go Abroad. Polytechnic Holiday Programme 1939*, p.24; UWA/PTA/2/1/10, (1935). *Polytechnic Summer Tours 1935. Happy Holidays Abroad by Commander R.C. Studd*, p. 92.

252. UWA/PTA/2/1/10, (1935). *Polytechnic Summer Tours 1935. Happy Holidays Abroad by Commander R.C. Studd*.

253. UWA/PTA/2/1/28, (1931). *The Polytechnic Tours for 1931. Summer Programme*, p. 136.

254. UWA/PTA/2/1/32, (1934). *Go Abroad this year. Polytechnic Summer Tours 1934*, p. 38.

Germany ‘an unusual tour of outstanding interest [...] with an infinite variety of scenery, of refreshing and stimulating contrasts’, and Copenhagen ‘fine buildings, magnificent castles, museums, monuments and shady parks’.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, between 1935 and 1939 fellows of the RGS were advertised as hosts in its various facilities, one assumes in order to project their authority on the tours.

However, if the itineraries maintained their focus on cultural attractions, the form of ‘instruction’ that these were expected to provide differed from a pre-1924 context. As a brochure informed: ‘whilst on excursions you have with you a man, who, in addition to pointing out places of interest, knows every inch of the ground, and can give you just that brief pithy historical sketch which makes all the difference to the enjoyment of the day’.²⁵⁶ By putting the provision of an ‘historical sketch’ at the service of ‘the enjoyment of the day’, this example seems to suggest that the function of culture and heritage was that of entertaining the tourists – that is, to provide a ‘good time’. In view of Studd’s pursuit of success, arguably cultural travel came to be promoted as itself an experience of leisure in so far as the purpose of the tours was to be consumed, and not to educate. This would support the considerations, discussed in Chapter 3, that cultural tourism developed as a product of and for consumer society. However, I would suggest that the PTA’s promotion of ‘enjoyment’ was not just the result of a commercial maneuver. Rather, it emerged from an engagement with tourists’ perspectives that transformed the understanding of how the edifying benefits of travel could be achieved.

A first indication of this shift in perspective can be observed in Studd’s recollection of a business visit to Rome that he took in 1925. Comparing this trip with one he had undertaken a few years earlier as part of his apprenticeship at the PTA, Studd wrote:

Italy I knew. I still remember, with astonishing fluency, all the information I’d had to memorise about Rome when I went there a few years before as Len Harris’ assistant. I don’t suppose I shall ever forget it. But this second trip was more enjoyable. This time I had the chance to discover Rome for myself,

255. UWA/PTA/2/1/15, (1938) *Holidays to the loveliest places in Europe. Let’s Go Abroad Jubilee programme 1938*, pp. 33, 88, 169.

256. UWA/PTA/2/1/10, (1935). *Polytechnic Summer Tours for 1935. Happy Holidays Abroad by Commander R.C. Studd*, p. 3.

without having to consult the printed world. [...] Italy yields so much, not only to the traveller with specialised interests, but to a variety of tastes and people. It never bores. It feeds, not only the intellect, but the emotions, and it stimulates like spring water (1950: 137).²⁵⁷

According to Studd's reflections, if up to that point the PTA had promoted the idea that travelling had to be supported (at least in principle) by a sound preparation - an intellectual engagement with 'all the information' and 'the printed world' that one was expected 'to memorise' - he had recognised the advantage of approaching travel differently. A transformed view of what constitutes a formative experience emerged. By praising a tour of Rome guided by his own interests, his reflections implied not only that people did not require a formal education to take part in such tours, but also that these could be equally edifying - 'stimulating' for both the intellect and the emotions - if approached from one's own viewpoint. Accordingly, the PTA tours came to be promoted on the premise that a 'learning' process could take place not only by 'knowing', but also by 'feeling', and that the choice of what to include within this experience lay with the tourists themselves. This perspective can be observed already in the advertisements published in the *PM* between 1927 and 1931. These are particularly interesting not only because of the new promotional strategy (whose visual dimension I discuss in the next chapter), but also in terms of the context of their publication. Written for a readership of students and members, possibly on account of the tours organised within the Poly School, they negotiated the new model of travel with an established didactic practice. A 1928 promotional editorial titled 'Travel - as a means of education' (see figure 29, page 233) stated:

Travel, beyond a doubt, is one of the most effective and pleasant means of education, in fact no training is quite complete without a certain amount of foreign travel. Nothing widens the outlook more than being brought into contact with people who have different traditions and different endowments

257. Len Harris was involved with the Polytechnic for over fifty years. He had joined Hogg's Youths' Christian Institute in 1877, and eventually became the Polytechnic Secretary. It has not been possible to ascertain what role exactly he played in the running of the Polytechnic tours, and then of the PTA. Upon his retirement, however, J.E.K. Studd remarked about 'his work on the Tours' that 'when he became Secretary he took a very deep interest in the work and did all that was possible to advance their success' - this in line, as Studd's speech moves on to reveal, with Hogg's vision for travel. *PM*, December 1929, pp. 314-315.

by nature to our own, and rubbing shoulders with people of other nations helps the Briton to shed some of that insularity which has clung to him for centuries. Delightful and edifying as it may be to study books on travel, there is nothing to compare with seeing with one's own eyes, hearing with one's own ears, and absorbing with one's own mind and soul the sights and sounds of other lands in this most interesting old world of ours. It is the personal experience that tells – getting your impressions at first hand. Apart from the mere learning or perfecting of a foreign language, there is the beauty of the mountain, sea, lake and countryside to expand and uplift the mind, and beauty whether of form, sound, colour or thought, is one of the greatest teachers vouchsafed to us mortals. A good spell of golden, all-pervading sunshine, such as England is not often favoured with, also makes us feel much more alive and receptive, and tones up the mind as well as the body.

The various countries of Europe are treasure houses of art, and each nation has its own contribution to make in the way of paintings, sculpture, music, literature, architecture, etc. Years of study and travel could not exhaust the wonders of the various Art Galleries and Museums, but much may be learned even in a short visit that will be a lasting inspiration all through life. The wonderful churches of the Middle Ages, the palaces and pleasure gardens of famous kings and queens, the workshops and dwelling-places of great geniuses, all speak eloquently to the traveller who will listen. [...]

In a wider sense still travel is an education. It is very necessary for the peace of the world that nation should learn to understand nation; surely the best way to do that is for the different peoples to visit each other's countries, and to try and grasp the points of view from which the many and varied national and international questions and problems are approached. Such an intercourse makes for breadth of vision and temperance in judgment, and through individuals educates the nations at large.²⁵⁸

The editorial identified those aspects of travel considered to be educational: the possibility to complete one's training; the first-hand experience of subjects studied in books, from 'the beauty of mountains' to 'the wonders of the various Art Galleries and Museums'; the learning of languages; and the importance, in the wake of the war, to learn about other cultures in order to foster understanding and peace. At the same time, the description of how these experiences could be had implied an approach to the encounter with culture not

258. *PM*, January 1928, p. 12.

limited to customary didactic models. The PTA might have defined the tours in such terms to distinguish them from the school-run ones; to resolve the difficulty for many of studying at length before departure; or to address the desire of others to combine educational with purely recreational purposes. As such, it faced the same issues that Mitchell had had in accommodating the founder's vision to a new commercial context. What the PTA now proposed, however, was different. Similarly to Studd's second visit to Rome in 1925, it made a distinction between the studying of books, and one's personal and emotional encounter with the same subjects. Indeed, it suggested that an in depth preparation was not necessary because 'much may be learned even in a short visit' since 'all speak eloquently to the traveller who will listen' – and thus who was now responsible for his/her own learning. Although acknowledging the benefits of an intellectual engagement with expert knowledge, the focus had shifted to the personal experience one had in the appreciation of culture, which could furthermore benefit from the 'all-pervading sunshine [...] [that] makes us feel much more alive and receptive'. 'To Europe's playground by Polytechnic!', an advertisement for the Swiss tours printed in the *PM* a few months earlier (see figure 25, page 228), made the case for the relationship between leisure and culture in less subtle terms:

This year, experience the splendid change which only foreign travel gives. A change which sees your daily life and habits dropping away like a cloak, until you feel that *this* is your life. This enchanted wandering, this drinking in of beauty, this tasting of new and rare delights ... *you* were made for this. And when the time comes to return, you have so much of your holiday to bring away with you. Vivid impressions, rich memories, new dreams, all stored away to carry you through the winter. And remember, because you have been interested, others will find you interesting too.²⁵⁹

While the itinerary was generally the same, the text was not a list of what ought to be seen and done.²⁶⁰ Rather, by focusing on the tourists' feelings and emotions - a 'splendid

259. *PM*, June 1927, p. 124, (original emphasis).

260. For a description of itineraries during this period, see for example UWA/PTA/2/1/7, (1929). *The Polytechnic Tours for 1929. Summer Programme*.

change' that made one 'interesting' – it sanctioned individual experience as the basis for the acquisition of an improving experience. That is, it proposed leisure as a way to culture. Accordingly, the PTA brochures throughout the late 1920s and 1930s combined a description of destinations, presented as options for the tourists to choose from according to their personal interests, with the pleasurable experience associated with their consumption. Consequently, the form of 'knowledge' that tourists were expected to gain was not necessarily intellectual, but emotional. For example, in 1928 one brochure described how 'romance, colour and life await the traveller at every turn of the road in Holland, and the country is as rich in scenic, artistic and historic interest as any in Europe'.²⁶¹ The year after another brochure affirmed that 'deep in the heart of every man and woman is the desire to travel – to see the mountains – the lakes – the wonders of other countries – to enjoy the glamour, romance and adventure of a holiday abroad'.²⁶² The 1929 description of Lucerne argued for the combined achievement of 'education and relaxation' the moment the tourists entered a space of 'fairyland' that, one assumes, did not require intellectual engagement:

A kaleidoscope of interests is presented to us at every turn. Rare and beautiful alpine flowers, geological freaks, quaint local customs, engineering feats that rank with miracles, picturesque architecture contrasting with a natural setting that transport us to fairyland. [...] A holiday spent here is an education and relaxation that will become a memory for all time.²⁶³

The metaphor of the kaleidoscope, and the prominence accorded to emotions and leisure, indicates how what was on offer was primarily the consumption, as seen in Chapter 3, of *visually-based* hedonistic experiences. Because of the transformed understanding in what could make travel an improving experience and, related to this, the central role of personal perception and interests in this process, the focus was not on representing what one ought to see and learn (thus encouraging an intellectual engagement). Rather, it was on what one could see and experience – hence the importance of the filter, here invoked

261. *PM*, June 1928, p. 161.

262. *PM*, February 1929, p. 56.

263. UWA/PTA/2/1/7, (1929). *The Polytechnic Tours for 1929. Summer Programme*, p. 33.

through the metaphor of the kaleidoscope, of individual experience. As such, the function of travel representations (both textual and visual) was that of anticipating an experience that had to be appropriable to the extent that tourists could relate to how it would be like, *for them*, to travel to a given destination with the PTA. Accordingly, destinations were described (and thus represented) as settings in which tourists could ‘pick and choose’ what to experience, and how to experience it. While during Mitchell’s management the function of representations had been, at least to an extent, that of conveying that ‘hard knowledge’ that one could also have acquired through travelling, the emphasis was now on articulating a leisurely experience understood as primarily a visual one. This transformation, as we will see in the next chapter, was crucial to the development of a new approach towards visual media.

An approach to a promotion of the tours that would emphasise the pleasurable and emotional options that each destination could offer continued throughout the 1930s. In 1935, for example, Switzerland was presented as the ‘land of romance’ (see figure 33, page 238), in the same brochure Italy and Austria were described as the ‘lands of variety, sunshine and flowers’, Germany as the land ‘where good living costs little’, France as the land where ‘the spirit of adventure is your guide’, and Belgium as the land of ‘gay golden sands and lazy dreaming cities’.²⁶⁴ In 1936 Belgium was described as the place where: ‘you meet people with different ideas, different outlooks, different language. You discover quaint customs, new foods, gay clothes, brighter shops, livelier surroundings – and more freedom! [...] We look after every detail from the moment you board the train. All you have to do is – help yourself to a wonderful time!’ (see figure 42, page 244).²⁶⁵ A few years later Lucerne was promoted as a place where: ‘at every turn you start upon fresh beauty – whether it is an unexpected vista, some time-honoured monument, gay peasant carvings in a shop-window, or just the play of sun and shadow across some ancient square’ (see figure 38, page 241).²⁶⁶

264. UWA/PTA/2/1/10, (1935). *Polytechnic Summer Tours 1935. Happy Holidays Abroad by Commander R.C. Studd.*

265. UWA/PTA/2/1/12, (1936). *Holidays Abroad Made Easy. Polytechnic Summer Tours 1936.*

266. UWA/PTA/2/1/15, (1938). *Holidays to the loveliest places in Europe. Let’s Go Abroad Jubilee programme 1938.*

As I discuss in the next chapter, the different roles allocated to photographs and illustrations can thus be understood as a way of regulating induced images by allowing for tourists' agency while at the same time aligning these promotional images with the 'unique' image of the PTA.

6.4. Conclusion

Market forces and individual demand increasingly influenced the PTA's understanding of what role travel could play in relation to personal development. Following the 1891 *Scheme of Administration*, and Hogg's death in 1903, the financial sustainability of the tours relied on external customers. This brought the question of how to provide non-members with that 'respectable' experience of moral, physical and intellectual value that they *needed*. By attempting to *impart* the knowledge considered necessary to a formative experience, the Polytechnic tours encouraged intellectual engagement. Although the motives for travelling with the PTA varied through time, during Mitchell's management the organisation saw as the core value of its offer as being the possibility to travel in order to learn. This might have been more an aspiration than a fact – as seen, many were the motivations and interests of those who actually took part in the tours - yet it determined how the PTA saw itself: preoccupied with 'the wider outlook of the intrinsic value of the service to its beneficiaries'.²⁶⁷ This self-perception changed with the appointment in 1924 of a new Managing Director who recognised that, in order to make the company prosper, the socio-cultural and economic transformations that had followed the conflict had to be addressed. The combined development of an approach to travel as leisure, and the recognition of tourists as customers, transformed the PTA's promotion of the tours according to what it thought the public *wanted*. Tours' destinations and activities remained the same, what changed was the mode of consumption: one's emotions and personal interests became the basis for the acquisition of an improving experience.

This marked a passage from promoting learning by 'knowing' to promoting learning by 'feeling'. It indicates that the PTA's project for travel as a tool of personal development shifted from the institutional collectivism professed within the idea of 'rational recreation',

267. *PM*, December 1923, p. 221.

to an emphasis on individualism whose constitution broadly fell under market forces. In the next chapter I explore how this self-perception influenced the visual articulation of the tours. Specifically, I look at how the production of induced and 'unique' induced images changed as a result of the PTA's evolving relationship with tourists, and with the idea of how an edifying experience of travel could be achieved. This, I propose, allows us to investigate the extent to which, and in which ways, the PTA's promotion of tours developed in response to the democratisation of photography.

CHAPTER 7. PROMOTING THE PTA TOURS: PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS BETWEEN INFORMATION AND BRANDING

In looking at the Polytechnic/PTA's promotional use of photographs and illustrations, the purpose of this chapter is to consider the organisation's production of induced and 'unique' induced images in relation to the paradigm shift in photographic perception triggered by the democratisation of the medium. In order to do so the PTA's transition from promoting travel as learning by 'knowing', to promoting learning by 'feeling', is discussed against the backdrop of the company's changing relationship with the tourists. If, as proposed, the 'branding' of tours developed in opposition to photographs, then it must equally be brought into focus how the PTA related to tourists' photographic practices in the shift from considering its audience as a group to guide and instruct, to considering them as customers to please. As such, the perspective adopted here focuses not so much on the different ways in which an image produced by the PTA could have been perceived by the public or within other contexts (that is, as organic or first-hand experience images), but on the PTA's own expectations concerning the function – and thus perception - of these images as induced and 'unique' induced ones.

Firstly, the chapter focuses on the period from 1888 to 1923. It seeks to ascertain: i) how the role of 'educator' that the Polytechnic/PTA saw for itself influenced its relationship with the emerging tourist photographers; and ii) how the function of induced images changed as the organisation tried to accommodate educational travel to a broader audience. Secondly, the years from 1924 to 1939 are considered. This section explores: i) how the recognition of tourists as the protagonists of the experience of travel influenced the PTA response to their photographic practices; and, ii) how the travel firm negotiated this with the need to represent cultural travel as an individual experience of emotion and leisure, as this was unequivocally facilitated by the PTA.

The documents that this section draws upon include the advertisements, editorials and reports published in the *PM*, and the guidebooks, tour brochures, illustrated souvenirs, glass slides, postcards and leaflets produced as part of the Polytechnic/PTA's promotional strategy. The material that appeared in the *PM* is available in its entirety: it includes the

tours' brochures of 1890 and 1891, published as a supplement to the *PM*; illustrated accounts of the tour reunions; details of the holiday arrangements; and the advertisements published by the PTA between 1927 and 1930. The other documents produced to promote the tours, however, have survived only partially. The UWA holds a copy of the touring brochures, since 1892 a publication on its own, for the years 1897, 1905, 1908 (part), 1910, 1923 and 1925, and then of each brochure for the summer tours abroad published between 1929 and 1939. A copy of the summer programme for 1895 is available at the British Library. Also available are the brochure of the tours in the British Islands of 1938 and 1939, and of the air tours of 1933, 1936, 1937 and 1938. Of the many illustrated guides and souvenirs produced it has been possible to consult: two guides to Lucerne published in 1908ca. and in 1923, and one to the Rhine valley from the late 1900s; four illustrated albums, mostly photographic, all relating to the Swiss tours; and promotional leaflets for the years 1926, 1936, 1938, and two undated ones that, from evidence of their style, one can assume are from the late 1930s. There are very few examples of the glass-slides, probably due to their fragile nature, and to the fact that it was common to reuse the plates by scraping off the photographic emulsion. Of the thousands of slides that, according to the program details published in the *PM*, must have been produced during those years, only 31 are now in the UWA, these all relating to the Polytechnic cruises to Norway that took place around the year 1900.

7.1. Representing culture as education (1888-1923)

As already discussed, under Mitchell's management the Polytechnic tours tried to accommodate Hogg's philanthropic project of educational travel to a commercial context. This gradually transformed the understanding of what could make travel an instructive experience, and shaped how the nascent PTA saw itself: not simply as a travel firm, but, possibly more accurately, as the provider of opportunities for self-improvement. This section thus explores how this influenced: i) the relationship between the PTA and tourists' photographic practices; and ii) the promotion of the tours and the use of induced images in this representation.

‘Our photographic friends’

As anticipated in the analysis of tourists’ responses to first-hand experience images, discussed in Chapter 5, travel photographs taken by non-professional photographers circulated extensively at the Polytechnic. More than that, documents suggest that tourists were encouraged to take their cameras along. Clark, the advertising agent of the Polytechnic, wrote in 1896 to potential advertisers about ‘the special advantages of the Polytechnic Magazine as an advertising medium for advertisements of photographic materials and apparatus’, concluding that ‘during the season several thousand people travel on the Continent under our auspices, so that you will see that the Magazine circulates among just the class of people who use photographic materials’.²⁶⁸ The presence in the *PM* of a number of such advertisements signals the success of his argument, suggesting that this was likely applied to the Polytechnic tours brochures also. In fact, the *Polytechnic Holiday Tours* brochures for both 1895 and 1897 - the only two examples surviving from this decade - ran advertisements from the manufacturers of compact cameras J. Lancaster & Son (1895) and Thornton-Pickard (1897). (According to Clark’s estimate, the Polytechnic tours brochures alone had ‘a circulation of at least 150,000 during the holiday season’).²⁶⁹ By that time, as estimated by Hogg, at least 1,500 members of the Polytechnic were involved in photographic activities.²⁷⁰ The recognition of and support to the spreading of photographic practices is also suggested by the fact that both brochures surviving from the early 1900s list a dark room for printing photographs as one of the provisions available to tourists: one on board the steamship *Ceylon* cruising in Norway in 1905, and one in the Polytechnic Chalets at Lucerne in 1908.²⁷¹ These facilities were addressed to both amateurs and snappers, as the type of images that the Polytechnic expected the tourists to be taking were diverse. On the one hand, these corresponded with the images of travel normalised within the culture of travel of the Polytechnic. As seen in Chapter 5, models

268. (1896). Letter to Messrs L Trapp & Co, (20 February). HAT ref. SAM 2-2.

269. (1897). Letter to Mr Waters, (14 January). HAT ref. SAM 2-2.

270. *PM*, 9 December 1896, p. 284.

271. UWA/PTA/2/1/1/30, (1897). *Polytechnic Co-operative and Educational Holiday Tours Programme*, pp. 10, 17.

of photographic practice were perpetuated during the travel lectures, in exhibitions and in promotional publications (which I look at in more details in the following section). Additionally, the presence of Polytechnic teachers as guides might have facilitated the transition of this photographic model from the context of Regent Street to that of the tours, thus influencing tourists on what to photograph. This discourse was also reinforced by the way in which photographic opportunities were laid out for the tourists. Advertisements such as Lancaster's encouraged tourists to photograph 'the glories of distant lands', images that would convey to the viewers back home those 'charmed spots on earth, learned of in our schooldays'.²⁷² The Polytechnic's description of the destinations provided similar directions. For example, in 1901 an article on the holiday home at Folkestone promoted the location by listing those attractions that one was more likely to be interested in, and a special mention was paid to the interests of the photographers: 'the town and district are particularly rich in photographic "views", quaint streets and houses, old churches, ruined castles, "mountain" and cliff scenery; a busy harbour, fishing boats, steamers'.²⁷³ Attention to the necessities of 'our photographic friends' was also paid, in 1903, in advertising the Polytechnic sea trips to Boulogne, France, which interestingly was promoted by using the same exact phrase previously used to describe Folkestone. 'The town and district are particularly rich in photographic "views", quaint streets and houses, old churches, ruined castles, "mountain" and cliff scenery', it was repeated.²⁷⁴ This is an oversight (or maybe not) that reveals more about what it was expected an amateur might have wanted to photograph, rather than what Folkestone or Boulogne actually looked like. On the other hand, however, the Polytechnic was also aware that one of the reasons why tourists took photographs was to document subjects of personal interest, as for example testified by those 'snap[s] of an amusing nature' that generated so much amusement in the context of the tours' reunions.²⁷⁵ To an extent it was the Polytechnic itself that, by regularly photographing the Institute's activities and its members, had fostered a use of photography as a means to immortalise individual experiences – in its case the sense of being part of the Polytechnic community. This

272. *Polytechnic Educational and Co-operative Holiday Tours*, 1895, (BL)..

273. *PM*, 17 July 1901, p. 27.

274. *PM*, July 1903, p. 78.

275. *PM*, 16 November 1898, p. 199.

recognition, for example, emerges in a comment made by the secretary of the Polytechnic Harriers already in 1888, who noted how the club's photographs 'will in years to come, no doubt, carry us back to the pleasant gatherings we had at Willesden'.²⁷⁶ As an extension of this, official photographers with the task of documenting the tourists' activities begun to accompany the Polytechnic tours. Examples of these 'inevitable photographs', as they were defined in 1904, abound.²⁷⁷ 'A photograph of the entire group was taken on Saturday morning before starting to "do" Edinburgh', wrote the *PM* in 1890, praising the services of a local photographer, Ramsey Russell, who each week repeated the service of photographing the groups taking part in the Scotch trip.²⁷⁸ Another photographer accompanied the party to Madeira in 1891, which was 'photographed at several places throughout the day'.²⁷⁹ Between 1892 and 1903 the Polytechnic tours to Norway were photographed by Samuel J. Beckett, a teacher in photography at the Polytechnic as well as a commercial photographer working privately. Between 1902 and 1908 the 'Poly photographer at Grindelwal' was Ormiston Smith, who also produced cinematographic views of the tourists' activities.²⁸⁰ Figures 6, 7 (both page 198) and 8 (page 199), taken in 1896, 1901 and 1907 during tours to Norway and Switzerland, offer a fascinating view of the effort it must have taken the photographer to arrange such a considerable number of people in front of the camera. (These images also illustrate the difficulty, discussed in the previous chapter, of organising tours that could accommodate the requirements of such large groups of people, while at the same time maintaining a focus on education). F.W. Heale, who participated in a tour to Norway in 1893, described the taking of the group photograph as an event framed by 'the usual classical language of now smile, please look up, now then steady'.²⁸¹ On one particular occasion, Heale recounted, 'we faced the biting winds (temp. 36) to have a photo taken - poor Beckett - we shouted "Hurry up!" he retorted: "Now, steady there", "Wait for the wind," "Just one more," and the usual "All over, thank you"'.²⁸²

276. *PM*, 29 March 1888, p. 165.

277. *The Polytechnic Magazine Holiday Supplement*, supplement to the *PM*, February 1904, p. 5.

278. *PM*, 28 August 1890, p. 131; 11 September 1890, p. 162.

279. *PM*, 11 September 1891, p. 163.

280. *PM*, 29 October, 1902, p. 175

281. *PM*, 26 July 1893, p. 509.

282. *Ibid.*



(figure 6, top, and figure 7, bottom)



(figure 8)

Those staying at the holiday homes could also take advantage of photographic services: between 1894 and 1897 a Jack Andrew was in charge of photographing the groups at Weston;²⁸³ in 1896 a A.B. Hughes was engaged to photograph every week the parties staying at the Poly holiday home in Ramsgate;²⁸⁴ and in 1899 each of the parties who travelled to the Isle of Man had their group photograph taken.²⁸⁵

This analysis suggests that the Polytechnic (soon-to-be PTA) recognised the significance for the tourists both of photographic practices, and of images that directly related to individual travel experience. This might have been one of the reasons behind the inclusion of tourists' photographs, taken both by official photographers and by the tourists themselves, in the tour reunions. The Polytechnic was also probably aware of the promotional value of images that, showing the tours from the tourists' perspective, generated, as already discussed, so much attention. The choice of including these photographs in the reunions

283. *PM*, 26 September 1894, p. 151; 22 September 1897, p. 106.

284. *PM*, 26 September 1896, p. 112.

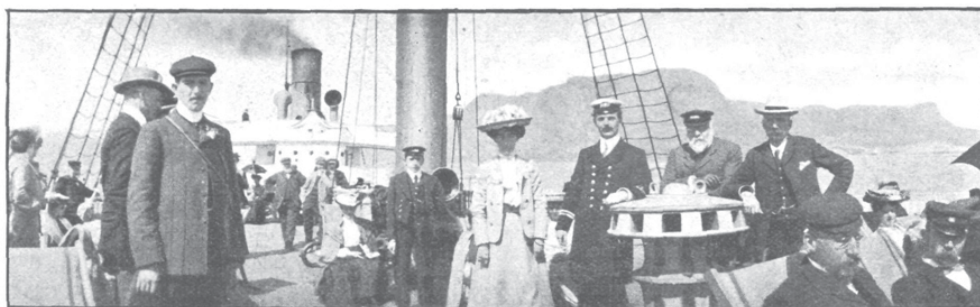
285. *PM*, 30 August 1899, p. 98.

was supported by the informality of the context, and by the sociability associated with the event. Similar reasons might have been behind the inclusion of tourists' photographs to accompany the reports on the Polytechnic cruise to Norway written by tourists between 1904 and 1905.²⁸⁶ Next to views of the principal locations of the route, the *PM* printed images showing the tourists as they were occupied in various activities, or posing for the camera. For example, figure 9 (page 201) shows a group photograph of the tourists with the ship's captain, and figure 10 (page 201) another group of tourists playing billiards on the ship's deck. The author(s) of these images is not specified, but considering that those taken by the official photographer were credited, one assumes that these might have been taken instead by the non-professional photographers in the group. Yet, these two examples remain an exception: during this period none of the brochures or other promotional materials available for examination were illustrated with photographs seemingly taken by tourists, or showing tourists and their activities. Rather, as I discuss in the next section, they generally included the views of whichever iconic sights/sites defined each destination. Why did the Polytechnic not include those tourists' photographs that elsewhere it had recognised as promotionally valid? In order to answer this question, and to consider what this choice can reveal about the relationship between the promotion of the tours and the democratisation of photography, it is necessary to define how the Polytechnic understood the induced images it produced.

286. *The Polytechnic Magazine Holiday Supplement*, supplement to the *PM*, February 1904; *The Polytechnic Magazine Holiday Supplement*, supplement to the *PM*, 1905.

Scotings in and about Norway.

By DR. R. MARSHALL.



ON DECK "S.Y. CEYLON."

ii.



DECK BILLIARDS.

(figure 9, top, and figure 10, bottom)

Induced images as information

The *Poly Members at Play - Holiday Tours and Holiday Homes* of 1890, and the *Polytechnic Holiday Guide* of 1891, both published in the *PM*, are the two earliest brochures produced by the Polytechnic in order to present in an organised form the Institute's growing offer of tours. They were printed before the *Scheme of Administration* was approved and implemented, and hence at a time when the Polytechnic's ambition of providing educational tours had not yet had to compromise with external demands. This would suggest that the images contained therein were not chosen necessarily for commercial purposes, but also for their relevance to the tours' didactic objectives. Because of this, they are exemplary of the function expected of visual media in relation to the promotion of travel as an organised form of learning. Richly illustrated (44 images over 16 pages in 1890, and 42 images over 21 pages in 1891), the two brochures included views of 'beautiful and wondrous works of

nature – mountain, valley and river’, of ‘quaint nooks and corners’ and the ‘interest and picturesqueness’ of the architectural and heritage sites described by the text.²⁸⁷ The presence of so many images was considered a point of pride, and the following year the *PM* reported that the 1892 guide (of which no copies have survived) was ‘copiously illustrated, there being no less than 76 illustrations in the 80 pages of which the guide consists’.²⁸⁸ Emerging out of the Polytechnic’s culture of travel, the tours were illustrated through the same images used, for example, in the context of travel lectures. As discussed in Chapter 5, these were considered as repositories of knowledge, and hence able to provide an instruction. In relation to the tours, their function was partially to anticipate, so as to promote, the tours (thus acting as induced images), but, most importantly, to educate the viewers on the relevant features of a given destination (thus also acting as organic images). An example of this is the 1891 guide’s description and accompanying illustration of an excursion to the Naerödal gorge, published in relation to the newly proposed itinerary of Norwegian cruises (figure 11, page 203). Printed to a size that seemed to expect from the reader more than a quick glance (the *PM* was at this time approximately 30x20cm), the image joined the text in ‘lecturing’ on the relevant features of the destination:

Fourteen or fifteen miles on the surroundings become more bleak and barren as the summit of the watershed between the Bolstad and Sogne fjords is reached, and where rises the turbulent Nasrodals river. The road then leads through a declivity, afterwards ascending a steep hill, at the summit of which one gets an unequalled view of the Naerödal gorge. [...] Immediately in front rises the grey, dome-like peak, Jordalsnuten (shown on left in illustration), 3,600 feet. The road descends in 16 rather steep curves into the gorge. On the right is the Stalheimfos, and on the left is the Sivlefos. The gorge of Naorodals is about five and a half miles long.²⁸⁹

Similarly to the indoors journeys of the travel lantern, the combination of text and image lead the viewer across the picture as if s/he was walking in the landscape in first person, in

287. *The Polytechnic Holiday Guide*, supplement to the *PM*, 26 June 1890, pp. 411-412.

288. *PM*, 16 June 1892, p. 367


289. *The Polytechnic Holiday Guide*, supplement to the *PM*, 29 May 1891, pp. 8-9.

this way providing a model for how the space ought to be experienced. The function of the image was to offer as truthful as possible a representation of a site that, considered relevant for the didactic purposes of the tours, would have been encountered en route.

May 29th, 1891. **THE POLYTECHNIC HOLIDAY GUIDE.** 5

at the same time, naturally regret that it is now too late in the season to extend the facilities offered to our members. The moral they would, however, seek to impress is, "Apply early" another time.
The five excursions will start on Saturdays in June, July, and August as follows :—

ITINERARY OF THE EXCURSION STARTING JULY 4TH, which will (subject to slight alterations) be followed in each trip.
Saturday.—The steamer will leave Gravesend early in the evening. Passengers must be on board by 5.30 p.m. Frequent



NÆRØDAL GORGE.—From "Norwegian Pictures." By permission of the Religious Tract Society.

June 20th	...	accompanied by Mr. Robert Mitchell.	trains run from Holborn Viaduct, St. Paul's, and Victoria Stations (L. C. and D. Railway) to Gravesend, where the steamer will be waiting. Fare to Gravesend and back (tickets available for 14 days), third class, 2s. These tickets can only be obtained from the Polytechnic. By this arrangement consider-
July 4th	" " Dr. Lunn.	
July 18th	accompanied by Mr. J. E. K. Studd.	
Aug. 1st	" " Mr. W. T. Paton.	
Aug. 15th	" " Mr. Robert Mitchell.	

(figure 11)

In this regard, it is significant to observe that few of the images that these two brochures contain are photographs. Rather, as exemplified by the illustration accompanying the description of the Naerödal gorge, the majority were drawings, engravings and woodcuts

taken from publications such as Ward and Lock's *Guide to Switzerland* (1890) and *Illustrated Guide to Killarney* (1880), Cassell, Petter and Galpin's *Picturesque Europe* (1875) and *History of Protestantism* (1880ca) or The Religious Tract Society's *Norwegian Pictures* (1885). Likely chosen because of the difficulties at this stage of obtaining photographs of far away places, they were invested with documental value by the authority of the Polytechnic itself. As the editor of the 1890 *Polytechnic Holiday Guide* commented: 'let the accompanying views speak for themselves'.²⁹⁰ Likewise, the following year the editor referred to one of these publications as a source of further preparation: 'I have given all the information needed for practical purposes, but if any would like fuller descriptions of the route, they cannot do better than obtain the "Guide to Norway", about to be published by Messrs. Cook & Sons, and which, in due course, will be on sale at the bookstall'.²⁹¹ Used to *substitute* photographs, these images provide an important point of comparison with the illustrations produced starting in the late-1920s, which as anticipated were developed in opposition to photographs. Specifically, they suggest that it was the educational pursuits expected of the tours that, during this early period, anchored the perception and use of induced images as integral to the instruction of the prospective tourists. Another example is offered by *A Scamper through the States*, a guide printed in 1893 in relation to the tours to the Chicago World Fair Exhibitions. Illustrated with over 120 images, the booklet detailed arrangements and itinerary. It was stated in the introduction that 'of the educational value of such a trip there can be no manner of doubt, and equally beyond question is the interest and pleasure to be derived there-from'.²⁹² In the guide, *what* would have proved educational and interesting was meticulously detailed: taking the reader on an imaginative journey across North America, the author commented on the historical background of the places visited, on the details of their architectural and engineering features, including the dimensions of key buildings, but also advanced considerations on political and economic affairs, and comparisons with England. That is, the guide equipped the reader with the information considered necessary to have a successful 'study abroad' experience. The

290. *PM*, 2 June 1890, p. 406.

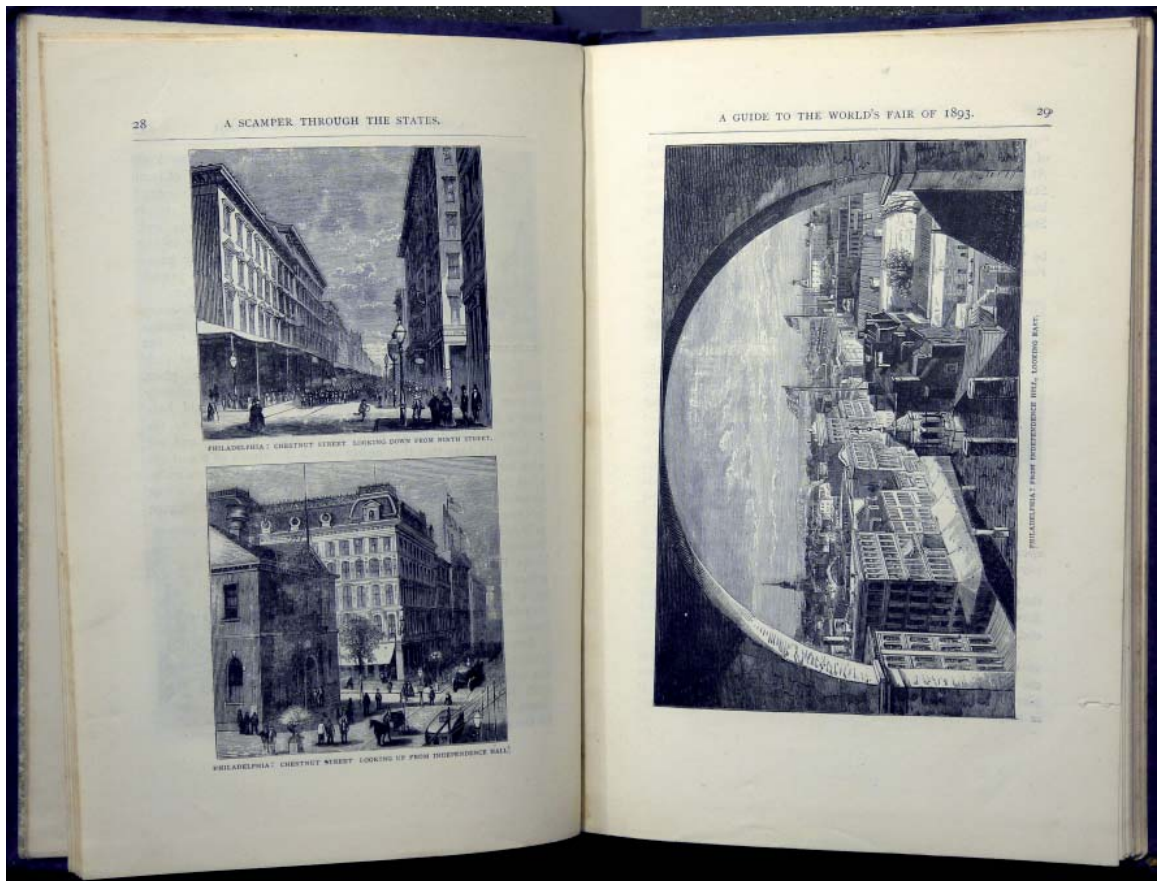
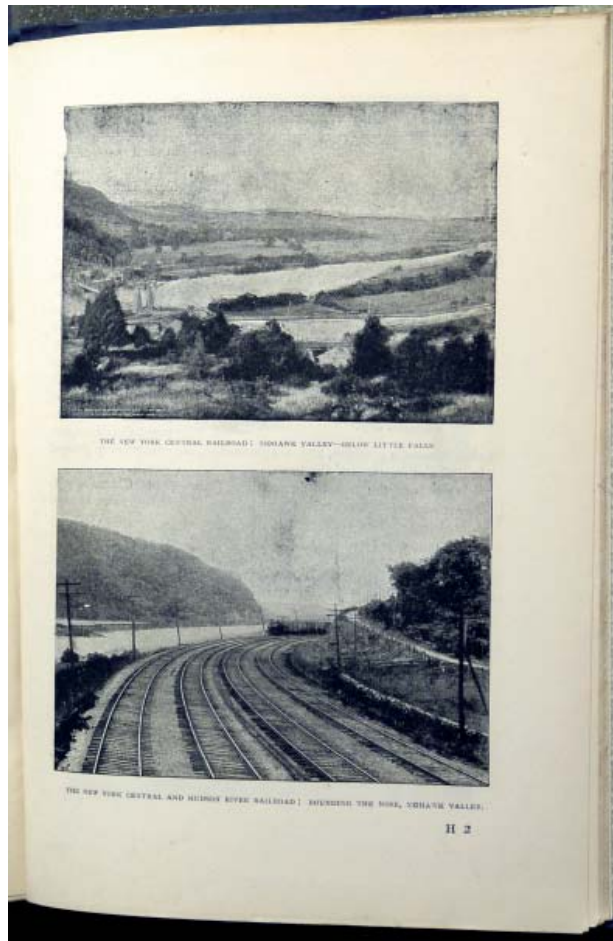
291. *The Polytechnic Holiday Guide*, supplement to the *PM*, 29 May 1891, p. 10.

292. UWA/PTA/2/5/6, (1893). *A Scamper through the States*, pp. 8-10.

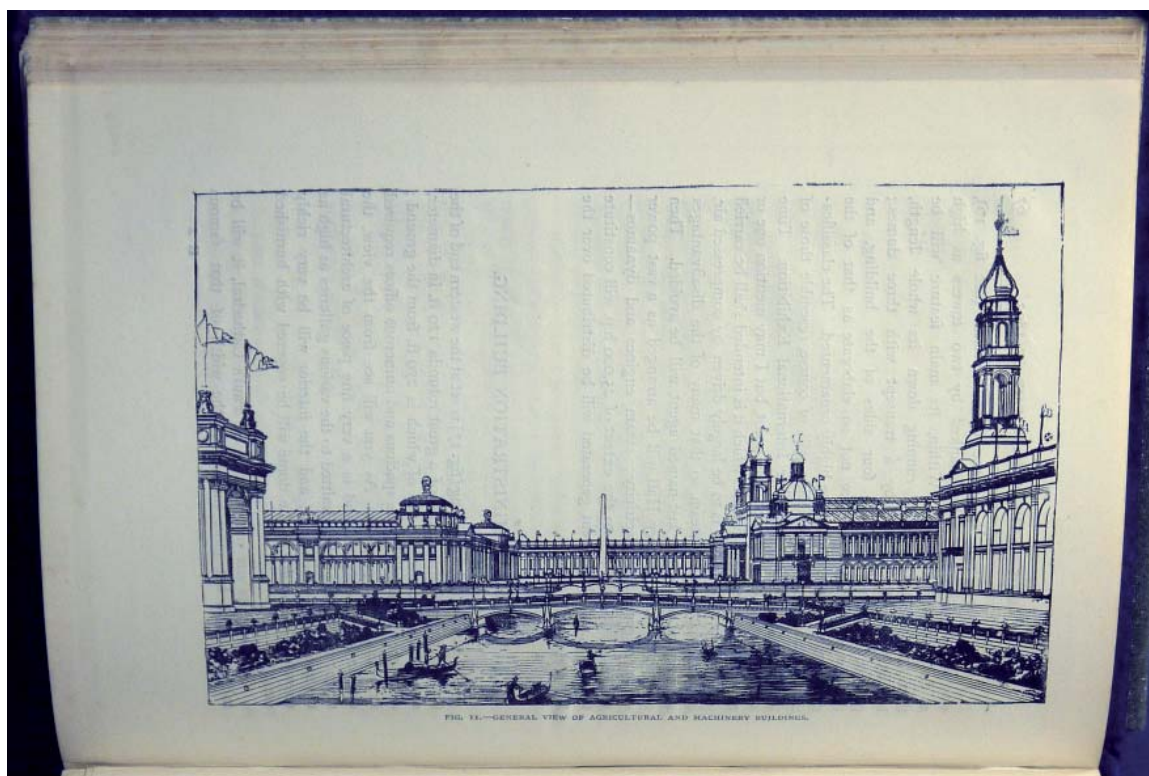
photographs and illustrations included, which were progressively referred to by the text, were assumed to provide additional knowledge. The publication contained photographs supplied by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, described by the Polytechnic as ‘one of the best managed and most picturesque lines in the States’ and with which the parties would have travelled (figure 12, page 206); views and architectural perspectives of the main cities visited, (for example Philadelphia, figure 13, page 206); engravings of the main buildings of the fair, ‘magnificent – through temporary – structures, both as regards their engineering and their architectural features’ (figure 14, page 207);²⁹³ and maps and other general views of the exhibition. These images, especially those of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, were also used in the editorials published in the *PM*, exhibited in Regent Street, and used in the lantern lectures arranged by Mitchell.²⁹⁴ In doing so, illustrations promoted the tours at the same time as they educated the viewers. As was also the case with the images of the 1890 and 1891 programmes, or with those that participated in the culture of travel of the Polytechnic, the transition between the discourses of education and promotion could take place on account of their common interest in the information contained within the images - that is, their documenting of external reality. Photographs and photography-based images proved to be the medium of choice in this discourse because their visible and hence appropriable character allowed them both to convey information and to anticipate the experience of the tours.

293. UWA/PTA/2/5/6, (1893). *A Scamper through the States*, p. 64.

294. See for example *PM*, 28 April 1892, pp. 275-276; 7 December 1892; 14 April 1892, p. 246; 22 February 1893, p. 156.



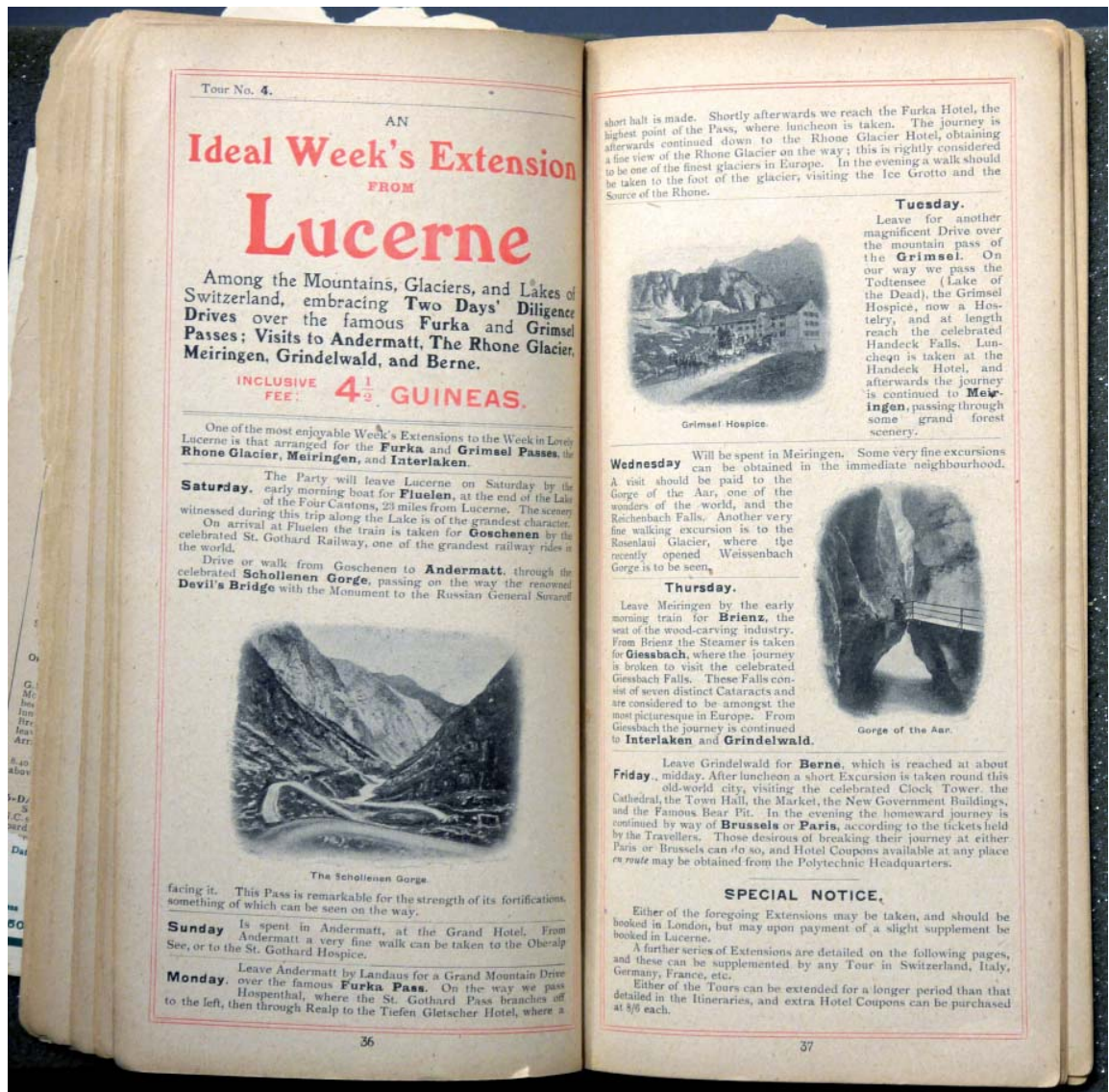
(figure 12, top, and figure 13, bottom)



(figure 14)

Following the financial issues that resulted from the 1891 *Scheme of Administration*, the use of visual media began to change. Because of the prominence that the Polytechnic had given to images during the early 1890s, it is surprising to learn that the other two brochures that have survived from this decade contain almost no images: while the brochure for 1895 does not have any at all, the one for 1897 printed only one photograph of the steamship ‘S. S. Ceylon’, and two drawings relating to the Swiss tours: one of an unidentified religious building, and the other of the Poly Chalets at Seeburg. Printing costs might have influenced this decision, as the extensive use of images made during the lectures and in other displays in Regent Street, or the presence of official photographers during the tours, suggest that the availability of photographs – let alone the interest in them - might not have been an issue. By the beginning of the new century, images, now predominantly photographs, had reappeared in the brochures: the summer brochure of 1905 included 18 images over 70 pages, while the 1910 one on the Swiss tours had 30 images over 24 pages. As in the early 1890s, the function of the images was not just to promote the destinations but also to contribute to the instruction of the viewers. This is suggested by the way in which, through the page layout, the text was endorsed by the indexical value of the images. For example,

in the *Polytechnic Holiday Guide* of 1905 the image of the Schollenen Gorge interrupted the text the moment the description of the excursion to the Furka and Grimsel Passes mentioned it (figure 15, below. left-hand page); while the images of the Grimsel Hospice and of the Aar gorge were printed next to the description of the same (figure 15, right-hand page).²⁹⁵

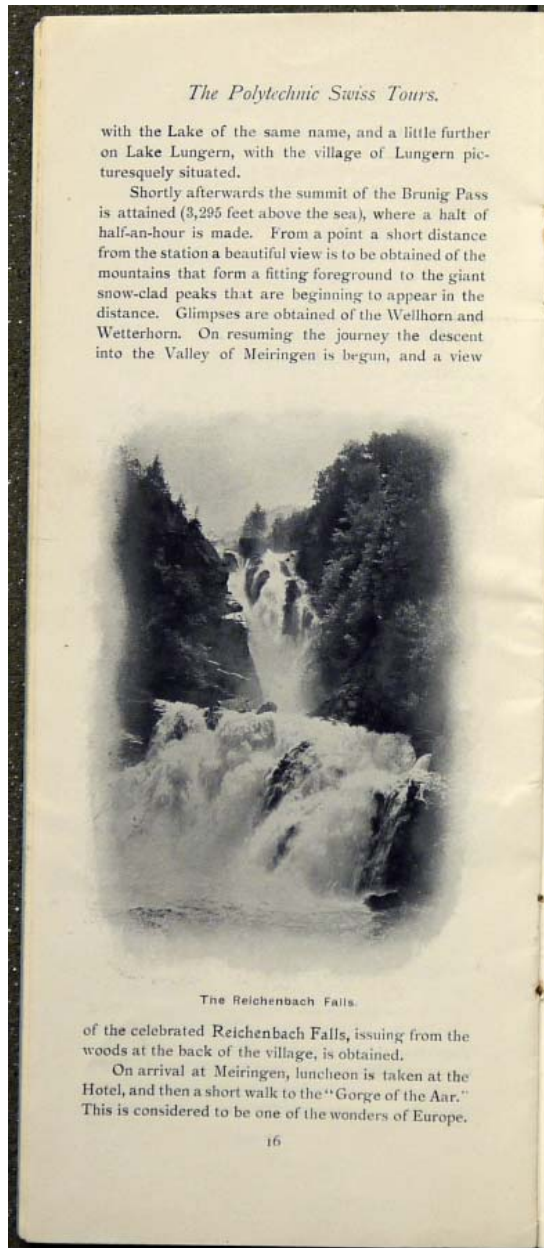


(figure 15)

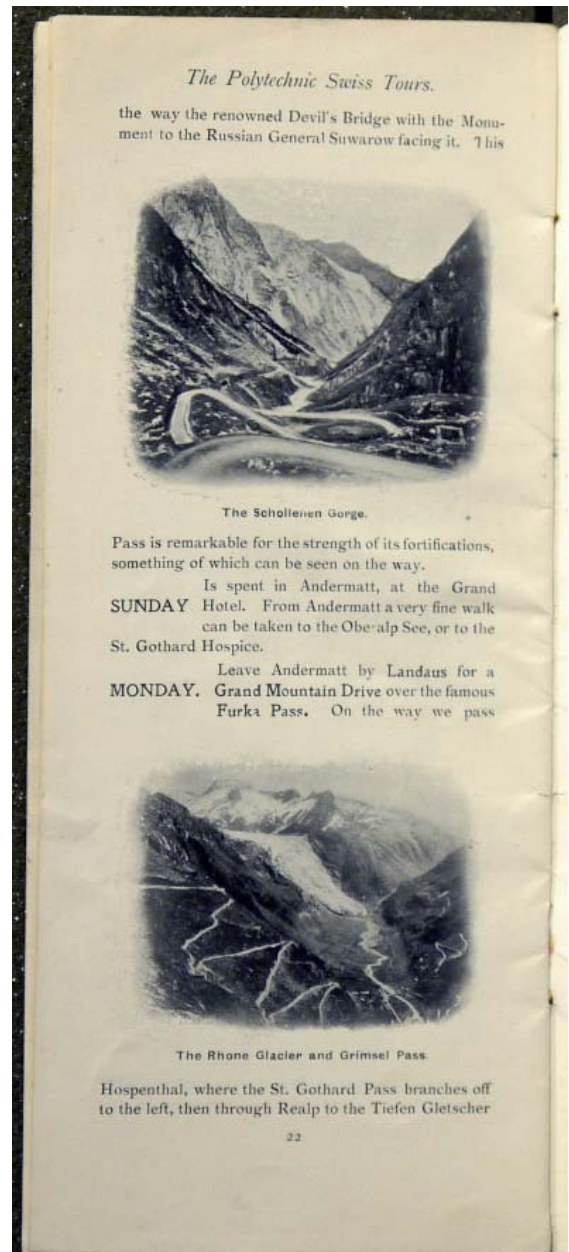
In the *Polytechnic Swiss Tours* of 1910 the photographs of the Reichenbach Falls (figure 16, page 209), and of the Schollenen Gorge, the Rhone Glacier and the Grimsel Pass (figure 17, page 209), equally complemented the text. 'On resuming the journey the descent into the Valley of Meiringen is begun, and a view' - at which point the text stopped to make space for the photographs, then to continue - 'of the celebrated Reichenbach Falls, issuing

295. UWA/PTA/2/1/1 (1905). *Polytechnic Holiday Tours 1905*, pp. 36-37.

from the woods at the back of the village, is obtained'.²⁹⁶ 'Drive or walk from Goerschenen to Andermatt, through the celebrated Schollenen Gorge, passing on the way the renowned Devil's Bridge with the Monument to the Russian General Suwarow facing it. This' – a photograph of the Schollenen Gorge was here inserted – 'Pass is remarkable for the strength of its fortifications, something of which can be seen along the way'.²⁹⁷



(figure 16)



(figure 17)

'On the way we pass' – and here a photograph of the Rhone Glacier and Grimsel Pass, discussed two sentences later, was inserted – 'Hospenthal, where the St. Gothard Pass

296. UWA/PTA/2/1/3, (1910). *Polytechnic Swiss Tours 1910*, p. 16.

297. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

branches off to the left, then through Realp to the Tiefen Gletscher Hotel, where a short halt is made. Shortly afterwards we reach the Furka Hotel, the highest point of the Pass, where luncheon is taken. The journey is afterwards continued down to the Rhone Glacier Hotel, obtaining a fine view of the Rhone Glacier on the way'.²⁹⁸ These examples suggest how the function of the images was, to at least some extent, still that of providing a knowledge of the places described. Yet, one wonders what kind of knowledge could have been expected from images printed at such a small scale - circa 5x4cm against some of the full-page images printed in the early 1890s in the *PM*, which was approximately 30x20cm. Although printing costs might again have been one reason behind this choice, the bifurcation between the function of images and text seemingly continued.

Steamer Passages arranged to all parts of the World.

Polytechnic Swiss Tours.

The most Popular of all Holidays

**A WEEK IN
LOVELY LUCERNE**

The most invigorating Holiday of the Season.


A WEEK FOR 9 GUINEAS.

A FORTNIGHT FOR 12 GUINEAS.

Five Departures from London each week.

For particulars as to travel see pages 9 and 10.

The Polytechnic Chalets



The most Popular Tour to the most Popular Resort on the Continent.

The popularity of the Chalets is world wide. They are unique in comfort and homeliness whilst the glorious gardens and extensive promenade on the lake front surpasses anything of its kind in Switzerland.

To avoid disappointment BOOK EARLY.

Places may be secured on payment of 10s.

Extensions can be taken to all parts of Switzerland, full details of the various extensions being found on pages 16 to 29.

(figure 18)


PARIS.

The arrangements of the Polytechnic for spending a week in Paris have grown each year in popularity, owing to the facilities afforded by the Association whereby the most interesting sights of the City are seen under the most favourable aspects. In addition to the Excursions to the principal sights in the City visits are made by Automobile to the historic and beautiful **Palace of Fontainebleau**, also to **Versailles**, thus embracing most of what is beautiful and historic in connection with this great and delightful City.

THE HOTELS

are situated in the most healthy part of the City, and are fitted with the latest sanitary arrangements. A Representative is in charge at each residence, thus ensuring every attention during the stay. The Excursions are all personally conducted, and the best Lecturers secured when visiting the Palaces and Museums.

The Automobile Excursions are carried out with excellently equipped conveyances.



Cathedral of Notre Dame.

The parties are personally conducted from London, and those who are making their first visit will find that all difficulties regarding language, etc., are overcome, and at the conclusion, the Tour will be regarded as one of the most interesting ever experienced.

Single rooms can be booked at a supplement of 10/6.

Arrangements have also been made with other hotels at which accommodation may be booked at a supplement of 10/6, 21/- or 2 guineas, according to the hotel chosen.

When the week in Paris tour is taken as an extension to the week in Lucerne or other centres in Switzerland, accommodation commences with bed on arrival on Saturday night.

Those booking for the week in Lucerne as an extension to and from Paris, leave Paris on the Saturday morning.

10

(figure 19)

298. UWA/PTA/2/1/3, (1910). *Polytechnic Swiss Tours 1910*, pp. 21-3.

By the 1920s, if the images still showed the places of interest mentioned in the text, the integration between the two, so that the image would appear where the copy mentioned it, had disappeared. For example, the photograph of the Polytechnic Chalets at Seeburg (figure 18, page 210) and of the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris (figure 19, page 210), from the *Polytechnic Spring and Summer Tours* of 1923, indicated which sites one ought to visit, yet it would be difficult to maintain that these images were shown in order to be studied beforehand, as for example had been the case with the image of the Naerödal gorge (figure 11, page 203). Rather, they were chosen because they represented those iconic sights/sites that the Polytechnic invested with didactic value. This assessment is supported by the consideration that, throughout this period, the organisation consistently used exactly the same sets of images, or very similar ones, across different promotional platforms. If the use of the same negatives could have been a way to save money, the fact that when different images were printed these tended to be almost identical to previous ones indicates that the PTA purposefully chose a certain subject and aesthetic. As it was the case in Regent Street, these were images that provided models of travel and photographic practice by identifying what to look at, and how to look at it. An example of this can be observed in the visual representation of the Swiss tours. Because of the PTA's invested interest in the chalets, it is reasonable to assume that the organisation paid special attention to the promotion of this destination. In 1899, for example, the *PM* noted that 'by way of a new advertisement we have this week placed in our front window a very effective pictorial model of our chalets at Lucerne. It is excellently done, and gives a very good idea of the Swiss scenery that can be enjoyed for a week at five guineas, as advertised'.²⁹⁹ This effort resulted in the majority of the images published in the *PM* during these years being of Switzerland, as well as in a substantial presence of Swiss-related brochures and publications in the archive. At the same time, because the greatest number of Polytechnic tourists travelled there, this increased the circulation, and today's conservation, of documents such as postcards or illustrated souvenirs. The consistent use of identical or similar photographs is striking. For example, of the 11 photographs used in the 1905 *Polytechnic Holiday Tours* brochure, ten of these were also used in the 1910 brochure, while others illustrated the editorials commenting

299. *PM*, 17 May 1899, p. 247.

on the tours' reunions and promoting the tours published in the *PM*, and also printed as postcards. It is plausible to assume that these images might have also provided the basis for the lantern lectures arranged in relation to the tours. The use of the same images can also be observed in the repeating of photographs published in the brochures for 1910 and 1923, the editorials published in the *PM*, and postcards. Furthermore, many of these images can also be found in the guides to Lucerne published by the Polytechnic in 1908 and 1923.³⁰⁰ As the years progressed the PTA included new images, yet in terms of both subject and frame these were not dissimilar to previous ones. This can be observed, for example, by comparing the photographs of the daily excursions from Lucerne in the brochure for 1923, with those used in the brochures of 1910 and 1905. The representation of the tours to Norway, the second favourite destination during this period, offers another example. In this case, the photographs taken by Samuel J. Beckett, the official photographer of the Norwegian cruises in the years between 1892 and 1903, were used for the glass-slides produced for the lantern lectures promoting the tours, printed on postcards, published in the *PM* to illustrate both editorials commenting on the tour reunions and promoting the cruises, and sold to tourists as a souvenir. In 1900 Beckett opened a photographic studio at 20 Baker Street, and until 1903 it was advertised in the *PM* that it provided, amongst other services, the hiring of 'lantern slides of all Poly tours' such as those published in the *PM*, organised as "lecture sets" and expressly arranged to illustrate the Polytechnic Tours to Norway, Switzerland, France, Italy, Germany, etc'.³⁰¹ The photograph album "The Polytechnic Trip in Norway in SS 'Albano'" (1891 ca.),³⁰² which was seemingly commissioned by the Polytechnic from the Norwegian Photographic Studio of F. Beyer, contains prints that not only represent the same sceneries used by the Polytechnic in the glass slides, postcards and brochures, but the photographs were also shot from almost the same spot – if one had to superimpose two images of the Stalheim Hotel facing the Naerödal gorge (figures 20 and 21, page 213), or of the Laatefos waterfalls, the difference in terms of composition and viewpoint would be

300. UWA/PTA/2/2/3, Hunt Cooke, J., (1908). *Gossip of the Lake of Lucerne.*; UWA/PTA/2/2/1, Mitchell, B., (1923). *A guide to Lovely Lucerne and surroundings.*

301. The studio was advertised for the first time on the *PM* in 1900; up until 1903 the caption of Beckett's photographs made reference to his studio. *PM*, 13 June 1900, p. 283; *The Polytechnic Magazine Holiday Supplement*, supplement to the *PM*, February 1904.

302. UWA/PTA/5/1/8, (1908ca.). *The Polytechnic Trip in Norway in SS 'Albano.'*

minimal.



Samuel J. Beckett, F.R.P.S.

20 Baker Street, W.

STALHEIM AND THE NAERODAL.

(figure 20, top, and figure 21, bottom)

This overview suggests that the PTA's changing approach to the selection and use of induced images was influenced both by the recognised aesthetics of travel photography, and by the role that the organisation saw for itself and for the tours. On the one hand, the PTA probably chose the same images, composed according to a recognised picturesque aesthetic, because of their iconic value. That is, they conformed with what Urry (1990) has described as the travel industry's transformation of the picturesque into a style of representation reminiscent of an informed, and hence didactic, approach to the travel experience. As discussed in Chapter 2, this can be considered in terms of the commodification of cultural sites for the purpose of consumption. On the other hand, however, I propose that the function of these induced representations must also be understood in relation to the progressive transformation of the Polytechnic/PTA's approach to cultural travel. As such, these images are indicative of the PTA's new way of thinking about photography and the informative value of its indexicality – that is, the relationship between image and knowledge. Following from the PTA's changing understanding of what could make travel an improving experience, the role allocated to the documental value of images was transformed. From offering a visual platform on which to conduct the study of a destination, in this way supporting the approach to travel as an organised form of learning, images were now used to signpost those culturally recognised sites whose visit would have secured for the tourists an 'instructive' experience. That is, if not to study the images, the PTA at least expected the viewers to acquire a knowledge of which destinations would have been instructive. In doing so the nineteenth-century faith in photography as a means of direct observation and study (Schwartz, 1996, 2000) was applied to the promotion of the tours inasmuch as the educational project of the Polytechnic saw in travel – and as an extension of it in its representation - the possibility of imparting a formative knowledge to tourists.

These observations inform an analysis of the Polytechnic/PTA's representation of the tours by indicating that the choice of images was made on the basis of which visual media could best support the function of providing 'information'. That is, the (expected) function allocated to images was directly related to the (expected) function of the tours. Furthermore, they suggest that it was the role of 'educator' that the Polytechnic saw for itself to determine the choice of images, and their perception. By imparting to the viewers

the knowledge of *what* they needed to see, and *how* they needed to see it, these induced representations were expected to present rational information about the destinations. The sense of persuasion, to borrow from the considerations discussed in Chapter 3 regarding the development of tourism marketing, had here more to do with convincing people to travel to particular destinations and to follow given routes, than with convincing them to travel with the Polytechnic rather than with the competition. By doing so, the induced images produced during this period did not attempt to be 'unique'. When images showed the facilities or infrastructures provided by the Polytechnic, their aim was not to *idealise* the experience, but to provide practical information. Mitchell and his entourage certainly recognised the issues that emerged with organising tours - from how to reach a destination to which accommodations would be used – yet these were considered as a means to an end – that is, relevant inasmuch as they made possible the experience of instructive tours to take place. Probably for this reason both the *PM* and the tours' brochures also included advertisements for railway companies and, eventually, other travel firms.

The points hitherto made about the function allocated by the PTA to induced images are key for an understanding of the organisation's relationship with tourists and their photographic practices in the period between 1888 and 1923. Firstly, this analysis reveals that the reason why the PTA did not include tourists' photographs, or photographs showing tourists, is because the task of induced images was that of informing and instructing prospective tourists, not of illustrating the experiences of those who had already been on a tour. If the social context of the tour reunions encouraged the sharing of snapshots, or of other photographs of party members, this did not conform to the official purposes of the images in addressing a broader public. By looking at induced images viewers were expected to learn what were considered to be the significant features, from the perspective of instruction and self-improvement, of each destination. The function of visual media – be it either photography or photography-based illustration - was to give evidence of a world that did not change according to tourists' perspective, but which was fixed in its pedagogic potential and available for tourists' consumption. In this respect, tourists were considered the passive recipients of information, expected to recognise and learn from an established source of value – the PTA's. Secondly, these reflections allow for an evaluation of the

PTA's representational choices in relation to the emergent democratisation of photography. They suggest that, because of the understanding of induced images as the provision of practical information and instruction, and of the tourists as individuals to guide through the experience of travel, the PTA's intention was not that of creating a branded representation that would be uniquely interpreted. Rather, in its role as 'educator' the organisation related to tourists' photographic practices, which problematised the relationship between image and knowledge by multiplying photographic readings, by instructing the prospective tourists about the recognised approach to both travel and photography. That is, the Polytechnic/PTA's induced images were constructed in order to provide a model for how travel photography ought to be produced, consumed and understood in order to contribute to the formative character of the tours.

7.2. Representing culture as emotion and leisure (1924-1939)

Starting in 1924 the PTA's role shifted from that of 'educator' to that of provider of services and infrastructures, thus constructing tours according to what it thought customers *wanted*. This, as already discussed, was understood to be an emotional and leisurely-based experience; consequently, the task of determining the significance and value of travel was now ascribed to the tourists themselves, and no longer the PTA. The purpose of this section is to explore the connection between the PTA's visual promotion of the tours as an experience centred on tourists' participation, and the democratisation of photography. It does so, first, by focusing on the PTA Photographic Competition, inaugurated in 1928, in order to understand how the approach to tourists as customers influenced the organisation's response to their photographic practices; and, second, by exploring how this was negotiated alongside the requirement to brand the PTA tours – that is, of producing 'unique' induced images.

The PTA Photographic Competition

The organisation of photographic competitions was not unusual at the Polytechnic. Since the early 1900s various clubs and societies had been arranging photographic competitions as part of their social activities: the earliest were organised, possibly unsurprisingly, by the

Photographic Society, followed after the war by the Cavendish Cycling Club in 1922, 1938 and 1939, by the Ramblers' Club in 1927, and by the Young Women's Institute in 1920 and 1927. The *PM* mentions a photographic competition organised by the Polytechnic in conjunction with the Swiss tours as early as 1901, however this is likely to have been a one-off event.³⁰³ It was not until 1928 that a Photographic Competition was officially established in relation to the PTA tours. Its success was such that it ran each year until the outbreak of the Second World War, and eventually it was resumed in 1947.³⁰⁴ The first mention of the competition appears in an editorial published in the *PM* in April 1928. Introducing the event, the PTA commented: 'each year sees an increasing number of people of both sexes and all ages attracted to that fascinating hobby – photography. Members are reminded of an attractive competition which has been arranged for camera enthusiasts travelling on a Polytechnic tour'.³⁰⁵ The 'several thousand entries'³⁰⁶ that the PTA allegedly received in 1931 indicate that tourists' photography was now more than a peripheral activity in the tourists' experience of travel, and suggest that the PTA Photographic Competition was, to an extent, the recognition of such a development. During the interwar years the practice of setting up photographic competitions as a way to promote a given product was a common one, and 'companies from pet food manufacturers to railways used to advertise photographic competitions in the daily press to encourage sales of their products' (Taylor, 1994: 38). In this respect the PTA simply followed a market trend that took advantage of the popularisation of the medium in order to stimulate the consumption of a product, in this case its tours. However, I argue that the PTA Photographic Competition must also be discussed as the result of the transformed relationship between the travel firm and tourists, and of a new approach to the promotion of travel as an event based on individual experience.

A first indication of the motivations behind the PTA's establishment of the event, and of how the organisation related to the photographs that were produced as part of it, is found in the competition's regulations. The rules to participate in the contest, which remained the

303. *PM*, 11 December 1901, p. 249.

304. It has not been possible to ascertain until when the PTA Photographic Competition ran.

305. *PM*, April 1928, p. 102.

306. *PM*, November 1931, p. 218.

same throughout the 1930s, offer an insight into the structure of the event, what type of photographs the PTA encouraged the tourists to submit, and what use the PTA envisioned for these images. As printed in the tours' summer programme of 1929, the regulations of the PTA Photographic Competition stated:

(1) Entries will consist of photographs taken in the course of any tour booked through the PTA ... Entries will be judged solely on their merits as illustrations, and not as photographs. The interest of the subject, especially from the touring point of view is the main thing, not the photographic quality of technique. (2) Only bona-fide Amateur Photographers are eligible to compete for the prizes offered in this Competition, which is confined to those who have travelled under the auspices of the PTA during the Season from Easter, 1929, to September 30th, 1929. [...] (5) Competitors may send in as many entries as they like [...] (7) The following particulars must be written on the back of each entry: - (a) Name and address of competitor (b) Subject of Photograph. [...] (9) The copyright of prize-winning pictures shall vest in the PTA, Ltd, who without further consideration shall be entitled the possession of the negatives and the assignment of the copyright. The PTA reserve [sic] the right to reproduce all pictures with suitable acknowledgment. (10) Names of the prize winners will be announced at the Continental Tours Re-Union of the PTA, the occasion of which will be announced later. The winning pictures will be exhibited on the screen at the Re-Union, together with a selection of the photographs submitted.³⁰⁷

These rules, here partially reported, suggest three main points. Firstly, they indicate that the PTA expected its audience to know and observe the conventions of travel photography – those models of photographic practice normalised for example within the Polytechnic's culture of travel. The prints submitted ought to document (hence their value as 'illustrations') what made the PTA tours interesting 'from the touring point of view', and thus not be images of the services or infrastructure offered by the PTA, nor either of what was of personal interest to the tourists. Rather, as the examples that I shortly discuss indicate, these were generally images of the iconic sights/sites of the various destinations, framed within that picturesque aesthetic that had become the currency of travel consumption. A Kodak advertisement

307. UWA/PTA/2/1/7, (1929). *The Polytechnic Tours for 1929. Summer Programme*, p. 140.

published in the PTA summer tours programme of 1936, for example, is interesting in this regard because it offers an illustration of how tourists were expected to frame their images (figure 22, page below). To this extent, participants had to conform to the representation of what were officially accepted as valuable travel sites and experiences.



(figure 22)

However, and this introduces my second point, the PTA simultaneously allowed participants to move beyond recognised aesthetic conventions concerning how such subjects ought to be represented. It did so by opening the competition to non-professional photographers only, and by specifying that the images would not be judged ‘as photographs’, that is, not on ‘quality of technique’. This indicates, I would argue, that if the PTA expected the participants to submit images, for example, of the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, or of the Coliseum in Rome, it also expected these images to reflect the photographers’

experience and perspective of visiting these iconic places. This supports the consideration, raised in the previous chapter, that individual experience was recognised as the basis for the understanding – and thus representation – of the PTA tours. Further, and leading to a third and final point, a reading of the regulations reveals that the PTA envisioned a promotional application for such representations: that is, it had the intention of promoting the tours through the viewpoint of the tourists. Aware of the promotional value of tourists' photographs, the PTA put itself in the position of being able to use the photographs for any marketing purposes. Rule 9 stated that: 'the copyright of the prize-winning pictures shall vest in the PTA, Ltd, who without further consideration shall be entitled the possession of the negatives and the assignment of the copyright', as a result of which the organisation 'reserve [sic] the right to reproduce all pictures with suitable acknowledgment'. What this means is that the PTA could use all the photographs submitted (winning or not) in any of its promotional material, or even sell them to third parties, on the condition that the author be credited.

It is difficult to ascertain with precision what use the PTA effectively made of these photographs. There are no records of the submissions and of the winners, of how images were selected, of whether and which ones of these were sold to third companies, or of where and how the PTA used them. A number of assumptions can however be advanced. First of all the winning images, but apparently also a broader selection of submissions, were projected during the tour reunions as part of the announcement and awarding of prizes to the winners. In this respect the organisation profited from the practice, already developed in the pre-1924 period, of reliving one's holiday and of sharing one's travel snapshots with fellow party members.³⁰⁸ Studd later recalled how the tour reunions offered the opportunity to restore the memories of travel - hence promoting the PTA – and the projections of imagery worked immensely towards this goal:

The revival of the reunion after the war was an instantaneous success. It was a more sophisticated age, yet more than five thousand flocked to the Albert Hall. I watched them, dancing and singing, and everywhere the greeting "Fancy

308. UWA/PTA 3/1, (1938). *Jubilee at Home and Reunion programme*; UWA/PTA 3/2, (1938). *Polytechnic Tours Jubilee Reunion Programme*.

meeting you". I thought of how the holiday had been drawn suddenly out of the summer through the autumn leaves, the fogs, the frosts and the snow right into the biting February wind. In transit it had lost the dazzling incandescence of morning sun on snow, but it had the warm tincture of the Alpine Glow. And it lasted longer (1950: 112-114).

Given that the reunions brought together thousands of people who had taken part in different tours, and that the inclusion of amusing shots was not a novelty, the images probably did not chronicle one particular journey, but provided an overview of the different PTA destinations. When identifying the experience of one specific group, the images allowed the rest of the audience to witness the first-hand experience of those who had participated in other tours. As such, tourists' photographs were used in the representations of the PTA tours to draw summer out of 'the autumn leaves, the fogs, the frosts and the snow right into the biting February wind' (Studd, 1950: 112-114). The lantern was a successful stage on which to promote this discourse because if the holiday – or at least its memory – lasted longer, this gave the PTA the opportunity to promote them throughout the year, which they did through the projection of photographs and films. For example, during a tour reunion held in Liverpool in 1938 the *PM* commented that a 15-minute film was shown 'reviving the pleasant memories of your explorations in foreign parts'.³⁰⁹ Yet, in doing so, the PTA partially transformed the function of the images as this had been part of the lantern entertainments: if the travel lantern had up to that point been used to provide indoors journeys that could offer both educational and promotional information, its function was now primarily that of introducing the audience to destinations with which they might not have been familiar. During the Continental Tours Reunion that took place in 1928, for example, it was reported that 'a selection of photographs taken by the competitors was shown on the screen. This was followed by a series of coloured photographs of the various centres which were described by Commander Studd'.³¹⁰ The distribution of the prizes offered another occasion to promote the breadth of the PTA offer, as these consisted mostly of one-week holidays in one of the PTA structures. 'The chalets and hotels mentioned above', specified

309. *PM*, November 1928, p. 310.

310. *Ibid.*

the PTA in the advertisement promoting the prizes of the Photographic Competition, ‘are all Polytechnic Properties, run by Polytechnic Staff to give the best comfort to Polytechnic Visitors’.³¹¹ As such, for example, in 1928 the first prize was a ‘Challenge Cup’ and a Cine-Kodak, the first 16mm camera, while those who came from second to fifth received a one-week holiday in one of the PTA facilities in Italy, Scotland, Belgium or Wales.³¹² The type of prize remained the same throughout the 1930s (and beyond): in 1939 the first prize consisted of a ‘Challenge Cup’ and Cine-Kodak, and from the second to the seventh prize a one-week holiday at PTA facilities in Switzerland, Belgium, Scotland and, as the last prize, to the Cornish Riviera.³¹³ It might be suggested that during the tour reunions informality and sociability could have been one reason why the PTA used tourists’ photographs to promote the tours. This was validated by the personal engagement of the authors of these photographs and their fellow travellers, who would then share their-first hand experiences of visiting the destinations in the collective space of the reunions. Yet, the photographs submitted to the PTA Photographic Competition were also used in other contexts that, reaching far beyond the space of the tour reunions, assumed an audience who did not have any personal connection with the images, the people within the images or a knowledge of the places shown. Between 1929 and 1934, the PTA summer brochures included a number of photographs that, I propose, were probably taken by tourists and submitted to the competition. There is no documentation that overtly acknowledges the provenance of these photographs, and the absence of any list of passengers precludes checking if the names to which the photographs are credited corresponded to those of tourists. Yet, the observations raised in relation to the rules of the competition, together with clues that can be noticed in the images themselves, support this conclusion. Figures 23 (page 223) and 24 (page 224), for instance, show two pages of the PTA summer programme for 1929, the first summer brochure to follow the PTA Photographic Competition. Included in the sections on the Swiss Tours and French Tours respectively, these two pages offer an example of the

311. UWA/PTA/2/1/7, (1929). *The Polytechnic Tours for 1929. Summer Programme*, p. 139.

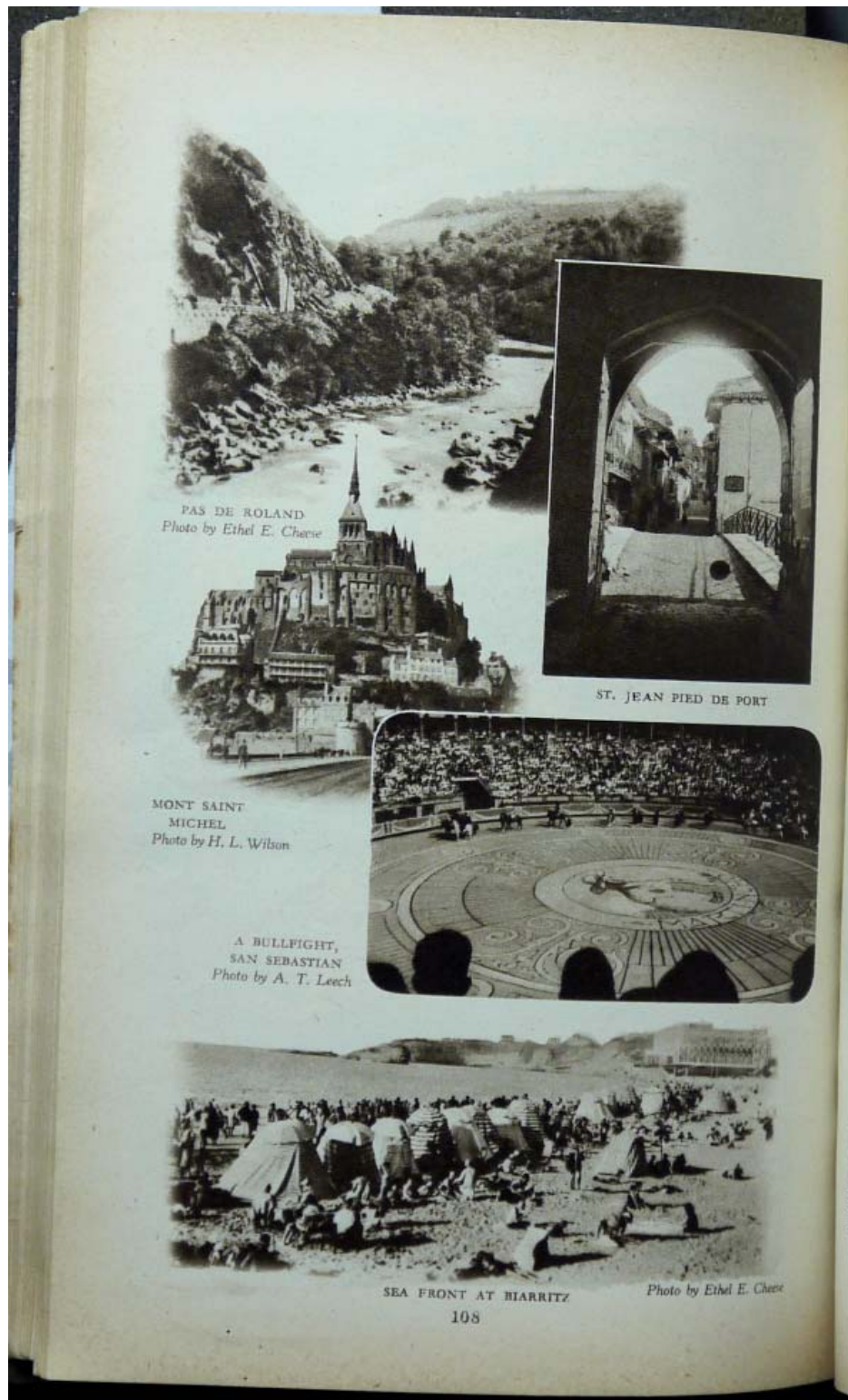
312. *PM*, April 1928, p.102; UWA/PTA/2/1/16, (1939). *Holidays to the loveliest places in Europe. Let’s Go Abroad. Polytechnic Holiday Programme, 1939*, p. 50.

313. UWA/PTA/2/1/16, (1939). *Holidays to the loveliest places in Europe. Let’s Go Abroad. Polytechnic Holiday Programme, 1939*, p. 50.

type of images printed in the brochures during these years. Of the total 106 photographs published in the PTA summer programme for 1929, 67 are credited to individuals almost all bearing different names, many of whom are women, while the remaining 31 are either not credited at all, suggesting that the copyright rested with the PTA, or credited to Railway Companies, professional photographers or photographic studios.



(figure 23)



(figure 24)

The nine images published on the selected two pages credit seven different photographers, with an Ethel E. Cheese being the author of two of the images in the French Tours' section page, while one of the photographs is not credited. The subjects of the photographs, as indicated by the captions and confirmed by the details of the excursions provided in the

brochures, are the landscapes, cultural sites and activities that one would have taken part in by travelling with the PTA - a perspective certainly interesting 'from a touring point of view'. While some of the photographs provide a general view of glaciers, rivers or heritage sites encountered during the excursions – images that more closely complied with recognised aesthetic standards of picture taking – in other cases it can be observed how the photographer had side-stepped this pattern. For example, S. G. Cogswell's photograph of a 'Polytechnic party at Altdorf Tell's monument' (figure 23, page 223) shows a woman smiling to the camera while a group of tourists behind her stands in front of the monument. There is little doubt that this was taken during a PTA excursion, and it also seems plausible to suggest that the woman and the photographer, who obviously were aware of or knew each other, were taking part themselves. Similarly, A. T. Leech's photograph of 'A bullfight, San Sebastian' (figure 24, page 224), taken from the terraces of the arena, suggests that the photograph was the product of a spectator to the event, possibly a tourist. Within the brochure a number of similar examples can be found, and if we go by what was stated in rule number 9, many of these photograph could well be those submitted to the competition, and which the PTA had the right to reproduce on condition that it credited the authors. It is not possible to know if any of these won one of the prizes; it would be interesting to know which photographs the PTA considered to illustrate best the 'touring point of view', yet the lack of any definite documentation makes the task unfeasible. Nonetheless, these images are representative of the type of photographs printed in the summer brochures until 1934, and it is likely that many of the various Miss, Mrs and Mr to whom photographs were credited had been tourists on one of the PTA tours. As I will discuss, between 1935 and 1939 the style of the PTA brochures changed considerably; yet, it appears that the PTA continued to include photographs that are likely to have been taken as part of the PTA Photographic Competition. A similar use of tourists' photographs to promote the PTA tours was made, at the end of the 1930s, in the stalls set up during the Polytechnic's annual exhibition fete. For example, during the New Year's Fete of 1937-38 the PTA arranged an exhibition of 'some hundred enlarged prints of the best pictures taken by the tourists during the last holiday season in connection with the Prize Competition of the Association'.³¹⁴ The

314. *PM*, December 1937, p. 258.

following year, to this exhibition the PTA added ‘sound and colour films of beauty spots throughout the world’.³¹⁵

The shift from using tourists’ photographs during the tour reunions, to using them in other contexts such as that of the brochures or public events, is indicative of a transformation in the PTA’s promotion of its tours. Specifically, it suggests that the PTA’s approach to tourists as customers influenced the organisation’s response to the democratisation of photography; and, consequently, what the PTA expected tourists’ photographs, used as induced representations, to convey. That is, the PTA Photographic Competition evidences the organisation’s acknowledgement: i) of the tourists, and interestingly so of the tourist photographers, as the protagonists of the travel experience; and ii) of how the multiplicity of perspectives generated by one’s travel and photographic practices were indicative of tourists’ personal experiences. Adopted by the PTA as induced representations, tourists’ photographs transformed the function allocated to the visual promotion of PTA tours by representing, through tourists’ perspectives, those iconic sights/sites not as they *ought* to be experienced, but in the many ways through which these *could* be made one’s own. On this account it can be argued that the establishment of the PTA Photographic Competition was not only a tactical response to a popular pastime, but also the realisation that idiosyncratic perspectives could communicate the idea of travel as an experience centred on the personal and emotional response of the tourists. As a result, tourists became a subject in themselves in the promotion of the tours. Simultaneously, however, the PTA’s approach to the role of tourists as both customers and travel protagonists had to be compromised by the requirement to brand the travel firm. This is the subject of the next section, in which the development of ‘unique’ induced images is discussed as a way to frame, within a PTA perspective, the multiplicity of readings engendered by tourists’ photographic practices.

‘Travel Polytechnic’: the branding of the PTA

With the development of an approach to travel as leisurely and emotionally based, the personal and first-hand experiences of the tourists came to the fore. And, as seen, this meant that the value of travel was now considered to rest not necessarily on a given site from

315. *PM*, January 1939, p. 4.

which to learn, but on how the tourists approached and made sense of it. As a consequence of this, how tourists understood induced images became a pressing concern for a travel firm that not only promoted travel as an individual experience, but that most importantly depended on the tourists' responses to its marketing in order to succeed. In *The Holiday Story* Studd recalled how, as soon as he was appointed Managing Director:

I set up a Plans division. We had little to learn from the past except Mitchell's example of personal service, and we did not intend emulate our competitors. No! We had to establish Polytechnic as an organisation with a programme and policy distinct from competitors. It had to have a character of its own, individuality, so that the clients could identify the character of its advice with the name (1950: 102).

In order to produce such 'individuality', Studd decided 'to spend money, big money, on advertising', and to develop a marketing strategy that started out from an investigation of the tourists' own demands: 'advertising statistics were worked out with the advertising agent, with results obtained from all sorts of advertising. Figures included the total number of inquiries received, the number who finally booked for holidays and the money they spent' (1950: 99, 142). Although no documents have survived, the agency could have been Samson Clark's, who, as already seen, had acted as advertising agent for the Polytechnic since 1896.³¹⁶ The relationship between the Polytechnic, the PTA and Clark's agency is likely to have continued after the First World War, as Quintin Hogg's daughter Ethel was by 1923 a director of the Samson Clark agency (Nevett, 1982: 149). The first step taken to brand the tours was that of creating a symbol that could stand for (and brand) the PTA services. As Studd later commented:

We had decided on an emblem – something easy to define and remember symbolising the service I hoped to give. After a long debate which ranged over all the animals in the zoo, we agreed on a seagull, because it was the only bird found all over the world (1950: 112).

316. *PM*, March 1925, p. 42.

The drawing of a white seagull flying with open wings, generally on a dark blue background or within a white and dark blue colour scheme, appeared on all the editorials and advertisements published in the *PM* between 1927 and 1931; on the cover and editorial of all the tours' programmes that could be analysed for the period between 1929 and 1939; on the excursion programmes; and also adorned the 'blue wallet' holding tourists' tickets and journey's details. This symbol was usually accompanied by the slogan 'travel Polytechnic'.

to Europe's playground by Polytechnic!

A deep blue lake . . . a brief fringe of sunlit beach . . . then dark forests climbing halfway up to the snow-clad peaks which tower above them . . . Switzerland . . . Europe's Playground . . . your summer holiday!

This year, experience the splendid change which only foreign travel gives. A change which sees your daily life and habits dropping away like a cloak, until you feel that *this* is your life. This enchanted wandering, this drinking in of beauty, this tasting of new and rare delights . . . you were made for this. And when the time comes to return, you have so much of your holiday to bring away with you. Vivid impressions, rich memories, new dreams, all stored away to carry you through the winter. And remember, because you have been interested, others will find you interesting too.

Why hesitate? Polytechnic prices are well within your means—a week in Switzerland costs very little more than a week at an English seaside resort. There is no difficulty; the Polytechnic buy your tickets, meet you at the train, accommodate you at their own hotels or chalets, amuse you in the evenings. Your holiday is swept free of worry.★

Some typical "Poly" holidays

LUCERNE, 1 week, £8.5.0; 2 weeks, £11.18.6. LUGANO, 1 week, £9.19.6; 2 weeks, £13.13.0. GRINDELWALD, 1 week, £10.10.0; 2 weeks, £14.14.0. MONTREUX, 1 week, £11.0.6; 2 weeks, £15.10.6.

These prices include return rail ticket from London, accommodation, and full board (3 meals daily). The programme contains many interesting suggestions for combined tours.

travel Polytechnic

***Post this Coupon to-day** to Department PW 4, Polytechnic Touring Association, Ltd., 311 Regent Street, London, W.1 (Phones: Mayfair 6100 & 5548, 6 lines)

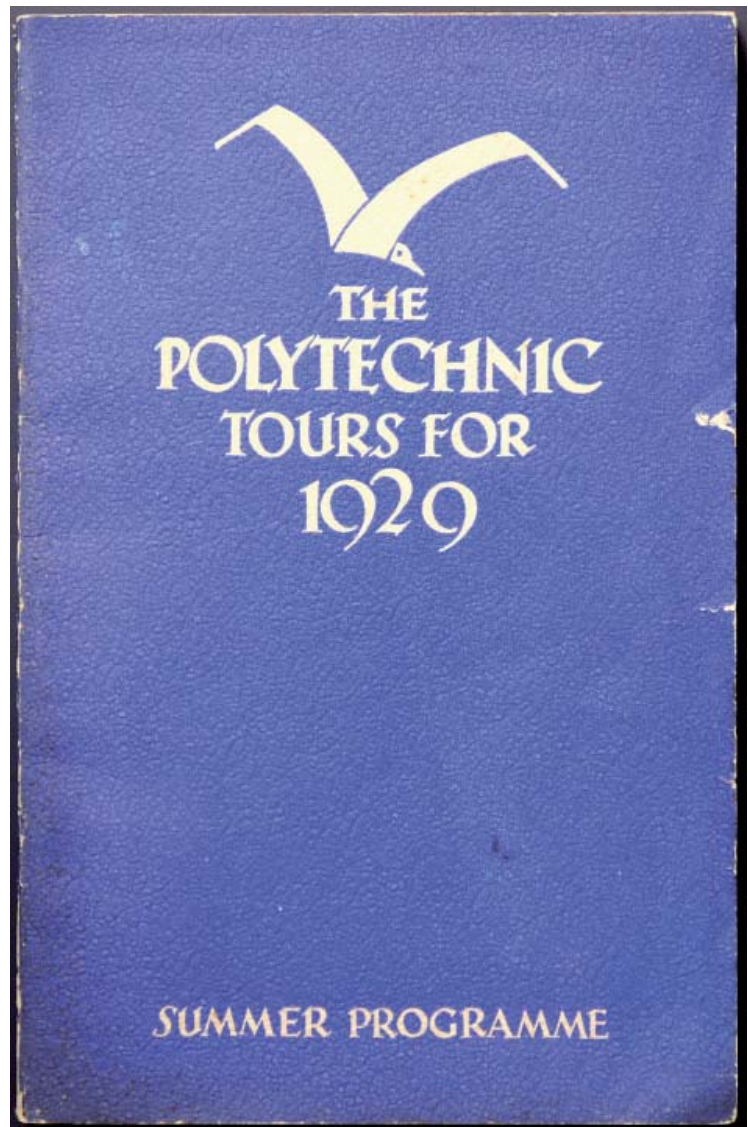
Name _____
Address _____
★ Address your envelope to "Dept. . . ." PLEASE! £1 stamp will do if you leave envelope unsealed.

Printed for the Proprietors by W. J. POLLOCK & Co., Ltd., 79-81 Mortimer Street, W.1

(figure 25)

The earliest examples can be observed in figure 25 (above), showing the first advertisement published in the *PM* in June 1927 after a three-year absence from the in-house journal, and in figure 26 (page 229), the cover of the summer programme for 1929. In both cases, the function of the seagull was that of creating a recognisable representation – a logo - of the

PTA itself; that is, of ‘symbolising the services’ of the PTA as the provider of a practical and technical support to travel. In doing so the PTA developed a ‘unique’ induced image of itself - ‘something easy to define and remember’.



(figure 26)

Yet, it is important to consider that what the PTA set out to represent was not something that had a referent in external reality: that is, the function of the logo was not that of representing a destination in a different way, but of focusing on one aspect of the experience of travel which would have facilitated the visit to that destination. In this respect, it could be argued that the choice of graphic design over photography was made because of the intangible nature of the PTA's services, and thus the need to make visible something that only existed at an experiential level. A similar argument can be made in relation to a series of advertisements published in the *PM* between February 1928 and August 1930, in which the PTA focused on the relationship between itself as the provider of a service, and the

tourists portrayed as active participants in the travel discourse. Figures 27 and 28 (below) illustrate two of these advertisements, published respectively in February 1928 and July 1930. Each image juxtaposed two different temporal and spatial scenarios, that of the potential tourists (those in the advert, presumably made to correspond with those reading the advert) as they imagined and planned their holidays, and of the scenarios they either looked at (as in figure 27) or imagined (as in figure 28). The adverts used drawings to articulate a narrative that was not about specific destinations, but that focused on the role of the PTA in facilitating the experience.

60 THE POLYTECHNIC MAGAZINE FEBRUARY, 1928



Your Seats could be reserved too

Why not go with them? Why hold back? They are all set for pleasure, all eager for life, all ready for new experiences. Adventures are in store for them, exciting, thrilling but always enjoyable. Strange sights and scenes and cities will be at their journey's end. Their ways will lead them across wide lakes and to the top of white mountains. They will voyage in cars and thru mountain railways and on boats. Forests they will see, unlike the English forests. Lushly pine-trees towering before the sunset, and, from a peak above the clouds, the birth of a new day. Go with them and learn why a Polytechnic Holiday is more than a change of lands and more than a change of peoples, why it is a change of life. Discover what it means to your holiday to have all the burden and bother, the fuss and fatigue gone from your traveling; to be met at the stations and again on the quaysides, to be advised, directed and accompanied on your journeyings. Get the holiday-book—'Polytechnic Holidays in 1928.' Read through it, dream through it and choose your spot. From it you will learn that Polytechnic Holidays are not expensive, costing no more than holidays in England. In it you will find assurance that no discounting extras can entice you, that before you set out you will know exactly how much your holiday will cost. Do this to-day!

travel Polytechnic
to all parts of the Continent

Fill in this coupon, and post it, using a 1d. stamp, in an unsealed envelope, to Department O, Polytechnic Touring Association Ltd., 311 Regent Street, London, W.1, or call at that address and make your enquiries. Telephones: MAYFAIR 0100 (5 lines) and 5548 (5 lines).

Theatre tickets can also be obtained at The Polytechnic Touring Association Ltd.

(figure 27)

62 THE POLYTECHNIC MAGAZINE JULY, 1930



Months of work, then . . . Holidays

Taste the Joys of Foreign Travel
8-day Holiday in Normandy £63.6. All expenses paid

You may have thought of a holiday abroad as an expensive luxury costing more than you care to afford, but here is a plan which will enable you to take the most substantial holiday you ever dreamed of—cheap—without spending a fraction more than you usually spend at home.

For one low inclusive price, which covers every possible form of expense, even to tips and local taxes, you can see Paris, enjoy the magnificent lake and mountain scenery of Switzerland or an anywhere in Europe. You will have every detail arranged for you as if you were travelling on a regular line.

This wonderful programme of Continental holidays has been achieved by the Polytechnic Touring Association, the most progressive organisation of its kind—after months of negotiation. The vast resources of the P.T.A. throughout Europe have been utilised to secure the best choice of rooms in hundreds of hotels specially chosen for their comfort and good cuisine. Huge contracts have been made for rail and

You get reserved seats in trains, passages on boats, full board in hotels. Travelled throughout with you to speak foreign languages help you through the customs and see to all details, leaving you free to get every ounce of enjoyment out of your holiday.

For the coupon form, or call at the P.T.A. Regent Street for the 1930 Polytechnic Programme. Choose your general holiday with full details of hundreds of holidays before you. Examine the maps and photographs and coloured pictures. Whatever price you want to pay there are plenty of holidays for your choice. Book now while the best accommodations is still available.

POLYTECHNIC TRAVELLERS GET THE BEST. On the Continent the words "Polytechnic Traveller" mean that you are travelling under the auspices of the widest known organisation of its kind. You are treated with special respect—like an honoured guest—and your way is made easy everywhere. Here are just a few inclusive prices.

BELGIUM (8-day holiday)
Cruised from - - - 5/11 6
Bruges - - - - - 4/10 6

FRANCE (8-day holiday)
Normandy coast from 4/0 6
Paris from (week-end) - 4/7 6
Rhodes (9 days) - - - 4/0 6

SWITZERLAND (see below)
Lucerne from - - - 4/8 6
Montreux - - - - - 4/0 6
Lauterbach - - - - 4/0 6
Luzern - - - - - 4/0 6
Glandweil - - - - - 4/0 6

GERMANY (10-day holiday)
Black Forest from - 4/14 6

Travel POLYTECHNIC
to all parts of the Continent

Fill in this coupon and post to-day.

Please send me the 1930 Polytechnic Programme complete with maps and illustrations and full details of Continental Holidays.

Name: _____
Address: _____

Please write in BLOCK CAPITALS—(Post in an unsealed envelope, using a 1d. stamp, to THE POLYTECHNIC TOURING ASSOCIATION LTD., 311 (O) Regent St., London, W.1. Telephone: MAYFAIR 5548 (5 lines).

Printed for the Proprietors by W. J. POLLOCK & Co., Ltd., 11-13 Northway Street, W.1

(figure 28)

However, the transformation in the use of visual media was not limited to the PTA's logo, or to the representation of its services, eventually extending to the representation of those iconic sights/sites that prospective tourists could have visited, and that traditionally had been illustrated with photographs or photography-based images. If the use of the photographic image was not abandoned, as the analysis of the PTA Photographic Competition might have anticipated, its function in relation to induced images was certainly complicated by the emergence of the PTA's branding concerns, and by a transformation

in the understanding of what customers *wanted*. As a result, distinctive roles came to be allocated to photography and to non-photography-based induced images, indeed affecting the relationship between these two forms of images.

Throughout this period the use of photography, similarly to the pre-1924 context, was made in order to provide information about the destinations. Yet, the type and function of this information was now determined by the promotional concerns of the organisation: rather than aiming at instructing the viewers, photographs were used to signpost those sites recognised as iconic of each destination. That is, the function of photography was that of turning destinations into products of consumption, at the same time anticipating possible settings in which tourists could develop their personal narratives. A number of examples illustrate this view. Photographs were used in the travelogues that, delivered in Regent Street, bridged the educational project of the Polytechnic with the promotional agenda of the PTA. In 1928, for example, the PTA arranged in Regent Street a series of ‘Travel Talks’, open to the general public, ‘on some of the centres covered by Polytechnic Tours’. As the editorial that appeared in the *PM* explained, ‘the lectures, which are illustrated by lantern slides, will be of special interest to those who have already travelled under the auspices of the Polytechnic, and those who intend doing so’.³¹⁷ The intent of the lectures was clearly promotional, yet the title of many of the talks suggests how, possibly because these were taking place within the Polytechnic’s own premises, the focus was on the cultural or natural attractions of each location: ‘Sunny Italy’, ‘Montreaux and Lake Geneva’, ‘Holland and Belgium’ ‘Paris in Art and History’, ‘Seeing Switzerland from Lucerne’, ‘The Highlands of Switzerland’, ‘Versailles and Fontainbleau’, ‘Picturesque Germany’, ‘Switzerland’ and ‘Bonnie Scotland’. A note published in the *PM* in 1933 announced a new series of travelogues, described as ‘a really first-class entertainment of very considerable educational value. There is generally not a dull moment in the evening, and something is to be learned the whole time’.³¹⁸ The brief synopsis provided for each of the scheduled lectures indicates how the focus was on the ‘really beautiful scenes’ and ‘the principal cities and places of interest’ that prospective tourists would have visited, and that the rest

317. *PM*, January 1928, p. 13.

318. *PM*, January 1933, p. 9.

of the audience could have learned from. After 1933 it has not been possible to trace any other record of similar events within the Polytechnic archive. One reason for this could be the increasing popularity of cinema, with the Polytechnic Theatre showing, for example, travel-related documentaries such as *South* (1928), Ernest Shackleton's film about his Antarctic expedition;³¹⁹ *Roaring Dusk* (1930), 'a story of adventure in the dark continent of Africa';³²⁰ and Mario Bonnard's *Song of the Alps* (1930), which although a fictional film offered an 'awe inspiring' view of the Swiss scenery.³²¹ News-related documentaries were also shown. For example, during the lecture *Eighteen months in Italy studying Fascism* (1928) a film on the origin and early development of Fascism was shown.³²² As exemplified by the description of the film accompanying a lecture on Palestine in 1930 indicates, the cinematograph 'treated of the history of the land, and the sacred sites of special interest to us', just as the travelogue would have done.³²³ Another motivation might have been the friction emerging during this time between the Polytechnic and the PTA, seen in the previous chapter, with the latter having moved out of Regent Street in 1930. Despite the fate of the travelogue, the use of photographs for the representation of iconic sights/sites continued across different platforms. In 1931 the pocket size 'descriptive accounts of the daily excursions, historical notes and useful and general information in connection with the Polytechnic tours to the Bernese Oberland' were illustrated by full-page photographs of some of the sceneries that tourists would have encountered along the way.³²⁴ Similarly, between October 1927 and July 1928 the PTA published in each monthly issue of the *PM* a two-page spread editorial titled 'Travel Polytechnic'. This was structured in three main sections: a column discussing each month a different feature of travel (from the 'origin and growth' of the organisation to the PTA's services, as well as marketed discussions on the meaning and benefits of travelling PTA); a second column titled 'in search of sunshine', promoting various abroad destinations as well as tourism in England; and a section on

319. *PM*, April 1928, p. 114.

320. *PM*, June 1930, p. 120.

321. UWA/RSP/6/6/13. Programme of Mario Bonnard's *Song of the Alps* (1930).

322. *PM*, February 1928, p. 45.

323. *PM*, March 1930, p. 66.

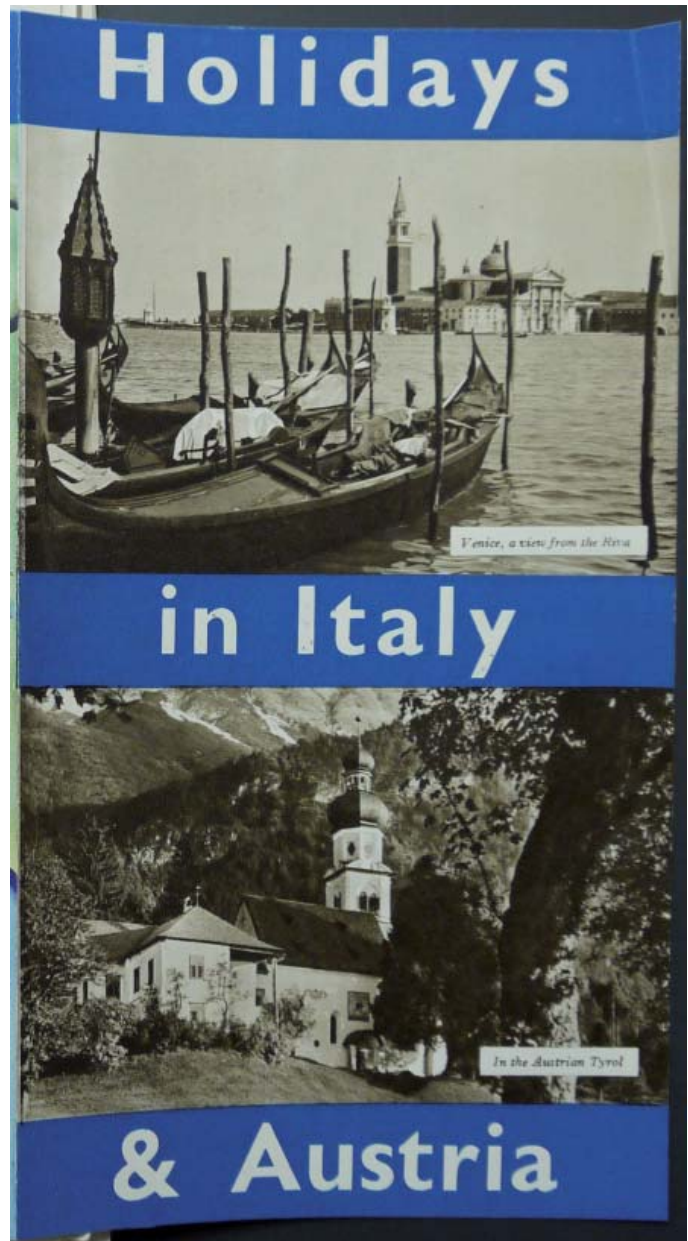
324. UWA/PTA/2/2/6, (1931). *The Bernese Oberland*.

various services provided by the PTA, from the reservation of train and theatre tickets, to the 5% discount to Poly students and members and the answering of correspondence. Each issue was illustrated with photographs of the iconic sights/sites of the various destinations discussed in the editorial, such as the Arc de Triumph in Paris, the Forum in Rome, the Doges Palace in Venice, and Lake Lugano, Lucerne and Mount Pilatus in Switzerland. Figure 29 (below), which shows the first page of the 'Travel Polytechnic' editorial published on January 1928, offers an example of this. Photographs of interest 'from the touring point of view', possibly produced by the tourists as part of the PTA Photographic Competition, by the PTA or by third parties, were also used in the summer brochures.



(figure 29)

Figure 30 (below) shows an insert, advertising tours to Italy and Austria, in the *Happy Holidays Abroad* summer programme for 1935. The two photographs, as also suggested by their captions - 'Venice, a view from the Riva' and 'In the Austrian Tyrol' – referenced what were now considered to be representative views of each destination.



(figure 30)

The value and function of photography-based induced images as iconic representations can also be observed in figure 31 (page 235), showing the insert on the French tours contained in the *Let's Go Abroad Jubilee Programme* for 1938. In this instance, France is promoted as the 'Land of Laughter and Sunshine' with a double-page insert in which the characteristics of each destination were summarised by the photograph of key locations, and a less than 50-word caption.



(figure 31)

In those instances in which the PTA might have been concerned with the lack of colour in the photographs, or with the availability of photographs of particular locations, this was resolved by using hand-coloured images based on photographs. This is illustrated for example by figure 32 (below), which shows an allegedly photography-based drawing of Grindelwald published in the PTA summer programme *Beating the Rate of Exchange* for 1933. The connection between this picture and external reality was further emphasised by the caption – ‘View from beau site and Bristol hotels, Grindelwald’.



(figure 32)

Simultaneously, the PTA began producing non-photography-based induced images. ‘to Europe’s playground by Polytechnic!’ (figure 25, page 228), which evidences the first use of the PTA logo, is also the earliest available example of a shift in the representation of abroad, in this case of the tours to Switzerland. This cartoon-style illustration differed from previous induced images inasmuch as it did not attempt to replicate photography’s accuracy in its representation of how Switzerland might have looked like. On the one hand, the image did indicate what the tourists would have found in Lucerne, Lugano, Grindelwald or Montreux: the inclusion of mountains, a lake, architectural sites, the monument to William Tell or people climbing made reference to those iconic sights/sites or activities considered valuable for one’s travel experience. On the other hand, however, it did so not by proposing an image that accurately anticipated what the sites would have looked like, or how these ought to be looked at, but by abstracting the destination in order to convey the *sensation* of the experience. As discussed in the previous chapter, the accompanying text focused on emotions and feelings, in a ‘playground’ context, that tourists could have had by joining the tour: it called forth the tourists, encouraging them to project themselves into the experiences proposed by the illustration. The message was reinforced by an imaginative representation of the leisurely and emotional dimension of an individual experience that, the advert promised, could take place with the support of the PTA’s expertise. As a result, it departed from travel photographs’ alleged documental merits of educating or more generally instructing viewers, thus escaping identification with organic and first-hand experience images. Instead, by constructing a stylised representation of the destinations’ iconic sites, ‘to Europe’s playground by Polytechnic!’ framed individual experiences within the organisation’s domain, in this way implying that in order for this experience to take place, tourists had to rely on the infrastructures and services provided by the PTA. That is, it created a ‘unique’ induced image of Switzerland that sought to convey no longer *what* the travel destination looked like, but *how* the experience of visiting such destination with the PTA would be. The incompleteness of the material available for investigation precludes knowing if the visual style of ‘to Europe’s playground by Polytechnic!’ was subsequently used in other promotional contexts. The PTA summer brochures, for which a copy of each issue printed between 1929 and 1939 is available, did not make use of drawings during the

early 1930s. Rather, as discussed, in the period between 1929 and 1934 the PTA sought to make its services recognisable by combining the use of tourists' photographs with that of its logo. Costs might have been one reason why the PTA preferred using the images submitted to the PTA Photographic Competition rather than commission artists to produce illustrations. It might also be the case that the PTA did not see drawings as suitable to the informative function of the tour brochures, and that cartoonish images were used instead on posters or leaflets that have not been preserved.

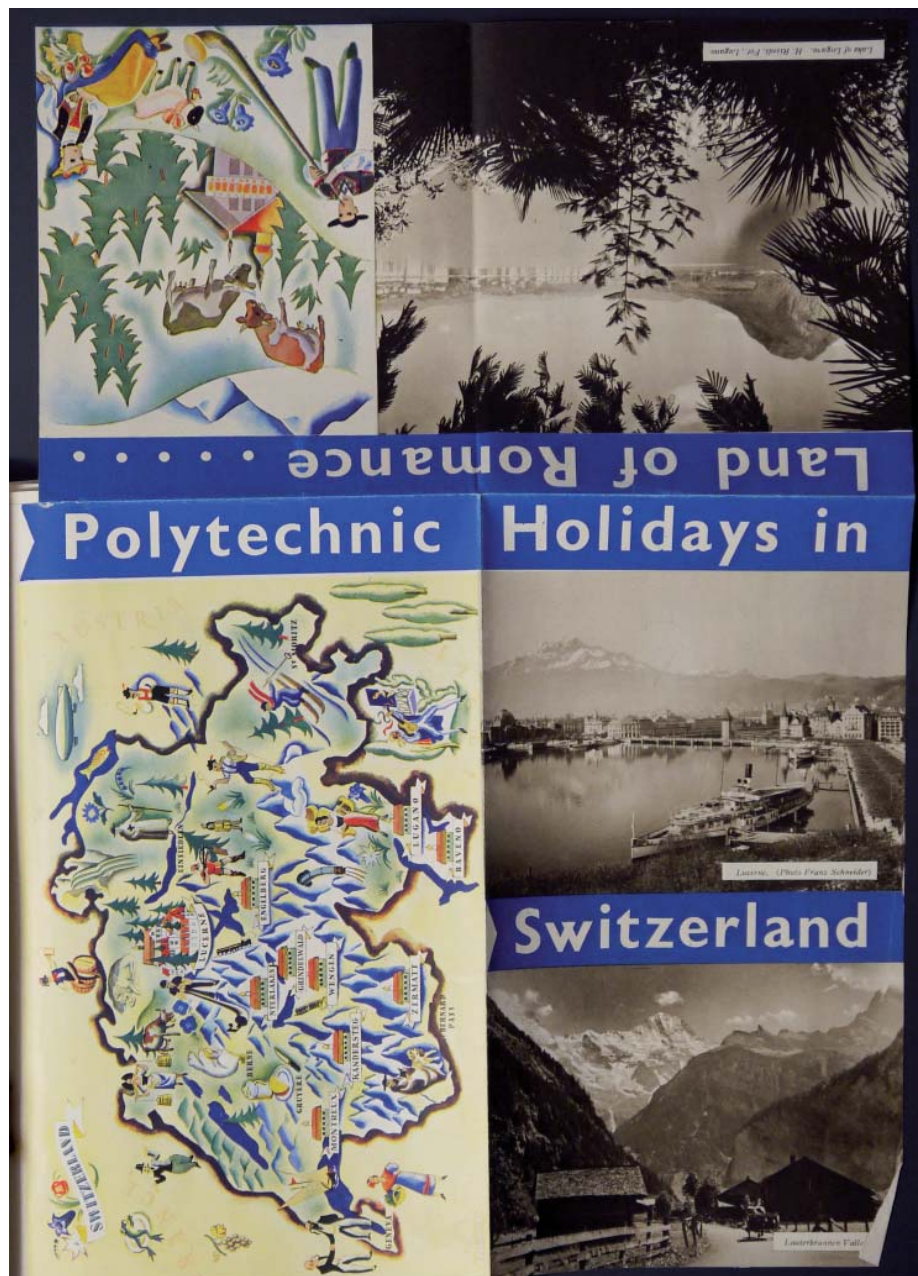
However, a turn took place in the PTA's promotion of travel in 1935, which seems to have accompanied the engagement of a new advertising firm, the Bossfield Studio Advertising Agency.³²⁵ 'Hearty congratulations to the PTA on their new prospectus', wrote the *PM* in February 1935. 'It is a fresh departure in colour printing and should attract many tourists'.³²⁶ Inserts with hand-coloured photographs had been used in the PTA brochures since 1930 (as seen, for example, in figure 32, page 235), but as the *PM* pointed out, this brochure was remarkably different. Yet, colour was only one aspect of this transformation and, I suggest, not the main one. The most significant change took place in the visual media used to represent the tour destinations in view of the relationship between the PTA as the provider of a service, and the tourists as the protagonists of the travel experience - a return to the style of 'to Europe's playground by Polytechnic!' Figures 33 (page 238) and 34 (page 239), from the PTA summer programme of 1935, are exemplary of the approach to the representation of abroad that defined the PTA brochures between 1935 and 1939, and that was also adopted in the production of posters and leaflets. During this period, each section on the various countries visited by the PTA was introduced by a folded layout including a combination of drawings and photographs. Figure 33 shows the unfolded cover of the insert introducing the tours to Switzerland, and figure 34 the reverse side of that same page, unfolded.³²⁷ The cartoonish map of Switzerland sketched the geographical

325. Virtually no information remains of the relationship between the PTA and the Bossfield Studio Advertising Agency. The RCA Scholar A. R. Harrison, who worked for the agency between 1935 and 1940, has been credited as having worked on the advertisements for the PTA during this period, yet it is unknown if the agency's involvement with the PTA preceded this date, or how long it lasted (Darracott and Loftus, 1972: 22).

326. *PM*, February 1935, p. 20.

327. UWA/PTA/2/1/10, (1935). *Polytechnic Summer Tours 1935. Happy Holidays Abroad by Commander R.C. Studd.*

position of the PTA facilities by locating them in the midst of stereotyped characters and historical figures (from local peasants to William Tell), and of representative features of each destination (hard yellow cheese in Gruyere, or the statue of the Lion in Lucerne). The historicisation of Switzerland as a destination untouched by modernity was reinforced by the idyllic mountain scenes that framed both the map and the adjoining illustrations. In this way, the representation of the Swiss tours constructed the idea of an enjoyable experience that tourists could make personal through choosing what and how to visit, in this way reinforcing what was also promoted in the text. As discussed in the previous chapter, during this period the PTA promoted the idea that an emotional form of knowledge could be acquired through a combination of romance, adventure, laughter and sunshine.



(figure 33)

The Playground of Europe

by
Commander R. G. Studd, D.S.O., R.N.

If I were asked which country I like visiting most, I think I should say, Switzerland. Switzerland, with its towering snow-clad peaks, its magnificent lakes, and wonderful tranquillity stirs my heart more than any other country; and, then, to get away to where God's handiwork remains unspoiled is a spiritual refreshment to me, as well as a relief to mind and body. And you will find it so, too, if like me you spend long months in a city office shut away from the sweet air and friendly sun.

You may wonder where, in Switzerland, you ought to go to see the most in your precious fortnight, and how to get from your holiday the greatest good. Well, for a first visit to Switzerland you cannot do better than come to Lucerne.

"LOVELY LUCERNE"

Set at the head of one of the loveliest lakes in the whole of Switzerland, Lucerne is, without question, the finest holiday centre in the country—perhaps in the world. From here you can get your first glimpse of Germany and Austria, visiting the Black Forest and the Rhine Falls, even when it is at home, having a look at the Graf Zeppelin at Friedrichschon, on Lake Constance, or wandering leisurely about the historic Austrian town of Bregenz. You can explore mountain valleys and see the glaciers where great rivers are born, or, in tiny white steamers, glide peacefully on the placid blue-green waters of the Lakes of Lucerne and Uri, where the mountains come right down into the water and the little villages are for ever associated with the heroism of William Tell.

THE POLYTECHNIC CHALETs—A 100 acre Private Estate.

At Seeburg, where the Polytechnic Chalets are, the magnificent snow-capped mountains of the Bernese Oberland stand in full sight. If you took a balcony room here you would wake in the morning to view an astonishing panorama of gigantic peaks: just beneath you the beautiful Polytechnic gardens spread for over a quarter of a mile along the lake shore.

You can read more about the Polytechnic Chalets in the special coloured folder enclosed with this programme. But one thing I would like particularly to mention now. We have a wonderful new motor tour, starting from Lucerne, which we have called "The Five Countries Tour," because it enables you to see parts of Germany, the Austrian Tyrol, Switzerland, the Dolomites, and Italy—all the very finest scenery in Central Europe—in a week!

Switzerland at her best.—If you have been to Lucerne and wish to explore farther afield, visit Lugano and the Italian lakes, or Grindelwald; Interlaken beneath the famous Jungfrau; Wengen up above the stupendous Lauterbrunnen Valley; Montreux, on Lake Geneva; and Kandersteg, are magnificent holiday places, too. Engelberg, Brunnen and Ivano have also been included in this year's Polytechnic Summer Programme. The first is an enchanting village, 3,366 feet up among the Alps; the second a beautiful resort overlooking the upper reaches of the Lake of Lucerne, and the third a picturesque spot on Lake Maggiore.

You can fit any two of these places comfortably into a fortnight's holiday; and we have worked out a special combined tour which enable you to make the very utmost of your stay. But these are only our suggestions. We will gladly work out any combined tour which takes your fancy and tell you what the inclusive cost will be.

Now let me say a brief word about Grindelwald and Lugano, the two most popular centres after Lucerne.

GRINDELWALD

Wonderful Alpine Village

Grindelwald is an Alpine village set amid some of the grandest snow-clad peaks in the whole of Switzerland. The high slopes are dotted with brown log-built mountain chalets, but the village itself is embowered in orchards and trees. There are two famous glaciers at Grindelwald, and this is the place to climb your first mountain. The highest railway in Europe runs to the Jungfrauoch, 11,340 feet up. On the Polytechnic's own guide, Peter, will take you up the world-famous Wetterhorn or the Eiger on foot. There are two Polytechnic-owned hotels at Grindelwald, so you can be sure of every comfort.

LUGANO

On the Borders of Italy

Lugano is the place you come to for a peep into Italy—the town is beautifully situated on Lake Lugano; and, although in

Switzerland, the character of the scenery all round is truly Italian. Little villages lie scattered along the lakeside, and the lower slopes of the mountains are cloaked with vineyards and gardens. The climate is Italian, too, warm and clear. Lake Como, Milan Cathedral, Lake Maggiore are all within easy reach, and you can visit the fashionable resort of St. Moritz, highest village in the Engadine (6,133 feet) in one day. It was my privilege some years ago to devise this excursion, and it really is a glorious day's outing.

A 9-DAY HOLIDAY—for the cost of the fare alone!

If you come to Switzerland, whichever place you visit, I know you will have a holiday that you will remember all your life. There is just one last thing. It is easier than ever to come to Switzerland now. You can have a complete 9-day holiday, by the "William Tell" Special, for the cost of the fare alone! If you travel Polytechnic you are regarded by the Swiss as an honoured guest. There are special trains for the Polytechnic traveller on the mountain railways, and the cars and coaches come and fetch you and bring you back to your door at the end of the day. Look through the next few pages in this programme and see what can be done.









(figure 34)

This would suggest that the function of non-photography-based images, in line with the organisation's concern with creating a 'unique' induced image of its product, was seemingly that of giving a 'feel' of the destinations and what these had to offer by travelling with the PTA. While the photographs signposted what had become the symbolic views of each destination, the illustrations framed in imaginative ways how the tourists' encounter with such iconic places could occur. This visual narrative, I thus argue, was constructed in order to direct how potential customers might have responded to the photographs that also accompanied the

insert. Figures 35 and 36 (below), from the *Let's Go Abroad* summer programme for 1937, and figures 37 and 38 (page 241), from the *Let's Go Abroad Jubilee Programme* for 1938, both representing tours to Lucerne, are further examples of how the relationship between the PTA and its customers, and the approach to travel as a leisure experience, were articulated visually.



(figure 35, top, and figure 36, bottom)



Come to the holiday lake of Europe

NOW THERE ARE FIVE P.T.A. CENTRES ON LAKE LUCERNE

AT Lake Lucerne this year the Polytechnic achieve one of their greatest ideals. All the loveliest holiday spots on the lakeside now have their Polytechnic holiday host, and all these centres are linked by the lake steamers, a first-class season ticket for which is included in the advertised tours. So, you see, the entire lake region of 100 square miles is now opened up to every Polytechnic traveller—yet each has five quite different, but equally charming, centres to choose from.

WHICH FOR YOU!
Mounting guard over the lake lies stately Lucerne itself—a town where To-day and Yesterday seem to go hand in hand. As you stroll through its winding streets, visiting the bright little shops or busy market-place, it is almost as though you had strayed back into the past. Down by the waterside you linger awhile on the old wooden bridge, admiring its quaint rafter paintings, gazing up at its curious conical towers. Near by you discover the medieval battlements, inspect the graceful cathedral, marvel at the handiwork of nature in the famous Glacier Gardens. At every turn you start upon fresh beauty—whether it be an unexpected vista, some time-honoured monument, gay peasant carvings in a shop-window, or just the play of sun and shadow across some ancient square.

OUR OWN 100-ACRE ESTATE
In the town you may stay at one of the Polytechnic hotels, but most P.T.A. travellers to Lucerne prefer to join the jolly house party that continues all through the summer at the Polytechnic

chalet—our 100-acre lakeside estate at Seeburg, ten minutes' steamer-trip away, or a short 'bus ride, using the season ticket which is included in the advertised holidays to Lucerne. Here we have our own farm, our own bathhouse, and our own private bathing.

Farther along the lake, three other charming old towns are waiting to welcome you—Brunnen, Weggis, Vitznau, and this year for the first time, Fluellen. These are all on the sunny side of the water, with pine-clad mountains sloping almost to their door. Which will you come to? Brunnen, near the Rudi meadow, where the sturdy Swiss nation was born; Weggis, nestling at the foot of Mount Rigi in a sun-drenched bay, little Vitznau near by, rich with its fig and almond trees, or Fluellen in the heart of William Tell's country?

WONDERFUL EXCURSIONS YOU CAN MAKE

Whichever of these delightful places you choose, your season ticket on the lake steamers will keep you in touch with all the others. Swiftly and surely the glistening white craft bear you from point to point, and every jetty becomes the stepping-stone to adventure. At least one day must be spent amid the romantic William Tell country—visiting Tell's Chapel, and Alderfer where Tell shot the apple from his boy's heel. Then there are the thrilling funicular ascents of the Rigi and Mount Pilatus to be made; and, by motor-coach, a host of wonderful excursions to such beauty-spots as the Rhine Glacier, the Rhine Falls, Grindelwald in the Bernese Oberland, or the shorter excursion to Engelberg.

A HOLIDAY HOST TO GREET YOU
Your Polytechnic host will help you get the very most from your holiday. He knows the district thoroughly and makes your comfort and happiness his personal concern; what a difference this makes when you are in a foreign country.

The one price you pay includes everything, return fares, full board, the help of our English staff on the journey, and such special facilities as the lake season ticket and, for our Lucerne visitors, a season ticket on the 'buses between Seeburg and Lucerne. With so much packed into these Lake Lucerne holidays, you can understand why people love them so much and why we are so proud to have at last "surrounded" Europe's loveliest lake. You will realise, too, why it is so important to send along your booking-form early for the best rooms!

(figure 37, top, and figure 38, bottom)

The cover of the 1937 insert represented Lucerne, described as an 'enchanted town' (figure 35, page 240), with drawings illustrating a heritage-looking site (on the left-hand side) and tourists occupied in a number of relaxing activities, from sitting at a café on the promenade, to looking at waterfalls and sitting by the lake (on the right-hand side); in the middle is a

photograph of Studd himself, standing next to a group of tourists and in the act of pointing with his stick to the horizon. While the superimposed text gave voice to the photograph, promoting the tours through Studd himself, the combination of photograph and drawings helped to give a relaxed tone to the representation of the tourists' experience. Accordingly, the flip side of the insert (figure 36, page 240) situated the photographs within idyllic mountain sceneries. The following year the PTA went back to the theme of the map (figure 37, page 241), portraying its infrastructures (chalets and railway tracks) in relation to the area's main points of interest. A view of the lake, drawn within a golden picture frame, seemingly referenced the picturesque beauty of the place, while the insert (figure 38, page 241) combined photographs of viewpoints and places of interest with the drawing of an idealised landscape. This style was also adopted on one of the leaflets produced that year to advertise Lucerne and Grindelwald (figure 39 and 40, both page 243). The cover, illustrated with the drawing of a young shepherdess supposedly carrying milk, located Switzerland in a pre-industrial setting, thus establishing a key for reading the leaflet. Photographs documenting the facilities (for example a bedroom and the dining room of the chalets in Lucerne, figure 39) were accompanied by drawings of pastoral scenes and of a couple in the romantic setting of a mountain landscape. Similarly, the images used to introduce the tours to Belgium in the *Holidays Abroad Made Easy* brochure for 1936 combined drawings and photographs as a way to complement the idea of a 'freedom of the golden coast', as stressed on the cover of the insert (figure 41 and 42, page 244). The drawing, which was also used in the summer brochures of 1937 and 1938, gave an overview of the Belgian coast, represented as a 'playground' that hosted tourists' activities within the principal sites of each destination. The reassuring photographic presence of Studd, representing the PTA services, towered over what could be described as an aggregate of options from which the tourists could pick and choose, thus constructing their own experience. This message was reinforced on the inside of the cover by a combination of drawings and photographs in which tourists engaged in leisure activities – as stressed in the text, 'no worrying details – simply enjoy yourself' (figure 42).

This is a vintage travel brochure for the Polytechnic Touring Association, Ltd. The brochure is divided into several sections. At the top left, there is a photograph of a train. Below it, text describes travel packages. In the center, there is a large illustration of a woman in traditional Swiss dress (a red and white striped skirt and a dark top with a red bow) holding a basket. To her right, there is a photograph of a scenic Swiss landscape with mountains and a lake. Below the woman's illustration, the text reads "Lucerne and the Lakes" and "AND THE SWISSLAND". To the right of the woman, there is a section titled "JOIN THE Polytechnic at home AT THE LUCERNE CHALETS". Below this, there is a photograph of a chalet interior. At the bottom left, there is a circular portrait of a woman and the text "Spoken here". The brochure also features various other photographs and text blocks describing different parts of Switzerland.

(figure 39)

This is a vintage travel brochure titled "THE TWO LOVELIEST REGIONS IN Switzerland". The top section is titled "Lake Lucerne" and features a large illustration of the lake and surrounding mountains. Below this, there is text describing the beauty and activities in the region. The bottom section is titled "THE Bernese Mountains" and features a large illustration of the mountains. Below this, there is text describing the beauty and activities in the region. The brochure also features various other photographs and text blocks. At the bottom, there is a large banner with the word "POLYTECHNIC" and the text "with comfort in the Polytechnic".

(figure 40)

For the first time
A WONDERFUL ALL-IN 9-DAY HOLIDAY ON THE BELGIAN COAST
 from £4.12.0

Free 5-day season tickets on Coast Electric Trams from the French frontier to the Dutch frontier. Your own bathing beach—free admission to casinos. 9 days, complete for £4 12s. 0d. There's a holiday for you!

A new world—5 hours from London
 BELGIUM has always been my recommendation for anyone who wants a thoroughly Continental holiday without having to travel far or overspend. This year, with many extra amenities it is actually cheaper to spend a holiday in Belgium than at a good class resort at home. The Belgian Coast is such a tonic. It cheers you up tremendously and fills you with new energy. And everything is so different from England. You meet people with different ideas, different temperaments, different outlook, different language. You discover quaint customs, new foods, gay clothes, brighter shops, livelier surroundings—and more freedom.

A season ticket on Coast Electric Tramways
 Where you stay is simply a matter of personal taste, for when you have chosen your hotel your days can be spent anywhere along that 50 miles of wonderful sun-drenched coast. You see, the whole chain of seaside resorts is linked together by a speedy electric tramway, and this year, for the first time, I have succeeded in obtaining a Polytechnic season ticket entitling you to TRAVEL FREE anywhere and everywhere. 5-day and 10-day season tickets all the way from Holland to France! Breakfast in Ostend—lunch at Blankenberghe—afternoon in Heyst—dinner-dance at Le Zoute. That's the sort of programme you can plan.

Ostend for gaiety—Le Zoute for golf
 Now some advice as to your choice of headquarters. If you want the gayest of the gay, I recommend Ostend, with its famous casino and Blankenberghe, slightly smaller but just as lively—two centres that will leave you with crowded memories of summer evening strolls along the promenade, of brilliant lights, chatter and surging melodies. Of the quieter resorts Knocke-Le Zoute is the most popular, especially with golf and tennis enthusiasts. Perhaps you will prefer Le Coq, with its pretty villas, quaint Heyst so popular with all English visitors, or peaceful Wenduine.

Free bathing—and special casino ticket
 The Belgian Coast is famous for its sands, and for the safest bathing in Europe. There are 50 miles of golden sand, lapped by blue, inviting sea—beaches vivid with umbrellas and gaily garbed holiday makers. And here I must mention one more new concession for P.T.A. travellers. When I was over there last year I realised that people were irritated by having to pay the bathing tax, and, therefore, I have arranged for it to be included in the price of the tour this year, at our principal tour centres (see tour pages). So you will be able to bathe from your hotel absolutely free of charge. And that isn't all! To cap the greatest holiday programme I have ever been able to offer, I have arranged for you to have free entrance to the local Casino! This will apply at all times during your stay with the only exception of occasional special Gala nights. Free travel—your own beach—free entertainment—how's that for a real ALL-IN HOLIDAY?

No worrying details—simply enjoy yourself
 It is my privilege to see that you enjoy every moment of your holiday, as cheaply and comfortably as possible. I supervise the accommodation myself and you can be sure that your hotel will be clean and comfortable. All the hotels I have listed have been carefully chosen, and you will get favoured accommodation. Cooking is first-rate, of course, and set too Continental for English tastes. You can forget all the little holiday worries when you go by P.T.A. We look after every detail from the moment you board the train. All you have to do is—help yourself to a wonderful time!

A last word
 Last year, our bookings to the Belgian Coast were more than double those of the previous year. This summer—with the freedom of the tramways, the sea and the Casinos—I am sure we shall see another huge increase. The Belgian Coast deserves to be popular, but remember, popularity means big competition for the best seats and rooms—so please allow us as much time as possible to make your arrangements.

(figure 41, top, and figure 42, bottom)

This analysis allows for a reflection upon the function that the PTA allocated to photography and non-photography-based induced images, and in turn upon how this was influenced by the development of photographic discourses and market demands. On

the one hand, the commercialisation of cultural sites affected the use and perception of travel photography to the extent that the documental value of the image was turned into the representation of destinations as products available for tourists' consumption. The information that photographs were meant to convey was now promotional, yet it also represented a new view of travel as an improving experience by offering to the tourists a view of the sites and activities they could choose from in constructing *their* potential experiences abroad. In this respect, the case of the PTA Photographic Competition is indicative of a transformed approach to the multiplicity of photographic readings, which were now embraced in order to convey the idea of travel as centred on individual experience. On the other hand, the recognition of tourists' multiple approaches to the understanding of a photograph, the need to promote the tours in such a way as to make them distinctively 'PTA', and the turn towards a leisure approach to culture and travel, led to the development of non-photography-based induced destination images. Their function, as seen, was that of representing *how* it would be for the tourists to enjoy a given destination *by* travelling PTA. The use of drawings, I propose, developed in opposition to photographs in the attempt to frame the perception of photography-based induced images – specifically, in order to make them 'unique' and not appropriable. That is, the emergence of 'unique' induced images can be understood as a way of controlling the plurality of photographic perceptions engendered by tourists' participation in both travel and photography – which, as discussed, had put into question the existing perceptions of photography, of travel, and of which travel experiences could be known through photography. If the photograph identified the destination, graphic design developed as a way to structure and control how an audience of potential tourists could perceive such destination. In doing so drawings framed the type of experience that the tourists might have with the PTA, simultaneously conveying the sense of enjoyment and leisure that the travel firm recognised as a market demand.

7.3. Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the Polytechnic/PTA's production of induced and 'unique' induced images in light of the shift in photographic perception triggered by the democratisation of the medium. The travel firm's changing relationship with tourists, and

the transformation in the approach to travel as an improving experience, have provided the reference points to reflect upon the promotional choices made by the organisation in its use of photography and non-photography-based images. In the period between 1888 and 1923 the role of 'educator' that the Polytechnic saw for itself influenced not only its ambition to provide tours of an improving character and its approach to tourists as people to guide, as seen in the previous chapter, but also the expected function of its promotional material. By looking at photography-based induced images, (potential) tourists were expected to acquire a knowledge of which sites had to be visited in order for travel to be a formative experience; in this respect, tourists were considered as the passive recipients of information. Although the Polytechnic was aware of the multiplicity of photographic practices and understandings, these did not interfere with the travel firm's early marketing choices because the purpose was not necessarily that of branding the tours, but of instructing the viewers about how travel and photography ought to be produced, consumed and understood. In the period between 1924 and 1939, following a change of management and transformations in the marketing of tourism, the PTA shifted towards approaching tourists as customers, and travel as an enjoyable experience whose value rested on the personal and emotional response of tourists. The expected function of promotional images, and the role allocated to photography and non-photography based images, changed accordingly. Specifically, it has emerged that the need to brand the tours as distinctively 'PTA' crucially influenced how the travel firm positioned itself towards the recognised plurality of photographic perceptions, which now had to be accounted for. As such, it can be argued that the function of photography-based induced images was that of identifying iconic sights/sites as commodities available for tourists' consumption, while the function of non-photography-based 'unique' induced images was that of framing (potential) tourists' readings of induced images within a PTA context.

The passage from a use of images that imparted knowledge to the viewers, to illustrations that encouraged an individual experience as the basis for the acquisition of knowledge, brought with it a new approach to the use of photography in the marketing of tourism that recognised tourists' agency while at the same time trying to determine how this should be structured. Indeed, the progressive representation of travel through the

combined integration of photographs and drawings points to a new role for photography which was affected by the democratisation of photography itself.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

The central aim of this thesis has been to assess how the shift in photographic perception engendered by the democratisation of photography influenced the use of visual media made by the emerging travel industry in promoting tourism. This proposition has been advanced on the basis of the empirical observation that, between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the promotion of tourism in England moved from representing travel through photography-based images, to an increasing reliance on illustrations characterised by their being 'non-photographic'. Thus the question: was the paradigm shift triggered by the democratisation of photography one reason why tourism marketing developed partly in opposition to photographs? As seen above, this has been addressed on the basis of an account of photographic practices which stresses the ways in which these led to a new knowledge of photography by fragmenting its meaning, while also 'lowering' its status during the period under discussion. This was subsequently explored in relation to the particular case of the Polytechnic/PTA; specifically, by considering how the travel firm chose to represent itself throughout this period. By accounting for the organisation's changing ideas of culture and travel (from learning by knowing to learning by feeling), and for the parallel transformation of the role that it saw for itself (from educator to service provider), this analysis would seem to indicate that one criteria for the development of marketing was indeed that of adapting to a transformed understanding of photography. In the period between 1888 to 1923 the PTA used photography-based images in order to instruct (potential) tourists on *what* to visit, and *how* to see it, in order to achieve an 'educational' experience. In this way it also sanctioned *a* photographic perspective amongst the many that, as has been seen, both the Polytechnic and the PTA acknowledged. Following Studd's appointment, the preoccupation with what tourists *wanted*, and the recognition of the centrality of personal interests, met the requirement of branding the tours. Photography-based images anchored the sights/sites awaiting tourists' consumption, while simultaneously recognising tourists' individual standpoints. 'Unique' induced illustrations framed, within a PTA perspective, this multiplicity of approaches to both travel and, importantly, photography.

The research presented in this thesis has derived from an interdisciplinary approach

that has drawn from the history and theory of photography, travel and tourism studies, a contextual historical analysis of the socio-cultural forces that defined this period, and an in-depth examination of the PTA's promotional material. At the beginning of this investigation I proposed that, in order to understand the significance that new photographic practices might have had for modern tourism marketing, photographs should be investigated in terms of what they *do*. A reflection on the transformative character of photographic practices has brought into focus, in this way, the significance that the democratisation of photography, in the context of widening travel possibilities, had for an understanding of both photography and travel. Developing within the conflictual space of the 'unphotographable', this new knowledge complicated, by also enriching it, people's response to induced, organic and first-hand experience images. Specifically, they allowed the 'appropriation' of the visible (previously known through induced and organic images) in idiosyncratic ways (and, thus, as a perception now complicated by first-hand experiences). As this thesis has sought to demonstrate, it was this approach to photography that *transformed*, in the context of travel and tourism, the use and perception of travel photography at both an individual and collective level. As such, tourists' photographic practices conformed not only to existing cultural canons, but simultaneously engendered cultural transformations that, in turn, influenced practices of representation.

As I have argued, this has to be considered alongside the changing conditions under which travel firms found themselves operating. These included an increasing market competitiveness, the passage from an educational to an hedonistic approach to travel, and the progressive commodification of culture for tourism consumption. At the level of representation this fostered, by enabling it, the perception of travel as a visually consumable experience. As has been seen, this affected the use, and thus the (expected) function, of visual media. From mainly providing information, images responded to the development of a new visual economy by embracing the added task of convincing potential tourists to travel with one firm rather than another. This explains why one function of promotional strategies was increasingly that of producing induced images which, as standing for one specific firm, could escape identification with organic and first-hand experience images. Such induced images were allegedly immune to the multiple and individualised readings

of (potential) tourists. These branded images, I have proposed, can thus be best described as 'unique' induced images.

It is these observations that have supported the thesis's analysis of the Polytechnic/PTA promotion of travel and tourism; a particularly interesting case study in view of the organisation's educational framework. This has allowed for an exploration of the ways in which an initial approach to photography and travel as knowledge-based changed as mass photography and the mass marketing of tourism developed. As the available documentation seems to indicate, if the earliest tours had, at least in principle, an educational aim, the PTA's turn during the interwar years to the establishment of 'leisure' as an espoused motive for travelling should not be regarded as resulting in simply a devalued form of travel; rather, it constituted yet another way to engage with the improving benefits of travelling. The PTA transformed its approach to what could make travel an improving experience in order to cater for the tastes and requirements of a broadening market. The organisation's production of induced and 'unique' induced images, and thus its use and non-use of photographs in promoting the tours, developed in parallel with these structural and socio-ideological changes. Amongst the important and valid motivations behind the popularity of commercial art during this time (discussed in Chapter 3), this thesis has sought to locate the paradigm shift in photographic perception engendered by the democratisation of photography. This has been proposed as one explanation as to why the travel industry increasingly relied on drawings which, as has been seen, developed *in opposition* to photographs during the period. Therefore, this investigation would seem to suggest, firstly, that the different roles allocated to photographs and drawings were influenced, at least to an extent, by the requirement to regulate the plurality of photographic readings that the democratisation of photography had engendered, and, secondly, that the fact that tourists' photographs were generally regarded as 'lower' class images was one reason that prevented the association between company/product branding and photography, fostering instead the use of a seemingly higher form of representation in commercial 'art'. As noted, a 'feeling' for the photograph as itself a creative and expressive tool was still to emerge.

This thesis has sought to add to our knowledge of the history of the Polytechnic and the PTA, and hence to the history of tourism and leisure, and tourism marketing,

more broadly. Furthermore, the concern with what it is that photographs *do*, explored in relation both to studies of travel and tourism, and to the historical contexts underlying the democratisation of the medium, has hopefully contributed towards a greater understanding of photographic practices, and hence to recent debates in photographic theory and history. A number of considerations, concerning both the central research findings of this thesis, as well as some of the key ideas that have underpinned this research, can then be advanced in conclusion.

The PTA: research findings in relation to tourism, leisure, and tourism marketing

Recent analyses of the significance that travel had at the Polytechnic, and of how this was carried through by the PTA, have argued, correctly, that the educational ambition of the early tours ultimately failed to provide a tool for the formation of modern citizens. As Strong suggests, this was because of the Polytechnic's 'limited resources' (2013: 131) – hence the need, as already recounted, to adapt the tours to the requirements of non-members following the 1891 *Scheme of Administration*. Strong concludes by asserting that 'the promise of the future that was inscribed in educational travel led students down a path that terminated in a relatively static social order', and rejects the idea that the Polytechnic tours 'constitue[d] a democratic vehicle for either social mobility or active citizenship' (2012: 131; see also Matthews, 2013: 237). Nonetheless, she also recognises that the history of the Polytechnic reveals how 'the significance of travel in modern life was, and continues to be, more than the fulfilment of consumer desires as an individual right' (2013: 130). This thesis's analysis of the development of travel and tourism at the Polytechnic/PTA has developed this latter point, questioning how this ideal adapted to changing approaches to culture and travel. It has emerged that, if the passage from institutional collectivism to an emphasis on individualism was indeed the inevitable response to market forces, the organisation's persistent attempts at defining the tours in 'improving' terms also signals the ambition to adapt educational goals to a new social, cultural and economic order. The PTA tours ultimately failed to deliver a 'democratic' access to the personal and professional benefits of travel; yet, their development also offers a testimony to the negotiation, in the early twentieth century, between the commodification of culture and travel, and the attempt

to engage with them beyond a 'consumer desire'. These reflections are specific to the case of the PTA, but might also contribute, in more general terms, to debates surrounding the commodification of culture and heritage as products of consumption, as these developed within the emerging travel industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (discussed in Chapters 2 and 3). Specifically, they complicate what we could define, drawing from Campbell (1987), as the 'hedonistic turn' in tourism by proposing that this might also be discussed as a transformed approach to the acquisition of an improving experience, now based on subjective emotions and personal interests. In these terms, the process through which the spectacularisation of culture and heritage is often considered to have led in the 1980s to an end of their identification as the 'exclusive preserve of an educated minority' (Dicks, 2003: 37), can thus be situated as actually starting in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century through a realignment of the travel experience as centred on the personal and emotional experience of the individual tourist.

A second contribution that this thesis has sought to make to the history of the Polytechnic/PTA concerns the visual articulation of travel and tourism - in particular, how the use and expected function of visual media changed from representing the culture of travel at the Polytechnic to promoting the PTA tours, and the role played by the democratisation of photography in this shift. The travel imageries diffused in Regent Street, it has emerged, not only supported the Polytechnic's narrative of culture and travel, and its implicit imperial agenda, but also normalised *how* the world *ought* to be encountered and studied – thus defining the use and function of visual media (particularly photography) in these terms. That is to say, in a context of 'rational recreation' visual media were expected to be simultaneously educational, entertaining and (increasingly so) promotional, thus moving between being organic and induced images. This analysis has been key to recognising how the PTA's use of photography-based images between 1888 and 1923 had (at least in principle) the specific function of imparting to the participants the knowledge of on *what*, and *how*, they ought to 'gaze' when travelling. Motives for promoting the tours, or participating in them, were certainly diverse; how the organisation decided to represent itself, however, might be revealing of what it considered to be the core purpose of the tours. In this respect, it has been argued that the function of these PTA

induced photography-based images was that of providing information in order to signpost which destinations would best foster an 'educational' experience. I have suggested that this was also one reason why the plurality of photographic uses and perspectives engendered by the democratisation of photography, of which as seen the PTA was well aware, did not interfere with these promotional choices. In its role as 'educator' the PTA used images that not only gave evidence of a world fixed in pedagogic potential, but also instructed viewers on which of the many possible perspectives (on both travel and photography) was the 'correct' one for the achievement of a valuable experience of travel. However, as the approach to what could make travel an improving experience changed, and the PTA found itself in the position of competing in a growing market, the use and expected function of visual media was transformed: the need to brand the PTA might then explain the emergence of 'unique' induced images. Photographs continued to be central to the promotion of the tours, illustrating for example guidebooks and brochures that thus relied on its indexical value in order to make destinations visible. Yet, in its role as service provider rather than educator, the PTA was no longer in the position to *impose* one photographic reading over and above others, facing instead the question of how to deal with the many ways in which tourists understood – that is, 'appropriated' - photographs. As discussed in relation to the PTA Photographic Competition (which, starting in 1928, ran uninterrupted during this period), the multiplicity of tourists' perspectives had become a sign of tourists' personal experiences, which were now considered the fulcrum of travelling. The photographs submitted to the competition represented iconic sights/sites, but they did so by also pointing to the many ways in which these sites could be made personal by the tourists. This, in the context of the competition, was framed as having been enabled by the 'PTA'. The need to brand the representation of the tours – and thus how they were perceived - as distinctively 'PTA' in character is one reason why, I have argued, 'unique' induced images were created. In parallel with photographs, in fact, the PTA developed a brand image deemed to be 'non-appropriable'. It did so with the logo of the seagull, accompanied by the 'travel Polytechnic' slogan, and by using cartoonish illustrations, as early as 1927, such as that found in 'to Europe's playground by Polytechnic!' (figure 25, page 228). One function of these 'unique' induced images was therefore that of framing tourists' experiences in the

context of PTA services and facilities; by doing so through images that were distinctively non-photographic, however, the PTA also distanced itself from a medium that was at this time largely considered as secondary in value to other representational forms, for example commercial art. Thus, the towering figure of Studd, which appeared on many of the brochures (see for example figure 42, page 244), could then perhaps be seen as standing for the PTA's wish to raise itself above tourists' perspectives and practices – no longer to guide their formation, but to facilitate it by providing what was promoted as 'the best' service.

The analysis of the Polytechnic/PTA representation of travel and tourism might then contribute to our knowledge of the development of tourism marketing in England more broadly in two ways. First, it elaborates on the widespread understanding of the popularity enjoyed by commercial art in promoting tourism. It does so by suggesting that this might also have been supported by a concurrent shift in photographic perception, which, as seen, had undermined the status of the photographic document. At a time often described as the 'golden age' of travel illustrations (Newett, 1982; Shackleton, 1976; Williamson, 1998), the PTA's choice to rely on tourists' photographs as induced images is therefore indeed intriguing. Costs might have influenced this choice, or possibly it was the legacy of Hogg's relationship with his 'Poly boys' that led the PTA to embrace tourists' photography as an adequate way to represent the tours. No documents have survived that can shed a clear light on this decision. Yet, the case of the PTA nonetheless indicates that the choice to brand the travel firm through illustrations was, at least to an extent, a response to the need to account for tourists' new photographic interests and perspectives – and, thus, for the multiplicity of readings engendered by the democratisation of the medium. On this account, the choice of commercial art as opposed to photographs might then be also considered in relation to a transformed understanding of what photographs could communicate, and of how they were perceived, and, in turn, to how this transformed perception affected the relationship between the visible and appropriable on which induced images had previously been grounded. This might thus also add another dimension to our understanding of how tourism marketing differently negotiated the relationship between visible and appropriable (which, as correctly observed by Comolli, defined the dissemination of visual information in the late nineteenth century), as the travel industry shifted towards the need to brand the tours in

the early twentieth century. In this respect, Campbell's discussion of tourism consumption as 'imaginative hedonism' (1987: 119) might then be understood as reflecting the growing need, during the period under consideration, to turn the appropriable dimension of induced images into 'unique' ones. If we consider this in relation to the spectacularisation of culture and heritage that was more broadly definitive of this period, this would suggest that the representation of tourism as an experience was also the result of the need to define in 'branding' terms a given destination. In this respect, a comparative analysis with the use of photographs and illustrations made by a travel firm such as Thomas Cook, generally regarded as not having had education as its primary concern, might provide further insights into how the visible and the appropriable – and, thus, photographic value – were re-negotiated as ideas of travel and tourism changed. Specifically, it could throw light on the changing perception of tourists' (photographic) perspectives in the context of an organisation that, following the earliest tours organised on behalf of temperance societies, turned to commercial gains as early as 1845 (Swinglehurst, 1974, 1982; Williamson, 1998).

Second, the Polytechnic/PTA's different uses of photographs representing iconic sights/sites to promote its tours would seem to complicate Urry's description of the travel industry's transformation of the picturesque into a style of representation reminiscent of a didactic experience (1990). It is undeniable that, since its inception, photography has been complicit in naturalising a way of looking at culture and heritage – for example by replicating a picturesque style (Ackerman, 2003) – and thus also of looking at the past, as discussed in relation to the work of Patrick Wright (1985) in Chapter 3. As Sontag aptly put it: 'to photograph is to confer importance [...] there is no way to suppress the tendency inherent in all photographs to add value to their subjects' (1979: 28).³²⁸ Within

328. This capacity of photographs to select, isolate, and bring attention to some elements in the world to the disadvantage of others did not escape the reflection of early critics. In presenting his invention, for example, Henry Fox Talbot commented on how, with photography, 'the most transitory of things' is 'fixed for ever [sic] in the position which it seemed only destined for a single instant to occupy' (1839: 115). The effect that this would have on turning places into tourism icons can be recognised in the words, twenty years later, of the American Oliver Wendell Holmes. As he noted in relation to already iconic sites such as the Coliseum and the Pantheon, 'every conceivable object of nature and art will soon scale off its surface for us. [...] The consequence of this will soon be such an enormous collection of forms that they will have to be classified and arranged in vast libraries' (1859: 749). This is not only prophetic of something like Bill Gates' picture library *Corbis*, but also evidences the process whereby, in tourism, selection, and thus visibility, generally equates with the attribution of value.

the discourse of cultural travel this engendered a ‘gaze’, as seen in relation to the culture of travel promoted at the Polytechnic and then within the PTA tours, that sanctioned the iconic sites/sights to visit/gaze on in order to achieve a culturally ‘forming’ experience. Importantly, however, this thesis has also shown how the choice of images made by the Polytechnic/PTA was based not solely on commercial terms. In light of the previous reflections on the spectacularisation of culture and heritage, it might then be suggested that the commodification of images of iconic sites had the function certainly of fostering the consumption of these places (for example by visiting them or attending lectures), but also of proposing yet other ways of engaging with them beyond a ‘consumer desire’. As discussed in relation to the choices that Mitchell had to face in translating Hogg’s vision for education and travel beyond the context of the Polytechnic, in order to maintain this legacy the PTA had to adapt organised learning to market forces. By the time of Studd’s management, external pressures had extended to include a competitive market and increasing individualism. This would suggest that, if the promotion of tourism did conform with a style of representation reminiscent of an informed experience of travel, in both instances visual representations were also expected to stand for two different approaches to travel as an improving experience. The extent to which this might have been shared by other travel firms could then be investigated through a comparative analysis of the visual production of educational-based organisations such as the Toynbee Travellers’ Club, and commercial-orientated ones such as Thomas Cook.

What do photographs *do*? Concluding considerations

An anecdotal episode, reported by the *PM*, could perhaps be a good starting point for reflection, in light of this research’s findings, on what it is that photographs ‘do’. In a speech delivered during the ‘Family Gathering’ of 1912, an annual event that brought together the leading members of the Polytechnic community, their families and friends, Mitchell commented:

Another young fellow came and asked me to get him a dozen copies of the photograph which is now in the window, the one which shows the King and Queen with the Prince of Wales, with a large number of the fellows in the

photo. He said he happened to be in the group, and would like to send some copies to his friends. Well, no doubt there are a lot of others in the picture who would like to have copies. I'm very glad I am in the picture, although you cannot find me. I am like the little school-boy who took home a photograph of the class, and his parents, after looking carefully at the group, said: 'We cannot see you, you are not there'. The little boy replied: 'You see that great fat boy don't you, well I'm right behind him'. The boy was quite satisfied, and I want all of you to be satisfied so long as you are in the picture we are making here.³²⁹

Mitchell's decision to use the photograph as a metaphor to describe the important, yet not always visible, role of the Polytechnic community – that is, as metaphor for the representation of a non-photographable subject - is indeed intriguing. As 'I am in the picture, although you cannot find me', he claimed, so 'I want all of you to be satisfied so long as you are in the picture we are making here'. This illustrates the recognition of photographs' power to evoke meaning(s) in the absence of indexical 'evidence'; and, thus, that relating to an image goes beyond the sheer act of looking at what is shown on its reflective surface, tapping instead into one's first-hand experiences – in this case, the experiences of Mitchell's listeners at the Polytechnic. The present, but not visible, role of the Polytechnic community might then be understood, to borrow from one of the key concepts that have subtended this thesis, as an unphotographable experience – that is, as indicating the impossibility of 'enframing' within any one picture the relationship between members and Institute. Yet, because of, and thanks to, the knowledge of the Polytechnic that Mitchell and its listeners shared, such unphotographable experience was not regarded as non-photographable per se; rather, it was understood as a personal and individualised knowledge that everyone in the Polytechnic community could 'see' on the picture. As such, this episode would suggest that the unphotographable, which in the context of this research has been discussed in relation to the experience and representation of travel and tourism, might then be extended to reflect on any photographic process which is based on first-hand experiences. This allows for a broader reflection on the democratisation of photography. Specifically, it suggests that part

329. *PM*, November 1912, p. 157.

of what people's progressive engagement with the production and consumption of images did was to build up a repertoire of first-hand experiences through which to make sense of photographs – their meaning(s) and possible applications. This, consequently, challenged normalised narratives of how photography could be used and perceived.

However, it would be inaccurate to suggest that such consciousness of the complexities of photography developed only as a result of the familiarity brought by new compact cameras, and that before the 1880s people's way of looking at (and thus understanding) photographs stopped at what the eye could see. As Lady Elizabeth Eastlake had commented already in 1857, photographs are a 'new form of communication between man and man – neither letter, message, nor picture [...] What indeed are nine-tenths of those facial maps called photographic portraits, but accurate landmarks and measurements for loving eyes and memories to deck with beauty and animate with expression, in perfect certainty, that the ground-plan is founded upon fact?' ([1857] 1980: 94).³³⁰ And what are those 'loving eyes and memories' if not one's personal knowledge – a first-hand experience – of the subjects portrayed? In this respect, Mitchell's speech reflects the recognition of the photograph as a 'new form of communication'. That is, as a medium that can evoke both the 'visible' and the 'unphotographable', and that does so by virtue of its being 'appropriable' in a multiplicity of idiosyncratic ways. What, then, distinguishes this anecdotal episode from Eastlake's reflections?³³¹ Mitchell's comment might not reveal a break-through in photographic perception so much as the fact that such perception had been absorbed within a broader social texture and cultural context. Eastlake wrote within an elite circle, one in which having one's portrait taken was by the late 1850s achievable with little effort. Mitchell, on the other hand, addressed a more diverse audience who, as has been seen, was by the 1910s not only more versed in photographic matters, but who also carried with it a more diverse 'cultural capital'. If both share individuality as the starting point for photographic engagement, the two experiences also reveal important differences in

330. Similarly, Wendell Holmes had commented that: 'No picture produces an impression on the imagination to compare with a photographic transcript of the home of our childhood, or any scene with which we have been long familiar. The very point that the artist omits, in his effort to produce general effect, may be exactly the one that individualizes the place most strongly to our memory' (1861: 18).

331. See also the considerations raised in Chapter 4 (pp. 102-103) in relation to Pelizzari's (2003) study of nineteenth century photography albums as also constructed through individual perceptions.

relation to the agents involved, and the applications of the camera. These considerations might, then, introduce a reflection upon some of the key ideas concerning photography (and images more generally) that have framed this research - thus allowing, in turn, for a reflection upon what it is that photographs do, and how this might be investigated.

First, the above considerations alert us to the difficulty of theorising a paradigm shift in the broader perception of photography. This, as exemplified by the fifty years that run between Eastlake's and Mitchell's texts, did not happen overnight, and also affected different classes of society differently, at different times. Furthermore, while Eastlake's reflections concerned photographic portraiture, Mitchell addressed a more undefined idea of photography that could perhaps be described as embracing the categories of environmental portraiture, documentary and/or institutional photography. These need to be recognised as different 'photographies' (Tagg, 1988). Therefore, although in both instances it is certainly possible to argue for an acknowledgment of the relationship between the objective and the subjective in each, we should be careful not to postulate an overarching paradigm shift in photographic perception on these terms only. This is also true for an investigation of how the 'unphotographable' might have influenced other areas of social and private life beyond travel and tourism photography - a proposition which similarly can not stand on the sole recognition of photographic practices as transformative. As this thesis has sought to show, a study of the relationship between photographic practices and perceptions needs to look closely at how uses are defined by the specific requirements of any given discursive context (for example those of education, leisure or memory), anchoring these to the historical contexts that they inhabited. That is, in order to explore the transformative power that photographs have in influencing one given discourse, it is first necessary to understand what are the dominant ideas that frame such discourse, and what determines them. As such, the observation that the study of photographs needs to account for the specific 'functional context(s)' of production and use (Schwartz, 1995: 42), introduced at the beginning of this thesis, acquires a particular urgency when thinking about what it is that photographs do. Specifically, it further defines the investigation of the circumstances in which a photograph is produced and used by suggesting that this should focus also on the friction between normalised and established uses and understanding of photography.

Second, the understanding that ‘photographies’ have different ‘histories’ indicates that the uses to which they are put, and the meanings that they embody, are historically located, culturally specific, and also often competing. An analysis of any given photographic practice must then be alert to the circumstances, and associated perceptions, of photographic production and use. Importantly, this research has sought to demonstrate how this analysis can be enriched by developing an interdisciplinary approach that might offer multiple perspectives on the same phenomenon. In the context of this investigation it has done so by situating photographic history and theory within the specific concerns of travel and tourism studies. Two perspectives should be highlighted as particularly important. On the one hand, in relation to an analysis of travel representation, Gunn’s model of the images that form and alter how a destination is perceived (1972) has proved a valid tool by which to investigate the various meanings and functions expected of travel photography. Yet, in order to account for how the friction between photographs and drawings defined the use and perception of induced images, a fourth category of ‘unique’ induced images has had to be introduced. By doing so it has been possible to investigate how the function of photographs and illustrations was realigned following the emergence of an increasingly competitive travel market - thus contributing to the analysis of the paradigm shift in the use and perception of travel photography from the second half of the nineteenth to the first half of the twentieth century. On the other hand, in order to assess the extent to which the democratisation of photography impinged on the promotion of tourism, this research has drawn from an approach to travel as a multidimensional system, and its intrinsic concern with the transformative character of the practices that inform it. By evidencing the role of tourists’ photography within the process of destination image formation, and evaluating this against Garlick’s idea of the ‘unphotographable’ (2002) and Snow’s related concern with photographic ‘dissonance’ (2012), it has added a further perspective to the analysis of photography in practice. Specifically, this emphasises the fact that what photographs also do (by virtue of their creating new meaning out of questioning one’s own experiences and how these might be represented) is to engender cultural transformations. These reflections would then seem to suggest that an interdisciplinary, longitudinal and contextual investigation of what photographs *do* can illuminate what the perception and (expected)

function of images is, at any one time, understood to be. Furthermore, this approach might also support an analysis of how such meanings and functions might shift historically, thus exposing broader transformations across different contexts. Within the discourse of travel and tourism, this has underpinned an understanding of how people's engagement with travel photographs faced the PTA with *the* crucial question of how individual demand and desire should be negotiated with marketing objectives. At the level of representation, it has emerged, the organisation's changing approach to the use of photographs and drawings was, indeed, at least partially in response to a transformed perception of the photographic in the context of its democratisation.

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