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**“Alpine Inn Hospitality: Values and Expectations of
British Travellers in the Nineteenth Century”**

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	1
1. Introduction: Hospitality and Alpine Travel.....	2
1.1. Research Question.....	4
1.2. Source Material.....	4
1.3. Methodology.....	5
2. Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour and Nineteenth-Century Commercialisation of Travel.....	8
2.1. Influences of the Grand Tour.....	8
2.2. The Murray Guidebooks and Post-Napoleonic Travel.....	9
2.3. Anti-tourism.....	13
2.4. Alpinism and Mountaineering – The Golden Age and Beyond.....	15
2.5. Travelling in Northern Italy – Venice and the Dolomites.....	19
3. Alpine Hospitality and (Protestant) English Superiority.....	22
3.1. Alpine roads.....	22
3.2. Alpine inns: accommodation and food.....	22
3.3. Alpine peoples and English Superiority.....	26
4. Travelogues and the Picturesque Shift.....	31
4.1. Travel accounts versus guidebooks.....	31
4.2. The Picturesque in Travel Journals and the Stylistic Turn.....	33
5. Inn Hospitality in <i>The Dolomite Mountains</i>	36
5.1. Inn Hospitality: Accommodation.....	36
5.1.1. Furnishings, Cleanliness, Privacy.....	37
5.2. Inn Hospitality: Food Service.....	44
5.2.1. Service, Taste and Familiarity.....	44
5.3. Inn Hospitality: Ambience.....	51
5.3.1. Observations, Interactions and Surroundings.....	51
5.4. Inn Hospitality: Transportation.....	62

6. Source interpretation: Comparisons	64
6.1. Comparing accommodation	65
6.2. Comparing food	68
6.3. Comparing ambience	73
6.4. Comparing transportation	79
7. Conclusion	81
8. Bibliography.....	85
8.1. Primary source	85
8.2. Secondary literature	86
9. Abstract (English)	91
10. Abstract (German).....	92

Acknowledgements

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1. Introduction: Hospitality and Alpine Travel

“Tyrol is a pleasant country for its roadside inns: spacious, cool, and clean, they welcome the traveller with old-fashioned hospitality.”¹

In the nineteenth century, inn hospitality often shaped the travellers’ first impression of a foreign place. By publishing travel journals, these travellers could subsequently reach a much wider audience of impressionable readers to either encourage or discourage further tourism in the area.² One such travel book focused on the alpine region of the Dolomite Mountains. Josiah Gilbert and George C. Churchill’s travel book *The Dolomite Mountains - Excursions through Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, & Friuli in 1861, 1862, & 1863* describes their journeys through this alpine region before it became a popular tourist destination. Every new area they arrive at requires them to find room and board at an inn. Therefore, inn hospitality appears to be an inextricable part of alpine travel.

In his research on roadside inns of pre-modern Tyrol, Hans Heiss addresses the lack of academic interest in inn hospitality, citing merely the works of Swiss historian Hans Conrad Peyer on medieval hospitality and British researcher Peter Clark on early modern English alehouses as comprehensive overviews of hospitality research.³ I would argue that Felicity Heal’s research on the forms of hospitality in early modern England⁴ and Beat A. Kümin’s findings on public houses in early modern England also made significant contributions to this research field in general.⁵ Since then, several other researchers have investigated specific aspects of hospitality, such as various audiences and practices. Amongst them is Gabriele Jancke, who examines the hospitality encountered by scholars on their travels and studies.⁶ A. Lynn Martin highlights taverns as part of the late medieval and early modern European culture

¹ Gilbert, Josiah and Churchill, George Cheetham. *The Dolomite Mountains. Excursions through Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, & Friuli in 1861, 1862, & 1863. With a geological chapter, and pictorial illustrations from original drawings on the spot.* London, 1864, p. 39.

² Steward, Jill. “‘How and Where To Go’: The Role of Travel Journalism in Britain and the Evolution of Foreign Tourism, 1840–1914”. In: Walton, John K. (ed.), *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, Blue Ridge Summit, PA: Multilingual Matters, 2005: 39-54, p. 44.

³ Heiss, Hans. “Zentralraum Wirtshaus – Gaststätten im vormodernen Tirol 1600-1850”. *Geschichte und Region / Storia e regione* 10, 2 (2001): 11-37, p. 13-14. Special issue *Reisen im sozialen Raum*, ed. by Bonoldi, Andrea, Meixner Wolfgang.

⁴ Heal, Felicity. *Hospitality in Early Modern England*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990.

⁵ Kümin, Beat A. *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.

⁶ Jancke, Gabriele. “Gastfreundschaft in frühneuzeitlichen Haushaltsgesellschaften: Ökonomie und soziale Beziehungen”. In: Eibach, Joachim; Schmidt-Voges, Inken; Bonderer, Roman. *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas: Ein Handbuch*, Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2015: 449-466.

and practices around alcohol, sex and gender.⁷ Teresa Bernardi and Matteo Pompermaier most recently published an article on the role of women within inns and lodging houses of early modern Venice when registering and serving foreigners.⁸

Research into inns and hospitality has thus far tended to focus on the Middle Ages and Early Modern times. This lack of insight into inn hospitality of the 1800s could be attributed to the emergence of the hotel in the late eighteenth century, leading to an explosive popularity of this new form of accommodation during the nineteenth century. However, while hotels established themselves especially in urban Britain, inns and taverns continued to dominate rural landscapes, especially throughout continental Europe.⁹ As such, the significance of inn hospitality in nineteenth century Europe should not be skewed by the developments in urban Victorian Britain.

Hospitality is only one aspect of a much wider field of historical travel practices. Concerning the choice of travel destination, the nineteenth century presents certain shifts towards new areas. One observable phenomenon of the nineteenth century is an increasing awareness and appreciation of the European Alps as a travel destination. Mountaineering and Alpine Clubs began in Great Britain and spread throughout Europe as the new, adventurous way to travel. During the Golden Age of Mountaineering, the French and Swiss Alps established themselves as attractive tourist destinations for mountain climbers.¹⁰ The Silver Age of Mountaineering saw travellers seeking out new alpine regions in the East and South Alps and moving away from dangerous mountain climbing to include hiking as a more accessible alpine activity.¹¹ The Dolomite mountains were one of these “hidden gems” of alpine travel, attracting travellers more and more after the publication of Gilbert and Churchill’s travel account.

Travel accounts of the nineteenth century occupied a specific role in the public discourse around travelling and the genre of alpine travel writing underwent several changes, transitioning from a scientific, objective style during the Golden Age to a more romanticised, subjective writing style in the Silver Age of Mountaineering.¹² As a text type, the travel account

⁷ Martin, A. Lynn. *Alcohol, Violence, and Disorder in Traditional Europe. Vol. 2.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009.

⁸ Bernardi, Teresa; Pompermaier, Matteo. “Hospitality and Registration of Foreigners in Early Modern Venice: The Role of Women Within Inns and Lodging Houses”. *Gender & History* 31, 3 (2019): 624–645.

⁹ Heiss, *Zentralraum Wirtshaus*, p. 14-15.

¹⁰ Bainbridge, William. *Heritage in the Clouds: Englishness in the Dolomites*, Durham theses, Durham University, 2014, p. 13.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.14.

¹² *Ibid*.

exists between the realm of normative guide and subjective retelling of events,¹³ which offers historians interesting insights into the way these British travellers perceived the European alpine communities and the expectations of hospitality they may have conveyed through their travel accounts. William Bainbridge has explored Josiah Gilbert's alpine writings to investigate various aspects of alpinism in the nineteenth century. His findings indicate that Gilbert's approach to writing about the Dolomite mountains not only shaped tourism in this area, but also explored new ways of British travel.¹⁴

1.1. Research Question

This thesis shall explore this dynamic between normative and subjective, between British travellers and Alpine communities, between travelling and inn hospitality. The following question shall serve as my main research question:

How are the descriptions of Alpine hospitality in J. Gilbert's and G. C. Churchill's *The Dolomite Mountains* influenced by the expectations and values of British travellers in the nineteenth century?

My hypothesis is that Gilbert and Churchill sought to explore new areas of interest for fellow upper-class travellers during the Silver Age of Mountaineering. This is done by compiling a travel guide that balances the expectations of Englishness abroad with a curiosity for the Dolomite region. In doing so, they want to show the potential of the Dolomite Alps as a tourist destination by focusing more on the accommodation, the transportation and the interaction with locals rather than the mountain climbing or the alpine adventure typical for the texts of the Golden Age of Mountaineering.

1.2. Source Material

As travel became more popular, so did accounts thereof. Travel literature in the nineteenth century also covered Alpine regions. However, certain alpine regions, most notably in the south-east of Europe, received little attention in the extensive collections of travel literature. The primary source of this study addressed this gap and led to the rise in popularity of the Dolomite mountains.

¹³ Zimmermann, Christian. *Reiseberichte und Romanzen: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien Zur Perzeption und Rezeption Spaniens im deutschen Sprachraum des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1997, p. 50.

¹⁴ Bainbridge, William. "Titian Country: Josiah Gilbert (1814–1893) and the Dolomite Mountains". *Journal of Historical Geography* 56 (2017): 22–42.

Josiah Gilbert and George Cheetham Churchill's travel book *The Dolomite Mountains. Excursions through Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, & Friuli in 1861, 1862, & 1863. With a geological chapter, and pictorial illustrations from original drawings on the spot* was published in London in 1864. It consists of 626 pages and distinctly diverges from the mainstream, adventurous narrative of the Golden Age of mountaineering, choosing instead to focus on the aesthetics and presenting the location in a scenic manner.¹⁵ The authors embarked on this journey together with their spouses, although they only refer to them by their initials.

Travel accounts are narrative primary sources, written from the point of view of the traveller about their journey. Often, they are based on notes taken during the trip as part of a travel journal. Travel writing generally faces the problem of existing between the realms of fiction and fact, thus, it is difficult to interpret and analyse for historical purposes.¹⁶ The following section shall outline the methods used to investigate this primary source.

1.3. Methodology

Volker Depkat advocates for the benefits of exploring research questions based in cultural or social history when examining autobiographical text. Travel accounts are inherently autobiographical narratives which limit themselves to the experience of a travel journey. Not only has this source type gained much more interest from historians in recent times, it has also seen new approaches applied to it. These methods reveal the values, norms and expectations embedded in the author's text as part of subjective constructions of identity.¹⁷

As a narrative text, the travel account can therefore be understood within two dimensions: the textual and the latent. On a textual level, the analysis must reveal the semiotic system and genre-typical move structures present in the text. It answers the question of which continuities and themes are present in which passages and which narrative strategies are used to communicate with the text's readers. Depkat then describes how on the latent level, a text is in communication with the wider context or discourse and as such aims at certain communicative acts – a relationship of cause and effect.¹⁸ Within the narrative the author constructs an identity that is in line with cultural norms and values. This textual performance of identity is always informed by other narratives, other discourses of the times. Therefore, Depkat argues for a historical source critique that is expanded by the pragmatic methods often applied in Cultural

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 23.

¹⁶ Zimmermann, *Reiseberichte und Romanzen*, p. 45.

¹⁷ Depkat, Volker. *Autobiographie zwischen Text und Quelle*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2017, p. 30.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 32.

Studies, to reveal how an author can reference the wider historical context and embed it into the narrative text.¹⁹

Often, a text can be addressing multiple themes or topics at once, meaning that close reading is necessary to determine the textual and latent meanings of a passage. Therefore, some quotes will appear several times across different sections as to dissect the different meanings within them.

To further investigate the textual identity of these British travellers, special attention is given to the comparative nature of their statements. In recent years, comparisons have shifted from being an analytical tool to becoming the object of investigation. This approach, championed by researchers such as Angelika Epple, Walter Erhart and Johannes Grave, is primarily concerned with the reasons behind the comparisons and the practice of comparisons in historical texts.

“Comparing as a social and historical practice is always bound up with actors and agencies that perform the comparisons and connect them with their purposes and possible outcomes—intended or not. At the end of the day, the question of who is comparing and why actors compare becomes more important than the objects that are actually compared.”²⁰

Indeed, in this research paper, the focus will be on the way that Gilbert and Churchill’s statements on hospitality have implications for the wider historical context within the history of British alpine travel and alpine hospitality towards British people. Epple et al. have highlighted that “[c]omparing as a practice depends not only on the societal context but also on the historical situation”²¹ and that “[w]hile doing comparisons, actors are never free from their normative background and the historical context in which comparisons are situated”.²² As such, it is reasonable to assume that the travelogue could reveal hospitality norms that prevailed among British members of the upper class by closely investigating the comparisons made by Gilbert and Churchill.

“A comparison might be described as a logical operation that puts into perspective two entities, the two comparata, in respect to a tertium comparationis. A comparison carried out by actors,

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 30.

²⁰ Epple, Angelika; Erhart, Walter; Grave, Johannes. *Practices of Comparing. Towards a New Understanding of a Fundamental Human Practice*. BiUP General. Bielefeld: Bielefeld University Press, 2020, p. 17.

²¹ Ibid. p. 19.

²² Ibid. p. 17.

in contrast, is a socially determined activity. Its distinctive feature is that actors assume comparability and then relate similarities and differences between two or more entities.”²³

The *tertia comparationis* in this thesis paper are various phenomena around alpine inn hospitality, namely accommodation, food service, ambiance and transportation. These *tertia* emerge as prevalent categories in the text, related to hospitality. A careful selection of quotes around each subcategory of hospitality shall function as the *comparata*.

Thus, comparison is used as a methodological tool in this thesis paper only insofar that the text is compared to the historical contexts the travelogue is embedded in and informs on a latent level. Comparisons become the object of investigation on a textual level, as the authors use (implicit and explicit) comparative statements in their narration as part of their subjective identity construction. An explicit comparison to British inn hospitality is rarely given, yet the aim of this thesis paper is to make implicit comparisons explicit through means of close reading and fine analysis.

Reiner Keller describes the process of fine analysis as a way of systematically working through data. This approach is based in grounded theory methods from sociology and aims at unravelling the different contexts in which a text is embedded. This begins with close reading and moves on to paraphrasing important passages, then analysing the contexts and comparing these contextual clues with the interpretation of a text to arrive at a conclusion. Keller names the contextual dimensions of historical, social, institutional, and situational settings. This is closely related to the inquiries that historical source critique already makes, but by analysing the text passages as “phenomena” and applying interpretive “frames” to them, the systematic interpretation of a text becomes manageable and coherent. It reveals social practices that are both contributions to as well as products of historical discourses and narratives.²⁴

This thesis shall operate along these approaches. First, close reading of the travel account will reveal the passages relevant to inn hospitality. In a second step, patterns between text passages will be established and this should reveal the relevant themes within the topic of inn hospitality that the authors focus on. Then the various contexts of these themes will be examined so that an interpretation of the material is possible. The interpretation will be conducted on two levels, namely the textual level as part of the source critique and the latent level as part of the source interpretation.

²³ Ibid. p. 15.

²⁴ Keller, Reiner. *Diskursforschung*. 4th ed., Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011, p. 103-108.

The overall structure of this master thesis provides the reader with extensive background information on relevant aspects of alpinism and alpine tourism in the nineteenth century, followed by an overview of hospitality customs in alpine Europe during the same era. Then I will highlight features of this source type, namely the travel account, and the changes it underwent during the Victorian era. After arriving at a deeper understanding of the overall historical context, the reader will delve into key passages from the source text that expose or suggest certain attitudes and expectations towards hospitality when travelling in the Dolomite region. Finally, the findings will then be summarized in the conclusion and directly compared to the hypothesis made in the introduction.

2. Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour and Nineteenth-Century Commercialisation of Travel

2.1. Influences of the Grand Tour

Initially, choosing Gilbert and Churchill's travelogue on the Dolomite mountains to explore nineteenth-century British travel customs may seem odd. After all, how are the Dolomites connected to Victorian travel culture? However, at the time of publication, travel culture was undergoing some significant transformative processes, which would have most likely influenced their travels and – subsequently – their travel writing.

To answer the question of “why write about the Dolomites?”, it is paramount to start with the eighteenth-century phenomenon of the Grand Tour and consider its lasting impact on the emergence of modern travel customs during the Victorian era. The Oxford Dictionary of British History defines the Grand Tour as a “standard part of the education of the English aristocracy between the Restoration and the outbreak of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars in 1789”.²⁵ Its goal was to educate elder aristocratic sons on classic art and architecture, improve language skills and establish good social relationships in various contexts. Bruce Redford explains that the educational Grand Tour of young British aristocratic men also required a tutor and consisted of a “fixed itinerary that makes Rome its principal destination”.²⁶ Traveling to see significant classical art pieces and meet with noble European society signalled that a young nobleman had completed his studies at Oxford or Cambridge University and was ready to enter

²⁵ Cannon, John, and Robert Crowcroft. “Grand Tour.” In: *A Dictionary of British History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, retrieved 28 June 2023 from: <https://www-oxfordreference-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/view/10.1093/acref/9780191758027.001.0001/acref-9780191758027-e-1538>.

²⁶ Redford, Bruce. *Venice and the Grand Tour*. New Haven, 1996, p. 15.

society. This period of anywhere between one to five years would not only introduce but also teach about the social milieu that young aristocrats were to join into. During the Tour they would gain the social and academic skills necessary to assume the leadership positions assigned to them.²⁷ Grand Tourists, therefore, experienced travel on the Continent in this ritualized, well-structured manner. The itinerary followed two suggested routes with minor divergences. On the one hand, the tourist could start in France, staying in Paris and Geneva, then crossing the Alps into Italy, exploring Florence, Venice, and Rome, and taking the route through Vienna, Berlin, and Amsterdam on the way back to Great Britain. On the other hand, the route could be reversed to allow for more time practicing social and language skills before reaching Paris and Rome, the two most challenging social arenas.²⁸

Whereas the classical Grand Tour valued both social and educational aspects of travelling, Grand Tourists of the last third of the eighteenth century began to prioritize the social elements of their travels over the educational aspects.²⁹ This, however, led to minor changes in the accessibility of the Tour, now permitting less socially apt and academically distinguished members of higher society to travel under the guise of the Grand Tour. Even women and children travelled along as entire families and would go on to tour the Continent.³⁰

It is important to emphasize, at this point, that the Grand Tour was not the only mode of travel that was familiar to eighteenth-century society and that various occasions and purposes of travelling existed, yet the Grand Tour was at the centre of people's understanding of travel when social values shifted in favour of non-educational, leisurely travel.³¹ Attitudes towards travel in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century began to reflect a growing acceptance of travel as a recreational activity accessible to a larger portion of the upper classes.³²

2.2. The Murray Guidebooks and Post-Napoleonic Travel

The accessibility of travel on the Continent at the turn of the nineteenth century led to new groups of travellers embarking on such journeys. In what Jan Palmowski calls the “middle classification” of travel, the participation of the emerging bourgeoisie class in Continental travel was enabled by rapid advancements in transportation technology, such as the railway

²⁷ Buzard, James. “The Grand Tour and after (1660–1840)”. In: Hulme, Peter; Youngs, Tim. *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002: 37-52, p. 38.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 39.

²⁹ Black, Jeremy. *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*. Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992, p. 303.

³⁰ Buzard, *The Grand Tour*, p. 42.

³¹ Ibid. p. 38.

³² Black, *The British Abroad*, p. 300.

and steamboats. These technologies would decrease travel costs as well as ensure a speedier and more comfortable journey from place to place.³³ An endeavour which would previously demand several years was now available in a condensed form to the upper middle classes.

During the time of Napoleon's Continental Blockade – which had prevented ships from the British Isles to land at any of Napoleon's harbours – British travellers were forced to explore other areas, such as the nature of Wales or Scotland, the so-called 'Celtic fringe'.³⁴ Unlike the 'civilized' urban spaces of England, these rural areas were seen as 'primitive' and as such emphasized the need for modernization:

“This attraction to areas seen as less developed than England had its roots in Enlightenment theories of history that viewed all civilizations as moving through successive stages, from hunting and gathering through herding and settled agriculture to the advanced commercial societies of eighteenth-century Europe. By visiting or reading about places like the Scottish Highlands – or North America, Tahiti, or Africa – English tourists believed they could travel through time, as it were, and experience earlier stages of civilization.”³⁵

The exponential rise in British travellers on the Continent itself during the early nineteenth century coincided with the fall of Napoleon and thus, the subsequently dismissed Continental Blockade. The English tradition of touring the Continent, especially parts of Italy, France and now Switzerland was enjoyed by British professionals, intellectuals, industrialists, and entrepreneurs; however, it took on a new, streamlined form.³⁶

“These groups, the users of the Murray guidebooks, which first appeared in 1836, needed to organize their time more efficiently than earlier generations because they had substantial but not unlimited economic resources. Appropriately, Murray fashioned a guidebook for them by eliminating unnecessary detail, streamlining prose, and focusing primarily on what ought to be seen rather than what could be seen.”³⁷

As interest in the Grand Tour waned during the early nineteenth century, John Murray III had recognized a need to standardize the modern travel experience for the British upper classes. While the Grand Tourists could rely on a 'governor' to accompany them, the modern upper

³³ Palmowski, Jan. “Travels with Baedeker: The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian England”. In: Koshar, Rudy. *Histories of Leisure*, Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002: 105-130, p. 105.

³⁴ Bohls, Elizabeth A. “Picturesque Travel: The Aesthetics and Politics of Landscape”. In: Thompson, Carl. *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, New York: Routledge, 2016: 246-257, p. 249.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 249.

³⁶ Koshar, Rudy. “‘What Ought to Be Seen’: Tourists’ Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe”. *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, 3 (1998): 323-340, p. 326.

³⁷ Ibid. p. 326.

middle-class tourist needed a guide for a much shorter itinerary that would condense the travel experience by “[concentrating] the greatest touristic value into the least time at the lowest cost”.³⁸ The effect of Murray’s guides was the increased presence of tourists all over the Continent, aiming to see the sights one ought to see.

Travel did not only become shorter, but it also became a seasonal affair. In the mid-1800s a new group of travellers emerged, namely vacationers aiming to enjoy themselves abroad during the summer months specifically.³⁹ Their trips would last anywhere from days to months.⁴⁰ Organizing one’s summer around a summer holiday suggested a higher social status, as it required higher funds and available time.⁴¹ The annual summer holiday enjoyed widespread favour among professional families and was often combined with the mastery of a sport.⁴² Palmowski points out that the “growth of vacationers during the 1850s and 1860s is directly reflected in the proliferation of guidebooks”,⁴³ indicating once again the popularity of guidebooks during the nineteenth century.

Explaining the practicality of Murray’s guides, Rudy Koshar highlights that “tourists’ guidebooks were designed to be used at the sites of travel, and therefore, in comparison to earlier guides and travelogues, they were more practical, more ‘objective’, and more standardized to meet the requirements of an increasingly commodified ‘leisure migration’ in an age of industrial capitalism”.⁴⁴ Despite technological advancements, many aspects of travel remained uncertain and unpredictable, a dilemma that the guidebooks aimed to ameliorate by applying “clarity, precision, and ‘scientific’ accuracy”.⁴⁵ James Buzard deems Murray’s ability to clearly outline alterity and authenticity to have a profound impact on the guidebook’s popularity. This “ethnographic principle” of emphasizing what is different from one’s own home matched widespread Romantic sentiments of separating the industrialized, capitalist reality of the British urban citizen from the idyllic state of faraway lands. A continuous

³⁸ Buzard, *The Grand Tour*, p. 48.

³⁹ Black, *The British Abroad*, p. 303.

⁴⁰ Palmowski, *Travels with Baedeker*, p. 107.

⁴¹ Hansen, Peter Holger. “British Mountaineering, 1850-1914”. Ph.D. Diss., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1991, p. 97.

⁴² Hansen, *British Mountaineering*, p. 96.

⁴³ Palmowski, *Travels with Baedeker*, p. 109.

⁴⁴ Koshar, *What Ought to Be Seen*, p. 326.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

reinforcement of these differences through the medium of the guidebook was helpful in upholding social order and coping with the complexity of industrialisation.⁴⁶

Here again we can see the influence of the Grand Tour, as nineteenth-century tourists would gain a sense of aristocracy by treading down the same, well-beaten path of those classical Grand Tourists, yet aiming for novelty and differentiating themselves from any other form of travel. Despite visiting similar places on the Continent, modern travellers did not interact with the places in the same ritualistic ways of the Grand Tourists.⁴⁷ To the majority of the British middle classes of the 1860s, travelling the Continent was a welcome, temporary escape from their professional lives, regardless of class, although they often constituted “highly educated professionals with enough private income to allow a certain degree of independence”.⁴⁸ For Victorian women, “travel offered [...] the opportunity to escape the confines of Victorian domesticity and experience new horizons”.⁴⁹ However, as it continued to be an unfamiliar terrain for most people, the guidebook would help introduce some familiarity back into it.⁵⁰ The Continent, it would claim, is different from Britain but it is also not entirely unknown to the British. The new requirement for travel guides was to combine these two perspectives, “so that European travel appeared alternately new (delivering ‘Change’) and familiar (delivering anticipated cultural experience)”.⁵¹ Ultimately, these new travellers desired to see beautiful scenery to counteract the drab effects of industrialisation.⁵²

A tourist, thus, would be a financially independent professional who merely travels for enjoyment, seeing sights as suggested in their Murray guidebooks and following a relatively fixed itinerary. It bears many similarities to the Grand Tour, as a form of methodized travel, but it includes people of all classes, especially middle classes. Status, then, could no longer be determined by whether one could or could not travel, but rather how travel was conducted.⁵³ As Buzard claims, “the real or the perceived encroachment of ‘tourism’ on districts that had been the preserves of a privileged few nourished the urge to delineate”.⁵⁴ In particular, the

⁴⁶ Buzard, James. *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993b, p. 175.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 121-22.

⁴⁸ Withey, Lynne. *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915*. New York, NY: Morrow, 1997, p. 202.

⁴⁹ Palmowski, *Travels with Baedeker*, p. 115.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 120.

⁵¹ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p. 105.

⁵² Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours*, p. 202.

⁵³ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p. 81.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

“distinction between genuine and spurious cultural experience”⁵⁵ would mark the difference between the “mere” tourist and the “real” traveller.⁵⁶ The latter wished to avoid any association with the former.⁵⁷ When seemingly ‘everybody’ was abroad, the upper classes took the class-specific ideology of the Grand Tour and reconfigured it to signify a true ‘traveller’, essentially defining itself in opposition to the tourist.⁵⁸ This means that a traveller was an individual, just as the Grand Tourist was, rather than part of a group of tourists. This means that a traveller would genuinely appreciate the journey and the sights, rather than superficially consume them.

By viewing travel and touristic sights through this lens of the educated Romantic, the concept of the ‘traveller’ could expand among the middle-classes of the Victorian age.⁵⁹ This debate of tourist versus traveller is exacerbated by the introduction of Thomas Cook’s Tours, the first touring service of its kind, aiming to allow a wide array of tourists to travel the Continent for a reasonable price. Cook was criticised for “bringing an inferior cultural group into Europe who are willing to travel *en masse*, who contain both sexes and all ages to be entertained as one would be as a spectator in a circus, and who have little engagement with, or knowledge of, the areas through which they travel”.⁶⁰ This demonstrates the beginnings of anti-tourist sentiments in the mid-1800s.

2.3. Anti-tourism

Identities could be fashioned around the rejection of conventional travel. In general, travel provided a great opportunity to redefine one’s values and fashioning an idealized self for the duration of the journey and beyond.⁶¹ Navigating the controversial nature of travel versus tourism has led to a set of conventions among travellers that defines their way of travelling as distinctly separate from other modes of travel. Part of this desire to differentiate themselves manifests itself in travel endeavours just off the beaten path, diverging from popular itineraries and the prescribed responses to sights. Driven by an urge to be unique, they would seek travel

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 80.

⁵⁶ Korte, Barbara. *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000, p. 96.

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 96.

⁵⁸ Buzard, *The Grand Tour*, p. 49.

⁵⁹ Perkins, Pam. “‘A Continual Recurrence of Bad Inns’: Public Domesticity and Women’s Travel in the Early Nineteenth Century”. In: Elbert, Monika M.; Susanne Schmid. *Anglo-American Travelers and the Hotel Experience in Nineteenth-Century Literature*, London: Taylor and Francis, 2017: 237-250, p. 238.

⁶⁰ Bevin, Darren James. *Cultural Climbs: John Ruskin, Albert Smith and the Alpine Aesthetic*. Saarbrücken: Verlag Dr. Müller, 2010, p. 235.

⁶¹ Buzard gives an excellent overview on the anti-tourism sentiments during the nineteenth century. In: Buzard, James. *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993b, p. 81–158.

destinations which were not part of the classical Grand Tours. Another dilemma would be the feeling of ‘belatedness’ that new travellers tried to avoid.

“The very sign that someone had preceded them, laying down preferred routes, establishing a hierarchy of attractions to be seen, fostering conventions of response, unsettled the new tourists, much of whose behaviour was driven by the need to demonstrate uniqueness”.⁶²

As the culturally significant areas of Europe became overcrowded with tourists, the nineteenth-century anti-tourist hated being late and hated being one of many. To cope with this disparity, they employed new techniques of self-fashioning even as they stood among many others. One of these techniques of enriching their travel experience was to use “the mediating texts of European Romanticism to tell them what distinctively enriched experience should feel like”.⁶³

These Romantic texts in combination with the choice to diverge from the common itinerary would connote that culturally valuable travel could be found only through an active engagement with the landscape. As such, it distanced the traveller from the role of the ‘passive tourist’, loyally holding a Murray guidebook in their hand and repeatedly regurgitating the same sentiments. Individuality and authenticity could only be achieved by moving against the mainstream.

However, the tourist industry began to respond to these anti-touristic sentiments by marketing specifically to this group of travellers who wish to have a more unique experience. Slowly but surely, anti-tourism became the mainstream. In a manner characteristic of many modern cultural practices, the devices of rebellion or role-distancing – in this case, anti-tourism – were themselves becoming the distinguishing features of a new type of conformity, a new role.⁶⁴

This manifested itself in suspicions that the use of quotes by Romantic poet Lord Byron in many of Murray’s guidebooks was commercialising the very same sentimentality previously used to distinguish oneself from the common responses. In fact, “[the traveller’s] suspicion was heightened each time they encountered a guide or servant on the Continent who, having learned what English travellers would pay to see or hear, obligingly delivered the appropriate Byronic

⁶² Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p. 121.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 122.

⁶⁴ Buzard, *The Grand Tour*, p. 50.

commentary for each expedition”.⁶⁵ As a result, some authors of travelogues chose to distance themselves from Byronic sentimentality as a new distinctive feature of their writing.⁶⁶

Tourists who did not fully appreciate the natural splendour and the historic significance of various sights were constantly criticised, especially as they visited the Continent simply to prove that they now could do so, without displaying the humble admiration these sights deserved.⁶⁷ In no other area was this sentiment as apparent as in the Alps.

2.4. Alpinism and Mountaineering – The Golden Age and Beyond

Crossing the Alps was an inevitable part of the Grand Tour, yet most eighteenth century travellers regarded alpine travel to be dangerous at worst and an inconvenience at best.⁶⁸ A few decades later, however, the French and Swiss Alps were referred to as the ‘Playground of Europe’, enjoying thousands of visitors annually.⁶⁹ Indeed, by the 1850s and 1860s, attitudes towards the Alps had changed drastically, being now regarded as an exciting, challenging terrain for the modern Englishman to explore.⁷⁰

This development occurred due to several influences in the early decades of the nineteenth century. A notable difference was made by the emerging community of alpinists. Alpinism describes, in broad terms, the (British) fascination with the Alps, which reached its peak around the 1860s. Whereas in the early days of mountain exploration a scientific approach was taken, aiming to understand glacier formations and geological studies, the ascension of high peaks quickly became an adventurous activity of its own.⁷¹ Generally associated with (upper) middle class Englishmen, mountaineering became a popular sport and in 1857, the first British Alpine Club was founded.⁷² This Golden Age of Mountaineering coincided with the Victorian Age of Exploration, as Darren J. Bevin points out:

“It is no coincidence that the greatest era of mountaineering occurred during Victorian times, and that many of those who set out to conquer the peaks were British. This was, after all, the age of exploration, and the highest peaks of the Alps were as inaccessible and as challenging as

⁶⁵ Buzard, James. “The Uses of Romanticism: Byron and the Victorian Continental Tour”. *Victorian Studies* 35, 1 (1991): 29-49, p. 45.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 44.

⁶⁷ Bevin, *Cultural Climbs*, p. 201.

⁶⁸ Raymond, Petra. *Von der Landschaft im Kopf zur Landschaft aus Sprache. Die Romantisierung der Alpen in den Reiseschilderungen und die Literarisierung des Gebirges in der Erzählprosa der Goethezeit*, 1993, p. 62.

⁶⁹ Bevin, *Cultural Climbs*, p. 202.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 210.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² O’Neill, Patricia. “Destination as Destiny: Amelia B. Edwards’s Travel Writing.” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 30, 2 (2009): 43-71, p. 47.

the Antarctic or the Sahara; [...] In addition, mountain climbing, like other forms of exploration, involved the championing of Victorian ideals of manliness and pluck, resourcefulness, and courage.”⁷³

Indeed, the articles in the Alpine Club journal were written in a dry, scientific manner, but their narratives and accounts of mountain climbers quickly gained a “respectable audience of armchair adventurers”.⁷⁴ The extent of Britain’s conquer of the Alps was remarkable, with more than three quarters of all Alpine peaks above 4000 meters being claimed by the British by the end of the Golden Age of Mountaineering in 1865.⁷⁵ Especially impactful was Albert Smith’s play reconstructing his ascent of Mont Blanc, as it brought alpine adventure to the forefront of British travellers.

Alpine journeys were an opportunity for British gentlemen to demonstrate their virality. After all, as Bevin posits, “what could be more attractive for British males than climbing the highest mountain on earth, particularly when it could be linked to proving their imperial prowess?”⁷⁶ The success of these alpine narratives over their scientific counterparts was indicative of the appeal of grand stories about “athleticism, adventure and high-altitude aesthetics”⁷⁷ and from the beginning of the Alpine Club Journal, the emphasis lay on themes of “danger, risk and hardihood”.⁷⁸ Mountaineering was therefore not only closely tied to British middle-class attitudes on masculinity, but also emphasized concepts of nationalism and imperialism by aiming to conquer the Alpine landscape for the British.⁷⁹

At some point, the Alpine Club opened its doors to “all those who displayed mountaineering expertise”.⁸⁰ While they were still rejecting female climbers, they began to grant membership to non-mountaineers with significant influence on the perception of the Alps:

“Furthermore, the club could open their doors to others who, though not mountaineers, had championed the Alps through other methods. This accorded more directly to the objectives of the club, defined as ‘the promotion of good fellowship among mountaineers, of mountain

⁷³ Bevin, *Cultural Climbs*, p. 217.

⁷⁴ O’Neill, *Destination as Destiny*, p. 47.

⁷⁵ Bevin provides a great overview of the alpine fascination during the Golden Age of mountaineering, as well as the debates around and attitudes towards alpine travel. In: Bevin, *Cultural Climbs*, p. 210-267.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 5.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 229.

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 215.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 226.

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 212.

climbing and mountain exploration throughout the world, and of better knowledge of the mountains through literature, science, and art’.”⁸¹

This expansion hints at a previously ongoing debate around the true appreciation of the Alps. While many mountaineers focused on the human abilities and an active engagement with the Alps in their writing, many Romantic authors would primarily describe the alpine experience as a passive, yet deep appreciation of the alpine landscape. At first, mountaineers wished to distance themselves from Romanticism. Bevin explains that “the combination of aesthetic appreciation with a determination to subdue and conquer are prominent in early narratives by mountaineers during a period which sees a movement away from Romantic awe to an intense, physical interaction”.⁸² These debates occurred around the mid-1800s and dominated discussions around the “appropriate” or “correct” manner of interacting with the alpine landscape.⁸³ The conclusion, ultimately, was that any engagement that contributed to a positive perception of the Alps would be characteristic of Alpine Club members. This also enabled Romantic poet John Ruskin to become an honorary member of the Alpine Club for his literary contributions such as “Of Mountain Beauty”.⁸⁴ Alpinism now encompassed the Romanticism of previous decades and applied it to the new popular sport of mountaineering.

The abundance of literary, poetic, theatrical, adventurous, and scientific prose on the European Alps led to a great interest in exploring the area for various reasons: geology, art history, escapism from an industrial lifestyle or simply to impress family and friends. It is the latter reason that caused much contention among alpinists, as it was deemed disrespectful to such a beautiful terrain.⁸⁵

Bevin describes how on one end of the spectrum, John Ruskin insisted on aligning science and aesthetics, which meant “simultaneously becoming familiar with the geology of the mountains as well as their aesthetic beauty viewed from below at a respectable, low-level distance from the heights”.⁸⁶ On the other end of the spectrum, Bevin argues, Albert Smith promoted an imperialistic, adventurous approach, focused on conquering peaks and presenting man’s domination of nature to the civilised audience at home.⁸⁷ In the middle one could find alpinists and mountaineers who had a respectful, yet intense relationship with the Alps. Only these

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 221.

⁸² Ibid. p. 210-11.

⁸³ Ibid. p. 223.

⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 221.

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 230.

⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 265.

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 265.

mountaineers, alongside Romantic icons such as Ruskin were historically associated with the popularity of the Alps among British travellers. Bevin emphasizes, however, that Albert Smith's "vulgar" way of engaging with the Alps was as much if not more impactful in popularising the Alps as a tourist destination for British people and as such should be considered alongside the likes of Ruskin.⁸⁸ Bevin credits both Ruskin and Smith with "raising awareness of, and popularising, the landscape, and encouraging many actively to seek out the sights that both presented so vividly in their disparate works".⁸⁹

Many travellers that had previously only embarked on alpine journeys from the comfort of their home by reading travelogues now had the ability to travel to the Alps for a first-hand experience of the mountain beauty.⁹⁰ This mass tourism was exacerbated by Thomas Cook offering his Tours to Switzerland, a journey so popular that Cook was "forced to refuse tickets to many applicants due to limited numbers of places available".⁹¹ Nonetheless, the enthusiasm around the Alps led to greatly improved alpine infrastructure, which in turn encouraged even more middle-class travellers to consider spending their summers in the Alps.⁹² Bevin highlights that the Alps were no longer an exclusive domain that was available to only a privileged few" but instead by the 1860s alpine travel was crossing class and gender boundaries.⁹³ Although mountaineering was a popular sport, only a small percentage of travellers in the Alps engaged in it. Nonetheless, discourse around the sport of climbing inspired an abundance of visitors, especially in previously less frequented regions.⁹⁴ Once trips to Switzerland were established, Cook expanded into the more remote alpine areas such as northern Italy.⁹⁵ Alpine travel was diverse, with a variety of travellers travelling for a variety of motives. Indeed, the biggest change in the first half of the nineteenth century was the "scale and number of travellers to the region".⁹⁶

Critics, particularly anti-tourists, continued to claim that organized tours would not enable tourists to have an immersive experience. Thomas Cook was catering to a supposedly "inferior cultural group", namely the middle class, regardless of sex or age and turning the European landscape into a circus or a spectacle, rather than promoting deeper knowledge or engagement

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 266.

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 267.

⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 244.

⁹¹ Ibid. p. 237.

⁹² Ibid. p. 244.

⁹³ Ibid. p. 244.

⁹⁴ Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours*, p. 205.

⁹⁵ Bevin, *Cultural Climbs*, p. 237.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 239.

with these significant landmarks.⁹⁷ Instead, only independent travel of artistic or geological interest would have any merit to it.⁹⁸ Cook's tourists were thought to have a disreputable character. However, they were actually "serious-minded persons" who consulted respectable travel guides such as the Murray guides or the Baedeker guides and actively recorded the impressions they had.⁹⁹ Significantly, the commercialisation of alpine travel allowed women of different classes to undertake such a journey through the Alps, immersing themselves in the landscape while having the support and guidance of an institution to rely upon.¹⁰⁰

Leslie Stephen, a renowned mountaineer and the person who coined the term "Playground of Europe" to refer to the alpine enthusiasm of the time, claimed that "mountain truth" could only be experienced at high altitude and was therefore inaccessible to those who travellers who preferred to walk or hike in alpine environments.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, the majority of nineteenth-century tourists would not aspire to climb all the way to the major peaks, but instead retained hiking as a "resolutely popular pastime".¹⁰²

Hiking made Alps other than the Swiss and French Alps more accessible, as alpine areas such as the Dolomites in northern Italy were difficult terrain for mountaineers but offered beautiful scenery and plenty of hiking paths for those who would venture to these lesser-known Alps.

2.5. Travelling in Northern Italy – Venice and the Dolomites

When Britain ceased their war with France in the post-Napoleonic era, it allowed for more access to Italian destinations, which also led to an increase in the number of travel books written about Italy.¹⁰³ The country and its rich history of medieval and Renaissance culture was favoured by many English upper-class people, especially in contrast to French high culture, which had dominated the British cultural landscape during the Enlightenment era.¹⁰⁴

Venice, occupied by the Austrian Empire at the time, was a significant Italian tourist location.¹⁰⁵ The publishing industry focused on handbooks/guidebooks and travelogues, both of which fulfilled different functions and required distinctive styles to separate them from one

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 235.

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 250.

⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 240.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 242.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 224.

¹⁰² Beattie, Andrew. *The Alps: A Cultural History*. Oxford: Signal, 2006, p. 180.

¹⁰³ Saunders, Clare Broome. "The Individual Traveller Versus the Guidebook: Louisa Stuart Costello's Venice". *Studies in Travel Writing* 16, 2 (2012): 123-134, p. 123.

¹⁰⁴ Luzzi, Joseph. *Romantic Europe and the Ghost of Italy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008, p. 150.

¹⁰⁵ Palmowski, *Travels with Baedeker*, p. 112.

another.¹⁰⁶ Whereas the guidebook would provide facts, a travelogue would document the experience of travellers in an emotional way.¹⁰⁷ The challenge for many authors was to find a unique perspective amongst the sea of published travel accounts of Venice.¹⁰⁸ “Astute writing for a target market was common to the majority of Italian travelogues that were written at the same time as the emergence of handbook publishing: being individual in a crowded market of ‘distinctive’ accounts was a fundamental issue facing any writer in Venice”,¹⁰⁹ writes Clare Broome Saunders.

Most travel authors would solve this conundrum by offering “opinions on the art they view, most of them doing so while rejecting the notion of offering a guidebook listing”.¹¹⁰ They also adopted an “impromptu cultural lexicon” to distinguish what was often described as a declining contemporary Italy from the “vital ancient Italy” of the past. To capture the glory of Old Italy, the vocabulary consisted of binaries such as “male/female, living/dead, freedom/oppression, and Protestant/Catholic”.¹¹¹ Thus, British travellers looked to Italy as an anti-French country, a place of immense cultural influence through the Renaissance and medieval art, a place to be considered only in opposition to certain aspects. Tourists would, therefore, fashion themselves as people who relish in the unique value of Italian culture.

By the mid-nineteenth century, this appreciation had extended to the Dolomite mountains. Beyond the Tyrolean Brenner route, the Dolomite mountains stood “virtually untouched”, as most mountaineers and alpine enthusiasts preferred the high Alps of France and Switzerland.¹¹² Baedeker, a guidebook author who rivalled Murray, gave unfavourable reviews of Tyrol and the Dolomites in his handbook, condescendingly referring to them as the “lower Alps”.¹¹³ For a long time, the term ‘Tyrol’ was describing an area “more or less equivalent to the Eastern Alps”, referring to those mountains “east of the Brenner pass, including those of Germany’s southern province of Bavaria, those of Austria in the province of Tyrol itself, and the Dolomites”.¹¹⁴ Alongside the Tyrolese people, the English people began to take an interest in these mountain ranges. The Dolomites, in particular, were different from any other Alps, due

¹⁰⁶ Saunders, *The Individual Traveller Versus the Guidebook*, p. 132.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 129.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 124.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 125.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 129.

¹¹¹ Luzzi, Joseph. “Italy without Italians: Literary Origins of a Romantic Myth”. *Modern Language Notes* 117, 1 (2002): 48-83, p. 48.

¹¹² Ring, Jim. *How the English Made the Alps*. London: John Murray, 2000, p. 27.

¹¹³ Ibid. p. 107.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. p. 108.

to their composition made of a “particular form of limestone, which is far more susceptible to erosion than the majority of the harder rock forms in the Alps”, with the weather conditions shaping them into snow-free pinnacles.¹¹⁵

The Dolomite region was not considered a prosperous area within Tyrol, and this only changed around the 1870s, during the “economic expansion known as the *Gründerzeit*”.¹¹⁶ Just a decade before this time of prosperity, two British travellers, namely Josiah Gilbert and George Churchill, a painter and a geologist, chose to explore the region between 1861 and 1863 and afterwards produced one of the most significant travelogues on the Dolomite mountains.¹¹⁷

“Josiah Gilbert and George C. Churchill’s work *The Dolomite Mountains* (1864) combined accounts of several summers’ travels through the southeastern Alps. Gilbert, an artist, and Churchill, a botanist, toured mostly on foot with their wives, who not only kept up with the men during hikes of up to twelve hours, but also acted as translators, since the men did not speak Italian”.¹¹⁸

Gilbert and Churchill were aware that the Dolomites would not be easy to climb and thus steered their travelogue away from the typical alpine adventure story. However, they promised their readers that “the peculiar scenery of these mountains can be fully appreciated without such extraordinary efforts”.¹¹⁹ Other travelogue authors have cited Gilbert and Churchill’s work and used them as the authority on the Dolomite area, appreciating their detail on the geography and their knowledge of art, particularly Gilbert’s expertise on Titian, who displayed the Dolomites in the background of several of his paintings.¹²⁰ Whereas other travel accounts were written with alpinists in mind, Gilbert and Churchill seemed to aim their text at a wider audience of potential travellers to the Dolomites.¹²¹

Throughout the Victorian era, the Alps only grew in popularity and by the end of it, the ability to travel to foreign lands expanded even beyond the middle classes.¹²² All these developments influenced the infrastructure of the alpine landscape and in particular, the customs and expectations around alpine hospitality.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. p. 110.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. p. 170.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. p. 110.

¹¹⁸ O’Neill, *Destination as Destiny*, p. 48.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid. p. 49.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Palmowski, *Travels with Baedeker*, p. 118.

3. Alpine Hospitality and (Protestant) English Superiority

3.1. Alpine roads

Travel by coach was the most widespread mode of transportation on the Continent. Due to poor road conditions and bad weather, travel between alpine locations could prove to be quite strenuous and challenging. To counteract this discomfort as much as possible, travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century would spend a significant amount more on transportation than on food or accommodation.¹²³

Nonetheless, coaches were susceptible to a variety of faults, breaking down often and depending heavily on the condition of the roads.¹²⁴ Roads impacted by the weather would often become unusable for a given amount of time, thus making a clear itinerary particularly challenging for travellers.¹²⁵ Often, roads established by the posting system were used and in areas lacking such a system, other forms of transportation had to be arranged with the local population. This would often add a considerable amount to the overall cost of transportation.¹²⁶

In the 1830s and 1840s, railway systems were established in Great Britain, but it took decades for the Continent to establish the railway as a faster, more comfortable way of travelling.¹²⁷ It was not until the late 1860s that the railway extended to alpine Italy, to the area of the Dolomites.¹²⁸ Until then, travel in the Dolomite area was a challenging endeavour which only a few privileged people could afford.¹²⁹ Several accounts recall the journey from alpine town to alpine town to include abandoning one's carriage due to ongoing roadwork.¹³⁰ Once the traveller would safely arrive at the inn, however, new problems would often arise.

3.2. Alpine inns: accommodation and food

Victorian travellers were accustomed to a variety of "creature comforts" and as such, demanded certain conditions to be met in their accommodations.¹³¹ Guidebooks would regularly comment on the cleanliness of inns, the setup of the bedrooms and bathrooms, and the food served at the inns. In general, the more frequented inns and hotels could impress with their cleanliness and attention to the demands of visitors. However, inns in more rural alpine areas would present

¹²³ Black, *The British Abroad*, p. 93.

¹²⁴ Ibid. p. 120.

¹²⁵ Ibid. p. 113.

¹²⁶ Ibid. p. 98.

¹²⁷ Buzard, *The Grand Tour*, p. 38.

¹²⁸ Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours*, p. 203.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ring, *How the English Made the Alps*, p. 112.

¹³¹ Ibid. p. 11.

more problems within these criteria. Murray, for example, would praise Swiss inns for the clean space it provided while warning travellers of the deteriorating conditions beyond French and Italian borders.¹³²

Jeremy Black highlights that the construction of travel itineraries was often dependent on the available accommodation, which led to recommendations that hurriedly move tourists from one major town to the next.¹³³ “Small towns, villages and rural areas over most of the Continent could not offer acceptable accommodation for tourists accustomed in Britain since leaving school to a modicum of comfort”.¹³⁴ The post-roads system of continental Europe was expansive, but accommodation at inns or hotels was not provided on the same scale. Only on a few major travel routes one could find suitable accommodation.¹³⁵ Luckily, Tyrol and the Dolomite region included some notable, heavily trafficked transport routes through Austria such as the Pustertal or the Brenner.

Therefore, tourists who intentionally diverge from the typical routes to experience new sights and differentiate themselves from other travellers had to accept a certain degree of uncertainty about the nature of their accommodation.¹³⁶ Notably, Murray’s handbook even mentions the lengths to which some innkeepers in remote areas would go to keep foreign guests at their establishment.¹³⁷ However, the arrival of British guests was often a source of high stress for the innkeepers, as the tourists frequently arrived at irregular hours – often at night – and “presented their demands vociferously and in terms that the innkeepers would sometimes have found difficult to understand”.¹³⁸ One point of contention would be the price of the tourists’ stay. Black discusses the difference between short-term and long-term stays, as well as the role of bargaining a price in advance:

“There was, therefore, a clear difference in price often between, on the one hand, accommodation and food over a long period and on the other, for only a night or for a short period. This was related to another clear difference, namely between prices agreed in advance, often by bargaining, and those which had not been. The latter were often substantially higher.

¹³² Beattie, *The Alps: A Cultural History*, p. 171.

¹³³ Black, *The British Abroad*, p. 137.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ring, *How the English Made the Alps*, p. 149.

¹³⁸ Black, *The British Abroad*, p. 143.

Tourists who were travelling had less opportunity to strike bargains for a number of nights. Arriving late in small settlements they were often obliged to pay whatever was demanded”.¹³⁹

Even more demands came from travelling women, who were not advised to embark on these journeys precisely due to the “unseemly arrangements which the Continent often forced upon the traveller”.¹⁴⁰ Special equipment, special advice and special arrangements were required to accommodate the upper-class ladies who chose to travel these alpine regions.¹⁴¹ One such scandal was the condition and the practices of the European ‘cabinet’, a subject covered in several travel accounts.¹⁴² Baedeker even advised innkeepers and hotel-keepers aiming to cater towards British travellers to “[provide] the bedrooms with large basins, footbaths, plenty of water, and an adequate supply of towels” and to “ensure that the sanitary arrangements are in proper order, including a strong flush of water, and proper toilette paper”.¹⁴³ From these reminders it can be concluded that in some remote areas, cabinet hygiene was not up to the British upper-class standards.

Another point of contention was the drinks served at inns. As most visitors of alpine inns would be English,¹⁴⁴ there was an expectancy of serving tea wherever these tourists would go. Jim Ring highlights how Murray would complain of a German custom in which they would add chicory to their coffee and lamented how rarely tea would be served outside of hotels on the great routes.¹⁴⁵ Another controversial affair would be the food served at these inns. According to some authors, hotels and inns in bigger towns would often prepare a “late table d’hôte dinner at four or five o’clock, ‘expressly for the English’, whose habit was to dine rather later than was the Continental custom”.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, innkeepers would be advised to shift their timetables around to accommodate British travellers.

Not only the time was contested, but also the variety of food that was offered to guests. Jeremy Black points out two common realities at inns:

“In general, it would be appropriate to discern two food regimes for tourists. The first was that of the rural areas through which they travelled, commonly characterized by a lack of variety,

¹³⁹ Ibid. p. 92.

¹⁴⁰ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p. 149.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid. p. 150.

¹⁴³ Ring, *How the English Made the Alps*, p. 152.

¹⁴⁴ Beattie, *The Alps: A Cultural History*, p. 172.

¹⁴⁵ Ring, *How the English Made the Alps*, p. 151.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 53.

and often by a shortage of food. [...] The second was that of towns, particularly large towns, where quantity and variety were less of a problem for those who could pay”.¹⁴⁷

The food on offer would generally also depend on regional and seasonal factors. This applies most obviously to wine, fruits and vegetables, but surprisingly affected meat supplies as well.¹⁴⁸ Certain types of meat could vary in availability and often fish was used as a substitute.¹⁴⁹ The regionality of the food would also indicate that inns served dishes unfamiliar to the British palette. However, contemporary travel literature would routinely mention these dishes, so upon reading the literature, most travellers would have adjusted their expectations accordingly.¹⁵⁰

As travellers in rural alpine areas spent most of their days outside, committing to alpine sports, hiking or mountaineering, they preferred to purchase cold meals at the inn to transport with them for lunch on the go. Carrying cooking equipment became obsolete this way. However, this became problematic and left the travellers in a vulnerable position if the food served for dinner upon their return was not to their liking, which occurred often in some rural areas.¹⁵¹

Larger tourist trips, such as ones offered by the Thomas Cook travel agency, would ensure that a typical English menu was provided at the cooperating hotels. Jemima Morrell, one such tourist, described a ten-course lunch in a Genevan hotel as consisting of “vegetable soup (mild); salmon, with cream sauce; sliced roast beef with brown potatoes; boiled fowl, served on rice; sweetbreads; roast fowl with salad; artichokes; plum pudding, steeped in brandy; sponge cakes and stewed fruit; sweet pudding in iced cream; two varieties of creams and ripe cherries”.¹⁵² Of course, such a service was impossible for smaller rural inns. Alpine inns further away from the touristic hot spots in Switzerland and France would struggle to find these ingredients locally, and as such, would not be capable of adapting to their British visitors’ needs as quickly.

Many places would also adapt by learning to speak the English language. Baedeker comments on the widespread use of English at hotels and larger inns along the common routes in Tyrol, but even in rural areas off the beaten track, there was an increasing awareness of the English

¹⁴⁷ Black, *The British Abroad*, p. 145-6.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 153.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 152.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. p. 148.

¹⁵² Bevin, *Cultural Climbs*, p. 233-34.

traveller.¹⁵³ “The results of this insistence by the English that their surroundings adapt to their own expectations rather than vice versa, and their ability to pay for it, were various”.¹⁵⁴

Indeed, “anyone dealing with English tourists – couturiers, innkeepers, shopkeepers, waiters – was obliged to pick up a smattering of English”.¹⁵⁵ This inherent expectation of Britishness is reflected also in the attitudes expressed towards the alpine population, which will be covered in the next section.

3.3. Alpine peoples and English Superiority

The Victorian travellers’ obsession with the picturesque led to certain expectations around rural folk. At its core, the picturesque refers to beauty that can be captured in an image. The term had been applied rather loosely and strayed from its original context, yet it retained the fundamental meaning of captured beauty.¹⁵⁶

“The cult of the Picturesque uses the familiar pastoral stereotypes of shepards and fishermen merely as alternatives to rocks or broken ground for providing variety in the foreground,” Ian Ousby explains.¹⁵⁷ A common theme in describing, for example, Swiss rural folk was that of the simple life, of a people “released from their prison of ice and barren rock” during the pleasant summer months in the Swiss mountains.¹⁵⁸ Much of the travel literature of the time followed these conventions of simplistic praise, “making it more precise only by adding practical observations about the inns being rudimentary but cheap and the food simple but wholesome”.¹⁵⁹ When individual people are described, they “are not allowed to step outside their assigned roles of rustic simplicity, mountain hospitality and so forth”.¹⁶⁰

Murray’s guidebooks, among others, exemplified this by devoting much more time and space to the flora and fauna of the host country than its inhabitants.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, Palmowski claims that these descriptions are indicative of the “growing Victorian appreciation of the countryside

¹⁵³ Ring, *How the English Made the Alps*, p. 152.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 53.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ousby, Ian. *The Englishman’s England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*. Cambridge, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 154.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 167.

¹⁵⁸ Parks, George B. “The Turn to the Romantic in the Travel Literature of the Eighteenth Century”. *Modern Language Quarterly* 25, 1 (1964): 22-33, p. 26.

¹⁵⁹ Ousby, *The Englishman’s England*, p. 167.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Palmowski, *Travels with Baedeker*, p. 122.

over urban life”.¹⁶² In fact, guidebooks would undoubtedly reaffirm the Victorian ideas and trends around class awareness through these distinctions.¹⁶³

Guidebooks would often dictate which accommodations were frequented by certain nationalities or choose to focus entirely on recommending inns and hotels preferred by the English. This did not foster a relationship or a mutual understanding between the tourist and the host population. In alpine regions, tourists’ opinions on the alpine population encountered during their travels would vary greatly, but at best, they were “robust peasants whose isolated life was felt to breed an admirable degree of independence”.¹⁶⁴

Travellers would arrive with various prejudices and stereotypes about the host population and travel could help confirm or remove said prejudices about foreign customs and nationalities.¹⁶⁵ It is also important to mention that foreign travel could support a positive image of a region and by welcoming the tourists warmly, the host population would indirectly advertise local products and encourage the export of regional wares.¹⁶⁶

While some authors representing anti-tourist sentiments believed that “the continent is for the occupancy of local inhabitants and those few from a superior group who had the money and time to immerse themselves in the language and culture”,¹⁶⁷ others insisted on the availability of English amenities in the most frequented places.¹⁶⁸ This coincides with the demands from British travellers mentioned in the previous section. In contemporary times, this increasing Englishness was “the subject of repeated ambivalent comment”.¹⁶⁹ Any area primarily frequented by British clientele would sooner or later accumulate services catering specifically to the British traveller, as Buzard points out: “‘Eternal London’ haunted the British traveller because any considerable aggregate of tourists would soon transfigure a portion of the visited region’s economy into a system of support services for themselves”.¹⁷⁰

The English tourist was so ubiquitous in the famous alpine destinations of France and Switzerland that they even built English churches to ensure their “spiritual sustenance”,

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ring, *How the English Made the Alps*, p. 11.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Humair, Cédric. “The hotel industry and its importance in the technical and economic development of a region: the Lake Geneva case (1852–1914)”. *Journal of Tourism History* 3, 3 (2011): 237-265, p. 238.

¹⁶⁷ Bevin, *Cultural Climbs*, p. 236.

¹⁶⁸ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p. 89.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

resulting in over fifty English churches established throughout Switzerland by 1914.¹⁷¹ Andrew Beattie claims that “it is churches like the ones in Zermatt or Davos that provide the most tangible reminder of what is often referred to as the English ‘colonialization’ of the Alps during the nineteenth century”.¹⁷² Indeed, the use of the word colonialisation is particularly interesting here. The nineteenth century was strongly influenced by the imperialistic ambitions of Queen Victoria in other parts of the world. While one cannot compare the dominance of British middle-class tourists on the Continent with the devastating political practices of colonialisation, it nonetheless speaks of this apparent national sentiment of British superiority and expectancy.

Therefore, a degree of familiarity and a sense of home was brought along to many places within the Playground of Europe, the Continent’s alpine regions. Great Britain’s existence as an island would insinuate an insular upbringing for most citizens, who were often detached from the customs of the Continent. Just as the Grand Tour was meant to expand the young aristocrat’s mind and familiarise him with the habits of the European nobility, nineteenth-century travel afforded the British traveller a chance to view the world from other perspectives. Buzard highlights how, on the one hand, “the tour ‘polished [the traveller] by degrees into a general and universal humanity’, ameliorating the narrow prejudices of his insular upbringing. On the other hand, however, by providing an education in contrasts to English conventions, the tour could heighten the traveller’s patriotic appreciation of English customs and social arrangements”.¹⁷³ Therefore, travelling the alpine regions of the Continent could reduce the amount of prejudice British travellers would have, but also reaffirm the confidence in their British heritage and nationality. Travel literature of nineteenth-century Britain reflected this more sympathetic attitude towards previously strongly stereotyped countries, shedding former prejudices and looking towards foreign countries with a more open mind.¹⁷⁴

Black raises an important point when explaining that “British tourists had sufficient self-confidence and national pride not to praise things simply because they were foreign; despite the claims of contemporary critics, there was relatively little unthinking assumption of foreign customs, manners and mores”.¹⁷⁵ Thus, even when foreign people were praised, British tourists would above all remain aware of their Englishness.

¹⁷¹ Beattie, *The Alps: A Cultural History*, p. 173.

¹⁷² Ibid. p. 174.

¹⁷³ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p. 99.

¹⁷⁴ Black, *The British Abroad*, p. 213.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 302.

One such notable facet of British pride remained their religious practices. “English Protestant’s general sense of superiority accordingly included religious difference”,¹⁷⁶ which is why Murray encourages church visits and religious art as a way for Protestant English tourists to confront Roman Catholicism.¹⁷⁷ Although anti-Catholicism dominated in eighteenth-century Britain, forming the main ideological viewpoint on religion at the time, it became a less common stance in the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, in the second half of the century, religious difference did not strongly influence attitudes towards foreign countries.¹⁷⁹ Nonetheless, religion remained one of the markers of difference between Great Britain and the Continent and besides the language, the food and the currency, was amongst the first substantial changes that tourists would take note of in their travel journals.¹⁸⁰

The ambivalent stances towards Catholicism that Murray conveyed led to the reinforcement of existing prejudices towards Catholic peoples and “as a result, Protestant travellers often found Catholic religious services particularly strange and Catholic clergymen slovenly and corrupt”.¹⁸¹ In the last decades of the nineteenth century, this judgement based on religious difference would become even less pronounced and the more well-travelled a Victorian person was, the more their prejudices would relate to the imperialistic notions of racial difference rather than religious difference.¹⁸²

As previously mentioned, Murray’s handbooks with their red leather binding had become a cultural icon of the nineteenth century. They became “conspicuous symbols of an English travel offensive abroad”, conveying the distinctly English positions on matters of art, culture and manners.¹⁸³ Gráinne Goodwin and Gordon Johnston explain that “travel and travel literature quickly came to denote the scope and scale of English influence, particularly at the mid-century” and that some regarded the handbooks to be a diplomatic tool in disseminating English ideals throughout Europe.¹⁸⁴

“The close association between Handbooks and English identity initially protected their reputation from continental competitors such as Joanne from France and Baedeker from

¹⁷⁶ O’Neill, *Destination as Destiny*, p. 53.

¹⁷⁷ Palmowski, *Travels with Baedeker*, p. 121.

¹⁷⁸ Black, *The British Abroad*, p. 238.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 222.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 249.

¹⁸¹ O’Neill, *Destination as Destiny*, p. 53.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* p. 46.

¹⁸³ Goodwin, Gráinne; Johnston, Gordon. “Guidebook Publishing in the Nineteenth Century: John Murray’s Handbooks for Travellers”. *Studies in Travel Writing* 17, 1 (2013): 43-61, p. 52.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

Germany”,¹⁸⁵ Goodwin and Johnston point out that Murray specifically catered to English upper classes by only mentioning top-hotels, whereas Baedeker would appeal to all societal ranks by considering second and third-rate accommodation as well.

“The Handbooks, as much as any other consumerable, epitomised the way in which brands communicate cultural meaning and allowed those who carried them to project an idealised self as they travelled”.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, the English Murray handbook would convey to others that sense of English pride abroad. When considering the destinations often chosen by these English tourists, it becomes clear that the Victorian Age of Exploration also aimed at conquering the peaks of the Alps, choosing mountain climbing to champion “Victorian ideals of manliness and pluck, resourcefulness and courage”.¹⁸⁷ Through mountain climbing and Continental tourism, they could “project national identity without the ‘disfigurations’ of imperialism”.¹⁸⁸ At the height of these imperialistic endeavours, some upper-class Britons “drew parallels between their nation’s current position and that of the ancient Roman Empire”,¹⁸⁹ which clearly conveys a heightened sense of national superiority in Britain.

By travelling, the tourist would discover more about themselves and about the Other. As such, the admiration of nature and history, the hope for the future of material progress, the social dynamics and the distinct sense of national difference would converge during a trip to the Continent.¹⁹⁰ Murray simultaneously encouraged English pride and warned against prejudices and superiority complexes based on nationality alone. In fact, he championed English modesty, “stating that they should not only appreciate the accomplishments and differences of other cultures but also shake off feelings of superiority and domination”.¹⁹¹ While it did offer the opportunity to communicate with other cultures and regard them more positively, this openness must be placed in the context of “highly unbalanced power relationships”,¹⁹² as Rudy Koshar claims. “One could not hide the fact that English tourists’ views of Italian or Greek peasants, for example, were based on a dynamic of domination and deference comparable to that existing between the English and ‘Third World’ inhabitants”.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Beattie, *The Alps: A Cultural History*, p. 217.

¹⁸⁸ Bayers, Peter Lawrence. *Imperial Ascent: Mountaineering, Masculinity, and Empire*. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2003, p. 6.

¹⁸⁹ Buzard, *The Grand Tour*, p. 39.

¹⁹⁰ Koshar, *What Ought to Be Seen*, p. 328.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid. p. 329.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

As such, one must consider the context wherein alpine peoples are described as part of the various travel writings in the nineteenth century. Hospitality was certainly an important feature of alpine regions, a characteristic they wore with pride. Nonetheless, these descriptions do not convey alpine life in a nuanced manner but simply offer a narrative that travellers can rely on and build upon through their own experiences.

4. Travelogues and the Picturesque Shift

4.1. Travel accounts versus guidebooks

Travel literature was an inseparable feature of travel in the nineteenth century. Travelling and reading about travel were complementary actions, “constituting a cyclic ritual in which readers both shaped their expectations and relived their past travels, through texts”.¹⁹⁴ This remained true for the Continental Tour as well. Travellers would read preparatory texts, which included travelogues but also histories, novels, poems, and guidebooks to inform their ideas of different places and then have these ideas be challenged by visiting the places themselves.¹⁹⁵ At its core, travel writing encouraged “the reader’s sense of having accomplished something meaningful by travelling”.¹⁹⁶

Amidst discussions of what constituted as authentic travel and the development of guidebooks by Murray and Baedeker, the travelogue was a useful tool to distinguish an individual traveller’s experience of the tour.¹⁹⁷ Often, travelogues would be prefaced by an acknowledgement of guidebooks as well as other travelogues of their chosen place, and yet the authors emphasized the originality of their specific experience.¹⁹⁸ The intertextuality of the Continental tour, meaning references to a variety of “guiding texts”, created a structure wherein authors had to both remain within the confines of those other texts and yet find ways of expanding into “new territories” with their own text.¹⁹⁹

The distinction between guidebooks and travelogues was an important development in the history of travel writing, as it liberated the travel author from the need to perform both the ‘prosaic’ and ‘poetic’ functions of travel writing. James Buzard explains that the former

¹⁹⁴ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p. 159.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Saunders, *The Individual Traveller Versus the Guidebook*, p. 125.

¹⁹⁸ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p. 160.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 156.

“entailed the giving of directions, advice, and description in order to help readers physically to reach certain objects (cities, impressive vistas, works of art, and so forth)”, whereas the latter “involved the prompting of readers in appropriate reactions to them”.²⁰⁰ With guidebooks such as Baedeker and Murray taking on the responsibility of the prosaic aspects, they developed the guidebook genre to be impersonal and objective, freeing up space in travelogues to be personal and impressionistic.²⁰¹ Buzard describes this phenomenon as such:

“Producing authoritative, regularly updated texts of standard appearance and format that were exclusively devoted to the ‘guidebook’ function, Baedeker and Murray had the collateral effect of sharpening the definition and purpose of their texts’ opposites, the personal travelogues which, freed from the guidebook burden, could now specialise in recording an individual traveller’s distinctive reactions to the stimuli of the tour. This new, highly individualistic purpose for travel and travel writing arrived just when these activities were widely felt to need one”.²⁰²

The last sentence most likely refers to the 1830s and 1840s, decades which saw a marked increase in travelogue production because of growing tourism and guidebook developments.²⁰³ With the re-emergence of the Picturesque, travelogues would reflect that travel “is fundamentally dedicated to pleasure, and in particular to the pleasure of looking” and as such this appreciation of landscape could be considered as a precursor of modern tourism.²⁰⁴ This act of looking was intentional and descriptions of sights and landscapes were written with great detail and precision.²⁰⁵ Commenting on the phenomenon of Victorian naturalist writing as part of travel literature, Jeanne Kay Guelke and Karen M. Morin claim:

“There is no need to interpret nature poetry, prose nature-writings, travel diaries, or botanical sketches as ‘bad science’ or ‘un-geography’. Rather, it makes sense to view Victorian naturalists as partaking of a large, inchoate tradition with diverse sources of inspiration that only began seriously to diverge into separate subjects in the 1870s, with the emergence of modern university disciplines”.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 167.

²⁰¹ Buzard, *The Grand Tour*, p. 48-49.

²⁰² Ibid. p. 49.

²⁰³ Saunders, *The Individual Traveller Versus the Guidebook*, p. 124-125.

²⁰⁴ Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, p. 93.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 95.

²⁰⁶ Guelke, Jeanne Kay; Morin, Karen M. “Gender, Nature, Empire: Women Naturalists in Nineteenth Century British Travel Literature”. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 26, 3 (2001): 306-326, p. 322.

This also reflects another specific strategy of distinction, namely, to avoid repetitiveness by highlighting not the sights one would see but instead the idiosyncratic reactions of the individual to certain episodes of the trip.²⁰⁷

Although there is some disagreement over the classification of travelogues as a genre, this text type with travel at its core and fictional as well as non-fictional elements in it can be found in different languages under different names, such as *Reisebericht* in German and *recit de voyage* in French.²⁰⁸

“If some critics consider the travel book to be a genre in its own right, others look at it as being part of a larger genre”, such as considering it a “subspecies of memoir in which autobiographical narrative arises from the speakers encounter with distant or unfamiliar data and in which the narrative – unlike that in a novel or romance – claims literal validity by constant reference to actuality”.²⁰⁹ The classification of the travelogue is not a straightforward process, because as a text type, the travelogue often crosses into other genres.²¹⁰ This is entirely dependent on an author’s individual style, which often would test the boundaries of genre norms.²¹¹ In fact, Glenn Hooper highlights the fluidity of both travel and travel writing:

“One of the most persistent observations regarding travel writing, then, is its absorption of differing narrative styles and genres, the manner in which it effortlessly shape-shifts and blends any number of imaginative encounters, and its potential for interaction with a broad range of historical periods, disciplines and perspectives. In much the same way that travel itself can be seen as a somewhat fluid experience, so too can travel writing be regarded as a relatively open-ended and versatile form, notwithstanding the closure that occurs in some of its more rigidly conventional examples”.²¹²

4.2. The Picturesque in Travel Journals and the Stylistic Turn

Many destinations in Britain and on the Continent were markedly experiencing an influx of tourism at the beginning of the nineteenth century.²¹³ Increasingly, these favoured destinations tended to include rural landscapes, which is indicative of a process begun in the eighteenth century. This process concerned people’s relationship to the natural world as a result of

²⁰⁷ Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, p. 97.

²⁰⁸ Borm, Jan. “Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing, and Terminology”. In: Hooper, Glenn. *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2004: 13-26, p. 13.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 14.

²¹⁰ Ibid. p. 23.

²¹¹ Ibid. p. 22.

²¹² Hooper, Glenn; Youngs, Tim. “Introduction”. In: Hooper, Glenn. Youngs, Tim. *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2004: 1-12, p. 3.

²¹³ Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, p. 84.

urbanisation. People became concerned for the welfare of animals and focused on natural, asymmetrical shapes and deepened their appreciation of mountains.²¹⁴

This phenomenon was known under the name “picturesque”. It needs to be understood in juxtaposition to two other aesthetic ideas, namely those of the *Beautiful* and the *Sublime*.²¹⁵ Romanticism in eighteenth-century Britain shaped discussions around natural landscapes, differentiating between the Beautiful and the Sublime. Whereas the Beautiful referred to ordered and cultivated landscapes, the Sublime sought to describe rugged, unpredictable spaces such as mountains and oceans.²¹⁶ This distinction gained a lot of interest due to the landscape paintings of the late seventeenth century, depicting anything from the gentle British hills to the “Alpine foothills” and “lofty mountains” of the Continent.²¹⁷ These paintings would be what travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century would refer to in their retellings of travel experiences.²¹⁸ Buzard claims that “the picturesque arose in the last third of the eighteenth century as a kind of mediator between these opposed ideas, capable of running the gamut from relatively mild English landscapes to the breath-taking cataracts and chasms of the Alps in stormy weather”.²¹⁹

In the nineteenth century, the picturesque was no longer constrained to rural landscape art, but instead embracing drama and *tableaux vivantes* as metaphoric inspiration and referencing cities.²²⁰ In time, this broader definition of picturesque began to change travel writing about the Continent, as Buzard explains: “It is under the aegis of this looser meaning of ‘picturesque’ that the art of Continental travel writing, and the art of the European tour in general, shifted its allegiance from a textual or discursive model to an imagistic one”.²²¹

Therefore, the goal of Romanticism in aesthetics was to “establish a more harmonious relationship between man and natural world”,²²² expressed through the picturesque, the beautiful and the sublime – all of which were concepts that were used with more precision in the eighteenth century but were more loosely applied in later centuries.²²³

²¹⁴ Hansen, *British Mountaineering*, p. 15-16.

²¹⁵ Buzard, *The Grand Tour*, p. 45.

²¹⁶ Parks, *The Turn to the Romantic*, p. 27.

²¹⁷ Ibid. p. 30.

²¹⁸ Ibid. p. 27.

²¹⁹ Buzard, *The Grand Tour*, p. 45.

²²⁰ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p. 187.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Hansen, *British Mountaineering*, p. 24.

²²³ Parks, *The Turn to the Romantic*, p. 23.

Generally speaking, then, emotional enjoyment of nature in writing, especially travel writing, established itself in the eighteenth century.²²⁴ George B. Parks posits that “emotional writing about nature in travel literature was first established as a fashion in England between 1736 and 1767”.²²⁵ Around 1779 is when Parks suggests this new writing mode of emotionality in travel accounts became fully accepted, the year in which H.B. de Saussure, a mountaineer and scientist, published his alpine adventure, including all the emotional toils and rewards of mountaineering.²²⁶ De Saussure set the tone for other travel literature and encouraged an “active, not a passive, participation in the natural scene, seeking it out as a refuge or a remedy or, on an even higher level, clinging to it in adoration or *Einfühlung*”,²²⁷ but it had yet to become the mainstream way of recounting one’s journeys. Parks points out that “another stage was reached when Alexander von Humboldt, in his lengthy record of his scientific expedition in South and Central America, gave equal importance to the factual and the emotional”.²²⁸ There was a notable connection between “Romanticism’s symbolist aesthetics” and the “emerging sciences of human society”.²²⁹ This combination of the picturesque and the scientific was manifested in the travel accounts of the nineteenth century, the scale tipping over to the picturesque as time moved on. Travellers would become equally interested in culture, art and scenery and consequently write about these topics in an accessible manner by the second half of the nineteenth century.²³⁰

A popular figure for the picturesque turn in travel writing was Lord Byron, as his musings became the ideal way to capture one’s feelings about nature in words. In his view, travel could unlock this “childlike sense of wonder at the world, feeding the life of the imagination”.²³¹ Buzard highlights Byron’s influence over Victorian tourism as such: “Byron had been amenable to nineteenth century tourism because the overriding impression of his work and persona was that of a grand subjectivity making travel into an opportunity for self-staging”.²³²

This meant that Byron could help the tourist feel especially connected to nature and the imagination and by using his words, differentiate oneself from the rest of the tourists. Indeed,

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid. p. 30.

²²⁶ Ibid. p. 32.

²²⁷ Ibid. p. 30-31.

²²⁸ Ibid. p. 33.

²²⁹ Buzard, James. “A Continent of Pictures: Reflections on the ‘Europe’ of Nineteenth Century Tourists”. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 108, 1 (1993a): 30-44, p. 33.

²³⁰ O’Neill, *Destination as Destiny*, p. 48.

²³¹ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p. 101.

²³² Ibid. p. 128.

“one could stand ‘among... but not of’ the tourists by reference to the Byronic texts and travels”.²³³ Thus, travel writing was strongly influenced by the Romantic aesthetic movement of the picturesque, focusing on the beautiful aspects of nature rather than or alongside the scientific aspects of the natural world, further deepening the tourist’s relationship with the places they would visit.

Travel writing has therefore undergone many changes in the nineteenth century. First, it was liberated from the pressures of providing prosaic information about the visited regions, as guidebooks specialized in giving such guidance. Furthermore, the style of writing shifted from a more scientific tone to a rather picturesque style, emphasizing descriptive language and pleasurable experiences during one’s travel. This encouraged better readability of travel writing and made travel texts more accessible. With the cyclical nature of travel, travel writing and reading about travel, these changes contributed to the mechanisms encouraging modern tourism in the nineteenth century.

5. Inn Hospitality in *The Dolomite Mountains*

The Dolomite Mountains by Josiah Gilbert and Gilbert C. Churchill is a travelogue of their tours through Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola and Friuli in the summer months of 1861 to 1863. Throughout their tours, the authors enjoyed a variety of hospitality in the Dolomite region. This section of the research paper shall analyse specific examples of positively and negatively connoted text sequences from their travelogue to gain insight into the authors’ experiences of inn hospitality. First, accommodation at inns is discussed, namely quotes which mention the furnishings, the cleanliness, and the privacy of inn accommodation. Secondly, the food service at inn is considered, with quotes from the categories of service, taste and familiarity being highlighted. In the third subsection, the ambiance of an inn is focused upon, namely the observations on and interactions with locals as well as the description of inn surroundings. Issues of transportation as part of inn hospitality are explored in the final part of this section.

5.1. Inn Hospitality: Accommodation

“When people leave the mapped-out routes of Touristdom, they must be content to abandon also its luxuries and conveniences.”²³⁴ Gilbert and Churchill frequently commented on the state of their accommodation at various points of their tours through the Dolomites. The following

²³³ Buzard, *The Uses of Romanticism*, p. 38.

²³⁴ Gilbert and Churchill, *The Dolomite Mountains*, p. 12.

section shall discuss some of these remarks, to highlight the travellers' experiences with lodging at inns.

5.1.1.1. Furnishings, Cleanliness, Privacy

The authors generally refer to Tyrol as a country with “spacious, cool and clean”²³⁵ accommodation at their roadside inns. Furniture, namely the number and quality of the furnishings provided at the establishment, would inform the travellers first impression of an inn. Their experience at several locations seem to confirm this positive image of Tyrolean inn accommodation. Rooms are described as “delightful”, “beautiful”, “cheerily furnished” or “handsomely furnished”.²³⁶ Good quality is seemingly measured by the material, as walnut-wood is mentioned on several occasions.

“Beds, it seemed, were no difficulty; and up the broad creaking stairs we limped [...] to a large square apartment, where six or eight beds, ranged round the walls, offered, as was supposed, ample accommodation.”²³⁷

“Flowers in pots adorn the wooden balconies [...] and when you stop for the night, the best bedrooms, even at unlikely places, are as comfortable as need be— beautifully kept [...]. The furniture is often walnut-wood; neatly framed prints are on the walls, and crimson coverlets on the beds.”²³⁸

“[...] a suite of rooms was thrown open almost handsomely furnished in walnut wood, the walls neatly painted, and the floors quite clean; while a balcony of iron-work, bulging towards the street, displayed pots of straggling pinks and oleanders. Happy at the discovery, we hastened downstairs to instal our wives in such comfortable quarters.”²³⁹

Besides the number of beds, the travellers would also explicitly mention decorations and artworks. As an artist himself, Josiah Gilbert might have found it especially important to express his appreciation for the art adorning the inns.

“Centuries of habit have accustomed the traveller to look for some manifestation of art in most Italian settlements. Campitello is not without ambition in this respect. I found my bedroom a perfect picture gallery. The ceiling had a grand ornamental centre, the colours fresh and good, and round the walls, and between the three windows, set in frames of lines of various colours,

²³⁵ Ibid, p. 39.

²³⁶ Ibid, p. 23, p. 137.

²³⁷ Ibid, p. 20.

²³⁸ Ibid, p. 39.

²³⁹ Ibid, p. 137.

were ten scenes from nature, painted with a certain rude vigour, each with its legend underneath.”²⁴⁰

“Still, the Post House itself was far from forlorn. The rooms were thoroughly comfortable, with good portraits by Ghedina on the walls.”²⁴¹

“The broad floors were spotless; beds and furniture dainty in their cleanliness; flowers adorned the landing-place, and pictures of rare merit the walls!”²⁴²

At several points in their travelogue, Gilbert and Churchill equate comfort with cleanliness. An inn with clean quarters would therefore instil a sense of comfort in these British travellers, as the following quotes highlight.

“A comfortable-looking inn threw open to the evening air the closed shutters of its two best guest-chambers for our reception [...]”²⁴³

“It was a great disappointment to be denied admission to the ‘favourite haunt’. It looked clean and comfortable [...]”²⁴⁴

“Two rooms newly furnished, and therefore clean, were at our service above stairs, though various extraneous articles had first to be removed [...]”²⁴⁵

“There is one neat, whitewashed bedchamber, and we conceived that a quiet couple might find this pretty village very pleasant quarters for a summer.”²⁴⁶

When picking their accommodation, Gilbert, Churchill and their spouses would pay attention to the clean appearance of the inns they lodged at. Although their options were limited and thus not every inn could appear equally well put together, cleanliness remained a deciding factor between lodgings.

“[...] and at half past six, undemonstrative and muddy, we filed into the village, and reached the door of a humble, but clean looking, inn.”²⁴⁷

“It looked clean and comfortable [...]”²⁴⁸

²⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 69.

²⁴¹ Ibid, p. 161.

²⁴² Ibid, p. 152.

²⁴³ Ibid, p. 171.

²⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 241.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 242.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 258.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 17.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 241.

Indeed, cleanliness appears as a descriptor of inn accommodation rather frequently, such as the “cool rooms of the ‘Horse’, beautifully clean” or the fact that the “broad floors were spotless; beds and furniture dainty in their cleanliness [...]”.²⁴⁹ Innkeepers even appeal to these travellers by emphasizing the cleanliness of their less favourable spaces, as demonstrated in the following quote. “Throwing open on the floor above, a narrow chamber with two small beds, and no other furniture, ‘They are clean,’ said he, ‘and they are all we have [...]’.”²⁵⁰

Another factor remarked upon by these British travellers is the privacy their accommodation offered. This includes both the privacy between Gilbert with his wife S and Churchill with his wife A, as well as the separation of the entire group from the rest of the travellers in non-common spaces such as bedrooms.

“Our enquiry for another room, however unreasonable to the Carinthian mind, was nevertheless promptly answered by the display of a second exactly similar chamber, similarly furnished, though a shade more dingy. We were obliged to appear excessively fastidious, and take possession of both rooms, one of them fitted with a raised orchestra at the end, being evidently the scene of many a village festival.”²⁵¹

Privacy is also connoted in the view from their bedroom window. The sense of privacy conveyed by mountain vistas is commented on in several instances.

“It looked clean and comfortable, and its position upon the road which branches off here, and crosses the hills to Villach, gave it a commanding view down the valley. It commended itself as a sequestered retreat, and the white-curtained windows above looked very cosy.”²⁵²

“Two delightful rooms, clean and cheerily furnished, were thrown open to us, the windows displaying a lovely prospect up and down the valley.”²⁵³

“There is one neat whitewashed bedchamber, and we conceived that a quiet couple might find this pretty village very pleasant quarters for a summer.”²⁵⁴

As previously mentioned, the travellers were dependent on the inns available to them on their routes through the Dolomites. Therefore, lodging conditions varied significantly between inns and the authors not only reported the favourable places to stay at but also the inns with

²⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 115.

²⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 213.

²⁵¹ Ibid, p. 20.

²⁵² Ibid, p. 241.

²⁵³ Ibid, p. 23.

²⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 258.

accommodation below their standards. Thus, some room descriptions focus on the lack of space or furnishings.

“It is, therefore, much to be regretted that Bernard’s small inn offers but one tolerable bedroom [...].”²⁵⁵

“The rooms are very small and gloomy, and the bedrooms equally spare of space and of furniture.”²⁵⁶

Gilbert and Churchill also describe rooms of the “old Hospice type”, wherein an abundance of beds would occupy a small space to have visitors lying close to one another to benefit from the emitted body warmth on winter nights.

“Three of these chambers were fitted up very comfortably; but the rest, evidently of the old Hospice type, were narrow, and crowded with beds, appropriate to the time when travellers were expected to lie pretty close, and did not mind it on winter nights.”²⁵⁷

Although unpleasant, the travellers would even endure a night in the stables or bare beds at these inns. The travellers’ desire to be protected from the harsh weather triumphed over their pride as they lodged at the following places.

“Unluckily, the postmaster general of the district was on his rounds, and, having encamped the best rooms, we were fain to be content with the prospect of the stableyard. Just then the sun did not shine there, and that was enough; yet at night we lay in a bath, afflicted with every noise and smell pertaining to stables; and at four in the morning a merry round of threshing from an adjoining floor shook us from uneasy slumbers.”²⁵⁸

“The small room, seen under better auspices, was now voted snug, but it would only hold two; opportunely the spirit of fun seized upon A, and she and her husband undertook to spend the night along with the chuckies. Fortunately, at the moment, a good genius appeared. The Commissary of the detachment occupied with his wife the only decent room in the inn, and the latter now came forward offering to vacate their apartment in C and A ‘s favour. That was gratefully declined [...]. So, before long, we were all tolerably tucked in under the rough sheets in our several domiciles; thankful for a roof as we heard the rain rattling upon its shingles.”²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 129.

²⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 54.

²⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 175

²⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 167.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 214.

Some inns had a reputation for uncomfortable lodging situations that preceded them, such as the post-house of Tarvis or the Ratzes spa. In such situations, however, these travellers would have little choice if they simply needed shelter from the rain or otherwise required a place to sleep.

“In at a dark archway — dark, but dry— and we are welcomed to the bosom of the fusty old post-house of Tarvis. ‘A bad inn,’ said a friendly letter from the only traveller we could hear of who had passed this way. ‘Of course you won’t sleep at Tarvis!’ So the inn at Tarvis had been long in our black books. But the inn at Tarvis was now a friend in need. [...] how quickly she drew out a table in the only feasible bedroom, too gloomy to display much more than the dusky forms of beds in three of the corners [...].”²⁶⁰

“By the following night two better rooms fell to our share; but if any one thinks of Ratzes as a summer retreat, or even for a night’s quarters, it should be distinctly known that it is a very rough place— far below the ordinary comforts of a country inn. The best rooms are but bare narrow chambers, with a couple of deal beds in each, blankets and counterpanes none of the cleanest, and one small window, admitting what light can be reflected under the screen of woods and rocks.”²⁶¹

At times, comparisons between lodgings would help to improve the image of an otherwise unpopular inn. In this instance, the travellers’ miserable stay at Ratzes led to an appreciation of the next inn’s mediocre furnishings.

“Here was an arrival! You may picture S and A, now thoroughly tired, as they peeped in at the inhospitable doors, and may imagine our compunction at having brought them to such a den. They might have been better lodged, we thought, in any of the sweet-smelling hay-barns of the Alp above. [...] We ascended a staircase, beset indeed with dreadful odours, but the landing opened to an outside gallery, and was free to the evening air. It gave entrance to two rooms, gaudily painted in fresco [...]. Things were in great disorder; but the furniture was much superior to that of Ratzes, and when household stores had been disinterred, there was more notion of clean linen and toilet appurtenances than could have been expected.”²⁶²

Their distaste of the provided sleeping quarters is often expressed the following morning by emphasizing their lack of sleep or uncomfortable sleep in the previous night.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 207.

²⁶¹ Ibid, p. 109.

²⁶² Ibid, p. 127.

“We met in the morning all jaded from a bad night. A had spent hers upon three bony chairs, which yet she preferred to her bed [...].”²⁶³

“S insisted upon a strict examination, to assure herself that no stray pedlar was under any of the coverlets, before she consented to occupy the least objectionable couch in the corner. It was an inauspicious first night in Carinthia.”²⁶⁴

To emphasize the unpleasant nature of their stay in certain inns, Gilbert and Churchill described their bedrooms as “dusky” and “none of the cleanest”, with “soiled and stained” tables and even spiders. The state of the Ratzes inn is once referred to as a “workhouse”, but “without its English discipline and cleanliness”. Once again, cleanliness is a standard that they would expect within hospitality. This expectation of cleanliness would be waived for the sake of shelter, as the following quotes demonstrate.

“Just then the sun did not shine there, and that was enough; yet at night we lay in a bath, afflicted with every noise and smell pertaining to stables [...].”²⁶⁵

“The landlady might be fat, the staircase dirty, the dogs abundant, but it was shelter [...].”²⁶⁶

Alongside issues of cleanliness, the tourists complained when their sleeping quarters offered little to no privacy. S is seen examining the storage room or concert room for any strangers hiding in it and the couple is expected to sleep next to an abundance of instruments for village festivals. At Winklern, Gilbert and his wife must once more accept a makeshift bedroom as their accommodation for the night.

“The soft-voiced Kellnerin, the sharp-voiced but not ill-disposed Wirthin her mistress, and an old woman acting as grand-chamberlain, held council round the table, ending in the offer of the landlady’s room — if we did not mind herself and children passing through it to a small inner apartment— and of another in the basement among the baths. By the stern rule of alternating choice’, adhered to during all our journeys, Science on this occasion went below, accompanied in a cheerful spirit of martyrdom by his wife; while we of the pencil and brush settled into quarters almost as undesirable from their publicity— a defect in some degree remedied by driving nails in the walls, stretching a cord across, and suspending two or three sheets opportunely discovered in a wardrobe. The contrivance was not, however, quite to the taste of the old lady-chamberlain.”²⁶⁷

²⁶³ Ibid, p. 12.

²⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 20.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 167.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 207.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 109.

As the British tourists would arrive at these inns unannounced, they required flexibility from all parties. Most innkeepers would rather attempt to find a solution to accommodate their guests than drive them away from the establishment, especially at night and in bad weather. As such, Gilbert and Churchill, along with their wives, sacrificed privacy for the sake of accommodation at these roadside inns. When they slept in the stableyard, for example, they would lie in a bath and were confronted with various uncomfortable smells and loud noises in the early morning. They had to contend with the noise and the ruckus of early mornings, often cutting their sleep short or leading to “uneasy slumbers”.²⁶⁸

The travelling group, but especially Churchill and his wife A, experienced another difficult night at an inn with no privacy, guarded by a dog. This description of their stay perfectly highlights the difficulties of spontaneously inquiring about accommodation at rural inns in the Dolomite regions.

“Throwing open on the floor above, a narrow chamber with two small beds, and no other furniture, ‘They are clean,’ said he, ‘and they are all we have— except this one,’ leading back to the large roughly-paved landing, where a pallet stood against the wall, beside a heap of old saddles, boots, and nondescript garments— two or three chickens, winking at the sudden light, on a shelf above. The small room, seen under better auspices, was now voted snug, but it would only hold two; opportunely the spirit of fun seized upon A, and she and her husband undertook to spend the night along with the chuckies. [...] If C and A felt any insecurity from the absence of a door, they were compensated by the presence of the dog of the establishment, as usual an enormous fellow, who, taking up his quarters for the night at the top of the stairs, guarded their slumbers so effectually, that it seemed doubtful whether he would see fit to allow of their rising from them in the morning. They were awakened by ‘the cock that crowed in the morn’ from the shelf above. We were all up pretty early, but the plashing rain was the only sound out of doors; and people clattered about on the stone floors within, in that depressed and desultory manner so indicative of a wet day.”²⁶⁹

At the breakfast table, the travellers would also discuss a quick departure from these establishments, as the following quotes highlight.

“Returning at the appointed hour for breakfast, I found my friends assembled, but not in happier mood than the night before. They were discussing speedy flight, which the miserable meal on

²⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 167.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 214.

the table, and the prospect of a second night in the pedlar bedrooms, seemed to justify, if better quarters could be had within reasonable distance.”²⁷⁰

“In truth we were not sorry to leave our quarters under any conditions, and the greasy billiard-marker had become simply a nuisance.”²⁷¹

5.2. Inn Hospitality: Food Service

Another crucial aspect of inn hospitality concerns the provision of food and drink. Guests at inns would expect to have a warm meal and a drink to recharge their weary bodies after travelling. Gilbert and Churchill elaborate on three facets of the food experience at inns, namely the service, the taste and the familiarity of the food. Service pertains to the preparations made by innkeepers to accommodate their hungry guests, while taste refers to the level of enjoyment of the food based on its taste. Familiarity, however, specifically comments on foreign food customs and how familiar the food is to the British palettes of the travellers. Therefore, the following section shall highlight their experiences with these three aspects related to food at inns.

5.2.1. Service, Taste and Familiarity

Dinner service was amongst the most important routines for many inns. As travellers would arrive back from their daily excursions, they required sustenance and expected friendly, reliable service alongside their meals. An important figure in the dinner service was the “Kellnerin”, the waitress or hostess at an inn. Her interactions with the travellers mattered for their impressions of the food and even of the place.

“Dinner, served by an elderly but assiduous kellnerin, well sustained the character of comfort which pervaded the establishment [...]”²⁷²

“Returning to Winklern in the evening, we found our elegant hostess receiving the coppers from what might be called the ale-house bench at the door. Not the less a lady for all that, and we admired the simplicity of manners it betokened.”²⁷³

“The Kellnerin enjoyed her dance with the rest, snatching a moment at intervals, to supply the courses for my supper as they were required.”²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 21.

²⁷¹ Ibid, p. 10.

²⁷² Ibid, p. 23.

²⁷³ Ibid, p. 32.

²⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 57.

“Our appearance drew all eyes, and the Kellnerin—a very sweet-looking girl, but not the same, Churchill whispered us, who had danced so deftly while she served his dinner— quickly descended to meet us. Her voice and manner, and delicately formed figure, seemed strangely inappropriate to her calling; but her intelligence and activity as Kellnerin were invaluable.”²⁷⁵

Evidently, the travellers had a specific image in mind when referring to a “Kellnerin” as someone with simple manners, assiduous character, exciting demeanour and a certain intelligence. The best waitresses or hostesses would also ensure that a guest’s every wish is fulfilled. Their efforts rarely went unnoticed. On several occasions, Gilbert praises the hostesses with genuine eagerness to accommodate their patrons.

“The dear creature! how promptly she bundled off our soaked wraps to the kitchen fire! how quickly drew out a table in the only feasible bedroom [...] and in the briefest space served up a meal! Truly, while this swash of rain lasted in the narrow street outside, we might be thankful and content.”²⁷⁶

“The next day, as there was nothing for dinner, we prudently left the selection of dishes to our well-intentioned hostess.”²⁷⁷

“We had taken a strong liking for our good hostess, Signora Pezze, whose anxiety to serve us, and constant depreciation of her efforts, were quite touching.”²⁷⁸

“Her spirits, and ours also, were somewhat depressed at the unsatisfactory nature of the second day’s dinner but the next morning she announced with glee the arrival of fresh meat, for which, I suspected, her husband had been despatched to the Gail Thal [Gailtal] the night before, after the good man had finished his hard day’s working hay slopes.”²⁷⁹

Nearly every demand was met in an effort to retain guests, especially prestigious foreign guests. Even seemingly unreasonable requests were granted to appease the foreign tourists, such as the demand to eat meat on a Friday in a distinctly Catholic country. Exceptions would be made in such a case.

“We had arranged for dinner at a small inn at Lengenfeld [Längenfeld], where the mistress, when meat was mentioned, reminded us, with grave surprise, that it was Friday; as soon,

²⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 108.

²⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 207.

²⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 138.

²⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 143.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 183.

however, as she understood the rights and privileges of English heretics in that particular, she was willing to do her best, and succeeded excellently.”²⁸⁰

Food would be served in “brown earthenware with pewter plates” and sometimes the staff would be “rushing up and down stairs before plates could be collected, or a knife a-piece put upon the table, and fearful slops ensued between pots and jugs” to ultimately ensure a comfortable meal and some tea.²⁸¹ Even hostesses that had left a bad impression before could redeem themselves by providing excellent service at mealtimes.

“Yet Fortune was not obdurate, and her first relentings appeared in the shape of an excellent breakfast. The best coffee, best bread, and best butter for many a day, were served on a clean cloth below stairs; while the old crone, not nearly so ugly now by daylight, and in presence of her good deeds, brought her stool and her knitting to see us enjoy it, screaming to her maidens for fresh supplies at any symptom of deficiency [...].”²⁸²

Certain hosts prepared elaborate and extravagant dinner services to impress the British guests, as the following scene demonstrates:

“It was time to think of the cure, and we duly presented ourselves, with expectant appetites, soon after the appointed hour. The good man had shaved since the morning, and cleaned his long boots; he seated us at the table, and then withdrew his chair a little distance, on declaration that he had himself dined earlier. The house-keeper was evidently very busy within. At her first appearance he started up to bring in the dishes, and insisted during the meal upon acting the part of garcon, notwithstanding all our remonstrances. Soup, a savoury omelet, turnips, and potatoes— cold, in thin slices, and steeped in vinegar— and a capital pudding were the courses; then a pause, and we pushed our chairs from the table to intimate we had dined to our full satisfaction. But our host, while maintaining a lively conversation, turned a furtive eye from time to time to the kitchen door; at last it opened, and jumping from his seat he bore in a smoking dish of trout, plumped it- triumphantly on the table, and stepping back a pace or two with a peal of hearty laughter, stood with hands in glee: while the little old housekeeper flitted from side to side behind his bulky figure, with a countenance brimful of gratified pride. We set to again as if we had not dined at all.”²⁸³

²⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 258.

²⁸¹ Ibid, p. 138.

²⁸² Ibid, p. 215.

²⁸³ Ibid, p. 229.

Not only did Gilbert and Churchill comment on the service of food, but they also described the location of the meal as a part of their food service. The following instances highlight the connection between the positive impression and the dining space.

“Dinner is an event in the monotony of idle hours; it was served to us in a large room exterior to the inn, and balconied all round, for the use, apparently, of excursionists from Gastein [Bad Gastein].”²⁸⁴

“On the large upper landing, upon which the bedrooms open, they usually spread your table, if you are ‘quality.’”²⁸⁵

“A hospitable welcome was always ready— the salle in bright illumination, a white cloth laid for tea, and muslin curtains drawn over the windows. They had clearly an eye for comfort [...]”²⁸⁶

Once the food is served, it was subject to the travellers’ judgement in terms of taste. At most of the establishments, the meals as well as the drinks gave the tourists “large content” and be described as “very comfortable”.²⁸⁷ A successful dinner confirmed their positive impression of an inn, as it “sustained the character of comfort which pervaded the establishment”.²⁸⁸ Excellent food would be described with abundance of detail, as if to paint an accurate image of the meal for the reader’s imagination.

“Yet Fortune was not obdurate, and her first relentings appeared in the shape of an excellent breakfast. The best coffee, best bread, and best butter for many a day, were served on a clean cloth below stairs.”²⁸⁹

“Dinner at two justified our confidence; it was a success. The great dish was a bowl of broth, thick with peas and rice, and flavoured with some scraps of hammy substance. We almost became vegetarians on the spot.”²⁹⁰

“Soup, with the necks and gizzards of a couple of fowls, to be fished for therein; a pudding, very good; and the remaining odd bits of fowl browned with bread-crumbs [...]”²⁹¹

“Soup, a savoury omelet, turnips, and potatoes— cold, in thin slices, and steeped in vinegar— and a capital pudding were the courses [...]. But our host, while maintaining a lively

²⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 11.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 39.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 181.

²⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 115.

²⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 23.

²⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 214.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 139.

²⁹¹ Ibid, p. 176.

conversation, turned a furtive eye from time to time to the kitchen door; at last it opened, and jumping from his seat he bore in a smoking dish of trout [...].”²⁹²

Their positive experiences of the food at inns are often described as “excellent”, as the following examples show.

“[...] hot meat was voted an excellent institution [...].”²⁹³

“The clean little inn of Dolsach [Dölsach] gave us an excellent dinner [...].”²⁹⁴

“We had arranged for dinner at a small inn at Lengenfeld, where the mistress, when meat was mentioned, reminded us, with grave surprise, that it was Friday; as soon, however, as she understood the rights and privileges of English heretics in that particular, she was willing to do her best, and succeeded excellently.”²⁹⁵

As British people, Gilbert, Churchill and their spouses would often insist on tea. Naturally, providing tea in the Dolomite region was a much more difficult endeavour than coffee. Therefore, the guests expressed even more excitement about establishments that could serve hot tea.

“They had clearly an eye for comfort, and tea was here no conventional term; we had actually discovered enough for two makings in a small paper tray, among some curiosities preserved by our hostess. The precious store had been left by some Villach visitor of peculiar tastes, and, our own stock being nearly exhausted, was cheerfully surrendered to our use; to witness the concoction of the beverage was reward enough.”²⁹⁶

“[...] tea looked itself once more, served in cups and saucers instead of tumblers.”²⁹⁷

The innkeepers’ efforts to serve food that the British tourists were familiar with are a notable tactic for retaining foreigners as guests. For example, they would appeal to their higher social status by serving dinner “in a style far beyond the means of poor Aus der Plecken [Plöcken]”. The quotes about the provision of tea or meat in areas scarce of both further prove the point that Gilbert and Churchill approached these innkeepers with an expectation of being provided with these creature comforts. Although some innkeepers worked hard to provide tea, others simply could not. Thus, their travel journal contains several instances of confused or

²⁹² Ibid, p. 229.

²⁹³ Ibid, p. 152.

²⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 169.

²⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 258.

²⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 181.

²⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 152.

incompetent hosts who fail to supply the travellers with tea. Tea, in this case, would often refer to tea time meals, which typically include boiled eggs and sandwiches to be eaten alongside a cup of tea.

“Darkness brought us back over the white, roaring stream— that invariable accompaniment of a mountain village— to the tea-table, which our wives had busied themselves in arranging under certain difficulties common to districts where English travellers are unknown.”²⁹⁸

“The silent resignation of our wives became too appalling, and we saw that a crisis was at hand. Seizing, then, the tea-canister, Churchill and I invaded the kitchen, where desultory attempts were making to coax a fire. We demanded fresh wood, we collected all the jugs, we actually succeeded in boiling— yes, boiling— water in a large pan. We demented Bernard with requisitions. Then, with the steaming tea-jug, were turned into the ‘presence;’ a motley procession of assistants, laden with bread, butter, honey, milk, eggs, and a supply of hot water in various-sized pots, bringing up the rear.”²⁹⁹

“Tea-time, too, is a hungry occasion. Here, fortunately, there were eggs in plenty, but no egg-cups; and observe, it requires some dexterity to butter your bread with one hand while you hold your egg with the other.”³⁰⁰

The lack of meat in the Dolomite areas was especially noticeable to the tourists. As members of the (upper) middle class, they would expect to have some form of animal protein served with their meal, yet most small rural towns could not afford to provide their patrons with a daily supply of meat. Furthermore, as a predominantly Catholic area, the towns around the Dolomites would typically serve fish on Fridays, which has been previously quoted as an issue to the Protestant travellers, who would expect meat regardless. The following quotes demonstrate their frustration with the inconsistent supply of meat at Dolomite inns.

“Meanwhile there was already interval, and the state of the larder was not encouraging. Meat there was none [...].”³⁰¹

“We had arrived at noon, and enquiries about dinner at once betrayed that dearth of meat which is characteristic of the Italian frontier; nevertheless, a fair repast was provided with no unreasonable delay. Soup, with the necks and gizzards of a couple of fowls, to be fished for therein; a pudding, very good; and the remaining odd bits of fowl browned with bread-

²⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 12.

²⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 128.

³⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 176.

³⁰¹ Ibid, p. 153.

crumbs— that was all: it was of no use suggesting either a salad, potatoes, or rice. In such a dinner one learns to be chary of morsels, and to be rigidly just in their apportionment.”³⁰²

“But the dearth was even greater than at Campitello. Nothing was to be had but bread, eggs, and lettuces.”³⁰³

“It is, therefore, much to be regretted that Bernard’s small inn [...] cannot raise either a cutlet or a potato for dinner. That remained the difficulty; fowls and lettuce were indeed provided for the day after our arrival, but fowls in these parts are only flaccid bags of bones, that add a feeble flavour to the soup, and then are done for. It is hopeless to construct a reasonable dinner out of any number of them.”³⁰⁴

However, teatime and meat were not the only issues that the travellers had with their meals at Dolomite inns. Gilbert and Churchill repeatedly voiced their disapproval of the food at some inns, using strong negatively connotated words to describe the meals, as the following quotes highlight.

“Supper was the next matter of importance: it proved a dismal failure [...]”³⁰⁵

“Returning at the appointed hour for breakfast, I found my friends assembled, but not in happier mood than the night before. They were discussing speedy flight, which the miserable meal on the table, and the prospect of a second night in the pedlar bedrooms, seemed to justify [...]”³⁰⁶

“After a wide sweep round the basin of the lake, we drew up to the solitary post-house of the summit, and there was a rush of passengers in-doors for supper. The old coach supper! [...] Here, a low ground-floor room received the party to a rather oleaginous meal [...]”³⁰⁷

Commonly, the travellers would complain of low supplies, lack of fresh supplies and comment on availability of certain foodstuffs. In one instance, they even mentioned “the one lump of butter, daily diminishing, and now hacked to almost its last fragment [...]”, lamenting that there was “no prospect of a fresh supply [...]”.³⁰⁸

These negative impressions of the food would often be equated with bad service. In one instance, the travellers had to rush through their breakfast and ended up in a discussion with

³⁰² Ibid, p. 176.

³⁰³ Ibid, p. 137.

³⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 129.

³⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 20.

³⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 21.

³⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 102.

³⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 258.

the innkeeper that delayed their excursion too much that day. Another instance saw the group making demands at the negligent innkeeper to accommodate their needs.

“There, established with a single candle, whose light was swallowed in the darkness of roof and floor, and only glimmered faintly on the black surfaces of ancient presses, we waited, far gone into the second hour, while sometimes a knife, sometimes a spoon, now a fork, and then a plate, arrived, as if the house were being rummaged for the remainder. The silent resignation of our wives became too appalling, and we saw that a crisis was at hand. Seizing, then, the tea-canister, Churchill and I invaded the kitchen, where desultory attempts were making to coax a fire. We demanded fresh wood, we collected all the jugs, we actually succeeded in boiling— yes, boiling— water in a large pan. We demented Bernard with requisitions.”³⁰⁹

In some instances, the group would take pity with a particularly busy or struggling innkeeper, yet the criticism would follow regardless, as can be seen in the case of Mrs. Pufitsch. “There was no prospect of a fresh supply; and though we pitied young Mrs. Pufitsch in her troubles, between baby upstairs, and potboiling below, we could not admire her domestic management.”³¹⁰

5.3. Inn Hospitality: Ambience

Alongside proper furnishings and satisfying meals, tourists would often remark upon the ambience of an inn. On the one hand, ambience refers to the travellers’ observations about and interactions with others, local or foreign. On the other hand, it describes the effect that the surroundings of the inn could have on their opinion of the place. As with previously mentioned aspects, Gilbert and Churchill’s comments about their experience with the other inn guests and locals range from positive to negative. The following section of this research paper shall discuss these instances from their travelogue.

5.3.1. Observations, Interactions and Surroundings

Travellers are drawn to observations on foreign cultures and foreign sights. In the interaction with locals or other travellers, their alterity is challenged and an opportunity to develop a sense of belonging to this foreign group is presented. Gilbert and Churchill described the sort of people they would see at the inns along the Dolomites.

“Two or three peasants drinking at the entrance, certainly gave something of an inn-door look, but quite out of character with anything of the sort was the appearance of the hostess in the

³⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 128.

³¹⁰ Ibid, p. 258.

porch. Tall, of a fair sweet countenance, and dressed with quaint but lady-like simplicity, she stood there to receive us.”³¹¹

“Returning to Winklern in the evening, we found our elegant hostess receiving the coppers from what might be called the ale-house bench at the door. Not the less a lady for all that, and we admired the simplicity of manners it betokened. A fortnight later she entertained the Emperor and Empress on their way from Heiligenblut [Heiligenblut am Grossglockner] to Klagenfurt.”³¹²

The hostess is described in both instances rather positively, using positively connotated phrases such as “a fair sweet countenance” or a “simplicity of manners” to describe her. Her appearance and manners are contrasted with the “peasants” and “coppers” that she served. To perhaps highlight the hostess’ superiority to the other locals, Gilbert mentions that she even entertained members of the monarchy.

“In the Speisesaal dancing was the order of the evening. The old folks were set behind the long tables all round the room, and young couples were whirling in waltzes to the music of a guitar and Jew’s harp, dancing with spirit, and keeping capital time. I took a vacant corner, and watched the merriment. There was a great deal of laughing and talking, and, no doubt, a due share of flirtation.”³¹³

“But the long journey had brought us to the first halting place among the Dolomites, and we were not disposed to be fastidious. Several women, chatting and knitting, occupied the gallery; and several men, chatting and smoking, the shady side of the house, and an open shed upon the grass.”³¹⁴

The authors are spectators in the quotes above. They have yet to participate in the various activities of the local guests, but they observe and subsequently describe the scene to the reader. Indeed, they paint a picture of a familiar tavern scene, with dancing, talking, laughing, flirting and smoking. The former quote highlights the mingling of genders while the latter emphasizes the separation of men and women.

³¹¹ Ibid, p. 23.

³¹² Ibid, p. 32.

³¹³ Ibid, p. 57.

³¹⁴ Ibid, p. 108.

“He was a friend there, and the people of the house showed us some pencil sketches of their children, which were really exquisite. The mother was fair and lady-like; the husband a brisk little miller, honest and kind.”³¹⁵

“It was an intensely hot afternoon as we entered its straggling streets, driving up to the Post, of whose honest, perspired, and ‘complimentary’ landlord we had particular recollection. He met us perspiring and complimenting, as usual, and nothing altered in the lapse of years.”³¹⁶

“We entered the broad street, which might answer for a ‘platz’ and found S and A seated on a bench outside the ‘Post;’ as it was not the inn we had selected, they would not compromise us by entering, and kept their seats, while all the windows filled with gazers. We were soon satisfied, however, that it would be comfortable, and its good-natured, honest landlord proved the best of fellows.”³¹⁷

“To the cards the men sit down, with their hats on, at any hour of the day, shouting, ‘screaming, and banging their fists upon the boards. But at seven in the morning, and at seven in the evening, all crowd into the little chapel; those that cannot enter standing on a gallery round a window which affords a peep into the interior. A friar [...] officiates, and afterwards joins in a noisy meal at one long coarsely furnished table. [...] the general aspect was that of a workhouse, without its English discipline and cleanliness. Yet the people were good-natured and cordial.”³¹⁸

While women were often described as “lady-like” and “fair”, men are repeatedly referred to as “honest” or “good-natured”. However, this positive description of individual people such as the landlord or hostess often stands in contrast to the way entire groups of people are negatively commented upon. In the two latter quotes, the general population is full of gazers and Gilbert even describes the atmosphere as that of a workhouse with no discipline and cleanliness. The comment on the workhouse atmosphere is immediately rectified in the following sentence, as if to place a positive spin on the rowdiness he depicted.

When the atmosphere at the inn is unfavourably depicted, men tend to be at the centre of the scene, such as the “Austrians, mostly military, and generally old men” at the Straubinger inn or the Ratzes inn, where “[t]o the cards the men sit down, with their hats on, at any hour of the

³¹⁵ Ibid, p. 161.

³¹⁶ Ibid, p. 167.

³¹⁷ Ibid, p. 35.

³¹⁸ Ibid, p. 109.

day, shouting, ‘screaming, and banging their fists upon the boards’.³¹⁹ Other habits that the British travellers disapproved of were gambling and smoking, as the following quotes depict.

“There we found it, but the people candidly admitted they could not provide for our meals, and a glance at their beds made it equally clear they could as little furnish us with lodging. The other house looked better, but the door opened upon an ill-favoured company, shouting, smoking, drinking, and gambling; and a sulky looking landlord sauntered out, pipe in mouth, to know what we wanted— waiting to be told rather than condescending to ask.”³²⁰

“The house— yes, there were doors and windows, as we remembered them, but the neat parlour that had been ours — was now full of men and full of smoke! The landlord— he gazed at us with a stolid countenance. Why the man is moon-struck, or else we are!”³²¹

In both instances, their impression of the inn and its hospitality quickly worsens at the sight of smoke-filled rooms and landlords who care little for the comfort of the non-smoking foreign guests. Shouting, smoking, drinking and gambling are indicative of the way lower social classes would behave, which Gilbert and Churchill evidently wished to distance themselves from.

“A low building with green shutters outside the village, and near the church — perhaps therefore patronised by the clergy— looked tolerably inviting. [...] Threading again the narrow street, the ramshackle windows and balconies soon filled with heads and lolling elbows, as also the half-shuttered apertures of the inn aforesaid, but without a single gesture of invitation. The entrance, part cellar, part stable, looked as unpromising as the inmates.”³²²

“Although most were of the peasant or small-proprietor class, there were two or three families from Botzen [Bozen], and other places farther south, whose appearance and manners were every way agreeable; and some of the monks, one of whom was a Professor of Natural History at Botzen, were courteous and educated men. The great heat of the valley of the Adige drives its inhabitants during the summer to mountain retreats like these.”³²³

In the first quote, the public is depicted as uninviting and the patrons of the inn “unpromising”, even though the building itself looked “tolerably inviting”.³²⁴ The second quote focuses on the

³¹⁹ Ibid, p. 109.

³²⁰ Ibid, p. 126.

³²¹ Ibid, p. 196.

³²² Ibid, p. 137.

³²³ Ibid, p. 110.

³²⁴ Ibid, p. 137.

fact that most people at inns were peasants, the authors wanted to highlight the educated men and the clergymen. Both instances speak more favourably of the higher classes than the lower classes.

“The ‘Red Horse’ is by no means the only hostel, and as we stood at a fountain in a straggling sort of ‘Platz,’ a good natured girl ran across from a rival establishment, ‘The Lamme’ of ‘Murray,’ to offer us glasses. But our credit at home was at stake; and though our friend’s sister did not equal herself in good looks, she was quite as tasteful and apt [...].”³²⁵

“A very hearty dame, full of hospitable bustle, received us at the door, especially gleeful when she found we were English— the first she had ever seen. In the excitement of the occasion, every instant gave excuse for a peal of ringing laughter— now at the discovery that we were uselessly puzzling each other with Italian, she being a native of Villach, and therefore of German stock; now at the loops in S and A’s dresses, which had thwarted her well-meant efforts to brush them straight; now at her meagre bill of fare. When did she not laugh? Of course, in ten minutes we were the best of friends.”³²⁶

“This was the hour when the good lady was most at leisure for conversation; and Frau Claus soon showed herself a person of intelligence, as well as of the most abundant good nature.”³²⁷

In general, many positive impressions that the travellers remark on in their travelogue seemingly relate to individuals, such as the hostesses. The quotes above demonstrate that their choice of accommodation could depend on their positive impressions of the hostess.

Furthermore, Gilbert and Churchill would expect “a hospitable welcome” and hope for “kind attention to the wants of a weary traveller”.³²⁸ They thought it charming when hostesses would take the initiative in welcoming the guests and doing so excitedly.

“Half in doubt whether to turn towards the southern end, and seek the small but comfortable ‘Stella d’Oro,’ or at the northern to betake ourselves to the more roomy ‘Aquila Nera,’ the point was settled for us by an adroit damsel, who, accosting us as strangers, and charging herself immediately with all the lighter articles she could lay hands on, took it for granted we were bound for the latter hostel, and, with abundance of small talk, undertook to show the way.”³²⁹

³²⁵ Ibid, p. 115.

³²⁶ Ibid, p. 175.

³²⁷ Ibid, p. 181.

³²⁸ Ibid, p. 87.

³²⁹ Ibid, p. 152.

“A very hearty dame, full of hospitable bustle, received us at the door, especially gleeful when she found we were English— the first she had ever seen. In the excitement of the occasion, every instant gave excuse for a peal of ringing laughter— now at the discovery that we were uselessly puzzling each other with Italian, she being a native of Villach, and therefore of German stock; now at the loops in S and A’s dresses, which had thwarted her well-meant efforts to brush them straight; now at her meagre bill of fare. When did she not laugh? Of course, in ten minutes we were the best of friends.”³³⁰

The latter quote points to a common conundrum that travellers of foreign countries experienced: the language barrier. In the best case, the language barrier would be considered amusing, as in the quote above. The following quotes highlight positive interactions wherein a communicative barrier was felt by the tourists, nonetheless.

“Frau Claus had much to enquire about England, and took great amusement in an English lesson. She was a quick pupil; but ‘How do you do?’- ‘Good night,’ and a few other examples, soon sent her off in fits of laughter to repeat them to the rest of the establishment.”³³¹

“Perhaps it owed some of its agreeableness to the good landlord of the ‘Post;’ he took a friendly interest in our welfare, though an unfortunate lisp added greatly to the difficulties of conversation.”³³²

“It took some little time to ascertain the fact, since nobody here understood a word of German, and we were entirely dependent upon S and A’s Italian. The landlady, however, was a worthy body; she and her daughter Ursulina, when they had overcome the first stupor of surprise, were both anxious to do their best [...].”³³³

When Gilbert and Churchill spoke negatively of the language barrier, they claimed that “words were necessarily few, for the patois of the people is unintelligible to any but themselves”.³³⁴ This indicated a fundamental divide between the locals and the tourist group, as language remains an essential component of an individual’s sense of belonging to a foreign group.

³³⁰ Ibid, p. 175.

³³¹ Ibid, p. 183.

³³² Ibid, p. 37.

³³³ Ibid, p. 138.

³³⁴ Ibid, p. 15.

Belonging could be built up by visiting the same place several times. When describing the landscapes of Carinthia and Tyrol, Gilbert and Churchill mention returning to these areas again and wishing to see more of them in future visits.

“Here we had entered Tyrol, so that this visit to Carinthia had occupied but three days, and shown us only a corner of the country. We shall have much more to say of it in the sequel. Its fine scenery, secluded valleys, unsophisticated manners, and cheap quarters, no less than the Dolomites dispersed on its borders, have tempted us there during three successive years; following, in this respect, the example of that excellent judge of landscape, Sir Humphry Davy, who, as his journals show, was continually returning to this and the adjoining province of Carniola.”³³⁵

“The dreary looking inn in the narrow street had become a home, which we were lucky to have found in a spot whose external advantages are so great. What with the surpassing Civita close at hand, the Marmolata, and, as we afterwards found, the Pelmo, within a day’s excursion, the neighbourhood of the charming lake of Alleghe, and abundance of romantic villages scattered along the steepes, we felt that Caprile might well employ more time than we could afford at present, with so great a portion of our tour yet before us.”³³⁶

Since Gilbert and Churchill embarked on this tour over several years and as a result visited the same places numerous times, there is also a familiarity to consider in these interactions. The following quote shows their interaction with their driver from previous years and him recognising the group instantly.

“We were more successful in a call upon Amman, our gentlemanly driver of before. The good man was probably in siesta, out, putting on his coat, bewildered at the unwonted crowd about his door; yet he was not long in recognising his four ‘Englander,’ and was happy to undertake our conveyance to the Gail Thal.”³³⁷

One of the most frequent observations that Gilbert and Churchill make are the religious differences between their homeland and the Dolomite area. Austria and Italy notoriously exercise Roman Catholicism, while the British tourists are decidedly Protestant in their Christian faith. Catholicism is often a source of amusement or criticism as the authors describe

³³⁵ Ibid, p. 36.

³³⁶ Ibid, p. 143.

³³⁷ Ibid, p. 168.

various instances of locals practicing their faith or comment on the way that Catholicism inconveniences them as British Protestant tourists.

“At Sterzing, which, as a convenient halting-place at the foot of the Brenner, is composed almost entirely of inns, and where, on a subsequent occasion, we spent a night, not a wagoner or loiterer was left in the street by seven o’clock in the evening; and from every inn-door came a low thunder of responses. All honour to simple and pious Tyrol!”³³⁸

“On the landing between the doors of our bedrooms, a life-size figure of the Saviour on the cross, sculptured in wood and coloured, looked startling enough at dark under the gleam of a single lamp, and gave it the air of a convent cloister. But there was not conventual silence. The heavy traffic of the Brenner was continually passing through the street; wagons, with a dozen horses apiece, were arriving or departing all the night through, and diligences with their lamps— effectual disturbers of sleep.”³³⁹

The latter quote sarcastically comments on the heavy traffic of the Brenner as something that does not match with the quiet serenity of the religious imagery in the area, whereas the former quote depicts Tyrolians as particularly obedient. Indeed, inns in the Dolomite areas of Tyrol and Carinthia are continuously described as simple and the implication is that Roman Catholicism is equally primitive.

“Again there was the jog-trot home in the delicious twilight. There is a primitive country inn at that end of Kronau [Kranjaska Gora], bearing for sign a picture of the disciples and the ‘Stranger’ at the door of Emmaus, with the inscription, ‘Abide with us, for the day is far spent.’ It seemed always appropriate in the dusk of evening, and suitable to the homely simplicity of the house.”³⁴⁰

“After a wide sweep round the basin of the lake, we drew up to the solitary post-house of the summit, and there was a rush of passengers in-doors for supper. The old coach supper! Yet not like those of yore, when the guard blew his horn, and the coach-lamps flashed in the sober streets of Bedford or Northampton. Here, a low ground-floor room received the party to a rather oleaginous meal; and before it was finished a deep roar of voices, in measured recitation, issued from the vaulted hall adjoining, where the family and servants, of both sexes, were seen on their knees at evening litany. A large dog, sitting solemnly on his haunches in the midst, lifted up his

³³⁸ Ibid, p. 42.

³³⁹ Ibid, p. 45.

³⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 258.

mouth as we passed through, and growled at the interruption to Divine service. Whoever saw English ostlers and chambermaids at prayers, while the mail was changing horses?”³⁴¹

The references to coach suppers of yore in Bedford or Northampton situate the travellers’ experiences in Tyrol as almost medieval. Indeed, the religious aspects of local culture make the cultural difference between Britain and the Dolomite region most apparent to the tourists. However, they did not despise all religious display.

“A comfortable-looking inn threw open to the evening air the closed shutters of its two best guest-chambers for our reception; and, as fine organ tones were wafted in with the breezes from a large church opposite, it was difficult to believe that Kotschach [Kötschach-Mauthen]— that was its name — was really a village of the unknown valley of the Gail.”³⁴²

The “fine organ tones” from the nearby church were a pleasant accompaniment to the comfortable quarters at Kötschach-Mauthen. Furthermore, inns in rural areas would often function as multifunctional spaces, as the following description of an inn demonstrates.

“Here, after passing the sheet of dull green water, the Düren See [Dürrensee], we pulled up at the post-house, itself a comfortable-looking building, with a small railed-in garden, and a diminutive chapel, not much bigger than a pigeon-house, over the way. Though the situation is solitary enough, the place looks busy. There is not only a brewhouse, but a flour-mill, and wagons are always halting or starting, orbaiting their teams before they take the last steep of the ascent.”³⁴³

Nonetheless, the authors often balanced their criticism with some praise of the establishments. In the following quote, Gilbert complains of the unusual gendering of words in German before praising the establishment, even comparing it to the inferior modern equivalent of the hotel.

“Amman drove us, not to the ‘Kaiser Krone’— an excellent inn of the hotel class — but to ‘Der Mondschein.’ Surely the German mind must have been strangely confused when it reversed the sexes of the heavenly bodies and called the moon a man! This ‘Moonshine’ is in a narrow street, and certainly possesses more character in its interior than its modern rival.”³⁴⁴

In their travels through the Dolomite area, Gilbert and Churchill stay at many different inns. Sometimes, they would deliberately deviate from tourist paths and choose establishments that would not be in any of the existing guides through the area.

³⁴¹ Ibid, p. 102.

³⁴² Ibid, p. 171.

³⁴³ Ibid, p. 158.

³⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 45.

“The stately ‘Oesterreichischer Hof,’ where Englishmen most do congregate, overlooks it on the right. We preferred on this occasion its opposite neighbour, ‘Die Goldene Sonne,’ under whose gateway we shook off our dust, and received the best welcome of the establishment.”³⁴⁵

In fact, they continuously praise the inns as hidden gems of the countryside. Their stance is decidedly anti-tourist, as the following quotes highlight rather clearly.

“Everything about the little spot is plain, simple, and rustic, and the peasant guests— for they are mostly of that class — are equally so. A more quiet corner of the world does not exist. Here man has not yet learnt to contend with nature, and build those ‘grandhotels’ that surprise the traveller in the recesses of Eaux Chaudes and Eaux Bonnes. Long may the shadow of the giant Schlern fall upon nothing more artificial than this humble roof, concealed among the dark pine masses that fill the base and sides of the gorge!”³⁴⁶

“But the Tyrolese country inn, in its charming and kindly simplicity, will probably not long survive. It is already disappearing on the principal routes, where English tourists indulge in the ‘bounce’ peculiar to their nation, and shout ‘Garcon’ to the modest, self-respecting Kellnerin. To accommodate such tastes hotels spring up, and the real ‘Garcon’ is provided. Such an inn as those I have described was the one at Niederndorf; and after a tedious and dusty afternoon drive, always descending this long Pusterthal [Pustertal], such another we occupied for the night at Brunecken [Bruneck].”³⁴⁷

The travellers observe the country inns as “charming” and “plain, simple and rustic” and equate the guests with that. Inns in the Dolomite area are described as places where mankind has not begun to reshape the appearance of the landscape by building grand hotels to accommodate the influx of tourism at the time. Gilbert and Churchill share the sympathies of anti-tourists when depicting these inns as idyllic, simple places to escape the overcrowded tourist spots.

“Indeed, the more we thought about it, the more Cortina rose in our estimation. Excellent quarters, and a fine, open cheerful valley to begin with. And then, what mountains!”³⁴⁸

As alpinists, mountain views appealed to Gilbert and Churchill. At some points in the travelogue, they describe the inns in connection to the surrounding landscape, emphasizing the harmony of nature that accompanies these rural establishments.

³⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 97.

³⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 55.

³⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 39.

³⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 155.

“At an angle of the valley, where it turned suddenly to the south, the blue smoke of the Malnitz [Mallnitz] suppers was rising above the trees; and at half past six, undemonstrative and muddy, we filed into the village, and reached the door of a humble, but clean looking, inn.”³⁴⁹

“[...] and as we sat that evening at the open windows, what could be sweeter than to watch the purple shadows filling up the valley, blotting out the sparkling villages one by one, and creeping towards the golden uplands and crimson crags, till, when the flood of shade was full, the purple changed to grey!”³⁵⁰

“This had a quieter and more rural look than the other, though we are bound to say that, according to our informant, there was not much choice between them. Our rooms were separated from the rest of the house by a chamber, half lumber-room, half granary, and being approached by an outside gallery, were free from certain prevailing odours; while the view from their windows, over gardens, and meadows, swept the valley up and down on its softer eastern side, where a ‘chorus’ of mountains stood in multitude to hail the rising, and salute the setting sun.”³⁵¹

Readers gain a sense of the grandeur of rural inns. The descriptions are nostalgic and convey the sentimental value of retaining country inns as part of the touristic landscape of the Alps, in lieu of contemporary changes in tourism. The decline of inns is directly equated with the rise of hotels and grand hotels, reflecting the developments of the time. Nevertheless, when the group arrives at Veldes [Bled/Feldes] in Carnolia [Krain], they immediately prefer the luxurious surroundings there.

“That it was a gay pleasure-place was clear at once from the two handsome hotels and two or three elegant villas, which, with gardens, boat-houses, and pavilions, lined the near border of the lake. After six weeks’ association with peasants and publicans, and the dilapidation consequent upon so much rough travelling, we felt rather shy of the groups of ladies and gentlemen, who curiously lifted their eyeglasses as we passed their al-fresco dinner table; and when we were shown into handsome apartments were at first hardly more at ease than Caffres in a drawing room.”³⁵²

³⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 17.

³⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 23.

³⁵¹ Ibid, p. 225.

³⁵² Ibid, p. 266.

Finally, departing from an inn was an event that could demonstrate a guest's feelings and opinions of the place and the people. In the following instances, the goodbye was a pleasant occasion, due to all the positive interactions that the travellers had with the local community.

“A crowd of affectionate friends assembled in the gallery to witness our departure, and waved hats and hands, as we followed our possessions, at first swaggering rather ominously on the packsaddle, up the stony wood-path.”³⁵³

“I think our departure relieved our good friend from culminating anxieties as to another day's dinner; and we delighted her much by leaving our names and addresses at full length in a book intended for the purpose, but which was nearly blank. Her final English lesson— an exercise in their pronunciation— ended, as usual, in an explosion of laughter.”³⁵⁴

“The poor Commissary's wife, whose face had been brightened into smiles by a trifling gift which we hoped would stand her in coffee for some time to come, and the old crone, now transformed into a grandmotherly body with whom we were almost affectionate, were full of help and counsel. The young man, our chamberlain of the night before, took us under convoy himself, and we left Raibl with a materially improved opinion both of the place and people.”³⁵⁵

5.4. Inn Hospitality: Transportation

The final aspect of inn hospitality to consider concerns the arrival and departure process. Travellers are more encouraged to visit a place if it is easily accessible. Naturally, locals would have an advantage over foreign guests in this regard, which is why local guides and drivers were a part of inn hospitality in rural areas like the Dolomites. In *The Dolomite Mountains*, there are a few instances where Gilbert, Churchill and their spouses report difficulties with the transportation from one inn to the next.

“We ventured on a question: — ‘Ja,’ was the reply, ‘that is the "wagen" from Hermagor [Hermagor-Pressegger See].’ Curious! but was it our wagen? We scrutinised the crazy thing for some decisive mark. ‘The lining— was it yellow?’ ‘No— red;’ ‘no,— certainly blue’ each colour had its advocate. At last the handle of the break settled the matter; ours, we agreed, had none. ‘Is there another inn?’ we asked. ‘Ja,’ said the man, and pointed back the way we had come. More puzzling still! Yet back we went, and truly found another hostel, though undoubtedly on the wrong side of the road— unless there were two roads, to settle which point

³⁵³ Ibid, p. 123.

³⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 187.

³⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 217.

we made desperate incursion upon the back premises, retreating the next moment, baffled and confounded. A dreadful suspicion now entered our minds that we had somehow come down the wrong hill, into the wrong village, perhaps into the wrong valley. ‘What is the name of this place?’ I asked, with my heart in my mouth. ‘Weissbriach.’ ‘And are there only two inns?’ ‘Only two; this and that other.’ One began to feel the horrible bewilderment of a dream, when things are like and not like, and you are yourself and somebody else at the same time, and everything becomes another thing. Walking faster and faster, followed by S and A, now manifesting mutiny and utter distrust, which they might well do, seeing I had lost confidence in myself, I pushed on right through the village into open country again, where the prospect seemed hopeless enough. Fortunately, at this moment, a passer-by threw sudden light upon the matter. Another inn, some quarter of a mile further, lay hidden among the trees; and at the next turn the whole mystery was explained. We had passed this space unheeded in the morning and had forgotten the relation of the village to the inn. There it now stood, just as it should be—carriage, and driver, and landlord, and chamber, restored in the twinkling of an eye to their right friendly and most welcome aspect.”³⁵⁶

In these areas, rather unexplored by British travellers and thus often lacking in comprehensive travel guides with proper maps and route guidance, it is easy to miss a turn or overlook a small entrance. Gilbert and his group elaborated here on the risks of discovering new tourist spots, as they needed accommodation before nightfall and their carriage (“wagen”) with their luggage was already at their destination. Luckily, the situation resolved itself and the group safely arrived at the inn with all their belongings intact.

The precarious circumstances of rural alpine transportation are a cause for concern among the travellers. After all, local guides could take advantage of the tourists’ dependence on their services to move from village to village. In one instance, they complained that “[...] instead of the guides and horses in waiting at the hotel door, [they] had to seek [theirs] three miles away at a farmer’s house”.³⁵⁷ In another instance, the group got into an argument with their driver over the price and the conditions of the ride.

“Messenger despatched to him over night, had returned with terms too exorbitant to be submitted to without remonstrance; so, leaving our wives to pack and breakfast, we brushed the morning dew through the long grass of the water-meadows to the farm— the spot our driver would have left us at the day before, which explained that mystery a little. From among his barns and wood-stacks out came the sturdy owner; his slouched hat, loose doublet, baggy black

³⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 196-197.

³⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 12.

breeches, and wrinkled boots, completing a considerable personal resemblance to Oliver, the Lord Protector. And a Lord Protector he was,— of his own interests. The man was as fixed in his resolves, as he stood firm in his boots ; and we could only baffle his intentions to a certain extent, by refusing to engage the horses destined for our wives farther than to the top of the col. Returning to a hurried breakfast, that, and a fresh altercation about the weight of the baggage, which ended in weighting the farmer's pockets with another gulden, delayed our departure till nine — far too late, as all col climbers know.”³⁵⁸

However, not all transportation methods were as exploitative. Transportation could also be based on a relationship you have with certain locals. Indeed, Gilbert and Churchill talk of Amman, their reliable driver who treated them well and recognised them each year they visited.

“We were more successful in a call upon Amman, our gentlemanly driver of before. The good man was probably in siesta, out, putting on his coat, bewildered at the unwonted crowd about his door; yet he was not long in recognising his four ‘Englander,’ and was happy to undertake our conveyance to the Gail Thal.”³⁵⁹

“It was four o’clock; the conductor, opening the doors, announced Atzwang: the baggage was put upon a bench, the diligence rolled away, and, rather dazed and chilly, we stood at the uninviting door, waiting for the bespoke horse, and with our morning’s work before us.”³⁶⁰

Part of the hospitality that inns provided was to ensure their guests could have a form of transportation and find the establishments more easily. This was more challenging in some areas that did not generally cater to foreign tourists, but it did add to the sense of an alpine adventure that Gilbert and Churchill sought out all along.

6. Source interpretation: Comparisons

In the previous section, I provided some passages with impressions of the inn hospitality that Gilbert and Churchill experienced during their travels through the Dolomite mountains. Thus far, the analysis of the source text was conducted on a textual level, revealing themes around accommodation, food service, ambience and transportation as relevant aspects of inn hospitality. In the following section, I aim to delve into the latent level of analysis, placing these aspects of inn hospitality into a wider societal context and establishing the connection between their experiences and their expectations of inn hospitality as British travellers in the

³⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 13.

³⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 168.

³⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 104.

nineteenth century. By examining and determining the significance of each *comparata*, it is possible to explore different *tertia comparationis* within inn hospitality.

6.1. Comparing accommodation

One of the emergent *comparata* of Gilbert and Churchill's *The Dolomite Mountains* is the cleanliness of the inns they visit. Cleanliness was often equated with good moral character in Victorian England, as uncleanliness was associated with the unsavoury aspects of modernization, namely crowds of working-class people, the subsequent spread of disease and an overindulgence in drink and food. Bathing, swimming and washing oneself was an escape from the dirt and pollution of modern Britain, as Christopher Love explains in the following:

“The early nineteenth century was of course the era of growing concern about filth and its social and personal consequences. The simple accumulation of rubbish and dirt in the expanding cities of Britain, along with the pollution of local water systems, set cleanliness and clean water in stark relief. To bathe, wash or swim in clean water was an obvious antidote to contact with the dirt of contemporary urban life. And it was obvious, when examining the condition of the poor, that health (or rather ill-health) stemmed directly from the filthy circumstances of urban life.”³⁶¹

Furthermore, clean spaces fit into the constructed image of the picturesque rural landscape and subsequently, into a Victorian traveller's idea of the perfect escape from the modernized city space. As previously mentioned, Murray and other guidebook authors would place an emphasis on the cleanliness of the establishments and advise innkeepers to provide ample supplies for the cabinet as well as fresh bedding. Murray, however, suggested that the accommodation past French or Swiss borders would be lacklustre or even appalling and consequently warned tourists about the difficulty of finding appropriate lodging in these Central European parts. Thus, as Gilbert and his companions travel through the Dolomite region, they compare the cleanliness of the accommodation to the hygienic levels they are accustomed to from Victorian England and to these expectations set up by famous guidebook authors such as Murray.

Another comparison element is the furnishing of the rooms. The number of beds, tables, chairs, decorations and space would be considered when discussing the comfort level of an inn. The quality of the materials mattered, the arrangement of the furniture mattered and ultimately, the amount of space in a room mattered. These factors are often scrutinized in combination with

³⁶¹ Love, Christopher. “Taking a Refreshing Dip: Health, Cleanliness and the Empire”. *International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, 5 (2007): 693–706, p. 694.

the cleanliness of a room, as the most premium walnut-wood beds can still be unappealing if the bed linen is unclean.

In Britain, clear distinctions and strong suggestions were made as to the appropriate material for different furnishings. Certain materials were associated with a more expensive lifestyle, other materials were specifically imagined in certain rooms of the British home.

“The most obvious is the use of oak for dining rooms. It was particularly favored for the more expensive estimates, whereas in the lower priced groups some stores offered walnut or mahogany. The drawing room was the most varied, perhaps not surprisingly, with walnut, mahogany and rosewood all featured equally across price ranges and dates. In the bedroom, American walnut was popular in the superior price ranges, whereas ash featured in the middle range, and mahogany or oak in the cheaper end. While the consensus of recommendation reflects the apparent appropriateness of the differing timbers, they also have connotations of their own. Oak reflected the English tradition; mahogany and rosewood suggested luxury; and walnut implied reserve. Looked at another way, oak was perceived as masculine, walnut neutral, and mahogany and rosewood as feminine. Thus, each wood was associated with positive personal characteristics or gender categories that consumers might wish to announce through display.”³⁶²

Therefore, Gilbert and Churchill commenting positively on the walnut furniture at some inns shows that they valued the reserve it implied, perhaps even appreciated the gender-neutral choice of furniture at these inns. Especially in the bedrooms, where American walnut remained the more high-end choice of timber, the sight of walnut furniture would delight the Victorian travellers. Within these seemingly fleeting comments on the material of the furnishings, the travellers provide an insight into their British identity. Their opinions are, thus, influenced by the guidelines and suggestions of home furnishing in British upper middle-class homes.

The British home consisted of several different spaces, the most private of which was the bedroom. The privacy afforded the homeowners the ability to express themselves and arranged the space according to “sensible practices”, as Edward Clive suggests:³⁶³

“For example, beds ought to have their sides to the window; writing tables were placed near the fire; the washstand placed in the light, a pier glass located with its back to the light and a

³⁶² Edwards, Clive. “Establishing Stability: Conforming to Type in British House Furnishings, 1860-1910” In: McMahon, Deirdre H.; Janet C. Myers. *The Objects and Textures of Everyday Life in Imperial Britain*, London: Routledge, 2016: 49-69, p. 62.

³⁶³ Ibid. p. 66.

wardrobe should face the light in a central position. By the mid-nineteenth century, the bedroom had a much more rounded use.”³⁶⁴

This privacy was an important value of British people. Therefore, the final factor to consider is the privacy of the lodgings. As members of the upper class, Gilbert and Churchill, along with their spouses, would have ordinarily enjoyed a high level of privacy within their homes. Although travelling generally necessitated flexibility, travelling in rural areas around the rather unknown Dolomites required even greater leniency with the provided accommodation. As mentioned previously, innkeepers would go to great lengths to retain British tourists as their guests, whereas members of the British middle class would expect to have at least one servant and, therefore, arrived with specific expectations of hospitality service.³⁶⁵ One servant was the minimum and indeed, it was suggested that a household possesses two or three domestics, to ensure that a lady can “remain above getting her own hands dirty”.³⁶⁶

Just as the English home would have servants complete the domestic labour, English travellers would expect inn staff to ensure their ‘English comforts’ would be considered. This constituted a significant part of travel journals by British travellers:

“The emphasis placed on home was linked to another value at the heart of Englishness in particular: comfort. Most journals by travellers from England spoke about ‘English comforts’ as qualities distinct from anything on the Continent or in other parts of Britain. Murray guides warned English travellers bound for other lands that they were the only people who understood the word ‘comfort’ and would thus need to be equipped with a generous supply of good temper and forbearance. The majority of comforts identified by journal writers as English and as lacking in other countries were domestic ones. Three of those most commonly mentioned were carpets, fires and plenty of hot water for bathing. Contributing to the warmth and snugness of an English home, the first two contrasted with the cold, bare but polished floors and dreary-looking ineffective stoves typical of homes across the Channel. Hotel and inn accommodations outside England caused continual complaints about the inadequate water supply”.³⁶⁷

These unfavourable conditions at inns on the Continent match the experience of Gilbert and Churchill during their travels. Carpets are never mentioned in their description of the rooms, yet the ineffectiveness of stoves and the lack of hot water are mentioned in their texts. Other

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Wagner, Tamara S. “Laboring in a Place of Rest: Reconsidering Victorian Domestic Work and Its Narratives”. *Victorians: A Journal of Culture and Literature* 140 (2021): 103-114, p. 108.

³⁶⁶ Humphreys, Laura. *Globalising Housework: Domestic Labour in Middle-class London Homes, 1850-1914*. London: Routledge, 2021, p. 59.

³⁶⁷ Chibnall, Marjorie. *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*. UK: Palgrave, 2001, p. 143.

‘English comforts were “curtains, blankets, airy rooms, spring-cushioned sofas, soap in hotel rooms and drains”’.³⁶⁸ The focus is clearly on cleanliness, good-quality furniture and use of space.

Contrary to Murray’s cautionary assessments, Gilbert and his companions stumble upon several inns in the Dolomite region that meet their standards or even exceed their expectations. Nonetheless, many of the inns they visit do not match the ideal of a picturesque rural inn, which leads to quick departures and disappointment among the group of travellers.

Within the *tertium comparationis* of accommodation, the British tourists reveal that cleanliness, spaciousness, good-quality furniture and privacy were paramount values in their travels. However, their travels highlight the fact that rural roadside inns are rarely designed to welcome upper class travellers. Although advancements in Continental travel had been made, the infrastructure in these Dolomite towns mostly served local trade and travel. As much as the tourists were drawn to the Dolomite area for its beautiful scenery, the accommodation left much to be desired for in many instances. This is, however, a natural part of the tourism development during the era of alpinism. As tourism in an alpine area increased, the accommodation of upper-class tourists improved as well. At the time of Gilbert and Churchill’s travels, the Dolomites have yet to contend with an influx of British travellers, unlike mountain regions of France and Switzerland. Therefore, Gilbert and Churchill would comply with difficult, unsatisfactory accommodation for the sake of their artistic and geological endeavours in the area. At the same time, they ensured that inns matching their requirements would be emphasized in their writing, as if to show that Murray’s assertions are not always accurate and to highlight the positive experiences with accommodation in the Dolomite area.

6.2. Comparing food

Food is one of the most frequent *tertium comparationis* in reports of travel experiences. As Cathrine Horel explains in *Food Heritage and Nationalism*, increased and improved mobility around the mid-nineteenth century “helped not only to transport food, but also to enable people to travel for work, study or leisure to places where they encountered other cooking practices and products”.³⁶⁹ Therefore, as the number of travellers on the Continent increased, so did reports of the food served at various establishments, especially inns. Jean-Pierre Williot points

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Horel, Catherine. “Franz Joseph’s Tafelspitz”. In: Porciani, Ilaria. *Food Heritage and Nationalism in Europe*, New York: Routledge, 2020: 138–154, p. 139.

out that the food function of inns was secondary to their ability to accommodate travellers and their horses. However, as more and more travel guides were published throughout the nineteenth century, food became a distinguishing factor of many inns, existing “between indigenous habits and the demands of travellers”.³⁷⁰ Guides would therefore inform people’s eating habits in foreign places. Road inns were “stages in villages or small towns which saw less frequentation due to limited mobility”,³⁷¹ but each inn provided an opportunity to add new foods to one’s register. Williot concedes that many accounts negatively describe the food served at these roadside inns and post offices. However, the primary function of the inn food is to restore the traveller and for the most part, they did.³⁷² Significantly, upper class members of British society demanded chefs from the Continent who “could recreate in London dishes first tasted abroad”,³⁷³ which demonstrates an appreciation of foreign cuisines due to the expansion of commercial travel practices.

Two food items are frequently compared in *The Dolomite Mountains*: tea and meat. In *A Necessary Luxury: Tea in Victorian England* the role of tea in the construction of English national identity is discussed at length.³⁷⁴ English tea drinkers “often failed to notice its significance within their daily lives”,³⁷⁵ yet the ritual of having tea at the tea table offered “shared rituals and invites connection across its surface, creating community by crossing boundaries between individuals”.³⁷⁶ Industrialisation fuelled British anxieties over self-identification in a globalizing world, as Julie E. Fromer explains:

“The nineteenth century saw increasing economic and social instability, as industrialization and imperialism created new opportunities for rising middle-class English men and women. Higher standards of living and cheaper mass-produced commodities and imported goods from the British Empire contributed to the development of a fragmented range of middle classes, diverse in occupation, religious affiliation, and political views but unified by their levels of income, spending power, and a shared consumer culture. In the face of shifting class categories and

³⁷⁰ Williot, Jean-Pierre. “Station Buffets and Universal Exhibitions”. In: Porciani, Ilaria. *Food Heritage and Nationalism in Europe*, New York: Routledge, 2020: 171–187, p. 173.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Prash, Thomas. “Eating the World: London in 1851”. *Victorian Literature and Culture* 36, 2 (2008): 587–602, p. 589.

³⁷⁴ Julie E. Fromer provides an excellent introduction into the significance of tea for the British population. In: Fromer, Julie E. *A Necessary Luxury: Tea in Victorian England*, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008, p. 1-23.

³⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 1.

³⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 3.

identities, new ways of identifying oneself and one's status arose, centering on practices of consumption."³⁷⁷

The hot drink was consumed throughout the day, yet the tea table or afternoon tea referred to the consumption of tea as a light meal between lunch and dinner.³⁷⁸ The gap between the two main meals would continuously increase during the nineteenth century, in turn increasing the popularity of the afternoon tea. Nonetheless, the ritual is distinctly middle class as it evokes certain social habits and requires expensive commodities such as tea sets. Furthermore, the performance of domestic labour reaffirmed the bourgeoisie gender binary. The tea table is often portrayed as "an offering of leisure and refreshment to the man of the family upon his return from the outside, public, world of work".³⁷⁹ As a practice, it occupies "a liminal position between inside and outside, private and public" and "tea represents private repose and comfort to the family consuming it, while simultaneously suggesting the far reaches of the British Empire and beyond, through the very presence of the Asian commodity".³⁸⁰ Therefore, it also functions as a symbol of British imperialism abroad and suggests a power imbalance. When Gilbert and Churchill demand tea at the rural inns of the Dolomite area, they are performing Englishness and constructing their English identity abroad. The demand seems preposterous, but they justify it as a fundamental aspect of their daily routine as British people – almost as a duty to their country and their social class. Their expectation of being served tea as part of inn hospitality in the Dolomite area is informed by their national heritage and their social class. Fromer posits that new identities and hierarchies "developed along lines stemming from consumption habits, creating moral guidelines based on what and when and how one consumed the commodities of English culture",³⁸¹ which might explain this insistence on tea when travelling abroad.

"Nineteenth-century representations of tea highlight the role of the tea table in forging a unified English national identity out of disparate social groups, economic classes, and genders separated by ideologically distinct spheres of daily life. Tea appears on the cusp between multiple binaries in Victorian culture, forging a link between otherwise-opposing forces and simultaneously reinforcing the distinction between them: men/women, middle class/lower class, labor/leisure, necessity/luxury, England/Orient, home/empire, ideal/real."³⁸²

³⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 6.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 4.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Ibid. p. 6.

³⁸² Ibid. p. 11.

Familiarity, as a *comparata*, concerns these everyday consumption habits, helping to establish meaning in their lives and partly forming their identity when confronted with foreign habits.³⁸³ As Ilaria Porciani points out in *Food Heritage and Nationalism*, Victorians began to use food to “identify the ‘we’ of the invented national community against the ‘others’” rather than highlighting differences within a society.³⁸⁴ Despite this divisive appropriation of tea, it nonetheless symbolised connection, warmth, friendship, community, nourishment and comfort. It is associated with an “ideal moment of hospitality” and therefore significantly shapes the experience of inn hospitality abroad.³⁸⁵

The second food item frequently mentioned in this travelogue is meat. Meat occupies a deeply significant position in English dietary culture. This position is only strengthened throughout the eighteenth century, when anti-French rhetoric and new dietary guidelines established meat consumption as a distinctive mark of Britishness.³⁸⁶ In *The Shape of Meat: Preserving Animal Flesh in Victorian Britain*, Rebecca J. H. Woods discusses the excess of meat consumption in British culture:

“In material terms as well, meat— understood at the time to refer to beef, sheep meat, and pork (to the exclusion of fowl, fish, and game, the last of which was primarily a delicacy reserved for the gentry)—was central to the British diet, and Britons consumed quantities of meat far in excess of their continental counterparts. This material enthusiasm for meat reinforced cultural preference so that even as the components and qualities of what constituted an adequate diet were debated throughout Europe at this time, few contested that meat was requisite.”³⁸⁷

Britain was coming out of decades of hunger periods, namely during the Napoleonic Blockade and the so-called “hungry 1830s and 1840s”, which led to a stronger desire for meat and a fear of a “meat famine” during the mid-Victorian era. However, as Woods points out, “economic historians largely agree that all but the very poorest in Britain were relatively well supplied with animal protein during the latter half of the nineteenth century, even if they paid dearly for it”.³⁸⁸ As members of the upper class, Gilbert and Churchill would reasonably expect meat to be part of their daily diet. It is also reasonable to assume that they would expect certain types of meat, certain breeds and cuts that would be suitable for their social standing among British

³⁸³ Ibid. p. 7.

³⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 14.

³⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 22-23.

³⁸⁶ Woods, Rebecca J. H. “The Shape of Meat: Preserving Animal Flesh in Victorian Britain”. *Osiris* 35, 1 (2020): 123–41, p. 127.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 128.

society.³⁸⁹ Furthermore, British people preferred “simple, unadorned meat”, as they thought of the meat to be “so superior [...] that it needed no smothering sauce or spice”.³⁹⁰ Many table d’hotes would present lean meats, served in stews or drenched in sauces. Woods explains the complex relationship between meat consumption and social class as such:

“The relationship between class and consumption in the case of meat is a complex one. The palatability and suitability of a particular cut of meat, or of a particular animal breed, had long been a factor in British dietary habits, which is to say that different kinds of meat were believed to be suitable for different classes of people.”³⁹¹

In Britain, many middle-class citizens would go to inns to consume meat there, whereas members of the upper classes would serve the meat at home in their dining rooms. Either way, one could expect to have access to meat in some capacity. Therefore, the expectation of being served a sufficient amount of meat at the inns they travel to seems justified to the group of British travellers, but they do not seem to take the drastically different meat consumption habits of the Continent into account. Most of the countries in the Dolomite area are not particularly wealthy and the export of meat is still rather challenging during the nineteenth century. As such, meat consumption was highly dependent on local supply. Generally, expensive meat was consumed on special occasions, whereas most dishes on a daily basis would be vegetarian.

Gilbert and Churchill do not refuse the vegetarian food, but in terms of their satisfaction with the meals, the dearth or lack of meat is a main source of disappointment. The size of the meals was also a problem to many Victorian British travellers. “Hearty English meals”, claims Chibnall, “symbolized the prosperity of England and contrasted, in travellers’ minds, with the infinitesimal portions and dainty eating found on the Continent”.³⁹² Regarding the *comparata* of taste, therefore, it is evident that these British travellers expect the food served at inns to contain some good quality meat, as they would be accustomed to British meat consumption habits.

Alongside tea and meat, British people considered milk and butter to be indispensable. However, just as some of the quotes from Gilbert and Churchill’s travelogue show, the provision of these animal products could not always be guaranteed. Many travellers would

³⁸⁹ Chibnall succinctly describes the consumption habits of British people in the fourth chapter of her work, “Customs, Comfort and Class”. In: Chibnall, Marjorie. *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*. London: Palgrave, 2001, p. 119-154. The third chapter “Religion” also highlights the connections to religious faith, in: Chibnall, *National Identities*, p. 83-118.

³⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 120.

³⁹¹ Woods, *The Shape of Meat*, p. 134.

³⁹² Chibnall, *National Identities*, p. 126.

account for the lack of tea by packing their own tea, but the same could not be said for milk, butter and meat.³⁹³

Furthermore, as Protestants, they would expect to eat meat on Fridays, whereas the majority of the Dolomite area was Catholic and therefore only served fish on Fridays. As a testament of good food service at these Dolomite inns and a sign of excellent hospitality, the authors would emphasize and highlight the efforts of innkeepers to accommodate their specifically British needs, providing tea and meat and appealing to their distinctly British palates. Tea was especially important as a symbol of domesticity and hospitality, which was highly valued by the English.³⁹⁴ The third *comparata* is food service, demonstrated as acts of service to accommodate their distinctly British needs and ensuring an atmosphere of good hospitality. Here, the expectation of domestic labour harks back to the middle-class expectation of having at least one household servant to take on domestic duties. At inns, this service was a significant part of their dining experience. A good service would help excuse the feeble meals or add to the excitement over an excellent meal, whereas bad service would sour their moods and lead to a lot of frustration among the group.

Overall, within the *tertium comparationis* of food, it is familiarity, taste and food service that are examined. The values that Churchill and Gilbert as well as their spouses seemingly exhibit regarding the food as part of inn hospitality are the provision of tea and meat as well as the accommodation of their British food habits rather than those of the indigenous population. Finally, the performance of domestic labour aligns with their class expectations of having servants. The service could enhance or ruin their dining experience, therefore, they frequently commented upon it.

6.3. Comparing ambience

The atmosphere of an establishment could greatly impact a tourist's experience. While this category of comparison does concern the surrounding landscape and the social spaces provided at an inn, it mainly considers the travellers' impressions of locals and other tourists. It is in this *tertium comparationis* of "ambience" that values regarding community, socialisation and manners are examined. Foreign customs, foreign manners and foreign habits are scrutinized and met with varying degrees of acceptance by the British tourists.

³⁹³ Ibid. p. 122.

³⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 123.

In *The Dolomite Mountains*, Gilbert and Churchill tend to praise the contributions of individuals such as the innkeepers or the hostesses, yet they simultaneously stigmatize entire groups of people. This stigmatization would often emerge out of their observations of people from afar, but the praise of individuals resulted from their interactions with them. Therefore, interaction with locals might have shifted their perception of certain groups or people, whereas they relied more heavily on pre-existing schemata when simply observing the locals.

One prevalent *comparata* in their understanding of people is religion, specifically the difference between Protestants and Catholics. In *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*, Marjorie Chibnall points out the central role of Protestantism as part of British national identity when travelling in Catholic areas of the Continent:

“Travellers’ journals confirm the centrality of religion to national identity throughout Victoria’s reign. But they also suggest that the religious dimension of identity was too complex to be explained adequately by a Protestant versus Catholic model. Not surprisingly, Protestant travellers from different parts of Britain emphasized a shared Protestantism when they were travelling in Catholic areas of Europe”.³⁹⁵

Moreover, Chibnall attributes this continuous disparity to guidebooks such as the Murray series about European countries, which “reinforced the long-held notion of a natural antipathy and inseparable gulf between Protestantism and Catholicism”³⁹⁶ and regarded the co-existence of Catholics and Protestants in one nation to be impossible. While Protestantism was depicted as a “simple and serious religion devoid of spectacle and decoration pandering to the emotions”,³⁹⁷ Catholicism often shocked Protestant travellers with “imagery in the form of paintings, statues, dolls and shrines”.³⁹⁸

During Queen Victoria’s reign, however, Catholicism came to be seen less as a threat to Protestant institutions and more as “strange and repulsive”.³⁹⁹ Chibnall claims that the “unattractive aspects were still viewed as detrimental, but only to Catholics themselves”.⁴⁰⁰ This led to Protestants such as Churchill and Gilbert to look at the religious practices of Tyrolean Catholics as nonsensical, but hardly malicious. The Dolomite region is generally Catholic and many of the customs were perceived to be unnecessarily flashy and unusual.

³⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 86.

³⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 88.

³⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 90.

³⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 98.

³⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 94.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

Travel journals would often emphasize the “more cheerful cottages, larger farmhouses, cleaner pastures, better fences and more plentiful fountains to be found in Protestant as opposed to Catholic cantons”,⁴⁰¹ which might explain the British travellers’ disdain for the locals in Catholic areas, when describing them as slovenly, for example.

Another influential *comparata* would be that of manners, understood as behaviours, body language and general demeanour sanctioned by society. Chibnall points out some pre-conceived notions of English manners that were prevalent in Europe:

“Touring the Continent highlighted in travellers’ minds a certain English quality. That quality was an arrogant bearing reflected most obviously by English tourists’ refusal both to defer to and to try to understand other people’s customs. Instead, they typically turned up their noses at foreign dishes and habits, seldom made any effort to speak a foreign language and congregated almost exclusively with other English folk while travelling in foreign lands”.⁴⁰²

In their interactions with locals in the Dolomite region, Gilbert and Churchill certainly exhibited some of these English manners. As described in the section on food, the travellers constantly demented the lack of variety and demanded meat and tea despite the inconvenience it posed to the innkeepers and servants. They also mostly kept to themselves, talking to their spouses S and A, but hardly to locals. The language barrier could definitely be felt, as they would send their wives to speak Italian with local folk. Indeed, they seemed bemused when the hostess of an inn asked them to teach her some English words and took delight in her feeble attempts at speaking a foreign language, while never attempting to converse in her language.

In general, talkative staff was an unusual occurrence for the British. While British servants and staff kept a polite distance to those of higher class,⁴⁰³ the innkeepers, hostesses and waitresses of the rural Dolomite inns would happily interact with their patrons. To some degree, Gilbert and Churchill enjoyed the warm welcome and the attention they received at some of the inns, yet several instances also convey the underlying discomfort they felt when observing the lacking awareness of hierarchy at some inns.

In their writings, they often express disdain over the local habits and customs. Although their experience is meant to reflect on the local communities, their descriptions actually reveal values that are important to their national identity as British people. When observing these

⁴⁰¹ Ibid. p. 92.

⁴⁰² Ibid. p. 128.

⁴⁰³ Ibid. p. 130.

social spaces of the inn, the authors describe a warm atmosphere with dancing, drinking, smoking, laughing, talking, etc. Chibnall talks about the quiet dinners of British people, compared to the unceasing table conversation of Continental society. She claims that “there was a warmth and exuberance about social exchanges on the Continent that nearly all travellers recognized as very un-British”,⁴⁰⁴ and points out that their sociability and casualness was thought to be due to the warmer Continental climate:

“In their view, sunshine encouraged a love of ease conducive to ‘a thousand little slovenlinesses most revolting to an English eye’. Unkempt hair and half-covered feet were two such vulgarities inducing a smug sense of refinement in travellers from Britain. Thus, we might say that travellers identified behaviours combining refinement and reserve as typically British”.⁴⁰⁵

Many of the behaviours that were disliked by Gilbert and Churchill are not unique to the Continent. After all, drinking and smoking in public spaces is also done in Britain. However, the difference lies in the manner: vulgarity and excess were associated with the working classes of Britain, not the middle and upper classes.⁴⁰⁶ Therefore, Gilbert and Churchills background would explain their refusal to partake in these activities, as it would not befit their station. There is, however, some fascination with the simplicity of this lifestyle. Chibnall explains that “many travellers found it refreshing to see so many Europeans able to amuse themselves in public without getting tipsy. Perhaps the British drank to excess because they were not as adept at amusing themselves naturally while in a sober state”.⁴⁰⁷

For British people, especially those of middle and upper classes, leisure time was mostly spent in the comfort and privacy of the home. Only exercise and sports would occur outdoors, whereas Europeans seemed to practice a so-called “outdoor domesticity”, where they spent time outdoors, in public, “sipping, sitting, conversing, knitting, reading or doing any other activity frequently performed indoors”.⁴⁰⁸ The Continental weather could afford such habits and customs, but this was uncomfortable for most British people, who preferred the privacy afforded by their homes to socialise.⁴⁰⁹

Thus far, Gilbert and Churchill’s travelogue considers the *comparata* of religion and manners to build a sense of British identity abroad. Inn hospitality in the Dolomites is shaped by the

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 129.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 134.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 133.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 134.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 140.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 141.

Catholic customs, which the Protestant travellers criticize or simply circumvent. Hospitality is also shaped by Continental manners that are seemingly warmer, more open and convivial than the British travellers are accustomed to. These two factors have shaped the travellers' observations and interactions with local communities in the Dolomite area. There is one more *comparata* to consider in the category of ambience, namely that of the inn surroundings. The next section shall take a closer look at the picturesque descriptions of inns, the anti-tourist sentiments expressed through these descriptions and how advancements in the hotel industry influenced Gilbert and Churchill's opinion on inns.

In her chapter on *English Inns and Hotels in Nineteenth Century Fiction*, Susanne Schmid places the golden age of the inn between 1650 and the end of the eighteenth century. Back then, the primary function of an inn was as a halting point for coaches, and they evolved to offer overnight accommodation, food, storage and even shops. They were built along major roads in cities and in more rural provinces.⁴¹⁰ The architectural design of an inn was often medieval in origin, with central courtyards "enclosed by two or more storeys of public and private rooms, sometimes galleried to provide independent access to them".⁴¹¹ Schmid describes the difference between an inn and a hotel as follows:

"For much of the nineteenth century, the average traveller, especially outside big cities, would often stay at an "inn" rather than a "hotel." "Inn" more often denoted an older rural establishment, a former coaching inn, a place where locals went for a drink. Most nineteenth-century inns were anything but luxurious and no longer carried the connotations of elite and affluence they had previously held. Many older inns were no longer well maintained. At best, they evoked notions of Englishness, a merry old (pre-industrial and often rural) England that had disappeared from the modern world. Hotels, in contrast, were more modern types of accommodation".⁴¹²

Indeed, over the course of the nineteenth century, the middle and upper classes began to avoid inns, as their function shifted towards being a public drinking place, primarily for working-class citizens. Therefore, many inns became 'pubs', boasting an impressive variety of drinking establishments.⁴¹³ Nonetheless, they remained a vital part of rural villages and provinces, which often lacked a connection to the railway network. The railway led to new demands in the

⁴¹⁰ Schmid, Susanne. "English Inns and Hotels in Nineteenth-Century Fiction". In: Elbert, Monika M.; Schmid, Susanne. *Anglo-American Travelers and the Hotel Experience in Nineteenth-Century Literature: Nation, Hospitality, Travel Writing*, London: Taylor and Francis, 2017: 38-57, p. 39.

⁴¹¹ Jennings, Paul. *A History of Drink and the English, 1500-2000*. Routledge, 2016, p. 71.

⁴¹² Schmid, *English Inns and Hotels in Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, p. 41.

⁴¹³ Jennings, *A History of Drink and the English*, p. 48.

hospitality industry. In the past, many inns were intended to attract affluent customers, but the British elite would choose other forms of housing in the nineteenth century – amongst them, the railway hotel.⁴¹⁴ This was a “byproduct of modernization”.⁴¹⁵ Alan Everitt describes this shift from the inn to the hotel as a result of industrialisation:

“There is no doubt, however, that many of the historic inns of England rapidly declined in importance with the coming of the railways and with the building of public halls, corn exchanges, auction rooms, banks, town halls and county halls, which transferred much of the traditional business of provincial inns to these and other specialist buildings. By the middle of Queen Victoria’s reign or thereabouts it may be said that the age of the inn has given way to the age of the hotel”.⁴¹⁶

This development in the hospitality industry in Britain was met with resistance from certain groups, hoping to preserve the Romantic notion of the ‘old English inn’. Gilbert and Churchill often criticized the rise of the hotel, while simultaneously praising inns that boast beautiful, picturesque sceneries. With that, the travellers clearly take on an anti-tourist stance in their writing. Nonetheless, when they arrive at a hotel, they do enjoy the modern comforts it affords, and they often lament the apparent problems connected to rural inns. Therefore, Churchill and Gilbert continuously negotiate these differing concepts of hospitality: the Romantic notion of the picturesque inn contrasted with the efficiency of modern hotels.⁴¹⁷ As such, their descriptions of the surroundings and the landscape around the inns is an attempt to uphold the fantasy of the picturesque, clinging onto the Romanticism of rural inns in the Dolomite regions.

In conclusion, within the *tertium comparationis* of ambience, the authors especially use religion, manners and surroundings to compare their observations of and interactions with locals of the Dolomite region to their values and expectations as British citizens. Their life experiences as Protestant, upper-middle class British Romantics decidedly influenced their perception of inn hospitality in the predominantly Catholic, lower-class, rural Dolomite area. It allowed them to indulge in a non-industrialized version of the world, escape the tourism frenzy of their contemporaries while simultaneously negotiating feelings of alterity and belonging through religion and manners.

⁴¹⁴ Schmid, *English Inns and Hotels in Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, p. 39.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Everitt, Alan. “The English Urban Inn”. In: *Landscape and Community in England*, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2003: 155-208, p. 156.

⁴¹⁷ Schmid, *English Inns and Hotels in Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, p. 43.

6.4. Comparing transportation

An important service connected to inn hospitality was the transportation from one region to another. In Great Britain, and indeed also in many other parts of the Continent, inns would function as resting places for travellers and their horses. Scheduled coach services found their arrival and departure spots at bigger inns and some establishments would even provide coaches for hire or allow wealthier patrons to switch out their horses at these inns. Those who could not afford a coach were equipped with a carrier's cart or decided to walk. Notably, the lack of a vehicle disadvantaged the pedestrians in their travels, and they often received inferior treatment at inns.⁴¹⁸

As such, travellers necessarily required guides or at the very least drivers to move from one place to another. Guides and drivers, therefore, could be considered as part of the inn hospitality system. In his work on tourism on Mount Vesuvius, John Brewer describes the importance of guides in areas “that were otherwise largely inaccessible to outsiders, or whose inhospitable climes posed acute dangers”,⁴¹⁹ yet their contributions to the travel experience are rarely commented upon in travelogues. It is often their race and class which places them in this dependent relationship to the independent traveller, a common power dynamic in upper middle-class travel.⁴²⁰ At first, a guide is often a kind local noticing that a foreign traveller might require help, which then develops into a casual occupation on the side, supplementing the income from their many other small businesses.⁴²¹ For some, it can become an important, lucrative job, based on a continuous relationship with the foreign guests. However, as John Brewer points out, “[r]elations between guides and travelers were colored by many visitors’ inability to see the guides except through the stereotypical lens applied to [them] — people who were deemed idle, shiftless, superstitious, ignorant, and importunate”.⁴²²

Indeed, the opinions of Gilbert and Churchill in *The Dolomite Mountains* seem to reflect similar attitudes towards their drivers. They often struggle to even find suitable transportation in these rural areas of the Dolomites, and they are sometimes exploited or must haggle with the drivers for exuberant prices. It is only their driver Amman, who they visit in subsequent years as well,

⁴¹⁸ Jennings, *A History of Drink and the English*, p. 72.

⁴¹⁹ Brewer, John. “Visiting Vesuvius: Guides, Local Knowledge, Sublime Tourism, and Science, 1760–1890”. *The Journal of Modern History* 93, 1 (2021): 1–33, p. 3.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Ibid. p. 17.

⁴²² Ibid. p. 21.

that provides them with a reliable, fair service and builds a relationship with the British travellers.

While road conditions were improving at the beginning of the nineteenth century, leading to “less wear and tear on both beasts and vehicles”,⁴²³ this was not the case in many rural areas of Continental Europe. Elsewhere, such as in England and France, the improvement of roads encouraged travel at more rapid speeds. Those who could afford to travel by mail coach, or a private carriage could take advantage of inns as a wide system of relays for horses. However, this was only the case in heavily trafficked areas and conditions tended to deteriorate quickly outside those areas.⁴²⁴ For Gilbert and Churchill, whose journey through the Dolomite areas necessitated travel between smaller villages and more unknown areas in terms of tourism activity, this meant that finding transportation would prove a difficult task for them.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, coaching inns began to lose their significance as part of this complex transportation system.⁴²⁵ While elsewhere the “age of the horse” would slowly come to an end due to the introduction of the railway system,⁴²⁶ this was hardly the case in the Dolomite region. It is, however, precisely this lack of modernization in the area that likely appealed to the British travellers.

Will Mackintosh explains in his article ‘*Ticketed Through*’: *The Commodification of Travel in the Nineteenth Century*, that in the early nineteenth century, travellers had to work out the logistics of their travels on their own. They would need to inquire about locations, best routes and the road conditions. They had to display geographical knowledge as well as knowledge of means of transportation and provisions. Oftentimes, those factors were improvised, and an itinerary put together quite spontaneously.⁴²⁷ When railways were introduced as an efficient means of transportation, it quickly commodified the travel experience, allowing the traveller to simply purchase a ticket and have all the logistics be handled by the railway operators and travel agencies such as Tom Cook’s tours. It “offered new mobility and built new expectations about the liberating possibilities of travel”,⁴²⁸ but it also rendered the traveller more passive in

⁴²³ Price, Roger. “Transportation and Communications “. In: Merriman, John; Winter, Jay. *Europe 1789-1914: Encyclopedia of the Age of Industry and Empire* 5: 2346-2352, p. 2346, retrieved 28 June 2023 from: link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3446900841/GVRL?u=43wien&sid=bookmark-GVRL&xid=1ee57fdf.

⁴²⁴ Ibid. p. 2346.

⁴²⁵ Susini, Fabiana. “From the Grand Tour to the Grand Hotel: The Birth of the Hospitality Industry in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany between the 17th and nineteenth Centuries”. *Architectural Histories* 6, 1 (2018): 1–10, p. 7.

⁴²⁶ Price, *Transportation and Communications*, p. 2352.

⁴²⁷ Mackintosh, Will. “‘Ticketed Through’: The Commodification of Travel in the Nineteenth Century”. *Journal of the Early Republic* 32, 1 (2012): 61–89, p. 63.

⁴²⁸ Ibid. p. 67.

their travel experience. Mackintosh claims that “[...] the imagined passivity of being a consumer of travel opened a new avenue of criticism of commodified travel, which would grow into a stronger critique of tourism as commodification spread across the nineteenth century”.⁴²⁹ One such group of strong critics were the Romantics. John Ruskin contended with the way that these new modes of transportation changed the perception of landscape, the high speeds necessarily turning the landscape into a blur outside the window. Indeed, he recommended taking a carriage, stopping frequently and slowing down the pace to four or five miles an hour. He claimed that the window of a carriage afforded picturesque views of the rural landscape, yet travelling by train reduced the traveller to a mere parcel being sent around.⁴³⁰ In this context, the symbolic importance of inns to the re-experience of English rural cultures becomes clear. The inn was not just important for the commercial and social infrastructure of an area, it also afforded the traveller a glimpse into the forgotten past.⁴³¹

Of course, there was no railway connection in the parts that Gilbert and Churchill travelled to and from. It might be argued that they purposely sought out the Dolomites for their lack of technological advancement, aiming to experience rural culture in its purest form. The mode of transportation, in this case, aids them in their romantic goal of seeing the picturesque landscapes and experiencing the world as it was before the advent of new technologies. Services such as Amman’s coach rides were a vital part of the immersion in this rural, picturesque fantasy of the Dolomite inn hospitality.

7. Conclusion

In this final part of the thesis paper, I shall reconstruct the arguments brought forth by the analysis of Gilbert and Churchill’s *The Dolomite Mountains*. I shall also refer to the research question posited at the beginning of this master thesis and compare the findings to the hypothesis I initially gave.

The aim of this research paper was to determine how Gilbert and Churchill’s writing was influenced by their British upper middle-class background and the wider societal norms of travelling in the nineteenth century. Specifically, the main research question was the following:

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ Piana, Pietro; Watkins, Charles; Balzaretti, Ross. “Travel, Modernity and Rural Landscapes in Nineteenth-Century Liguria.” *Rural History* 29, 2 (2018): 167–193, p. 169.

⁴³¹ James, Kevin J.; Northey, Andrew P. ““One day in spring I here did bring my old boneshaker bicycle”: visitors’ books, inns and technologies of travel in the late-Victorian Home Counties”. *Studies in Travel Writing* 25, 3 (2021): 275-297, p. 279.

How are the descriptions of alpine inn hospitality in J. Gilbert's and G. C. Churchill's *The Dolomite Mountains* influenced by the expectations and values of British travellers in the nineteenth century?

Fine analysis and close reading of the travelogue allowed for a nuanced insight into the themes and phenomena often remarked upon on a textual level. On the latent level, the explicit and implicit comparisons made by these historical actors to their own notions of hospitality reveal certain expectations and values as British travellers. While the travelogue tells of their journey through the Dolomite region, it simultaneously constructs a distinct identity as Victorians.

Four aspects of inn hospitality are highlighted in the analysis, namely accommodation, food service, ambience and transportation. Each category of analysis includes subcategories that inform that category. By first systematically collecting quotes that feature instances of inn hospitality and then determining which *comparata* are constructed within each *tertium comparationis*, the focus is placed on the phenomena that are significant to the travelling group.

The first category is accommodation, with its subcategories of furnishings, cleanliness and privacy. One notable observation is that Gilbert and Churchill's British, upper-class background comes with the expectation of expensive wood furniture. Certain types of wood, such as walnut or oak, were heavily featured in British homes and the travellers felt more comfortable at inns wherein they found beds and tables made of these varieties of timber. The cleanliness of a space was also paramount. Dirt and disease were rampant in Victorian urban centres and during their travels they would wish to escape these negative effects of industrialisation. Furthermore, the cleanliness of a space was considered a direct reflection of one's moral character. Thus, the assumption was that if the inn was unclean, the people within were morally corrupt as well. Finally, Gilbert and Churchill's insistence on certain 'comforts' relates to the importance of the home as a private space meant to provide all the comforts one desires. Although the accommodation at Dolomite inns often lacked some of these aspects, the travellers would emphasize it when an inn does meet their expectations. Therefore, in reference to the research question, it can be said that Gilbert and Churchill demonstrate a preference for high-quality wood furniture, clean and comfortable spaces to mimic the conditions of the upper-middle class British home when travelling abroad. These expectations are set even though rural inns of the Dolomite area are not designed with English upper-class homes in mind, leading to much disappointment with the accommodation at Dolomite inns.

The second category is food service, with its subcategories of familiarity, taste and service. In *The Dolomite Mountains*, the food items most discussed throughout their journey through the Dolomites are tea and animal products, such as meat, butter and milk. These food items were often scarce in Continental Europe, as coffee was preferred to tea and cattle harder to come by in certain areas. Nonetheless, the travellers would insist on receiving this food. In many cases, they disregarded local consumption habits, dismissing Catholic customs of eating only fish on Fridays and demanding tea to be made for them. Gilbert and Churchill rely on their British background once again, constructing their British identity by means of food consumption. They assert their distinctly British preference for meat, butter, milk, tea and rituals such as the late dinner and afternoon tea. In this way, the food most familiar to them is also most appealing and the service most accommodating to their needs as British travellers the most favourable. The Dolomite region, with its small inns in rural towns, could not afford to have a regular supply of these foodstuffs, which frustrated the British travellers. In reference to the research question, it can be said that the consumption habits of British people shape Gilbert and Churchill's expectation of alpine inn hospitality. This is, in many ways, a distinction made along national lines rather than class. Meat and tea were consumed in all classes of the British population in bigger quantities than the populations of the Continent. As such, the insistence on these food items connotes a British identity abroad, a self-definition expressed through food preferences. Gilbert and Churchill, along with their spouses, portray themselves as distinctly British travellers in the Dolomite region, focusing on moments of alterity rather than integration into the local consumption culture.

The third category is ambience, with its subcategories of observations, interactions and surroundings. Gilbert and Churchill made observational comments on the patrons of the inns, oftentimes stigmatizing entire groups. On the one hand, the stigmatization would stem from religious differences, as the British travellers were Protestants and most of the people in the Dolomite regions practiced Catholicism. Although Catholicism was no longer considered by Protestants to be detrimental to the Christian belief, many guidebooks (particularly Murray) would continue to belittle Catholic customs and ridicule them as frivolous and strange. Gilbert and Churchill often commented negatively on the bizarre Catholic habits they would witness at inns, from the insistence on fish on Fridays, to the celebration of festivals following mass and the frequent depictions of religious imagery.

On the other hand, groups of people were stigmatized due to the perceived lack of manners. People from the Continent were loud and jovial, vulgar and excessive. These were attributes

often attributed to the lower classes, yet British upper classes would be defined by restraint and moderation. The interactions between staff and patrons were often felt to be too friendly and a lack of hierarchy made the travellers uncomfortable. It also strikes the travellers as strange that much of the socialising is spent outdoors due to the warmer climate, when British people prefer the privacy of their own homes in leisure times. This outdoor domesticity, along with differences in staff treatment, caused moments of alterity for the group. As members of the British upper-class, Gilbert and his group tended to distance themselves from the local population due to these differences in manners. However, interactions with individual people were often more positive and could shift the traveller's view of the locals.

The surroundings of an inn mattered as part of the inn hospitality since Gilbert and his group were big proponents of Romanticism and the Picturesque. The anti-tourist sentiments expressed in their disdain for the contemporary hotel and their desire to view landscape as part of this rural picturesque fantasy are particularly evident as identity building strategies. The modernisation of Britain, especially the rise of hotels, led to this desire to hold onto the Old English inns. Alpine inns could, thus, provide an insight into a forgotten past of inn hospitality.

Thus, in terms of ambience, it can be said that the travellers' background led them to be more hesitant to interact with Continental locals at inns due to ingrained beliefs about religious differences and lack of manners. Nonetheless, positive interactions with individuals would rectify such negative impressions. Furthermore, Gilbert and Churchill rely on their values derived from Romanticism to appreciate inns whose picturesque location allows them to indulge in their anti-touristic fantasies.

Finally, the category of transportation is considered. In the nineteenth century, road conditions varied significantly between Britain and Continental Europe. While Britain increased its networks, employing stagecoaches and private carriages to undertake journeys, Continental Europe struggled to provide similar services in rural areas. Moreover, the technological advancement of the railway systems took a long time to arrive on the Continent, especially in rural areas. In these areas, transportation was organised at or near inns, with drivers choosing to escort tourists or taking them along on their way to the next village. Bad road conditions would often deter travellers further and some used the naivety of the travellers to financially extort them, relying on this dependency on any kind of transportation to get from one place to the next. The advancements in Britain influenced Gilbert and his group insofar that they perhaps wished to escape the fast-paced travel modes of the railway. As Romantics, they would

likely share the sentiments of John Ruskin, regarding railway travel as a means of reducing the traveller to a mere parcel, passively shipped around rather than appreciating the surrounding landscape and immersing oneself in the journey itself. The coach ride allowed for the appropriate pace to appreciate the alpine landscape and as such, they spoke most favourably of inns that provided a coach service or helped them organize transportation. Loyalty was also rewarded, as they would employ the same driver in subsequent years.

To answer the research question of how the descriptions of alpine inn hospitality in *The Dolomite Mountains* are influenced by the expectations and values of British travellers in the nineteenth century, the following conclusion can be reached. Josiah Gilbert and George C. Churchill, together with their spouses toured the regions around the Dolomite mountains between 1861 and 1863. As Protestant, upper-middle class, English alpine travellers with an appreciation for Romanticism and the Picturesque, their background influenced their expectations and values around alpine inn hospitality in terms of accommodation, food service, ambience and transportation. Their travelogue continuously explores moments of alterity and moments of familiarity, negotiating and balancing their distinctly British identity with a curiosity of alpine populations. Escaping from the negative effects of modernisation in Britain, the group immerses itself in an anti-tourist, picturesque fantasy, ultimately recalling a time before modern travel practices. Although they strongly hold onto their British comforts and values, they wish to show the wide spectrum of inn hospitality experiences to perhaps better inform future travellers of the Dolomite regions. As the Dolomite mountains were less familiar to most alpinists, the group could experience tourism in areas not overrun with other British tourists, perhaps gaining a more authentic insight into the local population. Overall, it can be said that their values and expectations informed the anti-tourist sentiments expressed in *The Dolomite Mountains* while they simultaneously positioned themselves as specifically British tourists abroad.

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9. Abstract (English)

The Dolomite Mountains, a travelogue published by Josiah Gilbert and George C. Churchill in 1864, details how Gilbert, Churchill and their wives travelled around the Dolomite area in the summers of 1861 to 1863. This travelogue embodies several developments in travel history during the nineteenth century: the popularity of guidebooks and travelogues, British alpinism, the commercialisation of travel, the anti-tourism movement, and the discovery of the Dolomite area as a tourist destination.

Using Gilbert and Churchill's travelogue as the primary source, the aim of this thesis is to deconstruct the expectations and values around inn hospitality that upper-middle-class English travellers expressed in their alpine travel writing during the Victorian era. Fine analysis and close reading of the travelogue revealed four categories of inn hospitality, in which British values and expectations were expressed: accommodation, food service, ambience and transportation.

In accommodation, they expect cleanliness, good quality of furniture and privacy. In food service, it is the provision of tea and meat and the consideration of Protestant traditions that stand out. Within ambience, religion and manners are influential factors in their interactions with and observations of locals. The mode of transportation mattered as carriages immersed the travellers in the picturesque landscape more than modern travel by train ever could.

All in all, Gilbert and Churchill's values and expectations of inn hospitality inform the anti-tourist sentiments expressed in *The Dolomite Mountains* while simultaneously positioning the group as specifically British travellers in the Dolomite area.

10. Abstract (German)

Der Reisebericht *The Dolomite Mountains*, veröffentlicht von Josiah Gilbert und George C. Churchill im Jahr 1864, handelt von deren Reisen in den Gegenden um die Dolomiten zwischen den Jahren 1861 und 1863. Mehrere Entwicklungen in der Tourismusgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts sind in diesem Reisebericht wiederzufinden: die Beliebtheit von Reiseführern und Reiseberichten, britischer Alpinismus, die Kommerzialisierung des Reisens, die Anti-Tourismus Bewegung und die Entdeckung der Dolomiten als Reiseziel.

Anhand Gilbert und Churchills Reisebericht sollen in dieser Masterarbeit die Erwartungen und Werte britischer Reisender in Hinsicht auf Gastfreundlichkeit in Gaststätten herausgearbeitet werden. Feinanalyse und Close Reading des Reiseberichts offenbart vier Aspekte der Gastfreundschaft, in denen britische Werte und Erwartungen zu erkennen sind, nämlich Unterkunft, Essen, Ambiente und Fortbewegung.

Bei der Unterkunft erwarten sich britische Reisende Sauberkeit, Möbel von guter Qualität und Privatsphäre. Beim Essen erwarten sie vor allem Tee und Fleisch, sowie die Einhaltung protestantischer Essensgewohnheiten. Bei dem Ambiente achten sie auf die Religion und auf die Manieren bei ihren Beobachtungen und Interaktionen mit den Einheimischen. Das Mittel der Fortbewegung macht insofern einen Unterschied, dass die Vermutung besteht, die Kutsche biete einen natürlicheren Eindruck der Landschaft als die modernen Züge es jemals könnten.

Insgesamt vertreten Gilbert und Churchill im Reisebericht öfters anti-touristische Werte und Erwartungen, die ihrer britischen Herkunft zu verdanken sind. Dennoch positionieren sie sich in ihrem Text als speziell britische Touristen im Ausland.